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Papyri from Egypt (300 BCE – 100 CE)

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UNIVERSITÉ
DE GENÈVE

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
Department of Ancient Studies

τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος

**A History of the *Hypomnema* in Greek Papyri from Egypt
(300 BCE – 100 CE)**

by

Lavinia Ferretti

Thesis in Ancient Greek submitted to the University of Geneva
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
1 INTRODUCTION	3
1.1 RESEARCH OBJECT AND RESEARCH QUESTION	3
1.2 CHOICES UNDERLYING THIS WORK	4
1.2.1 DEFINITION OF THE <i>HYPOMNEMA</i> AND DELIMITATION OF THE CORPUS	4
1.2.1.1 Some Potential Ambiguities 1: the Word ὑπόμνημα	5
<i>Meaning of ὑπόμνημα in Ancient Greek</i>	6
<i>Ancient Definitions for Hypomnematic Documents</i>	8
1.2.1.2 Some Potential Ambiguities 2: the Word “Letter”	10
1.2.2 FORMAL FOCUS	11
1.2.2.1 Formal Characteristics and the Typology of Hypomnemata	11
1.2.2.2 Format and Layout: Some Definitions and the Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll	13
1.2.3 CHRONOLOGICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC LIMITS OF THE STUDY	16
1.3 BROADER RESEARCH TRENDS	18
2 THE ORIGIN OF THE <i>HYPOMNEMA</i>	23
2.1 THE <i>HYPOMNEMA</i> BEFORE THE ZENON ARCHIVE	23
2.1.1 CLASSICAL GREECE	24
2.1.2 PRE-PTOLEMAIC EGYPT AND PERSIA	30
2.1.3 MACEDONIAN KINGDOMS	32
2.1.4 THE <i>HYPOMNEMA</i> BEFORE THE ZENON ARCHIVE: SUMMARY	35
2.2 THE ZENON ARCHIVE AND EARLY <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i>	35
2.2.1 VARIABILITY OF FORMAT AND LAYOUT	39
2.2.1.1 Format	39
2.2.1.2 Layout	45
2.2.2 VARIABILITY OF FORMULAS	51
2.2.2.1 Prescript	51
<i>Explicit VS Implicit Prescript: the ὑπόμνημα Label</i>	51
<i>Background Material</i>	56
<i>Variations of the Prescript Formula</i>	59
<i>Conclusion</i>	61
2.2.2.2 Final Greetings	61
2.2.2.3 Dates	62
2.2.2.4 External Address and the Delivery of Early Hypomnemata	63

<i>Presence of Indications on the Back of Early Hypomnemata</i>	63
<i>Delivery of Early Hypomnemata</i>	64
2.2.3 VARIABILITY OF CONTENT	65
2.2.3.1 Functions of the Early Hypomnemata	65
2.2.3.2 Addressing the Authority: Early Declarations and Petitions	68
2.2.4 <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i> AND COGNATE DOCUMENTS	72
2.2.4.1 προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος: So-called Early Prosangelmata	72
2.2.4.2 P.Cair.Zen. III 59301, P.Tebt. III.1 772 and the Early Distinction of Hypomnemata and Letters	74
2.2.5 EARLY <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i> : SUMMARY	78
2.3 CONCLUSION	79

3 THE ADMINISTRATIVE *HYPOMNEMA* IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT **81**

3.1 BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE USAGE (LAST QUARTER OF THE THIRD CENTURY BCE)	82
3.1.1 DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARSINOITE	83
3.1.2 DOCUMENTS FROM OTHER NOMES	87
3.1.3 FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION AT THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY BCE	94
3.1.3.1 Requests and Petitions: Enteuxeis, Prosangelmata and Hypomnemata	94
3.1.3.2 Property Declarations	100
3.1.3.3 Offers and Applications	102
3.1.3.4 Summary and Tentative Explanations	103
3.1.4 BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE USAGE: SUMMARY	106
3.2 PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATIVE <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i> IN THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES: THE HIERARCHICAL EVOLUTION	107
3.2.1 FIXATION OF THE FORMAT	108
3.2.2 EVOLUTION OF THE LAYOUT	118
3.2.3 FUNCTIONS	136
3.2.3.1 Petitions and Requests	136
<i>Geographical and Chronological Distribution</i>	138
<i>Materiality</i>	140
<i>Formulary: Standard Version</i>	141
<i>Formulary: Exceptions and Variations</i>	149
<i>Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand</i>	157
<i>Petitions: Summary</i>	166
3.2.3.2 Property Declarations	167

<i>Geographical and Chronological Distribution</i>	168
<i>Materiality</i>	169
<i>Formulary and Process Notes by a Second Hand</i>	170
<i>Property Declarations: Summary</i>	173
3.2.3.3 Offers for Public Auctions and Connected Documents	174
<i>Geographical and Chronological Distribution</i>	174
<i>Materiality</i>	175
<i>Formulary</i>	176
<i>Subscriptions and Process Notes by a Second Hand</i>	177
<i>Offers for Public Auctions and Connected Documents: Summary</i>	178
3.2.3.4 Other Administrative Functions of the Hypomnemata	178
3.2.3.5 Exceptional Functions	183
3.2.4 THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATIVE <i>HYPOMNEMA</i> : SUMMARY	190
3.3 CONCLUSION	192

4 THE IMPACT OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST ON *HYPOMNEMATA* 193

4.1 ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES AND SCRIBAL PRACTICES: FIRST-CENTURY ADMINISTRATIVE <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i>	194
4.1.1 ROMAN PETITIONS: STRONG CONTINUITY WITH PTOLEMAIC PRACTICE	196
4.1.1.1 Materiality and Formulas: Strong Continuity	196
4.1.1.2 After the Greetings: Innovations in Early Roman Petitions	200
4.1.1.3 Administrative Procedures: Process Notes by a Second Hand on Petitions	206
<i>Ptolemaic-Style Subscriptions to Petitions and the Appearance of So-Called Warrants</i>	206
<i>Transmission Letters and Transmission Messages by Lower Officials</i>	210
<i>Dockets: the ὑπηρέτης Giving the Petition to Someone and Various Other Notes</i>	215
<i>Process Notes by Nome-Level Functionaries: an Intermediate Summary</i>	216
<i>High Officials and the Specificities of Their Answers</i>	218
4.1.1.4 Roman Petitions: Summary	221
4.1.2 INNOVATING UNDER ROMAN ADMINISTRATION: POPULATION LISTS AND THE CENSUS	222
4.1.2.1 Establishment of the Roman Census	225
4.1.2.2 The Creation of the Roman Census and Hypomnemata: Census Declarations	227
<i>Earliest Hypomnemata Related to the Census</i>	227
<i>Declarations for the Census of 33/34 CE</i>	234
<i>Subsequent Evolution of Census Declarations</i>	236
<i>Census Declarations: Summary</i>	240
4.1.2.3 The Creation of the Roman Census and Hypomnemata: Declarations of Death	241
<i>First-century Death Declarations: Materiality and Formulas</i>	242

<i>Death Declarations: Process Notes</i>	248
<i>Death Declarations: Summary</i>	252
4.1.2.4 Other Hypomnemata Connected to the Establishment of the Roman Census	254
4.1.2.5 Hypomnemata Related to Census and Population Lists: Summary	261
4.1.3 SHEEP AND GOAT DECLARATIONS: BETWEEN CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION	263
4.1.3.1 Phase One: Early Julio-Claudian Sheep and Goat Declarations	265
<i>Herakleopolite Small Livestock Declarations from the First Phase</i>	266
<i>Oxyrhynchite Small Livestock Declarations from the First Phase</i>	270
4.1.3.2 Phase Two: Late Julio-Claudian Sheep and Goat Declarations	279
4.1.3.3 Phase Three: Late First-Century Sheep and Goat Declarations	280
4.1.3.4 Sheep and Goat Declarations: Summary	285
4.1.4 FIRST-CENTURY ADMINISTRATIVE <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i> : SUMMARY	288
4.2 FUNCTIONAL EXPANSION OF <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i>: CONTRACTS	292
4.2.1 <i>SYNCHORESEIS</i>	292
4.2.1.1 Augustan and Early Roman Synchoreseis: Description of a Type	293
4.2.1.2 Origin and Evolution of the Synchoreseis as a Type of Contract	300
4.2.1.3 Synchoreseis: a Summary	303
4.2.2 LEASES DRAWN UP AS <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i>	304
4.2.2.1 Augustan Hypomnemata Expressing Intention	305
<i>P.Ryl. IV 600: the Earliest Private Offer to Lease</i>	305
<i>Offers to Buy Public Goods</i>	309
4.2.2.2 Later Julio-Claudian Hypomnemata Expressing Intention	311
<i>Private Offers to Lease</i>	311
<i>Offers to Obtain Concessions</i>	313
<i>Public Offers to Lease or Buy</i>	314
4.2.2.3 Late First-Century Hypomnemata Expressing Intention	316
<i>Private Offers to Lease</i>	316
<i>Offers to Obtain Concessions</i>	317
<i>Public Offers to Buy or Lease</i>	319
4.2.2.4 Early Roman Hypomnemata Expressing Intention: General Observations	320
4.2.2.5 Origin of Hypomnemata Expressing Intention	323
<i>Origin and Evolution of Offers for Concessions</i>	324
<i>Origin of Public Offers</i>	325
<i>Origin of Private Offers to Lease</i>	328
4.2.2.6 Lease Hypomnemata: a Summary	334
4.2.3 FUNCTIONAL EXPANSION OF <i>HYPOMNEMATA</i> : A SUMMARY	334
4.3 CONCLUSION	335

<u>5</u>	<u>CONCLUSION</u>	<u>339</u>
<u>6</u>	<u>APPENDIX: PROPOSED CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED PAPYRI</u>	<u>343</u>
<u>7</u>	<u>READER'S HELP</u>	<u>351</u>
7.1	GREEK: TRANSLITERATIONS, CITATIONS, TRANSLATIONS	351
7.2	GLOSSARY	351
7.3	LIST OF RECENTLY PUBLISHED GREEK PAPYRI CITED ACCORDING TO TM AND INVENTORY NUMBER	354
7.4	LIST OF FIGURES AND CREDITS	355
<u>8</u>	<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	<u>363</u>

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research Object and Research Question

When an ancient scribe, trained in Greek and active in Ptolemaic or Roman Egypt, had to write a message on behalf of someone to someone else, he had two choices at his disposal. He could write a letter or a *hypomnema*. Both documents had specific characteristics and were different from one another in their formulas and their materiality. Let us say that our scribe was active in the second century BCE. If he chose to write a letter, he would arrange his text on a horizontal sheet of papyrus, open it with the formula ὁ δεινὰ τῷ δεινὶ χαίρειν, insert some generic phraseology wishing good health to the addressee, close it with a greeting ἔρωσο, and date it. He would also probably seal the document and add an external address to ensure the letter reached its intended reader. Had he chosen to write a *hypomnema*, he would take a vertical sheet of papyrus, start with the formula τῷ δεινὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεινός, go on with factual content, probably make some request, close with εὐτύχει, and avoid the addition of a date. No need for an address because the author would personally give the document to its intended reader.

Ulrich Wilcken had already recognised the existence of these two possibilities when he was working in the late nineteenth century on a second-century BCE inscription painted on an obelisk from Philae¹. He established two definitions: a letter is a form of communication that opens with the formula ὁ δεινὰ τῷ δεινὶ χαίρειν, and a *hypomnema* is a form of communication that opens τῷ δεινὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεινός². Despite the enormous increase in published papyri since the publication of Wilcken's paper in 1887, these definitions have stood and become standard in Greek papyrology³.

The *hypomnema* is at the core of this study. By this, I mean that I aim to study documents for which writers, trained in Greek and active in Egypt between the third century BCE and the first century CE, chose the opening formula τῷ δεινὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεινός. Some effects of this choice will be discussed in detail in this introduction:

¹ WILCKEN 1887.

² WILCKEN 1887, 4–5. He calls “Briefform” what I call form of communication, ἐπιστολή what I call letter, and ὑπόμνημα what I call *hypomnema*. On the word “letter”, cf. *infra*, chapter 1.2.1.2.

³ MARTIN 2007, 661–664. For instance, the prescript is crucial in the definition given by WOLFF 1978, 114. MARTIN 2007, 670 proposed to change the punctuation of the formula in τῷ δεινὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεινός for the timespan 150 BCE–250 CE. I kept the traditional punctuation throughout this work to stress the link between *hypomnemata* older and later than 150 BCE and the importance of the opening formula as a structural part of *hypomnemata*. For a similar choice, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 67–68 n. 116.

- It uses *hypomnema* as a modern definition. The aim is not to study the ancient Greek word ὑπόμνημα, nor writings defined as ὑπομνήματα by ancient texts, but to study documents with a specific opening formula that are called *hypomnemata* in modern research.
- It focuses on the formal characteristics of documents and assumes that trained writers would consciously choose their formulas to create their texts.
- It implies a geographical and chronological focus on Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt and a linguistic focus on Greek documents.

On this basis, I aim to write a history of the *hypomnema*, looking at *hypomnemata* as ever-changing objects. Over the four centuries under consideration, the *hypomnema* changed many times. These changes affected the formal characteristics of the documents and the values attached to them. In other words, these changes affect the choices made by ancient writers and the reasons behind these choices. By studying the former, we can reconstruct the latter. Before addressing the detail of the analysis, however, I wish to discuss the three choices that underlie this work and to present a sketch of the surrounding research trends.

1.2 Choices Underlying This Work

1.2.1 Definition of the *Hypomnema* and Delimitation of the Corpus

Ulrich Wilcken's original definition of the *hypomnema* centres on the opening formula of the texts. This approach implies focusing on the choice of the writer: he had at his disposal two alternative formulas, ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν and τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, chose one of them, and had reasons to do so. Since we have no handbook explaining these reasons, we must work from the preserved documents to reconstruct them. The focus on the opening formula, therefore, has a methodological advantage: instead of creating a modern definition of a class of documents and then selecting ancient documents that fit this modern definition, it allows us to collect documents that ancient writers thought were related and ask what linked them together. The perspective of the ancient writer is central to this work.

Therefore, I have decided to focus on ancient documents where the writer chose an opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. Such will be the definition of *hypomnema* throughout this work. I also call them documents with hypomnematic opening formulas.

During the second and first centuries BCE and first century CE, this opening formula (also sometimes called prescript) was stable and current among hundreds of documents. On the contrary, mid-third-century BCE documents display many variations. At that time, the

hypomnematic prescript had up to three parts: the label ὑπόμνημα, the addressee's name in the dative, and the sender clause παρά + genitive. I have selected all documents that include at least two of these three parts and imply a communication between two parties. The presence of the label ὑπόμνημα at the beginning of most third-century BCE *hypomnemata* creates what we can call an explicit prescript; when the label is absent, the prescript will be called implicit. From the end of the third century BCE onward, all Egyptian *hypomnemata* had implicit opening formulas.

This defining criterion had an impact on the selection of documents. Indeed, only if the initial lines of a document are preserved can we be sure that the writer chose to open it with the τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος formula. This problem is especially acute for the third-century BCE documents because, at the time, the typology of documentary papyri was fluid, and writers combined formulas in a freer way compared to later centuries. Therefore, in order to maintain the focus on the writers' perspective and not to twist the data, I had to restrict my research to documents whose initial lines are preserved. This criterion was consistently followed for Ptolemaic documents to track the progressive stabilisation of the writers' practice. Only documents with preserved initial lines were considered in the study of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. On the contrary, for early Roman documents, the reconstruction of the opening formula of documents is reliable because the typology of Greek documentary texts was clearly established, and the distinction between hypomnematic and non-hypomnematic texts was unequivocal. For this reason, in the last chapter, a few documents whose initial lines are lost but whose hypomnematic nature was beyond doubt were integrated into the discussion. However, the hypothetical reconstruction of their initial lines was always taken into consideration.

The adopted definition easily allows us to recognise which documents the present study includes. However, some ambiguities could arise because of the polysemy of some words in modern languages and the papyrological technical vocabulary. This concerns the words ὑπόμνημα and "letter". To avoid any misunderstanding, these issues will be briefly addressed here.

1.2.1.1 Some Potential Ambiguities 1: the Word ὑπόμνημα

When Ulrich Wilcken first established the definition of the *hypomnema*, he used an ancient word, ὑπόμνημα, and gave it a modern definition. He based this choice on ancient practices: in the few documents at his disposal, all dated second century BCE, scribes called

documents with hypomnematic opening formulas ὑπόμνημα⁴. This terminology, later supported by the discovery of third-century BCE documents with the explicit prescript ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, has established itself in research, and it seemed reasonable to stick to an existing label rather than invent a new one⁵. Nevertheless, using an ancient word for a modern concept makes room for two possible confusions. First, ὑπόμνημα does not only mean “document with a specific prescript” in ancient Greek but has a larger lexicographical spectrum. Not all writings called ὑπόμνημα or ὑπομνήματα by ancient writers conformed to the definition of *hypomnema* given by Wilcken and adopted in this study. Second, documents with hypomnematic opening formulas were not only called ὑπόμνημα by ancient scribes. Several labels existed, and labelling practices evolved.

Meaning of ὑπόμνημα in Ancient Greek

The word ὑπόμνημα is based on the root of μνήμη, which has two main meanings, memory and reminder; it is thus both the element that is kept in memory and the one which enters the memory. These same two ideas are present in the notion of μνήμα, the material object which serves to call to the mind of the viewer a person or an event of the past, be it already known or not. Thus, the verb μμνήσκω means “to remind someone of something” or “to put something in the mind of someone”, and its mediopassive counterpart μμνήσκομαι, much more frequent, means “to remember”, “to call to mind” and “to make mention of something”.

In prose, the compound verbs ἀναμμνήσκω and ὑπομμνήσκω are more common, μμνήσκω being mostly attested in poetry⁶. The prefix ἀνα- conveys the ideas of increase, of repetition, and of return backwards; ἀναμμνήσκω thus delivers the notion of recalling to memory or to mind, both in active (remind someone of something) and in middle-passive (to remember something). On the contrary, the prefix ὑπο- delivers the idea of agency: therefore, ὑπομμνήσκω means “to bring to one’s mind a memory, a mention, or a suggestion”, “to make him a mention”, “to remind him”, “to let him remember”. Its middle-passive version ὑπομμνήσκομαι (to remember), in which the idea of agency is less strong, is very rare. A ὑπόμνημα, in its primary sense, is the object that results from the action of ὑπομμνήσκω. This object also performs, in its turn, the action of ὑπομμνήσκω: it is a

⁴ Cf. WILCKEN 1887, 5. He based his definition on the following documents: P.Tor.Choach. 11 bis, l. 7; 12, l. 13; UPZ I 26, l. 9; II 218, col. ii, l. 1; l. 18; 219, l. 3; 220, l. 2; 221, col. ii, l. 4. Cf. MARTIN 2007, 663.

⁵ On the discovery of the explicit prescript, cf. WILCKEN 1920, 391; MARTIN 2007, 663–664.

⁶ While ἀναμμνήσκω and ὑπομμνήσκω are very common, all the other compounds of μμνήσκω are much rarer.

memory, a mention, a note that brings something to someone's attention. Thus, it often indicates monuments or inscriptions intended to remain as eternal memorials of something (e.g. the virtue of a honoured person or a dead man) but could also be used in more abstract meanings⁷.

ὑπόμνημα can define a written note, meant as a reminder of a piece of information or for the transmission of a new one. Following this idea, it also comes to mean different written records, such as the proceedings of a public body or a magistrate, or the archive for public documents. Various literary productions were also called ὑπομνήματα; the most frequent are treatises of diverse nature (for instance, philosophy or history) and exegetical commentaries to literary texts. The development of these various literary meanings was progressive and complex, as the partial overlap with other denominations shows (for instance, ἐφημερίδες, *commentarii*, or *acta*)⁸. These various writings only share an etymological link with the Graeco-Egyptian documents with hypomnematic opening; the many existing differences prevent us from using them to understand the formalities, style and content of the Egyptian documentation.

ὑπόμνημα as a written record also finds many applications in the technical vocabulary of the administration in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Some of its uses indicate documents with a hypomnematic prescript: already in the third century BCE, ὑπόμνημα meant petition, request, application or declaration. Nonetheless, already in the Ptolemaic period, the word took other technical meanings and could, for instance, designate orders from the authorities. In Roman times, the word ὑπόμνημα also designated documents that did not have a hypomnematic prescript, such as official registers, proceedings of various sorts, and official minutes⁹. Moreover, ὑπόμνημα always kept its more generic meaning in parallel to the technical ones¹⁰. Therefore, when a document is called ὑπόμνημα in a papyrus, this does not automatically mean that it had a hypomnematic opening formula, that it was a *hypomnema* according to our modern definition.

⁷ For all the analysis, cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἀναμνήσκω, μμνήσκω, μνήμα, μνήμη, ὑπομνήσκω, ὑπόμνημα; *DELG*, s.v. μμνήσκω; *DNP*, s.v. *commentarii*, ὑπόμνημα. On μνήμα and ὑπόμνημα as *nomina actionis*, cf. SCHWYZER 1939, 523; they both also represent the *nomina rei actae*, the objects that result from the action of remembering and reminding. For examples of ὑπόμνημα indicating monuments or inscriptions, cf. *infra*, chapter 2.1.1, and e.g. IG XII.9 192, l. 5-6.

⁸ On the complex nature of the literary ὑπομνήματα and their denominations, cf. BÖMER 1953; DURST 1989; AMBAGLIO 1990; RÜPKE 1992.

⁹ On the technical meaning of the word ὑπόμνημα, cf. P.Tebt. III.1 703, p. 68; *nFWB*, s.v. ὑπόμνημα; Quenouille 2019.

¹⁰ QUENOUILLE 2019, 675; cf. for instance BGU XVI 2668.

In this context, it is worth saying a few words on the function of the ὑπομνηματογράφος, a position known both in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. In Ptolemaic Egypt, he was based in Alexandria and was a secretary to the king¹¹. In early Roman Egypt, he was a municipal official of Alexandria¹². The title means “the one who writes ὑπομνήματα”, yet we can be sure that the word ὑπομνήματα did not mean in this context “documents with the opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός”. Indeed, from the end of the third century BCE, documents with hypomnematic opening formulas were sent from private individuals to the administration; their author was not a member of the administration in his official capacity. Moreover, in Ptolemaic Egypt, hypomnematic documents were never addressed to the king, under whose orders the Ptolemaic ὑπομνηματογράφος worked. Whatever the ὑπομνηματογράφος wrote, it was related to the other technical meanings of the word ὑπόμνημα (for instance, the acts or the orders of the king). Therefore, I will not consider it in this study.

Ancient Definitions for Hypomnematic Documents

Ulrich Wilcken’s choice of the term *hypomnema* relied on the practice of second-century BCE scribes. As Alain Martin remarked, “had he had access to documents from later centuries, [he] would have maybe adopted another definition for the documentary type that concerns us: for instance, *anaphorion*, or *biblidion*, whose usage was frequent in Roman times”¹³. Indeed, just as ὑπόμνημα did not only designate documents with hypomnematic opening formulas, likewise ancient scribes did not only call *hypomnemata* ὑπομνήματα.

Even avoiding the third century BCE, a period in which the terms designating ancient types of documents were not fixed, ancient scribes used many different words to designate documents with the prescript τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός, and their practice evolved¹⁴.

When considering scribal terminology, one must bear in mind that there existed two orders of words: those designating a document by its form and those designating it by its content¹⁵. This distinction is true for *hypomnemata*: there existed words used for all documents with

¹¹ COLLOMP 1926, 18–26; 114–115; P.Tebt. III.1 703, p. 69–70; FRASER 1972, 96–97; HUB 2011, 40–41; *nFWB*, s.v. ὑπομνηματογράφος, I; MANNING 2019, 108–109. According to P.Tebt. V 1151, p. 121, there were also ὑπομνηματογράφοι active at the nome level.

¹² WHITEHORNE 1987; *nFWB*, s.v. ὑπομνηματογράφος, II; KRUSE 2019, 124; 126. For more bibliography, cf. QUENOUILLE 2019, 680 n. 31, also concerning the office in the third and fourth centuries CE.

¹³ MARTIN 2007, 663 n. 8: “S’il avait eu accès à des documents des siècles ultérieurs, U. Wilcken aurait peut-être adopté une autre dénomination pour le type documentaire qui nous intéresse : par exemple, ἀναφόριον ou βιβλίδιον, d’un usage assez répandu à l’époque romaine”.

¹⁴ On the ambiguous usage of labels in the third century BCE, cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.2.1, section “Explicit VS Implicit Prescript: the ὑπόμνημα Label”, as well as WILCKEN 1924, 81.

¹⁵ Cf. on this BAETENS 2020a, 137–138; 217.

opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος that defined the general appearance of the document and words used only for subcategories of *hypomnemata* that defined the function of the specific subcategory, i.e. its content.

Definitions of the first type include ὑπόμνημα, attested from the Ptolemaic period, and ἀναφόριον, appearing in the late Ptolemaic – early Roman one. They were used for all sorts of documents with hypomnematic opening formulas, whatever their content¹⁶. Definitions of the second type are as numerous as the functions of *hypomnemata*. One can mention, for instance, ἀπογραφή, used for declarations¹⁷; βιβλίδιον, used for late Roman petitions¹⁸; μίσθωσις, used for Roman offers to lease¹⁹; προσάγγελμα, used for a subgroup of Ptolemaic petitions²⁰; ὑπόστασις, used for Ptolemaic offers for public auctions²¹.

One subgroup of hypomnematic documents is exceptional in this context, the so-called *synchoreseis*. They are typical Alexandrian contracts with formal specificities, notably a split opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος and a main text that can be objectively styled, i.e. written in the third person. Scribes do not usually designate them by the formal labels ὑπόμνημα or ἀναφόριον, nor do they use content labels such as μίσθωσις. They use a specific label, συγχώρησις, that designates this subgroup of hypomnematic documents by their specific form.

Therefore, although *hypomnemata* could be called ὑπομνήματα by ancient scribes, many other definitions circulated, so that the fact that a scribe used another word for a document does not exclude that it had a hypomnematic opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. As, in this study, the focus is on the scribal choices of formulas and not on their vocabulary, the dataset will be composed of documents opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, and not of documents designated as ὑπομνήματα by ancient scribes. Indeed, the two categories only partially overlap.

¹⁶ FOURNET 2010, 68; *nFWB*, s.v. ἀναφόριον; ὑπόμνημα; MASCELLARI 2021, 1104–1105.

¹⁷ AVOGADRO 1935, 131; HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 101; BAETENS 2020a, 137.

¹⁸ MASCELLARI 2021, 1106.

¹⁹ QUENOUILLE 2019, 680.

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, chapters 3.1.3.1 and 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 217–218; SKARSOULI 2020, 18–19. In Roman times, the same term could designate liturgy nominations, another group of hypomnematic documents, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 218 with n. 352.

²¹ BAETENS 2020a, 138.

1.2.1.2 Some Potential Ambiguities 2: the Word “Letter”

The definition of a letter is a complex matter²². Nevertheless, there are two classes of definitions for the word “letter”. According to the current English definition, a letter is “a written or printed message from one person to another” in the Cambridge English Dictionary and “a written communication addressed to a person” in the Oxford English Dictionary. Such a general meaning encompasses both ancient written forms of communication, the one opening ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν and the one opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος.

In ancient Greek, on the contrary, there is a stark perception of the difference between the two groups. Theorists of ancient epistolography only consider “χαίρειν” formulas appropriate for opening a letter, and their lists of the standard contents of letters never include the typical content of *hypomnemata*²³. Likewise, in papyri, scribes do not usually label petitions, declarations and other standard hypomnematic documents as ἐπιστολή, the standard ancient word for letters.

The existence of these two orders of definitions for the word “letter” has created misunderstandings when discussing whether *hypomnemata* are letters²⁴. Indeed, some scholars include *hypomnemata* among letters, implicitly adopting the contemporary, general definition of a letter (a written message from one person to another)²⁵. Ulrich Wilcken himself, when first defining the *hypomnema* in 1887, considered it a “Briefform”, a type of letter²⁶. Others, on the contrary, consider *hypomnemata* and letters two separate groups of documents, implicitly adopting the ancient definition of a letter (a written exchange opening ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν); this is the most common position among papyrologists²⁷.

²² Cf. CECCARELLI 2013, 8–10; SARRI 2018, 5–6.

²³ For the prescript of letters in ancient epistolary theory, cf. Lib. *Characteres epistolici* 51: οὕτως ἀπάρχεσθαι ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, “it is fitting to start so: someone to someone, greetings”. For the types of letters in ancient epistolary theory, cf. POSTER 2007, 28–30; only the παρακλητικὴ ἐπιστολή may resemble *hypomnemata*, notably petitions (cf. Lib. *Characteres epistolici* 7: παρακλητικὴ δι’ ἧς ἀξιουμέν τινα διὰ τι πρᾶγμα, “the request letter, through which we make someone a request because of something”). For ancient epistolary theory, cf. KOSKENNIEMI 1956, 18–63; MALHERBE 1988; TRAPP 2003, 42–46; 180–193; 316–326; POSTER 2007; CECCARELLI 2013, 2–10 with further bibliography.

²⁴ A similar observation in SARRI 2018, 15, concerning the various epistolary documents.

²⁵ E.g. WHITE 1972. There may be occasional mentions of *hypomnemata* in works devoted to letters, e.g. SARRI 2018, 14–15, but these works do not usually integrate *hypomnemata* in their corpora. On similar problems in older bibliography, cf. COLLOMP 1926, 64–65.

²⁶ WILCKEN 1887, 4.

²⁷ Cf. MARTIN 2007, 662 n. 6; MASCELLARI 2021, 1008. The same is true among Demoticists, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 329–330.

In this work, I have used the second, restricted, and ancient definition of a letter and only applied the word “letter” to ancient documents implying a communication between two individuals opening with the χαίρειν formula. I did so because the perspective of the ancient writer is crucial to my research, and from their perspective, only an ἐπιστολή was a letter, and it opened with the formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν or a variation of this²⁸. A *hypomnema* is a written form of communication, but it is not an ἐπιστολή.

There is another reason for adhering to the restricted definition of the word “letter”. Indeed, the modern definition of a letter goes on to say that a letter is “usually put in an envelope and delivered as mail” (Cambridge English Dictionary) or that it is “sent by post or messenger” (Oxford English Dictionary). The notion of distant delivery is also present in the ancient word ἐπιστολή, from ἐπιστέλλω, to send²⁹. However, *hypomnemata* are not usually sent but directly given to their addressee³⁰. Therefore, they do not fully fulfil the modern definition of “letter”, just as they do not fulfil the ancient one.

For these reasons, in this work, *hypomnemata* are not considered letters, and the word “letter” is only used for ancient written messages sent through a messenger and opening with the χαίρειν formula. This choice conforms to the ancient practice and stresses that two different types of written communication existed, with two different openings. The difference between these two ancient forms of written communication will be discussed when studying the origin of the *hypomnema*³¹.

1.2.2 Formal Focus

1.2.2.1 Formal Characteristics and the Typology of Hypomnemata

The choices of the writer of an ancient document were not limited to the opening formula of the text. Indeed, to turn a piece of information into a fully written document, he had to choose the writing support, its size and shape. Then he needed to identify the appropriate formulas to structure the text, and how to place the different elements on the support. These procedures still exist today; for instance, to write a letter of application, we must fit all the necessary information on a standard-size sheet of paper and include the address, subject,

²⁸ Cf. SARRI 2018, 16.

²⁹ CECCARELLI 2013, 17–18; SARRI 2018, 15–19.

³⁰ Cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.2.4, as well as BICKERMANN 1930a, 170–172; BAETENS 2020a, 219–223, with full list of arguments and literature

³¹ Cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.4.2.

epistolary phrases, and signature; these conventions change according to country, and not knowing them may jeopardise the chances of success.

Of course, the more trained a writer was, the more his choices were informed. Nevertheless, most of the time, we know nothing about the person who actually wrote a *hypomnema*. It need not be the same as the person mentioned as the author of the text, the τοῦ δεῖνοϋ of the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνοϋ. Although one can try to evaluate a writer's degree of competence from a document's internal characteristics, it is impossible to group documents accordingly and draw clear lines between the professional, literate or semi-literate writer. Therefore, I have not tried to study the choices of writers in relation to their training and competence.

Each choice of the ancient writer becomes a characteristic of the final document. In this study, I focused on five groups of characteristics. First, I look at the format of the *hypomnemata*, i.e. the shape and physical properties of the writing support. Second, I consider the layout of the *hypomnema*, i.e. the disposition of the text on the sheet³². Third, I examine all the formulaic elements in the text, i.e. formulas that writers repeated across many texts. Fourth, I deal with the content of the text, i.e. the specific piece of information transmitted by a *hypomnema*. Finally, I study all additions that the addressee added to the document after it was completed and submitted; I collectively call these additions “process notes”.

By looking at shared characteristics, one can order documents into types, groups of documents that share some common and distinctive features³³. Once we study the relations among groups, we create a typology. Documents can be ordered variously; therefore, many typologies exist for the same ensembles. Depending on each scholar's goal, every typology will look at different characteristics. In this case, I will focus on formal characteristics to track the choices of ancient writers and the reasons behind them, and I will classify and study documents according to their general structure, not only their informative content. For instance, I will not order petitions according to the type of offence; instead, I will look at the chosen request formula. In this, I follow the structural approach to ancient documents followed by the *grammateus* project³⁴.

³² For the same distinction, cf. SARRI 2018, 87.

³³ KRUSCHWITZ – HALLA-AHO 2007, 43.

³⁴ BONAGURA ET AL. 2023; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023a.

1.2.2.2 Format and Layout: Some Definitions and the Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll

Except for a few ostraca, scribes wrote *hypomnemata* on a sheet of papyrus³⁵. As mentioned, I call format the shape and physical properties of the sheet and layout the disposition of the text on the sheet³⁶. Scribes cut each sheet from a papyrus roll, either before or after writing the text³⁷. The scribal manipulation of the papyrus roll dictates the shape and fibre orientation of these sheets. To understand these properties, some basic knowledge of the physical properties of the papyrus roll is fundamental³⁸.

A papyrus roll is composed of multiple sheets glued together; researchers call *kolleseis* the joints between the sheets and *kollema* the joint line. The length of a roll varied; its average height was more than 35 cm in the first half of the third century, decreased to ca. 32 cm around 250-230 BCE and diminished progressively to an average height of 25-30 cm from the first century BCE onward³⁹. On the inner side of the roll, the fibres ran parallel to the length and were thus perpendicular to the *kolleseis*; on the outer side, the fibres were perpendicular to the length and parallel to the *kolleseis* (Fig. 1.1).

³⁵ For a synthetic discussion of ancient writing materials, cf. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN 2009.

³⁶ For the same definition of format and layout, cf. SARRI 2018, 87.

³⁷ On this point, cf. JOHNSON 2004, 88.

³⁸ The description of the papyrus roll relies heavily on TURNER 1978, especially 11–17. ČERNÝ 1985, who independently reached the same conclusions concerning pharaonic Egypt, is also helpful, as is WILCKEN 1912, XXVIII–XXXI. Concerning the *kollesis*, useful complements to TURNER 1978, 20 are offered by P.Oxy. LI 3624-3626, p. 61; P.Harr. II 212, p. 115.

³⁹ DEPAUW 2002, 88–97; DEPAUW 2006, 74; DEPAUW 2012, 312–313; SARRI 2018, 76–77. The pattern is different for literary papyri, cf. JOHNSON 2004, 141–143.

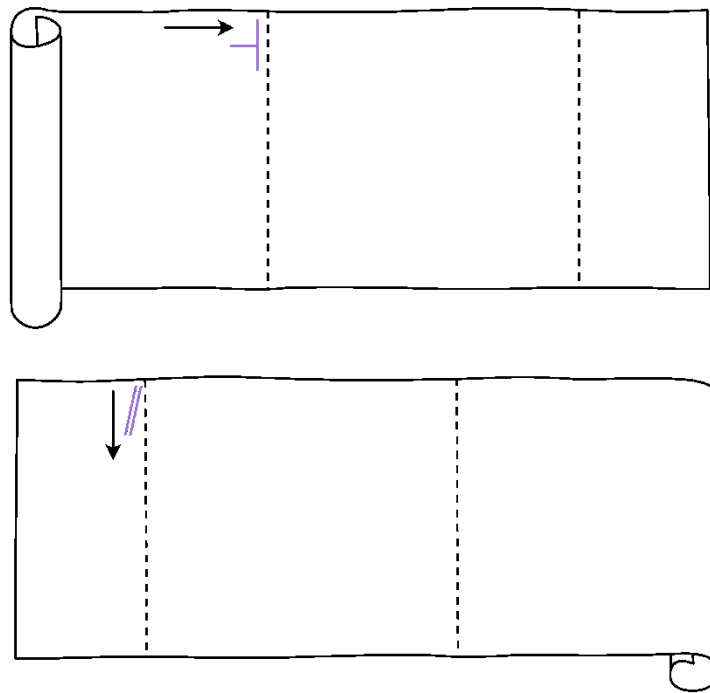


Fig. 1.1: Graphical representation of the relation between fibres and kolleseis. On the inside of the roll, the fibres run perpendicular to the kolleseis. On the outside of the roll, they run parallel.

When preparing a document, scribes cut a sheet from the roll regardless of the position of the *kolleseis*; the sheet could thus have a *kollesis* in its middle, on one side or none. Once a sheet had been cut from the roll, it could be written on both sides; the relation between the orientation of the fibres and that of the *kolleseis* is the surest way to identify whether the text is on the inside or outside of the original roll. In order to avoid any confusion with the problematic words “recto” and “verso”, I speak of inside and outside of the roll when referring to its anatomy; regarding the sheet, I always consider that the front is the side bearing the *hypomnema* and the back the other, no matter which is the inside and which the outside of the original roll.

The text could be arranged in columns whose lines ran parallel to the length of the roll; thus, the writing went along the fibres on the inside and against them on the outside of the roll. Usually, one document has only one column of a minimum width of 10 cm and large margins. This format is called *pagina*. In the first centuries of the Ptolemaic period, documents written parallel to the length of the roll on narrower columns with almost no margins are also attested; since this was the format of contemporary Demotic letters, it has

been specifically called Demotic format by Antonia Sarri⁴⁰. In addition, a roll could also be turned at an angle of ninety degrees and then written perpendicularly to its length; the writing thus runs against the fibres on the inside of the roll and along them on the outside (Fig. 1.2). This specific arrangement is usually called *transversa charta*, following an expression found in Suetonius⁴¹.

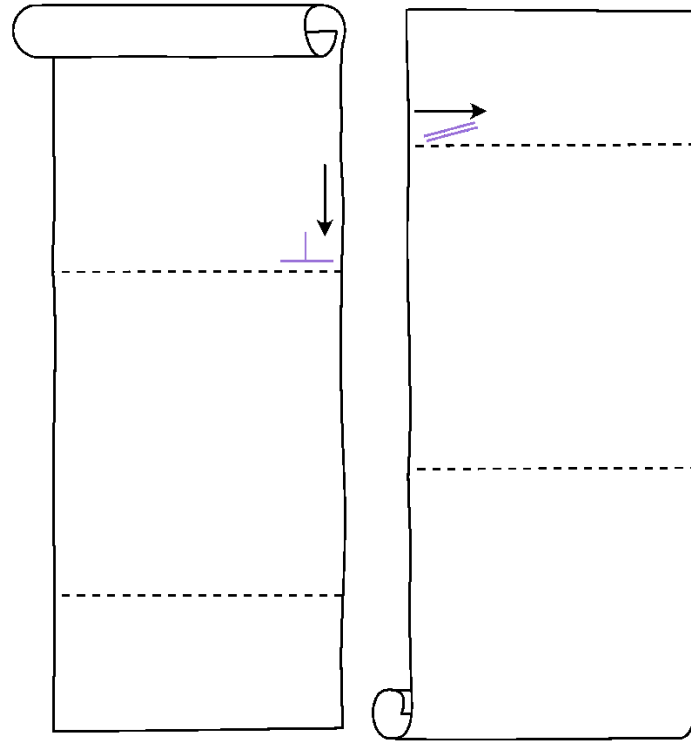


Fig. 1.2: Graphical representation of the *transversa charta* disposition of the roll. The fibres still run perpendicular to kolleseis on the interior of the roll and parallel to kolleseis on the exterior. However, since the roll has been turned at an angle of ninety degrees, the fibres run perpendicular to the text on the interior of the roll, and parallel to the text on the exterior.

I call text block the most basic layout attested: a text written in a column whose lines have a constant length and where no element stands out. The ancient scribes could arrange their lines otherwise, thus highlighting some parts of the content through the layout. First, they could leave some parts of the sheet willingly unwritten, inside a line, at its end, or between

⁴⁰ SARRI 2018, 95–97.

⁴¹ Suet. *Iul.* 56.6 and the commentary TURNER 1978, 32. On the different formats, cf. SARRI 2018, 91–105; on the *transversa charta* format, cf. also TURNER 1978, 26–53; ČERNÝ 1985, 21–22. As WILCKEN 1912, XXX–XXXI already pointed out, “Ob die Schrift auf dem Recto parallel der Höhe oder der Breite steht, also ob sie mit den Fasern oder gegen die Fasern läuft, ist eine Frage, die mit der nach Recto und Verso gar nichts zu schaffen hat”, “whether the writing on the recto [i.e. the interior of the roll] ran parallel to the height or the width of the roll, i.e. along or against the fibres, is a question that has nothing to do with that of the recto and verso [i.e. of the interior and exterior of the roll]”. On the formats of Demotic letters, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 72–74; Demotic *transversa charta* letters are attested in the early documents down to the third century BCE, whereas the vertical format is preferred from then onward.

lines; they are usually called blanks⁴². Some of these blanks were supposed to be filled in later by another person: in these cases, they are called windows⁴³. Line indentations are also attested: scholars usually call them *ektheseis* when the line shifts to the left and *eistheseis* when it shifts to the right⁴⁴. Blanks and indentations could be combined; for example, the final greeting formula of a document was often placed in *eisthesis* after a blank. Another attested graphic feature is the so-called *paragraphos*: a small hyphen placed on the left of the columns between lines, usually separating blocks of text that would correspond to modern paragraphs⁴⁵.

1.2.3 Chronological, Geographical and Linguistic Limits of the Study

This analysis focuses on Greek documents from Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt. Egypt has a special position among ancient Greek-writing regions because of its dry climate, which allows the preservation of organic materials that would decay in other regions. Ancient writing supports, and notably papyrus, count among them. For this reason, Egypt is the only place in the ancient world where hundreds of *hypomnemata* have been preserved, recovered, published, and are therefore available for study.

Nevertheless, we should not believe that the *hypomnema* was only an Egyptian phenomenon⁴⁶. It is the eternal problem of Egyptian documentation: how much of what seems to be an Egyptian particularity is indeed specific to Egypt and its peculiar history and geography, and how much comes from the fact that we are better informed concerning Egypt rather than any other region of the ancient world? In the case of the *hypomnema*, this type of document was certainly known outside Egypt. Three groups of documents indicate this: some second-century BCE inscriptions from the Hellenistic kingdoms⁴⁷; some first, second and third-century CE inscriptions from the eastern Roman empire⁴⁸; some third-

⁴² On blanks, or *vacat*, cf. MARTIN 2020. He distinguishes three types of blanks: ample spaces left on purpose to be filled, smaller spaces used to structure a text (e.g. separating syntactical units), and accidental blanks due to the contingencies of writing. The first category is here called a window, following SCHUBERT 2018a.

⁴³ On windows, cf. SCHUBERT 2018a.

⁴⁴ Cf. MARTIN 2020, 189.

⁴⁵ On such layout devices on literary papyri, cf. TURNER – PARSONS 1987, 8; the same terminology is in use for documentary ones.

⁴⁶ Cf. MARTIN 2007, 664–666; BAETENS 2020a, 3; 70.

⁴⁷ SEG XIII 403; XLI 1556; 1574 (republished in HEINRICHS 2018, with corrections in SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2018, 378–382; CHRUBASIK 2019; also known as the Hefzibah stele, TM 754949 = 882712); XLVI 1519. Cf. MARTIN 2007, 664–666; BAETENS 2020a, 3; 69–70.

⁴⁸ HAUKEN, *Petitions* I.1 5; 6; I.2 1; I.Ephesos II 213; SEG XLIX 1676 = AE 1999, 1534; LVIII 1536 = AE 2008, 1349 (republished by JONES 2009).

century CE papyri from the Judean and Syrian deserts⁴⁹. There is also one mention of a hypomnematic document in Flavius Josephus, but its authenticity is uncertain⁵⁰. These documents remind us that the Egyptian specificity was not the usage of the *hypomnema* but its preservation. Although this study focuses on the Nile valley, these non-Egyptian *hypomnemata* will be summoned when studying the origin of the *hypomnema*.

Although the majority of *hypomnemata* were discovered in Egypt, each of them has at least three geographical links: the place of origin, where the document was written; the destination, where the document was sent and stored; the findspot, where the document was discovered – the last is often unknown. The place of writing is the most important parameter for this study since it is where the writer fixed the format, layout, and formulas of a text. Unless otherwise specified, the provenance of a document is always its place of writing in the following work.

Historical circumstances dictate the upper chronological limit. With the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, Greek became the administrative language of the Nile valley, and by the mid-third century BCE, a sizeable corpus of Greek papyri from Egypt entered the preserved record. The earliest *hypomnemata* date to the mid-third century BCE and are among the earliest preserved Greek papyri. Nevertheless, to study the origin of *hypomnemata*, earlier non-papyrological documentation has been summoned. The results indicate that the creation of the *hypomnema* was not much earlier than the earliest preserved Greek papyri from Egypt, so this upper boundary also has value concerning the history of the *hypomnema*.

Feasibility issues dictated the lower chronological limit. The history of the *hypomnema* continued well after the first century CE, but the corpus would reach such dimensions that a monograph could not do it justice and would be beyond the reach of a single author⁵¹. Moreover, another scholar, Serena Causo, is completing a PhD thesis on the materiality of *hypomnemata* from Roman and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus at the University of Ghent, and therefore, it seemed reasonable to close this study where hers begins.

⁴⁹ P.Euphrates 1-5 = SB XXII 15496-15500; SB XXVIII 17044. One additional second-century document from the Judean desert, P.Yadin I 13, is probably a *hypomnema*, as it opens τῷ δεῖνι ἀξίωμα [παρὰ τοῦ δεῖν]ος. Cf. MARTIN 2007, 672–673; MASCELLARI 2021, 4–6.

⁵⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 12.258-261, cf. MARTIN 2007, 664–665. The document preserved in this text closely corresponds to the *hypomnemata* preserved as inscriptions in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Flavius Josephus calls it ἐπιστολή in his main text (Joseph. *AJ* 12.258), but this is a literary, non-technical use of this word (cf. SARRI 2018, 15); when he applies the technical vocabulary, he uses the word ὑπόμνημα (Joseph. *AJ* 12.262).

⁵¹ For an overview of the *hypomnema* evolution during the fourth century CE, cf. MARTIN 2007, 670–674.

Finally, Greek is the only language in which a sizeable corpus of *hypomnemata* is preserved. Moreover, *hypomnemata* seem to originate among Greek writers and then spread to other languages, notably Demotic Egyptian⁵². As for the choice of the upper limit, the linguistic delimitation of the corpus has both factual and historical value.

1.3 Broader Research Trends

The *hypomnema* has seldom been the object of a self-standing study; besides Ulrich Wilcken's original article, there is only a presentation by Alain Martin at the 24th International Congress of Papyrology published in 2007. He made some preliminary observations on three points: the origin of the *hypomnema* (both as a modern concept and as an ancient document), its layout, and its evolution in Byzantine Egypt⁵³. In addition, two scholars working on Ptolemaic petitions also made some more general observations on the *hypomnema*. In the 1930s, Elias Bickermann made some general observations on the origin of the *hypomnema* while studying the difference between various types of petitions in Ptolemaic Egypt⁵⁴. More recently, Gert Baetens gathered all Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* in his PhD on Ptolemaic petitions and analysed the various formulas appearing in them⁵⁵. He classified *hypomnemata* into two groups, with and without petitioning function, but realised that one could not study petitions without considering other contemporary documents with similar prescripts. He also studied the Demotic equivalent of the *hypomnema*, the *mḳmḳ*⁵⁶. Nevertheless, a synthesis on this ubiquitous category of ancient documents is still missing.

This study is situated at the intersection of three research trends: the study of *hypomnemata*, the typology of Greek documentary papyri, and the materiality of ancient texts. Although a general synthesis on the *hypomnema* is missing, numerous studies are dedicated to specific subcategories of *hypomnemata*. Sometimes, the goal was to gather corpora and establish the basic characteristics of one type of *hypomnema*; on other occasions, the corpus was the basis for answering wider historiographical questions. Without these individual studies, a synthesis on the *hypomnema* would be impossible.

These works usually centre on functional groups of *hypomnemata*. A typical example consists of studies concerning petitions, the largest group of preserved *hypomnemata*.

⁵² Cf. *infra*, chapter 2.1.2. On the link between Demotic *mḳmḳ* and Greek *hypomnemata*, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 327; BAETENS 2014a, 36; BAETENS 2020a, 152 n. 208.

⁵³ MARTIN 2007; cf. also MARTIN 2008.

⁵⁴ BICKERMANN 1930a.

⁵⁵ BAETENS 2020a.

⁵⁶ BAETENS 2014a; BAETENS 2020a, 151–168.

There is no overall study of petitions, but several scholars have studied Ptolemaic and Roman petitions⁵⁷. Two recent corpora were published, one concerning Ptolemaic and one concerning Roman petitions⁵⁸; they are the basis for accessing the older bibliography on the topic⁵⁹. Petitions have also been the basis for studies on the society of Ptolemaic or Roman Egypt⁶⁰.

Hypomnemata were also used when people had to make a declaration to the administration; many sorts of declarations existed, such as census, death and property. In their case, most existing studies rely on these declarations to address larger questions concerning the administrative apparatus of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, their demography, or their economy⁶¹. Compared to petitions, stand-alone repertoires of texts and formulas are less frequent, although not completely absent⁶².

Another functional group of *hypomnemata* that has received much attention is the so-called offers to lease. They are at the centre of a debate on whether or not they are contracts, a debate with larger implications on the question of what is a contract and what is the difference between the Greek and the Roman concept of the contract; this question has received much attention from juridical papyrologists⁶³. Offers to lease and *synchoreseis* are also analysed in works on the typology of contracts⁶⁴.

Many of these studies on subcategories of *hypomnemata* contributed to the bibliography on the typology of Greek documentary papyri. There are two categories of typological studies: those focused more on the structure of documents, and those focused more on their content.

⁵⁷ Among the few works covering Ptolemaic and Roman petitions together is WHITE 1972, yet it is based on a very limited corpus, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 12.

⁵⁸ BAETENS 2020a; MASCELLARI 2021. Gert Baetens's corpus of Ptolemaic petitions superseded the previous articles by DI BITONTO 1967; DI BITONTO 1968; DI BITONTO 1976, themselves superseding CAVASSINI 1955. Roberto Mascellari's monograph is the first published attempt at a systematic corpus of Roman petitions; in general, the corpus of Roman petitions is much larger than that of Ptolemaic petitions, therefore older studies have mostly focused on subgroups of petitions, e.g. those addressed to the same official or pertaining to the same problem.

⁵⁹ For an overview of the bibliography on Ptolemaic petitions, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 3–5; on Roman petitions, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 12–14.

⁶⁰ E.g. KELLY 2011; BAUSCHATZ 2013.

⁶¹ E.g. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952; BALCONI 1990; KRUSE 2002; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006; JÖRDENS 2009; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010; ARMONI 2012; LANGELLOTTI 2012; KRUSE 2013; KRUSE 2015.

⁶² E.g. AVOGADRO 1935; NELSON 1979; BALCONI 1984; CASARICO 1985.

⁶³ E.g. HERRMANN 1958; ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962; KRÄNZLEIN 1982; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007. The unpublished dissertation by WEISER 1952 (on which cf. SEIDL 1962, 358–359), despite its broad title, only concerns offers to lease.

⁶⁴ E.g. WOLFF 1978. The typology of contracts often opens works dealing with specific categories of contracts, such as HERRMANN 1958; MÜLLER 1985.

The first approach was favoured in the first half of the twentieth century; at the time, scholars focused on the formulas of Greek documentary papyri⁶⁵. This approach has never disappeared; it has remained, for instance, in the systematisation of the typology of contracts by Hans Julius Wolff⁶⁶. The second approach was favoured in the second half of the twentieth century, especially in handbooks giving a broad overview of papyrology⁶⁷.

Finally, the larger availability of images of papyri has recently made observing the material features of documents more accessible⁶⁸. This evolution induced an increase in the study of the structure of documentary papyri, based not only on their formulas but on their overall characteristics. Among the strongest advocates of this holistic structural analysis is Jean-Luc Fournet, who often defended the necessity of a “meaningful palaeography” of Greek documentary papyri⁶⁹. Many studies on specific practices or types of texts recently published integrated the observation of material features of documentary texts⁷⁰.

I aim to study *hypomnemata* in detail as a stand-alone topic. I will make a synthesis of all existing studies on individual categories, apply to *hypomnemata* the structural approach of the typology of Greek documentary papyri, and integrate their material features in the analysis. I will also apply a chronological focus, studying how *hypomnemata* evolved over time. The product will be neither a full corpus nor a repertoire of formulas, because such work would contain many poorly preserved and hardly usable documents and would soon be outdated by the publication of new documents. Rather, I aim at an analytical study of this evolution, focusing on exemplarity rather than exhaustivity. Ultimately, I hope to give editors, readers and users of ancient Greek documents on papyrus a better sense of these texts.

I have divided the history of the *hypomnema* into three phases, each prompting specific questions. First, I have looked at documentation down to the mid-third century BCE, trying to understand the origin of the *hypomnema* and how it progressively emerged as a new form of written communication. Second, I have looked at the remaining Ptolemaic

⁶⁵ Examples of such studies applied to *hypomnemata* are COLLOMP 1926; BICKERMANN 1930a; BICKERMANN 1930b; GUÉRAUD 1931; HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942.

⁶⁶ WOLFF 1978.

⁶⁷ E.g. MONTEVECCHI 1973, 86–89; PALME 2009.

⁶⁸ Cf. BAGNALL 2016.

⁶⁹ FOURNET 2007; FOURNET 2022; FOURNET 2023. He applied this vision in various studies on late-antique documents, e.g. FOURNET 2004; FOURNET 2009; FOURNET 2013; FOURNET 2019.

⁷⁰ E.g. SCHUBERT 2016, on *libelli*; SARRI 2018, on material features of Ptolemaic and Roman letters; AMORY 2019, on the π opening some late-antique letters; MIRIZIO 2021, on embedded letters in early Ptolemaic documents.

documentation, observing the specialisation of the *hypomnema* in the communication from one external individual to the administration and questioning the impact of this specialisation on its perception. Third, I have considered Julio-Claudian and Flavian documents, questioning the impact of the Roman conquest and the change of administration on the use of *hypomnemata* and the related scribal practices. The result will be an evolutive definition of the *hypomnema* and a synthesis of the formal aspects and specific functions of this group of documents.

2 The Origin of the *Hypomnema*

A study of the origin of the *hypomnema* is still missing¹. The earliest preserved Greek *hypomnemata* date as far back as the reign of Ptolemy II and are among the oldest preserved Greek papyri from Egypt². They use an archaic version of the opening, ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, and present a low level of standardisation, be it formally (format, layout, formulas) or functionally (the content). They do not seem to follow any fully established typology and differ significantly from the later *hypomnemata* in both material aspect and content. At this time, the characteristics of *hypomnemata* were not yet fixed; in this regard, they differ from letters, whose essential features date as far back as the fourth century BCE, as the non-papyrological documentation shows³.

Addressing the question of the origin of the *hypomnema* means asking when, where, how and why it was developed. To conduct such an analysis, one should proceed in two steps: first, investigate the older documentation in order to establish whether this type already existed or not before the Ptolemaic period; second, take into consideration the papyri dated to the third century BCE, with their diversity and gradual uniformisation in both material and textual features, and establish their place in the history of the type. Combining these two steps allows a better understanding of the origin of the *hypomnemata*.

2.1 The *Hypomnema* Before the Zenon Archive

The absence of preserved documents with hypomnematic opening formulas before the third century BCE does not mean that they did not exist at an earlier date, either in the Greek or in the Egyptian tradition. For example, although the earliest Greek letters on papyrus date to the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, there are earlier attestations of this category of documents, be it materially, on lead sheets found chiefly along the Black Sea shore, or through unambiguous mentions of the word ἐπιστολή in the literary tradition. The epistolary type usual in papyri, characterised by the opening formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, is fixed during the fourth century BCE; older letters are known, but they are

¹ MARTIN 2007, 666 made the case of a Greek origin of the hypomenma based on the existence of parallels in all Macedonian kingdoms, but his paper aimed to ask the question more than provide a definitive answer.

² Cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.

³ CECCARELLI 2013; DANA 2021, 346.

inconsistent concerning the adopted formulas, with neither opening nor salutations standardised⁴.

Similarly, one should investigate whether the hypomnematic type of written communication existed before the Greek papyrological documentation began. Indeed, some scribal traditions may have influenced the situation of the mid-third century BCE in Egypt, when both the letter and the *hypomnema* were used for communication. One may consider the classical Greek tradition and the Egyptian scribal practice in Demotic. Aramaic epistolography, which was generally in use in the Persian empire and, more specifically, in Achaemenid Egypt, may also have been the cradle of the *hypomnema*. These three traditions are considered in the following pages, looking for older traces of the hypomnematic type of written communication.

2.1.1 Classical Greece

Since, to my knowledge, no older Greek document in hypomnematic form has been discovered so far, the only way to evaluate the plausibility of a Greek origin of the type is to look for unambiguous attestations of it in the literary tradition⁵. The word ὑπόμνημα, central in the early version of the hypomnematic prescript, is attested in classical literature. However, because of its polysemy, it does not exclusively designate hypomnematic documents. Even when it refers to written texts, one must prove that these texts were not just called ὑπομνήματα but transmitted a piece of information between two people; only then can we speak of hypomnematic documents.

Some occurrences both in literature and in epigraphy demonstrate the non-exclusive relation between the word ὑπόμνημα and the hypomnematic documents. The oldest mentions of the word, found in Thucydides' speeches, have very abstract meanings and denote the mnemonic function of actions or words:

χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὅν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων
εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε. (Thuc. 2.44.2)

⁴ On the archaic and classical letters, cf. CECCARELLI 2013; SARRI 2018, 40–42; 53–56; 87–90; DANA 2021, 344–347. For a corpus of epigraphical archaic and classical letters, cf. DANA 2021.

⁵ The formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δείνοϋ has been restored in two lead letters dated to the sixth and the fifth century BCE, DANA, *Corresp. gr. privée* 5; 23 (cf. DANA 2021, 344–345), but in both cases, the preservation of the text does not suffice to confirm the restitution (same observation in SARRI 2018, 42 n. 181).

I know it is hard to persuade you since you will often have reminders in the joys of others of those things in which you also took pleasure in the past.

νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων
βραχεῖ ὑπομνήματι καὶ παραινέσει τὰ μέγιστα πειράσομαι πείθειν.

(Thuc. 4.126.1)

Now, facing the defection of some of ours and the multitude of adversaries, I will try to persuade you of the most important things through a short reminder and an exhortation.

This kind of abstract meaning remains in use later on; a typical example is the frequent combination of ὑπόμνημα designating an abstract or concrete object with a memorial function with a genitive indicating of what this object reminds. The most famous occurrence of such wording in the fourth century BCE is the so-called oath of Plataea, an oath allegedly sworn before the battle of 479 preserved in one speech by Lycurgus whose authenticity has been disputed since Antiquity⁶. According to the orator, it was sworn, among other things, that:

τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμνησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν
ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἑάσω
καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας. (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 81)

I will not rebuild any of the temples burnt and thrown down by the barbarians at all, but I will let them remain as a reminder for the posterity of the impiety of the barbarians.

Such a clause with ὑπόμνημα followed by a genitive, sometimes designating the stele itself, is very common in inscriptions; among the oldest occurrences is an Eretrian decree of 308/307 BCE:

ὅπως ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ᾗ, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (...).

(IG XII.9 192, l. 5-6)

⁶ Cf. Diod. Sic. 11.29.2-3. The oath is also preserved in a fourth-century BCE inscription, OSBORNE – RHODES, *GHI* 88, yet without the ὑπόμνημα-clause. Already Theopompos denied its authenticity, cf. *FGrH* 115 F 153. Modern scholarship is divided; VON SIEWERT 1972 is the main supporter of the authenticity of the oath, but he too rejects the ὑπόμνημα-clause, cf. VON SIEWERT 1972, 102–108; on the rejection of the oath as a fourth-century BCE forgery, cf. OSBORNE – RHODES, *GHI* 88, p. 443–449; CARTLEDGE 2013, For a summary of the debate, cf. CARTLEDGE 2013, 170–171; ROISMAN – EDWARDS 2019, 166–170. The ὑπόμνημα-clause of the oath reflects the use of the word during the fourth century BCE.

So that there will be a reminder of this day, the council and the people have decided (...).

Although in some occurrences, the word ὑπόμνημα indicates written documents, these are primarily intended for the author's own use (γράφομαι) and were never sent to an addressee. All known occurrences of this usage confirm this, starting with Plato's dialogical fiction, in which ὑπομνήματα are written notes used to recall instructions of a professor or a doctor (Pl. *Plt.* 295c) or discussions with Socrates:

ἀλλ' ἐγραψάμην μὲν τότε εὐθὺς οἴκαδ' ἐλθὼν ὑπομνήματα, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναμνησκόμενος ἔγραφον, καὶ ὅσας Ἀθήναζε ἀφικοίμην, ἐπανηρώτων τὸν Σωκράτη ὃ μὴ ἐμεμνήμην, καὶ δεῦρο ἐλθὼν ἐπηνορθούμην·
(Pl. *Tht.* 143a)

But I made notes at the time as soon as I reached home, then afterwards at my leisure, as I recalled things, I wrote them down, and whenever I went to Athens I used to ask Socrates about what I could not remember, and then I came here and made corrections⁷.

Also in the fourth century BCE, Aeneas Tacticus calls ὑπομνήματα some notes meant to help recall announcements for the king:

Γλοῦς δὲ βασιλέως ναύαρχος, παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβάς, ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ὑπομνήματα ἐν βιβλίῳ ἔχοντα εἰσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα (ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων διαμνημονευτέον), ἐγράψατο εἰς τὰ διαστήματα τῆς χειρὸς τῶν δακτύλων περὶ ὧν ῥητέον ἦν αὐτῷ. (Aen. *Tact.* 31.35)

Glous, admiral of the king, coming before him, since it was not allowed to come before the king having notes on a roll (and he had to remember many and important things), wrote on the space between his hand's fingers what he had to say to him.

The context, as well as the middle form ἐγράψατο, make clear that these are personal notes. Such is also the case of some ὑπομνήματα presented by Demosthenes during a trial. The orator explicitly claims that these texts are only reminders written for his own use (ἐμαυτῷ γέγραμμαι):

⁷ Translation by Harold N. Fowler, *LCL* 123, 1921.

Ἄ δ' ἐστὶ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα, ταῦτ' ἐρῶ. μᾶλλον δ' ἐκεῖνο ποιήσω·
ἀναγνώσομαι μὲν ὑμῖν, ὥς ἐμαυτῷ γέγραμμαι, πάντα τὰ ὑπομνήματα.
(Dem. 21.129-130)

I will confine myself to the most important and clearest examples. Or rather, this is what I propose to do. I will read you all my memoranda, just as I wrote them out for my own use⁸.

Such generic use is probably behind the first usages of the word ὑπόμνημα to indicate literary works, to be found in Xenophon's *Hipparchicus* and *On Horsemanship*, where he calls the summaries of his suggestions ὑπομνήματα⁹.

Another use of the word ὑπόμνημα indicating written documents comes from the speech against Timotheos, preserved within the Demosthenic corpus but usually attributed to Apollodoros, son of the banker Pasion¹⁰. This text mentions different bank documents, γράμματα and ὑπομνήματα, used to assess the money movements and the amounts of four loans that Timotheos, the famous general son of Conon, is accused of not having refunded¹¹.

Apollodoros states that bankers are known for taking accounts of the incoming and outcoming money:

οἱ γὰρ τραπεζίται εἰώθασιν ὑπομνήματα γράφεσθαι ὧν τε διδόασιν χρημάτων καὶ εἰς ὃ τι καὶ ὧν ἂν τις τιθῆται, ἵνα ἡ αὐτοῖς γνώριμα τὰ τε ληφθέντα καὶ τὰ τεθέντα πρὸς τοὺς λογισμούς. (Dem. 49.5)

Bankers are accustomed to writing down memoranda for themselves of the sums they have lent and their purpose and the deposits someone makes so that both debits and credits may be known to them in accordance with the rules of accounting¹².

These documents, which are called ὑπομνήματα, were to help bankers keep track of the amounts they gave out or received: the ὑπομνήματα were made “for them” (αὐτοῖς), i.e. for

⁸ Translation by James H. Vince, *LCL* 299, 1935.

⁹ Xen. *Eq. Mag.* 1.9; 3.1; 9.2; *Eq.* 3.1; 12.14.

¹⁰ On the authorship of the speeches of the Demosthenic corpus attributed to Apollodoros, cf. TREVETT 1992, 50–76.

¹¹ ὑπομνήματα: Dem. 49.5; 49.8; 49.30; γράμματα: Dem. 49.43; 49.44; 49.59. For a summary of these loans, cf. MILLETT 1991, 213–215.

¹² Translation by SCAFURO 2011, 365 slightly modified.

the bankers (τραπεζῖται), and indeed served to help them recall to memory the money movements. They thus strongly resemble the other occurrences of personal ὑπομνήματα, as the presence of the middle-form verb γράφεσθαι underlines, and do not involve any addressee. The other occurrences confirm the personal nature of these ὑπομνήματα in this speech: ὑπομνήματα, whose name reflects their mnemonic function, were written by the bankers for their accounting. The form of these entries can hardly resemble the basic one of the papyrological *hypomnema*: since they are not part of a communication from a sender to an addressee, they were not based on the model ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος.

Thus, the fourth-century Athenian bank ὑπομνήματα do not represent a precedent to the Egyptian documents with hypomnematic prescript and do not bear evidence of the existence of this type earlier than the third century BCE. Another point stresses this conclusion: banking was unknown in Egypt before the advent of the Macedonians, and Greek banks represented the model for Ptolemaic ones. However, bankers in Egypt did not use hypomnematic documents or formulas in their written records¹³. The choice of other types of written documents by Egyptian bankers is hard to explain if Greek bank records of the fourth century BCE were the precedent of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*; the two sets of texts, bank records and hypomnematic written communication between individuals, do not seem to be related.

One last mention of the word ὑπόμνημα in Greek literature of the fourth century BCE shows that treating documents as ὑπομνήματα may serve to diminish their legal value. In a dispute concerning the administration of Demosthenes' father's inheritance, the opponents try to use, instead of the will, some other pieces of writing:

πάντων δ' ἀτοπώτατόν ἐστιν, λέγοντας ὡς ὁ πατήρ οὐκ εἶα μισθοῦν τὸν οἶκον, τὴν μὲν διαθήκην μηδαμοῦ ταύτην ἀποφαίνειν, ἐξ ἧς ἦν εἰδέναι τὰκριβές, τηλικαύτην δ' ἀνελόντας μαρτυρίαν οὕτως οἶεσθαι δεῖν εἰκὴ πιστεῦεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πατήρ, εἰσκαλέσαντας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παρασημῆνασθαι κελεῦσαι τὰς διαθήκας, ἵν' εἴ τι ἐγίγνετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν εἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτ' ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντων εὔρεῖν. νῦν δ' ἕτερα μὲν παρασημῆνασθαι ἠξίωσαν, ἐν οἷς πολλὰ τῶν καταλειπομένων οὐκ ἐγγράπτο, ὑπομνήματα δ' ἦν· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διαθήκην, δι'

¹³ On bank archives, cf. GEENS 2008; they are mostly composed of orders for payment and *diagraphai*. On the links between Greek and Ptolemaic banks, cf. WILCKEN 1899, 634; PRÉAUX 1958; BOGAERT 1994, 33–45.

ἦς τούτων ὧν ἐσημήναντο γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων χρημάτων ἐγίνοντο κύριοι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μισθοῦν τὸν οἶκον τῆς αἰτίας ἀπελέλυντο, ταύτην δ' οὐκ ἐσημήναντο, οὐδ' αὐτὴν ἀπέδοσαν. ἄξιόν γε πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς ὅ τι ἂν περὶ τούτων λέγωσιν. (Dem. 28.5-6)

Strangest of all is it that, though they allege that my father would not permit them to let the property, they should never produce this will from which one could have learned the truth, and that having destroyed so important a piece of evidence, they should expect you to believe them on their mere word. It was their duty, on the contrary, as soon as my father died, to call in a number of witnesses and to bid them seal the will, so that, in case any dispute should arise, it would have been possible to refer to the writing itself, and so learn the whole truth. But, as it is, they thought proper to have some other papers sealed, in which many items of the property left were not inscribed – papers which were mere memoranda; but the will itself, which gave them possession of the papers to which they affixed their seals, and all the rest of the property, and which acquitted them of all responsibility for not letting the estate, they did not seal, nor yet produce. You ought presumably to believe them in anything they say about this matter¹⁴!

What matters here for the orator is diminishing the value of the documents the opposite party produced. He thus juxtaposes a reliable document, the διαθήκη, with these other unspecified pieces of writing (ἐχρῆν (...) παρασημήνασθαι κελεῦσαι τὰς διαθήκας; νῦν δ' ἕτερα μὲν παρασημήνασθαι ἤξιωσαν, with the repetition of the verb in the same form, but with two opposed objects, “the wills” and “the other documents”), which are discarded as incomplete (ἐν οἷς πολλὰ τῶν καταλειπομένων οὐκ ἐγγράπτο) and only at the end designated as ὑπομνήματα (ὑπομνήματα δ' ἦν). The speaker seems to use this final definition to accentuate the partial and unreliable nature of these sealed documents, which are just texts designated to help memory; they are secondary to the lost will.

To sum up, a more specific usage of the word ὑπόμνημα, indicating personal reminders, appears during the fourth century BCE. This usage may have led to the idea of labelling a document as ὑπόμνημα in its opening as the early Greek documents from Egypt do. However, none of the mentions of documents called ὑπομνήματα in classical Greece

¹⁴ Translation by Arthur T. Murray, *LCL* 318, 1936.

implies a form of communication from a sender to an addressee; on the contrary, they seem to be strongly personal notes, as the repetition of the middle-form verb γράφομαι makes clear. Thus, they should not be considered as prototypes of hypomnematic documents.

2.1.2 Pre-Ptolemaic Egypt and Persia

The Greek *hypomnema* of Ptolemaic Egypt may have developed under the influence of two external scribal traditions, the Egyptian and the Aramaic. Demotic Egyptian was the administrative language in Egypt since the Saite dynasty in the seventh and sixth century BCE¹⁵. In addition to Demotic, Aramaic was an administrative language during the two Persian dominations of Egypt, in the fifth and at the end of the fourth century BCE¹⁶. Both could have influenced Greek epistolography in Egypt after the Macedonian conquest¹⁷.

The Persian administration was multilingual, Aramaic being the most widely used language, attested from Egypt and Asia Minor to Bactria and forming the core of the system (Old Persian is almost only attested for royal inscriptions); it coexisted locally with various other languages like Greek, Demotic, Akkadian, or Elamite¹⁸. The Aramaic written tradition may thus have influenced the situation in Ptolemaic Egypt via another channel: the chancery of the Great King, whose features may have entered the Macedonian administrations¹⁹.

There existed a Demotic counterpart to the *hypomnema*, called *mḵmḵ*, attested only in Ptolemaic documents²⁰. Its prescript, “w^c *mḵmḵ* n A n-dr.t B (a memorandum to A from B)” or “w^c *mḵmḵ* n-dr.t B n A (a memorandum from B to A)”, is alien to the Egyptian usage and was probably adopted under the influence of the Greek language²¹. There is no evidence for it before the (end of the?) third century BCE²². Therefore, since there is no

¹⁵ FORSHAW 2019, 165.

¹⁶ THOMPSON 2009, 397; AGUT-LABORDÈRE 2017; SCHÜTZE 2017, 501–506; LEMAIRE 2021, 241–242.

¹⁷ On the continuities and changes between Persian and Lagid Egypt, cf. CHAUVEAU – THIERS 2007.

¹⁸ BUCCI 1978, 71–73; GRAF 2000, 75–76; 85; KUHRT 2007, 827–828; KUHRT 2014, 127–131; FOLMER 2017, 340–347; 381–387; cf. also BRIANT 1996, 523–526; TUPLIN 2008, 116. The Achaemenid administrative Aramaic language was very consistent between places as distant as Egypt and Bactria, cf. SHAKED 2004, 12; 22; NAVEH – SHAKED 2012, 15; 51; FOLMER 2017; DANIELS 2021, 10–12.

¹⁹ Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE 1987, 24–25; SHERWIN-WHITE – KUHRT 1993, 50; MCKENZIE 1994, especially 63. For the hypothesis that such an influence goes back as far as Philipp II, cf. KIENAST 1971, 251–255.

²⁰ BAETENS 2014a, 41. For an overview of the *mḵmḵ*, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 323–330; BAETENS 2014a; BAETENS 2020a, 151–168.

²¹ DEPAUW 2006, 327; BAETENS 2014a, 36; BAETENS 2020a, 152 n. 208. BICKERMANN 1930a, 160 even states that the inversion of sender and addressee should be impossible according to Egyptian grammar.

²² Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 153 and the lists in BAETENS 2020a, 154–156; 164–165 (an updated version of DEPAUW 2006, 324–325). The first precisely dated *mḵmḵ* date to 223 BCE (P.Eleph.Dem 1; 2; 3; on the archive of Milon, to which they belong, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.2); moreover, one document is generically assigned to the third century BCE (P.Sorb. IV 149), and one possible *mḵmḵ* is dated to 231/230 BCE (P.Freib.

sign of *hypomnemata* in the Egyptian textual tradition before the Macedonian conquest, the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the type should be discarded.

Some features of the hypomnematic documents find an equivalence in Aramaic texts. First, Aramaic epistolography of Persian times presents different openings swapping the position of sender and addressee: “’l A, B (to A, B)”, “’l A mn B (to A from B)” and “mn B ’l A (from B to A)”²³; the first two, closer to the Greek hypomnematic prescript, usually occur among pairs or from a subordinate to a superior, and are followed by some salutation formulas that are absent from Greek *hypomnemata*²⁴. Such inversed prescripts are absent from late classical Greek epistolography and developed in Hellenistic times²⁵; they have been considered markers of a hierarchical relationship, but this is not systematically true²⁶.

Second, there is at least one personal note in Aramaic from Elephantine, dated after 407 BCE, whose caption reads “*zkrn* (memorandum). What A said to B”²⁷. This document shows that the idea of an explicitly labelled opening was circulating, but it does not transmit information between the parties and only serves as an informal memorandum for its writer. This caption seems to be attested primarily for informal documents rather than communications²⁸. Thus, both elements of the hypomnematic opening (the caption

IV 75). P.Berl.Dem. III 13567 is a draft of a *mkmk* generically dated to the Ptolemaic period by its editor, but considered to be rather early than late Ptolemaic by recent scholarship, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 154; MOJE 2022; and the metadata in the database entry TM 48634.

²³ Instead of the preposition ’l, one may find ’or (in ostraca) *šlm*.

²⁴ ALEXANDER 1978, 161–163; SCHWIDERSKI 2000, 102–154; 220–222; FOLMER 2017, 419–422; MOORE 2022, 27–28, as well as the openings of the letters published by PORTEN – YARDENI 1986, mostly of the fifth century; cf. also FITZMYER 1974, 211–212, who does not focus on Persian times and adds another prescript from letters quoted in the Bible, “B ’l A (B to A)” (but for quoted letters, cf. WHITE 1982, 12; SCHWIDERSKI 2000, 323–380). These formulas are also used in the Bactrian Aramaic documents of the fourth century down to the reign of Alexander the Great, cf. SHAKED 2004, 27; NAVEH – SHAKED 2012, 37–39; 50.

²⁵ SARRI 2018, 42–43; BAETENS 2020a, 172–173. In the archaic and early classical Greek epistolography, some letters mention the addressee before the sender, cf. Dana, *Corresp. gr. privée* 15; 25; 26; 48; 52, all dated around 500 BCE except for the last one, dated palaeographically to the mid or late fifth century BCE. The phenomenon disappears from the documentation with the stabilisation of the classical epistolographic ο δεινὰ τῷ δεινὶ χαίρειν from the fourth century BCE onward. For a summary, cf. the prescripts listed by DANA 2021, 344–347.

²⁶ Or the hierarchy of the order sender-addressee in Aramaic letters, cf. GERHARD 1905, 58; BICKERMANN 1930a, 160; WHITE 1982, 7–8; SCHWIDERSKI 2000, 233–235; FOLMER 2017, 419–422; MOORE 2022, 26. On the politeness of the inversed order of the prescript in Greek Hellenistic tradition, cf. WHITE 1982, 8; SARRI 2018, 42–43; BAETENS 2020a, 172. On the lack of a necessarily hierarchical relationship in early *hypomnemata*, cf. *infra*, chapters 2.2.2.1, section “Variations of the Prescript Formula”, and 2.2.3.1.

²⁷ Pap.Eleph.Eng. B21 = Textbook of Aramaic documents A4.9 = TM 89413. Cf. DEPAUW 2006, 324 n. 947; BAETENS 2020a, 70 n. 124. The document contains the drafted notes of the answer given to a petition. The actual petition, of which drafts are preserved (Pap.Eleph.Eng. B19–B20 = Textbook of Aramaic documents A4.7–A4.8 = TM 89411–89412), presents an inversed prescript “to A, B”.

²⁸ The caption *zkrn* is attested as the heading of several lists, as well as in an Aramaic passage of Esdra (6.2–5) reporting an edict of Cyrus, cf. Pap.Eleph.Eng. B21, p. 148 n. 1. In this passage, the Septuaginta translates *zkrn* as ὑπομνήμα.

ὑπόμνημα and the succession addressee – sender) seem to exist in Aramaic epistolography, but no precise precedent to the formula ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος has been found yet.

2.1.3 Macedonian Kingdoms

Although *hypomnemata* are attested only in Egypt during the third century BCE, four inscriptions with hypomnematic texts dated to the second century BCE were discovered in the other Macedonian kingdoms²⁹. The existence of the type in Syria, Asia Minor and Macedonia in the second century BCE encourages an investigation into whether the scribal traditions of these kingdoms derived from an earlier common source, i.e. the Macedonian administration of the fourth century BCE, possibly under the Aramaic influence, or whether the *hypomnema* spread in the Greek-speaking world only later from one of the kingdoms, notably Egypt.

Four inscriptions may not look like a compelling number, but *hypomnemata* were daily documents written on papyrus and were not supposed to last. Only dossiers that exhibited an interaction with the sovereigns and the grant of privileges were important enough to be inscribed on a medium viewed as perennial: stone³⁰. On the contrary, the practical content of *hypomnemata* was not intended for engraving; even in Egypt, where hundreds of hypomnematic papyri were found, no known Ptolemaic inscription preserves a *hypomnema*³¹. This example shows that the rareness of *hypomnemata* among inscriptions does not imply an equal absence among texts on perishable supports. Thus, the presence of only four hypomnematic inscriptions from outside Egypt in the Hellenistic period does not speak to the type's usage on lost perishable supports³².

The four preserved *hypomnemata* from outside of Egypt present some differences compared to the Egyptian documentation: first, the explicit prescript is maintained as late

²⁹ SEG XIII 403 (181 BCE; to Philip V by different functionaries); XLI 1556 (163 BCE; to Antiochos V by the Iamnians); XLI 1574 (republished in HEINRICHS 2018, with corrections in SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2018, 378–382; CHRUBASIK 2019; also known as the Hefzibah stele, TM 754949 = 882712, 202–195 BCE; to Antiochos III by Ptolemaios son of Thrasesas); XLVI 1519 (ca. 150 BCE; to the ἀρχιερεὺς Euthydemus by the ἱερεῖς Kadoas, near Sardis). Cf. MARTIN 2007, 664–666; BAETENS 2020a, 3; 69–70. Another occurrence may be preserved in Joseph. *AJ* 12.258–262, but its authenticity is not certain, cf. MARTIN 2007, 664–665.

³⁰ On the relation between inscriptions and papyri, cf. HAENSCH 1992, 259; CLARYSSE 2020, 163–165; 178.

³¹ The same observation was made by HAENSCH 1992, 259 concerning subscriptions by Roman provincial governors.

³² In the case of the Seleucid kingdom, some traces of the administrative documents can be found in the *bullae* and cuneiform texts of Mesopotamia, but the actual Greek (or Aramaic) texts are lost, cf. APERGHIS 2004, 8–12; 15; CAPDETREY 2007, 340–344. From Achaemenid times onward, the cuneiform documentation decreases, cf. JOANNÈS 1995.

as the second century BCE in a specific version which was not usual in Egypt: τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος³³. This observation indicates a different evolution than in Egypt and possibly the persistence of the need for an explicit label. Second, these *hypomnemata* are addressed to the kings, something foreign to Egyptian practice. In Egypt throughout the whole Ptolemaic period, kings were not addressed through *hypomnemata*³⁴; when subjects sent pleas directly to the sovereigns, they used another type of document, the so-called *enteuxis*, opened with the formula τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα whose word order resembles that of non-Egyptian *hypomnemata* to the kings. On the contrary, the sovereigns received *hypomnemata* in the other kingdoms. This difference explains why *hypomnemata* could appear on inscriptions there, together with the dossiers to which they belonged: they proved the favours of the sovereign and thus were deemed worthy of perennial preservation.

There are four ways to explain the existence of these four *hypomnemata* outside Egypt:

- They could be exceptional documents, not reflecting a practice current outside the Lagid kingdom, but simply the occasional adoption of a Ptolemaic type of documents outside Egypt. This interpretation can be valid for one of the four inscriptions, the Hefzibah stele (SEG XLI 1574), sent to Antiochos III by Ptolemaios son of Thraseas. The writer was indeed a Ptolemaic rebel appointed as governor of Syria and Phenicia by Ptolemy IV who then turned to the Seleucid king during the fifth Syrian war; he kept the role of governor of the province under Antiochos III and sent two *hypomnemata* to the Seleucid king³⁵. His usage of the hypomnematic type may thus have been the effect of his Egyptian connection³⁶.

³³ The only known example of the formula among the hundreds of Ptolemaic papyri is in P.Cair.Zen. III 59489.

³⁴ Two possible examples of *hypomnemata* addressed to the Lagid kings, P.Berl.Zill. I e and P.Hels. I 1, are both damaged in their opening. The first is so fragmentarily preserved that the reconstruction is only based on the previous lines, where a εἰσδόςσεως τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων [καὶ] στρατηγοῦ is mentioned (l. 57-58), so that the editor reconstructed, l. 64-65: βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρῃ θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι παρὰ [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος καὶ στρατηγοῦ]. It is thus an internal memorandum (εἰσδόςσεως, whose reading I could not check because no image is accessible), whose form is not fully certain. The second has been restored as an *enteuxis*, but was in all likelihood a *hypomnema*, addressed to an unknown official according to KALTSAS 2003, 214–215; cf. Appendix, chapter 6. Finally, the draft UPZ I 6 reads, l. 1-3: βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρῃ τῇ ἀδε[λφ]ῇ θ[εοῖς] Φιλομήτορσι χαίρειν παρὰ [Πτολ]εμαί[ου τοῦ Γλ]αυκίου Μακ[εδόνος], which is probably an interference with an earlier draft on the same matter, UPZ I 5, opened, l. 1-2: Διοδό[τῳ] [τῶν φίλων] καὶ στρατηγῷ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Γλαυκίου Μακεδό[νους], cf. UPZ I 5-6, p. 127; COLLOMP 1926, 63; BAETENS 2020a, 35–36.

³⁵ Cf. Pros.Ptol. II 2174 = VI 15236; DNP, s.v. Ptolemaeus [29]; GERA 1987; JONES – HABICHT 1989, 338–341; 345–346; REY-COQUAIS 1989, 614–617; GRAINGER 1997, 115–116; CRISCUOLO 1998; GERA 1998, 29–33; SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2001, 283–287; HEINRICHS 2018, 298–301.

³⁶ A similar idea in WOLFF 1978, 114 n. 27.

- The type may have been created in Egypt and diffused to the other kingdoms. In this case, the diffusion should have occurred during the third century BCE so that the early explicit opening may have reached the other kingdoms. Its adoption for addressing the king would have been a local evolution³⁷.
- The type may have been created in another kingdom and then reached Egypt. It will be proven later that this is not the case because the material evidence in Egypt points to a local progressive appearance of the *hypomnema* during the third century BCE.
- The type may have been developed in parallel in the different Macedonian kingdoms, perhaps starting commonly in the chancery of Philipp II or Alexander the Great and then separating into different traditions. This explanation would account for the differences as local variations from a shared origin and would also nicely incorporate the Aramaic precedents that could be spotted.

Leaving out the third alternative, the first one seems the weakest one. It fits the stele of Hefzibah but is harder to apply to the other occurrences. Moreover, it implies that the tradition of having two types of administrative communication, letters and *hypomnemata*, was not used outside Egypt. However, we know that the Roman imperial administration later adopted this practice of having two distinct types of documents for administrative communication. There, emperors and local governors were approached either by letter, when it was an internal communication, or by *libellus*, when the message came from outside³⁸. Moreover, hypomnematic documents are attested in the whole eastern Roman empire, some of them with prescripts that remind of the explicit prescript τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος of the Hellenistic inscriptions³⁹. It would be easier to account

³⁷ For the Seleucid kingdom, this hypothesis was proposed by CAPDETREY 2007, 338–339; 346; 431 arguing that *hypomnemata* were only attested in Seleucid provinces that had been under Ptolemaic control.

³⁸ Cf. HAUKEN 1998, 263; JONES 2009, 445–446. In the imperial chancery, two departments were in charge of two different categories of documents, the office *ab epistulis* and the office *a libellis*; on these offices, cf. LASSÈRE 2011, 686–687; CORCORAN 2014, 187–190.

³⁹ First century CE: inscription: petition to the governor of the province Asia, prescript τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (I.Ephesos II 213). Second century CE: inscriptions: petition to Hadrian, prescript δέησις παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι (SEG LVIII 1536 = AE 2008, 1349, republished by JONES 2009); petition to the governor of the province Asia, prescript τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (SEG XLIX 1676 = AE 1999, 1534); petition to the governor of the province Lower Moesia, prescript ἐντευξις τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (HAUKEN, *Petitions* I.2 1); papyri: possibly a petition to the governor of the province Arabia, lacunary prescript τῷ δεῖνι ἀξιῶμα [παρὰ τοῦ δεῖν]ος (P.Yadin I 13). Third century: inscriptions: two petitions to the emperors, prescript τῷ δεῖνι δέησις παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (HAUKEN, *Petitions* I.1 5; 6); papyri: five petitions to various officials of the province Syria, prescript τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (P.Euphrates 1-5 = SB XXII 15496-15500); one petition to a *beneficiarius* from the province Arabia, prescript τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (SB XXVIII 17044). On the δέησις prescript of petitions preserved on inscriptions, cf. HAUKEN 1998, 262–263. This prescript is attested in late antique Egyptian petitions, cf. MARTIN 2007, 673–674; FOURNET 2010, 61–63; FOURNET 2019, 578; MASCELLARI 2021, 219.

for the integration of such a practice in the Roman administration if it was widespread in the eastern Mediterranean rather than if it was an Egyptian specificity⁴⁰. All Macedonian kingdoms presumably knew the type.

The second and fourth explications can both be valid. The precise role of the various Macedonian chanceries, notably the Argead and the Lagid ones, is difficult to assess, and a final decision about the problem cannot be reached. Because of the lack of older evidence in Greek literature, we may locate the creation process of the Greek ὑπόμνημα at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BCE; as it will be proven, it was still in progress in Egypt during the third century BCE.

2.1.4 The *Hypomnema* Before the Zenon Archive: Summary

As the analysis showed, no hypomnematic document could be identified earlier than the Zenon papers, although some of its features can be found in the Greek (the idea of aide-mémoire) or the Aramaic (inversion of sender and addressee, explicit labelling) written traditions. The type seems to originate in the Macedonian kingdoms, although the precise role of the various chanceries, notably the Lagid and Argead ones, cannot be fully ascertained. The creation of the *hypomnema* seems to occur later than the letter and does not seem to come from a well-established scribal tradition.

2.2 The Zenon Archive and Early *Hypomnemata*

The third century BCE is, to use the words of Ulrich Wilcken, “a time of lively development, during which the situation of the second century was only gradually in the making”⁴¹. It is a phase in which the Greek Hellenistic scribal practice was not yet fixed, and we should avoid interpreting its material in the light of what will come. It corresponds to the moment when the *hypomnemata* suddenly enter our record with the preservation of the Zenon archive.

This century has a specific preservation pattern of papyri: one single group of documents, the Zenon archive, dominates the record. Having originally appeared on the antiquities market at the beginning of the twentieth century and now split among many different collections, it is composed of files gathered by Zenon, manager of the estate of the

⁴⁰ On the links between the Hellenistic royal chanceries and the Roman imperial chancery, cf. CORCORAN 2014, 172–173.

⁴¹ WILCKEN 1924, 81: “eine Zeit lebendiger Entwicklung, in der die Zustände des II. Jahrh. sich erst allmählich anbahnten”; similar idea in COLLOMP 1926, 68; SAMUEL 1966, 448. Cf. also BICKERMANN 1930a, 179–180 on the progressive development of various document types during this century.

διοικητής Apollonios, sort of finance minister of the king. More than one thousand eight hundred papyri, mostly from the Arsinoite nome, are already known, and new ones are published periodically; they date roughly from 260 to 240 BCE. They mostly concern the estate that was entrusted to Zenon's administration⁴². Older documents are scarce; contemporary or later pieces are few and never belong to such a substantial and consistent ensemble.

The end of the documentation from the archive of Zenon marks a clear break in the preservation of third-century *hypomnemata*. Around the mid-century, *hypomnemata* mostly come from Zenon's papers and overwhelmingly concern private business. In the last quarter of the century, after the time span of the archive, most *hypomnemata* are official documents addressed from an individual to the administration. The break is emphasised by the lack of precisely dated documents between 236 and 225 BCE, a loosely documented decade separating early *hypomnemata* and later ones (Fig. 2.1)⁴³.

⁴² On the Zenon archive, cf. PESTMAN 1981; ORRIEUX 1983; ORRIEUX 1985; CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995; CLARYSSE 2009; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 447–455 (TM Arch 256); VANDORPE 2019, 273–275. On its date, cf. PESTMAN 1981, 171–183; CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995, 23–31; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 448–453.

⁴³ For the limits P.Tebt. III.1 772 (236 BCE); BGU VI 1244 (225 BCE); on its date, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26). Some loosely dated documents fit in this timeframe: P.Hamb. IV 237, dated to either 265 or 227 BCE; P.Lille I 8, dated between 246 and 205 BCE (cf. P.Sorb. I 51, p. 134 = BL 6.59); a group of *hypomnemata* addressed to Aphthonetos, στρατηγός of the Arsinoite, published as P.Petr. III 29, roughly dated to 244 – 222 BCE; SB X 10273 (235 or 210 BCE); and finally SB XVIII 13099, recently completed by the edition of new fragments and redated to ca. 232–226 BCE by BUCKATZ 2017. Moreover, some of the many undated Zenon papyri may theoretically belong to these years, but this seems improbable since the years 240 down to 229 BCE only represent a tiny part of the archive, cf. CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995, 31; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 453.

Distribution of Third-century BCE *Hypomnemata*

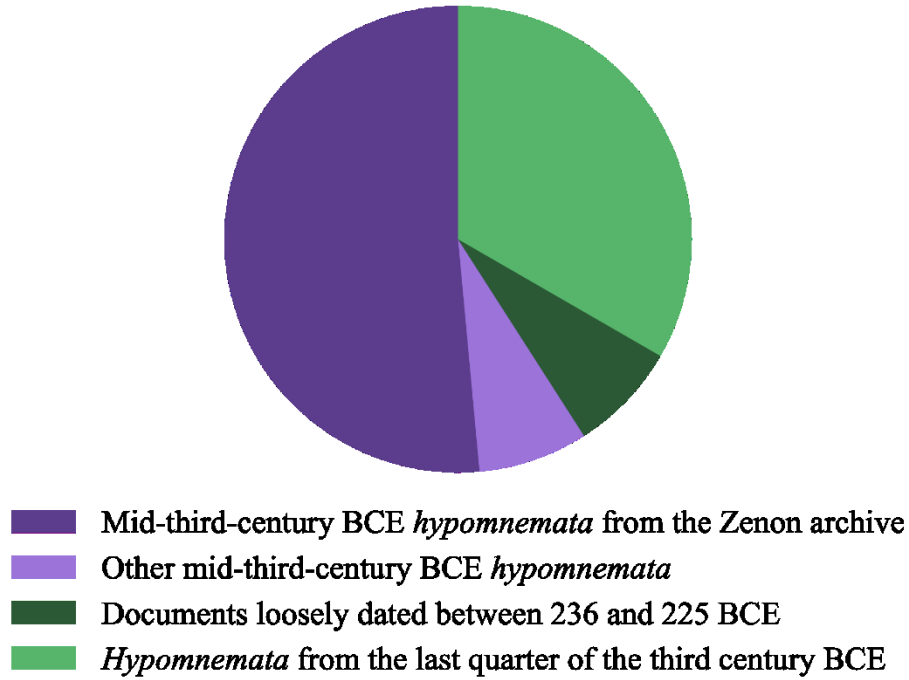


Fig. 2.1: The preservation pattern of third-century BCE *hypomnemata*.

For the analysis of the first part of the third century BCE before the problematic decade 236-225 BCE, approximately one hundred documents with a preserved hypomnematic opening are available⁴⁴; half of them are fully preserved. Ninety percent of the preserved *hypomnemata* from the mid-third century, and almost all the fully preserved pieces, come from the Zenon archive. This archive dominates the picture inside and outside of the Arsinoite nome, as, among the seven documents from outside of the Arsinoite nome, only one is unconnected to Zenon papers (P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14).

The largest part of early *hypomnemata* contains in the opening formula the label ὑπόμνημα next to the names of the addressee and the sender, in one of the versions of the formula ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. Those early, explicit opening formulas will disappear during the same poorly documented decade between 236 and 225 BCE; later *hypomnemata* usually present the implicit version of the opening, τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος.

⁴⁴ The evidence was gathered from the online database HGV by looking at all Ptolemaic entries and retaining those with hypomnematic opening formula; this search formed the basis for the database behind this PhD. This evidence was compared with that listed in BAETENS 2020a, 71; 76-79; 84-108; 129-132; 297 and enriched with newly published texts.

The majority of the preserved early *hypomnemata* come from the Arsinoite nome, newly established by Ptolemy II in the Fayyum depression; this is not surprising since the majority of Greek papyri from the third century BCE originate from there⁴⁵. Only seven documents out of the about a hundred preserved mid-third-century *hypomnemata* come from elsewhere in Egypt. The Arsinoite nome was unique in Egypt at this time: the royal administration was greatly involved in a large project of extending its agricultural land by creating a new irrigation system and founding new villages; large estates were established; and Greeks, especially soldiers allotted there, were massively present, and more than elsewhere in the Nile valley⁴⁶. This special development is reflected in the archive of Zenon, manager of one of the biggest estates of the time, but also in the smaller archive of Kleon, chief engineer of the special irrigation programme of the region⁴⁷. Because of its exceptionality, we cannot automatically extend the development of the Arsinoite nome and its scribal practices to the whole country. Nevertheless, the documentation from this nome provides the only available way to study Greek scribal practices from the third century BCE and the origin of the *hypomnema* in a time when the Greek language was not as widespread in the other nomes of the Nile valley⁴⁸.

The importance of these documents to the study of the origin of the hypomnematic type of written communication should not be underestimated; they are the oldest preserved *hypomnemata* and are probably very close to the first appearance of the type since no trace of older *hypomnemata* has been found. If they had shown a high degree of uniformity, we could postulate that clear rules were dictated by a higher authority or adopted directly from elsewhere. Rather, as the analysis will show, their variability in content and form indicates that specific features and functions have not yet been fixed and points towards a progressive evolution.

⁴⁵ In the online portal TM, 50% of the Greek documents from third century BCE Egypt come from the Arsinoite nome.

⁴⁶ On the particularities of the Arsinoite nome in the third century BCE, cf. THOMPSON 1999a; THOMPSON 1999b; MANNING 2003, 99–125; THOMPSON 2005; MONSON 2012a, 86; VAN BEEK 2017, 14–16.

⁴⁷ The archive of the engineer Kleon and of his successor Theodoros was recently republished as P.Petr.Kleon. About 125 texts are preserved, among which two *hypomnemata*, P.Petr.Kleon 20, l. 2–14 and P.Petr.Kleon 68 (possibly also P.Petr.Kleon 108, badly preserved). Moreover, P.Petr.Kleon 66 probably preserves the modified copy of an original *hypomnema*, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 81. On Kleon and his archive, cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1908; LEWIS 1986, 37–45; VAN BEEK 2009; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 206–209 (TM Arch 122); VAN BEEK 2017, 8–12; VANDORPE 2019, 272–273.

⁴⁸ On the methodological difficulties in dealing with mid-third-century BCE Arsinoite documentation, cf. MIRIZIO 2021, 14–15.

2.2.1 Variability of Format and Layout

2.2.1.1 Format

The wide spectrum of possible formats attested for early *hypomnemata* can be easily visualised through a graph in which each dot (representing a fully preserved papyrus) is placed according to its height (y-axis) and width (x-axis), with a colour and symbol indicating the direction of the fibres (Fig. 2.2)⁴⁹. The concentration of purple dots on the left of the graph, where the ratio height/width of the documents is higher than 1 (i.e. these documents are vertical), shows a tendency of writing *hypomnemata* on vertical strips of papyrus along the direction of fibres; yet this tendency is not an absolute rule.

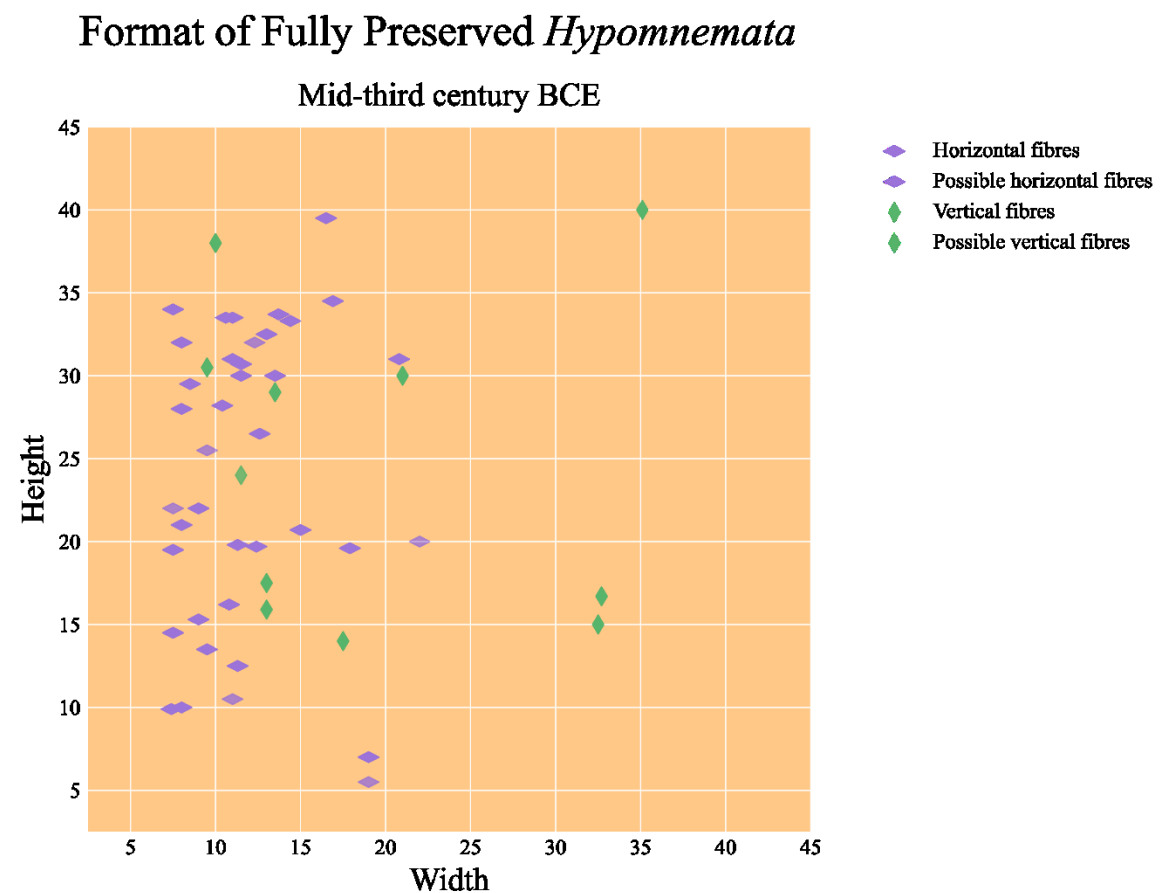


Fig. 2.2: Scatter graph of fully preserved mid-third-century hypomnemata according to the height and width of the sheet.

When preserved, the *kolleseis* show that the scribe cut these strips vertically on the inside of the roll, making them between 7 and 15 cm wide. Such a strip is as high as the roll: that

⁴⁹ The papyri considered for the graph are: P.Cair.Zen. I 59048; II 59172; 59188; 59261; III 59301; 59307; 59377; 59384; 59394; 59406; 59408; 59422; 59439; 59446; 59457; 59482; 59484; 59489; 59494; IV 59649; 59657 + P.Mich I 89 (for which cf. FERRETTI ET AL. 2017, 215); P.Col. III 44; IV 86; 90; 105; P.Lond. VII 2017; 2036; 2050 + PSI VI 674; 2052; 2074; P.Mich. I 45; 79; 86; PSI IV 406; 407; 408; 409 a; 413; 416; 425; 443; V 525; 527; 528; 529; 533; VI 595; P.Tebt. III.1 772; P.Zen.Pestm.43; 52.

is the case of the longer vertical *hypomnemata*, located in the upper part of the graph and ca. 25-35 cm high⁵⁰. However, sometimes the scribes recut the strips horizontally, achieving shorter, more squarish formats, ca. 10-20 cm high (Fig. 2.3)⁵¹. The obtained formats thus went from elongated, vertical pieces to some low, squarish ones. P.Mich. I 45 and P.Zen.Pestm. 43, both ca. 11 cm wide, but respectively 33 and 12 cm high, are two representative examples (Fig. 2.4).

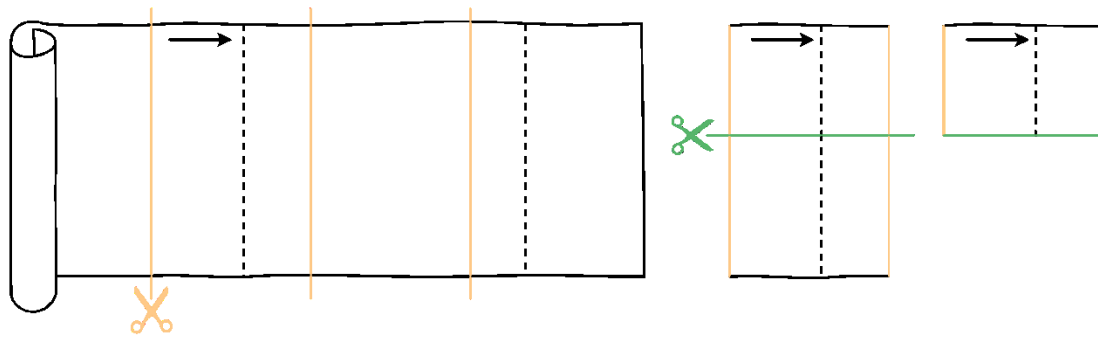


Fig. 2.3: How scribes cut sheets with horizontal fibres and vertical kolleseis from the roll to obtain vertical or squarish documents.



Fig. 2.4: P.Mich. I 45 (to the left) and P.Zen.Pest. 43 (to the right).

⁵⁰ An average height of rolls of ca. 28-33 cm was also calculated for the receipts published by PESTMAN 1980, 14, cf. DEPAUW 2002, 94.

⁵¹ Scribes could cut the strips to half for the receipts published by PESTMAN 1980, 14–15.

Some pieces bring these two tendencies to their extremes, like P.Cair.Zen. II 59172, 16.5 cm wide and almost 40 cm high, and P.Cair.Zen. II 59188, slightly horizontal and larger than the average *hypomnema* (20 cm high x 22 cm wide).

In this continuum of heights and widths, it is hard to draw a line between the so-called Demotic format, ca. 7-10 cm wide, and the *pagina* one, more than 10 cm wide, as Antonia Sarri has done for letters⁵². There is no clear division according to the width in the graph, and the same height can correspond to a varying width. Nevertheless, a document like P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566 displays a format akin to the so-called Demotic-format letters, tall, narrow and almost without margins, and even has a Demotic subscription (Fig. 2.5).

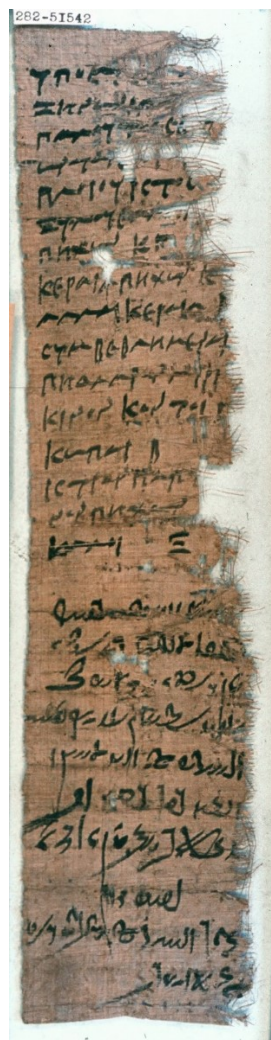


Fig. 2.5: P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566.

⁵² SARRI 2018, 95–105 argues that vertical letters less than 10 cm wide belong to the Demotic format category, while those ca. 10-12 cm wide to the *pagina* one. For these formats, cf. *supra*, chapter 1.2.2.2.

The so-called *transversa charta* format, in which such strips were turned at a right angle to achieve horizontal sheets with the writing running against the direction of the fibres (Fig. 2.6), is rare among *hypomnemata*, despite its frequency for letters⁵³. Only four fully preserved papyri can be assigned to this category. P.Cair.Zen. III 59301 and P.Tebt. III.1 772 are the two green dots isolated on the right of the graph; they are written against the direction of fibres on horizontal strips of papyrus (Fig. 2.7)⁵⁴. P.Lond. VII 2017 is comparable to these pieces, but the text is so long that the sheet becomes squarish; it is the green dot in the top right corner of the graph. Finally, P.Cair.Zen. III 59377 is also written *transversa charta* as shown by the horizontal *kollesis* it preserves, but the sheet was cut in two halves, obtaining thus an almost squarish format (14 cm high and 17.5 cm wide, cf. Fig. 2.8). The presence of *hypomnemata* in this format, a feature typical of letters that would not be used for later *hypomnemata*, shows that some hybridisation with letters was happening and that the separation between the two formats was not fully established yet.

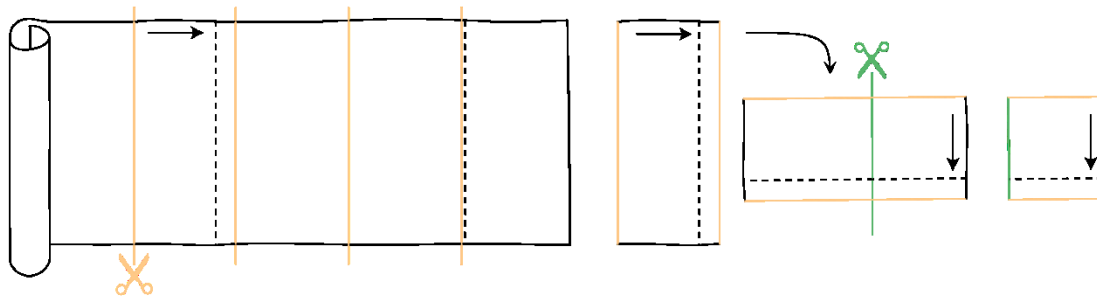


Fig. 2.6: How scribes cut transversa charta sheets, i.e. sheets with vertical fibres and horizontal kolleseis, from the roll to obtain horizontal or squarish documents.

⁵³ On this format for letters, cf. SARRI 2018, 91–95.

⁵⁴ P.Cair.Zen. IV 59650 and P.Col. IV 115 c, two fragmentary papyri that clearly originally displayed the same format, can be added to them. This does not change the fact that the *transversa charta* format is rare among *hypomnemata*.

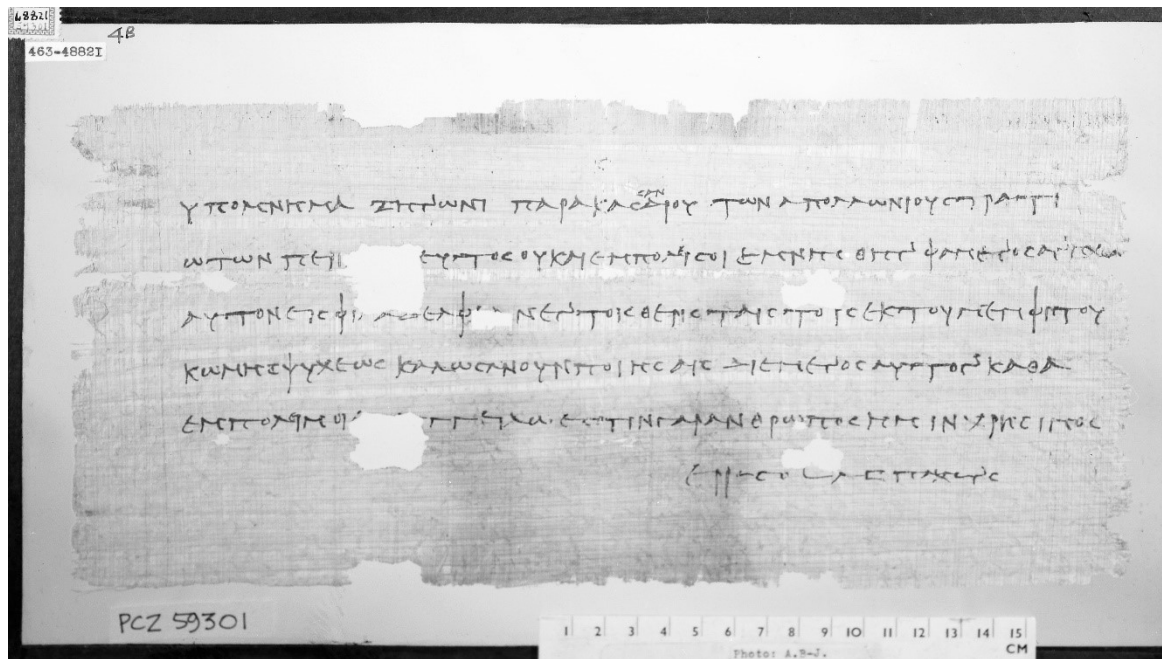


Fig. 2.7: P.Cair.Zen. III 59301.



Fig. 2.8: P.Cair.Zen. III 59377.

The more incomplete pieces confirm the tendency of *hypomnemata* to be written as one column of text on vertical strips of papyrus along the direction of the fibres. A few horizontal documents nevertheless show the variety of practices⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ Cf. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59650; P.Col. IV 115 c. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59655 was probably squarish.

Alongside this general practice of cutting vertical strips on the inside of a roll and writing on them vertically (or seldom horizontally), some documents show that the manipulation of the roll to create a *hypomnema* could deviate from this standard. For example, some documents were written on strips cut horizontally on the inside of the roll, as shown by their horizontal fibres and their short, vertical *kolleseis* (P.Cair.Zen. I 59048 and III 59439, the two purple dots at the bottom of the graph). This choice shows how the practices may have varied in the composition of the same format. Along the same line of thinking, there are several vertical papyri, the green dots on the left of the graph, written against the fibres with (when attested) short horizontal *kolleseis*, realised in the same manner by cutting the roll in horizontal strips, then turned at an angle of 90° to achieve a vertical sheet (Fig. 2.9; e.g. PSI IV 407 and P.Cair.Zen. III 59406). In the case of P.Col. III 44, the scribe obtained the sheet through the same manipulation, but he wrote the *hypomnema* along the fibres on the exterior of the roll.

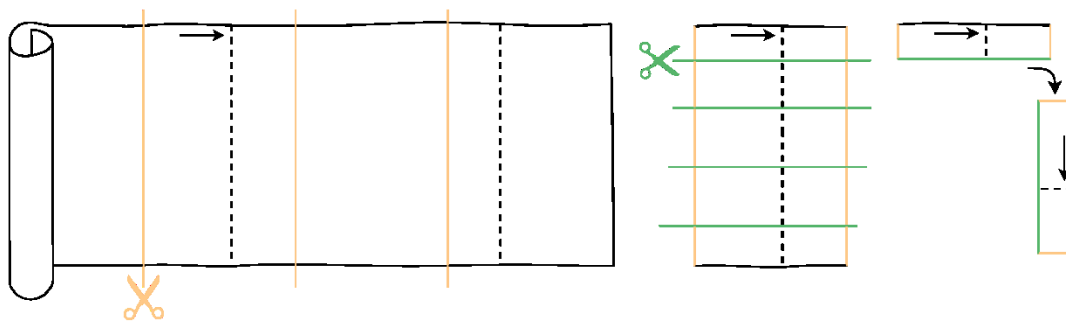


Fig. 2.9: How scribes cut sheets from the roll to obtain horizontal or vertical documents with shortened *kolleseis*.

Two ways of cutting a roll are thus attested, in vertical or (rarer) horizontal strips on the inside; the strips, regardless of how they are cut, could then be taken vertically or (rarer) horizontally before writing on them, mostly on the inside of the roll.

The two fully preserved documents presenting two columns, PSI IV 406 and P.Cair.Zen. III 59394, the two isolated dots at ca. 30 x 20 cm, reflect the multiplicity of practices attested in handling the roll in the process of writing a *hypomnema* since, according to their *kolleseis*, they display their text on the inside, respectively on the outside of the original roll. Their format doubles the average 10 cm width of contemporary *hypomnemata*, thus allowing for two columns of text and showing the links between format and layout.

In summary, early *hypomnemata* tend to be consistent in format and to be written on vertical papyrus sheets (*pagina* format). This format is still in use later on. However, there is a margin of variation, with *hypomnemata* written *transversa charta* or after more complex

manipulations of the papyrus roll. This combination of consistency and variability of format shows that the elaboration process of this specific feature was still evolving at the time, although it probably started slightly earlier.

2.2.1.2 *Layout*

Two main layout variables, which also surface in incompletely preserved documents, are attested for early *hypomnemata*: first, the text may be written as a block or structured through *paragraphoi* (marginal hyphens), *ek-* and *eistheseis*, as well as blanks; second, the greetings may be absent or present and highlighted via an *eisthesis*, a blank, or a combination of both⁵⁶. Two of the four possible combinations are more attested than the others: documents with their text written as a block and their greetings set apart and documents with a structured text but no greetings⁵⁷. The variations are greater than for the format, and no standard layout is yet fixed.

Format and layout are two different things; for example, the block texts with highlighted greeting formula display all formats and fibre directions attested for the early *hypomnemata* (compare, for instance, P.Cair.Zen. III 59408 and 59439, Fig. 2.10).

⁵⁶ There are only two documents which display non-highlighted greetings, PSI IV 407 and 416; in both cases however a slight blank sets apart the greetings-formula from the main text, and for PSI IV 416, a lack of space on the sheet may be suggested. No less-well-preserved contemporary *hypomnemata* displays a non-highlighted greeting formula.

⁵⁷ P.Lond. VII 2050 is an intriguing duplicate reminder, for which the editor could not see any trace of sealing nor figure out any reason for making it a double document. BAETENS 2020a, 80, whose analysis is far more detailed, also could not find any explanation. It will not be considered in the general analysis.

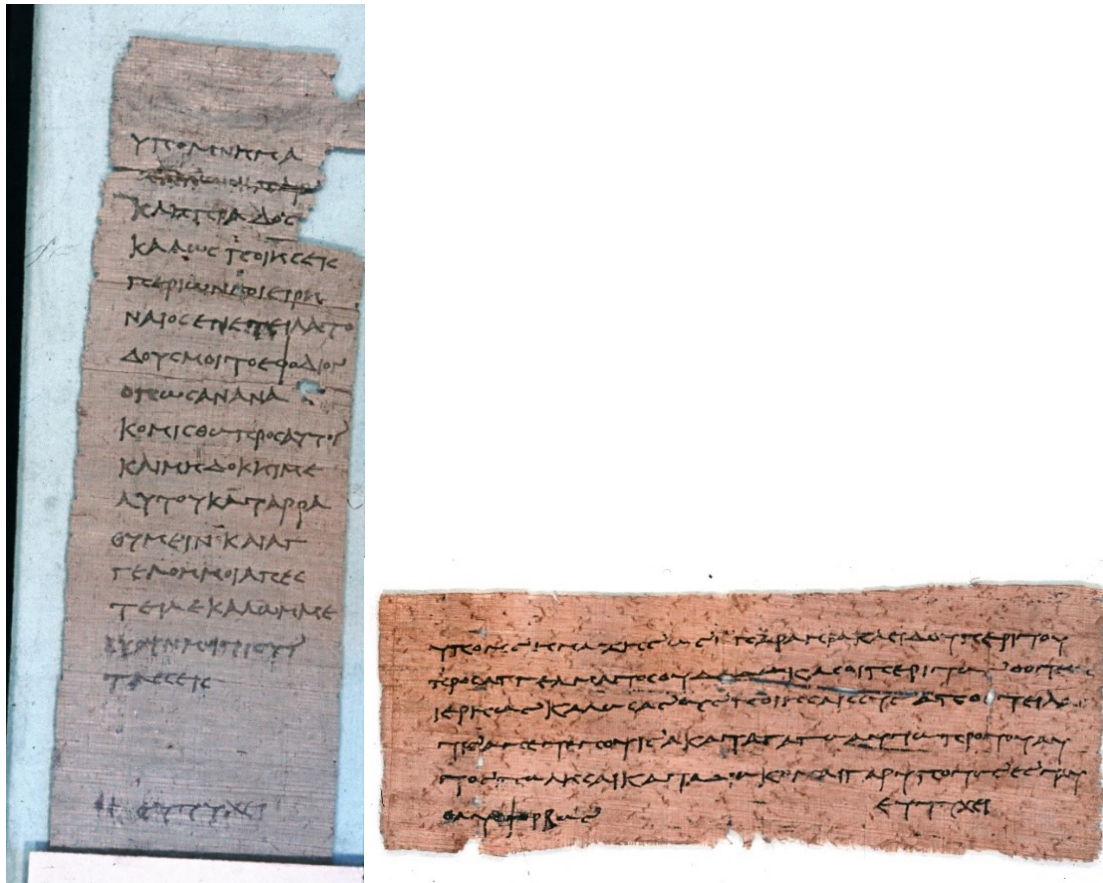


Fig. 2.10: P.Cair.Zen. III 59408 (to the left) and P.Cair.Zen. III 59439 (to the right).

The layout of the first preserved *hypomnemata* cannot be analysed without considering their formulary and content. Indeed, the content seems to be the determining factor in choosing one or the other of the two most attested layouts (structured text without greetings or block text with highlighted greetings). This relation again points to the variability of the first *hypomnemata*: many possible contents were connected to many possible layouts.

The layout presenting a block text and a highlighted greeting formula, closer to that of letters, was especially used for communication in which the sender is in a position of inferiority and mostly for requests of various kinds addressed to Zenon⁵⁸. This content explains the choice of the more formal greeting εὐτύχει instead of the usual ἔρρωσο and the polite nature of the text, which often uses an introductory phraseology such as καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις, καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, or εἴ σοι δοκεῖ (or even the more pleading vocabulary of P.Cair.Zen. III 59482, l. 16-20: ὥσπερ οὖν διατελεῖς πάντας σῶζων

⁵⁸ BAETENS 2020a, 71–84 tries to divide these requests into two categories: he speaks of petitions when the request is extraordinary in its nature and of request otherwise; however, he is aware that the extraordinary nature of a request is not always clear-cut, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 6–8; 10–11. Since the documents are coherent in typology and intention, it seems unnecessary to separate them here according to this vague definition.

καὶ οὐθὲς διὰ σοῦ οὐθὲν πέποσχεν ἄτοπον, καὶ ἐμὲ δεόμενόν σου ἐλέησον, “so that you continue to be a saviour for all, and nobody has ever suffered anything harmful because of you, have also pity on me pleading you”)⁵⁹. A less formal variant, lacking the greetings, is sometimes used for polite requests but also more trivial instructions or reports (for instance, cf. P.Zen.Pestm. 52 and P.Mich. I 79) and is more frequent on smaller sheets.

The other main layout concerns documents without any greeting formula, with a hypomnematic opening and a text structured through different layout options used by the scribe. Their content is essentially informative. *Paragraphoi* can divide the text into sections (e.g. P.Mich. I 45), blanks can separate sentences and, mostly, set numbers apart from the text (e.g. P.Cair.Zen. III 59384), and there may also be even more structured lists, helping the reader to visualise the sections of the text (e.g. P.Cair.Zen. II 5926; cf. Fig. 2.11)⁶⁰.

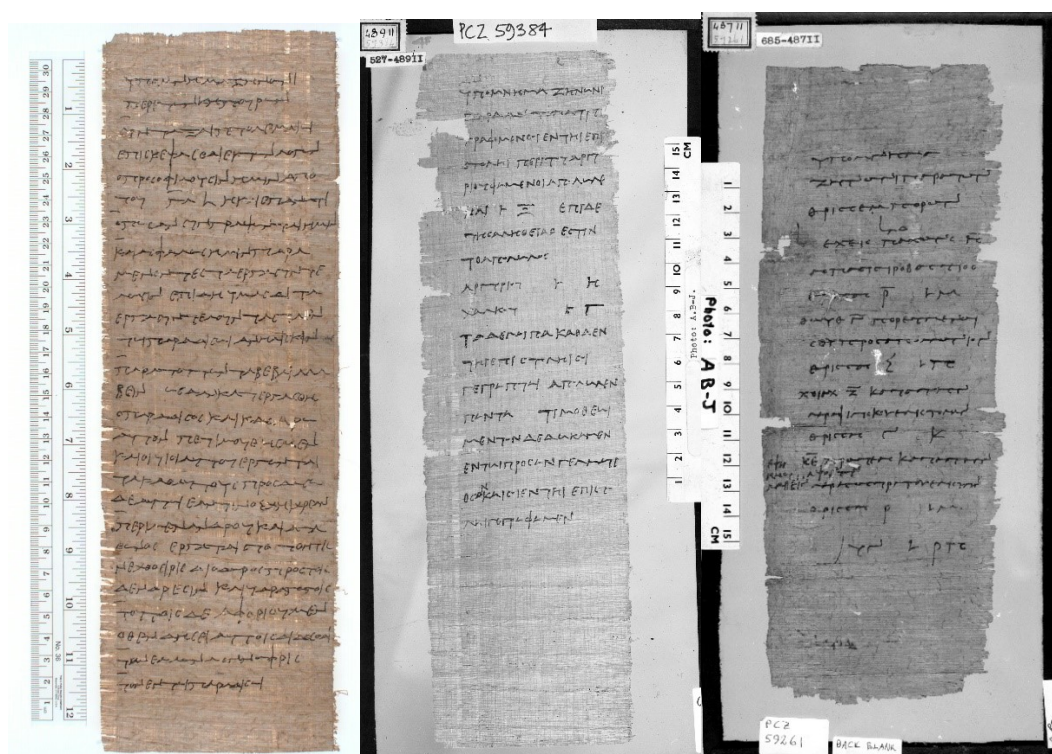


Fig. 2.11: P.Mich. I 45 (to the left), P.Cair.Zen. III 59384 (in the middle) and P.Cair.Zen. II 59261 (to the right).

These layouts are typically found on a vertical sheet written along the fibres; they are usually adopted for more factual matters, in which the information must be delivered

⁵⁹ On the formal nature of εὐτύχει, cf. SARRI 2018, 121. This greetings formula will become the standard for *hypomnemata* later on.

⁶⁰ P.Mich. I 84, containing a drawn map that helps to visualise the information delivered, is an extreme version of this procedure, in which the information is not only structured but also represented visually.

clearly and straightforwardly, like instructions from or reports to a supervisor, and thus resemble informative notes. However, this is not always true, as the case of PSI V 533, a polite request in which *paragraphoi* separate textual sections, proves. Scribes could underline the increased formality of some documents by adding to such a structured text the highlighted greetings εὐτύχει, but such greetings can even be found under more informative documents as well, such as the list in PSI IV 409 a.

Two documents with very similar content, P.Cair.Zen. III 59457 and PSI V 528, containing requests for an ὀψώνιον by Kleon, reflect the variety of practices. Both use blanks to highlight the amounts of the requested allowance. Yet, one of them uses a politer formulary than the other (PSI V 528, l. 2-5: καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν τὸ ὀψώνιον ὃ γίνεται ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ μητρὶ; cf. P.Cair.Zen. III 59457, l. 3-4: ὃ γίνεται μοι λαβεῖν ὀψώνιον). It also adds more narrative details after the list, citing, for instance, a forwarded letter. It ends with a highlighted εὐτύχει, probably linked to his more epistolary style, and so presents a hybrid layout with both a structured list and a highlighted greeting formula. The fact that Kleon calls Zenon “his father” can explain this variation. Whatever the exact relationship between the two, a close relationship and the inferior position of Kleon to Zenon are clear⁶¹; thus, Kleon uses the typical list layout of Zenon’s business acquaintances but also adds a more formal tone with the polite greeting formula.

Opening and greeting formulas do not follow the same pattern. While the greetings, included in the politer documents, are almost immediately set apart, the prescript is initially included in the main text block and is not set systematically apart from the main text. A good example of this separate development is P.Cair.Zen. III 59484 (Fig. 2.12).

⁶¹ P.Cair.Zen. III 59457, l. 2: τῷ πατρί; PSI V 528, l. 1-2: τῷ πατρί. The exact relationship of the two is disputed since the edition of P.Cair.Zen. III 59457, whose editor thought that Kleon was the son of a παιδίσκη and one of the boys under Zenon’s protection whoever his biological father was. This interpretation has been since then mostly followed, cf. CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995, 61–62; ROWLANDSON 1998, 96. The main arguments are the general tone of the two notes and the fact that, although other members of the family are attested in Zenon papers (notably the father and the brothers), there is nowhere else a mention of a wife and a son. Moreover, other boys write to Zenon asking very similar allowances for them and their mother, like Herakleotes or Pyrros (cf. CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995, 58–62; ROWLANDSON 1998, 96–97). Opposite, ORRIEUX 1983, 134 states that nothing proves that Zenon was not Kleon’s father: he is the only one using this title among the boys, and nowhere in Zenon’s papyri family relationship terms are used metaphorically (cf. on this SARRI 2018, 43). As already SWIDEREK 1956, 141 remarked, it is impossible to know the exact relationship between the two.

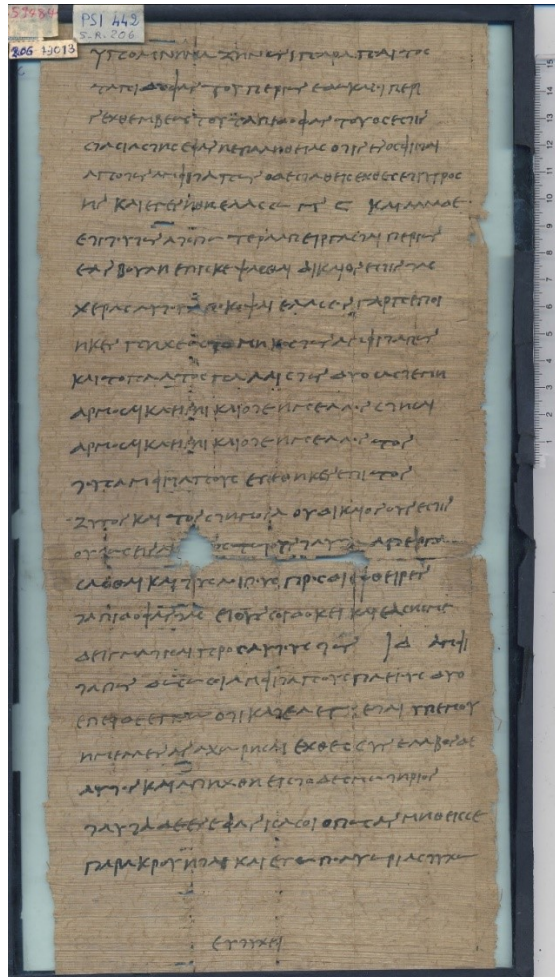


Fig. 2.12: P.Cair.Zen. III 59484.

However, in about a dozen documents, the prescripts are variously highlighted⁶². The highlighting of the opening was practised only occasionally and, in most of the occurrences, was inserted in a document with more generally-structured content that used blanks, *paragraphoi* and line breaks to separate blocks of text that had an internal unit and delivered one coherent part of the message: in these cases, the opening formula is set apart as a consequence of the general layout of the document.

The scribes use the same devices adopted to structure other texts and separate sentences to isolate the opening formulas. In the case of letters, only narrow blanks are attested⁶³; for *hypomnemata*, in addition to blanks, line breaks, indentations and even *paragraphoi*

⁶² Cf. P.Cair.Zen. II 59188; 59261; III 59383; 59446; 59531; P.Lond. VII 2017; P.Mich. I 45; 67; PSI IV 400; 406; 413; 425; 443; V 529. P.Petr.Kleon 108 is imperfectly preserved at the beginning, but the editor states that the scribe, having forgotten the initial indentation, corrected the text to add it. P.NYU II 45, l. 9-16, dated to either 237 or 212 BCE (the last editors discard for prosopographical grounds the other possible date, 197 BCE), may be added to this list.

⁶³ SARRI 2018, 114–115.

separating the opening formula from the following text can be found (compare, for instance, PSI IV 400, P.Cair.Zen. III 59446, and PSI IV 413, Fig. 2.13). Contrary to the later evolution, the scribe does not usually highlight the sole addressee of the message but rather the whole formula $\text{ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος}$, setting it apart from the following text; this means that this formula was considered as a coherent unit.



Fig. 2.13: PSI IV 400 (above), P.Cair.Zen. III 59446 (to the left) and PSI IV 413 (to the right), detail of the opening.

The early *hypomnemata* are, however, not a standardised type of document, and there are variations highlighting only the addressee (P.Lond. VII 2017, PSI IV 406) or the word ὑπόμνημα (P.Cair.Zen. II 59261). P.Cair.Zen. III 59383, which displays the oldest attested implicit prescript (in an inversed version $\text{παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι}$), highlights the addressee, although it is mentioned after the sender.

The number of columns was linked to the size of the text: most *hypomnemata* could stay in a single column, but some needed a second one. Such is the case with long lists, like P.Cair.Zen. III 59394, P.Petr.Kleon 68 and P.Tebt. III.2 846, but also of a detailed accusation, PSI IV 406.

Scribes had many layouts at their disposal and adapted the text's disposition to the meaning they were delivering. The *hypomnema* seems to be an intermediate form of document changing layout according to content, for instance, using the greetings highlight and even the horizontal format of letters when it contained requests and the informative structuration of lists when it contained reports. The specific arrangement of hypomnematic documents that appeared in the second century BCE, characterised by a highlighted addressee, a block

text including the mention of the sender and a final highlighted greeting formula, was not yet in place⁶⁴.

2.2.2 Variability of Formulas

Some formulaic elements structure a *hypomnema*. In addition to the prescript, the defining feature applied in this work, I consider here the greetings, date and address on the back. Generally speaking, the texts addressed are short and effective; however, some formulaic expressions are attested in the main text – for instance, in the Zenon papyri, a variation of the expression καλῶς ποιήσεις very often introduces requests. These are not exclusive to *hypomnemata*, and for instance, καλῶς ποιήσεις also introduced requests in letters. Nevertheless, a few differences in the formularies of *hypomnemata* and letters can be found: a *hypomnema* neither uses lengthy introductory salutation sentences nor mentions a previously written message to which it responds.

2.2.2.1 Prescript

Early *hypomnemata* mostly open with ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, or a variation thereof. This formula is rarely set apart in the early *hypomnemata*, but in the few cases in which separation can be identified, the prescript is treated as a unit with the separating device at the end.

Three features of the early prescripts of hypomnematic documents are striking and give the impression of creation in progress. First, most of the prescripts clarify the mnemonic function of the document through the label ὑπόμνημα. Second, the main parts of the formula can be found individually in other openings and belong to a sort of common background of introductory material that scribes can use. Third, variations on the prescript concerning the presence or absence of elements and their order are attested. Such features indicate that the elaboration of the hypomnematic prescript was still in progress.

Explicit VS Implicit Prescript: the ὑπόμνημα Label

Around the middle of the third century BCE, most documents bear an opening that explicitly states the mnemonic function of its content by including the word ὑπόμνημα, an opening that can be called an explicit prescript. PSI IV 406 (ca. 260-258 BCE, the oldest precisely dated *hypomnema*) and P.Petr. II 9_5 (ca. 240-239 BCE) are the earliest and the latest items in this group of mostly loosely dated mid-century documents. Although most

⁶⁴ On this structure, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.2.

of these *hypomnemata* come from the Zenon archive, a few of them do not (e.g. P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14 or II 240); similarly, although most of these documents come, certainly or hypothetically, from the Arsinoite nome, some do not (e.g. P.Mich. I 97, presumably from Alexandria, or P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14, found in the Herakleopolite nome⁶⁵). Thus, the explicit prescript was probably not the specificity of the Arsinoite nome or of Zenon's milieu but probably occurred more generally in Egypt in the decades 250s-240s.

The striking feature of this formula is the appearance of the word ὑπόμνημα, underlining a mnemonic function: these documents aim to bring something to the attention of their addressee. Shortening the prescript would imply that such a function was clear without stating it, a step that had not yet been reached: the hypomnematic document was not yet self-explanatory.

The labelling function of the word ὑπόμνημα indicating a memo is also attested in documents that are not hypomnematic, as they do not imply any transmission of information: for instance, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59653 is an informal note with instructions to deliver a letter and is headed ὑπόμνημα. Likewise, the letter PSI IV 350, a request letter dated before 253 BCE, and the list P.Cair.Zen. IV 59682, of 258-256 BCE, are on their back labelled ὑπόμνημα, again indicating a function more than a form⁶⁶. Such examples reveal that the label ὑπόμνημα was still perceived as functional at the time, a feature probably explaining its appearance in the hypomnematic prescript⁶⁷.

Scholarship quickly recognised the explicit formula as the origin of the implicit one, their relation being chronological: around the third quarter of the third century BCE, more precisely around the 230s, the implicit prescript replaces the explicit one, and from then on, it will last for many centuries in the Egyptian scribal practice⁶⁸; the functional labelling, now obsolete, is no longer required.

The *hypomnemata* from the transition phase are few and loosely dated, making it hard to understand whether the evolution was progressive or sudden. The earliest documents with

⁶⁵ On the link between P.Hib. I 72 and the Herakleopolite nome, cf. recently WACKENIER 2019, 445–447.

⁶⁶ A similar case appears in embedded documents, in which cover letters call ὑπόμνημα documents that are formally *enteuxeis* (PSI V 488, l. 7) or letters (P.Petr.Kleon 40, l. 2). In the case of P.Gur. 8, l. 1, a second-hand docket possibly calls an early *proangelma* ὑπ(όμνημα), if the resolution of the abbreviation is correct.

⁶⁷ This practice was already identified by WILCKEN 1924, 81.

⁶⁸ WILCKEN 1887; WILCKEN 1920, 391; BICKERMANN 1930a, 164–165. Cf. also MARTIN 2007, 663–664. On the relation between the later prescript and the (much rarer) προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος one, cf. *infra*, chapters 2.2.4.1, 3.1.3.1 and 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”, as well as DI BITONTO 1968, 55–56; BAETENS 2020a, 197–201; 210–218.

implicit prescripts are contemporary to the earliest *hypomnemata*⁶⁹. P.Cair.Zen. III 59383 predates 240 BCE⁷⁰, and its prescript reads παρ' Ἀντιλόχου Ζήνωνι with the addressee highlighted through the layout. P.Col. IV 65, dated to ca. 256-255 BCE, belongs to the same archive and possibly preserves another implicit prescript. Indeed, although its opening is incomplete (l. 1: Ζήνωνι παρὰ Μοσχίω[νος -ca.-? -]), there is no parallel whatsoever, within or without the Zenon archive, for a prescript with the label ὑπόμνημα at the end.

The 230s represent the transition phase from the explicit to the implicit prescript and are thus crucial in assessing the relation between the two. Just after P.Petr. II 9_5 (240-239 BCE), two documents with implicit prescript are preserved: P.Tebt. III.1 772 (236 BCE) and III.2 846 (ca. 236 BCE; it displays an implicit prescript preceded by a date). The next precisely dated *hypomnema* is BGU VI 1244 from the Herakleopolite nome (225 BCE)⁷¹; it has an implicit prescript. Indeed, all documents display the implicit prescript from this point on, with the notable exception of P.Eleph. 17 (223 BCE), a papyrus from the Apollonopolite nome whose opening reads ὑπόμνημα παρὰ Ξένωνος Μίλωνι τῶι παρ' Εὐφρονίου πράκτορι ἱερῶν⁷². This last document is exceptional even in its context since contemporary documents from the same nome and the same bilingual Graeco-Demotic archive, P.Eleph. 8, 19, 20, 24, 25, and 27 a, all display the implicit opening formula. The survival of the explicit prescript may be linked to interferences with Demotic, given the highly bilingual environment to which this document belongs and the fact that Demotic *mḳmḳ* never developed an implicit opening⁷³.

No *hypomnema* dates with certainty to a precise year between 236 and 225 BCE. However, many of them, either with explicit or implicit prescript, are attributed to time spans that overlap this range. The following table lists them⁷⁴:

⁶⁹ The editors of SB VIII 9800 a and P.Hib. II 244 dated them in the mid-third century BCE, so they would be two additional early implicit prescripts; but on their date, cf. the difficulties mentioned in the Appendix, chapter 6. They are certainly later.

⁷⁰ The documents from the Zenon archive are mostly dated between 261 and 240 BCE; the archive changed hands in 240 and its anonymous second owner added only a few extra documents, cf. CLARYSSE – VANDORPE 1995, 31; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 453. Since P.Cair.Zen. III 59383 contains instructions addressed to Zenon himself, it predates 240.

⁷¹ On the date of this document, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; on its origin, cf. FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26.

⁷² In *hypomnemata* preserved on stone from outside Egypt, the prescript remained τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος also in the second century BCE, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.1.3.

⁷³ BAETENS 2020a, 69 n. 120.

⁷⁴ Four other documents dated generically to the third century and one dated to the second half of it were excluded from the analysis because they were of little help: BGU X 1905, P.Lille I 9 and P.Petr. III 73 (explicit opening), and P.Hamb. III 202 and P.Petr. II 1 (implicit opening).

Reference	Date	Nome	Opening
P.Hamb. IV 237	265 or 227 BCE ⁷⁵	?	Explicit
P.Lille I 8	246-205 BCE	Arsinoite	Explicit
P.Köln III 140	244-242 or 219-217 BCE	Arsinoite	Implicit
P.Petr. III 29 b-h ⁷⁶	244-222 BCE	Arsinoite	Implicit
P.NYU II 45, l. 9-16	237 or 212 BCE ⁷⁷	Arsinoite?	Explicit
SB X 10273	235 or 210 BCE	Arsinoite	Implicit
SB XVIII 13099 ⁷⁸	232-226 BCE	Arsinoite?	Implicit

The graph below displays their dates (Fig. 2.14). It shows that both opening formulas are attested between 240 and 210, without the possibility of identifying a clear difference according to the decades.

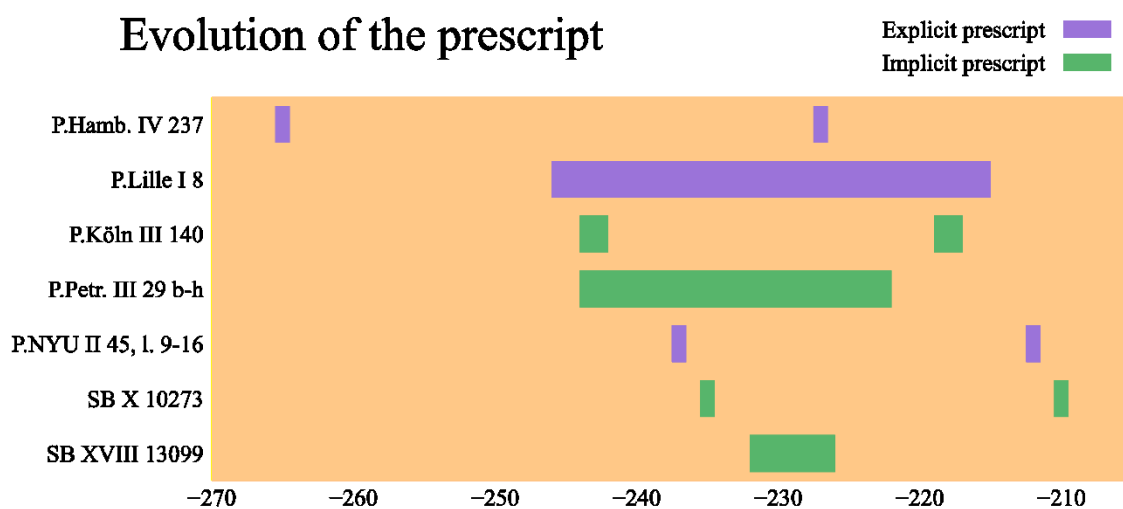


Fig. 2.14: Date range of uncertainly dated papyri from the decade 236-225 BCE.

It has been suggested, ignoring P.Cair.Zen. III 59383, P.Col. IV 65 and P.Eleph. 17 and taking the earliest date for all the *hypomnemata* with explicit prescript and the latest date for all *hypomnemata* with implicit prescript, that it was possible to date all the explicit prescript before 237, all the implicit after 236 and thus to consider this year a pivotal

⁷⁵ Typologically more akin to the early texts.

⁷⁶ A group of seven documents addressed to a στρατηγός named Aphthonetos; one embedded *hypomnema* dated to 242 BCE with explicit prescript is also preserved for this στρατηγός: P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17.

⁷⁷ The possibility to date it to 197 BCE has been discarded by the editors of P.NYU II as less plausible because of the addressee of this document, Nikanor, νομάρχης attested between 224 and 217 BCE. This document presents a very late explicit prescript, which is moreover highlighted via a change of line.

⁷⁸ Cf. the reedition in BUCKATZ 2017.

moment for the change of prescript⁷⁹. However, this solution forces the documentation and disregards some of the documents. The state of the documentation does not allow us to go much further than pinpointing the change around the third quarter of the third century BCE; the 250s-240s indeed yield a majority of documents with explicit prescript (the exceptions being P.Cair.Zen. III 59383 and possibly P.Col. IV 65), the 230s a cohabitation of both (with a tendency towards the implicit) and the 220s a majority of documents with implicit prescript (the exception being P.Eleph. 17).

As already indicated, the third quarter of the third century BCE corresponds to a change not only in the prescript formula but also in the preservation pattern of the papyri. The Zenon papyri dominate our knowledge of the *hypomnema* before ca. 240 BCE. They contain an overwhelming majority of private business *hypomnemata* with explicit prescripts but at least one (or maybe two) implicit ones, showing that the idea of shortening the prescript was already circulating. From the 230s onward, the Zenon archive closes, and fewer, mostly official documents are preserved. It is also the period in which the implicit prescript becomes more prevalent and quickly overtakes the explicit one. Official *hypomnemata* addressed to the authorities are not well-known before 240⁸⁰; business *hypomnemata* become anecdotal after the end of Zenon's and Kleon's archives and completely cease to exist by the second century BCE. Therefore, a more or less consistent pattern may be observed in the cluster of preserved documents from earlier than 239, mostly private with explicit prescript, and in the cluster of preserved documents from later than 236, mostly official with implicit prescript. One observes, alongside the chronological evolution of the scribal practice concerning the openings, an evolution in the preservation of *hypomnemata* affecting their content.

Both the chronology and the content may have affected the prescript of the documents, and we should consider both in this analysis. We need an explanation for three phenomena. P.Cair.Zen. III 59383 indicates that the idea of shortening the prescript was already present before 240 BCE. The documents of the στρατηγός Aphthonetos (P.Petr. III 29 a-h), dated

⁷⁹ BAETENS 2020a, 68–69. This study misses P.Cair.Zen. III 59383 and P.Col. IV 65; the only remaining exception, P.Eleph. 17, can be explained in terms of interference with the Egyptian *mḫmḫ* (cf. BAETENS 2020a, 69 n. 120). The conviction that the “early” and “late” *hypomnemata* are different kinds of documents also influences the analysis, which looks for the changing point between these two categories while recognising the difficulties in establishing a precise chronology. Indeed, the only certain point is for him too that the evolution should have taken place between the 230s and the 220s.

⁸⁰ The few preserved are embedded, cf. P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14; P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17; SB VI 9556, col. ii, but indeed present an explicit prescript.

244-222 and mostly with implicit prescript, reveal that the explicit prescript was regressing in the administrative documents. P.Eleph. 17 shows that it was still used in one Apollonopolite official document of 223 BCE. Therefore, we may suggest that the transition was chronological but progressed more quickly in the public documents than in the private ones: in the 230s, the implicit prescript may have already been more common for public documents while still rarer in private ones. If such a scenario corresponds to the truth, a sudden change in the preservation pattern, like the one observed, would give the impression of a sudden change in the practice, though the evolution was, in fact, more gradual. This theory would explain the tendencies and the observed exceptions but cannot be proven with the preserved record.

Background Material

All main parts of the hypomnematic opening, i.e. the presence of a label, the indication of the addressee with dative and of the sender with a *παρά* + genitive, find parallels in other contemporary opening formulas and were employed more broadly than just for *hypomnemata*. The still-evolving prescript was thus composed of various features adopted more widely in the scribal practice.

First, expressing the addressee with a dative expression was self-evident in Greek – even simple drafts, like those on the back of P.Cair.Zen. I 59015, bear just the mention of the addressee in the dative.

Second, the preposition *παρά* followed by a genitive was commonly used for indicating the provenance of goods, either simply or in lists. Examples are P.Col. IV 99, or BGU X 1935, both dated to the middle of the third century BCE:

P.Col. IV 99:

*παρὰ Λυσιμάχου.
ξένια. νεβρός, ἀρήν,
Χῖα δύο.*

From Lysimachos. Gifts. Fawn, lamb, two jars of wine.

BGU X 1935, l. 1-10:

*παρὰ Ἀχ[-ca.?-]
παρὰ Ζήνων[ος -ca.?-]
παρὰ Σισόιτος [-ca.?-]*

- παρὰ Ἀρυώτ[ου -ca.?-]
 5 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιε
 Κόβας ἔχει π[αρὰ -ca.?-]
 παρὰ Ἰρανούπι[ος -ca.?-]
 παρὰ Πτολε[μαίου -ca.?-]
 παρὰ Διοδώρου [-ca.?-]
 10 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κη

From Ach-, number; from Zenon, number; from Sisois, number; from Haryotes, number; total: 15 drachmas. Kobas has from NN, number; from Iranoupis, number; from Ptolemaios, number; from Diodoros, number; total: 27 drachmas.

It was also used for quickly indicating the origin of a document, e.g. on the back of letters (an example may be the back of P.Grenf. II 14 a, 232 BCE, l. 26-28: παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου Ἑρμίου. (ἔτους) ιε Παῦνι η. Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ ὑποζυγίου Ἀσκληπιάδει).

P.Cair.Zen. II 59268 (252-251 BCE) shows how this phrasing could be used both inside the text and in its opening⁸¹:

Col i:

- ἔτους λδ λόγος γεωργίας παρὰ
 Πύρρου τοῦ ἀπολήμματος
 ἔδει σε τάξασθαι χλωρῶν ἄμθ
 καὶ ἀπὸ σικίου (δραχμὰς) ιε (γίνονται) ἄξδ
 5 ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς παρὰ Λιμναίου
 ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) π
 Παταικίῳ ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) ρ
 Δημητρίῳ ὀνηλάτῃ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) μ
 Διονυσίῳ (δραχμὰς) κ
 10 παρὰ Πύρρου αὐτοῦ (δραχμὰς) ο
 Εὐεμπόλῳ (δραχμὰς) κ
 (γίνονται) ἀργυρ(ίου) (δραχμαὶ) τν
 καὶ Φιλήμονι χαλ(κοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ι

⁸¹ On l. 2, cf. WILCKEN 1927a, 283–284 = BL 2.2.43. Regularisation: l. 2: ἀπολήμματος, *lege* ἀπολείμματος.

Πετοσίρει Σεσεώσιος χαλ(κοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ιβ
 15 Πάτιτι (δραχμὰς) μη
 Ὡρωι Πετεμίνιος (δραχμὰς) κδ
 Διοφάντῳ (δραχμὰς) κ
 [Ἀ]ρτέμωνι (δραχμὰς) ιβ
 [-ca.?-] .μεμ[-ca.?-]
 - - - - -

Year 34. Agricultural account from Pyrros. Of the remainder, it was necessary that you pay of fodder 949, and from the cucumber 15 drachmas, total 964 drachmas. We have from Limnaios 80 silver drachmas, to Pataikion 100 silver drachmas, to Demetrios the donkey driver 40 silver drachmas, to Dionysios 20 drachmas, from Pyrros himself 70 drachmas, to Euempolos 20 drachmas, total 350 silver drachmas; and to Philemon 10 copper drachmas, to Petosiris son of Seseosis 12 copper drachmas, to Patis 48 drachmas, to Horos son of Peteminis 24 drachmas, to Diophantes 20 drachmas, to Artemon 23 drachmas, [...]

Zenon also received a document, labelled γραφή on the back, in which he was ordered to perform an investigation (P.Cair.Zen. III 59473); this document was simply headed παρὰ Νέωνος, again showing the ubiquity of this formula in indicating the origin of something.

Finally, ὑπόμνημα is not the only label attested, not even in openings presenting a dative followed by a παρὰ + genitive clause. First, two business accounts were labelled λόγος τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος: P.Lond. VII 1978 (253 BCE, λόγος Ζήνωνι παρὰ Δράκοντος) and P.Cair.Zen. III 59376 (260-240 BCE, λόγος παρ' Αἰσχίνου Ζήνωνι τῆς κριθῆς τῶν ἰ ἄρ(ταβῶν)). Such formulas are probably a longer version of the more common λόγος παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (for which cf. P.Cair.Zen. II 59268, 252-251 BCE, λόγος γεωργίας παρὰ Πύρρου, or P.Cair.Zen. III 59334, before 248 BCE, λόγος παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου)⁸². Second, among official documents, some denunciations, usually without any request, start with the formula προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος⁸³. Some examples are P.Mich. I 34 (254 BCE, προσάγγελμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀρχιφυλακίτῃ παρὰ Ἀντιγένους Μακεδόνης τῶν Νικάνορος κληροῦχου) or P.Cair.Zen. IV 59659 + P.Col. IV 92 (after 241 BCE, προσάγγελμα Ὡρωι φυλακίτῃ [πα]ρὰ Διοσκουρίδου).

⁸² Cf. the correction to P.Lond. VII 2029, Appendix, chapter 6.

⁸³ On these documents, cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.4.1, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 197–200; 217.

The opening ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός, replaced in this context, seems to be composed of current components (labelling; using παρὰ indicating a sender; using the dative to indicate the addressee) also attested elsewhere in the Greek documents. This observation allows for the hypothesis that during the middle of the third century BCE, the hypomnematic formulary was being created by pulling from different available expressions. The fact that other labels are attested, namely λόγος and προσάγγελμα, shows that the general movement was to conceive those openings as “label on content + dative + παρὰ + genitive”; yet ὑπόμνημα was the most common label and the one that remained to define those documents when the implicit prescript “dative + παρὰ + genitive” was developed⁸⁴.

Variations of the Prescript Formula

The prescript of early documents is mostly explicit, although the implicit one is already in circulation. The explicit prescript is not fully standardised, although most documents display the variant ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός. Some documents change the order of the structural parts of the formula, suppress some of them, or even add others. The following table presents the possible variations of the opening formula attested around the middle of the third century BCE:

Prescript	Papyrus	Date, place (default: Arsinoite)
τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεινός	P.Cair.Zen. III 59489	middle III BCE
ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεινός τῷ δεῖνι	P.Cair.Zen. III 59475	middle III BCE
	P.Köln XII 476	middle III BCE
	P.Lond. VII 2017	242/241 BCE
	P.Mich. I 67	ca. 243-242 BCE
	P.Petr.Kleon. 68	255/254 BCE
ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεινα	PSI IV 416	middle III BCE
ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεινός	P.Cair.Zen. II 59188	255 BCE, Memphite?
	P.Cair.Zen. III 59406	256-248 BCE
	P.Cair.Zen. III 59518	middle III BCE
	P.Hamb. IV 237	265 or 227 BCE, provenance unknown
ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι	P.Cair.Zen. IV 59654	middle III BCE

⁸⁴ On this, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.3.4.

	P.Col. IV 107	middle III BCE
	P.Lond. VII 2050 + PSI VI 674	middle III BCE
	PSI IV 412	middle III BCE
	PSI IV 425	middle III BCE
τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος	P.Col. IV 65?	ca. 256/255 BCE
	P.Tebt. III.1 772	236 BCE
	P.Tebt. III.2 846	236 BCE?
παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι	P.Cair.Zen. III 59383	middle III BCE
ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος περί τινος	P.Cair.Zen. III 59445	before 248/247 BCE
ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός τινων	P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566	ca. 27/10/250 BCE
ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι περί τινος	P.Cair.Zen. IV 59649	256-248 BCE
	P.Mich. I 45	after 01/06/252 BCE
ὑπόμνημα τοῦ δεῖνος	P.Col. IV 90?	244 BCE

A handful of documents mention the sender before the addressee (ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι)⁸⁵; this variation, attested even outside the Zenon archive (P.Petr.Kleon 68), cannot be explained as the result of the hierarchical superiority of the sender, since, whenever possible to ascertain, the addressee is superior in rank to the sender (e.g. P.Cair.Zen. III 59475). Moreover, these documents do not share any common feature; the only possible explanation is that the formula was not yet standardised.

Twelve documents mention only the sender or the addressee. The absence of the other mention implies that the other party's identity must have been known in another way; the easiest way to resolve this is to assume a direct interaction between the two parties. The documents without the mention of the sender are mostly short requests or instructions concerning simple matters of daily administration or tasks, and these notes were likely sent to the addressee by a known sender⁸⁶. The same is true for those lacking the mention of an addressee, usually short notes for regular business that are probably near cognate with the

⁸⁵ P.Cair.Zen. III 59475; P.Köln XII 476; P.Lond. VII 2017; P.Mich. I 67; P.Petr.Kleon 68. On the order addressee-sender, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 172–173, who considers it to be a Hellenistic innovation.

⁸⁶ P.Cair.Zen IV 59654; P.Lond. VII 2050; PSI IV 412. In P.Col. IV 107 the absence of the sender mention may also be linked to its being an embedded document: the opening of joint copied texts could be shortened.

reports simply headed *παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*⁸⁷. However, this same feature is also attested in longer business documents⁸⁸. Finally, P.Hamb. IV 237, a petition with multiple corrections, is probably a draft, according to its editor.

On the other hand, a scattering of documents develops their opening more than usual, adding a mention of the document's content to it. Although these mentions cannot usually be assigned with certainty to the opening or the main text⁸⁹, P.Mich. I 45, with the mention *περὶ τῶν κηπουρῶν* (P.Mich. I 45, l. 2) graphically included in the opening and set apart from the main text, clearly shows that this addition could be considered part of the actual prescript⁹⁰.

Conclusion

The defining feature of the hypomnematic documents, the opening (*ὑπόμνημα*) *τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*, was still evolving during the middle of the third century BCE, as were the format and layout features. A high degree of inconsistency is observed, resulting in many different openings composed of features attested more generally in contemporary sources. The mention *ὑπόμνημα* reflects both the practice of labelling documents and the presence of the primary functional meaning of the word: it can be considered a functional label, like *λόγος* or *προσάγγελμα*. The idea of expressing provenance with the clause *παρά* + genitive was also widespread, and different possible combinations of the three elements (label – addressee – sender) were employed. All these features indicate that the hypomnematic type of documents was still in a time of transformation, progressively evolving toward a more fixed and defined appearance.

2.2.2.2 Final Greetings

Final greeting formulas were probably only introduced in letters during the third century BCE and became standard by the mid-century⁹¹. Therefore, they represent an innovation rapidly included in *hypomnemata* as well.

⁸⁷ P.Cair.Zen. II 59188; III 59406; III 59518, containing short orders, reports, or requests. BAETENS 2020a, 83 considers such documents lacking an addressee to be notes for personal use, yet the presence of a sender shows that they are the result of interpersonal communication.

⁸⁸ P.Mich. I 45 delivers instructions, PSI IV 425 is a (quite nervous) reminder of previously given instructions, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59649 an offer concerning a boat and P.Col. IV 90 a long document reporting on the work done and the missing salary. In the last case, the absence of the addressee may be explained by its being a copy of the original document.

⁸⁹ Cf. P.Cair.Zen. III 59445; IV 59566; 59649.

⁹⁰ The case of SB VI 9556, col. ii, for which no picture is available, is more ambiguous, yet the particle *δέ* at l. 6 shows that what precedes was probably regarded as a unit.

⁹¹ SARRI 2018, 42; 44; 121.

The two most frequent ways to end a *hypomnema* are εὐτύχει without any date or simply no greeting at all. εὐτύχει is a polite way of ending a message, adopted in various types of contemporary communication. It is attested, for example, in letters and *enteuxeis*, such as P.Cair.Zen. I 59075, P.Col. III 6, 9, or PSI IV 352; the Cairo example is revelatory of the nuance between these two salutations: to a letter addressed to Apollonios, ending with ἔppωσο + date, is appended the copy of a letter to the king that, without being an *enteuxis*, politely ends with εὐτύχει. The formality of this formula makes it especially suited for *hypomnemata* that contain requests⁹².

The formula ἔppωσο + date, typical of letters, is seldom attested in *hypomnemata* of the third century BCE, and it later disappears altogether⁹³; this again shows that early *hypomnemata* still exhibit some variability, although some features are already dominant. P.Cair.Zen. III 59531, which has no contemporary parallel, displays a kind of hybridisation, with εὐτύχει followed by a date. These variations demonstrate once more that in the third century BCE, scribes were still experimenting with formulas and that there was a certain level of flexibility.

2.2.2.3 Dates

The inclusion of a date in the opening or the greetings is sporadic in early *hypomnemata*. Three documents end with a date and no greetings: a message sent to Zenon (P.Cair.Zen. III 59307, 250 BCE), an embedded kind instruction or a request from Apollonios the οἰκονόμος (PSI V 510, 253 BCE) and an embedded petition (SB VI 9556, col. ii, ca. 245 BCE). Only one document presents a date before the opening, an administrative account: P.Tebt. III.2 846. It is difficult to see any coherence or pattern in this diverse group of documents. A date may also occur in the main text, especially when there is the need to situate a complained unlawful deed chronologically. This general absence of a date partially explains the difficulties in pinning down a precise chronology of the evolution of early *hypomnemata*.

⁹² On the formal nature of εὐτύχει, cf. SARRI 2018, 121.

⁹³ I only know P.Cair.Zen. III 59301, 59445, 59489 and P.Lond. VII 2017, belonging to the Zenon archive, P.Eleph. 25 and 27 a, belonging to the Milon archive, and P.Petr.Kleon 20, l. 2-14 (256 BCE), P.Tebt. III.1 772 (236 BCE), P.Köln XI 452 (219 or 202 BCE). The latest occurrences are P.Tebt. III.1 793, col. i, l. 30 (183 BCE) and TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360, on which date cf. Appendix, chapter 6).

2.2.2.4 External Address and the Delivery of Early Hypomnemata

Presence of Indications on the Back of Early Hypomnemata

The last formulaic element considered here is the notes added to the back of the text. The editions were often silent about them: when they say nothing, it is impossible to know whether the back is free of traces or simply unpublished. A crucial distinction is to be made between the notes on the back written by the first or by a second hand: whereas first-hand notes function as addresses, second-hand notes are simple dockets added by the receiver to summarise the content of the message.

Few *hypomnemata* undisputedly present text on their back, only one-quarter of the early documents considered. They mainly bear a mention of the recipient (in the dative) or, less frequently, the sender (expressed in the nominative, genitive, or with *παρά* + genitive), rarely a combination of both. The back can also display other notes of a differing nature, whose relation to the main text on the front is not always clear.

Without the images, it is not easy to establish which notes were added by the sender and which later, perhaps by the addressee. Even with them, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether or not the cursive back notes correspond to a hand shift (e.g. PSI IV 413). The case of P.Cair.Zen. III 59301 illustrates how complex the matter can be: it has on the back the name of the addressee written by the sender and the name of the sender written by what can be a cursive variant of the same hand or another hand (the addressee?).

Seven documents mention the addressee on their backs; when it is possible to assess the handwriting, this note usually comes from the same hand as the main text on the front and probably had the function of an address⁹⁴. P.Cair.Zen. III 59307, for which the editor proposes an addressee mention on the back without hand shift, was sent through τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ φέροντί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα (P.Cair.Zen. III 59307, l. 17-19), and reveals that *hypomnemata* could be sent. However, the phenomenon is less frequent among *hypomnemata* than among letters, which often present an address on their back.

The eight mentions of the sender present an opposite situation because they are primarily written in a cursive hand difficult to attribute⁹⁵. They may be a docket by the recipient in

⁹⁴ The images of P.Cair.Zen. III 59384, 59457 and PSI V 528 display no handshift. The hand on the back of P.Tebt. III.1 772 was impossible to appraise based on the images, and I could not access the image of the back of P.Cair.Zen. III 59307 and 59439. Only P.Col. IV 90 seems to have a handshift between the two hands of the front and the probable third hand of the back.

⁹⁵ P.Cair.Zen. II 59172, P.Col. III 44, PSI IV 408, 413, 443 are impossible to assess; I see no change for P.Cair.Zen. III 59489 (which has on the back, in addition to the sender mention, a summary in another hand,

order to remember who the sender was, but this is far from certain. The case of the documents with both a mention of the sender and the addressee is also hard to assess; for the most part, these two mentions are written by the same hand whose connection with the front is not always clear⁹⁶.

Delivery of Early Hypomnemata

The addresses added to the back of the documents by the first hand, typical of letters, are rare among the early *hypomnemata* and become even rarer in the following centuries⁹⁷. Since an external address is fundamental to the safe delivery of a sealed document via messenger to its final destination, its absence implies that *hypomnemata* were not sealed and sent, as for letters, but rather that their delivery method was somehow different⁹⁸. Other arguments have been summoned to stress this disparity⁹⁹: first, the ancient formulary makes a verbal distinction between the delivery procedure of *hypomnemata*, which were submitted (δίδωμι or a compound), and of letters, which were sent (ἀποστέλλω or similar); second, there are mentions of people travelling to Alexandria to submit a *hypomnema*; finally, *hypomnemata* are often handed over during the visit of the authorities to the χώρα.

Without an address, *hypomnemata* were probably given directly to their recipient or a representative. This fact, of course, does not imply a thorough personal discussion between the submitter and the addressee, especially in the case of administrative *hypomnemata*. However, hand-to-hand delivery had the advantage of safety: one was sure that his message reached the addressee¹⁰⁰.

The distinction in delivery methods was, in all likelihood, already developing during the third century BCE: external addressees are rare among *hypomnemata*, and the most used verb is indeed δίδωμι (although the translation “to give” is probably more appropriate than

probably written by the addressee) and a change for P.Cair.Zen. II 59188. I had no image of the back of P.Cair.Zen. IV 59650.

⁹⁶ In the case of P.Petr. II 9_5, the two mentions on the back are written in the same hand, clearly different from that of the front; in PSI VI 593 the two mentions are in the same hand, resembling the one on the front but probably not the same; in PSI V 533 the addressee is suggested in the back lacuna and the hands are very difficult to establish on the base of the pictures; in P.Cair.Zen. III 59301 the two mentions are written in two different hands, the one for the addressee resembling the front (but also to the hand of PSI VI 593 back) and the one for the sender being clearly different.

⁹⁷ The only later *hypomnemata* with an external address are BGU VIII 1821 and possibly also P.Tebt. III.1 805, P.Tor.Choach. 3 and TM 131855 (P.Duke inv. 325). In the case of TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360, on whose date cf. Appendix, chapter 6), the reading is uncertain according to the editor.

⁹⁸ Although even letters without an external address could reach their destination, this element was most often included in a letter, cf. VANDORPE 2008, 173.

⁹⁹ BICKERMANN 1930a, 170–172; BAETENS 2020a, 219–223.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. THOMPSON 2012, 226.

“to submit”, at least for the Zenon papers)¹⁰¹. P.Cair.Zen. II 59261, with a marginal note by the same hand concerning something said to the sender (ms 13-15: ἔφη ἡμῶν γραψόντων λαβεῖν), also suggests that there had been an oral exchange¹⁰². Nevertheless, external addressees are much more frequent among early *hypomnemata* (seven on a small corpus, whereas only two are confirmed from among the hundreds of *hypomnemata* from the second and first century BCE), and at least P.Cair.Zen. III 59307 was explicitly sent via an intermediary (cf. l. 17-19: τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ φέροντί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα). Therefore, the distinction between letters and *hypomnemata* according to the delivery method was not fully fixed until around the end of the century, like other elements of the typology (format, layout, formulas). Some elements of interference with letters are still visible in the preserved record.

2.2.3 Variability of Content

2.2.3.1 Functions of the Early Hypomnemata

The early *hypomnemata* vary greatly according to their content; although it may be tempting to group them according to their correspondence with later specimens, for instance, separating them into “Urhypomnemata” and “formlose Zettel”, this should be avoided¹⁰³. They are mostly communication notes from the Zenon papers, whose degree of formality changes according to the relationship of the corresponding parties (hierarchy, acquaintance) but which all fall into the category of private correspondence¹⁰⁴. These notes may be roughly divided into two groups: documents concerning business matters and requests to Zenon.

Concerning business, there are reports on already completed tasks, sometimes written as lists (e.g. P.Cair.Zen. II 59172 and III 59406), or instructions on work to be done (mostly

¹⁰¹ E.g. P.Cair.Zen. II 59187 (l. 3: ὑπομνήματα ἡμῖν πλείονα δεδώ[κασιν]); IV 59633 (l. 3-4: ὑπό[μ]νημα δόντες); V 59804 (l. 11: σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔδωκα); P.Lille I 50 (l. 2-3: δόντος Λύσιδος Ἀριστάνδρῳ τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον ὑπόμνημα); P.Lond. VII 2017 (l. 2: δέδωκα μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ὑπόμνημα[α]); PSI IV 425 (l. 2: πλεονάκις δέδωκα ὑπόμνημα); SB VI 9556 (col. iii, l. 1: δόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τὸ ὑπόμνημα). In P.Petr.Kleon 20 the difference with letters is visible: l. 1-2: Διονύσιος Δώρῳ χαίρειν. ἀπέσταλκά σοι τοῦ δοθέντος μοι ὑπομνήματος π[α]ρὰ Π[ε]τεχώνσιος τὰ ἀντίγραφα. The same is true for PSI V 510, l. 1-3: Μουσαῖος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. τοῦ παρ’ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ [ο]ἰκονομ[ο]ῦ[ν]τος τὴν κάτω τοπαρχίαν δοθέντος ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματος ἀπέ[σ]ταλκά σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον; cf. also P.Cair.Zen. III 59368, l. 8-9; P.Mich. I 75; P.Petr.Kleon 20. P.Lond. VII 1994 has surprisingly, l. 183-184: ἐπεὶ προσήκται σοι [ἐ]ν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα πλήθη, while P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 8: τοῦ προσεγεγῆντος ὑπομνήματος.

¹⁰² BICKERMANN 1930a, 171; BAETENS 2020a, 221 had the same impression.

¹⁰³ For the distinction “Urhypomnemata” and “formlose Zettel”, cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 165–166.

¹⁰⁴ They also fall into the problematic category of “business” correspondence, whose division from the private one is problematic, cf. SARRI 2018, 66–68; everything has been grouped under the “private” label. Some documents for which no interpersonal communication could be spotted and which indeed resemble personal notes were excluded from the analysis, such as P.Cair.Zen. II 59218, 59297 and IV 59653.

with imperative verbs). Some examples are quite simple, like P.Mich. I 86, with two sections, each introduced by an infinitive, ordering a report to someone about business matters. Other examples are longer, like P.Cair.Zen. III 59394, a long list from a certain Apollonios to Zenon concerning money and goats. The language of these factual reports is usually succinct and effective. Some documents containing service offers can also be included among business texts; they can be more formal, probably because of the hierarchical positions of the parties, like in PSI IV 400 (a note in which the writer presents himself as a new farmer).

The business correspondence of the estate managed by Zenon also includes documents concerning various disputes and wrongs. Different problems would emerge among people connected to the estate; for example, P.Lond. VII 2052 and P.Zen.Pestm. 43 are connected to the flight of some slaves, P.Cair.Zen. III 59484 makes an internal accusation against a fellow carpet maker, and the writer of PSI IV 406 denounces the clandestine business of two colleagues in Palestine.

The second main group of *hypomnemata* from the Zenon archive includes all the requests concerning different matters, including the redress of wrongs, addressed mostly to Zenon himself¹⁰⁵. These are recognisable through their politer and more developed style. Thus, there are formulas such as καλῶς δ' ἂμ ποιήσας (PSI IV 407, l. 6-7; 11), καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις (P.Cair.Zen. III 59307, l. 15-16), εἰ οὖν σοι δοκεῖ (P.Cair.Zen. III 59494, l. 18), εἰ δὲ δύνηι βοηθηῆσαι (P.Col. III 44, l. 16-17), ἐνεύχομαί σοι τὴν Ἀπολλωνίου σφωτηρίαν (...) ἐμὲ δεόμενόν σου (P.Cair.Zen. III 59482, l. 2-3; 19), or δέομαι οὖν σου (P.Col. IV 90, l. 12-13) and νῦν οὖν ἀξιοῦμέν σε (P.Cair.Zen. III 59377, l. 6), both typical of petitions.

Not all requests are as formal as those examples; some, connected to the businesses of Zenon, are much more straightforward, like P.Cair.Zen. III 59489. One can notice the difference by comparing P.Cair.Zen. III 59457 and PSI V 528, both requests for the expected salary by Kleon, someone near enough to Zenon to call him “father”, whatever the exact relationship between the two: the second is much longer and politer.

¹⁰⁵ A separation between requests and petitions, both modern definitions, was consciously left unfixed, since the distinction is not that clear at the time. For a discussion, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 6–8. His proposition to distinguish ordinary and extraordinary requests, the latter being what would nowadays be defined as petitions, is less pertinent to Zenon documents, which are mostly a private correspondence including requests of various nature from more or less familiar people. The statement by the editor of P.Hamb. IV 237, p. 8 that these early documents cannot be considered as petitions because they do not concern wrongdoings and do not ask for redress is confuted by e.g. P.Mich. I 79, where the sender asks for the restitution of some mills unlawfully kept by his opponent.

These early *hypomnemata* lack a striking feature considered characteristic of the later ones: the systematically unbalanced relationship in which the sender is subordinate to the addressee¹⁰⁶. By the second century BCE, this hierarchical distinction is visually underlined by the isolated position of the mention of the addressee on the sheet¹⁰⁷. On the contrary, among the early *hypomnemata*, the addressee can also be subordinate to the sender and receive compulsory orders, as in P.Mich. I 86, based on the infinitive ἀναγ<γ>εῖλαι, or P.Cair.Zen. III 59383, which gives instructions via the impersonal δεῖ followed by an infinitive (l. 4; 12; 16)¹⁰⁸.

The few early *hypomnemata* preserved outside the Zenon papers are mostly poorly preserved or embedded under other documents. Examples of private business correspondence are attested among these documents (notably P.Petr. II 9_5 and P.Petr.Kleon 20, l. 2-14), so this usage of *hypomnemata* cannot be considered a specificity of Zenon's business.

Hypomnemata were also used for official correspondence, as transpires from the official titles of the addressees mentioned in the opening of some of them (e.g. P.Tebt. III.2 846, l. 4: νομάρχῃ; P.Hib. I 72, l. 4: ἐπιστάτῃ); these titles were notably absent from Zenon correspondence. Such official *hypomnemata* are also more frequently dated. Excepted for an internal administrative account (P.Tebt. III.2 846) and an administrative report with a demand (P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17), they contain requests of various types, addressed this time to the authority appropriate to solve the problem or redress the wrong (e.g. P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14, P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17, P.Tebt. III.1 772, SB VI 9556, col. ii) – what the scholarship calls petitions; they can also be reminders of previous requests¹⁰⁹. These documents, mostly preserved as copies embedded in other official

¹⁰⁶ This feature was especially underlined by juridical research when dealing with the appearance, at the end of the first century BCE, of lease contracts prepared in the form of *hypomnemata*, cf. ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 23; WOLFF 1978, 114; 119–120; MÜLLER 1985, 50–51; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1052; 1057; yet it belongs to the general vision of *hypomnemata* in modern scholarship, e.g. in FOURNET 2010, 68. Sometimes, it was also considered crucial for Zenon *hypomnemata*, e.g. by SEIDL 1962, 67. Already in P.Tebt. III.1 703, p. 68, however, it was noticed that in Zenon *hypomnemata*, the sender can be a superior of the addressee.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.2.

¹⁰⁸ For the imperative as a clue on the relationship between communicating parties, cf. VERHOOGT 1998, 70–71 with n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ P.Hamb. IV 237 probably also belongs to this group.

correspondence¹¹⁰, show the existence of official *hypomnemata* with explicit prescripts before the last quarter of the third century BCE¹¹¹.

These administrative *hypomnemata*, although not well-preserved, display the same inconsistency as those from the Zenon archive; this indicates that this variability was not the result of the private nature of the Zenon notes but a general characteristic of the early *hypomnemata*. There is at least one vertical (P.Sorb. III 94, whose content is unclear) and one horizontal, *transversa charta* document (P.Tebt. III.1 772). The opening utilised is mostly explicit and once even includes what seems to be a long outline of the document's contents (SB VI 9556, col. ii¹¹²), but P.Tebt. III.1 772 has the very first attested implicit opening. When preserved, greetings vary from nothing (P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17) to the simple date (SB VI 9556, col. ii), to εὐτύχει (P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14) or ἔρρωσο + date (P.Tebt. III.1 772); yet this variability may also be affected by the fact that most of these texts are copies of the originals embedded in other correspondences and may thus have been modified. P.Tebt. III.1 772, the earliest preserved official hypomnematic request which is not a reminder, notably contains more than just one request, displays a horizontal format and greetings inspired by contemporary letters, and uses the implicit prescript, all features indicating that the official *hypomnemata* were not yet fully formalised¹¹³.

2.2.3.2 Addressing the Authority: Early Declarations and Petitions

Later *hypomnemata* are mostly known for being the documents of the interaction of private people with the administration, for instance in the form of declarations or petitions. These functions are not yet connected with a specific type of document around the middle of the third century BCE, and the whole system seems to be developing¹¹⁴. Various kinds of other documents were used for declarations and petitions, and *hypomnemata* are not yet established for either of these functions, as the following examples will make clear.

¹¹⁰ P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14; P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17; SB VI 9556, col. ii.

¹¹¹ P.Lille I 9 is an additional administrative *hypomnema* with explicit opening, concerning a payment to be done by the sender. It is generically dated to the third century BCE (the editor speaks of a palaeographical date to the reign of Ptolemy II), and is probably to be located in this group of documents too.

¹¹² The document starts, l. 1-6: ὑπόμνημα Νικοκλεῖ κ[αὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς]/ χρηματισταῖς παρὰ Φαμήτος τοῦ/ Πετενούριος περὶ τῆς [ἐ]ντεύξεως/ ἥς ἐνέβαλον κατὰ [Δη]μητρίου τοῦ/ παρὰ Φανίου περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σταθμοῦ/ ὃν ἀπεβιάζετό με (on the text l. 1, cf. WOLFF 1970, 72 n. 36 a = BL 5.38). It recalls the beginning of P.Cair.Zen. III 59301, a hypomnematic request starting, l. 1-4: ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι παρὰ Κασ\σάν\δρου τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου στρατι\ωτων· περὶ [. . .] εὐτος, οὗ καὶ ἐμ πόλ\ε/ι σοι ἐμνήσθην φάμενος ἀνήχθα[ι]/ αὐτὸν εἰς Φιλαδέλφει[α]ν ἐν τοῖς θερισταῖς τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Μεμφίτου/ κόμης Ψύχεως.

¹¹³ BAETENS 2020a, 110 remarks that P.Tebt. III.1 772 has a more developed structure than later *hypomnemata*, probably because of its early date; in this regard, it resembles the older documents.

¹¹⁴ Cf. for instance CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 7; 15.

A group of declarations from 257-224 BCE greatly differ from *hypomnemata*¹¹⁵. The bulk of the documentation is composed of eleven Demotic declarations, seven times with Greek summaries, addressed to the νομάρχης Diogenes and dated between 252 and 250 BCE (P.Lille Dem. I 12-20, TM 45906, 45907)¹¹⁶. They are double documents containing an oath-taking concerning the declared small livestock (sheep and goats). Five Greek documents of various types can be added to them. Only P.Köln VII 314, a declaration of a plot of land dated to 257 BCE, is older than the Demotic documents; it is formulated as a dated objective statement without an addressee that switches in its second part to a subjective statement, a choice that has no continuation. A bunch of Greek documents from the 240s (P.Frankf. 5, P.Hib. I 33, W.Chr. 198¹¹⁷) are formulated as subjective statements without an addressee but are very different from each other formally and on the declared object (livestock, various property, people in the household). This absence of consistency possibly continues down to the 220s, with one declaration of livestock dated to 222 BCE drawn up as a *hypomnema* (W.Chr. 242) and one possible declaration of objects dated to 224/223 BCE and drawn up as the older statements (W.Chr. 244, l. 1-4)¹¹⁸. These older pieces are mostly dated, a feature that will be adopted by the hypomnematic declarations, among the rare Ptolemaic hypomnematic documents that systematically bear a date¹¹⁹; they also frequently present two copies of the same text, as in the Demotic examples, a feature that is also kept in the first hypomnematic declaration (W.Chr. 242)¹²⁰.

The idea that all inhabitants of Egypt had to declare their income once a year to the administration is already attested in Herodotus, well before the Macedonian conquest¹²¹. It

¹¹⁵ For a list of Ptolemaic property declarations, cf. QANDEIL 2022, 10–12.

¹¹⁶ TM 45906 and 45907 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2301 and 1196) were published in DE CENIVAL 1967; the Greek docket of the first one is also known as SB X 10452. On these documents, cf. also BALCONI 1988; BALCONI 2000, 143–144. On this archive, cf. HÉRAL 1992; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 123–125 (TM Arch 68).

¹¹⁷ SB I 4307 and XXVIII 17193, whose date is uncertain but whose general aspect is similar, can be added. SB XIV 11308 may also belong to this list, but its function is unclear: according to the editor, “it may be a declaration of property or a military report” (CLARYSSE 1975, 72). P.Lille I 27 is not a declaration, yet it contains a list of name called ἀπ[ο]γρ[α]φή [ε]ἰς τ[ὴ]ν ἀλικία (l. 1; cf. HARRAUER 2010, 197 nr. 22); the same is true for P.Tebt. III.1 814, l. 45-58. PSI VI 626 Vo contains a list of livestock headed ἀπογραφή τῶν ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ προβάτων. The list of names BGU XIV 2372 is not, according to its editor, a declaration.

¹¹⁸ The type of document of W.Chr. 244 is not fully clear; it preserves an early *prosangelma* in its final lines and a declaration in its initial lines, which was interpreted as a declaration of property but may also be the declaration of the stolen objects.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *infra*, chapters 3.1.1, 3.1.3.2 and 3.2.3.2, section “Formulary and Process Notes by a Second Hand”. The only certainly undated hypomnematic property declaration is UPZ I 116.

¹²⁰ Cf. P.Frankf. 5; P.Hib. I 33; P.Köln VII 314. Cf. WOLFF 1978, 80; P.Köln VII 314, p. 83, according to which these are not actual double documents, since they are not supposed to be kept together with one half sealed but to be cut into two pieces.

¹²¹ Hdt. 2.177: νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦνται· μὴ δὲ ποιέοντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην

is thus possible to see in the declarations an older practice adopted and developed by the Ptolemaic administration, a hypothesis that would explain the abundance of Demotic declarations at the beginning of the Lagid reign¹²². Another hypothesis is also possible: Herodotus mentions in the same passage that the Athenians adopted this usage¹²³; therefore, it may have reached Macedonia through Attica and entered the Ptolemaic administration through this path¹²⁴. In this case, however, the archive of old Demotic declarations would be an exception in a fixed pattern, and it would also be harder to explain the fluctuations in establishing a Greek typology for these documents.

Petitions to the authority are likewise not restricted to hypomnematic documents. During the second and third quarter of the third century BCE, *enteuxeis*, i.e. petitioning documents headed τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα, are well attested not only for petitioning the king (like in P.Enteux. 1, dated to 259 BCE) but also different officials. One instance of such *enteuxeis* is P.Cair.Zen. II 59236, addressed to a διοικητής called Diotimos and concerning misconduct of an οἰκονόμος, dated 254/253 BCE. *Enteuxeis* are also used, as *hypomnemata*, for all sorts of requests to hierarchical superiors – something primarily attested in the archives of Zenon and of Kleon¹²⁵. Generally speaking, petitions and requests drawn up as *enteuxeis* are more formal than contemporary *hypomnemata*, contain more politeness formulas and are less connected with everyday business among acquaintances.

During these decades, the practicalities of petitioning the administration and the corresponding types of documents are not yet fixed as they will be later¹²⁶. Only during the

ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ; cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 137; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 14; QANDEIL 2022, 2. Diodorus mentions more general economic reforms from this same pharaoh (Diod. Sic. 1.95). On this supposed reform of Amasis, which should be inserted into the more general picture of the administrative reforms of the Saite dynasty, cf. AGUT-LABORDÈRE 2013, especially 1006–1009; 1026. FORSHAW 2019, 161 mentions that no declarations have been found from this period to confirm Herodotus words. The practice of counting people and animals, although not of taxing them, is however well attested in pharaonic Egypt, cf. ALLAM 1988; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 13–14; 206–207; 224; it is also attested in Persian Egypt, cf. THOMPSON 2009, 399 (citing as proof Textbook of Aramaic documents C3.9–10 = TM 89526–89527; Textbook of Aramaic documents C3.20–24 = TM 102212; 89537; 102203; 105631; 105650); AGUT-LABORDÈRE 2017, 688.

¹²² On the links between pharaonic and Ptolemaic census operations, cf. THOMPSON 1997, 243; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 15–16; compare to those between pharaonic and Ptolemaic land survey, on which cf. MANNING 2003, 146–156.

¹²³ Hdt. 2.177: Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, ἐόντι ἀμύμῳ νόμῳ.

¹²⁴ A possible link between Attica and Egypt would be Demetrios of Phaleron, who conducted a census in Athens (Ath. 272 C = FGrH 245 F 1; cf. HUEBNER 2013, 1411 with further bibliography), but we do not know whether this count of citizens included the use of declarations.

¹²⁵ On these *enteuxeis*, cf. COLLOMP 1926, 67–72; 133–136; BICKERMANN 1930a, 157–159; BAETENS 2020a, 53–66.

¹²⁶ BICKERMANN 1930a, 179–180 already made this observation, connecting it to the mode of answer of petitions. According to him, with the diffusion of hypomnematic petitions in the last third of the third century BCE, the habit of answering the petitioner via letter ceased.

last quarter of the century does the use of *hypomnemata* become generalised, and *enteuxeis* are reserved for petitions addressed to the king or the law court of the χρηματισταί judges¹²⁷. Thus, the earliest *hypomnemata* addressed to a στρατηγός, those for Aphthonetos, in charge between 244 and 222 BCE (P.Petr. III 29 b-e), are reminders of earlier petitions formulated as *enteuxeis* and probably addressed, at least formally, to the king. Similarly, SB VI 9556, col. ii is a reminder to the χρηματισταί of a previous *enteuxis* and P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14 a reminder of previous interactions (including one *hypomnema*). The first preserved primary petition written as a *hypomnema* addressed to an official is P.Tebt. III.1 772, of 236 BCE, submitted to a νομάρχης.

The boundaries between *hypomnemata*, polite letters and *enteuxeis* were likewise not clearly established¹²⁸. During the second and third quarters of the third century BCE, *hypomnemata* and *enteuxeis* could address similar matters, as illustrated by the comparison between P.Cair.Zen. III 59482, a *hypomnema* asking Zenon to free the sender's wife from prison, and PSI V 532, an *enteuxis* asking him to free the sender's sons from prison. Moreover, as for *hypomnemata*, early *enteuxeis* can address everyday matters and are not reserved for petitioning the authority; for instance, in the *enteuxis* P.Cair.Zen. III 59498, the sender complains to Zenon, his superior, that he has received no wages, as in the *hypomnema* P.Cair.Zen. III 59507. In P.Cair.Zen. III 59500, the form of the *enteuxis* is used for making a hiring proposal. Similarly, the difference between *enteuxeis* and polite letters was not as clear-cut as later on. P.Lond. VII 1976 is a letter asking to rectify a wrong, content that would have also been suitable for an *enteuxis* or a *hypomnema*. P.Cair.Zen. III 59409, a message for Zenon, shows the permeability of the types: the opening reads Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Βότρυς, the greetings ἔρρωσο without date, the text was written *transversa charta* on a vertical sheet¹²⁹, and the content is a request concerning work duties, without any mention of wrongs to be redressed.

Finally, another type of document for addressing the authority in case of wrongdoing was attested during the third century BCE, which would later merge with the *hypomnemata*: the so-called *proangelma*¹³⁰. These short documents report crimes to the authorities whose

¹²⁷ Cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as GUÉRAUD 1931, XXXI–XXXVI; BAETENS 2020a, 224–235.

¹²⁸ Cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 179–180.

¹²⁹ The presence of a horizontal *kollesis* perpendicular to the fibres shows that the sheet was cut as a horizontal strip in the roll and then turned ninety degrees to achieve a vertical format, cf. Fig. 2.6.

¹³⁰ On these documents, cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.4.1, as well as HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 260–265; DI BITONTO 1968, 54–56; P.Köln V 216, p. 108–110; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 319–320; P.Heid. IX 423, p. 29–30; BAETENS 2020a, 197–200; 217; SKARSOULI 2020, 17.

perpetrator was unknown, and their opening may be formally close to *hypomnemata*; a typical example is P.Hib. I 36 (229 BCE). This type is again used more broadly than for addressing the administration, as the business report written as a *prosangelma* P.Cair.Zen. II 59167 proves.

P.Cair.Zen. III 59384 is an excellent example of the parallel existence of these types of documents and their partial specialisation. Its author, Antipatros, has sent to Zenon an ἐπιστολή (l. 3-4; 17-18) concerning some missing money; he has also sent to Timotheos, known from P.Ryl. IV 570 as a νομάρχης of the Arsinoite at the time, a προσάγγελμα (l. 16) containing the same information, probably acting as an official denunciation. He is now writing to Zenon a ὑπόμνημα (l. 1) correcting the mentioned amounts¹³¹.

2.2.4 *Hypomnemata* and Cognate Documents

In the mid-third century, *hypomnemata* were not fully defined yet, and their material and textual features were linked to other forms of written communication. A complete analysis of the interactions between document types in the fluid typology of third-century scribal practices is out of the scope of this work. However, two specific cases of interaction between *hypomnemata* and other documents deserve closer attention: *prosangelmata* and letters.

2.2.4.1 *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*: So-called Early Prosangelmata

Among documents resembling early *hypomnemata*, one group is especially close to them: the so-called early *prosangelmata*¹³². It is a small corpus of less than thirty texts dated to the third century, presenting a certain degree of uniformity¹³³. Their main point of contact with *hypomnemata* is their opening formula, *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*, composed of the same background elements of the hypomnematic prescript: label + dative + *παρά* + genitive. Akin to *hypomnemata*, their opening formula was not stable: the order of the elements could variate, and another version of the prescript, not related to the hypomnematic one, is even attested: *προσαγγέλλει τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα*. One frequent element was a date indication preceding the opening formula.

¹³¹ Cf. *infra*, chapter 2.2.4.2.

¹³² On these documents, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 260–265; DI BITONTO 1968, 54–56; P.Köln V 216, p. 108–110; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 319–320; P.Heid. IX 423, p. 29–30; BAETENS 2020a, 197–200; 217; SKARSOULI 2020, 17.

¹³³ P.Cair.Zen. II 59167; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59659 + P.Col. IV 92; P.Col. III 53; P.Gur. 8, l. 6–14; P.Hib. I 36; 37; 144; P.Lille I 6; P.Lond. VII 1980; 1981; P.Mich. I 34; 52; P.Petr. III 34 a; PSI IV 393; 396; P.Sorb. III 99; 133; P.Tebt. III.1 794; 795; P.Zen.Pestm. 45; SB XVI 12813; 12823; XVIII 13160; XXII 15803 b; W.Chr. 244, l. 5–7. List from BAETENS 2020a, 198.

The content of these notes is much more standardised than that of *hypomnemata*: two-thirds report crimes to the village authorities whose perpetrator was unknown. They can be written as double documents, as in the case of P.Mich. I 34, and often include some element to help understand the crime: the date in the heading, the indication of the localisation of the crime and a list of damage. The description of the facts is short and effective. Two features are missing: final requests and greetings.

Despite this high standardisation, these documents were not exempt from the various contaminations typical of the time. First, this type could be used more broadly than for addressing the administration – P.Cair.Zen. II 59167 is, for example, a business report to Zenon drawn up as a *proselagma*. Second, some interference with petitioning documents is known: the two documents P.Lond. VII 1980 and 1981 are two copies of the same text that mixes features of the *proselagma* (prescript προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, date, absence of greetings, report of crime to village officials) and of other petitioning documents like *hypomnemata* and *enteuxeis* (the wrongdoer is known and the writer ends his text with a request).

The earliest of these notifications date to the very beginning of the Zenon archive and the last to the end of the third century or the beginning of the second¹³⁴; they mostly come from the Arsinoite nome, as most third-century Greek papyri, but some notes from middle Egypt are known¹³⁵. At the end of the century, crime reports to village authorities will progressively grow closer to hypomnematic petitions, to the point that it will become impossible to distinguish the heirs of early *proselmata* reports from those of early *hypomnemata* petitions: crime reports adopt an implicit version of the prescript, τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, and systematically include a request¹³⁶. Some intermediate cases show that the evolution was progressive¹³⁷: P.Köln V 216 (209 BCE) is a notification of crime still very short and effective that, however, presents an implicit opening formula and a final request introduced by the exceptional verb ἐμφανίζω and already corresponds to a hypomnematic petition. The hesitations of the editor, who considered it a deviating early

¹³⁴ BAETENS 2020a, 198; earliest: SB XXII 15803 b (258 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. II 59167 (255 BCE); P.Mich. I 34 (254 BCE); latest: SB XVI 12823 (215 BCE); P.Gur. 8 (210 BCE); P.Petr. III 34 a (210-183 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 795 (early II BCE); SB XVI 12813 (early II BCE), but according to Gert Baetens the date of the last two is far from certain.

¹³⁵ Herakleopolite nome: P.Hib. I 36; 37; 144. P.Frankf. 3, l. 13-29 may preserve a draft of a *proselagma* without full opening from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

¹³⁶ Cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 265–273; DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 319–320; BAETENS 2020a, 200; SKARSOULI 2020, 17.

¹³⁷ Cf. DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Heid. IX 423, p. 29–30; SKARSOULI 2020, 17–18 n. 82.

prosangelma, reflect its intermediate status. Other examples of progressive evolution are P.Hamb. IV 237 (265 or 237 BCE, with explicit opening ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δέινος), SB X 10273 (235 or 210 BCE) and BGU VI 1251 (155 or 144 BCE), hypomnematic notifications of crime without request, and SB XVIII 13160 (244 or more probably 219 BCE), a *prosangelma* with explicit prescript that ends with the oldest attestation of the formula ἐπιδίδωμι ὅπως (l. 2-5: [ἔτ]ους γ Μεχεῖρ κς. προσάγγελμα [-ca.?-] .ει Πετεύριος φυλακίτη Μυήρεως παρὰ [Σ]τοτοήτιος τοῦ Φανήσιος τῶν κατοικούντων ἐμ Μυήρει; l. 17-18: ἐπιδ[ίδωμι] προσάγγελμά σοι ὅπως εἰδήης)¹³⁸.

As it will be shown later in the analysis, by the second century BCE, it has become impossible to distinguish the heirs of the early crime reports without request to the village authorities labelled προσάγγελμα from those of the petitions labelled ὑπόμνημα. At the time, a crime report to village authorities presented an implicit prescript lacking any label, contained a request, and was styled by scribes either ὑπόμνημα or προσάγγελμα in the main text, without any difference of usage of the two terms, both adopted for documents that were typologically identical and addressed to the same officials for the same matters¹³⁹.

2.2.4.2 P.Cair.Zen. III 59301, P.Tebt. III.1 772 and the Early Distinction of Hypomnemata and Letters

P.Cair.Zen. III 59301 (250 BCE) and P.Tebt. III.1 772 (236 BCE) are two hypomnematic documents that display a high degree of interference between the hypomnematic and the epistolary types, indicating that the boundary between the two genres is still flexible at the time. The first is a reminder to Zenon of a request his correspondent, Cassandros of the soldiers of Apollonios, made to him, and the second is a petition to a νομάρχης concerning a wrongful arrest. They are both written *transversa charta* on a sheet of papyrus cut for this purpose. The text is written as a block, and the final greeting formula is set apart in the bottom right corner of the sheet. The chosen formula, ἔρρωσο followed by a date, is typical of letters and rare among *hypomnemata* (even absent from the early second century BCE onward¹⁴⁰). They both present an address on the back, i.e. a mention of the addressee written by the same hand as the main text. Thus, the influence of the epistolary form on the

¹³⁸ Willy Clarysse suggests to date this papyrus in the late third century BCE for palaeographical reasons, cf. the database entry TM 2529.

¹³⁹ On the later relation of *prosangelmata* and *hypomnemata*, cf. *infra*, chapters 3.1.3.1 and 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”.

¹⁴⁰ The latest well dated *hypomnema* with ἔρρωσο is P.Tebt. III.1 793, col. i, l. 30 (183 BCE); it is embedded in a letter, and its closing formula may have been modified when the copy was made. Another occurrence, less certainly dated, is TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360), on whose date cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

materiality of the sheet, the formulas chosen and the method of delivery is, in both cases, considerable and shows the permeability of the two genres¹⁴¹.

P.Tebt. III.1 772 is the first primary petition to the authorities preserved written as a *hypomnema*. Therefore, it may be influenced by the materiality of the *enteuxeis*. The latter, already used for petitioning (cf. for instance P.Enteux. 1, 259 BCE), displayed a horizontal format. It also represents the earliest preserved *hypomnema* with implicit prescript, evidencing that the diffusion of the shorter formula was possibly connected with the extension to *hypomnemata* of the practice of petitioning the authorities.

These two pieces bring to the extreme the attested hybridisation between letters and early *hypomnemata*, two categories whose distinctions were not fully clarified yet. The two types of documents are pretty similar at the beginning. As shown in the previous pages, there were interferences between their material features (format, layout), textual formulas (openings, greetings), and delivery methods. For example, some mixed prescripts are attested, as in P.Cair.Zen. III 59489, whose formula τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος resembles the one of contemporary *enteuxeis*, τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα, and in an even clearer fashion in PSI IV 416, headed ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα. One can perceive this same hesitation in a draft, P.Cair.Zen. III 59499, that reads ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι [[χαίρειν]] παρὰ Πετοσίριος (l. 85-87).

Another example of the convergence between early *hypomnemata* and letters is P.Cair.Zen. III 59531, a sort of hypomnematic petition that includes some typical epistolary phraseology like ταῦτα δ[ὲ] γέγραφα σοι ἵνα εἰδῇς (l. 15-16) and a hybrid greeting formula εὐτύχει + date. Likewise, P.Cair.Zen. III 59307 presents an external address and asks Zenon to give to the deliverer three spades (l. 15-20: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις δοὺς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ φέροντί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα τρία σκαφεῖα), a way of handling typical of letters. The formula καλῶς ποιήσεις and its variations are amply attested both for *hypomnemata* and letters; for instance, both the *hypomnema* P.Mich. I 79 (l. 19-20) and the letter P.Cair.Zen. II 59247 (l. 4) use the expression καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις.

Letters and *hypomnemata* were also used for similar content (requests, instructions, offers, reports and all sorts of business matters¹⁴²). For example, the content of the letter

¹⁴¹ A similar case is P.Lond. VII 2017, also written *transversa charta* and closing on an ἔppωσο + date, but without the address on the back.

¹⁴² The overview of the archive content in VANDORPE 2019, 273–275 lists mostly letters, whose content is very similar to the one of *hypomnemata* from the same archive.

P.Lond. VII 1976 would also be perfectly suitable for a *hypomnema*: the writer, a woman, asks Zenon to take pity on her in her old age and help her recover her daughter, deceived by an untrustworthy man. She uses the verb ἀξιῶ (l. 20), which is typical of later hypomnematic petitions and is also used in the petitioning *hypomnema* P.Cair.Zen. III 59368 (l. 31). Likewise, the letter P.Ryl. IV 558 and the *hypomnema* P.Mich. I 45 contain business instructions for Zenon.

In the case of the *hypomnema*, two features are striking in their absence: a *hypomnema* never uses lengthy introductory salutation sentences so characteristic of letters and never mentions a previously written message to which it responds¹⁴³. Both of these elements are essential to the ancient definition of the letter: ἐπιστολή, connected to the verb ἐπιστέλλω, “to send towards”, denotes from the fourth century BCE throughout the entire Hellenistic period the sent written message. The main point behind it is the idea of sending via a messenger, so much so that in archaic and classical times, an ἐπιστολή could also be a message orally delivered by an intermediate person¹⁴⁴. The focus is on the idea of distant communication: the letter is the one half of a dialogue between absent people, as the ancient theorised themselves: εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οἶον τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ διαλόγου, “the letter is like the one half of the dialogue” (Demetr. *Eloc.* 223)¹⁴⁵. These elements are absent in the *hypomnema*, which does not seem to create or take up an exchange between two persons but only to deliver one-way information to its addressee in a written fashion. Such a distinction is vague, and the two types of documents are initially quite similar.

Yet, P.Cair.Zen. III 59384, whose case has already been analysed, shows *in nuce* some distinction between types of documents¹⁴⁶. This note presents a hypomnematic opening but also an external address and was thus probably sent via a messenger. It contains a corrigendum concerning a previous letter:

l. 1-10:

ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι
παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρ[ο]υ.
γράφομέν σοι ἐν τῇ ἐπι-

¹⁴³ On the introductory salutation sentences in letters from the Zenon archive, cf. EVANS 2007.

¹⁴⁴ On the evolution of the meaning of ἐπιστολή, cf. SARRI 2018, 18–22.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. the discussion in KOSKENNIEMI 1956, 42–46; CECCARELLI 2013, 3–5; 8–10. On ancient epistolary theory, cf. KOSKENNIEMI 1956, 18–63; MALHERBE 1988; TRAPP 2003, 42–46; 180–193; 316–326; POSTER 2007; CECCARELLI 2013, 2–10 with further bibliography.

¹⁴⁶ On l. 2, cf. WILCKEN 1930, 231 = BL.2.2.43. Regularisations: l. 3: γράφομεν, *lege* ἐγράφομεν; l. 15: μέντον, *lege* μέντοι; on this document, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.3.2.

στολῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀργυ-
 5 ρίου φάμενοι ἀπολωλέ-
 ναι (δραχμὰς) ξ, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστὶν
 τὸ ἀπολωλὸς
 ἀργυρίου (δραχμαὶ) η
 10 χαλκοῦ (δραχμαὶ) γ.

Memorandum to Zenon from Antipatros. We wrote you in the letter concerning the silver saying that 60 drachmas are missing, but in truth, the missing money amounts to 8 silver drachmas and 3 copper drachmas.

The writer makes the distinction between this simple, unidirectional note, labelled ὑπόμνημα, and the previous communication called an ἐπιστολή. Moreover, another document, with yet another label, is mentioned later in the same document, a προσάγγελμα addressed to Timotheos, one νομάρχης:

1. 14-19:

(...) Τιμοθέωι
 15 μέντον δεδώκαμεν
 ἐν τῷι προσανγέλματι
 ὅσο\ν/ καὶ σοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστο-
 λῇ γεγράφαμεν.

However, we have given Timotheos in the *proselagma* the amounts we have written you in the letter.

This προσάγγελμα is probably the official accusation to the authorities because it is addressed to an official and because *προσαγγέλλω* means to announce and to denounce.

Thus, whereas the formal hybridisation of the various types is attested, at least this writer could distinguish between three labels: the ὑπόμνημα, a simple note delivering a piece of information, the ἐπιστολή, a previous communication, and the προσάγγελμα, the accusation addressed to the authority. The labels are not completely superposed, but the types of documents are not fully separated yet.

2.2.5 Early *Hypomnemata*: Summary

Some prevalent features can be found in early *hypomnemata*, although the numerous exceptions and variations show that set rules had yet to be fixed. These *hypomnemata*

- tend to be written on vertical strips of papyrus.
- have a specific prescript formula.
- when they add greetings, choose the εὐτύχει variant and set it apart on the sheet.
- only seldom have an address on the back.

Their content is highly varied: Zenon papers contain mostly internal business notes or requests, yet parallel to this, the *hypomnema* develops into an official way of communication. These tendencies already define the early *hypomnemata* as a formally stabilising group of documents that was nonetheless still subject to a certain degree of variability. One can best explain such a combination of stabilisation and inconsistency by assuming that the creation process was still evolving when the first preserved *hypomnemata* were composed. However, as the documents were already at least partially consistent, the whole process had probably already begun earlier and had already had the time to develop some shared features; earlier preserved papyri are scarce, and the absence of *hypomnemata* among them is no proof of the non-existence of this type of documents in the first half of the third century.

Studying any geographical distribution pattern for the early *hypomnemata* is tough since the majority come from a single nome, the Arsinoite. Nevertheless, the format, layout and formulary of the few known documents coming from elsewhere always find a parallel in the Arsinoite documents, showing that the tendencies and variations of Greek scribal practice concerning *hypomnemata* as attested in the Fayyum were probably part of a more general trend. Thus, contemporary to the Zenon archive, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59650, presumably from Kerke in the Memphite nome, gives a parallel for a *hypomnema* written *transversa charta*, while P.Cair.Zen. II 59188, also seemingly from the Memphite nome, presents one for the shortened openings (ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος). Two papyri presumably composed in Alexandria have different formats and greeting choices but the same opening ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος: P.Cair.Zen. I 59048 is written *transversa charta* and presents a block text without greetings, whereas P.Mich. I 97 is written on a vertical strip of papyrus

and ends with an εὐτύχει. P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14, an embedded *hypomnema* from the Herakleopolite nome, shows that the *hypomnema* was also attested there¹⁴⁷.

Although Zenon documents massively impact our understanding of early *hypomnemata*, they were not in that time as exceptional as they seem: on the one hand, there are contemporary business *hypomnemata* that show that this form of document was used for non-official matters also outside of Zenon papers; on the other hand, the contemporary official *hypomnemata* show that the type was already in use for addressing the administration but that its material features and specific functions were not fixed yet.

The variability observed among the very first *hypomnemata*, concerning both their material properties and their usages, shows that the fixation of the *hypomnema* as a type of document was still a work in progress during the second and third quarters of the third century BCE and that the interferences with other types were still present. This variability, combined with the absence of earlier attestations of the *hypomnema* in older traditions, points towards a progressive appearance that probably began before its first attestation in the preserved documentation but was still happening during the third century BCE.

2.3 Conclusion

Despite the meagre available evidence, we can partially answer the questions of when and how the *hypomnema* as a document type was developed. It is not attested in either Greek, Egyptian or Persian documentary tradition before the middle of the third century BCE. When it first appears in the preserved documentation, in Zenon and contemporary papyri, it is still evolving, as different clues show: variability of formulas, diversity of possible contents, proximity and sometimes confusion with other types. Nevertheless, the presence of some already fixed features, such as the adoption of a vertical format and the greeting formula εὐτύχει, suggest that the invention process had already begun before the mid-century. By combining the absence of fourth-century traces of hypomnematic documents and the already partially fixed nature of the mid-third-century preserved specimens, the creation time can be estimated around the first half of the third century BCE, possibly going as far back as the chancery of Alexander the Great.

The *hypomnema* has not been imported as an already established form of documents in Greek from another language; it seems to be composed of different features already present

¹⁴⁷ On the link between P.Hib. I 72 and the Herakleopolite nome, cf. recently WACKENIER 2019, 445–447.

in the Greek, and possibly Aramaic, scribal practices, selected and combined to create a new type. The process is still perceptible in the earliest papyrological documentation: the material features and formulaic elements of the *hypomnemata* find parallels in contemporary documentation, and their final combination is not yet fully fixed.

The creation is ongoing in early Ptolemaic Egypt; we do not know whether it was developing in parallel in the other Macedonian kingdoms because we have mostly lost their documentary tradition. The *hypomnema* is attested outside Egypt in the second century BCE and presents some differences from the contemporary Ptolemaic practice. It is impossible to know whether it was an Egyptian creation diffused in the other kingdoms or whether it developed in parallel in the different kingdoms of the Greek-speaking world.

What first prompted the progressive development of the *hypomnema* when the epistolary one was already established and used for interpersonal communication remains unknown. The third century BCE witnessed the appearance of various types of documents¹⁴⁸, and this phenomenon was not limited to *hypomnemata*. This evolution can be linked to the increasing complexity of the administration accompanying the development of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The growing need for communication and written records may have induced the appearance of new forms of written documents and their progressive standardisation and functional specialisation.

¹⁴⁸ On this phenomenon, cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 179–180.

3 The Administrative *Hypomnema* in Ptolemaic Egypt

The core of this study rests on an evolutive perspective of the material that approaches the definition of the *hypomnema* as an ever-changing object steadily reworked by the people that used it. After having looked at the genesis of the type, one must analyse its changes over the following centuries of Ptolemaic rule. Two main phases of this story are observable and will be the object of this chapter.

As discussed in the previous chapter, early *hypomnemata* dated before 236 BCE are not standardised yet. They present a high variability of material and textual features, including their format, layout, general content, and specific formulas. Moreover, they differ significantly from later *hypomnemata*, i.e. documents submitted by someone to the administration, be it in the form of a petition, a declaration, or all other documents that one individual addresses to someone in his official capacity. Although some of these documents, here called administrative *hypomnemata*, were already present by the mid-third century BCE, they were still secondary and did not become prevalent before the end of the century.

After the decade 236-225 BCE, to which no preserved *hypomnema* can be precisely dated, the adoption of the hypomnematic opening formula is progressively restricted to the communication from one individual to the administrative milieu; within this scope, it is extended to cover all sorts of messages. This change implies a clarification of the function of the *hypomnema* that will influence the centuries to come: *hypomnemata* are now chiefly administrative *hypomnemata*. The evolution from the highly irregular beginnings to the much more standardised Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnema* will be the core of the first part of this chapter.

This evolution covers the last quarter of the third century BCE and ends at the beginning of the following century. During the second and first centuries BCE, almost all *hypomnemata* share some material and textual features. In addition to this common ground, specific functions of the hypomnematic type of documents will call for specific variations in the general framework. Combining all these characteristics allows us to address the question of what the *hypomnema* has become, define its new nature, and question why some changes continue to appear during those centuries. These will be the goals of the second part of this chapter.

3.1 Beginning of the Administrative Usage (Last Quarter of the Third Century BCE)

The study of the beginning of the administrative usage of the *hypomnema* relies on fifty-six mostly lacunary *hypomnemata* that can be dated to the last quarter of the third century BCE¹. They are, for the most part, administrative documents, i.e. they were part of a specific administrative procedure, and their addressees were in charge of a specific administrative position; in this regard, they differ from Zenon *hypomnemata*, which are not inserted in an administrative framework and are of a private nature (although Zenon knew very well the administration and could also be addressed as a person capable of facilitating an administrative procedure).

We can divide them into two groups: on the one hand, forty-three mainly fragmentary documents from the Arsinoite nome; on the other hand, thirteen mostly complete documents from other nomes (Apollonopolite, Memphite, Herakleopolite). The origin of two pieces, I.Ptolemaic I 74² and SB XXVI 16417, is unknown. The two groups present some formal differences, and it is thus meaningful to distinguish them in the analysis. The Arsinoite documentation is studied in the light of the evolution from the older, well-known Arsinoite *hypomnemata*, whereas the other documents function as a comparison to contemporary Arsinoite documents.

The following analysis of these two groups of documents will help to single out in the last subsection of this chapter a notable evolution of the materiality and functions of *hypomnemata* all over Egypt at the end of the third century. These decades witness an evident change in the usage of hypomnematic documents: business documents progressively disappear, and administrative ones increase in number. Although *hypomnemata* addressed to officials by private individuals were attested earlier in the century, they remained sparse and coexisted with many other types of documents; yet by the end of the century, they progressively replace other types of documents in the communication between individuals and the administration. Two phenomena coexist: on

¹ As for the previous chapter, the evidence was gathered from the online database HGV by looking at all Ptolemaic entries and retaining those with hypomnematic opening formula; this search formed the basis for the database behind this PhD. This evidence was compared with that listed in BAETENS 2020a, 71; 76–79; 84–108; 129–132; 297 and enriched with newly published texts.

² This piece is a unique *hypomnema* painted on stone whose context and goal are not really understood. Its alleged Alexandrian provenance, proposed by the *editio princeps* following the indications of the antiquities dealer that sold the piece to a private collection (CRAWFORD 1967, 355), was doubted by REEKMANS 1968, 364 with convincing arguments and cannot be taken for granted.

the one hand, the adoption of *hypomnemata* is progressively restricted to the administrative milieu, and especially to the communication from an individual to an official; on the other hand, scribes now draw up all sorts of administrative communications from an individual to an official as *hypomnemata*, and competing types of documents for these functions progressively disappear.

3.1.1 Documents from the Arsinoite

It is impossible to study in detail the format and layout of the small corpus of about forty *hypomnemata* of the last quarter of the third century BCE produced in the Arsinoite nome; most of them present conspicuous lacunas or lack available images³. Still, the formal tendencies seem to bridge the gap between earlier *hypomnemata* and those from the second century BCE. These documents are mostly written as block texts with highlighted greetings on vertical papyrus sheets. Some degree of variability is still present; for instance, four pieces are written *transversa charta*, among the latest in the corpus of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*⁴.

Isolated official papers, most of them not belonging to any archive, dominate the corpus. The majority contain information submitted to an administrative authority. The different functions endorsed by each specific document are associated with some typological differentiation.

³ M.Chr. 6; P.Genova III 101; 102; 103; 104; 106; P.Gur. 5; P.Heid. VI 379; VII 390; 392; P.Mich. XVII 780 a; P.Petr. II 10_1; 10_2; 20, col. i-ii; 20, col. iv; III 28 e Ro; 30; 32 d; e; g Ro b; 36 a Ro; 68 a; 68 b; SB XII 10869; XIV 11745; XX 14999; 15068; XXII 15206; 15762; XXIV 16063; 16285; XXVIII 17175; TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37); 43096 (P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 5); 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127); 765530 (P.Petrie Museum inv. UC 31916); 971544 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2855); W.Chr. 222; 224 a; b; 242; 262; 337.

⁴ P.Genova III 101 and 102 (221 BCE), P.Petr. II 10_2 (221-205 BCE) and TM 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127, 202 BCE) are, with UPZ I 8 (after 161 BCE), 12 (after 158 BCE) and P.Mich. IX 575 (I BCE, cf. MASCELLARI 2018a, 300), the last Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* written *transversa charta*.

The most attested categories are petitions and requests⁵. These pieces are primarily written on vertical strips of papyrus, with the writing following the direction of the fibres⁶. They are introduced with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος⁷, lacking any highlighting through a layout device⁸, and usually end with an εὐτύχει in an emphasised position. They never carry an address on the back.

Some notes in another hand start appearing above or below the main text. Two petitions dated 217 BCE and 213 BCE present a transmission note to another official⁹. These are the first cases of such a note on *hypomnemata*; scholarship usually calls them subscriptions or apostils. Such a note is also attested, formulated as a letter, under two hypomnematic requests for oil sent from some κληροῦχοι to two γραμματεῖς and transferred to Heliodoros, probably τῷ [πρὸς τῇ ἐλα]ικῇ (P.Genova III 103, 104).

The *hypomnema* is also used for other documents submitted to the authorities, and its layout was adapted to the different functions it endorsed. For example, the two mentioned oil

⁵ It is hard to divide petitions from simpler requests since the boundary is dictated by the modern definition of the petition, itself an unclear matter. For a recent summary of the question, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 6–8. The documents that are considered here are: M.Chr. 6; P.Gur. 5; P.Heid. VI 379; P.Petr. II 10_1; 20, col. i-ii; III 28 e Ro; 30; 32 g Ro b; 36 a Ro; SB XX 14999; 15068; XXII 15762; XXIV 16285; XXVIII 17175; TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37); 43096 (P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 5); 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127); 971544 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2855); W.Chr. 262; 337. Many of them are embedded or do not have any published image. Four other requests or petitions date to either the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BCE, BGU XX 2840 (200 or 176 BCE, on which cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.5), P.Köln XV 594 (202 or 178 BCE), SB IV 7351 (200 or 176 BCE) and TM 754942 (P.CtYBR inv. 5059, late III – early II BCE). Petitions and requests were already the most attested functions among the badly dated documents of ca. 236–225 BCE, cf. P.Köln III 140 (244–242 or 219–217 BCE); P.Lille I 8 (246–205 BCE); P.NYU II 45, l. 9–16 (237 or 212 BCE, according to the last editors who discard the possible date of 197 BCE; this document may be some sort of internal administrative correspondence featuring a request); P.Petr. III 29 b; c; d; e; g; h (all 244–222 BCE); SB XVIII 13099 (232–226 BCE, republished by BUCKATZ 2017).

⁶ One notable exception is TM 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127), which is written *transversa charta*.

⁷ P.Petr. III 36 a Vo = M.Chr. 5 simply opens with τῷ δεῖνι. Since it is a text written on the back of another petition and presenting erasures and corrections, it is probably simply a draft with a non-definitive prescript.

⁸ P.Köln XV 594, dated to either 202 or 178 BCE, presents what can possibly be an end-third-century highlight of the addressee. SB VIII 9800 a may be added, but there are difficulties with its date, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

⁹ SB XX 15068 (217 BCE) has a transmission note below the main text and the mention of the sender on the back (in a non-established hand of the three from the front); TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37, 213 BCE) has a transmission note on the back of the papyrus. The still not fully published TM 971544 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2855, uncertainly dated to 222–218 BCE by the preliminary description UGGETTI 2022, 995–996, and more safely to the late third century in a later personal communication by Lorenzo Uggetti himself) may be an additional, possibly older attestation of the phenomenon, cf. UGGETTI 2022, 992–993. Summaries of the content are present in TM 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127) above the text and in SB XXII 15762 below the text. TM 43096 (P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 5) presents illegible notes above and below the main text and the mention of the addressee on the back in three different hands. TM 754942 (P.CtYBR inv. 5059), dated either to the late third century BCE or to the early second century BCE, presents some hard-to-read notes by a second hand on its back. Such small notes are not present in the older papyri (apart from P.Petr. II 1, generically dated to the third century BCE).

requests belong to a group of three hypomnematic oil requests dated 219 BCE (P.Genova III 103, 104, 106)¹⁰. These documents adapt their layout to highlight the two parts of their content, the actual request and the list of applicants. Similarly, P.Genova III 101 and 102, two applications for enrolment among the φυλακῖται of Krokodilopolis according to a posted proclamation, have a specific materiality influenced by the general appearance of letters¹¹. These two closely related documents, both addressed in 221 BCE to the same ἀρχιφυλακίτης, are written *transversa charta*, display no greetings and instead end with a date.

Another kind of hypomnematic document resembles these applications: the first hypomnematic declarations of property to the οἰκονόμος and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (W.Chr. 242, a pair of sheep declarations of 222 BCE; P.Heid. VII 390 and W.Chr. 222, house declarations of 209/208 BCE)¹². Although highly damaged, they seem to differ from the petitions and to share with the applications for becoming φυλακῖται the presence of a date, the absence of a greeting formula and some formulary features (notably the introductory verb ἀπογράφομαι). The only available image, that of P.Heid. VII 390, shows that this text was written along the fibres on what was probably a vertical sheet of papyrus. One contemporary ἀπόμοιρα-declaration, P.Petr. III 68 b, is also written as a *hypomnema*, although formulated as an offer for one year with the introductory verb ὑφίσταμαι¹³.

Connected to these early declarations of property are four documents of 209/208 BCE addressed to the ἐπιμελητής Apollonios, informing him of previous house declarations to the οἰκονόμος and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς and asking him to establish the tax to be paid by the applicant (P.Heid. VII 392, SB XXIV 16063, W.Chr. 224 a and b)¹⁴. These documents share with the other property declarations the vocabulary and the presence of a date, in this case, usually in the heading. A study of their format and layout is impossible

¹⁰ P.Genova III 105, less well preserved, should probably be added.

¹¹ On the procedure, cf. BAUSCHATZ 2013, 73–74; 297–298.

¹² Cf. also SB XXIV 16063, very fragmentarily preserved, P.Heid. VII 391, whose opening is lost, and SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230). For a list of Ptolemaic hypomnematic declarations, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 136–137. For a list of all Ptolemaic property declarations, cf. QANDEIL 2022, 10–12.

¹³ SB XXVI 16417, a hypomnematic document dated to 212 BCE whose provenance is unknown, offers a parallel. On the interpretation of these documents as declarations, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214.

¹⁴ Cf. also W.Chr. 224 c. The publication of an additional document, P.Cairo inv. 10307, is forthcoming, cf. QANDEIL 2022, 12. Another such piece, P.Graec. Mon. inv. 145 c, will be published by Thomas Kruse in the fourth volume of the Munich papyri. On the difference between the declarations to the ἐπιμελητής and those to the οἰκονόμος and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, cf. WILCKEN 1912, 175; QANDEIL 2022, 9.

since these documents are poorly preserved, like the other contemporary *hypomnemata* from the Arsinoite.

One last administrative *hypomnema* is the earliest bid for public auction from the Arsinoite nome, P.Petr. III 68 a, an isolated, fragmentary piece for which the format and layout cannot be assessed.

In addition to these general categories, the *hypomnema* is still used in the Arsinoite nome for more generic communication intended to inform people on different matters (such as report or business offers)¹⁵. However, these pieces of information, frequent among Zenon papyri, become anecdotal compared to the main categories of requests, petitions, applications and declarations. This disappearance is possibly due, at least partly, to the decrease in investment in the expansion of the Arsinoite agricultural land. Indeed, in the second century BCE, the creation of a new irrigation system that allowed the reclamation of new agricultural land had been completed, and the large estates typical of the third-century BCE Fayyum such as that administered by Zenon for the διοικητής Apollonios disappeared¹⁶. Arsinoite land is now mostly composed of small plots of royal land and cleruchic land, and the administration of neither type needed a complex set of business notes comparable to Zenon's papers¹⁷.

To recapitulate, end-third-century *hypomnemata* from the Arsinoite nome are, for the most part, in a poor state of preservation. Nevertheless, some general tendencies in their materiality are observable: *hypomnemata* are frequently written on vertical papyrus sheets as blocks of text with highlighted greetings. They are mainly isolated administrative documents, although other functions such as business reports are still attested. Administrative *hypomnemata* endorse many functions: the most attested are petitions and requests, but new functions appear, such as applications for enrolment in the police or property declarations and connected applications. Some differentiation is observable: scribes adapted the materiality and the formulas of *hypomnemata* to their function. For example, applications for enrolment in the police are written *transversa charta*, and declarations do not have any final greeting formula. Subscriptions, i.e. transmission notes

¹⁵ Cf. P.Petr. II 10_2 (a very unusual document in which a scribe informs his superior of being imprisoned without asking for anything); 20, col. iv; P.Mich. XVIII 780 a; TM 765530 (P.Petrie Museum inv. UC 31916). Two of these documents are addressed to Phaies, οἰκονόμος. Generic reports were absent among the uncertainly dated papyri around ca. 236-225 BCE.

¹⁶ On these changes, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 29; MANNING 2003, 101–125; MONSON 2012a, 87–88; VAN BEEK 2017, 14–16.

¹⁷ On the land structure in second-century BCE Fayyum, cf. MANNING 2003, 123–124; MONSON 2012a, 91–92.

written by a second hand in the office of the addressee, appear in the corpus for the first time. All these elements mark a transition between the less formalised *hypomnemata* of the mid-third century and the highly standardised administrative texts of the second century BCE. Compared to the mid-third century, the material variability decreases, the business *hypomnemata* are vanishing, and the administrative function of *hypomnemata* has become dominant.

3.1.2 Documents from Other Nomes

The documents from outside the Arsinoite nome display a strikingly different state of preservation. There are only thirteen of them, yet they are mostly in excellent condition and allow us to assess their format, layout and content¹⁸. As in the Fayyum, they consist primarily of public documents, as evidenced by the regular mention of the titles of the addressees¹⁹.

These better-preserved documents confirm the progressive uniformisation observed among *hypomnemata* from the Arsinoite nome, as they are all written along the fibres on vertical strips of papyrus. However, the documents from the Nile valley are more influenced by the Egyptian tradition, and nine out of the thirteen documents taken into consideration display a Demotic format, i.e. a text written on a very narrow vertical strip of papyrus with almost no margins (e.g. P.Heid. VII 394, Fig. 3.1)²⁰.

¹⁸ The documents that are considered here are BGU VI 1244, P.Eleph. 8, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27 a, P.Heid. VII 394, P.Köln V 216, XI 452, SB VI 9068 and UPZ I 116, from the Apollonopolite, the Herakleopolite and the Memphite nomes.

¹⁹ The only document that does not mention the addressee's title, P.Eleph. 19, is undoubtedly official in nature (it belongs to the documents collected by Milon, πράκτωρ τῶν ἱερῶν, and is a petition addressed to his superior to pressurise him in his dealings with the problems of the temple of Edfu; cf. CLARYSSE 2003a, 19; 26).

²⁰ In addition to P.Heid. VII 394, from the Memphite nome, measuring 31 x 7.5 cm, cf. for instance P.Eleph. 17, from the Apollonopolite, 32.5 x 7 cm; BGU VI 1244, from the Herakleopolite, 32.9 x 10.3 cm (on its origin, cf. FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26). For the Demotic format, cf. SARRI 2018, 95.



Fig. 3.1: P.Heid. VII 394.

Another feature comes from the Egyptian scribal tradition: in two cases, the text continues upside down on the back of the sheet²¹. Concerning the layout, these documents confirm the progressive standardisation. They all present a block text; when a closing formula is present (greetings, date, or a combination of both), it is usually highlighted through blanks and indentations (e.g. P.Eleph. 19, Fig. 3.2).

²¹ P.Eleph. 17 and 20. Cf. DEPAUW 2006, 77.

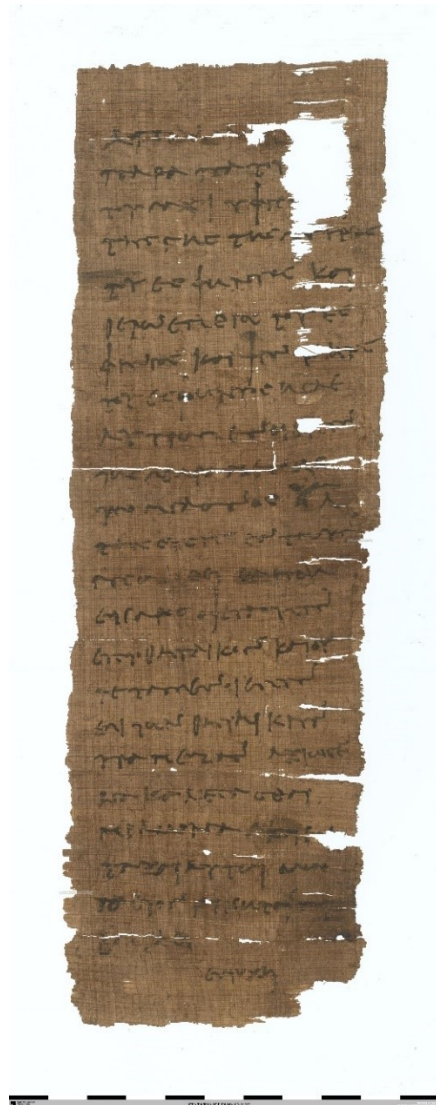


Fig. 3.2: P.Eleph. 19.

The formulary of the opening is highly standardised, and the introduction τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος was widespread in the whole of Egypt at that time. The scribe usually inserts it in the main text block without any emphasis, contrary to the general practice concerning greetings²². Nevertheless, the corpus also includes the last well-dated attestation of the explicit opening, P.Eleph. 17 (223 BCE): ὑπόμνημα παρὰ Ξένωνος Μίλωνι τῷ παρ' Εὐφρονίου πράκτορι ἱερῶν (l. 1-6)²³. This latest explicit opening is also unconventional since it mentions the addressee last. It is probably influenced by contemporary Demotic

²² Only one case is exceptional in this sense, UPZ I 116, which presents a larger interlinear space for the opening. However, the high inconsistency in the interline size in this document casts doubts on the pertinence of this observation.

²³ P.NYU II 45, l. 9-16 (237 or 212 BCE according to the last editors, who discard the possible date of 197 BCE) and P.Lille I 8 (246-205 BCE) may be later, but their date is uncertain.

practice since the *mkmk* kept throughout the Ptolemaic period the explicit opening and used to swap the position of the sender and the addressee²⁴.

On the contrary, the closing formulas vary a lot, and εὐτύχει has not yet imposed itself. For example, four fully comparable documents, four bids for auctioned land coming from the same archive, end once with ἔρρωσο, once with εὐτύχει and twice with the simple date²⁵. Likewise, three petitions end once with ἔρρωσο + date, once with εὐτύχει and once with nothing at all²⁶. Even if εὐτύχει seems to have established itself in the Arsinoite nome²⁷, the same is not valid for the whole of Egypt.

Transmission notes appear not only on *hypomnemata* from the Fayyum but also elsewhere in Egypt, as BGU VI 1244 proves (Herakleopolite, 225 BCE)²⁸. This petition to the οἰκονόμος Aniketos carries in its upper left corner a transmission note with instructions to Apollonios, ἐπ(ιστάτη) φ[υλακίτ]ων (?), whose name is repeated on the back in the dative²⁹. Moreover, it is also possible that the transmission of *hypomnemata* happened through cover letters, as the case of P.Eleph. 15 may prove. It is a cover letter for two documents, now lost, called in the text ὑπόμνημα and ὑπόστασις; since it belongs to an archive in which those two terms refer to hypomnematic offers for public auction, it may be an attestation of another practice to transfer *hypomnemata* to other functionaries, i.e. the

²⁴ BAETENS 2020a, 69 n. 120.

²⁵ ἔρρωσο: P.Eleph. 25; εὐτύχει: P.Eleph. 24; date: P.Eleph. 17 and 20 (all Apollonopolite, 223-222 BCE). P.Eleph. 20 also carries the mention ἐπιστολαί in big letters under the greetings, a mention that has been interpreted as a title to the file Milon gathered, cf. CLARYSSE 2003a, 18.

²⁶ ἔρρωσο + date: P.Köln XI 452, Herakleopolite?, 219 or 202 BCE; εὐτύχει: BGU VI 1244, Herakleopolite, 225 BCE (on its date and origin, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26); nothing: P.Köln V 216, Memphite, 209 BCE; this last case might be influenced by contemporary early *proselangmata*, on which cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.1.

²⁷ In the Arsinoite, the greetings are specialised according to the content of the *hypomnema*; thus, petitions mostly carry an εὐτύχει (cf. P.Heid. VI 379; P.Petr. II 10_1; III 32 g Ro b; SB XX 15068; XXIV 16285; XXVIII 17175; TM 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127)), whereas other functions do not carry any greeting formula, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.1.

²⁸ On the date of this document, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; on its origin, cf. FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26.

²⁹ BGU VI 1244, l. 1-5: (hand 2) Ἀπολλ[ω]νίωι ἐπ(ιστάτη) φ[υλακίτ(?)]ων ιζ' \[α\] / ἀποβιασθῶσι ὑπὲρ οὗ παρὰ Τοκολλ[ού]σιος (ἔτους) κβ' Ἀθὺρ κγ; back, l. 35: (hand 2) Ἀπολλωνίωι. Apollonios then transfers the same document through another note on the back of the document, appealing to another ἐπιστάτης, Agathokles, the person that the petitioner wished to reach; he does so by adopting a hypomnematic formulary, cf. BGU VI 1244, back, l. 36-46: (hand 3) (ἔτους) κβ' Α[θ]υ[ρ] κδ' πα(ρ') Ἀπολλω(νίου) Α[γ]αθ[ο]κλεῖ ἐπ(ιστάτη) Φνεβιέως. τοῦ δ[ο]θέντος Ἀνικήτῳ τῷ vac. ὑπομνήμα[τ]ος ἀναπεμφθέντος δ' ἐφ' [ή]μ[α]ς γραφοῖς ὑπόκειτ[αι] τὸ ἀν[τί]γραφον \καὶ τῶν συντάξεων . . . /, καταπεμφθή[τω] οὖν ἡ ἡ ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν Ἰσιάδα, ἵνα περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπισκεφθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνικήτου [-ca.-? -] traces 1 line. Cf. l. 28-29, where the sender of the petition says: [ἀ]ξιῶ σε συντάξαι γράψ[αι] Ἀγαθοκλεῖ. On the handshifts in this document, cf. Nico Kruit, in BL 11.26. A dative on the back like that of BGU VI 1244, l. 35, an address transferring the document to a third person, is also attested on P.Heid. VII 394, a petition from Moithymis in the Memphite nome (214 BCE).

adoption of cover letters instead of subscriptions. Nevertheless, in the absence of the appended documents, it is not undeniable that this cover letter transmitted *hypomnemata*.

This corpus of better-preserved *hypomnemata* thus confirms the trends observed in the Arsinoite material. The sheet's vertical orientation and the text's dominant layout as a principal block with highlighted greetings are widespread over Egypt. The opening formula is now standard. Subscriptions have also appeared outside the Fayyum. Some differences are, however, evident: the documents from the Nile valley have more points of contact with Demotic scribal practice, and their closing formula is still highly variable.

To address the content of the Nile-valley *hypomnemata* more straightforwardly, let us separate them into two groups. The first is composed of seven *hypomnemata* from the Apollonopolite nome, all belonging to the archive of the πράκτωρ Milon³⁰. This file of twenty-two Greek and ten Demotic papyri was found in a jar during a regular excavation in Elephantine in 1906. It contains the documents gathered by its eponym Milon, who oversaw the reorganisation of the troubled finances of the Edfu temple. To achieve his assignment, Milon organised the public auctions of the property of a family of high priests, the sons of Estphenis. The seven *hypomnemata* included in the archive are related to these sales: four are bids made to Milon for the auctioned property (P.Eleph. 17, 20, 24 and 25), while a fifth is written by the sons of Estphenis, who asked back part of their plots (P.Eleph. 27 a, with a Demotic translation P.Eleph. 27 b = P.Eleph.Dem. 1³¹); there is also a report on paid taxes addressed to Euphronios, the predecessor of Milon (P.Eleph. 8), as well as a petition addressed to a superior of Milon concerning presumed irregularities in his dealings with the auctions (P.Eleph. 19).

These seven documents are the product of a unique context since Milon's charge was probably temporary and extraordinary, yet they indicate that the *hypomnema* was widely adopted for communication with an official at the time. The documents from the Milon archive also display a consistency in the functional division between *hypomnemata*, used for offers, petitions or reports, and letters, used chiefly for internal administrative

³⁰ On the Milon archive, published as P.Eleph. and P.Eleph.Dem., cf. CLARYSSE 2003a; MANNING 2003, 83–85; TM Arch 141.

³¹ Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 152, summarising the current debate (scholars have stated both that the Greek is a translation of the Demotic and that the Demotic is a translation of the Greek) and arguing against the former position and in favour of the latter one.

communication (P.Eleph. 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 28)³², private communication (P.Eleph. 13), or for receipts (P.Eleph. 30, P.Eleph. Fr. 1). P.Eleph. 21, a letter making a second, higher bid to Milon, constitutes the only overlap, yet the original lost offer may have looked like the four preserved hypomnematic ones.

The Milon archive also preserves some of the oldest petitions written as *mḳmḳ*, the Demotic counterpart to *hypomnemata*³³. In this archive, the close connection of the two forms is evident: a Demotic *mḳmḳ* is called ὑπόμνημα in its Greek subscription, and one text is even preserved in two versions, one Greek *hypomnema* and one Demotic *mḳmḳ*³⁴. Since the *mḳmḳ* seems to have developed from the Greek *hypomnema*³⁵, its appearance implies that the *hypomnema* was fixed and widespread enough for its Demotic version to emerge.

Finally, the Milon archive contains an exceptional document: an oath-taking styled as a double document³⁶, whose opening formula exceptionally contains the hypomnematic τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός³⁷. This document is the only preserved oath related to auctions of private property for repayment of debts³⁸, and its unique opening formula may be influenced by the opening formula of offers for such auctions, hypomnematic as well.

Thus, this first group of documents from the Milon archive allows us to reach some conclusions: that the *hypomnema* was in use for different administrative functions; that its differences from letters were clear-cut; that the type was standard enough for a Demotic version of it to develop; and that it was common enough to influence other documents, such

³² P.Eleph. 15 probably belongs to this category, too; yet its numerous erasures, additions and the informal opening (only the addressee on dative) suggest it is a draft. This document is interesting because it refers to a joint lost ὑπόμνημα (l. 1).

³³ Few *mḳmḳ* date to the third century BCE: P.Eleph.Dem. 1, 2, 3 (= P.Bürgsch. 13, 13 bis a, 13 bis b), belonging to the Milon archive, date to 223 BCE; P.Sorb. IV 149 dates generically to the third century. P.Freib. IV 75 and P.Berl.Dem. III 13567 may be added: the first is a Demotic petition of 231/230 BCE, probably a *mḳmḳ* although its prescript is lost; the second is a draft of a *mḳmḳ* generically dated to the Ptolemaic period by its editor, but considered to be rather early than late Ptolemaic by recent scholarship, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 154; MOJE 2022; and the metadata of the database entry TM 48634. On the *mḳmḳ*, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 323–330; BAETENS 2014a; BAETENS 2020a, 151–168.

³⁴ P.Eleph.Dem. 1–2, p. 12; 15; BAETENS 2020a, 151–152. P.Eleph.Dem. 1 is probably the translation of P.Eleph. 27 a, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 152; P.Eleph.Dem. 2 is called ὑπόμνημα in its Greek subscription.

³⁵ DEPAUW 2006, 327; BAETENS 2014a, 36; BAETENS 2020a, 153. Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.1.2.

³⁶ Cf. WILCKEN 1913, 215.

³⁷ P.Eleph. 23, l. 4–8: βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφ[ῶ]ν [(ἔτους) κ]ε Μεσορῇ ιζ ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ Μείλῳ τῷ παρ' εὐφρονίου πράκτορι ἱερῶν παρὰ Πανίσκου τοῦ Ποτάμωνος Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. Such hypomnematic oaths reappear in Roman Egypt, e.g. P.Mich. V 233 (Arsinoite, 24 CE) and P.Oxy. II 263 (Oxyrhynchite, 77 CE).

³⁸ ARMONI 2012, 115.

as oath takings. The global clarification of the functions of the *hypomnema* observed in the Arsinoite finds confirmation in these observations.

The other documents, four from the Memphite nome and two from the Herakleopolite one, do not belong to any known archive. They are primarily petitions containing information transmitted to an authority concerning suffered wrongdoings³⁹, a subject that has become most common in *hypomnemata* of the time, inside and outside the Arsinoite nome. UPZ I 116, a house declaration from Memphis probably of 209 BCE, indicates that hypomnematic declarations were also used outside the Fayyum.

Summing up, these documents confirm the formal global evolution of the *hypomnema*, now mostly fixed as a document written along the fibres on vertical strips of papyrus with a specific opening. They also confirm the general functions of these documents, primarily ways of transmitting an important piece of information to an official (private *hypomnemata* are disappearing). The progressive specialisation of *hypomnemata* and letters is especially evident in the archive of Milon. Nevertheless, the lack of standard greeting formulas shows that some features are still developing.

The uniformity observed between *hypomnemata* from the Nile valley and the Arsinoite nome shows that the *hypomnema* was evolving in parallel all over Egypt at the end of the third century. This uniformity implies that the changes circulated rapidly throughout the Nile valley and spread through all the nomes. If the *hypomnema* originated in the Fayyum, this circulation was centrifugal from the Arsinoite to the other nomes. Inversely, if the *hypomnema* appeared simultaneously in the Fayyum and elsewhere in Egypt, as suggested in the previous chapter⁴⁰, this circulation was multidirectional, spreading innovations between nomes. This second hypothesis would more efficiently account for the few differences observed between Arsinoite and Nile-valley *hypomnemata* at the end of the third century.

³⁹ Herakleopolite nome: BGU VI 1244 (225 BCE; on its date and origin, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26) and probably also P.Köln XI 452 (219 or 202 BCE); Memphite nome: P.Köln V 216 (209 BCE); SB VI 9068 (late III BCE). P.Heid. VII 394 (Memphite, 214 BCE) is a complement to a previous petition indicating the wrongdoer's name (ARMONI 2001b, 169–170). These three Memphite documents are all sent to the same ἀρχιφυλακίτης. They are compact notifications of crimes addressed to the police, and in this respect, they resemble early *proangelmata*. Nevertheless, the hypomnematic prescript and the presence of a request differentiate them from the older simple notifications of crimes headed προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος. On these documents, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 199 n. 321.

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.5.

3.1.3 Functional Evolution at the End of the Third Century BCE

The analysis of end-third-century Egyptian *hypomnemata* has revealed a marked change compared to the variety of contents attested for mid-third-century *hypomnemata*, a change happening both in the Arsinoite nome and elsewhere in Egypt: hypomnematic documents addressed to the administration become dominant, whereas business *hypomnemata* like those from the Zenon archive start to disappear. This development parallels a generalised adoption of the hypomnematic type of documents for the communication of private individuals with the administration: *hypomnemata* now perform functions that were earlier typical of various other types of documents. These two parallel evolutions of focusing the scope of *hypomnemata* to the administrative milieu and broadening its adoption to most of the interactions of individuals with officials determine the functions of hypomnematic documents for the centuries to come.

Excluding few informal documents, the preserved *hypomnemata* dated to the fourth quarter of the third century fall into three categories: requests and petitions, declarations and applications, and offers for public auctions, all addressed to various officials of the Ptolemaic administration. The development linking these functions to hypomnematic documents was different for each but took place around the same decades.

3.1.3.1 Requests and Petitions: *Enteuxeis*, *Prosangelmata* and *Hypomnemata*

During the third century BCE, the main type of documents used for petitions was the so-called *enteuxeis*, i.e. petitioning documents headed τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα⁴¹. These documents were usually nominally addressed to the sovereigns but handed to the nome στρατηγός⁴². Most preserved examples come from the Arsinoite nome and date around 226-217 BCE, but earlier examples are known; on the contrary, no later examples of this practice are attested⁴³. All other types of petitions were secondarily used and never achieved the popularity of these *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the sovereign, called in scholarship *enteuxeis* εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα.

For example, the στρατηγός usually received neither *hypomnemata* nor petitions in his name at this early time. If petitioning *hypomnemata* were sent to the στρατηγός, these were

⁴¹ There are more than two hundred *enteuxeis* addressed to the sovereigns from the third century BCE, plus some ten addressed to various officials, and fewer than fifty administrative petitioning *hypomnemata*; cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.3.2, as well as the lists of *enteuxeis* in BAETENS 2020a, 22–33; 53–54.

⁴² COLLOMP 1926, 141–163; 166; BERNEKER 1930, 14; GUÉRAUD 1931, XXXI–XXXVI; LEWIS 1986, 58; STAVRIANOPOULOU 2012, 129 with n. 29; BAETENS 2020a, 225. The possible exceptions discussed by Collomp have since then proven non-existent.

⁴³ BAETENS 2020a, 225–226.

reminders of previously sent *enteuxeis*⁴⁴ – the etymological link between the label ὑπόμνημα adopted in the opening formula of these documents and the idea of reminding someone of something may explain this choice. Thus, during the third century BCE, the nome governor was petitioned through *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king, and *hypomnemata* were limited to reminders. However, the last quarter of the third century BCE witnessed an evolution in the practice of petitioning the στρατηγός, from *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king to *hypomnemata* directly addressed to him⁴⁵. Indeed, from 202 BCE onward, the στρατηγός is addressed directly with primary petitions that are drawn up as *hypomnemata*⁴⁶.

Petitions addressed to other officials were much rarer during the third century BCE. Contrary to the στρατηγός, they never received *enteuxeis* εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα. They could, however, be petitioned in their own name. It happened infrequently: the only petitions addressed to officials we know are a few *enteuxeis* dated to the mid-century⁴⁷ and some *hypomnemata* to the end of it⁴⁸. The practice evolved at the end of the third century

⁴⁴ Before 217 BCE (the date of the last known petition to the στρατηγός prepared as a royal *enteuxis*), ten *hypomnemata*, all originated in the Arsinoite nome, are addressed to a στρατηγός. Five are explicitly reminders of previous petitions, four times called explicitly ἔντευξις: P.Petr. III 29 b, c (l. 4: ἔντευξις), d (l. 3-4: ἔντευξις εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα), e (l. 6: ἔν[τευξις]), all 244-222 BCE, and W.Chr. 337 (l. 3: [ἔν]τευξις εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα), 222-221 BCE. Another, possibly later reminder of a previous petition is P.Petr. III 30 (222-205 BCE). Two may be such reminders, P.Petr. III 29 g, h (244-222 BCE); without any explication, the sender directly asks the same στρατηγός of p. Petr. III 29 b-e about some matter probably concerning some legal procedure. Thus, without being proper petitions, these two *hypomnemata* are probably linked to such a procedure. Two others are too fragmentarily preserved, P.Petr. III 28 e Ro (222-218 BCE) and 29 f (244-222 BCE). BAETENS 2020a, 227 believes that the last should be considered a reminder of a previous petition, but it only preserves the beginning of an introductory sentence. Finally, P.Petr. III 29 a = W.Chr. 449, l. 10-17 (242 BCE) preserves a report concerning requisitions of soldier accommodations, and thus it is not related to any petition. Cf. also DI BITONTO 1968, 68.

⁴⁵ COLLOMP 1926, 139-140; 158; 199 wanted to link this change to the battle of Raphia, but this seems unnecessary, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.3.4, especially note 89.

⁴⁶ The earliest hypomnematic primary petition to a στρατηγός is SB XXIV 16285 (Arsinoite, 202 BCE), and this practice becomes standard during the second and first centuries BCE (BAETENS 2020a, 108 counts one hundred fifty five such documents).

⁴⁷ Three *enteuxeis* are addressed to a διοικητής (P.Cair.Zen. II 59236, called on the back docket, l. 10, ἔντευξις; III 59341 a, a draft; P.Lond. VII 1954), two to a οἰκονόμος (P.Lond. VII 1955, called, l. 1 2, ἔντευξις; PSI IV 402; on the addressee, cf. Pros.Ptol. I 1045). Three other documents probably belong to this group, but their opening is only partially preserved: P.Cair.Zen. II 59151; P.Petr. III 33; SB X 10260. All these documents are dated around the 260s-230s and mostly come from the Arsinoite nome (P.Cair.Zen. II 59151 and SB X 10260 are from the Herakleopolite one). For a full list of *enteuxeis* not addressed to the king, a phenomenon of the mid-third century, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 53-54.

⁴⁸ BGU VI 1244 (225 BCE; on the date, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26); M.Chr. 6 (220 BCE); P.Eleph. 19 (222 BCE); 27 a (223 BCE); P.Gur. 5 (ca. 215 BCE); P.Heid. VI 379 (204 BCE); P.Köln III 140 (244-242 or 219-217 BCE); V 216 (209 BCE); XV 594 (202 or 178 BCE); P.Petr. II 10_1 (221-205 BCE); III 32 g Ro b (217 BCE); 36 a Ro (218/217 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 772 (236 BCE); XX 15068 (217 BCE); XXII 15762 (210 BCE); XXVIII 17175 (213 BCE); TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37, 213 BCE); 43096 (P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 5, 217-215 BCE); 754942 (P.CtYBR inv. 5059, late III – early II BCE); W.Chr. 166 (after 02/12/218 BCE). Reminders of previous messages: P.Hamb. III 202 (III BCE); P.Heid. VII 394 (214 BCE; on this document, cf. ARMONI 2001b, 169–

from *enteuxeis* to *hypomnemata*. The turning point is P.Tebt. III.1 772, addressed to a νομάρχης in 236 BCE: it is the earliest surviving and securely attested *hypomnema* initiating an administrative petitioning procedure, the first hypomnematic primary petition⁴⁹. Earlier cases are problematic, and none can be considered with certainty an administrative petition⁵⁰; however, the practice of petitioning sub-officials through *hypomnemata* was developing earlier on, as shown by the case of P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14 (241 BCE), a hypomnematic reminder to an ἐπιστάτης of a previous ὑπόμνημα (l. 9) to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. Afterwards, the practice of petitioning various officials through *hypomnemata* becomes dominant. Some twenty administrative petitions and requests drawn up as *hypomnemata* are attested for the last third of the century, both in the Arsinoite and other nomes. When, at the very end of the century, the στρατηγός started to receive *hypomnemata*, all Ptolemaic officials were now petitioned this way, and only the sovereigns and their direct representatives, the χρηματισταί, received *enteuxeis*⁵¹.

The case of the χρηματισταί, judges nominated by the king who functioned in law courts and represented him, is indeed particular⁵². Throughout the Ptolemaic period, cases handled before these courts were initiated through *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king; during the second century BCE, a possible but less attested alternative was to address these courts through *hypomnemata* addressed to other officials. The only *hypomnemata* addressed to the χρηματισταί themselves are reminders of previously sent *enteuxeis*, such as SB VI 9556,

170); P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14 (241 BCE); P.Lille I 8 (246-205 BCE; the function of the addressee is unknown, but the overall petition is clearly administrative and mentions a previous ἐντευξις to the same person); P.Petr. II 1 (III BCE); SB XVIII 13099 (232-226 BCE, republished by BUCKATZ 2017); W.Chr. 262 (after 30/10/223 BCE). Incomplete, but probably petitions: BGU X 1905 (second half III BCE); P.Köln XI 452 (219 or 202 BCE); SB IV 7351 (200 or 176 BCE); VI 9068 (late III BCE); XIV 11367 (III BCE); XX 14999 (217 BCE); TM 380607 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127, 202 BCE). Other *hypomnemata* address requests to the administration not being necessarily dispute-related or otherwise extraordinary: BGU XX 2840 (200 or 176 BCE, on which cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.5); P.Genova III 103 (219 BCE?); 104 (219 BCE?); 106 (219 BCE?); P.Petr. II 20, col. iv (after 02/12/218 BCE).

⁴⁹ On this document, also preserving the earliest preserved implicit heading, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.2.

⁵⁰ In some cases, like P.Cair.Zen. III 59368, it is unclear whether the correspondence is an official one. P.Hib. II 240 (ca. 250-245 BCE), fragmentary, is probably a simple internal semi-administrative request (to understand this document, the observations made by Joseph Morgan in his submitted PhD dissertation at the University of Yale are crucial: the sender is an agent of the addressed οἰκονόμος who is sending an informal request much like Zenon's business requests, but in an administrative context). P.Köln III 140 is clearly an administrative petition, but its date is uncertain (244-242 or 219-217 BCE).

⁵¹ On the χρηματισταί as royal representatives, the general opinion follows WOLFF 1970, 13-16; 82-89.

Contra GROTKAMP 2018, 76-77, who says that there is no evidence of this relationship; yet the fact that in the second century only the sovereigns and the χρηματισταί, unlike all other officials, received *enteuxeis* shows that a link between the two existed. GROTKAMP 2018, 70 overlooks this fact.

⁵² On these royal judges, cf. WOLFF 1966, 23-31; WOLFF 1970, 13-16; 64-89; LIPPERT 2008, 182; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 471-472; GROTKAMP 2018, 62-77.

col. ii (Arsinoite, after 10/02/245 BCE). Contrary to the στρατηγός and other officials, they never received hypomnematic petitions directly⁵³.

The following graph summarises the different evolutions of petitioning practices at the end of the third century BCE (Fig. 3.3).

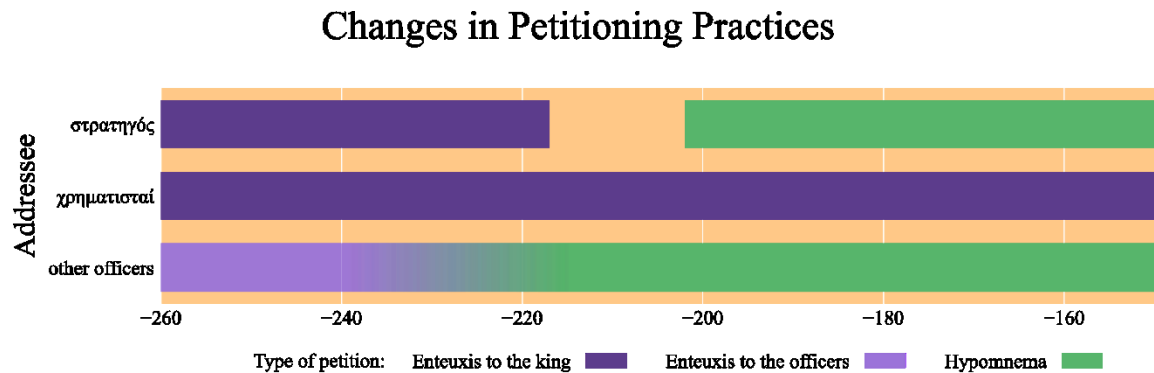


Fig. 3.3: Chronological change in petitioning practices for petitions (excluding reminders of previous petitions).

This evolution impacted how petitioning *hypomnemata* were drafted: from about the end of the third century, hypomnematic petitions adopt the tripartite structure of the text typical of *enteuxeis*, with a narrative section followed by a request and a final rhetorical appeal⁵⁴. In parallel, another practice passes from the *enteuxeis* to the hypomnematic petitions: transferring the request to another official by adding a short note to the original document, i.e. the subscription or apostil⁵⁵. As we have seen before, the earliest subscriptions under hypomnematic petitions date to the end of the third century BCE⁵⁶.

Enteuxeis and *hypomnemata* are not the only types of administrative documents connected to petitioning that changed at the end of the third century BCE. Another one even

⁵³ BERNEKER 1930, 16; WOLFF 1970, 70; 73; 167; ARMONI 2013, 9–10; BAETENS 2020a, 227–230.

⁵⁴ For the tripartite structure of *enteuxeis*, cf. COLLOMP 1926, 72–76; GUÉRAUD 1931, XXII–XXVII; CAVASSINI 1955; DI BITONTO 1967; STAVRIANOPOULOU 2012, 130–138; BAETENS 2020a, 35; 171; this structure was already in use by the mid-third century BCE, as for instance the cases of P.Col. IV 83 (245/244 BCE), P.Hib. I 34 (243 BCE), PSI VIII 976 (248 BCE), SB VI 9556, col. i (245 BCE), UPZ II 151 (259 BCE) show. Contemporary petitioning *hypomnemata* were less strictly structured, and this is still the case for P.Tebt. III.1 772; yet petitioning *hypomnemata* of the last quarter of the third century BCE have adopted this tripartite division, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as COLLOMP 1926, 160; BICKERMANN 1930a, 181; BAETENS 2020a, 72; 110; 171.

⁵⁵ For subscriptions under third-century *enteuxeis*, cf. GUÉRAUD 1931, XXVII–XXX; XLVII–LXII.

⁵⁶ BGU VI 1244 (Herakleopolite, 225 BCE, subscription above the text; on the date and origin, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26); SB XX 15068 (Arsinoite, 217 BCE, subscription below the text); TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37, Arsinoite, 213 BCE). Two requests for oil allowance P.Genova III 103–104 (Arsinoite, 219 BCE?) also carry subscriptions below the text, once in epistolary form. Cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 179 (whose observations do not include the documents published the following year by GUÉRAUD 1931 as P.Enteux.).

progressively disappears at the end of the century: the compact notifications of crime without request opening with one of the two formulas *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος* or *προσαγγέλλει ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι* usually called in scholarship early *prosangelmata*⁵⁷. The last date to the end of the third century or the beginning of the second⁵⁸; during the second century, notifications of crimes to lower officials are typologically identical to hypomnematic petitions, with implicit prescript, expanded description of the facts and final request⁵⁹.

These second and first-century notifications of crimes with prescript *τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος* are problematic in scholarship. Scholars have tried to separate them from other hypomnematic petitions. A distinction following lexical lines was proposed: *hypomnemata* would be second-century hypomnematic documents with an exposition of facts and a final request called in the text *ὑπόμνημα* and would be the evolution of early *hypomnemata* with explicit prescript *ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*. *Prosangelmata* would be second-century hypomnematic documents with an exposition of facts and a final request containing a word of the *προσαγγέλλω* family and would be the evolution of early *prosangelmata* with explicit prescript *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*⁶⁰. However, it was always clear that the border between these two types was extremely fuzzy, to the point that some scholars just treated them together⁶¹.

Marcel Hombert and Claire Préaux, who first studied the *prosangelmata* in detail, adopted this lexical distinction as a defining criterion but doubled it with a procedural one. They separated, on the one hand, petitions sent to the lower officials, be they late *prosangelmata* or late *hypomnemata*, and on the other, petitions to the *στρατηγός*, always late *hypomnemata*; the authors speak artificially of *ὑπόμνημα-προσάγγελμα* and *ὑπόμνημα-*

⁵⁷ On these notes, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.1.

⁵⁸ BAETENS 2020a, 198; he lists the following documents: SB XVI 12823 (215 BCE); P.Gur. 8 (210 BCE); P.Petr. III 34 a (210-183 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 795 (early II BCE); SB XVI 12813 (early II BCE), noting that the last two dates are far from certain.

⁵⁹ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 265–273; DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 319–320; BAETENS 2020a, 200; SKARSOULI 2020, 17. The evolution between the two was progressive, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.1, as well as DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Heid. IX 423, p. 29–30; SKARSOULI 2020, 17–18 n. 82.

⁶⁰ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 259; 276–285; PARCA 1985, 240–241; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 320, as well as the analysis of previous scholarship in BAETENS 2020a, 204–209. Cf. the hesitation of the editor of P.Köln VI 272 on whether the published papyrus is a *hypomnema* or a late *prosangelma*.

⁶¹ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 273; SEIDL 1962, 65; DI BITONTO 1968, 54–56; DI BITONTO 1976, 109; P.Köln VI 272, p. 214; GONIS 1994, 232; P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 320; STERN 2016, 18 n. 3; BAETENS 2020a, 197–218; SKARSOULI 2020, 18.

ἔντεθξις⁶². This second distinction underlines the closeness between the two categories of late *hypomnemata* and late *prosangelmata* to lower officials and the difficulty of separating them based only on internal lexical usage. Nevertheless, this distinction has not imposed itself in the scholarship and is problematic from various points of view: for the same crimes, the damaged party could address a document called either ὑπόμνημα or προσάγγελμα to a lower official or one called ὑπόμνημα to the στρατηγός⁶³; moreover, no criterion other than the addressee allows us to separate them⁶⁴.

The confusion already originated in Antiquity, when the use of the word προσάγγελμα and its family was not very consistent. This inconsistency is already observable in the third century BCE⁶⁵. In the second century, this phenomenon becomes more conspicuous: the word ὑπόμνημα had a broader meaning than προσάγγελμα⁶⁶, but very similar documents could equally be labelled either ὑπομνήματα or προσαγγέματα, and the word προσάγγελμα was not restricted to crime notifications to village officials⁶⁷. In other words, a vaguely defined subcategory of documents whose prescript reads τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός could be labelled both ὑπόμνημα, the umbrella word generally used for documents in the hypomnematic type, and προσάγγελμα. This more circumscribed word was only adopted for documents with some points of contact with early *prosangelmata*, usually petitions concerning penal crimes sent to lower officials⁶⁸. Nevertheless, these documents are identical to all other petitions in both materiality and formulas and therefore, they cannot be differentiated from other petitions from a typological point of view: there are no late *prosangelmata* essentially different from late *hypomnemata*.

The evolution from early *prosangelmata* to *hypomnemata* is best explained when considered globally within the change in the use of the administrative *hypomnema*: its progressive adoption for all sorts of requests to officials happened in parallel with the

⁶² HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 263–265; 268–269; 273, followed by PARCA 1985, 240–241; cf. SKARSOULI 2020, 18 n. 86.

⁶³ P.Heid. VIII 421, p. 320.

⁶⁴ SKARSOULI 2020, 18 n. 86. The addressee implied some variations in the request formula, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”.

⁶⁵ P.Hamb. IV 237, p. 8.

⁶⁶ BAETENS 2020a, 212; 214–215 remarks that the addressees and the crimes addressed by petitions called in text προσαγγέματα are also addressed by petitions called in text ὑπομνήματα, but that the addressees and the crimes covered by ὑπομνήματα are wider than those of documents explicitly called προσαγγέματα.

⁶⁷ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 273; DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Köln VI 272, p. 214; GONIS 1994, 232; STERN 2016, 18 n. 3; BAETENS 2020a, 200–203; SKARSOULI 2020, 18. Gert Baetens makes the examples of P.Dion. 10 and P.Tebt. IV 1096, very similar but called in text προσαγγελία (P.Dion. 10, l. 12) and ὑπόμνημα (P.Tebt. IV 1096, l. 20).

⁶⁸ BAETENS 2020a, 210–211; 215; 217; SKARSOULI 2020, 18–19.

disappearance of two earlier documents, the royal *enteuxeis* for the στρατηγός and the early *prosangelmata*. The first left *hypomnemata* its tripartite structure and the practice of the answering subscription; the second survived in the linguistic usage of calling documents more or less similar to the older notes either ὑπομνήματα or προσαγγέλματα indifferently.

Finally, another type of document connected to petitions decreased markedly at the end of the third century BCE: so-called warrants or summonses, i.e. letters from higher officials to lower ones asking for the convocation of some accused people after a petition was submitted⁶⁹. Among the circa twenty such documents from the Ptolemaic period, two-thirds date to the mid to end-third century BCE⁷⁰. Their sudden decrease corresponds chronologically to the restructuring of the petitioning practices in the last quarter of the third century. In the second and first centuries BCE, subscriptions mainly perform their function.

Thus, the final thirty years of the third century BCE witness an evolution from an older petitioning practice, in which the authority was dominantly addressed through *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king but submitted to the στρατηγός, to a new one, in which various officials could be petitioned by submitting to them hypomnematic documents. In parallel, the practice of submitting early *prosangelmata*, notifications of crimes without requests, disappeared too, as those notes merged with hypomnematic petitions and became indistinguishable from them. This evolution implied some transfers from the older types to the *hypomnema* and changes in administrative practices (decrease of independent warrants, increase of subscriptions).

3.1.3.2 Property Declarations

Property declarations also underwent a typological evolution at the end of the third century. As was already shown, the oldest Ptolemaic declarations of property, dating to the mid-third century BCE, were written either as Demotic oath-takings or as loosely defined Greek

⁶⁹ On Ptolemaic warrants, cf. P.Paramone 9, p. 103–108; SCHUBERT 2018b, 254–255; 266–268; BALCONI 2019. On the terminology, warrants or summonses, cf. SCHUBERT 2018b, 253 n. 2; MICUCCI 2021, 171.

⁷⁰ For a list of Ptolemaic warrants, cf. P.Paramone 9, p. 104–106, to which one should add P.Bastianini 14, P.Paramone 9 and P.Tebt.Pad. I 7, cf. BALCONI 2019, 432. SCHUBERT 2018b, 254 adds to the list P.Sorb. III 130, which however was already included as SB XVI 12427. The list includes twenty-four warrants, out of which fifteen dates to the third century BCE. Among the eight remaining, two are only generically dated to third or the second century BCE, and one is very early (193/192 BCE) and can still be linked to the transition phase at the end of the third century BCE. Thus, only six warrants can be dated to a time after the transition phase, BGU VIII 1757, 1758, 1774, 1797, P.Erasm. I 11 and P.Paramone 9; among them, at least two (P.Erasm. I 11 and BGU VIII 1758) are linked to the χρηματισταί courts, that maintained an archaic petitioning system throughout the Ptolemaic period.

subjective statements without an addressee⁷¹. Hypomnematic declarations are attested from the 220s with some oscillations at the beginning: around the same years, W.Chr. 244, l. 1-4 (224/223 BCE) is probably still written as a subjective statement⁷², W.Chr. 242 (222 BCE) already as a *hypomnema*. The preserved hypomnematic declarations only concern property and never household members; indeed, the only Ptolemaic census declarations preserved are from the mid-third century BCE, and we do not know whether afterwards census declarations disappeared or were not preserved⁷³.

During the last quarter of the third century, ten mostly damaged hypomnematic property declarations are preserved⁷⁴. Most date from 209/208 BCE and are associated with a decree of Ptolemy IV concerning a (probably extraordinary) declaration of immovable property⁷⁵. However, the case of W.Chr. 242, a hypomnematic sheep declaration of 222 BCE, prevents associating the adoption of the *hypomnema* for declarations with this edict. Once scribes had started to draw declarations up as *hypomnemata* at the end of the third century, they would not change their practice any more, and declarations continued to be prepared as *hypomnemata* during the whole Ptolemaic and Roman periods⁷⁶.

Similarly to the case of *proselmatata*, this typological evolution was linked to a specific lexicological usage. Scribes could call these declarations either ὑπόμνημα or ἀπογραφή (from the main verb of the formulary, ἀπογράφομαι) without being typologically

⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.3.2. Demotic: P.Lille Dem. I 12-20; TM 45906; 45907 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2301; 1196); Greek: P.Frankf. 5; P.Hib. I 33; P.Köln VII 314; W.Chr. 198; 244, l. 1-4 (?).

⁷² The type of document of W.Chr. 244 is not fully clear; it preserves in its final lines an early *proselmatata*, and a declaration in its initial lines, that was interpreted as a declaration of property but may also be the declaration of the stolen objects.

⁷³ Cf. CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2002; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 21–24; 28; ARMONI 2012, 207–208.

⁷⁴ P.Heid. VII 390; 392; P.Petr. III 68 b; SB XXIV 16063; XXVI 16417; UPZ I 116; W.Chr. 222; 224 a; b; 242. Cf. also P.Heid. VII 391; W.Chr. 224 c, whose openings are lost, and SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230. On P.Petr. III 68 b and SB XXVI 16417, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214.

⁷⁵ P.Heid. VII 390; 392; SB XXIV 16063; UPZ I 116 (?); W.Chr. 222; 224 a; b. On this edict, cf. WILCKEN 1912, 175; P.Heid. VII 390-392, p. 20–22; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 25–26; ARMONI 2012, 214–215.

⁷⁶ On declarations in Ptolemaic Egypt, cf. P.Hels. I 10-20, p. 63–71; P.Heid. VII 390-392, p. 20–22; ARMONI 2012, 205–218; BAETENS 2020a, 136–137; QANDEIL 2022; on declarations in Roman Egypt, cf. *infra*, chapters 4.1.2 and 4.1.3, and for instance AVOGADRO 1935; NELSON 1979; CASARICO 1985; KRUSE 2002, 63–251; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006; JÖRDENS 2009, 62–94; 111–128; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010; LANGELOTTI 2012; KRUSE 2013; DOLGANOV 2021.

different⁷⁷. Both denominations were already used as labels during the mid-third century⁷⁸ and could later refer indifferently to hypomnematic property declarations⁷⁹.

Thus, the typology of property declarations changed at the end of the century; we do not know whether this was also linked to a procedural change, as in the case of petitions, or whether the change only affected the aspect of the documents. However, this evolution contributed to the generalisation of adopting hypomnematic documents in communication with the Ptolemaic administration.

3.1.3.3 Offers and Applications

Business offers and applications are among the main topics of the letters and *hypomnemata* from the Zenon archive. However, in the last part of the third century, such offers written as *hypomnemata* also appear among administrative documents. Two main groups of documents are identifiable: offers for public auction sales and applications for enrolment in the police⁸⁰.

Public auctions are well attested through various documents during the third and second centuries BCE, yet there are few preserved written offers for such auctions⁸¹. The earliest preserved date to the end of the third century, between 223 and 222 BCE, and are drawn up as *hypomnemata*: P.Eleph. 17, 20, 24, 25 and P.Petr. III 68 a⁸². There is also a contemporary offer written as a letter, P.Eleph. 21; yet, unlike the four other examples from the Milon archive, this letter is not the first auction bid, but a second, higher one whose first version is not preserved and may have looked differently. From this point onward, the *hypomnema* will be in use for offers for public auctions⁸³. However, since we do not know

⁷⁷ AVOGADRO 1935, 131; BAETENS 2020a, 137.

⁷⁸ On *ὑπόμνημα*, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.2.1, section “Explicit VS Implicit Prescript: the *ὑπόμνημα* Label”. On *ἀπογραφή*, cf. P.Frankf. 5, P.Hib. I 33.

⁷⁹ Cf. for instance P.Hels. I 10 (l. 10-16: ἀξιῶ κατατάξαι μου τὴν ἀπογραφὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἐν χρηματισμῶι ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρου συκοφαντῶμαι) and 12 (l. 22-26: ἀξιῶ οὖν σὲ κατατάξαι μου τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἐν χρηματισμῶι ἵνα μὴ ἐξῇ τοῖς τελώναις συκοφαντεῖν με ὡς μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένος).

⁸⁰ Offers for public auction: P.Eleph. 17; 20; 24; 25; P.Petr. III 68 a; Applications for enrolment: P.Genova III 101; 102.

⁸¹ On Ptolemaic public state auctions of abandoned property, tax farming rights, and monopolies, cf. MANNING 2003, 160–161; ARMONI 2012, 106–171; P.Tarich. 10, p. 94–95; JAKAB 2013, 221–232; JAKAB 2014. On the Demotic evidence, cf. HOGAN 2019.

⁸² Another document that has been tentatively interpreted as an offer for auction, but whose fragmentary status does not allow the assessment of its content and its type, is P.Hal. 14 (261 or 223 BCE).

⁸³ P.Tebt. III.1 737, col. i, dated to about 136 BCE, was interpreted as a bid written as a letter, but the text is so damaged that one cannot be sure it was the actual bid and not another part of the administrative correspondence. All other known offers are hypomnematic, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.3.

what earlier offers looked like, it is impossible to know whether this situation reflects an extension of the functions of *hypomnemata*, as was the case for petitions and declarations. As with petitions to lower officials, called in ancient texts either ὑπόμνημα or προσάγγελμα, and declarations, called either ὑπόμνημα or ἀπογραφή, so scribes could call such offers both ὑπόμνημα and ὑπόστασις (linked to the main characteristic of their formulary, the verb ὑφίσταμαι)⁸⁴.

Another sort of hypomnematic document addressed to the administration is attested from the end of the third century: the applications for enrolment in the police, a procedure called once ἀπογραφή on the back of one document (P.Genova III 102, Vo, l. 2), from the main verb used, ἀπογράφομαι⁸⁵. Only three documents of this sort are known: P.Genova III 101 and 102, dated 221 BCE, and SB XIV 11860, dated to the second or the first century BCE. They are all hypomnematic and akin to declarations because of the use of the verb ἀπογράφομαι; no text of similar content but formulated otherwise is preserved. Unlike petitions and declarations, these few documents do not suffice to speak of a typological evolution; yet they show that, from the end of the third century BCE, it was so common to address the administration through *hypomnemata* that scribes prepared even rare texts as such.

3.1.3.4 Summary and Tentative Explanations

At the end of the third century BCE, the types of documents used for addressing the administration underwent a reorganisation that gave primacy to documents opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός. Some older types disappear in this timeframe, and *hypomnemata* replace them: this happens for *enteuxeis* addressed to the king but handled by the στρατηγός, for early notifications of crime written as *prosangelmata* and for early declarations written as subjective statements. Other hypomnematic communications with the administration appear or acquire greater importance from this point onward, such as petitions to lower officials, bids for public auctions, or applications for enrolment in the police.

⁸⁴ BAETENS 2020a, 138. Cf. the usage in the bank *diagraphai* UPZ II 218-221, 224; these documents, containing all the details concerning the auction and the payment of the winning bid, also included a copy of the original offer. This copy, when preserved, is formulated as a *hypomnema* (UPZ I 218; 224) and is called either ὑπόμνημα (UPZ I 218-221) or ὑπόστασις (UPZ I 224).

⁸⁵ On this procedure, cf. BAUSCHATZ 2013, 73–74; 297–298.

The evolution of these various documents occurred during the same decades and converged towards a final situation where interaction with the administration was simplified and reduced to one principal type of document with an implicit hypomnematic prescript whose texts and formulas were adapted to its various functions⁸⁶. While its material features still contained some variability at the end of the third century, variability that is observable despite the poor conditions of the preserved examples, a general structure can be identified. These documents transmit a piece of information from one individual to another in an administrative capacity and are not formulated as ordinary letters. Letters remain in use for private or business exchanges between individuals or administrative communications between officials, but their function does not overlap with that of *hypomnemata* anymore.

In this general evolution, the older practice of labelling the documents in their heading or opening becomes less frequent. However, these labels survived in the terminology used to refer to these pieces of writing in their text: ὑπόμνημα was the more general term used for petitions, declarations, and bids for auctions⁸⁷, but some more specific words are also attested in parallel, reflecting the multiple functions of these documents. For example, προσάγγελμα indicated petitions to lower officials, ἀπογραφή declarations of property, and ὑπόστασις bids for auctions⁸⁸. Thus, the word ὑπόμνημα, which by this time had disappeared from the opening formulas, became the general label or hyperonym, i.e. a general definition for all these documents addressing the administration; the other labels survive as sublabels or hyponyms, i.e. as words used only for specific subcategories of *hypomnemata*.

This evolution was quick, as it happened in only a few decades. It calls for an explanation that is still missing. Until now, the focus has mainly been on the evolution of the role of the στρατηγός. Hans Julius Wolff tentatively linked both the appearance of the hypomnematic petitions to the στρατηγός and the disappearance of *enteuxeis* addressed to the king but handled by the στρατηγός with the decrease in the prestige of the king under Ptolemy IV and V. He interpreted this phenomenon as a consolidation of the power of the officials⁸⁹.

⁸⁶ Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 238–239. In the case of Demotic *mkmk*, the prescript remained explicit, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 157.

⁸⁷ Cf. *nFWB*, s.v. ὑπόμνημα; QUENOUILLE 2019.

⁸⁸ Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 217.

⁸⁹ WOLFF 1970, 166–170; 189. Before proposing his hypothesis, he criticises (with BICKERMANN 1926, 1244) the older view of COLLOMP 1926, 139–140; 158; 199, for whom the change in petitioning practices reflected an increase in the prestige of the king in the aftermath of the battle of Raphia (HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 260 followed him in the adoption of the battle as a chronological turning point). He also criticises the view by BICKERMANN 1926, 1244–1245 that the stabilisation of the typology of the *hypomnema* occasioned this

His position was held standard for a long time. Gert Baetens doubted this explanation because he does not see how a decrease in prestige could concretely bring about a change of addressee in petitions; for him, neither the στρατηγός nor the petitioners would so openly reject the royal authority by not addressing him petitions. He suggests administrative simplification as a more straightforward explication: from the practice of submitting *enteuxeis* to the king who would transmit them to the στρατηγός derived the practice of submitting *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king directly to the στρατηγός, and from the latter derived the practice of addressing the στρατηγός in his name without mixing his position and that of the sovereign⁹⁰. This simplification would be in the interest of all involved parties.

However, the focus should switch from the more circumscribed question of the evolution of petitions to the στρατηγός because the change is much broader: petitions to the στρατηγός are the latest of the various documentary types that were standardised to *hypomnemata* at the end of the third century BCE. When looking at the broader picture, the importance of the king's perception by his subjects diminishes: Hans Julius Wolff could evoke internal rebellions under Ptolemy IV and V to explain why the στρατηγός did not receive *enteuxeis* anymore, but it would be much harder to summon this justification to explain why property declarations were suddenly drawn up as *hypomnemata*.

As Gert Baetens stated, all the various changes seem to reflect a “logic of standardisation and simplification” that aimed to clearly distinguish the various types of documents and their functions, reducing the interaction of private individuals with the administration to two primary types: *enteuxeis* for the sovereigns and *hypomnemata* for all other officials⁹¹. For sure, without the agreement of the central chancery, such a quick and uniform change all over the Nile valley would not have been possible. At the same time, such a simplification benefitted all the instances that were part of the exchange: the reduction of the types simplified the task of the scribe by diminishing the typology that he needed to master; the broadening of the adoption of the *hypomnema* allowed the easier creation of ad hoc documents for new purposes like the enrolment requests; the distinction of sovereign and other officials was more understandable than before. Because of this, it is impossible

change. Earlier juridical research on the conceptualisation of Ptolemaic justice and on the jurisdiction of public officials is behind the theory of Hans Julius Wolff, cf. ZUCKER 1912, 99–103; HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 268. For a summary of the various positions, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 234.

⁹⁰ BAETENS 2020a, 235.

⁹¹ BAETENS 2020a, 238–239.

to ascertain whether it was initially a top-down change imposed by the central chancery or a bottom-up simplification created by scribes, local administrators, or both: all actors had interests in the process. One may suggest that this administrative simplification was the fruit of both top-down and bottom-up pushes.

Moreover, this change was not alone in the contemporary administration. For instance, Giuditta Mirizio observed the same changes concerning the practice of embedding older documents under new ones and the administrative language linked to it⁹². Thus, it seems that the whole scribal practice connected to the administration evolved between the end of the third and the beginning of the second century BCE and that the evolution of the *hypomnema* is only one piece of the broader picture. Without a study of all these changes, we cannot propose a general interpretation nor understand the reasons behind them.

3.1.4 Beginning of the Administrative Usage: Summary

In the mid-third century, *hypomnemata* were used for all sorts of quick communication but chiefly to report on a subject or make a request. These functions are primarily attested in documents related to the expansion of agricultural land in the Fayyum under Ptolemy II, especially in the Zenon and Kleon archives. At this time, individuals could use *hypomnemata* to contact the administration, but this is not systematic, and all sorts of other documents are used alongside them⁹³.

Afterwards, during the last decades of the century, some parallel developments may be observed:

- *Hypomnemata* are now attested all over the Nile valley.
- The degree of material uniformity of *hypomnemata* increases, and they are now chiefly written as blocks of text on vertical sheets of papyrus. Some geographical or typological differentiation is still observable.
- The opening formula is now implicit.
- The distinction with letters is clarified.
- The non-administrative *hypomnemata* progressively disappear, and administrative *hypomnemata* become dominant⁹⁴.

⁹² MIRIZIO 2021, 13–17; 223. On a smaller scale, cf. the administrative changes in the land administration of the Thebaid analysed by MANNING 2003, 161–164.

⁹³ Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2, especially 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.

⁹⁴ During the second century, only SB XXII 15324, a bizarre piece only made of general wishes, cannot be linked to the administration, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.5.

- The *hypomnema* starts to cover all sorts of purposes in addressing the administration: it was used at least since 236 BCE for primary petitions to lower functionaries, at least since 222 BCE for property declarations and bids for public auctions, and at least since 202 BCE for petitions addressed to the στρατηγός.
- In all these cases, if there were older types of documents performing the same function, they disappear around the same years.
- The label ὑπόμνημα now defines all those documents.

Eventually, the now standardised *hypomnema* becomes the one type of document used to transmit a piece of information from an individual to the administration. This function will become an essential component of the definition of the *hypomnema* in the following centuries of Ptolemaic rule.

The reasons behind this evolution cannot be fully understood, although the hypothesis of a general simplification of the language and textual typology connected to the administration seems to be the most convincing. In the context of the administration's general evolution, the *hypomnema* found itself a place it would occupy for many centuries.

3.2 Ptolemaic Administrative *Hypomnemata* in the Second and First Centuries: the Hierarchical Evolution

The corpus of preserved second and first-century Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* varies significantly according to the century under consideration. A relatively high number of second-century BCE *hypomnemata* are available⁹⁵. They come from all over Egypt except the Delta region, with a predominance of the Arsinoite, Herakleopolite and Memphite nomes. They are distributed throughout the whole century, although some decades offer slimmer coverage (the 120s are especially poorly documented). The first century BCE until the Roman conquest in 30 BCE is much less well documented⁹⁶. Most Ptolemaic first-century *hypomnemata* come from middle Egypt, with more than half of them from the Herakleopolite nome; the Thebaid has not delivered documentation, unlike the Delta. They mostly date to the first half of the century, the 40s and 30s being almost unrepresented.

⁹⁵ Little less than three hundred *hypomnemata* with preserved initial lines were recorded for this research. As for the previous chapters, the evidence was gathered from the online database HGV by looking at all Ptolemaic entries and retaining those with hypomnematic opening formula; this search formed the basis for the database behind this PhD. This evidence was compared with that listed in BAETENS 2020a, 71; 76–79; 84–108; 129–132; 297 and enriched with newly published texts.

⁹⁶ Even including documents whose dates only partially overlap this timeframe, there are only about seventy *hypomnemata* with preserved initial lines for the years 100–30 BCE.

This corpus forms a coherent bulk of administrative documents at our disposal to question what became of the *hypomnema* after the changes observed at the end of the third century BCE, a formative period for petitions, declarations and other documents to the authorities. The study of the materiality and the formulas of second and first-century administrative *hypomnemata* will give a better idea of what Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* have turned into, notwithstanding the differences among the individual subcategories of *hypomnemata* (such as petitions or declarations). It will also show that the evolution did not stop at the end of the third century but continued during the whole period, as the case of the layout of the opening formula proves.

3.2.1 Fixation of the Format

The format of hypomnematic documents underwent a marked stabilisation during the second century BCE. Compared to the variability of the third century BCE, the second century witnessed a decided tendency of *hypomnemata* to be written on vertical sheets of papyrus between 28 and 33 cm high and 7 and 21 cm wide. The primacy of the vertical orientation and the average width of *hypomnemata* were already set during the third century BCE, but the second century saw the fixation of their height to the average height of the papyrus roll. The contrast between the graphs obtained with fully preserved *hypomnemata* of the two centuries speaks for itself (Fig. 3.4)⁹⁷: whereas the dots representing papyri scatter in the left part of the graph for the second and third quarters of the third century, they aggregate in a limited area in the one for the second century. Only a few shorter documents and one exceptionally high papyrus cut in an uncommon roll 40 cm high are exceptions⁹⁸.

⁹⁷ On this sort of graph, as well as on the graph concerning the third century, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.1.1, Fig. 2.2. The papyri considered for the second century BCE are BGU III 1012; VI 1247; CPR XXVIII 11; P.Amh. II 35; P.Dion. 10; 11; P.Diosk. 1; 4; 5; 6; 7; P.Dryton 34; P.Grenf. I 38; P.Heid. IX 422; P.Hels. I 10; 13; 15; P.Köln X 413; P.KölnSarapion 1; P.Mich. III 173; XVIII 774; 777; P.Oxyrhyncha 8; 15; P.Polit.Jud. 1; 6; 7; 8; 9; PSI III 168; P.Tarich. 2; 11; P.Tebt. I 40; 44; 45; 46; 50; 53; III.1 785; 786; 796; 798; P.Tor.Amen. 8; P.Tor.Choach. 4; 5 a; 5 b; P.Yale IV 138; 140; 141; 142; 146; SB V 8033; VIII 9792; XIV 11273; XVIII 13735; XXVIII 16855; TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639); 793255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637); UPZ I 2; 7; 8; 17; 22; 24; 32; 35; 36; 123.

⁹⁸ Shorter papyri: P.Hels. I 10; 13; 15; SB V 8033; XIV 11273, among which SB V 8033 and XIV 11273 have preserved the full text but may have lost the lower margin. Taller papyrus: UPZ I 2; on the exceptional height of this document, cf. also DEPAUW 2002, 96.

Format of Fully Preserved *Hypomnemata*

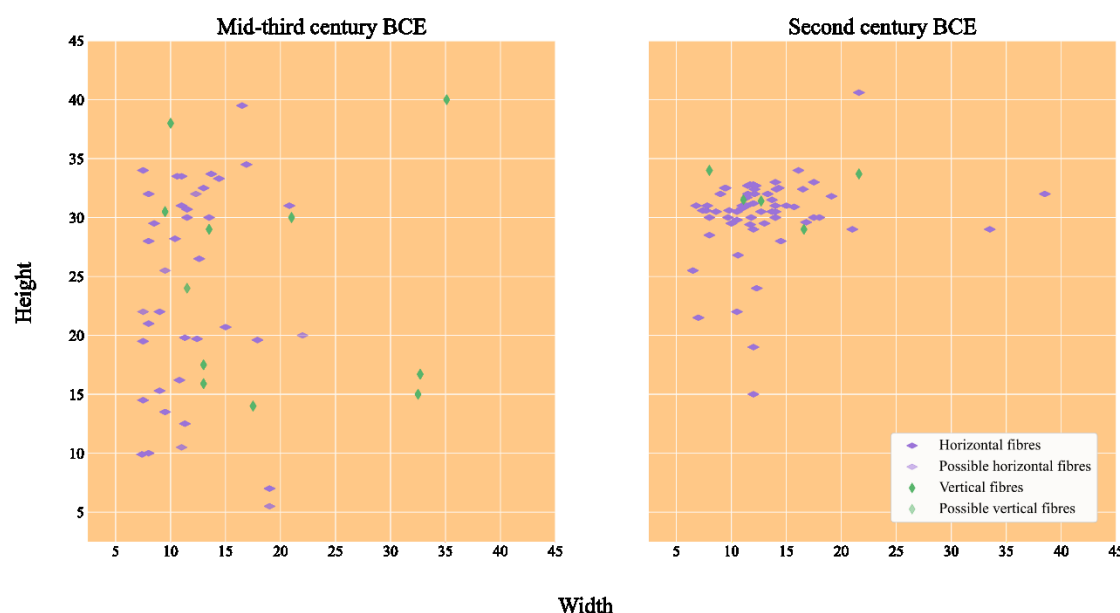


Fig. 3.4: Scatter graph of fully preserved hypomnemata according to the height and width of the sheet, comparing mid-third-century (to the left) and second-century documents (to the right).

The process is progressive, as the comparison of the graphs for the first and second half of the second century BCE illustrates (Fig. 3.5)⁹⁹. Documents shorter than the average 30 cm almost disappeared in the second part of the century; the only two exceptions, P.Oxyrhyncha 15 and SB XIV 11273, may be broken at their bottom margin¹⁰⁰. The width stabilises with time to a range between 7.5 and 17.5 cm and increases on average¹⁰¹.

⁹⁹ The documents considered for the first half of the century are BGU III 1012; CPR XXVIII 11; P.KölnSarapion 1; P.Mich. III 173; XVIII 774; 777; P.Tarich. 2; 11; P.Diosk. 1; 4; 7; P.Grenf. I 38; P.Heid. IX 422; P.Hels. I 10; 13; 15; P.Tebt. III.1 796; SB V 8033; VIII 9792; XXVIII 16855; TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639); 793255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637); UPZ I 2; 7; 8; 17; 22; 24; 32; 35; 36; 123; for the second half, BGU VI 1247; P.Amh. II 35; P.Dion. 10; 11; P.Diosk. 5; 6; P.Dryton 34; P.Köln X 413; P.Oxyrhyncha 8; 15; P.Polit.Jud. 1; 6; 7; 8; 9; PSI III 168; P.Tebt. I 40; 44; 45; 46; 50; 53; III.1 785; 786; P.Tor.Amen. 8; P.Tor.Choach. 4; 5 a; 5 b; P.Yale IV 138; 140; 141; 142; 146; SB XIV 11273.

¹⁰⁰ According to the edition of P.Oxyrhyncha 15, the bottom margin is preserved, but its irregular cut suggests that part of the sheet may be lost. In the case of SB XIV 11273, the editor does not describe the material aspect of the papyrus, but the irregular aspect of the bottom margin makes it likely that the sheet is broken too.

¹⁰¹ This progressive decrease of the average height of rolls contrasts with the preliminary observations of DEPAUW 2002, 90, which were, however, simply based on “some soundings”. It is confirmed by the observations made on a large sample of letters and contracts by DEPAUW 2012, 312–313; SARRI 2018, 76–77.

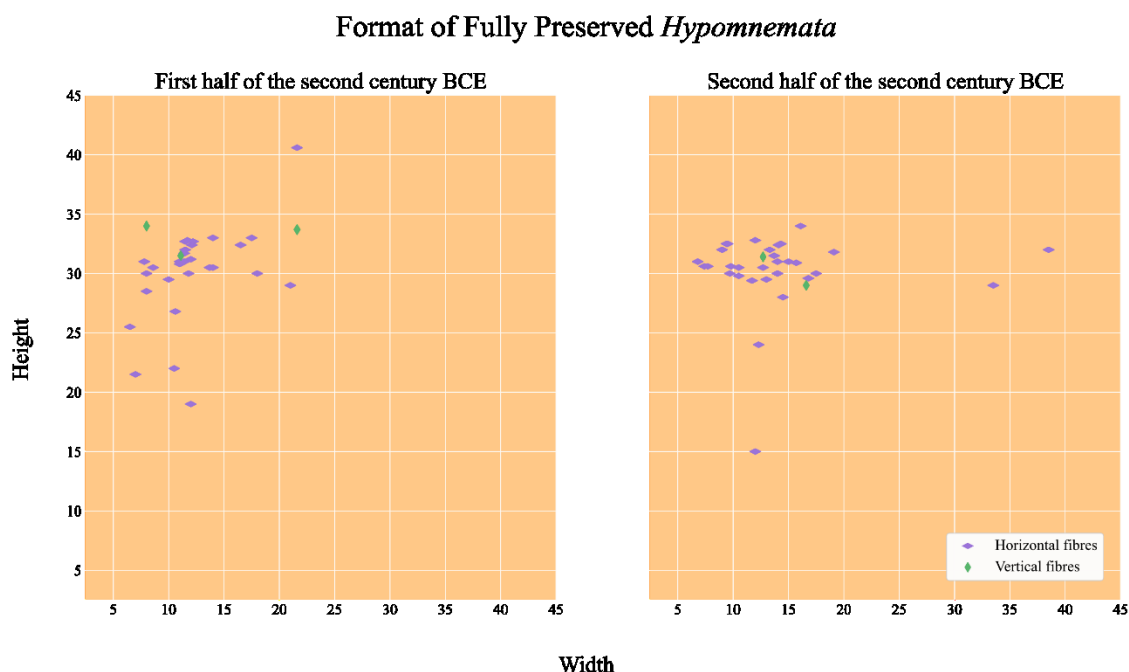


Fig. 3.5: Scatter graph of fully preserved *hypomnemata* according to the height and width of the sheet, comparing documents from the first half (to the left) and the second half of the second century BCE (to the right).

Because of the scarcity of preserved *hypomnemata* from the Ptolemaic decades of the first century BCE, it is hard to follow the evolution of their format after the second century BCE. Only eleven *hypomnemata* dated with certainty between 100 and 30 BCE are more or less fully preserved and can thus be used to create a graph (Fig. 3.6)¹⁰². The overall impression is that the average format of hypomnematic documents did not change between the late second century and the first half of the first century BCE: *hypomnemata* tend to be written along the fibres on vertical sheets of papyrus about 30 cm high and 10-15 cm wide. Shorter documents are attested again: in one case, P.Tebt. II 283 (23 cm high), the sheet may be broken at the bottom.

¹⁰² The documents considered for the graph are BGU IV 1187; VIII 1825; 1828; 1832; 1833; 1848; XVIII.1 2731; P.Iand. VII 134; P.Ryl. IV 577; P.Stras. II 91; P.Tebt. II 283. For the date of P.Ryl. IV 577, cf. MOOREN 1970, 12–14 = BL 6.123, as well as the prosopographical data studied by COUSSEMENT 2012: the document dates to 83 BCE.

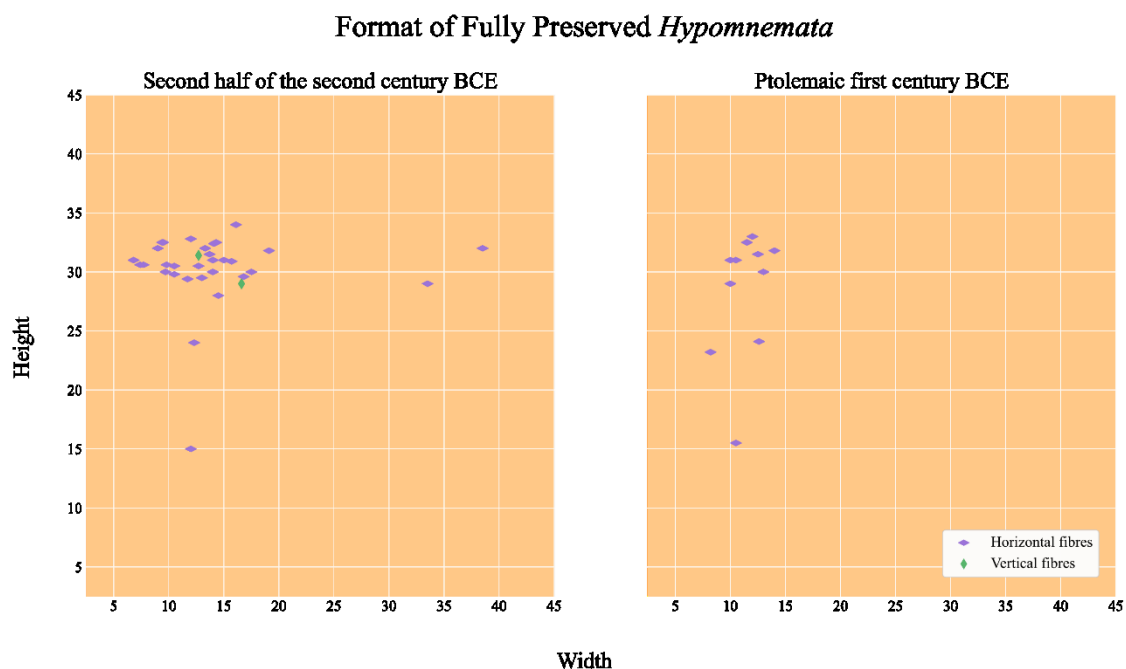


Fig. 3.6: Scatter graph of fully preserved hypomnemata according to the height and width of the sheet, comparing documents from the second half of the second century BCE (to the left) and Ptolemaic documents from the first century BCE (to the right).

Squarish or horizontal papyri almost disappear after the third century. Six documents from the second century BCE present a text written on horizontal sheets but in vertical columns, every column corresponding to the vertical *pagina* format¹⁰³. These texts are written along the fibres' direction on the inner side of the roll, with a smaller second column continuing a text too long to fit in a standard column. This disposition on horizontal sheets can be considered an extension of the typical vertical *hypomnema*. P.Diosk. 6 is a fine example of it (Fig. 3.7).

¹⁰³ P.Diosk. 6; P.Tor.Amen. 8; and the fragmentary P.Tebt. III.2 895; P.Turku 1; SB XVI 12720; UPZ I 40. One may add the draft UPZ I 5. P.Tebt. III.2 895 is exceptional in that it includes more than two columns. BGU VIII 1779 is a first-century *hypomnema* that may have followed the same disposition of the text, but the traces of the second column are too scanty to allow a proper reconstruction of its format.

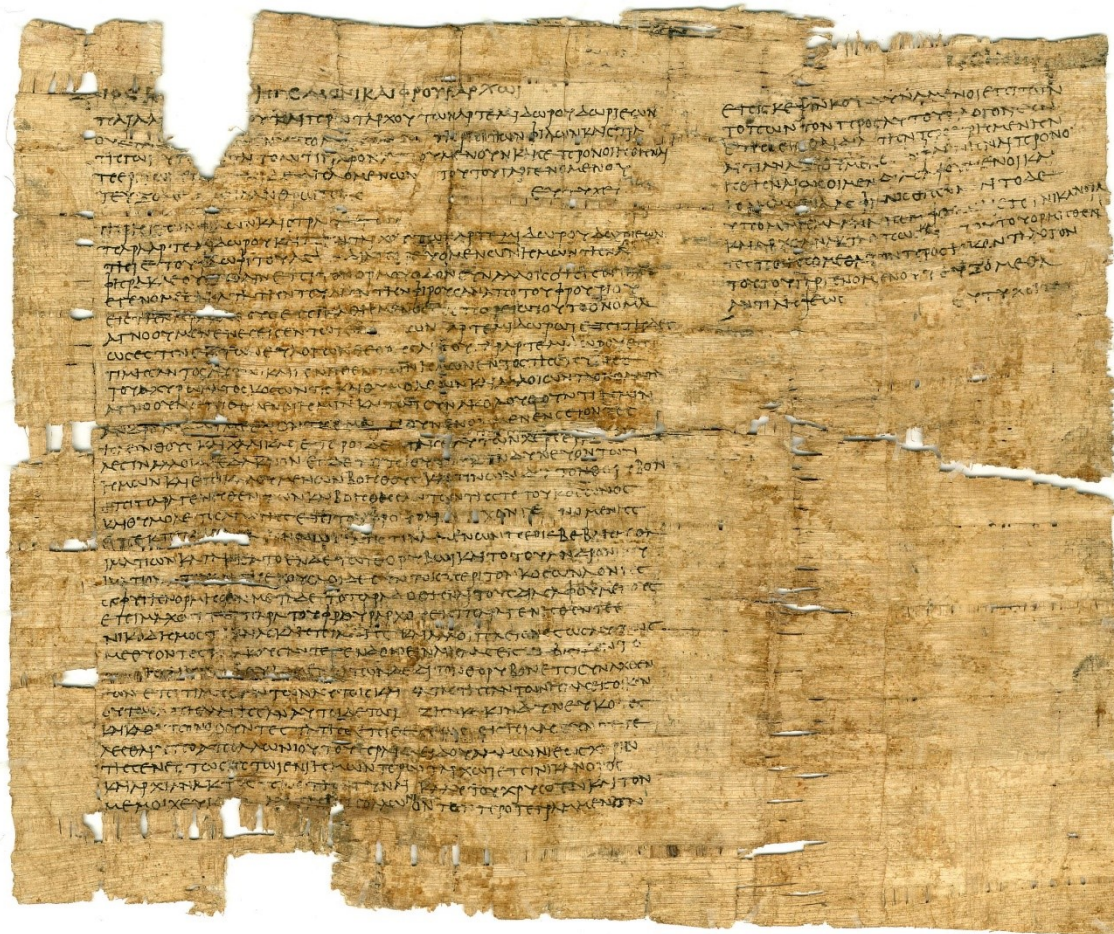


Fig. 3.7: P.Diosk. 6.

Another exceptional case is P.Mert. II 59, in which the *hypomnema* is written horizontally in the middle of a large, squarish sheet (Fig. 3.8). In this case, the need to leave space above and below the text for later annotations dictated the specific text arrangement. This need is related to the peculiar content of this piece and will be analysed subsequently in connection with its function. Otherwise, only drafts or informal personal copies use squarish or horizontal formats¹⁰⁴. These formats disappear in the last decades of Ptolemaic rule.

¹⁰⁴ P.Gen. III 128; P.Mich. XVIII 778; 779; P.Tarich. 3; P.Tebt. III.1 790; UPZ I 33; 48; 49; 50.

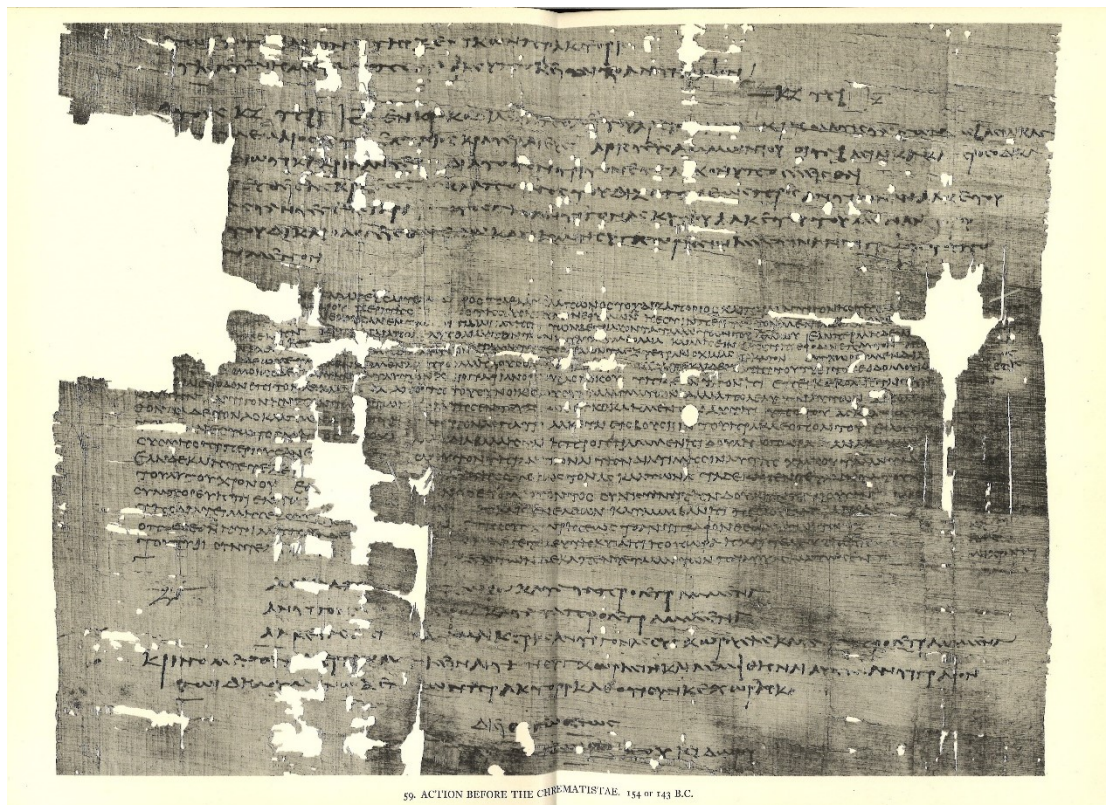


Fig. 3.8: P.Mert. II 59.

Hypomnemata written *transversa charta* disappear. This disposition of the text created by turning the roll at an angle of ninety degrees and writing a text against the direction of the fibres is easy to recognise when *kolleseis* are preserved. As explained in the introduction, a text written *transversa charta* will have *kolleseis* perpendicular to the fibres and the main text written against the direction of the fibres. Although not widely used for *hypomnemata* in the third century BCE, it was initially adopted for some specific functions or indicated a form of hybridisation with letters¹⁰⁵. In the later centuries of the Ptolemaic reign, this format ceased to be used for *hypomnemata*; among standard *hypomnemata* dated to the second or first century BCE, only UPZ I 8 adopts it undeniably. It is a petition by Ptolemaios, ἐν κατοχῇ in the Sarapieion in Memphis, fully preserved and nicely written. Although the text is written *transversa charta*, the scribe nevertheless created a sheet that respected the standard size of a *hypomnema*: he shortened the height of the roll to 21 cm, thus achieving a vertical document 21 cm wide and 34 cm high (Fig. 3.9). To the same archive belongs UPZ I 12, an informal draft also written *transversa charta* on what seems to be a spare piece of papyrus.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *supra*, chapters 2.2.4.2 and 3.1.1.

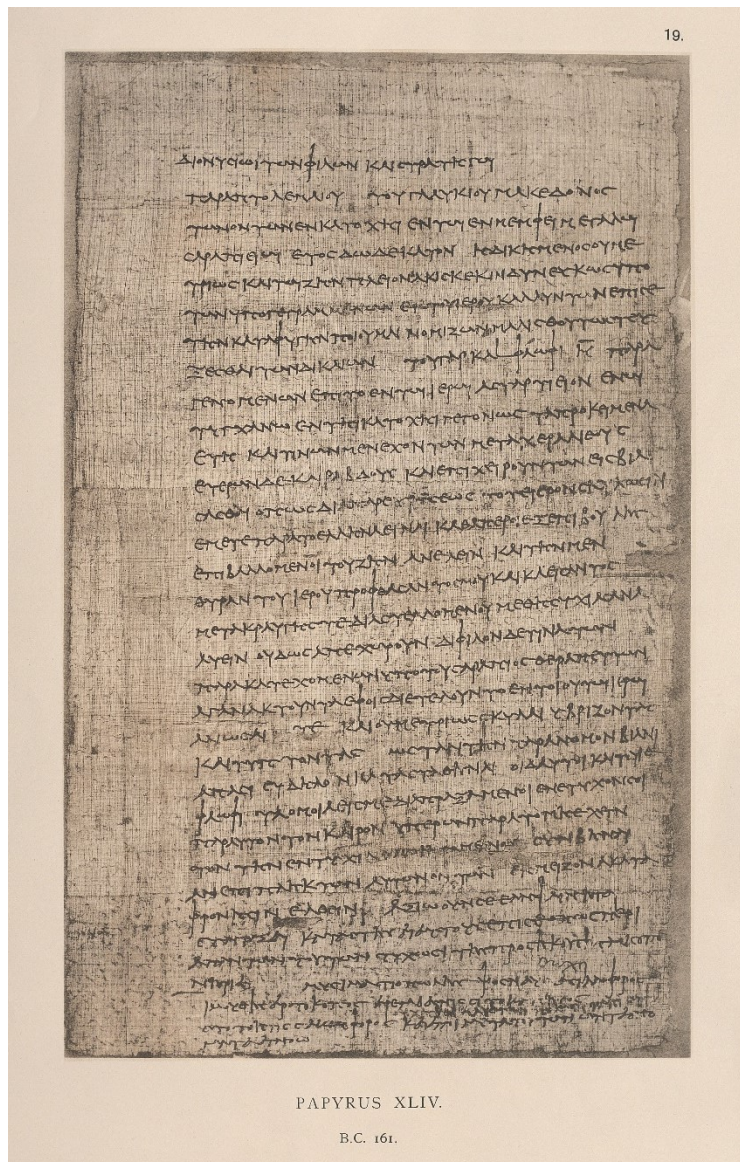


Fig. 3.9: UPZ 18.

P.Mich. IX 575, redated in a recent publication to the second, or more probably the first century BCE¹⁰⁶, is also written *transversa charta*. However, this text was not written by a professional scribe: it is full of orthographical and syntactic irregularities, the opening and closing formulas do not conform to the standard ones, and it uses a small piece of papyrus irregularly cut. This document has too many idiosyncrasies to be considered a typologically significant item.

Although other second-century *hypomnemata* are written against the fibres, none is undoubtedly *transversa charta*, i.e. written on the inside of the roll¹⁰⁷. On the contrary,

¹⁰⁶ MASCELLARI 2018a, 300.

¹⁰⁷ P.Dryton 34; P.Erasm. I 2; P.Gen. III 128; P.Köln V 223; P.Mich. XVIII 777; 779; P.Oxyrhyncha 9 Vo; PSI VII 815; P.Tarich. 1; 10; 13; P.Tebt. I 50; SB XVIII 13093; UPZ I 32; II 187. P.Tebt. I 41, dated to 105-

some clues show that they are *pagina* documents written on the outer side of the roll. First, when the *kolleseis* are preserved, they run parallel to the fibres, whereas the fibres are perpendicular to the *kolleseis* in *transversa charta* documents¹⁰⁸. Second, the height of these pieces corresponds to that of an average papyrus roll, and their width is very narrow, whereas *transversa charta* documents would be as wide as the average height of a papyrus roll and much shorter¹⁰⁹. Half of these pieces are nicely written and presumably represent the original submitted document¹¹⁰, but the other half are drafts or informal documents and sometimes carry another text on their back¹¹¹; this indicates that this transfibral disposition is informal for *hypomnemata*. Later, in the Ptolemaic first century BCE, no such *hypomnema* written against the fibres on the exterior of the roll is attested¹¹².

All those documents written against the fibres are drawn up on vertical strips of papyrus, confirming that this orientation of the sheet had become an essential part of the hypomnematic type of document. There is only one horizontal piece with vertical fibres, P.Gen. III 128, a draft written in columns on the back of another petition. Indeed, in the graph displaying the fully preserved *hypomnemata* from the second century, the direction of the fibres did not affect the general shape of the papyrus sheet.

All these examples show that the format of the papyrus sheet for *hypomnemata* stabilised during the considered time span. Documents are now written along the fibres on vertical papyrus sheets as high as the roll (i.e. ca. 30 cm) and some 7 to 21 cm wide. Squarish and horizontal formats and the transfibral disposition of the text, be it *transversa charta* or not, have almost completely disappeared. All the exceptions can be explained, mainly in terms of informal documents. The vertical disposition of the text has become an essential part of *hypomnemata* and can be found even in the latest formal *transversa charta hypomnema*,

90 BCE, can be added. Cf. also TM 957326 (P.Köln inv. 7682 Vo + 7683 Vo), whose initial lines are badly preserved. The edition of P.Dryton 34 is contradictory. It both states that the text is written on the *recto*, i.e. on the inside of the roll, and that it is written on the vertical fibres (i.e. on the outside) because some horizontal fibres (of the inside) were missing. Because of the measurements of the papyrus (29 cm high x 16 cm width), it is probably written on the outside of a roll 29 cm high.

¹⁰⁸ P.Mich. XVIII 779; P.Tarich. 10; P.Tebt. I 41.

¹⁰⁹ P.Dryton 34, P.Erasm. I 2, P.Mich. XVIII 777, P.Tarich. 1, 10, P.Tebt. I 41, 50 and UPZ I 32 are written on strips that are as high as the average roll (between 29 and 34 cm) and very narrow; the incompletely preserved P.Oxyrhyncha 9 Vo and PSI VII 815 probably belong to this group too. Among them, P.Tarich. 10 and P.Tebt. I 41 also preserve vertical *kolleseis*.

¹¹⁰ P.Dryton 34; PSI VII 815; P.Tebt. I 41; 50; UPZ I 32; II 187. Their layout is at times very fine, as in the case of P.Dryton 34.

¹¹¹ P.Erasm. I 2; P.Gen. III 128; P.Köln V 223; P.Mich. XVIII 777; 779; P.Oxyrhyncha 9 Vo; P.Tarich. 1; 10; SB XVIII 13093. Cf. also TM 957326 (P.Köln inv. 7682 Vo + 7683 Vo).

¹¹² P.Tebt. I 41, dated to 105-90 BCE, is the latest of these documents.

UPZ I 8. The evolution was quick and already completed in the first half of the second century BCE: later, only minor adjustments were made, such as the progressive increase of the average width of *hypomnemata*.

Three second-century documents starting with a hypomnematic opening are written on pottery sherds instead of on papyrus, BGU VI 1470, O.Stras. I 772 and TM 58182 (O.Ashm.Shelt. 42 + O.Mus.Hist.Nat.Lyon inv. 807). They all come from southern Egypt, from the Thebaid (O.Stras. I 772 and TM 58182) or Elephantine (BGU VI 1470); southern Egypt is indeed the region where potsherds are most commonly used as writing surfaces¹¹³. They are all informal texts. BGU VI 1470 contains various writing exercises, including the draft of a hypomnematic petition incipit, the beginning of the *Odyssey* and a list of names on the convex side, and another list of names on the concave one. O.Stras. I 772 is a property declaration for a palm grove; some mistakes, one correction and the irregular formulary suggest that it is a draft despite its neat appearance. TM 58182, only fragmentarily preserved, seems to contain a draft of a text concerning the army, possibly a petition¹¹⁴. Thus, their material probably reflects the choice of a cheap, handily available writing surface for heterogenous, temporary content. No *hypomnemata* written on ostraca are preserved for the Ptolemaic first century BCE; this may be because no *hypomnema* from this period comes from the Thebaid.

During the second century, the size of the sheet seems to reflect the document's content in the Herakleopolite nome. Whereas petitions are about 30 cm high¹¹⁵, property declarations are markedly shorter, between 20 and 25 cm high¹¹⁶. Most of these declarations date from the same year, 163 BCE; they are addressed to the same official, the οἰκονόμος Dionysios, and come from the same archive, the so-called archive of the οἰκονόμοι of the

¹¹³ Cf. the tables in CLARYSSE 2020, 161.

¹¹⁴ GORRE 2010, 230.

¹¹⁵ Fully preserved documents include CPR XXVIII 11 (32.8 cm); P.Diosk. 1 (30.8 cm); 4 (29 cm); 5 (29.8 cm); 6 (32 cm); 7 (28.5 cm); P.Heid. IX 422 (31 cm); P.Köln 10 413 (30 cm); P.Polit.Jud. 1 (32 cm); 6 (30.5 cm); 7 (31 cm); 9 (31 cm); P.Yale IV 138 (32 cm); 140 (32.4 cm); 141 (30 cm); 142 (31.8 cm); 146 (32.5 cm); 147 (33.1 cm); TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639, 32.7 cm); 793255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637, 31.2 cm), and such a size is also reached by some fragmentary pieces (P.Hamb. IV 238; P.Heid. IX 431; P.Hels. I 31; P.Polit.Jud. 3; P.Yale IV 143; 148; 149). SB XXVIII 16855 (26.8 cm) is shorter than the average.

¹¹⁶ The height is fully preserved in P.Hels. 10 (22 cm); 13 (21.5 cm); 15 (25.5 cm). It is only partially preserved in P.Hels. 11 (21.5 cm); 12 (22.5 cm); 14 (20.5 cm); 16 (17 cm); 18 (23 cm, incipit lost but probably hypomnematic); 20 (18.5 cm); SB XXII 15369 (16.3 cm), but the text is usually almost complete, lacking only few lines. The only exception is P.Hels. I 19 that is 31 cm high.

Herakleopolite nome published as P.Hels. I 4-47¹¹⁷. They represent half of the shorter papyri attested in the above-analysed graphs. The only additional Herakleopolite declaration is SB XXII 15369, dated shortly after the middle of the second century BCE, addressed to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, and also shorter than the average *hypomnema*. Its existence allows us to consider this distinctive feature as a specificity of the declarations from the Herakleopolite nome at the time. A possible explanation for this phenomenon can be that declarations are usually shorter texts than petitions: scribes may have reduced the size of the papyrus sheet accordingly.

It is impossible to know whether this feature was widespread in Egypt. Only two Arsinoite property declarations dated to the second century are preserved, P.Tebt. III.1 806 (139 BCE) and SB XIV 11893 (159 BCE), to which one may add SB XXII 15213 (203/202 or 179/178 BCE); no property declaration on papyrus is known from the other nomes¹¹⁸. The text is almost complete in all three cases. P.Tebt. III.1 806 is 29.1 cm tall; SB XXII 15213 is about 30 cm; SB XIV 11893 is 25 cm. Excluding the Tebtynis papyrus, probably a draft according to the editor, one declaration is earlier and as tall as petitions, and the other is later and closer in date and size to the Herakleopolite declarations. These clues are too tenuous to allow for a comparative analysis of the two nomes. No property declaration from the first century BCE is preserved, yet the shortest fully preserved papyrus of the century (P.Iand. VII 134, only 15 cm high) is again not a petition but another type of administrative document, a request for registration of a transfer of royal land. One can thus suggest some link between function and format, but the documentation is too shaky to allow a proper study of it. If further documentation confirms this theory, it will be possible to draw a link between the second century BCE and the beginning of the Roman rule: indeed, at least in the Oxyrhynchite nome, declarations are markedly shorter in the first century CE than in the following centuries¹¹⁹.

To sum up, the second century witnessed two essential phenomena in the evolution of the hypomnematic documents. On the one hand, the average dimensions of the papyrus sheet stabilised to circa 30 cm high and circa 7.5 to 17.5 cm wide. In parallel, horizontal

¹¹⁷ On this archive, cf. P.Hels. I 4-47, p. 31–32. Some of these pieces may not belong to the archive, cf. TM Arch 157 (and, for instance, BGU XX 2840, p. 6; STERN 2016, 43), but for the pieces P.Hels. I 10-20 no doubt is possible.

¹¹⁸ O.Stras. I 772, from Thebes, is written on a potsherd. On the date of SB XXII 15213, cf. ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230

¹¹⁹ On this, cf. the ongoing PhD by Serena Causo on the materiality of Roman and Byzantine documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome at the University of Ghent.

hypomnemata and *transversa charta hypomnemata* disappear. On the other hand, some format differentiation depending on the content is observable in the Herakleopolite; at least there, scribes generally chose shorter sheets for declarations than for petitions. The documentation from the first century's Ptolemaic decades is insufficient for a proper study, but their evidence seems to confirm these developments.

3.2.2 Evolution of the Layout

Not only the format but also the general layout of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* undergoes a stabilisation during the second century BCE. For example, as the analysis of the format already showed, *hypomnemata* from the second and first centuries BCE seldom exceeded one column of text. The sheet was cut before or (probably more seldom) after the composition of the text¹²⁰. However, sometimes scribes had to add a column because the text was too long. When this happened, it could be done either by writing a second column to the right or, more rarely, by continuing upside down on the back of the papyrus in a fashion typical of Demotic scribal practices¹²¹.

In some more refined pieces, the column is surrounded by margins above, below and on the left, and none on the right (for example, P.Dryton 34, Fig. 3.10). The frequency of this practice increased with time, and in the first century BCE, it was a widespread trend to leave a wider margin on the left than on the right of a *hypomnema*. In the Roman period, this phenomenon was linked to the adoption of the *tomoi synkollesimoi*, rolls made by pasting together individual documents meant to be stored together¹²². However, under the

¹²⁰ For the sheet cut before writing, cf. P.Tor.Choach. 5 b, p. 57; MIRIZIO 2021, 354 n. 710, and the examples of P.Amh. II 35, where the text was finished in the left margin because the scribe ran out of space, and of P.Mich. III 173, where all the letters stay inside the margin (as in l. 31; 39) and the scribe had to reduce their size for them to fit the papyrus (as in l. 8; 11; 42). For the sheet cut after the writing, cf. P.Mich. XVIII 774, where many strokes on the right margin are cut (cf. l. 6; 9; 13; 34). Many of the petitions addressed to the *φρούραρχος* Dioskourides, published as P.Diosk., are probably written before the sheet was cut from the roll, but the published pictures are not detailed enough to completely affirm this point. That the two practices cohabit can be seen by P.Tebt. I 45, written before the cut, and P.Tebt. I 50, written after the cut, but both from the same archive, village and years (they were found among the papers of Menches, *κωμογραμματεὺς* of Kerkeosiris, were written in Kerkeosiris, and date respectively to 113 and to 112/111 BCE). On this subject, cf. also the observations by Serena Causo in her ongoing PhD on the materiality of Roman and Byzantine documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome at the University of Ghent.

¹²¹ Two columns: P.Diosk. 6; P.Tor.Amen. 8; P.Turku 1; 2 + 3; SB XVI 12720; UPZ I 40. Text on the back upside down: P.Petr. III 36 d; P.Tor.Choach. 11. All these texts are from the second century BCE; no preserved Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnema* from the first century BCE exceeds one column of text. For the Demotic practices, cf. DEPAUW 2006, 77.

¹²² Observation made by Serena Causo in her ongoing PhD on the materiality of documentary papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman and Byzantine times at the University of Ghent. For the definition of the *tomos synkollesimos*, cf. CLARYSSE 2003b, 352.

Ptolemies, this archival practice is rare and not attested for *hypomnemata*¹²³; even in the Roman period, a *tomos* with petitions is rare¹²⁴. Thus, the size difference between the left and right margin seems to precede, and not to follow, the adoption of the *tomos synkollesimos*. Another explanation for this phenomenon can be suggested: when writing with the right hand, a left margin can be useful to hold the sheet with the left hand without risking the spread of fresh ink. On the contrary, a right-hand margin is useless and a waste of space. Thus, the left-hand margin develops independently from the practice of glueing papyri together in *tomoi synkollesimoi* but afterwards becomes an essential feature of documents meant to be glued.

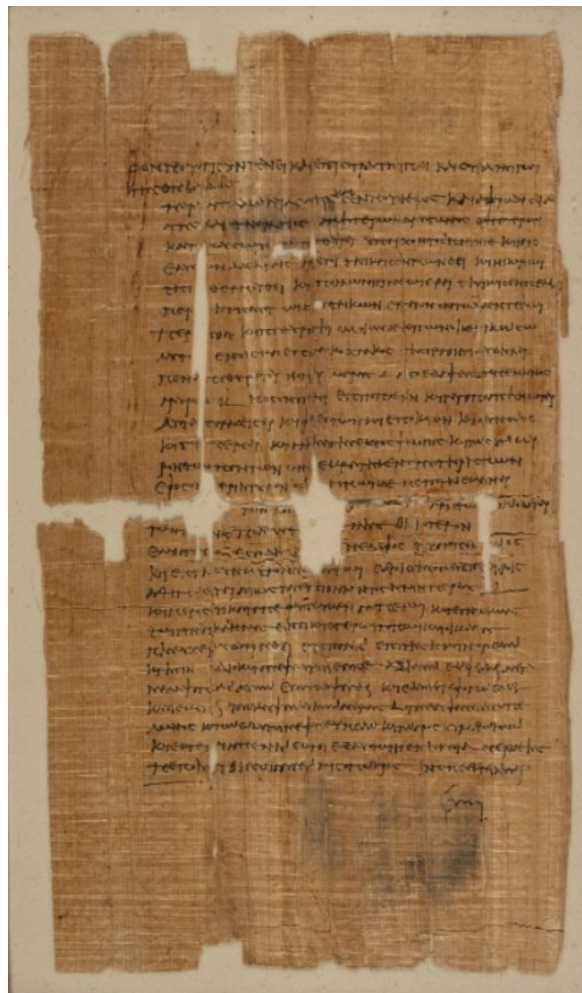


Fig. 3.10: P. Dryton 34.

¹²³ According to CLARYSSE 2003b, 356, *tomoi synkollesimoi* first appear in the Ptolemaic times, although their adoption is still limited and only attested for contracts and (from the first century BCE) for administrative correspondence.

¹²⁴ CLARYSSE 2003b, 355.

The layout with a text written in one block and, most of the time, a final formula like εὐτύχει or a date, already current at the end of the third century BCE, is widespread in the second century. The structured lists, the other layout attested for *hypomnemata* in the Zenon archive, disappear when the informative business *hypomnemata* vanish¹²⁵. The final formulas are, when present, always highlighted in some fashion, usually combining a blank and an *eisthesis* to isolate them in the bottom right corner of the sheet¹²⁶. They also separate the main text of the *hypomnema* from the attachments that may, in some rare cases, be appended in the bottom margin of the document, such as lists of names or copies of other documents¹²⁷. The block of text with highlighted greetings remains the standard text layout during the first century BCE; the greetings are almost always there and highlighted¹²⁸, and they continue to be used to divide the main text from attachments¹²⁹.

One may thus say that the standard Ptolemaic second and first-century *hypomnema* has the following materiality: a vertical sheet of papyrus, as high as the roll, on which a central block of text is written along the fibres in one column, leaving margins above, below and to the left, sometimes also to the right. A final formula, an εὐτύχει or a date most of the time, is isolated and written on the bottom right corner of the sheet. This structure is ubiquitous, and exceptions are rare.

¹²⁵ No example of this layout is to be found in the second century. For the disappearance of business *hypomnemata*, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.

¹²⁶ The only exception known to me is P.Amh. II 35, where for lack of space the final part of the text was written in the left margin, so that there was no way to visually emphasise the greeting formula.

¹²⁷ A couple of examples of this phenomenon can be identified: P.Dion. 10 (Hermopolite, 109 BCE; a petition for theft to which a list of the stolen items is attached); P.Diosk. 6 (Herakleopolite, 146 BCE; a *hypomnema* serving as cover letter for another *hypomnema*); P.Heid. VIII 412 (Herakleopolite, 186 BCE; a request to reopen a process to which a list of witnesses is attached); P.Hels. I 9 (Herakleopolite, 163 BCE; a request concerning tax farming with an attached signature); P.Tebt. I 45 (Arsinoite, 113 BCE; another petition for theft to which a list of the stolen items is attached); P.Yale IV 147 (Herakleopolite, 137 BCE; a petition for debt to which a complement from the sender is added); SB XVI 12720 (Arsinoite, 142 BCE; a request to correctly register a piece of land with attached description of the same); UPZ I 8 (Memphite, 161 BCE; a petition to which the names of the accused are appended).

¹²⁸ When the final lines of a Ptolemaic first-century *hypomnema* are preserved, there is always a greeting formula, sometimes with a date. The only exception is P.Stras. II 91, a document that is sent to an unusual addressee, the *λάαρχος*, and comes from priests; according to Javier Funes Jiménez, who is studying this document for his ongoing PhD at the Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona, there is a strong Egyptian background, and the absence of a closing formula may thus be caused by an interference with the Demotic *mḳmḳ*, which used only seldom greetings and preferred closing on a date (cf. BAETENS 2014a, 41; BAETENS 2020a, 161). In the case of BGU VIII 1816, the editor indicates a lacuna where the greeting formula should have been found; the papyrus is not broken, but it looks deteriorated in its bottom part, and the greeting may indeed have been washed away. Such final formula is always highlighted, excepted in the case of BGU VIII 1827, in which the greetings are merged with the main text because the space at disposal was too tiny.

¹²⁹ Cf. BGU VIII 1827; XVIII.1 2731. The case of BGU VIII 1827 is peculiar: the appended text (the judgment of a court) is not a copy of another text, but the original one, that was provided with a hypomnematic petition in its upper margin and thus transmitted as a piece of evidence to the functionary requested to implement the decisions of the court.

A novelty that develops during the second century BCE is the stress put on the first syntagma of a *hypomnema*, the mention of the addressee¹³⁰. In the third century, the incipit of a *hypomnema* was not marked by any emphasis in the layout or, in some rare cases, the whole opening formula was set apart through blanks, *paragraphoi* or line breaks. On the contrary, during the second century, the trend of isolating the addressee's mention develops. Three layout markers can appear, combined or not: the mention of the receiver in the first lines can be indented to the left (i.e. in *ekthesis*), followed by a blank or a line break. Vice versa, the mention of the sender is separated from the addressee, appears only in the following line and merges with the text body. At the end of the evolution, the layout of a *hypomnema* is tripartite: the most elaborate cases, like P.Dryton 34 (Pathyris, 115-110 BCE), present the addressee in *ekthesis*, the main text, and the greetings in *eisthesis* (cf. Fig. 3.10).

At the beginning of the second century, this phenomenon was still limited. Of the about fifty *hypomnemata* dated to the first third of the century, only a few highlight the addressee through their layout. TM 58467 (P.Duke inv. 676, 196/195 BCE), P.Hels. I 2 (ca. 195-192 BCE), P.Köln XV 594 (202 or 178 BCE) and P.Mich. XVIII 774 (ca. 194/193 BCE) from the Arsinoite nome, and SB V 8033 (182 BCE) from the Thebaid indent their first line to the left, although in the last two cases, the phenomenon is barely perceptible; yet they write the text continuously, with the mention of the sender directly following that of the addressee (e.g. P.Hels. I 2, Fig. 3.11)¹³¹. The indentation increases with time, as P.Grenf. I 38 (Pathyrite, 170 BCE), SB XXVIII 16855 (Herakleopolite, 167 BCE) and possibly SB VI 9108 (Aphroditopolite, 173-169 BCE) show¹³². None of these documents ostensibly have a change of line before the mention of the addressee.

¹³⁰ MARTIN 2007, 666–668 proposed a preliminary description of this phenomenon. An earlier attestation of the phenomenon may be SB VIII 9800 a, dated palaeographically to the mid-third century but presenting the layout of second-century *hypomnemata*. However, there are difficulties with its date, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.
¹³¹ In the case of P.Hels. I 2, a small blank is present before the *παρά* clause, but from the plate it is hard to judge whether it is just the result of an imperfection of the surface or not. MARTIN 2017, 178 suggests a similar blank for the opening of P.Tarich. 6 b, but the papyrus is not enough preserved to be sure of this interpretation. TM 58467 (P.Duke inv. 676) has a large blank in the middle of the mention of the sender; the editor does not comment on this fact, but in the picture, it seems to be created by an erasure.

¹³² The case of SB VI 9108 is only indirectly studied, because I could not access any image. Two clues indicate that the heading was probably split: the editor states that “the various parts of this *hypomnema* are clearly distinguished” on the sheet, and the mention of the addressee at l. 1-2 is shorter than the space at disposal but the mention of the sender only starts at l. 3, after what is probably a blank.

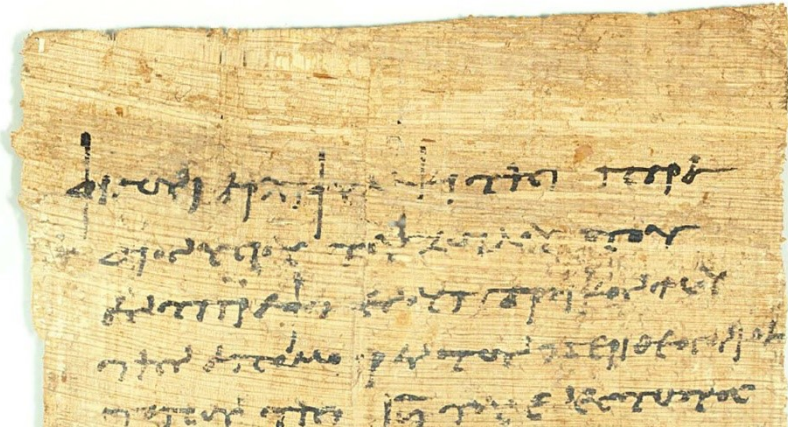


Fig. 3.11: P.Hels I 2, detail of the opening.

On the contrary, TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639, after 09/12/192 BCE), a Herakleopolite *hypomnema*, does not indent the first line but marks the addressee by ostensibly changing lines before the mention of the sender, and thus adding a large blank in line 2 (Fig. 3.12). This case anticipates a characteristic of the Herakleopolite nome, where indentations of the first line remain rare until the second half of the century. A document from the Arsinoite will adopt the same layout device some twenty years later (P.Tebt. III.2 895, about 175 BCE)¹³³.

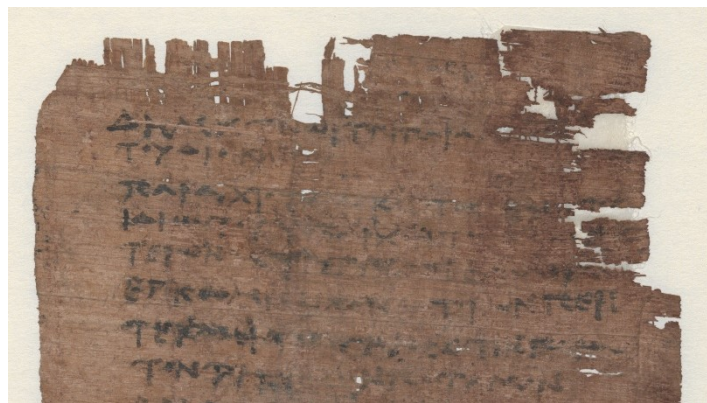


Fig. 3.12: TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639), detail of the opening.

The first well-dated document combining the two features, with the mention of the addressee ostensibly indented and separated from the following lines, is UPZ I 124 (Fig. 3.13), dated 175 or 165 BCE¹³⁴. It originated from the Memphite nome, where the

¹³³ In addition, TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6), dated to 184 or, more probably, to 160 BCE, presents a blank before the *παρά*, without a line break or an indentation of the first line.

¹³⁴ When Ulrich Wilcken republished the text in the UPZ, he proposed as dates 175, 165 and 112; he favoured the first two options based on the palaeography, yet he stated that the writing was hard to date, and that the option of 112¹ could not be excluded. The addressee of the petition, Kratēros, στρατηγός at least of the Memphite but probably of more than one nome, has the aulic title of τῶν πρώτων φίλων (for his case, cf. MOOREN 1977, 92–96). Yet a στρατηγός of the Memphite nome in 112 BCE would carry the higher aulic

present an indentation for it; P.Hels. I 36 is the only one with such a notable highlighting as in the Memphite nome (Fig. 3.14). Another practice attested in the nome is highlighting the addressee by simply changing the line before continuing the text, yet this is also rare and is attested only two times for P.Heid. IX 422 (Fig. 3.15) and P.Hels. I 12.

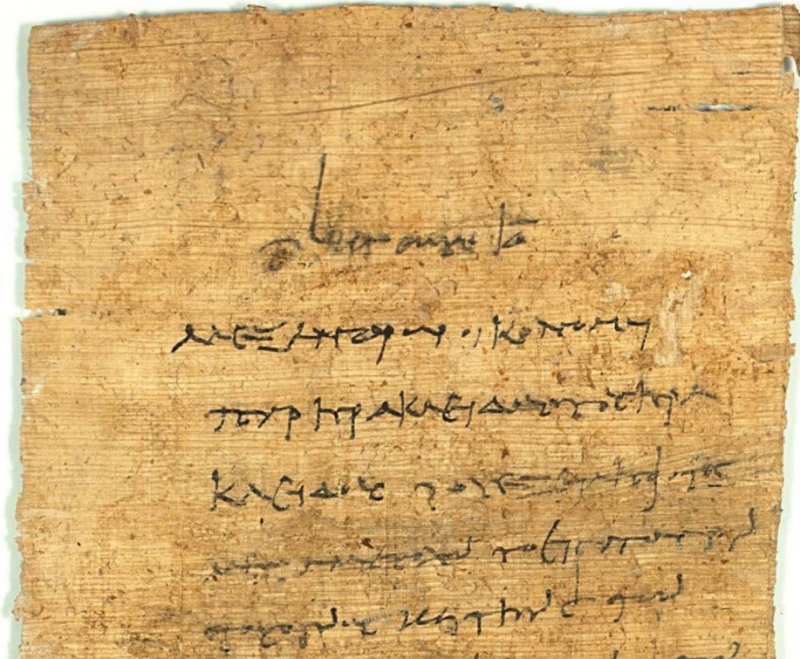


Fig. 3.14: P.Hels. I 36, detail of the opening.

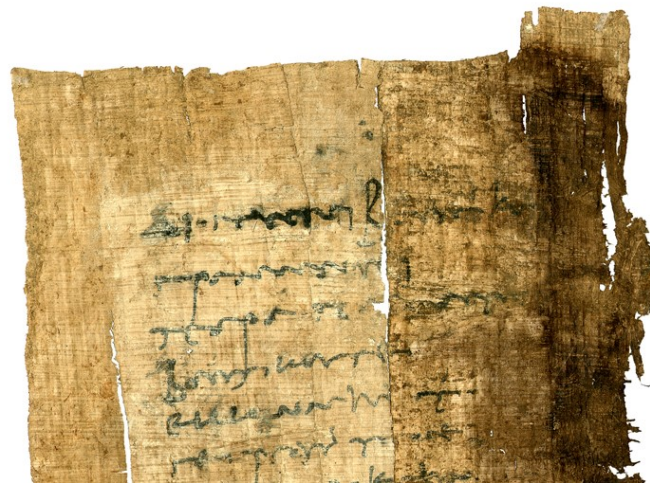


Fig. 3.15: P.Heid. IX 422, detail of the opening.

Likewise, in the Arsinoite nome (less well attested than the other two in this narrow timeframe), there is no attested case of indentation and only one case of highlight through

a change of line marked by a blank, SB XIV 11893¹³⁹. There is a clear difference between the Herakleopolite and Arsinoite nomes, which continue with the older practice of sporadic partial highlight, and the Memphite, where the habitus of ostensibly stressing the mention of the addressee by a combination of indentation, line break and blank space is dominant.

There is no evidence from the Memphite nome after 157 BCE, yet the habitus of fully highlighting the mention of the addressee started to be also adopted elsewhere around the middle of the century (ca. 157-140 BCE). Three petitions from the Herakleopolite nome, P.Diosk. 1 (154 BCE?), 5 (146 BCE) and 6 (146 BCE), notably stress the addressee through *ekthesis* and blank, although in the case of P.Diosk. 5, the highlight concerns only part of the title of the addressee¹⁴⁰. Moreover, the majority of Herakleopolite *hypomnemata* dated to the middle of the century present at least a blank after the mention of the addressee¹⁴¹, and only three *hypomnemata* do not display any layout feature in their first lines, P.Diosk. 7 (153 BCE), P.Diosk. 8 and P.Köln XVI 651 (both mid-second century BCE). Similarly, there are four papyri, two from the Lykopolite nome (SB XXVIII 16851, 154 or 143 BCE, and TM 58458, P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. 301, 148 or 137 BCE), one from the Antaiopolite nome (PSI VII 815, 153 or 142 BCE)¹⁴² and one from the Thinite nome (P.Mert. I 5, 149-137 BCE), which present the indentation of the addressee¹⁴³. In two cases, P.Mert. I 5 and TM 58458, the traces of additional columns make it likely that these are copies, and the scribe reproduced from the original or even added a marked indentation for the addressee.

This general adoption of the highlight is in stark contrast with the situation in the Arsinoite nome, where the visual stress of the mention of the addressee is still only partial: most of the *hypomnemata* dated around the middle of the century do not stress the mention of the addressee¹⁴⁴. Some exceptional papyri present a blank before the *παρά* or an indentation,

¹³⁹ In addition, TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6), dated to 160 BCE or, less probably, to 184, presents a blank before the *παρά*, without a line break or an indentation of the first line.

¹⁴⁰ P.Diosk. 12 (mid-II BCE) presents an indentation, but there is no space for a blank. SB XXVI 16801, dated to either 147 or 136 BCE, may be added.

¹⁴¹ P.Diosk. 3 (before 23/01/153 BCE?); 4 (before 12/05/153 BCE?); 9 (mid-II BCE); 10 (mid-II BCE); P.Köln X 413 (142 BCE); P.Polit.Jud. 3 (140 BCE?).

¹⁴² On the identification of the Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου (l. 2) of this papyrus with Aphrodito in the Antaiopolite nome, cf. MARTHOT 2012, 487–489.

¹⁴³ There is no available image of P.Stras. VII 624, from Hermopolis, dated by OATES 1995, 16 after 145 BCE, to assess its layout.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, P.Diosk. 2 (154 BCE); P.Oxyrhyncha 1; 2; 5; 7; 8; 10; 11; 12; 13; 16; 17; 18; 21 (all belonging to an archive dated more or less to the 40s); P.Tebt. III.1 800 (153 or 142 BCE); 803 (143-138 BCE); SB XVI 12720 (142 BCE); XXVI 16742 (ca. 140/139 BCE). BGU VI 1251 (155 or 144 BCE) presents no highlight, but there is a blank between the name and the function of the addressee. P.Tebt. III.1 788 (143 BCE),

with or without changing line (e.g. P.Bingen 35, 144-141 BCE, Fig. 3.16)¹⁴⁵. The case of P.Oxyrhyncha 17 (Fig. 3.17), which changes line after the whole opening formula and not after the addressee's mention, shows that Arsinoite scribes do not yet perceive the hypomnematic opening as split.



Fig. 3.16: P.Bingen 35, detail of the opening.



Fig. 3.17: P.Oxyrhyncha 17, detail of the opening.

In the last third of the century, and especially in the final decades, stressing the mention of the addressee through some layout features has become a widespread phenomenon, and only a few papyri do not follow this tendency¹⁴⁶. In the Herakleopolite documents, not

according to the layout of the edition, may present a blank after the whole opening formula, an exceptional feature at the time, but no image is available for verification.

¹⁴⁵ BGU XIV 2373 (144/143 BCE); P.Bingen 35 (144-141 BCE); P.Oxyrhyncha 15 (150-141 BCE, which highlights through a blank only part of the mention of the addressee); P.Turku 1 (151 BCE); 2 + 3 (146 BCE); SB XVI 12305 (ca. 152 BCE); XVIII 13095 (142/141 BCE?). According to the layout of the first edition, this may be the case also for P.Tebt. III.1 782 (Arsinoite, ca. 153 BCE), but no image is at disposal to verify it. BGU VI 1256, dated to either 147 or 136 BCE, may be added.

¹⁴⁶ Among the more than eighty known *hypomnemata* for the last four decades of the century, only BGU VI 1247 (Syene, 137 BCE), P.Giss.Univ. I 3 (Arsinoite, redated in the online database Trismegistos to ca. 132/131 BCE because of the range of the archive to which it belongs, cf. the database entry TM 42854),

attested after the 130s, the addressee is always highlighted, either with a blank or with a more or less marked *ekthesis* or with both (e.g. P.Yale IV 139, 137 BCE, Fig. 3.18; P.Polit.Jud. 7, 134 BCE, Fig. 3.19)¹⁴⁷. In southern Egypt, the indentation is distinctly marked and is a prominent feature of late-second-century BCE *hypomnemata*; it is attested in many nomes and in papyri from different archives and is widespread at the time, especially in the 110s (e.g. P.Dryton 34, Fig. 3.10)¹⁴⁸. The situation in the Arsinoite is more differentiated than elsewhere in Egypt, with papyri with a stressed highlight of the addressee and others with less marked choices¹⁴⁹.

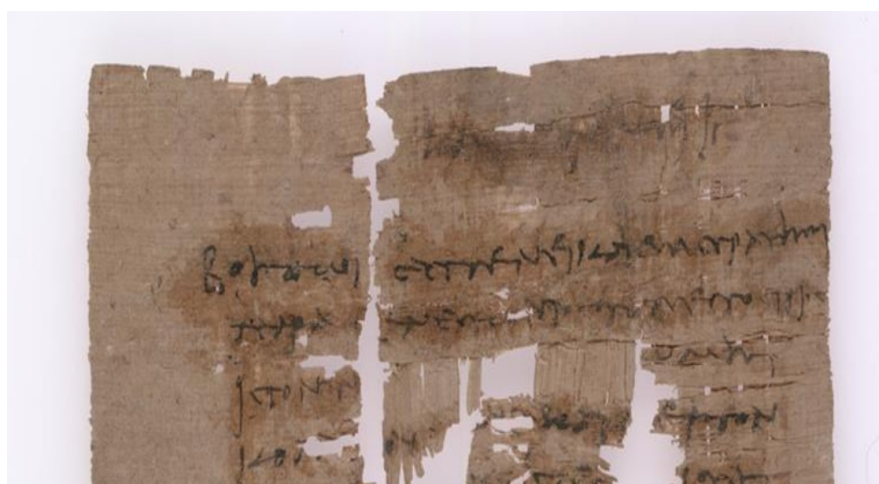


Fig. 3.18: P.Yale IV 139, detail of the opening.

8 (Arsinoite, 131 BCE), P.Polit.Jud. 1 (Herakleopolite, 135 BCE), P.Tebt. III.1 806 (Arsinoite, 139 BCE) and P.Tor.Choach. 11 (Thebaid, 119 BCE) certainly do not have any highlighting of the addressee

¹⁴⁷ The latest *hypomnemata* from the second-century Herakleopolite nome mostly belong to the archive of the Politeuma of the Jews (P.Polit.Jud.) or to that of the στρατηγός Euphranor (P.Yale IV 138-152); when the opening is preserved, they all present at least a blank or a (sometimes slight) indentation highlighting the addressee. The same is true for the other Herakleopolite *hypomnemata* from the 130s. In the case of P.Yale IV 148, in addition to the slight indentation and to the (reconstructed in lacuna but highly probable) blank, the mention of the addressee is also highlighted by adding a blank between his name and his titles.

¹⁴⁸ In the 130s and 120s documents with and without highlight are attested (the highlight is clearly marked in P.Dryton 33 and W.Chr. 11 b, and feeble or absent in BGU VI 1247, P.Dryton 32, UPZ II 187), but at the end of the century, the stress, mostly the indentation, is widespread (cf. P.Dryton 34, PSI III 166-172, XIII 1317, P.Tor.Amen. 7, 8, P.Tor.Choach. 3, 5 b).

¹⁴⁹ The comparison of two papyri dated to ca. 138 BCE, P.Tebt. III.1 785 and 786, is exemplary: the first only changes line (with a blank) after the aulic title of the addressee, the second adopts a marked *ekthesis* in order to stress it. All the petitions from the archive of the κομογραμματεὶς of Kerkeosiris, usually known under the name of its most famous protagonist, Menches, and dated to the 110s, emphasise the addressee. P.Tebt. I 40, 44, 49, 53, IV 1096 have an indentation and a line break, sometimes causing a blank; P.Tebt. I 45, 46, 48, 51 have a line break causing a blank, but no indentation; P.Tebt. I 50 has at least a blank, and P.Tebt. IV 1095 at least an indentation. P.Tebt. IV 1094 is too badly preserved to assess its layout. Exceptionally, P.Tebt. I 39 has a blank (without line break) after the whole opening. This variability is quite representative of the Arsinoite *hypomnemata* from the 130s-110s. On the archive of Menches, cf. PESTMAN 1983; LEWIS 1986, 104-123; VERHOOGT 1998; VERHOOGT 2005; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 440-446 (TM Arch 140); WAEBENS 2019, 205-206.

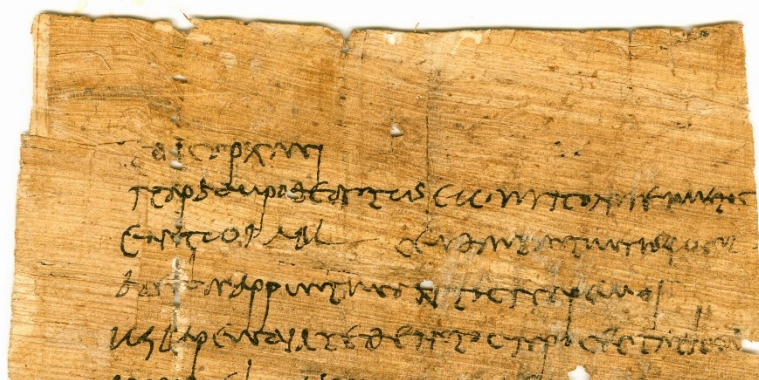


Fig. 3.19: P.Polit.Jud. 7, detail of the opening.

During the first third of the first century BCE, *hypomnemata* are much less attested than before. However, the preserved documents show a continuity with the end of the second century: most scribes adopt a layout that highlights the mention of the addressee of a *hypomnema*, but many solutions are at their disposal, and some differences according to nome are still notable¹⁵⁰. In the Herakleopolite nome, the full highlight created by an indentation, a blank and a line break is now widespread, although the indentations are slight (e.g. BGU XVIII.1 2731, Fig. 3.20)¹⁵¹. One document from the Oxyrhynchite dated to this period changes line after mentioning the addressee but without a marked indentation (P.Fouad 16, Fig. 3.21)¹⁵². In the Arsinoite nome, highlighting the addressee remains optional: sometimes, a more or less distinctive layout is there, and sometimes the addressee is directly mentioned in the main block of text¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ Three additional nomes cannot be studied because the documentation is too scanty. P.Ryl. II 68 (Hermopolite, 31/10/89 BCE) and SB XX 14592 (Panopolite, 17/01/76 BCE), the only documentation at disposal for their nomes, are both too badly preserved to assess their layout. For the Memphite nome, BGU X 1909 (early I BCE) is very badly preserved; BGU VI 1255 (I BCE) clearly highlights the addressee, but its date is too vague to be of help.

¹⁵¹ Cf. BGU IV 1187 (78/77 BCE, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 61 n. 44 = BL 13.31); 1190 (after 80 BCE); XVIII.1 2731 (87/86 BCE); 2732 (ca. 87-85 BCE), as well as BGU VIII 1783 (80-30 BCE), whose date is uncertain. There is only one additional *hypomnema* from the Herakleopolite dated to the first third of the first century BCE, BGU XVIII.1 2747, l. 26-30, but it is embedded in another communication and cannot be used for studying the original layout.

¹⁵² P.Fouad 16. There are only two other *hypomnemata* from the Oxyrhynchite nome for the first century BCE, but none can be used for studying the layout: P.Ryl. IV 579 is generically dated to the century, and its layout cannot be studied for lack of an available image; P.Würzb. 5 is dated to 31 BCE and is too badly preserved.

¹⁵³ Avoiding the loosely dated pieces, there are six *hypomnemata* from the Arsinoite nome that date to the first third of the first century BCE. Without highlight of the addressee: P.Iand. VII 134 (01/09/83 BCE); P.Tebt. I 54 (86 BCE). With only a blank after the addressee: P.Tebt. II 283 (93 or 60 BCE). With an indentation followed by a line break: P.Ryl. IV 577 (83 BCE, on whose date cf. the prosopographical data studied by MOOREN 1970, 12–14 = BL 6.123; COUSSEMENT 2012); P.Stras. II 91 (86 BCE? – the layout was verified on the image by Javier Funes Jiménez, who presented the materiality of this papyrus at the 30th Papyrology Congress in Paris); P.Tebt.Pad. I 10 (94/93 BCE).

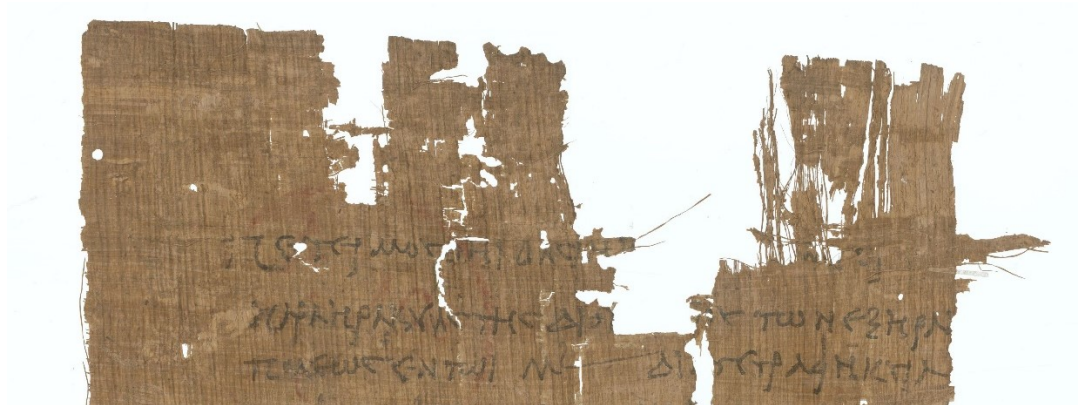


Fig. 3.20: BGU XVIII.1 2731, detail of the opening.

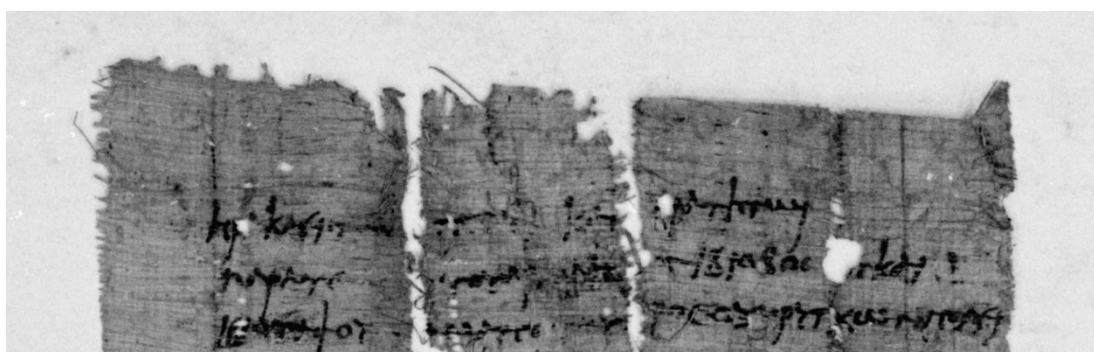


Fig. 3.21: P.Fouad 16, detail of the opening.

One of those early first-century *hypomnemata*, BGU XVIII.1 2732, presents an exceptional double structuration of the opening formula¹⁵⁴. The initial dative giving the addressee's name and titles, τῷ δεῖνι (Fig. 3.22, in purple), is indented to the left and thus separated from the main text block. The clause mentioning the sender, παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (Fig. 3.22, in green), is inserted in the main block of text and does not protrude nor is written isolated in one single line, yet a blank space separates it from the main text of the *hypomnema* (Fig. 3.22, in orange). In this case, the mention of the addressee, that of the sender and the main text are all separated. Such a layout is reminiscent of the third-century *hypomnemata* that adopted blanks to mark the division between the opening formula and the main text of the communication; at the same time, it displays the hierarchical division between the parties developed later on. The opening formula is no longer perceived as a unit, yet the idea that the main text only begins after the mention of the sender is still there at this late stage of the evolution.

¹⁵⁴ A similar situation is possibly there also in BGU VIII 1848, but the ink is washed away and one cannot be sure.



Fig. 3.22: The structure of the opening formula of BGU XVIII.1 2732.

The ampler part of the first-century documentation is a later group of about thirty documents from the Herakleopolite nome dated over some fifteen years around the 50s BCE and addressed to various successive στρατηγοί of the nome, all now kept in Berlin¹⁵⁵. They all present a pronounced highlighting of the addressee, a feature even more stressed than in older papyri from the Herakleopolite nome (e.g. BGU VIII 1832, Fig. 3.23)¹⁵⁶. In two cases, there is even a *paragraphos* under the addressee marking it and further dividing it from the main text¹⁵⁷. The highlight seems to have become a compulsory feature of the *hypomnema*, at least in this specific nome, the Herakleopolite, at this late date, the years 62 to 47 BCE, and for those high-placed addressees, the στρατηγοί, nome governors¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. SCHUBART – SCHÄFER 1933, 1–5. On the archaeological context of discovery of this archive, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 29–36.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. BGU VIII 1813; 1814; 1815; 1817; 1819; 1821; 1822; 1823; 1824; 1825; 1827; 1828; 1831; 1832; 1833; 1834; 1835; 1838; 1842; 1843; 1846; 1848; 1850; 1852; XIV 2375; XX 2845; 2847. In the case of BGU VIII 1849, the indentation is slight, but may be there. BGU VIII 1816, 1820, 1837 and 1845 are too badly preserved to study the layout of their opening formula. The image of BGU VIII 1845 is not available. Such a highlight is also present in BGU VIII 1783 (80–30 BCE) and in SB VIII 9790 (mid-I BCE – this last being addressed to the στρατηγός of the Koites, a toparchy of the Herakleopolite nome). In the cases of BGU VIII 1779, 1780 and 1861, in the absence of the mention of the addressee, it is the name of the sender that is highlighted, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”.

¹⁵⁷ BGU VIII 1817; 1852. This feature is possibly present under SB XIV 11860 (II-I BCE), according to the layout of the main edition; yet no image is available to check its actual existence.

¹⁵⁸ Three petitions have a larger date, BGU IV 1187 (78/77 BCE, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 61 n. 44 = BL 13.31), 1190 (after 80 BCE) and VIII 1783 (80–30 BCE), but the largest majority of them is dated somewhere between 62 and 47 BCE.



Fig. 3.23: BGU VIII 1832, detail of the opening.

Hypomnemata from outside this nome are scarce for these later decades. The only document from the Arsinoite nome that dates without a doubt to the last decades of Ptolemaic rule is P.Ryl. II 69, dated to 34 BCE; its layout highlights the mention of the addressee, as in the Herakleopolite examples. Nevertheless, more vaguely dated papyri from the Arsinoite nome may indicate less marked highlights even in those late decades¹⁵⁹.

However, the layout of the *hypomnemata* from the mid-first-century Herakleopolite nome finds close comparison in another group of documents only vaguely dated to the first half of the century in general: the petitions addressed to Apollonios, στρατηγός of a nome in the Delta, now kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna¹⁶⁰. They show that even in the Delta region, the practice of isolating the mention of the addressee and indenting it to the left at the beginning of a *hypomnema* is in use and, at least inside this small dossier, compulsory (e.g. P.Rain.Cent. 52, Fig. 3.24)¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁹ Among the clear indentations, PSI VIII 949 (I BCE) and P.Bingen 57 (second half I BCE) clearly highlight the addressee by the combination of indentation, blank and line break; P.Princ. III 117 (55/54 BCE or 3/4 CE), badly preserved, has at least a marked line break. Among the less clear ones, P.Tebt. II 283 (93 or 60 BCE) only has a blank after the mention of the addressee without changing line to write the name of the sender and TM 832314 (P.Mich. inv. 1980, mid to late I BCE) only slightly indent the mention of the addressee. P.Mich. XXI 859 (I BCE) is too badly preserved to be of any help. The layout of SB XVI 12524 (dated by its editor very tentatively to either 39 or 17 BCE or 27 CE and redated tentatively by MASCELLARI 2015, 140 to no later than 39 BCE) cannot be studied because no image of it is available; moreover, the back of the papyrus indicates that it is not the originally submitted *hypomnema*, but simply an ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνήματος περὶ τοῦ ἐν Θεογονίδι ἀμπελῶνος ἐπαντλίου (l. 20-21). The image would allow us to check the palaeographical plausibility of the new date proposed on administrative grounds by MASCELLARI 2015, 140 (no later than 39 BCE).

¹⁶⁰ P.Rain.Cent. 50-56. On this archive, cf. P.Rain.Cent. 50-56, p. 320-337; TM Arch 20. Already the editor, Guido Bastianini, noticed the similarity of their layout with the Herakleopolite documents, cf. P.Rain.Cent. 50-56, p. 321.

¹⁶¹ The highlight is clearly there in P.Rain.Cent. 50, 51, 52, 53 and 56, and possibly there in P.Rain.Cent. 54 and 55.

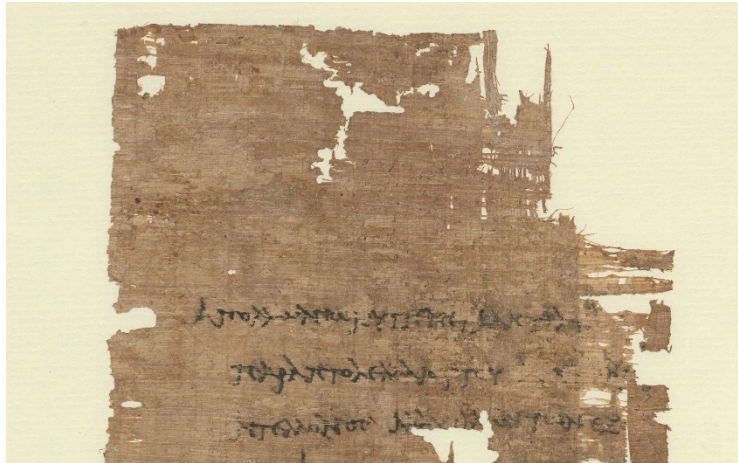


Fig. 3.24: P.Rain. Cent. 52, detail of the opening.

Summing up, a progressive evolution with some geographical variability is observable in the layout of the opening lines of *hypomnemata*. This evolution leads to the tripartition of the text of *hypomnemata* on the papyrus sheet: the later the *hypomnema*, the more probable it is that the scribe will arrange the text into three groups: the mention of the addressee isolated in the top left corner, the central block of text, and the final formula isolated in the bottom right corner. By the mid-first century, the tripartite layout has probably become an essential feature of *hypomnemata*.

Despite the geographical and chronological variability, it is clear that the hypomnematic opening is no more perceived as a unit from the second century BCE onward but as a divided formula instead, whose initial part, the mention of the addressee, is more prominent than its second part, the indication of the sender's name. Graphically, the addressee is given more importance than the sender, and his name and titles are easy to find on the papyrus sheet. The only other part of the document that receives an analogous treatment is the final εὐτόχει. This layout reflects the relative positions of the exchanging individuals: since the adoption of the hypomnematic type for the communication of individuals with the administration, the officials who receive the documents are higher placed than the people sending them, be it for petitions, compulsory declarations or applications. This dissymmetry is progressively reflected also in the layout of *hypomnemata*. This process shows how the evolution in the content of a specific type also influences its appearance.

The evolution of the prescript of *hypomnemata* finds a parallel in the evolution of the prescript of *enteuxeis*. As for *hypomnemata*, their initial formula is progressively split into two halves using indentations and blanks to highlight the hierarchical difference between

the sender, a private individual, and the addressee, the sovereigns¹⁶². The chronology of the evolution of *enteuxeis* cannot be established with certainty: only a few of them are preserved for the first two thirds of the second century BCE, they are usually in poor condition, and only a few images are available¹⁶³. Nevertheless, at least in the archive of the *katochoi* of the Sarapieion, *enteuxeis* and *hypomnemata* receive the same treatment¹⁶⁴. It is thus impossible to know whether the division of the opening formula was first developed for *enteuxeis* or *hypomnemata*. On the contrary, the feature appears only later in letters, its first occurrence being P.Paris 65 (145 BCE), and its broader adoption for letters only dates to the reign of Augustus¹⁶⁵. Splitting the addressee is a phenomenon that starts for hierarchical document types such as *enteuxeis* and *hypomnemata*.

Other layout devices are rare. *Paragraphoi* may be used to indicate the end of the main text. This feature develops during the second century BCE in almost all nomes, just like the highlighting of the addressee¹⁶⁶. It is harder to study than the opening since it is noticeable only in *hypomnemata* with preserved initial and final lines. It seems to be quite diffused by the end of the century, as attested, for instance, by P.Dion. 10 and 11 (109 and

¹⁶² For examples of this phenomenon, cf. BGU XIV 2374 (88-81 BCE, Herakleopolite); P.Amh. II 33 (ca. 157 BCE, Arsinoite); P.Dion. 9 (ca. 139 BCE, Hermopolite); P.Fay. 11 (ca. 115 BCE, Arsinoite); 12 (104/103 BCE, Arsinoite); P.Münch. III 51 (Arsinoite, 134 BCE); P.Tebt. I 43 (117 BCE, Arsinoite); P.Tebt. III.1 771, second duplicate (mid-II BCE, Arsinoite; on this document, cf. STOOP 2014, 188–189).

¹⁶³ Among the *enteuxeis* dated to 200-140 BCE listed BAETENS 2020a, 22–33, the layout of the prescript cannot be ascertained for the following documents: because of an insufficiently or not preserved prescript: I.Egypte prose 19; P.Amh. II 34; P.Meyer 1; P.Stras. II 98; SB VIII 9681; XVI 13014; because no image is available: P.Erasm. I 1; P.Stras. II 96; 99 (but its editor mentions the presence of a marked change of line between sender and addressee); P.Cair.Cat. 10361 descr. (published in a combined edition with P.Cair.Cat. 10362 in P.Lond. VII 2188, p. 275); P.Cair.Cat. 10362 descr. (published in a combined edition with P.Cair.Cat. 10361 in P.Lond. VII 2188, p. 275); 128479 (P.Heid. inv. G 5017); UPZ I 11; 16; 20; because the *enteuxis* is not the submitted one: P.Köln XII 479; P.Lips. II 124; P.Lond. VII 2188 (*enteuxeis* embedded in other documents); P.Tebt. III.1 771, first duplicate (on this document, cf. STOOP 2014, 187–188); UPZ I 3; 4; 15; 18; 19 (drafts). There is some sort of highlight in P.Amh. II 33, P.Tebt. III.1 771, second duplicate (on this document, cf. STOOP 2014, 188–189), UPZ I 6, 9, 10, 14, 41, 42, and none in TM 699704 (P.Vindob. inv. G 60501).

¹⁶⁴ Including submitted documents and advanced drafts, petitions from this archive that highlight the mention of the addressee are the *enteuxeis* UPZ I 6, 9, 10, 19, 41, 42 and the *hypomnemata* UPZ I 2, 7, 8, 24, 36, 48, 53.

¹⁶⁵ SARRI 2018, 115–116. For a reedition of P.Paris 65, cf. WILCKEN 1927b, 596–597. The origin of this document is debated: WILCKEN 1927b, 596 suggests Memphis, whereas PESTMAN 1993, 239 suggests Thebes.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. for instance P.Dryton 34 (Pathyrite, 115-110 BCE); P.Hels. I 10 (Herakleopolite, 163 BCE, not a petition but a declaration); P.Köln X 413 (Herakleopolite, 142 BCE); P.Polit.Jud. 6 (Herakleopolite, 134 BCE); PSI III 168 (Thinite, 118 BCE); P.Tebt. I 46 (Arsinoite, 113 BCE); III.1 786 (Arsinoite, ca. 138 BCE); III.1 800 (Arsinoite, 153 or 142 BCE); P.Tor.Amen. 7 (Thebaid, 119-117 BCE); P.Yale IV 138 (Herakleopolite, 137 BCE); SB VIII 9792 (Hermopolite, 162 BCE); XIV 11626 (Lykopolite, 125 BCE); UPZ I 8 (Memphite, 161-160 BCE). Cf. also the observations in P.Yale IV 138-152, p. 3. PSI III 166 and 168 (Thinite, 118 BCE) add a *paragraphos* below the main text and the greetings; because of the state of preservation of the other *hypomnemata* from the Thinite nome, one cannot verify whether this is a regional trend or not.

108 BCE, Hermopolite nome), PSI III 168 (118 BCE, Thinite nome), and many papers of the *κωμογραμματεὺς* Menches from the Arsinoite (e.g. P.Tebt. I 44-47, 114-113 BCE).

However, at least some pieces do not adopt it, like P.Tebt. I 40 and 41 (Arsinoite, 118-117 and 105-90 BCE). Very long texts, like P.Tor.Amen. 8 (Thebes, 116 BCE), can use them to divide their main body into paragraphs (Fig. 3.25)¹⁶⁷. They can also be used to mark the various texts on one papyrus; two examples of this phenomenon are P.Tor.Choach. 5 b, where the scribe added *paragraphoi* after the main text and after each subscription, and P.Yale IV 147, where a *paragraphos* marks the end of the remark appended by the sender to the main text and divides it from the subscription.

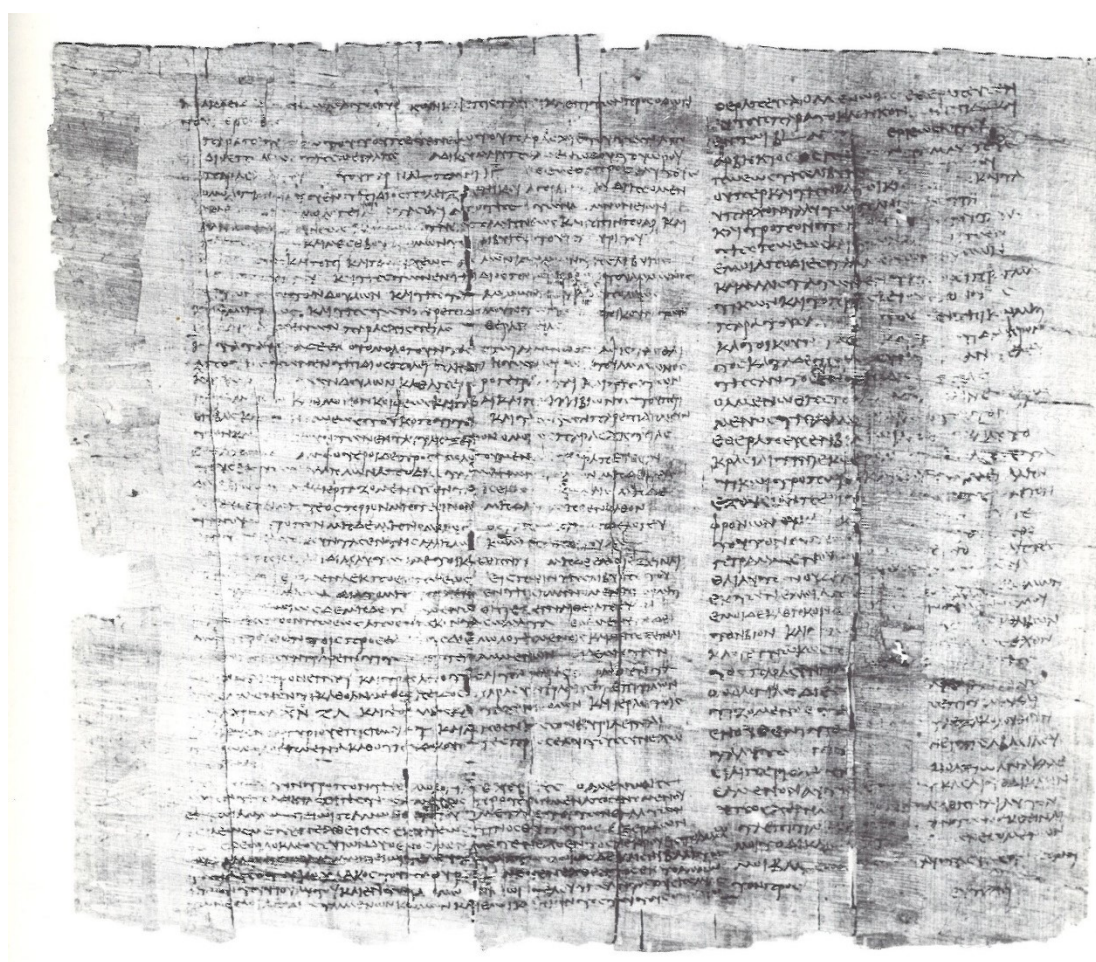


Fig. 3.25: P.Tor.Amen. 8.

During the first century BCE, the presence of a *paragraphos* at the end of the main text is widespread and almost compulsory. There is usually a *paragraphos* at the bottom left of the main text every time the final lines are preserved. Only very seldom is the *paragraphos*

¹⁶⁷ The layout of P.Tor.Amen. 8 is especially refined: in addition to the multiplication of *paragraphoi*, it also uses punctuation marks to divide the text, as at l. 9, 11 and 50.

absent¹⁶⁸. In some rare cases, the *paragraphos* has an exceptional place, e.g. at the right of the main text or under the greetings¹⁶⁹; three first-century *hypomnemata*, BGU VIII 1824, 1848 and P.Ryl. II 69, even have two *paragraphoi*, one after the main block of text and one after the greetings¹⁷⁰. As already mentioned, in some rare cases, the *paragraphos* can even appear after the mention of the addressee, thus ideally creating a tripartite document whose three sections, addressee, main text and greetings, are all divided through *paragraphoi*¹⁷¹. The *paragraphos* also kept its general function of dividing a text into sections and is used, for instance, in BGU XVIII.1 2731 to separate the two documents copied below the main *hypomnema*.

This general pattern for the layout of a *hypomnema*, with a central block of text possibly closed by a *paragraphos*, a final formula in *eisthesis* and an initial mention of the addressee that starts to be highlighted with time, is valid whatever the exact content of a specific document. Even declarations, which seemed to present some particularities of format because of their short text, notably some shorter sheets, present a standard layout compared to petitions and fit well into the general evolution described here. The best-known group, the declarations to the οἰκονόμοι of the Herakleopolite around 163 BCE (P.Hels. I 10-20), present a layout comparable to that of contemporary petitions from the Herakleopolite nome like P.Hels. I 9 and 31, which seldom highlight the addressee or have a *paragraphos* at the end of the text. The only document that may reflect a difference between petitions and other hypomnematic texts according to layout is P.Iand. VII 134, the only preserved request for registration of a transfer of royal land and one of the very few *hypomnemata* of the first century BCE with an archaic layout. However, without more documentation, this differentiation cannot be proven.

Therefore, at the end of an evolutive process, the typical administrative *hypomnema* of the Ptolemaic reign is written as one column in the *pagina* format and drawn up as a tripartite

¹⁶⁸ Only two papyri do not have any *paragraphos*: P.Iand. VII 134 (01/09/83 BCE) and P.Mich. IX 575 (I BCE, cf. MASCELLARI 2018a, 300). P.Iand. VII 134 has an archaic layout for the period, with the addressee inserted in the main block of text. P.Mich. IX 575 is a very informal piece whose format, layout and formulary do not conform to the scribal practice.

¹⁶⁹ BGU XVIII.1 2731 and P.Rain.Cent. 52 have a *paragraphos* under the greetings and probably none under the main text. P.Ryl. IV 577 has a *paragraphos* at the bottom right of the main text.

¹⁷⁰ This phenomenon is already attested in the Thinite nome in the second century BCE, cf. PSI III 166; 168.

¹⁷¹ Cf. BGU VIII 1817; 1852. Their bottom lines are not preserved, but all the documents from the same files (*hypomnemata* from the Herakleopolite nome, dated to 62 to 47 BCE and addressed to the στρατηγός of the nome) that preserve their final lines have such a *paragraphos* also at the end of the text, cf. BGU VIII 1816; 1824; 1825; 1828; 1832; 1848; 1849; XIV 2375. A *paragraphos* is possibly present under SB XIV 11860 (II-I BCE), according to the layout of the main edition; yet no image is available to check its actual existence.

text with an addressee, a central block of text, and a closing element (εὐτύχει or date). A *paragraphos* may close the text, and *paragraphoi* are also used to distinguish various text sections. This layout is valid, whatever the content of the text is. The various formulas and sentences specific to each content fill this general structure; they are determined by the function endorsed by the specific piece and are the subject of the following chapter.

3.2.3 Functions

An analysis of the textual formulas of Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata* must supplement the above examination of their materiality. However, since the function of a *hypomnema* determines its formulas, it is better to subdivide the material into functional groups and to appraise for each the chronological and geographical distribution of the preserved pieces, their materiality, formulary and their subscriptions. Indeed, under a common umbrella, constituted of shared format, layout and opening formula, each specific function endorsed by the *hypomnema* gives rise to some differences in the textual composition of those documents. In other words, the different functions endorsed by *hypomnemata* generate different subcategories of *hypomnemata*, each corresponding to the general features of *hypomnemata* but with some specificities. The best-known subcategory of *hypomnemata* are petitions and requests, but other subtypes are attested, as the following analysis will show.

3.2.3.1 Petitions and Requests

A petition is usually defined as a request for redress submitted to the administration after a suffered wrong¹⁷²; as such, it is often characterised by the presence of the verb ἀδικοῦμαι.

Sometimes, extraordinary requests not related to an injustice but more generically to some difficulties or the need for help are also considered petitions¹⁷³; however, these cases represent a minimal part of the total amount of preserved Ptolemaic petitions¹⁷⁴. Petitions

¹⁷² The various existing definitions are summarised by BAETENS 2020a, 6; MASCELLARI 2021, 15–16; 21–23. They notably mention the definitions by CAVASSINI 1955, 299; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 164.

¹⁷³ BAETENS 2020a, 7; MASCELLARI 2021, 22.

¹⁷⁴ Out of more than two hundred petitions with a preserved hypomnematic heading dated to the second century BCE, only one may be considered a request not related to suffered wrongs: SB XVIII 13735; moreover, the four petitions P.Hels. I 9, P.Tebt. I 30, 31 and SB XVI 12270 are requests to solve administrative problems connected to transfer of tax farming concessions or of land: if they are not related to a juridical problem, they are yet trying to solve a problematic extraordinary situation. P.Köln XV 594 (202 or 178 BCE) is a precautionary petition concerning kittens submitted in case a dispute will arise. For the first century, requests that are not clearly wrong-related are slightly more common. There are some sixty petitions dated to the Ptolemaic decades of the century, and among them at least five are related more to non-ordinary administrative difficulties than to actual suffered wrongs: BGU VIII 1747, col. ii, l. 18–29; 1843; 1861; XVIII.1 2731; 2732. On petitions and requests that are not dispute-related, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 127–128; 139–141.

represent the majority of all preserved second and first-century Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, and their formularies and subjects have already been the object of large studies¹⁷⁵. Materially, petitions follow the general pattern already outlined: vertical documents with a dative at the beginning, isolated from the second half of the second century, followed by one main block of text and by another isolated element: the greeting formula εὐτύχει.

Petitions may concern all sorts of offences covered by what would today be defined as civil and penal law. These range from violence to theft, from contract or inheritance problems to mishandling by officials, with a tendency to complain about property-related facts¹⁷⁶. All sorts of requests followed the mention of the suffered wrongs, like requests to investigate, summon the accused party or punish them¹⁷⁷.

All sorts of officials could be addressed in petitions¹⁷⁸, and complaints for the same type of offence could be sent to various officials¹⁷⁹. There may be procedural differences between officials: for instance, lower functionaries are more likely to be asked to forward the petition to higher ones with juridical powers to enforce the law¹⁸⁰. The typology of the documents does not reflect these procedural differences, and scribes prepared petitions for higher and lower officials in the same way. Nevertheless, two minor differences appear in

¹⁷⁵ Cf. COLLOMP 1926; DI BITONTO 1968; WHITE 1972; DI BITONTO 1976; BAETENS 2020a with further bibliography.

¹⁷⁶ On the high frequency of complaints connected to property problems, cf. JÖRDENS 2010, 252–253; BAETENS 2020a, 185.

¹⁷⁷ Full lists of petition topics and requests can be found in DI BITONTO 1968, 75–98; BAETENS 2020a, 115–119; 182–194. On requests, cf. also HENGSTL 1997, 274; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 207–214.

¹⁷⁸ BAETENS 2020a, 108–110. Cf. also HENGSTL 1997, 271–274; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 189–206.

¹⁷⁹ DI BITONTO 1968, 84–85; JÖRDENS 2010, 253–256. Cf. also HENGSTL 1997, 274–277; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 191–197. A nice example of this phenomenon are P.Dion. 11 and 12, in which the addressee submits for the same problem two petitions, one to the στρατηγός, P.Dion. 11, and one to the βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς, P.Dion. 12, l. 6–21. The main text is exactly the same, but the requests are adapted to the general functions of the addressees. The two petitions are almost contemporary; we cannot know when they were submitted, but the στρατηγός replied to P.Dion. 11 on October 12th, 108 BCE, and the βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς replied to P.Dion.

12 on October 13th, 108 BCE. On these documents, cf. HENGSTL 1997, 285–286; MIRIZIO 2021, 241–244.

¹⁸⁰ For instance, between the nineteen hypomnematic (or probably hypomnematic) petitions asking to be forwarded to other authorities (προσ- or simply ὑποτάσσω) listed in BAETENS 2020a, 125, the majority are addressed to the κωμογραμματεὺς: BGU VI 1256; P.Tebt. I 38, l. 10–28; 44; 45; 46; 47; 49; 50; 53; IV 1095; 1096, mostly from the archive of Menches and the village scribes of Kerkeosiris (on the link between Menches' archive and a specific variation of this formula, cf. also ANDORLINI 2008, 10; REGGIANI – BOVO 2022, 819). This request is addressed to other officials only in the cases of P.Stras. II 91 and P.Tebt. I 41, whereas the addressee of BGU III 1012, PSI XV 1514, P.Tebt. I 264, IV 1097, SB X 10253, XII 10770 (to whom one should add the recently published P.Köln XVII 662) is not preserved. The publication of the P.Oxyrhyncha confirmed this, with four additional attestations of such a request for the village scribe: P.Oxyrhyncha 2, 11, 12, 16, and one for the village ἐπιστάτης, P.Oxyrhyncha 10; on the contrary, the newly published P.Köln XVI 650 makes such a request to a γραμματεὺς συντάξεως. Likewise, between the attested petitions to a κωμογραμματεὺς, other requests are very rare, and an active intervention of the village scribe is only requested by P.Tebt. III.1 793, col. i, l. 22–30, 798, 800, SB XXII 15762. Cf. on this also CRISCUOLO 1978, 87; LEWIS 1986, 119–120; VERHOOGT 1998, 68; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 203; 207; 215, and the examples of P.Dion. 11 and 12, on which cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, note 179.

the scribal practice. First, as already observed, petitions to higher officials used to be called ὑπόμνημα by scribes, whereas petitions to lower officials could be called either ὑπόμνημα or προσάγγελμα¹⁸¹. Second, there can be little variations in the wording of the request formulas of petitions to lower officials. None of these differences impacted the petitions' global typology, and this analysis thus treats the two groups together.

Geographical and Chronological Distribution

More than two hundred petitions dated to the second century BCE are known, but their distribution during the century is uneven: the mid-century is well attested, whereas the documentation for the beginning and especially the end of the century is poor. The presence of preserved archives often accounts for these oscillations. The last quarter of the century is exemplary in this respect: the 120s and 100s yielded very few hypomnematic petitions, as opposed to the 110s, a decade that is particularly well documented and that corresponds to the time span of the large archive of Menches and the village scribes of Kerkeosiris, an archive that included many hypomnematic petitions¹⁸². Concerning the lack of *hypomnemata* from the 120s, one can make an additional link with the fact that by that time, Egypt was the scene of a civil war opposing queen Cleopatra II on one side and king Ptolemy VIII and queen Cleopatra III on the other; this situation may have decreased the number of submitted petitions. Both the general preservation patterns and the political situation thus influence the chronological distribution of preserved hypomnematic petitions.

The majority of second-century petitions come from the Arsinoite nome, just like most second-century Greek papyri: this nome provides some 30% of second-century Greek papyri and half of the preserved *hypomnemata*¹⁸³. Arsinoite petitions cover the entire century. However, the Arsinoite nome is not the only one having provided petitions, unlike the situation in the mid-third century BCE. The nearby valley nomes of Memphis and Herakleopolis have yielded one-third of the preserved second-century petitioning

¹⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1942, 273; DI BITONTO 1968, 55; P.Köln VI 272, p. 214; GONIS 1994, 232; STERN 2016, 18 n. 3; BAETENS 2020a, 200–203; SKARSOULI 2020, 18.

¹⁸² On this archive, cf. PESTMAN 1983; LEWIS 1986, 104–123; VERHOOGT 1998; VERHOOGT 2005; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 440–446 (TM Arch 140); WAEBENS 2019, 205–206.

¹⁸³ The former percentage is based on the coverage in the online database TM, the latter on the database of hypomnematic petitions with preserved opening from Egypt created for this research on which cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2, note 95.

*hypomnemata*¹⁸⁴. Their coverage is not as balanced as that of the Arsinoite nome: Herakleopolite petitions are only preserved from the first two thirds of the second century, and Memphite ones almost only from the second quarter of it, the archive of the *katochoi* of the Sarapieion accounting for most of the latter¹⁸⁵. In the second half of the century, the regions around Thebes take over, although they provide fewer hypomnematic petitions than the Herakleopolite, the Memphite or the Arsinoite nome¹⁸⁶. The remaining second-century petitions with a preserved hypomnematic opening come from various Nile-valley nomes, most of which have yielded few documents¹⁸⁷.

The first century BCE is the least well-known from the Ptolemaic reign and also less well-represented among hypomnematic petitions, with only about sixty pieces that are certainly petitions. More than half of the documents come from a single administrative archive from the Herakleopolite nome and date between 62 and 47 BCE¹⁸⁸. This archive greatly impacts our understanding of first-century petitions. Almost all other petitions from the first century date to its first half. Their geographical origin is varied, with the Arsinoite and the Delta more represented, other nomes from middle Egypt attested with fewer specimens, and the Thebaid absent from the documentation¹⁸⁹. The 40s and 30s BCE are almost unrepresented,

¹⁸⁴ The Memphite and Herakleopolite nomes account for slightly less than 15% of Greek papyri from the second century BCE according to the coverage in the online database TM and for 30% of the second-century petitions with preserved hypomnematic opening collected for this research.

¹⁸⁵ The only petitions from the Memphite that do not date to the second quarter of the second century BCE are the recently published P.KölnSarapion 1 and 4, from the first quarter of the second century.

¹⁸⁶ The region between the Thinite and the Pathyrite nomes, including Thebes, accounts for about 10% of the preserved petitions with hypomnematic opening, mostly from the second half of the second century, and for slightly less than 30% of preserved second-century BCE Greek papyri.

¹⁸⁷ From north to south: Aphroditopolite: SB VI 9108; Oxyrhynchite: P.Polit.Jud. 8; TM 129892 (P.Fordham University inv. 5); Hermopolite: P.Dion. 10; 11; 12, l. 6-21; SB VIII 9792; Antaiopolite: PSI VII 815 (cf. MARTHOT 2012, 487–489); Lykopolite: TM 58458 (P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. 301); Elephantine: BGU VI 1247; 1470. BGU X 1907 and P.Dryton 32 are generically attributed to upper Egypt.

¹⁸⁸ On this archive, cf. SCHUBART – SCHÄFER 1933, 1–5. On the archaeological context of discovery of this archive, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 29–36. Three petitions have a larger date BGU IV 1187 (78/77 BCE, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 61 n. 44 = BL 13.31), 1190 (after 80 BCE) and VIII 1783 (80-30 BCE), but the largest majority of them is dated somewhere between 62 and 47 BCE.

¹⁸⁹ Arsinoite: P.Ryl. IV 577 (83 BCE; on whose date cf. the prosopographical data studied by MOOREN 1970, 12–14 = BL 6.123; COUSSEMENT 2012); P.Stras. II 91 (86 BCE?); P.Tebt. I 54 (86 BCE); II 283 (93 or 60 BCE); P.Tebt.Pad. I 10 (94/93 BCE) as well as P.Princ. III 117 (55/54 BCE or 3/4 CE); P.Tebt.Pad. I 15 (late II or early I BCE, cf. VECCHIATO 2022a, 296–297). Delta: P.Rain.Cent. 50 (first half I BCE); 51 (first half I BCE); 52 (first half I BCE); 53 (76 BCE?); 54 (first half I BCE), as well as P.Rain.Cent. 55 (76 BCE); 56 (first half I BCE), too badly preserved to be sure of their function. Memphite: BGU X 1909 (early I BCE?); Herakleopolite: BGU XVIII.1 2731 (87/86 BCE); 2732 (87-85 BCE); Oxyrhynchite: P.Fouad 16 (68 BCE); Hermopolite: P.Ryl. II 68 (31/10/89 BCE); Panopolite: SB XX 14592 (17/01/76 BCE). Some more vaguely dated pieces may fall into this timeframe too: BGU VI 1255 (Memphite, I BCE); P.Mich. XV 688 (Arsinoite, II-I BCE); P.Ryl. IV 579 (Oxyrhynchite, I BCE); PSI VIII 949 (Arsinoite?, I BCE); SB VIII 9790 (Herakleopolite, mid-I BCE); TM 832314 (P.Mich. inv. 1980, Arsinoite, mid to late I BCE).

just as is true for Ptolemaic papyri in general: only two petitions can be dated with certainty to these years¹⁹⁰.

Materiality

The ancient layout allowed the quick identification of two elements, the addressee with his title and the polite closing formula εὐτύχει. This layout stresses that the communication was meant to address someone politely in his official role¹⁹¹. These two elements, common to all *hypomnemata*, allow us to identify the general type. For the details of the communication, the reader had to read the main text, because the materiality does not underline them.

The layout is thus tripartite, with an addressee, a central block of text and a final εὐτύχει distinguished on the sheet. However, modern scholarship usually considers that the text of a standard petition is composed of five sections: opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, narration, request, appeal, closing εὐτύχει¹⁹². The ancient layout does not follow this structuration into five elements, but this does not mean that this partition is not incorporated into the conception of the text: its recurrence and the presence of repeated elements in all these parts show that the scribe was aware of it and adopted it to write petitions. However, he did not draw up those five elements as distinct text sections. The clearest example of it is P.Tor.Amen. 8, an extremely long petition whose text is physically divided into five sections. Indeed, combinations of indentations, line breaks and *paragraphoi* distinguish the following blocks: the addressee; the sender merged with the first part of the narration; the second part of the narration; the third part of the narration together with the request and the appeal; the closing greetings. The changes do not align with the five-part structure of the text but follow the ancient layout: addressee, body divided into three parts for the ease of

¹⁹⁰ P.Ryl. II 69 (Arsinoite, 34 BCE) and P.Würzb. 5 (Oxyrhynchite, 31 BCE). Moreover, the date of SB VIII 9790 (Herakleopolite, mid-I BCE); XVI 12524 (Arsinoite, dated by its editor very tentatively to either 39 or 17 BCE, or 27 CE, and redated tentatively by MASCELLARI 2015, 140 to no later than 39 BCE); TM 832314 (P.Mich. inv. 1980, Arsinoite, mid to late I BCE) may fall into those decades.

¹⁹¹ Three papyri, P.Diosk. 5, P.Oxyrhyncha 15 and P.Tebt. III.1 785, highlight by way of a deliberate line break (the scribe had place to continue writing in the first line) not the full mention of the addressee's name and functions, but only part of it. Yet, this is enough to identify him as an official and thus the document as an administrative communication.

¹⁹² COLLOMP 1926, 160–163; DI BITONTO 1968; WHITE 1972; DI BITONTO 1976; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 177–188; BAETENS 2020a, 110; 169–182.

the reading, εὐτόχει¹⁹³. Even the opening formula, conceived as a unit in the mid-third century BCE and sometimes highlighted per se, is no longer laid out as a single block¹⁹⁴.

Formulary: Standard Version

Petitions were composed of five sections each with its typical formulas that scholarship has already amply studied¹⁹⁵: opening formula, narrative section, request, final appeal and closing formula. The opening is regularly formulated as τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος. The many variations still in use during the third century BCE have disappeared¹⁹⁶. As already shown, while *hypomnemata* evolved during the second century, scribes tended to divide this formula into two sections through layout features: τῷ δεῖνι came first, sometimes in *ekthesis*, παρὰ τοῦ δέινος second, after a line break.

After the opening formula, the main text of a hypomnematic petition follows quite precisely a tripartite structure: a narrative section, often introduced with standard expressions such as absolute genitives or dates (the clause ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπό being more common among *enteuxeis*, especially third-century ones, than among *hypomnemata*), followed by a request and a final appeal. Requests and final appeals are also relatively standardised in their structure: requests are usually introduced by the verb ἀξιῶ (opposed to *enteuxeis*, which usually present δέομαι) and may contain some softening expressions like ἐάν σοι φαίνεται; appeals can, for instance, invoke justice, help or philanthropy from the addressee, or stress the fact that the petitioner can pay their dues to the royal treasury¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹³ Two other examples of divisions of the body text are more difficult to explain. P.Polit.Jud. 3 presents according to the edition a marginal *paragraphos* at l. 21, very erased in the picture; it is in the middle of a sentence and does not seem to separate two sections. SB XVI 12305 presents a line break just before the papyrus breaks off and we do not know how the text continued.

¹⁹⁴ Few exceptions are known to me and prove that the opening formula could still be perceived as a unit: P.Oxyrhyncha 17 (after 150-149 BCE) and P.Tebt. I 39 (114-113 BCE), and possibly also P.Tebt. III.1 788 (143 BCE), whose image is not available but whose edition indicates a *vacat* at the end of the opening formula. In the first century, BGU XVIII.1 2732 (ca. 87-85 BCE) divides the addressee from the sender through an indentation and a line break, but also divides the sender from the main text through a blank, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2, Fig. 3.22.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. COLLOMP 1926, 160–163; DI BITONTO 1968; WHITE 1972, 13–19; DI BITONTO 1976; BAUSCHATZ 2013, 177–188; BAETENS 2020a, 110; 169–182.

¹⁹⁶ The opening formula could be modified when a petition was copied after another text, as in the case of P.Tebt. I 38, l. 10-28 and BGU VIII 1747, col. ii, l. 18-29 (which simply open παρὰ τοῦ δέινος, but whose addressees are clear from the text of the cover letter). However, this is not representative of the original opening of these petitions. Three first-century *hypomnemata* have a reduced *prescript* παρὰ τοῦ δέινος; on these, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”. Demotic *mḳmḳ* never developed the implicit opening, and used two different formulas, *w' mḳmḳ n A n-dr.ḫ B* (a memorandum to A from B) or *w' mḳmḳ n-dr.ḫ B n A* (a memorandum from B to A), cf. BAETENS 2020a, 157.

¹⁹⁷ The formulas were collected in the online database TM Petitions, and studied in detail by BAETENS 2020a, especially 112–113; 173–180; 187–194. Cf. also the older studies of DI BITONTO 1968; WHITE 1972; HENGSTL 1997. The same structure is to be found in Demotic *mḳmḳ*, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 157.

At the end, a petition presents a closing formula, in most cases εὐτύχει¹⁹⁸. This formula usually appears in *eisthesis* on the right of the lower margin. It is usually written by the same hand that wrote the main text, although it sometimes looks more cursive. Hypomnematic petitions usually do not include an isolated date: when time indications are given, they are integrated into the main narration.

An example of a typical petition is P.Tor.Choach. 4 (Thebes, June 27th, 111 BCE, Fig. 3.26)¹⁹⁹:

l. 1-16:

Φομμοῦτι συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ
 τῆς Θηβαίδος παρὰ Ὅσοροήριος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων <παστοφόρων>
 Ἀμενώφιος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Μεμνονείοις. ἀδικούμενοι
 οὐ μετρίως καὶ διασειόμενοι ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ πρὸς
 5 τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῦ Παθυρίτου τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυ-
 γὴν πεπόημαι, ἵνα τύχωμεν βοηθείας. τοῦ γὰρ
 σημαινομένου Ἰσιδώρου ἐπιχειροῦντος ζη-
 μιπρακτήσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, παρα-
 βὰς τὰ ἔτι ἄνωθεν {τὰ} ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων βασι-
 10 λείων προστεταγμένα περὶ τοῦ μηθὲν και-
 νίζειν, ἀξιοῦμεν, ἐὰν φαίνεται, συντάξαι
 γράψαι οἷς καθήκει μηθὲν ἡμᾶς πράσσειν μηδὲ
 παρενοχλεῖν, ὅπως ἀνεμπόδιστοι ὄντες δυ-
 νόμεθα πρὸς τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι. τούτου
 15 δὲ γενομένου ἐσόμεθα τετευχότες τοῦ δικαίου.
εὐτύχει.

To Phommous, kinsman and *epistrategos* and *strategos* of the Thebaid, from Osoroeris and the other (*pastophoroi*) of Amenophis in the Memnoneia. As we are offended in no proportionate way and are extorted by Isidoros, who is responsible for the *oikonomia* of the Pathyrite (nome), we have taken refuge with you to obtain help. Indeed, considering that the abovementioned Isidoros attempts to exact from us as a punishment undue payments, transgressing what has already been ordered long ago by the greatest kings, i.e. not to change

¹⁹⁸ Demotic *mkmk* do not usually have a closing formula, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 161.

¹⁹⁹ Regularisations: l. 6: πεπόημαι, *lege* πεποήμεθα; l. 7: ἐπιχειροῦντος, *lege* ἐπικεχειροῦντος; l. 8-9: παραβάς, *lege* παραβάντος; l. 14: ἑαυτοὺς, *lege* αὐτοὺς.

anything, we ask you, if it seems right, to order to write to whoever appropriate that nothing is exacted from us and that we are not annoyed so that being unhindered we can devote ourselves to our occupations. This having happened, we will have obtained justice. Farewell.

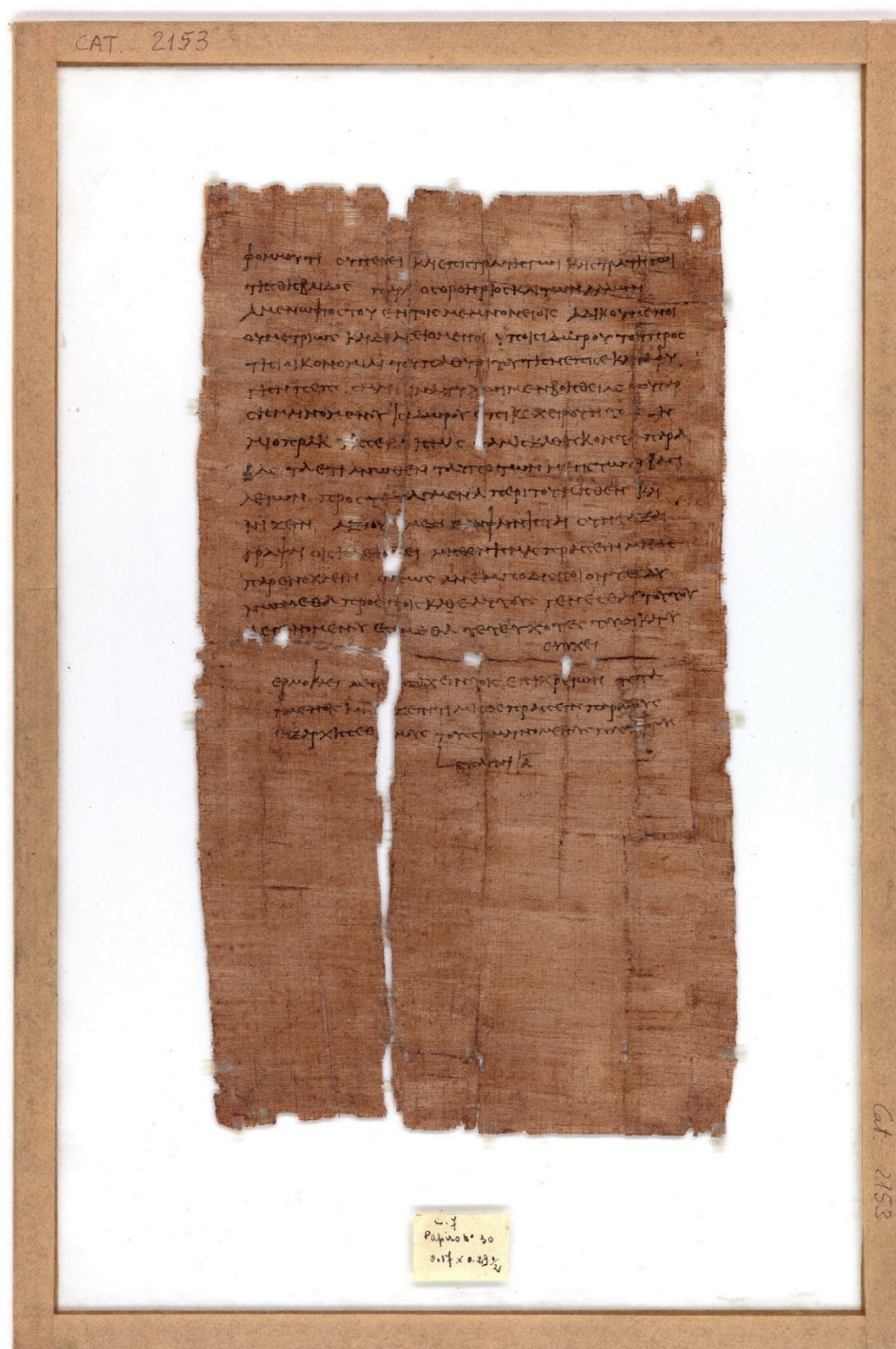


Fig. 3.26: P.Tor.Choach. 4.

The main text of this document presents all the standard elements of a petition: the hypomnematic opening formula; the narrative section, introduced by the participle ἀδικούμενοι (l. 3) identifying the matter as a suffered injustice; the request, introduced by the typical locution ἀξιοῦμεν, ἐὰν φαίνεται (l. 11) and followed by the request to activate some lower officials, typical of petitions to the στρατηγός; a rhetorical conclusion appealing for justice from the addressee (l. 14-15); and finally, the closing εὐτύχει (l. 16). After the main text in l. 1-16, the document continues with a subscription, a clause added by the addressee in l. 17-20 and discussed later in the chapter²⁰⁰.

This structure was highly formulaic and appeared in other nomes at different times. An excellent example of this is P.Diosk. 6, a small petition to which a longer petition is appended (Herakleopolite, November 3rd, 146 BCE, Fig. 3.27)²⁰¹:

Col. i:

Διοσκ[ουρίδει] ἡγεμόνι καὶ φρουράρχῳ
παρὰ Ἀρ[τεμιδώρ]ου καὶ Πρωτάρχου τῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Δωριέων.
οὐδ' ἐπιδ[εδώκ]αμεν ὑπομνήματος Τήρηι τῶν φίλων καὶ στρα-
τηγῶι ὑπ[ό]κειται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν καὶ σὲ προνοιηθῆναι
5 περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶι δεδηλομένων· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου
τευξόμεθα φιланθρωπίας. εὐτύχει.
Τήρηι τῶν φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶι
παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου καὶ Πρωτάρχου τῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Δωριέων.
τῇ ς Φαῶφι τοῦ λς (ἔτους) διαπορευομένων ἡμῶν τὴν ἀ-
10 φ' Ἡρακλέους πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρμου ὁδὸν σὺν ἄλλοις ὀπηγίκα
ἐγενόμεθα κατὰ τὴν πύλιν τὴν φίρουν ἀπὸ τοῦ φρουρίου
εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλέους, ἐπικαθήμενός τις πορείῳ οὐδ' τὸ ὄνομα
ἀγνῶμεν ἐνέσεισεν τῶι ἐνὶ [ῆ]μῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἐπίτηδες,
ὥς ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων θεωρῆσαι, τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἐπι-
15 τιμήσαντος αὐτῶι καὶ γεννηθέντων ἡμῶν ἐντὸς τῆς πύλης
τοῦ ὀχυρώματος Κόσων τις καὶ Θυμολέων καὶ ἄλλοι ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα

²⁰⁰ Cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand”.

²⁰¹ On this text, cf. JÖRDENS 2010. For l. 47, cf. JÖRDENS 2010, 250. For a similar case in the first century BCE, cf. BGU XVIII.1 2732. Regularisations: col. i, l. 10: πόλιν, *lege* πόλεως; ὄρμου, *lege* ὄρμον; l. 11: φίρουν, *lege* φέρουν; l. 13: ἀγνῶμεν, *lege* ἀγνοοῦμεν; l. 17: ἀγνοοῦν, *lege* ἀγνοοῦμεν; l. 18: ἐμαστίουν. ἔνοι, *lege* ἐμαστίγουν. ἔνιοι; l. 23: Θυμολέτος, *lege* Θυμολέοντος; l. 25: κατακίσατο, *lege* κατηκίσατο; l. 30: εἰσιδεβιάζοντο, *lege* εἰσεβιάζοντο; col. ii, l. 39: ἐπίσκεψιν, *lege* ἐπισκέψεως; l. 42: φαίνηται, *lege* φαίνεται.

- ἀγνοοῦν ἐπιθέμενοι ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ συνακολουθοῦντι ἡμῖν
 Ἀνδρονίκῳ μεθύοντες ἐμαστῖουν. ἔνοι μὲν ἐνσεύοντες
 πλείνθους καὶ χάλικας, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς σκέ-
 20 λεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔδακνον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου κινδυνευόντων
 ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπικαλουμένων βοηθοὺς καὶ τινῶν διὰ τὸν θόρυβον
 ἐπιπαραγεννηθέντων καὶ βοηθησάντων τῆς τε τοῦ Κόσωνος
 καὶ Θυμολέτος ἀγωγῆς ἐπὶ τὸν φρούραρχον γενομένης
 ἐπεκτιδήσασα Ἀμμωνία τίς τινα μὲν ὧν περιβεβλήμεθα
 25 ἱματίων κατακίσατο, ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου
 ἱμάτιον ἀπηλλάγη ἔχουσα. οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κόσωνα ὄντες
 εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τοὺς διασαφουμένους
 Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ φρουράρχου ἐπιπαραγεννηθέντες
 Νικόδημός τις καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες ὥσαύτως
 30 μεθύοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἔνδον εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰσιδεβιάζοντο
 ἀλογῆσαι ἡμᾶς βουλόμενοι, τῶν δὲ δι<α> τὸν θόρυβον ἐπισυναχθέν-
 των ἐπιτιμησάντων αὐτοῖς καὶ καταστησάντων ἡμᾶς εἰς οἶκον
 οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ ζῆν κεκινδυνευκότες
 καὶ καθυπονοοῦντες τὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἰς ἡμᾶς συντετε-
 35 λέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου Ἀμμωνιέως χάριν
 τῆς ἐνεστώσης τῷ ἐνὶ ἡμῶν Πρωτάρχῳ ἐπὶ Νικάνορος
 καὶ Ἀρχιάνακτος πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν
 μεμοιχευκ[ό]τᾱ αὐτὴν Ἀπολλώ\νι/ον τὸν προγεγραμμένον

Col. ii:

- ἐπίσκεψιν κοῦ δυνάμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν
 40 τόπων τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγον συν-
 στήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν προειρημένην
 αἰτίαν ἀξιοῦμεν ἔαγ φαίνηται προνο-
 ηθῆναι ὥς οἱ μὲν διασαφούμενοι καὶ
 ἡ Ἀμμωνία ἀσφαλισθήσονται, τὸ δὲ
 45 ὑπόμνημα ἀναπεμφθῆναι ἐπὶ Νικάνορα
 καὶ Ἀρχεάνακτα ὅπως \καὶ/ ἀπ[ὸ] τούτου ὀρμηθέν-
 τες ποιησόμεθα τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον.
 τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τευξόμεθα

ἀντιλήψεως.

50 εὐτυχεῖτε.

To Dioskourides, *hegemon* and commandant of the garrison, from Artemidoros and Protarchos sons of Artemidoros, both Dorians. Of the petition that we submitted to Teres, one of the friends and *strategos*, we have appended a copy. We ask that you take heed of its contents. For if this occurs, we will benefit from your kindness. Farewell.

To Teres, one of the friends and *strategos*, from Artemidoros and Protarchos sons of Artemidoros, both Dorians. On the 6th of Phaophi, year 36, we were travelling along the path that leads from Herakleopolis to the harbour with others when we came to the gate that leads from the fortress into the city. Someone sitting on a wagon, whose name we do not know, wilfully attacked one of us, namely Artemidoros, in a manner defying all expectation. Artemidoros determinedly rebuked him, and we entered the gate of the fort. But then, a certain Koson and a certain Thymoleon and others, whose names we do not know, set upon us; and, drunk, they whipped Andronikos, who was travelling along with us. Some of them attacked us with bricks and rocks, while others employed hands and feet, and still others bit us. And we, in danger from such an attack, called out for help, and certain people who had arrived on account of the commotion assisted us. Koson and Thymoleon were consequently carted off to the commandant of the garrison, but after this a certain Ammonia set upon some of the cloaks we were wearing and mistreated them, and in the confusion she went off in possession of Andronikos's cloak. Those who had accompanied Koson's accomplices fled. After we had handed over the aforementioned to Epimachos, agent of the commandant of the garrison, a certain Nikodemos appeared, as did Asklepiades and many others. They were also drunk and had heard that we were inside. They mistreated us, wishing to cause us harm; but those who had appeared on the scene because of the disturbance upbraided them and took us into a house, so they went away. We ourselves are in danger of our lives and suspect that the attacks against us were orchestrated by Apollonios son of Herakleides, from the deme of Ammonieus, because of the present examination for one of us – namely Protarchos – before Nikanor and Archianax of his [i.e., Protarchos's] wife,

Chrysous, and the aforementioned Apollonios, who has committed adultery with her. We are unable to deliver the appropriate account against them in the area for the aforementioned reasons. We ask, then, if it seems right to you, to see to it that, on the one hand, the aforementioned men and Ammonia are guarded, and that, on the other hand, our petition be sent up to Nikanor and Archianax, so that we, setting out from this (place?), may deliver the appropriate account. If this occurs, we will receive assistance. Farewell²⁰².

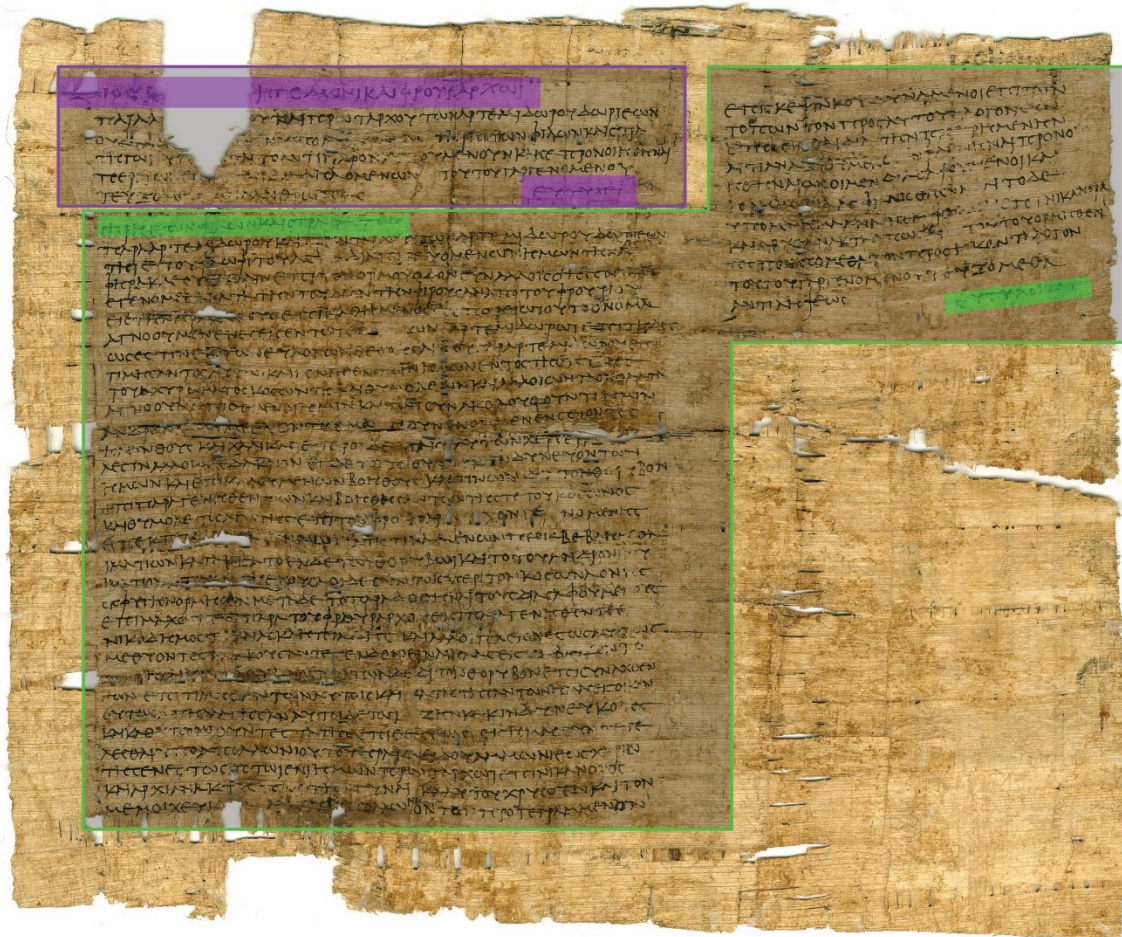


Fig. 3.27: P.Diosk. 6.

A very short first petition follows the five-part structure of petitions: opening (l. 1-2), narration of facts (l. 3-4), request (l. 4-5), final plea (l. 5-6) and closing εὐτύχει (l. 6). The layout of the document highlights the opening and closing formulas. The petitioners ask his addressee to take notice of the content of an older petition of which he appends a copy. This second petition concerns an attack suffered by the same petitioners. It is much longer

²⁰² Translation BAUSCHATZ 2013, 168–169 slightly modified.

but follows the same structure: opening (l. 7-8), narration of facts (l. 9-42), request (l. 42-47), final plea (l. 48-49) and closing εὐτύχει (l. 50). Visually, this second petition is structured in the same way as the first one (cf. Fig. 3.27), although the two are very different in size and content²⁰³.

The division of the main text of petitions into three parts, narration, request and final appeal, as exemplified by P.Tor.Choach. 4 and P.Diosk. 6, was probably developed for *enteuxeis*, documents nominally addressed to the king that have the opening formula τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα, before being adopted by hypomnematic petitions. In the mid-third century BCE, *enteuxeis* were the main document type for composing petitions; they already presented a tripartite structuration of their main text at such an early stage²⁰⁴. Conversely, the earliest hypomnematic petitions and requests, like those from the Zenon archive, are more loosely structured²⁰⁵. Only when the *hypomnema* came into use for petitioning the administration and replaced *enteuxeis* did hypomnematic petitions start to present the tripartition of the main text into narration, request and final appeal²⁰⁶. Thus, it seems plausible that the tripartition of the text was developed first for royal *enteuxeis* and only at a later stage passed to *hypomnemata*, along with the transfer of the petitioning function from the one to the other type of document. The transfer of function thus implied also a transfer of structure between two types of documents²⁰⁷.

The back of *hypomnemata* could bear various notes, in the same hand of the main text or in another: indications of date, content, the parties involved, or transmission notes²⁰⁸.

²⁰³ For a similar case in the first century BCE, cf. BGU XVIII.1 2732.

²⁰⁴ According to BAETENS 2020a, 35; 171, *enteuxeis* in the name of the king were rigidly structured from the very beginning; cf. for instance P.Col. IV 83 (245/244 BCE); P.Hib. I 34 (243 BCE); PSI VIII 976 (248 BCE); SB VI 9556, col. i (245 BCE); UPZ II 151 (259 BCE). Even the final appeal was only seldom lacking. On the contrary, *enteuxeis* addressed to officials were more loosely structured, cf. COLLOMP 1926, 67–70; BAETENS 2020a, 55. On the tripartite structure of *enteuxeis*, cf. COLLOMP 1926, 72–76; GUÉRAUD 1931, XXII–XXVII; CAVASSINI 1955; DI BITONTO 1967; STAVRIANOPOULOU 2012, 130–138; BAETENS 2020a, 35; 171.

²⁰⁵ Cf. P.Tebt. III.1 772, the oldest hypomnematic primary petition (236 BCE), which presents two distinct requests divided by some additional narrative elements; on this, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 72; 171. Cf. also P.Hib. I 72, l. 4-14 (241 BCE), bipartite into narration and request, but whose narration includes request formulas, and SB SVIII 13099 (236-232 BCE, republished by BUCKATZ 2017), whose request includes narrative elements.

²⁰⁶ Early tripartite hypomnematic petitions include BGU VI 1244 (225 BCE; on the date, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26), M.Chr. 6 (220 BCE), P.Eleph. 19 (222 BCE), and in general all end-third-century hypomnematic petitions with implicit opening formula.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as BICKERMANN 1930a, 181.

²⁰⁸ For example, P.Diosk. 2, l. 25-26: (hand 2) (ἔτους) κη Φαῶφι καὶ Ἀμμωνίου κατὰ Πτολεμαίου ὑπηρετοῦ περὶ σιταρχίων; P.Diosk. 4, l. 21-22: (ἔτους) κη Φαρμούθι ιε Ἡερακλείδου περὶ τοῦ ἐξεγνηνέχθαι πλεῖ[ω]; P.Heid. IX 422, l. 46-48: (hand 2) (ἔτους) κγ Φαρμούθι κζ ὑπ(ό)μνημα Μαχάτου βα(σι)λικοῦ γεω(ργ)οῦ περὶ (ἀ)ρουρῶν ις κατανεμεμμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Σελεύκου προβά(των); P.Polit.Jud. 6, l. 44-45: (hand 3) Θεοδότου πρὸς Τιμόθεον; P.Polit.Jud. 7, back: decision of the archontes; P.Stras. II 91, back: Demotic address; P.Yale

However, one element has become even rarer than in the third century: an exterior address²⁰⁹. This fact indicates that *hypomnemata*, unlike letters, did not need to have the addressee readable when sealed. Based on this observation and other clues, researchers usually argue that petitioners directly submitted *hypomnemata* to their addressee or his representatives²¹⁰.

A standard hypomnematic petition adheres thus to the following structure: hypomnematic opening formula with the possible highlighting of the addressee only; tripartite central text inherited from *enteuxeis* with narration, request and final appeal; closing εὐτύχει highlighted on the sheet. The back can bear additional notes.

Formulary: Exceptions and Variations

Some variations of this standard formulary are attested. Despite its high standardisation, scribes can modify the opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος²¹¹. First, a couple of *hypomnemata* from the first century BCE do not mention the addressee's name but only his title²¹². Second, three late *hypomnemata* dated to the mid-first century and all belonging to the same archive, that of the στρατηγοί of the Herakleopolite nome²¹³, open with the mention of the sender (παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος), highlighted through *ekthesis*, blank and line break, without any mention of the addressee (cf. BGU VIII 1861, Fig. 3.28)²¹⁴.

IV 139, l. 25-27: (hand 3) (ἔτους) λγ Παν(νι) ιγ (hand 1) παρὰ Ἐμετόγιος τοῦ Πετοσίριος (hand 2) Εὐφράγορι; SB XVI 12524, l. 20-21: ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνήματος περὶ τοῦ ἐν Θεογονίδι ἀμπελῶνος ἐπαντλίου.

²⁰⁹ Such an address is clearly readable in BGU VIII 1821, and possibly present, although barely preserved, only in P.Heid. IX 431, P.Tebt. III.1 805, P.Tor.Choach. 3, SB XXVIII 17251, and TM 131855 (P.Duke inv. 325). According to the editor, the reading of an address on the back of TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360) is uncertain; on its date, cf. Appendix, chapter 6. The back of P.Köln XVII 661 reads Διο . . . [-ca.?-]; the editor, p. 72 proposed to interpret it as an address, but it can as well be a transmission note.

²¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.2.4, as well as BICKERMANN 1930a, 170–172; BAETENS 2020a, 219–223 with full list of arguments and literature.

²¹¹ In second-century BCE *hypomnemata* preserved on stone from outside Egypt, all addressed to the king, the prescript remained τῷ δεῖνι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.1.3.

²¹² BGU VIII 1819; 1838, as well as BGU VI 1255, generically dated to the first century BCE. The case of P.Princ. III 117 is less clear: the editors proposed an addressee [τῷ στρατηγῷ], but MASCELLARI 2009, 139–140 reasonably proposed to replace the [τῷ] with a short undetermined personal name, [. . .]ῷ.

²¹³ On this archive, cf. SCHUBART – SCHÄFER 1933, 1–5. On the archaeological context of discovery of this archive, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 29–36.

²¹⁴ BGU VIII 1779; 1780; 1861. Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 111; 134.

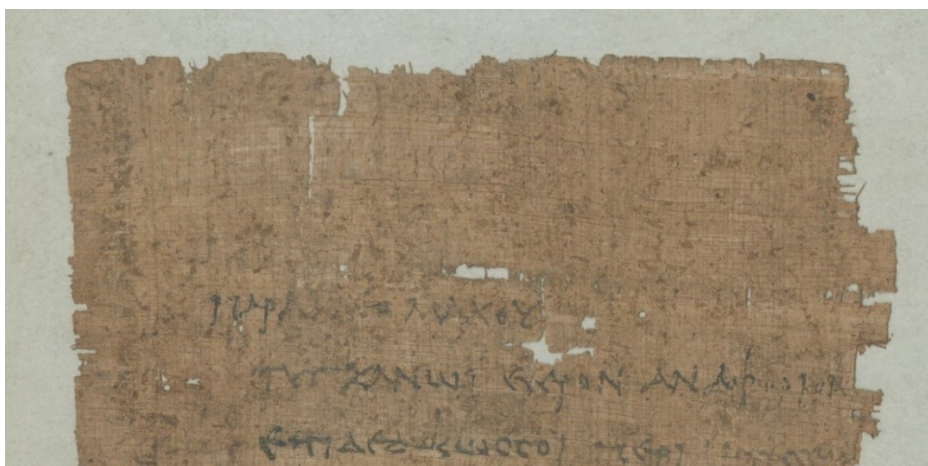


Fig. 3.28: BGU VIII 1861, detail of the opening.

The unique formula and layout of the second exception allows the reader to immediately identify who wrote the message, at the same time implying knowledge of the addressee's identity. There is only one place where one can assume this knowledge and, at the same time, need a quick identification of the sender: the archive of the addressee, to which the pieces probably belonged. It is tempting to interpret these pieces as copies of the original petition made in the offices of the *στρατηγός* for internal use, and this interpretation would better explain their configuration than if they were the initially submitted *hypomnemata*. Other tentative interpretations are not as satisfactory: one may argue that this special opening comes from the fact that these documents are only reminders of previously sent messages, but this is true only of BGU VIII 1799 and 1861; likewise, one may argue that this is the effect of those documents being sent between members of the administration²¹⁵, but this is only true of BGU VIII 1780 and 1799.

One indication goes against this interpretation. In two of the three papyri, there is an office mark in the upper margin, a cross²¹⁶. In other archives, it could be proven that such crosses indicate that the document was a verified copy kept for internal archiving of outgoing correspondence. This interpretation would reinforce the idea that the three Herakleopolite papyri were internal copies meant for internal archiving²¹⁷. However, in the case of the Herakleopolite *στρατηγοί* archive, these crosses do not seem to have such a function. They are present in three other papyri from the same archive, and in these cases, the documents can be proven to be the initially submitted *hypomnema*. Indeed, these three additional

²¹⁵ As in BGU VIII 1780, p. 65.

²¹⁶ BGU VIII 1779; 1780. On the contrary, BGU VIII 1861 does not have such a mark.

²¹⁷ Cf. ARMONI 2006, 5–6; MIRIZIO 2021, 301–304.

pieces are petitions with a note, combined with a cross, written in the upper margin in a second hand at the time of their submission. Nevertheless, crosses and notes in the upper margin do not always appear together in this archive, and the function of the cross in the process remains unclarified²¹⁸.

One further variation of the opening formula is attested. Although hypomnematic petitions usually do not include a date outside the main text, a few second-century documents from the Arsinoite are dated just before the opening. Like all other hypomnematic petitions, these documents indicate in their main text the date of the wrongs suffered; however, they add before the opening another, later date, possibly the date of submission of the petition, so that their opening follows the formula “date, τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός”. Even if they are sometimes slightly more cursive, the editors considered these notes to be in the same hand as the main text; thus, they are probably not notes added by the receiver in the upper margin of the petitions. This feature remains rare and is present in fewer than ten pieces over more than two hundred second-century hypomnematic petitions with preserved initial lines²¹⁹.

The presence of this additional date in the opening lines may be linked to an earlier type of document that often presented a date in the opening: third-century early *prosangelmata*²²⁰.

Early *prosangelmata* were short notes concerning crimes, often anonymous, without any explicit request; their text opened with one of the following formulas: “date, προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός” or “date, προσαγγέλλει τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνός” – with some variations.

As was shown before, these *prosangelmata* merged with *hypomnemata* when the implicit hypomnematic opening was developed, making the two groups impossible to distinguish²²¹.

Although the *prosangelma* type of document disappeared, some of its features are occasionally attested in hypomnematic petitions. One of them is the absence of request in two second-century petitions²²²; another is the date in the opening. In the latter case,

²¹⁸ Dockets by a second hand without a cross can be found in BGU VIII 1783, 1815, 1819 and XX 1845.

²¹⁹ Four cases, all from the Arsinoite nome, are certain: P.Petr. III 36 d (197 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 796 (185 BCE – an exceptional case in which the date is not isolated in the first line, but directly followed by the opening); 802 (135 BCE); III.2 966 (123 BCE, which also gives the place in the heading). In two additional cases, always from the Arsinoite, the traces before the opening formula could not be read: P.Tarich. 6 a (186/185 BCE, a draft) and P.Erasm. I 3 (166 BCE).

²²⁰ On these documents, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.1. Early *prosangelmata* with a date before the opening formula include P.Col. III 53, P.Hib. I 36, 37, 144, P.Lille I 6, P.Mich. I 34, PSI IV 393, 396, P.Tebt. III.1 795, SB XVI 12813, 12823, XVIII 13160 and W.Chr. 244, l. 5-7.

²²¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.1.

²²² Cf. BGU VI 1251 (155 or 144 BCE, Arsinoite) and SB XIV 11968 (132/131 BCE, Arsinoite). In the second case, although no explicit request is made, the sender has however the expectation that the wrong

prosangelmata and petitions dated in the opening have a shared characteristic: in both cases, the criminal is often unidentified, a feature that is otherwise rare in petitions. This link may have inspired scribes to adopt a fossil of early *prosangelmata* for these second-century *hypomnemata*.

These second-century petitions are not the only *hypomnemata* which present a date before their opening formula. Such a date was also standard for the earliest hypomnematic declarations preserved, all from the Arsinoite nome and dated to the last quarter of the third century BCE²²³. Indeed, most preserved late-third-century Arsinoite declarations present a date at the beginning of the text, and at least one more has one in the lower margin²²⁴. At this time, hypomnematic declarations had just replaced older forms of documents that usually had a date at the beginning²²⁵, and one can explain the frequency of dated openings among third-century hypomnematic declarations in terms of interference with these older types. Later Ptolemaic hypomnematic declarations do not present such a heading and are usually dated at the end of the text²²⁶. It is unclear whether there is a link between the dated openings of third-century declarations and the few dated openings of second-century petitions.

So, three types of variations are attested for the opening formulas of petitions: scribes can omit the name of the addressee while keeping his function or completely omit the addressee, thus reducing the opening, or they can add a date as a heading, thus expanding the opening. Two of these variations indicate some specificities of these petitions: the omission of the addressee is best understood if these pieces were copies kept in the

registration of his land should be corrected in order to protect him from possible future accusations, cf. l. 20-21: [του]του δε γενομένου ἔσομαι ἀσυκο[φάν]ητος; the most updated version of the text was published by BAETENS 2016, 291–292.

²²³ P.Heid. VII 392 (209 BCE); SB XXIV 16063 (209 BCE); XXVI 16417 (212 BCE?; on this piece, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); W.Chr. 222 (209 BCE); 224 a (209 BCE); 224 b (209 BCE); 242 (222 BCE). Moreover, three other *hypomnemata* from the last quarter of the third century BCE present a date before their opening: a request (P.Petr. II 20, col. iv, after 218 BC), an account (P.Tebt. III.2 846, 236 BCE) and a strange piece on stone that may be a petition (I.Ptolemaic I 74, 215 or 205 BCE).

²²⁴ Date in the lower margin: P.Petr. III 68 b (on this piece, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); not dated: UPZ I 116 (Memphite); lacunary: P.Heid. VII 390; SB XXII 15213 (the latest of these late-third-century hypomnematic declarations, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230).

²²⁵ Cf. P.Hib. I 33; P.Köln VII 314; W.Chr. 198; 244, l. 1-4 (?). A date is reconstructed at the beginning of P.Frankf. 5.

²²⁶ Such is the case of P.Hels. I 10, 13, 15, 19, P.Tebt. III.1 806 and SB XIV 11893. It is not the case in O.Stras. I 772. The bottom part of P.Hels. I 11, 12, 14, 16, 20, SB XXII 15213 (dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.23) and 15369 is not preserved. A parallel for these declarations is P.Iand. VII 134, a request for registration of a cession of royal land, which is dated at the end.

addressee's archive, and the appearance of a date reveals the existence of fossils of early *proangelmata* in second-century petitions.

Although the core text is composed chiefly of three sections, some variations are attested here too. Narrative and request are almost always present, as they represent the core of every petition. If narration was missing in a couple of third-century *hypomnemata* making requests²²⁷, this is never the case during the second and first centuries²²⁸. Likewise, if accusations without any request could be submitted during the third century²²⁹, this is almost never the case during the second and never the case during the first century²³⁰. The few cases in which a request is missing are probably influenced by third-century early *proangelmata*, these compact notifications of crime without requests that had by the second century merged with hypomnematic petitions²³¹. Sometimes the final appeal may be lacking, yet this is not an essential feature of a petition²³².

Some variability is also observable in the specific formulas of requests. As already indicated, requests are sentences introduced by ἀξιῶ, whose specific content is determined by the type of offence and by the prerogatives of the addressed officials. For instance, when a certain Dionysios son of Kephalas had problems with a creditor, he wrote two petitions asking not to be harassed, one to the στρατηγός (P.Dion. 11, Hermopolite, 108 BCE) and one to the βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς (P.Dion. 12, Hermopolite, 108 BCE). The narration of the vexation is the same, but the specific request is adapted to the competences of the different officials: each had to activate different village officials to protect Dionysios from the molestations of his creditor until the end of the harvest season. The formula adopted to introduce the request is, however, the same: both state, “I ask, if it seems right, to order”

²²⁷ E.g. P.NYU II 45, l. 9-16, P.Petr. III 29 g, h, but also various business requests addressed to Zenon, like P.Cair.Zen. III 59377. As already remarked, among third-century *hypomnemata* it is hard to distinguish petitions related to suffered wrongs, requests of otherwise extraordinary nature and ordinary requests.

²²⁸ Cf. the data collected by TM Petitions, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 73; 112; 173–174.

²²⁹ This is a common feature of early *proangelmata*, on which cf. *supra*, 2.2.4.1, but is also attested in a few *hypomnemata*. With explicit opening: P.Hamb. IV 237; PSI IV 406. With implicit opening: P.Heid. VII 394; SB X 10273.

²³⁰ A request is missing in BGU VI 1251 and SB XIV 11968, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 138–139; two of the various petitions recorded in the register P.Tebt. III.1 793 (P.Tebt. III.1 793 col. vi, l. 1-12; col. viii, l. 4-9) lack a request, but it may also be the fact of the copy.

²³¹ On *proangelmata*, cf. *supra*, chapters 2.2.4.1 and 3.1.3.1.

²³² According to the estimate by BAETENS 2020a, 169, one third of the petitioning *hypomnemata* with implicit opening formula lacks a final appeal, all centuries mixed.

(P.Dion. 11, l. 26-27 and P.Dion. 12, l. 16-17: ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίνεται, συντάζει). The verb ἀξιῶ is the core of these, as well as of the majority of, requests²³³.

However, when petitioners addressed some specific lower-rank officials, especially village authorities or police officials, the formula could change: requests are introduced by ἀξιῶ, like all other petitions, but also by other verbs, like ἐπιδίδωμι, or προσάγγελλω²³⁴. Those other formulas only appear in this specific subset of petitions for lower-rank officials²³⁵. Another characteristic is common to this subset: scribes call these documents either ὑπόμνημα, like all petitions and hypomnematic documents, but also προσάγγελμα, a more specific term that only applies to petitions to lower officials²³⁶. Scribes thus had the notion that these petitions referred to as either ὑπόμνημα or προσάγγελμα could allow for some slight differences from the standard request formulary. One may explain this phenomenon as a fossil of the third-century situation²³⁷: back then, petitions changed their appearance according to the official addressed, with *enteuxeis* nominally addressed to the king submitted to the στρατηγός, other officials only rarely addressed, and notification of crimes without request (so-called early *prosangelmata*) sent mostly to village authorities²³⁸. At the end of the century, all these documents were standardised as hypomnematic petitions, but the idea that village authorities were to be addressed differently may have survived. The

²³³ Two exceptional cases are P.Diosk. 5 (146 BCE, Herakleopolite, for the φρούραρχος), that uses neither of these formulas but an exceptional imperative (l. 15: συνεχέσθω), and TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6, 184 or more probably 160 BCE, Arsinoite, the function of the addressee is unclear), that uses the older καλῶς ποιήσεις (l. 15-16: καλ[ῶς] ποιήσεις). The formulas of the latter, a draft, are largely archaic.

²³⁴ For example: ἀξιῶ: BGU VI 1256 (147 or 136 BCE, Arsinoite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); P.Heid. IX 423, l. 4-15 (158 BCE, Herakleopolite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); P.Hels. I 2 (ca. 195-192 BCE, Arsinoite, for the ἀρχιφυλακίτης); P.Mich. III 173 (169 BCE, Arsinoite, for the village ἐπιστάτης); P.Tebt. I 53 (110 BCE, Arsinoite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); III.1 796 (185 BCE, Arsinoite, for the ἀρχιφυλακίτης); προσάγγελλω: P.Tebt. I 44 (114 BCE, Arsinoite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); SB VIII 9792 (162 BCE, Hermopolite, for the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιστῶν); ἐπιδίδωμι: P.Dion. 10 (109 BCE, Hermopolite, for the φυλακίται); P.Oxyrhyncha 8 (142 BCE, Arsinoite, for the ἀρχιφυλακίτης and the φυλακίται); 12 (after 150/149 BCE, Arsinoite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); P.Tebt. I 39 (114 BCE, Arsinoite, for the κωμογραμματεὺς); 41 (105-90 BCE, Arsinoite, for the ἀρχιφυλακίτης). On these formulas, cf. also DI BITONTO 1968, 55. In two exceptional cases, the formulas are mixed up: P.Tebt. II 283 (93 or 60 BCE, Arsinoite, for the village ἐπιστάτης) and possibly P.Tebt.Pad. I 10 (94/93 BCE, Arsinoite, for the λάρχος; in this case, the text is reconstructed, but cf. the observations by BAETENS 2020a, 112 n. 153) read ἐπιδίδωμί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα, ἀξιῶ.

²³⁵ No petition to higher officials is known with the formulas προσάγγελλω σοι ὅπως, ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπως. The formula ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως is used in two petitions for one λάρχος, a lesser military function for which no other petition is attested (P.Stras. II 91, 86 BCE?, Arsinoite; P.Tebt.Pad. I 10, 94/93 BCE, Arsinoite). The verb προσάγγελλω (on which cf. BAETENS 2020a, 216–217) appears in the narration, but not in the request, of various *hypomnemata*, e.g. PSI III 168 (118 BCE, Thinite), a petition for the στρατηγός, or P.Tor.Choach. 6 a and b (186 BCE, Arsinoite), two copies of a petition for the διοικητής. Cf. the data in the online database TM Petitions.

²³⁶ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.1, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 217; SKARSOULI 2020, 18–19. As the table in BAETENS 2020a, 84–108 shows, the word προσάγγελμα is used for petitions to village authorities, police officers and the φρούραρχος.

²³⁷ A similar explanation already in DI BITONTO 1968, 55; BAETENS 2020a, 217.

²³⁸ Cf. *supra*, chapters 2.2.3.2 and 3.1.3.1.

word *προσάγγελμα* for petitions to village officials is a fossil of the old prescript *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος*, the verb *προσαγγέλλω* in requests a fossil of the other old prescript *προσαγγέλλει τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δέινα*, and the only occurrence of the formula *ἐπιδίδωμι ὅπως* in the third century BCE is in an early *prosangelma*, SB XVIII 13160 (l. 17-18: ἐπιδ[ίδωμι] προσάγγελμά σοι ὅπως εἰδῆς).

Thus, variations from the standard formulary are also meaningful for the body of the text. The two most frequent deviations from the standard are both fossils of the third-century early *prosangelmata*: the absence of the request and the adoption of rare request formulas for lower-ranking officials. As in the case of the opening formula, scribal choices are the effect of specific situations and not mere mistakes.

The final formula can also present some variations, despite the preponderance of the closing formula *εὐτύχει* (*ἔρρωσο* has almost wholly disappeared²³⁹). First, a date can precede or follow the salutations²⁴⁰. In some cases (mainly addressed to village and police officials), the salutation is absent, and the *hypomnema* simply closes on a date²⁴¹. The practice of adding a date below a *hypomnema* is sporadically attested for petitions and requests as early as in Zenon *hypomnemata*²⁴². As in the case of the dated opening, this practice has links with other functions of hypomnematic documents: it is current in end-third-century offers

²³⁹ There are only two attestations of an *ἔρρωσο* replacing an *εὐτύχει* in second-century hypomnematic petitions. P.Tebt. III.1 793, col. i, l. 30 is embedded under a letter and may have been modified when copied; the date of TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360) is uncertain according to its editor and only depends on the date of other papyri from the same cartonnage, cf. Appendix, chapter 6. For an overview of the closing formulas of Ptolemaic petitions, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 181–182.

²⁴⁰ P.Amh. II 35 (Arsinoite, 132 BCE); P.Coll.Youtie I 16 (Arsinoite, 109 BCE?, a draft); P.Diosk. 5 (Herakleopolite, 146 BCE?); P.Hels. I 9 (Herakleopolite, 163 BCE); P.KölnSarapion 1 (Memphite?, 190 BCE); P.Ryl. II 68 (Hermopolite, 89 BCE); PSI III 168 (Thinite, 118 BCE); SB VIII 9792 (Hermopolite, 162 BCE); UPZ I 124 (Memphite, 175 or 165 BCE). In P.Tebt. III.1 796, some unreadable traces of ink are visible on the picture before the greetings, but the editors do not comment on them.

²⁴¹ P.Hels. I 31 (Herakleopolite, 160 BCE); P.Oxyrhyncha 8 (Arsinoite, 142 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 800 (Arsinoite, 153 or 142 BCE), TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6, on which cf. Appendix, chapter 6). Cf. also P.Köln XV 594 (Arsinoite, 202 or 178 BCE). In the case of P.Oxyrhyncha 10 (Arsinoite, mid-II BCE), the *εὐτύχει* may be lost in the lacuna. Apart from P.Hels. I 31, addressed to a *οἰκονόμος*, and TM 131719, whose addressee is unclear, those documents are addressed to village or police officials.

²⁴² Cf. for instance P.Cair.Zen. III 59307 (simple date) and 59531 (*εὐτύχει* + date).

and applications²⁴³, as well as in second-century BCE property declarations²⁴⁴. It is also frequent in other documentary types; for instance, letters typically bear a date in their closing formula. Interferences with these other types and functions probably influenced the dated closing in a few hypomnematic petitions without any clear geographical or chronological pattern²⁴⁵. In addition, a few hypomnematic petitions lack a closing formula²⁴⁶.

During the first century, a new greeting formula appears under hypomnematic petitions: *διευτύχει*. It is a reinforced version of *εὐτύχει*, adding the prefix *δια-* meaning “thoroughly” or “forever”²⁴⁷. This more forceful formula had increasing success and imposed itself in the Roman period, especially in the second century CE²⁴⁸. However, at the end of the Ptolemaic reign, it was only sporadically attested, especially on papyrus²⁴⁹. Two *enteuxeis* preserved on inscriptions, addressed to the sovereigns by groups of priests and asking for the right of *ἀσυλία*, dated to 69/68 and 57 BCE, are also among the oldest attestations of *διευτύχει*²⁵⁰. The use of the newcomer *διευτύχει* in highly formal documents addressed to the sovereigns suggests that it was probably more formal than the more common and older *εὐτύχει*²⁵¹. The adoption of *διευτύχει* in greetings is part of a general trend of reinforcing opening and closing formulas; for instance, at the end of the Ptolemaic period, the verb *διευτυχέω* is also attested in opening formulas for letters, in which it reinforces the

²⁴³ End-third-century *hypomnemata* with a date in the closing formula: simple date: P.Eleph. 17; 20; P.Petr. III 68 a (offers for public auctions); P.Genova III 101; 102 (applications for enrolment); P.Genova III 103 (request); P.Heid. VII 394 (complement to a petition; on this document, cf. ARMONI 2001b, 169–170); P.Petr. III 68 b (declaration, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); SB X 10273 (petition?). Date combined with *ἐρῶσο*: P.Eleph. 27 a and P.Köln XI 452 (petitions). Among end-third-century offers and applications, only P.Eleph. 24, 25 and TM 765530 (P.Petrie Museum inv. UC 31916) do not have a date in their closing formula.

²⁴⁴ Second-century declarations with a date in the closing formula: P.Hels. I 10; 13; 15; 19; P.Tebt. III.1 806; SB XIV 11893; without a date in the closing formula: O.Stras. I 772; without preserved closing: P.Hels. I 11; 12; 14; 16; 20; SB XXII 15369.

²⁴⁵ An example of this interference is P.Tebt. III.1 772, on which cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.2.

²⁴⁶ The closing *εὐτύχει* is missing at least in P.Polit.Jud. 9 (Herakleopolite, 132 BCE) and P.Stras. II 91 (Arsinoite, 86 BCE?), as well as in two documents that are probably copies in a register of petitions, P.Mert. I 5 and P.Tebt. III.1 780. It was also sometimes left out in drafts, like P.Tarich. 1 and UPZ I 47.

²⁴⁷ *LSJ*, s.v. *διῶ*, D.IV and D.V; SCHWYZER 1950, 449–450.

²⁴⁸ Cf. MASCELLARI 2018a; MASCELLARI 2021, 1003–1004.

²⁴⁹ The only hypomnematic petition with preserved opening formula and *διευτύχει* is P.Rain.Cent. 51 (Delta, first half I BCE), addressed to the *στρατηγός*. A *διευτύχει* is also clearly readable in the fragmentary BGU VIII 1864, probably a hypomnematic petition. For the case of BGU XVIII.1 2732, cf. Appendix, chapter 6, as well as MASCELLARI 2021, 1003: the reading *διευτύχει* is most probably to be corrected to *εὐτύχει*. On *διευτύχει* in Ptolemaic petitions, cf. BAETENS 2020a, 182.

²⁵⁰ I.Ptolemaic II 229; 247 (= I.Fayoum II 136; 116–118).

²⁵¹ Cf. also MASCELLARI 2018a, 295; MASCELLARI 2021, 1003. In the first century CE, *διευτύχει* is still mostly used for petitions to very high placed officials.

χαίρειν²⁵². The first century could also witness the first occurrence of the abbreviation εὐτύχ(ει), which became more common during the Roman period, but the reading is doubtful²⁵³.

All components of the hypomnematic petition could thus vary, although these variations remain rare. Nevertheless, the variations are not mistakes, and the scribal choices often reflect some underlying situation. For instance, interferences with other document types or functions of *hypomnemata* can explain the appearance of dates in the petitions' opening or closing formulas. The existence of specific request formulas for lower-ranking officials is a fossil of a disappeared category of texts, early *prosangelmata*. Archival practice is probably the reason why the mention of the addressee could disappear from the opening line. Finally, change also affected petitions, an essentially fixed type of document, and new formulas, like διετύχει, could enter the usage.

Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand

The addressee – or his office – could add some notes on the sheet of papyrus, usually recognisable through their different handwriting; these notes are collectively called process notes in this study²⁵⁴. The most common are instructions to other officials, usually called in the scholarship subscriptions or apostils. These notes were already frequent under *enteuxeis* in the third century and appeared under *hypomnemata* at the end of it²⁵⁵. They were usually added by another hand on the submitted document and contained a date²⁵⁶. They usually mention the official to whom the petition is to be transferred to accomplish

²⁵² BGU VIII 1770 (Herakleopolite, 63 BCE); 1803 (Herakleopolite, 64-44 BCE); P.Grenf. II 38 (Arsinoite, 80 BCE); P.Köln IX 365 (Arsinoite, II BCE); SB V 7530 (Herakleopolite, 38 or 16 BCE). The phenomenon is also clearly visible in early Roman letters, cf. for instance BGU XVI 2604, 2607 and 2631; in general, among the papers of the διοικητής Athenodoros published as BGU XVI and dating to the last decades of the first century BCE, the majority of letters have long and elaborate opening formulas, and about one quarter of them contains the verb διετύχειν.

²⁵³ BGU VIII 1824. On this case, as well as on TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6), a second-century BCE *hypomnema* with a proposed [εὐ(τύχει)] in lacuna, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

²⁵⁴ Sometimes, as in P.Tor.Choach. 4, l. 17-20, these notes could be included in further copies of the text and are thus no more distinguishable from the original hand. These cases were excluded in the present discussion. On the case of P.Tor.Choach. 4, cf. MIRIZIO 2021, 234–235. Some cases of hard to read notes by a second hand were also excluded from the discussion, e.g. BGU VIII 1823 or XX 2845.

²⁵⁵ For third-century *enteuxeis*, cf. GUÉRAUD 1931, XXVII–XXX; XLVII–LXII. For end-third-century *hypomnemata* with subscriptions, cf. BGU VI 1244 (Herakleopolite, 225 BCE, subscription above the text; on the date and origin, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26; FALIVENE 1998, 172 n. 4; 248 n. 7 = BL 11.26); SB XX 15068 (Arsinoite, 217 BCE, subscription below the text); TM 2486 (P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37). Two requests for oil allowance, P.Genova III 103 and 104 (Arsinoite, 219 BCE?), also carry subscriptions below the text, once in epistolary form.

²⁵⁶ Without date I am only aware of P.Petr. III 36 d, which is exceptional in many regards: it dates very early in the second century (197 BCE), the petition is dated in its heading, and the subscription is curiously formulated, l. 41-43: τὰ πρὸς τὸν σκυτέα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν πρὸς τῇ δερματηρά[ι].

the instructions²⁵⁷, or more rarely, they just contain directives to be fulfilled²⁵⁸. Subscriptions could also be multiplied, with more hands adding additional transfers to other officials²⁵⁹. They differ from later Roman subscriptions of the *praefectus Aegypti* in that they are not addressed to the petitioners but to other officials who are supposed to fulfil the instructions given²⁶⁰.

Subscriptions appear most frequently on the lower margin of the document, where space remained after the scribe had finished composing the original petition. This phenomenon explains why so few subscriptions are preserved for the first century BCE: most of the petitions from these decades are only partially preserved and lack their final lines. Nevertheless, other blank areas on the sheet could be used, usually the top margin²⁶¹. The top margin seems to be used according to geographical patterns or when a previous note already occupied the bottom, but the data are too few to confirm any trend²⁶². An address on the back of the document that remained readable even if the subscribed petition was sealed could double the subscription²⁶³. Sometimes, process notes included the report to the superior from the inferior official mandated in the subscription to accomplish some orders²⁶⁴.

²⁵⁷ Cf. for example P.Dion. 11, l. 38-43; P.Ryl. IV 577, l. 21-22; P.Tebt. I 40, l. 23-26; III.1 782, l. 22-25; P.Tor.Choach. 5 b, l. 30-41; P.Yale IV 138, l. 22-30; SB XXIV 16295, l. 40-42; UPZ I 7, l. 38-40; 22, l. 26-31; 36, l. 27-28. Under the incomplete document P.Tebt. III.2 961, possibly a hypomnematic petition, a first subscription is drawn up as a letter, a second one as a standard subscription with the name of the addressee.

²⁵⁸ Cf. for example BGU VIII 1832, l. 20; P.Köln X 413, l. 23-24; SB XXVIII 16855, l. 34; XX 14592, l. 1-2.

²⁵⁹ Cf. for example P.Tebt. III.1 782, l. 22-25; P.Yale IV 138, l. 22-30; UPZ I 22, l. 26-31; 36, l. 27-28. The phenomenon is especially common in P.Yale IV, cf. P.Yale. IV 138; 141; 142; 143; 146. There is no example of this phenomenon in the first century BCE, but this comes as no surprise since first-century *hypomnemata* are often badly preserved and lack their lower lines.

²⁶⁰ Cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “High Officials and the Specificities of Their Answers”.

²⁶¹ Cf. for instance P.Erasm. I 3, l. 1-3; PSI III 166, l. 1; 169, l. 1; 170, l. 1-3; P.Yale IV 140, l. 1-3; 145, l. 1-3; SB XX 14592, l. 1-2; XXIV 16134, l. 1-3; XXVI 16801, l. 1-3 (as well as possibly BGU VIII 1815, l. 1-2).

²⁶² The bottom margin of petitions with preserved subscription in the top margin is usually lost, and it is impossible to know whether it contained a previous note (such is the case of BGU VIII 1815; P.Erasm. I 3; PSI III 169; 170; SB XX 14592; XXVI 16801). In the case of P.Yale IV 145 and SB XXIV 16134, the bottom margin is lost but according to the address on the verso it contained a first subscription. The bottom margin is preserved and blank in PSI III 166, from the Thinite nome; since petitions from this nome are almost all addressed to Ammonios, ὁπάρχων of the nome in 118 BCE, and since notes on the upper margin occur frequently on them (cf. PSI III 169, 170, 171, all without preserved bottom margin), this office or this nome may have had the habit of adding subscriptions in the upper margin instead of in the lower one. It is preserved and blank in P.Heid. VI 382 (whose note in the upper margin is badly preserved and may not be a subscription), and preserved and used for a second subscription in P.Yale IV 140 (whose preservation is also problematic).

²⁶³ Cf. for instance P.Dion. 11; P.Tebt. I 40; P.Tor.Choach. 4; P.Yale IV 138-143; 145-147; 149; UPZ I 7.

²⁶⁴ Cf. for instance P.Tor.Choach. 5 b, l. 36; UPZ I 36, l. 29-38. The case of BGU VIII 1772 shows how such notes could be at the beginning of cascade documents.

Sometimes, offices used a different practice to transmit indications to another official: they sent a cover letter with a copy of the original petition²⁶⁵. This solution is notably attested among the documents of Menches, who transferred copies of petitions to the royal scribe²⁶⁶. It was also used outside Egypt, as is attested in the few preserved second-century BCE *hypomnemata* from other Hellenistic kingdoms²⁶⁷.

The more complex the answer to a petition was, the more subscriptions and cover letters multiplied: the connected *hypomnemata* UPZ I 22 and 24, for instance, received at least two subscriptions (UPZ I 22, l. 26-31), one report of the inferior official (partly copied in UPZ I 23), and a cover letter (copied in UPZ I 25 and 26)²⁶⁸. Sometimes, there could even be independent administrative letters dealing with petitions²⁶⁹.

The exact relation between the two channels for transmitting documents from one office to another, the subscription and the cover letter, awaits a proper study²⁷⁰; for instance, two petitions concerning the same problem addressed to two different officials were dealt with differently: for P.Dion. 11, the addressed στρατηγός added a subscription transferring the document to an ἐπιμελητής; for P.Dion. 12, the addressed βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς transferred the document by appending a copy of it to a cover letter²⁷¹. Cover letters are indeed usually

²⁶⁵ Cf. BGU VIII 1756; 1757; 1761; 1783; 1795; 1796; 1859 B; P.Dion. 12; P.Heid. IX 423; P.Tebt. I 38 (in some of those cases, the appended petition is badly preserved). These documents, as common for administrative letters, are written *transversa charta*, with the exceptions of BGU VIII 1783 and 1859; on BGU VIII 1783, cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.5. Three *hypomnemata* preserve on their back the draft of cover letters: P.Heid. IX 422; 431 (on these particular cases, characteristic of the office of the royal scribes of the Herakleopolite nome, cf. ARMONI 2006, 5); P.Tebt. III.2 958. A register of outgoing correspondence including many cover letters and copies of petitions is preserved in P.Tebt. III.1 793. On all this, cf. ARMONI 2006, 5–6; MITTHOF 2008, 146; MIRIZIO 2021, 254; 295; 301–304; 355; 358–360; 373; VECCHIATO 2022b, 192 n. 15.

²⁶⁶ LEWIS 1986, 119–120 with n. 17; VERHOOGT 1998, 68; MIRIZIO 2021, 355; 358–360; P.Hoogendijk 17, p. 78. Cf. P.Tebt. I 38, a cover letter for a petition submitted to Menches asking him to submit a copy to the responsible functionaries (l. 26-27: προσυποτάξαντα ἀντίγραφον [οἷς καθήκει]), sent to the royal scribe Horos; on this document, cf. VERHOOGT 1998, 68; 73 n. 8; 100–102.

²⁶⁷ Cf. SEG XIII 403; XLI 1556; 1574 (republished in HEINRICHS 2018, with corrections in SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2018, 378–382; CHRUBASIK 2019; also known as the Hefzibah stele, TM 754949 = 882712); XLVI 1519. In the Hefzibah stele, the king also sent, some months after having dealt with the *hypomnema*, some orders per letter to the sender of the *hypomnema*, the governor Ptolemaios son of Thrasesas; three reasons can explain this exceptional case: the early date of the documents (202-200 BCE); the exceptional position of the sender (he was a Ptolemaic governor of Syria who had turned to the Seleucid side); the chronological delay between the resolution of the request in the *hypomnema*, which happened regularly through cover letter, and the letter containing the royal orders to Ptolemaios.

²⁶⁸ Cf. the comments by the editor, as well as MIRIZIO 2021, 278–281.

²⁶⁹ Cf. BGU VIII 1759, P.Berl.Salmen. 9 and the warrant P.Paramone 9.

²⁷⁰ BICKERMANN 1926, 1242–1243 suggested that the subscription transmitted instructions, whereas the cover letter executed an action; he also suggested that the subscription could only be used from a higher official to a subordinate, and never the other way around. His observations are preliminary and since then new material has been published.

²⁷¹ Cf. on these documents MIRIZIO 2021, 241–244.

adopted by village scribes or royal scribes for transferring petitions – but in the first century BCE, they are primarily attested for διοικηταί.

According to current scholarship, in case of transmission of a petition to other officials, it was the petitioners' task to deliver the document themselves from one office to the other²⁷². Such is explicitly the case of P.Hamb. IV 238, a petition submitted by Philina to Dionysios, στρατηγός. The latter added to the text a subscription, delegating the matter to Sogenes, the ἐπιστάτης. Sogenes then added his report to Dionysios, in which he stated (l. 36-39): ἐκόμισεν ἡμεῖν Φιλίνα Ἀργαίου Μακέτα κατὰ Λεοντίσκου τοῦ ἐαυτῆς υἱοῦ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ σοῦ κεχρηματισμένον ("Philina daughter of Argaios, Macedonian, brought us a *hypomnema* against her own son, Leontiskos, provided with orders from you [Dionysios]"). In this rare case, it is explicitly stated that the petitioner received the subscribed petition back and delivered it to the following official. However, it is possible that when the transmission occurred through a cover letter and not a subscription, the document was sent through the administrative communication system.

Another type of process note is internal dockets, small notes recording pieces of information that were probably of help inside the office of the addressee. These notes can include data such as the name of the sender, the accused party, or the type of offence²⁷³. They usually include a date too²⁷⁴. In the first century BCE, a cross whose function is unclear can accompany them²⁷⁵. Unlike subscriptions, usually added on the lower margin of petitions, such dockets commonly appear either on the upper margin or on the document's back²⁷⁶. The presence of the docket did not imply the absence of the

²⁷² UPZ I 8, p. 142; UPZ I 14, p. 151; BICKERMANN 1930a, 178–179; P.Tor.Choach. 4 and 5, p. 47; BAETENS 2020a, 223; P.Yale IV 138–152, p. 8; VECCHIATO 2022b, 192–193. For *enteuxeis*, cf. GUÉRAUD 1931, XXXIX–XL, as well as SB XVIII 13093. One of the best known examples of such a procedure is UPZ I 14, an *enteuxis* with appended a summary of all the offices the petitioner had to go to, on which cf. UPZ I 14, p. 151–152; LEWIS 1986, 76–79; THOMPSON 2012, 230–232; MIRIZIO 2021, 274–277. BAUSCHATZ 2013, 206 considers the personal delivery as exceptional, but it seems to be more attested than the transfer via administrative internal cover letters.

²⁷³ Cf. for instance BGU VIII 1831, l. 1; 1834, l. 2; XX 2847, l. 1; P.Diosk. 2, l. 25–26; 5, l. 22–23; P.Dryton 33, l. 28–30; P.Polit.Jud. 1, l. 25–26; 4, l. 1; 8, l. 1–3; 12, l. 26–27; PSI III 171, l. 1; P.Yale IV 142, l. 30–32; 145, l. 21–23; 147, l. 41–43; 148, l. 1; 149, l. 21; TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639), l. 36–38; TM 703255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637), l. 29–31. In the case of P.Yale IV 138, 139, 141, 143, 146 and 149, such dockets were already added by the petitioner themselves, cf. P.Yale IV 138–152, p. 8.

²⁷⁴ The dockets of BGU VIII 1831, 1834, XX 2847, P.Diosk. 2, 5, P.Dryton 33, P.Polit.Jud. 1, 4, 8, 12, PSI III 171, P.Yale IV 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639) and 703255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637) are all dated. P.Tebt. I 44 and 45 are possible examples of undated dockets, but they consist of only one letter, read by the editor κ(ωμογραμματοῦ), whose context of addition is not clear.

²⁷⁵ BGU VIII 1831; 1834; XX 2847. Crosses are also attested over BGU VIII 1779 and 1780. On these crosses, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section "Formulary: Exceptions and Variations".

²⁷⁶ For instance, the dockets of P.Diosk. 2, 5, P.Dryton 33, P.Polit.Jud. 1, 12, P.Yale IV 142, 145, 147, TM 703254 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56639) and TM 703255 (P.Vindob. inv. G 56637) are on the back of the papyrus.

subscription, and vice-versa: their functions were different, and the two could appear on the same papyrus²⁷⁷.

The case of P.Tebt. I 40 is exemplary²⁷⁸: between 118 et 117 BCE, Pnepheros son of Paous wrote a petition to the royal scribe Amenneus (Fig. 3.29, n. 1). On February 1st, 117 BCE, Amenneus forwarded the document to Menches, village scribe; the petition received a subscription in the lower margin (l. 23-26: Μεγχῆι κωμογρ(αμματεῖ). γενηθήτω τῶι ὑποτελεῖ τὸ δίκαιον κατὰ τοὺς τῆς κώμης ἐθισμούς. (ἔτους) νγ Τῶβι ιγ) and an address on the back in a different hand (l. 27: Μεγχῆι; Fig. 3.29, n. 2). Two days later, on February 3rd, a reception docket is added in the upper margin, probably by Menches (l. 1: ἐλ(ήφθη) ἔτους νγ Τῶβι ιε²⁷⁹; Fig. 3.29); the sheet probably never left his papers, since it was found among them. In this case, the position of the various notes becomes a way to distinguish them, with the lower margin reserved for the subscription.



Fig. 3.29: The hands in P.Tebt. I 40.

The dockets of BGU VIII 1831, 1834, XX 2847, P.Polit.Jud. 4, 8, PSI III 171 and P.Yale IV 148 are on the upper margin. The docket of P.Yale IV 149 is in the bottom margin.

²⁷⁷ Cf. for instance P.Tebt. I 40; P.Yale. IV 142; 148; 149; UPZ I 7.

²⁷⁸ For another exemplary case, cf. the archive of the στρατηγός Euphronios recently published as P.Yale IV 138-152, and the commentary P.Yale VI 138-152, p. 5–11.

²⁷⁹ On the resolution of the abbreviation, cf. P.Tebt. IV 1100, p. 30; VERHOOGT 1998, 189.

Dockets can also precede subscriptions²⁸⁰, as in the case of UPZ I 7 (Fig. 3.30), a petition submitted by Ptolemaios, ἐν κατοχῇ in the Sarapieion of Memphis, which is a good example of the addition of various dockets and subscriptions²⁸¹:

R:

- Διονυσίῳ τῶν φίλων καὶ
στρατηγῶι
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Γλαυκίου
Μακεδόνοϛ τῶν ὄντων ἐν κατοχῇι
5 ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαραπιείῳ ἔτοϛ
ἤδη δέκατον. ἀδικοῦμαι
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ
καλλυντῶν καὶ ἀρτοκόπων
τῶν νυνὶ ἐφημερευόντων,
10 καταβαινόντων δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ
Ἄνουβιεῖον, Ἀρχήβιοϛ ἱατροῦ
καὶ Μυδῶς ἱματιοπώλου καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα
ἀγνοῶ. τοῦ γὰρ ιθ (ἔτοϛ) Φαῶφι ια
15 παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ
Ἄσταρτιδεῖον, ἐν ᾧ κατέχομαι
ἱερῷ, εἰσεβιάζοντο βουλό-
μενοι ἐξσπάσαι με καὶ ἀλο-
γῆσαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἔν τοῖϛ/ πρό-
20 τερον χρόνοιϛ ἐπεχείρησαν
οὔσης ἀποστάσεωϛ, παρὰ τὸ
Ἑλληνά με εἶναι. ἐπεὶ ο[ὗ]ν
ἐγὼ μὲν συνιδὼν αὐτοὺϛ
ἀπονενοημένους ἐμαυτὸν
25 συνέκλεισα, Ἀρμᾶιν δὲ
τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐρόντεϛ

²⁸⁰ On dockets as the first part of the reception procedure in some offices, cf. ARMONI 2006, 5.

²⁸¹ The text follows the reedition by WILCKEN 1927b, 648. Regularisations: l. 16: Ἀσταρτιδεῖον, *lege* Ἀσταρτιεῖον; l. 18: ἐξσπάσαι, *lege* ἐκσπάσαι.

- ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου καταβαλόντες
 ἔτυπτον τοῖς χαλκοῖς
 ξυστήρσιν. ἀξιῶ οὖν σε συν-
- 30 τάξει γράψαι Μενεδήμωι
 τῷ παρὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀνουβιεῖωι
 ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαιά μοι
 ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπομένωσιν,
 ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σέ,
- 35 ὅπως διαλάβῃς περὶ αὐτῶν μισο-
 πονήρως.
 εὐτύχει.
- (**hand 4**) Μενεδήμωι. προνοήθητι ὥς τεύξεται
 τῶν δικαίων.
- 40 (ἔτους) ιθ Φαῶφι ιθ.

V:

(**hand 3**) (ἔτους) ιθ Φαῶφι ιη
 Πτολεμαίου. (**hand 5**) Μενεδήμωι

V, right margin:

(perpendicular, **hand 2**) τῶν καλλυντῶν
 (seal)

To Dionysios, one of the friends and *strategos*, from Ptolemaios son of Glaukias, Macedonian of those in reclusion in the great Sarapieion, now for the tenth year. I am wronged by the sweepers and the bakers in the same temple, those who are now performing service and who are going down into the Anoubieion, and by Archebis, the doctor, and Mus, the cloak seller, and others whose names I do not know. For in year 19, on Phaophi 11, being present at the Astartieion, in which temple I am now in reclusion, they broke in, wishing to drag me out and insult me, just as they previously attempted it at the time of the revolt, in spite of the fact that I am Greek. Since, therefore, I realised that they have lost all sense, I have shut myself in; but they, finding Harmais, my agent, upon the temple avenue, throwing him down they beat him with bronze scrapers. I ask, therefore, that you order to write to Menedemos, your agent in

the Anoubieion, to force them to do me justice; but if they do not obey, to send them to you, so that you may treat them in accordance with your hatred of wrongdoing. Farewell.

(hand 4) To Menedemos. See to it that he receives justice. Year 19, Phaophi 19²⁸².

(back, hand 3) Year 19, Phaophi 18. Of Ptolemaios.

(hand 5) To Menedemos.

(hand 2) Of the sweepers.



Fig. 3.30: The hands in UPZ I 7. © 2021 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, modified by L. Ferretti.

The multiplication of hands and dates allows us to follow the various processes the sheet underwent, as reconstructed by the editor of the petition²⁸³. The offence took place on November 12th, 163 BCE (l. 14: τοῦ γὰρ 18 (ἔτους) Φαῶφι 12). The petition was then written in the first scribal hand (Fig. 3.30, n. 1); the first docket on the back, indicating,

²⁸² Translation of the front by BAUSCHATZ 2013, 211 modified and completed with a personal translation of the back. For another translation of this text, cf. LEWIS 1986, 85. On the meaning of ξυστήρ, cf. SCHRAM 2017.

²⁸³ WILCKEN 1927b, 648–649; he did not see the document, but based his observations on older editions and on the information received by other scholars.

perpendicular and in a second hand, the ones accused (l. 43: τῶν καλλυντῶν), was probably added by Ptolemaios, the petitioner (Fig. 3.30, n. 2). He then submitted, seven days after the offence, his *hypomnema* to the στρατηγός Dionysios; at this moment, a second docket was added on the back indicating the date (November 19th) and the submitter (l. 41-42: (ἔτους) ιθ Φαῶφι ιη Πτολεμαίου; Fig. 3.30, n. 3). The day after Dionysios decided to agree to the requests of the petitioner, Ptolemaios²⁸⁴: he appointed his man Menedemos to the case. This fact was registered by a fourth hand on the papyrus in the form of a subscription (l. 38-40: Μενεδήμωι. προνοήθητι ὡς τεύξεται τῶν δικαίων. (ἔτους) ιθ Φαῶφι ιθ; Fig. 3.30, n. 4). The petition was sealed, and yet another, fifth hand added an element that allowed the dispatch of the subscribed petition to its new recipient: an address on the back (l. 42: Μενεδήμωι; Fig. 3.30, n. 5). Then the document was given back to Ptolemaios, among whose papers it was eventually found, still sealed²⁸⁵. Ptolemaios could probably never deliver it to Menedemos, and he seems to complain about this fact in another petition²⁸⁶.

At the end of the second century, another practice that can be considered akin to dockets is attested: petitions could receive a red ink stamp, usually in the upper left corner²⁸⁷. The earliest example of this practice is P.Dion. 11, originating in the Hermopolite nome and dated to 108 BCE. However, most petitions presenting such a red ink stamp are petitions and requests from the Herakleopolite nome essentially dated to the first half of the first century BCE²⁸⁸. These stamps, circular or diamond-shaped, usually carry a date in the

²⁸⁴ Cf. BAUSCHATZ 2013, 211–212.

²⁸⁵ Cf. WILCKEN 1927b, 142; 648. According to Ulrich Wilcken, the papyrus remained in the office of the στρατηγός; yet it seems more reasonable that it ended up in Ptolemaios' documents and that it was found with them. Various documents from the same archive were acquired at different times at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Vatican library: UPZ I 15; 16; 25; 45; 51; 60. Their discovery was probably contemporary. On the history of their acquisition, cf. PREISENDANZ 1933, 77; CANART 1980, 372–373; on the history of the acquisition of the papyri of the *katochoi* of Memphis, cf. LEGRAS 2011, 7–10.

²⁸⁶ UPZ I 8, l. 23-28. Cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 179.

²⁸⁷ The most recent bibliography on this subject is by Paul Schubert and Katelijn Vandorpe, cf. SCHUBERT 1990, 37–39; VANDORPE 1996, 254–256 (= VANDORPE 1995, 29–31); VANDORPE 2002; P.Louvre II 109, p. 62–66; VANDORPE 2009; VANDORPE – VAN BEEK 2012; VANDORPE 2014.

²⁸⁸ Cf. BGU IV 1187; VIII 1813; 1814; 1815; 1821; 1824; 1833; 1835; 1843; 1846; 1850; XVIII.1 2731; P.Dion. 11; SB VIII 9790. Stamps are also preserved on texts that are probably hypomnematic petitions, but whose initial lines are lost: BGU VIII 1841; 1853; 1857; 1863; 1886. This list, which only includes red stamps on petitions, adds one entry to the list published VANDORPE 2015, itself richer than that of 2005 by P.Louvre II 109, p. 63–64: BGU VIII 1187. Some traces of red ink are moreover present on SB VIII 9790, but they are too scanty to allow the certain identification of a stamp. The majority of these papyri come from the same cartonnages kept in Berlin and excavated in Abu Sir al-Malaq (on those cartonnages, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 15–21), are dated to the second quarter of the first century BCE, are addressed to the στρατηγός of the nome and are attributed to the same archive. There is however one exception: BGU XVIII.1 2731, although from the same cartonnages, is dated to 87/86 BCE and is addressed to a royal scribe; moreover, SB VIII 9790 is dated to the mid-first century BCE and is addressed to the στρατηγός of a toparchy of the Herakleopolite.

Already in Ptolemaic times, petitions are not the only documents to receive red ink stamps: they are also attested on the back of registered Demotic contracts or tax receipts from Ptolemais Euergetis, cf. VANDORPE

middle, a regnal year²⁸⁹. This is the main difference with dockets: the latter register the reception day of a petition, whereas the stamp only indicates the year. It is usually thought that red ink stamps serve to authenticate documents²⁹⁰; in the case of petitions, they may indicate that the petition was actually submitted to the addressee's office and processed there. The stamps are independent of subscriptions: thus, among well-preserved stamped petitions, one has a subscription and three none²⁹¹.

To sum up, two main types of process notes by a second hand can appear on hypomnematic petitions. The first category is transmission notes to another official. They can take the shape of subscriptions, notes usually added in the lower margin, including a date, an addressee and some orders. More rarely, they can take the shape of cover letters: in this case, they are no longer added directly to the original *hypomnema* but represent a new document that embeds a copy of the petition. The second category is reception dockets. These can be short notes or, rarely, red-ink stamps; the function of the two categories can be different. They can be added by the primary addressee or by another official to whom the petition was transferred. Subscriptions, cover letters, dockets and red ink stamps are independent, and the same papyrus can receive more than one, as some exemplary cases analysed have shown. Their position on the sheet was not casual and often allowed to distinguish dockets, usually in the upper margin, from subscriptions in the lower one. Scribes were aware of these practices and always left margins around petitions to allow the later addition of such notes.

Petitions: Summary

Hypomnematic petitions are requests for help in extraordinary circumstances, mostly a suffered injustice, addressed to the authorities and opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός. They are very consistent both in their materiality and in their formulas. Scribes usually wrote petitions on vertical sheets of papyrus, placed the text in two or three blocks on the paper and subdivided it into various components, always the same: name and titles of the addressee sometimes indented, name of the sender, narration of the facts, request,

2002, 38–39 and the lists in P.Louvre II 109, p. 63–64; VANDORPE 2015. The oldest of such contracts is P.Dem. Memphis 5 A-B (= TM 4942), dated to 132 BCE.

²⁸⁹ SCHUBERT 1990, 38; VANDORPE 1996, 255.

²⁹⁰ SCHUBERT 1990, 38–39; VANDORPE 1996, 254; VANDORPE 2002, 37; VANDORPE – VAN BEEK 2012, 86–88; VANDORPE 2014, 147–148.

²⁹¹ With subscription: BGU VIII 1833; without subscription: BGU IV 1187; VIII 1824; XVIII.1 1731. The link that VANDORPE 2002, 39–40 seems to make between subscription and stamps is thus invalidated; it has to be stated that at the time the stamp on BGU IV 1187 had not been identified yet.

sometimes a final plea, and closing εὐτόχει systematically indented. The division into narration, request and final plea was inherited from *enteuxeis*. When scribes diverged from this standard pattern, it usually happened for a reason, such as interferences with other types of documents, evolutions of the formulas, or case-specific contingencies. They were conscious of the structural characteristics of the document they were writing, just as they were conscious of the path it would have gone through, for instance, by leaving the space for future dockets and subscriptions where appropriate.

Petitions share some of their core characteristics with other *hypomnemata*. The materiality analysis has proven that format and layout are highly consistent among *hypomnemata*, whatever their content. Two additional elements observable in petitions are recurrent in all other functions: the request indicates that the petitioner expects a reaction from the addressee, and there is no expectation of an answer: addressees never address subscriptions or cover letters to the petitioner but merely react to his or her request.

3.2.3.2 Property Declarations

Property declarations are the second most well-attested function of *hypomnemata*. They are used to transmit to the administration information on property they own at that point in time; they are mandatory documents. In this regard, they are different from petitions, which always originated from a need of the petitioner himself. Although they were probably common, only about a dozen of them are preserved, none from the first century BCE; this is probably the effect of the accidents of preservation²⁹². From the end of the third century BCE, they are drawn up as *hypomnemata*, written in *pagina* format, with opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, and the closing εὐτόχει in *eisthesis*. Scribes called such documents either ὑπόμνημα or ἀπογραφή²⁹³.

Various contents had to be declared; some are linked to taxation, such as the declarations of real estate or of gardens and their products (subject to the ἀπόμοιρα-tax) at the beginning of the year²⁹⁴. Among second-century BCE declarations, there are documents concerning

²⁹² Cf. VAN MINNEN 1994, 91; QANDEIL 2022, 4.

²⁹³ On Ptolemaic property declarations, cf. P.Hels. I 10-20, p. 63–71; P.Heid. VII 390-392, p. 20–22; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 24–27; ARMONI 2012, 205–218; BAETENS 2020a, 136–137; QANDEIL 2022. The publication in 1986 of P.Hels. I has made previous discussions, such as those by AVOGADRO 1935, 132; 166–168; SIJPESTEIJN 1978, obsolete.

²⁹⁴ On the various types of declarations, cf. P.Hels. I 10-20, p. 64–68; ARMONI 2012, 207–218; QANDEIL 2022, 4–10. In addition to these, cf. P.Heid. VII 390-392, p. 20–22 on declarations of real estate.

gardens, trees and vineyards, dovecotes, baths, a horse, and wheat²⁹⁵. The addressed officials are the same as in the third century: essentially the οἰκονόμος, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς and the ἐπιμελητής²⁹⁶. Because of the paucity of documentation, it is unclear whether this property had to be declared annually or only when a decree punctually requested it; things may also have been different according to the type of declared property or have changed through time or from nome to nome²⁹⁷. In the case of real estate, the earlier preserved declarations, appearing first in 209 BCE in the Arsinoite nome and concerning houses, mentioned a decree, whereas the later ones, which originated in 163 BCE in the Herakleopolite nome and concerned other types of immovables, did not; various causes may have led to this difference²⁹⁸.

Geographical and Chronological Distribution

The distribution of declarations is highly uneven. The bulk of the documentation comes from one single archive from the Herakleopolite nome and dates 163 BCE²⁹⁹; before the publication of this dossier in the first volume of the papyri of Helsinki, Ptolemaic property declarations were almost unknown. A few other property declarations from the second century BCE are attested, from the Arsinoite, Herakleopolite and Peri Thebas nomes³⁰⁰: they prove that the practice of declaring some property was also present elsewhere in Egypt. No property declaration from the Ptolemaic first century is known to date³⁰¹.

²⁹⁵ Gardens, trees and vineyards: P.Stras. I 772; P.Hels. I 11; 14; 15; 16; SB XIV 11893. Dovecotes: P.Hels. I 10; 20, as well as SB XXII 15213 (203/202 or 179/178 BCE, cf. ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.23); on this category, cf. VANDORPE – VANOPPRÉ 2020. Baths: P.Hels. I 12; 13. Horse: P.Tebt. III.1 806. Wheat: SB XXII 15369.

²⁹⁶ οἰκονόμος: P.Hels. I 10-16; 19; 20. βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς: P.Tebt. III.1 806; SB XXII 15369, as well as SB XXII 15213 (203/202 or 179/178 BCE, cf. ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230). ἐπιμελητής: SB XIV 11893. τοῖς ἐξιληφόσει τὴν ἔκτην τῶν ἀκροδρύων: O.Stras. I 772. The ἐπιμελητής received at the end of the third century mostly notifications of previous declarations submitted to the οἰκονόμος and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς; the declaration he receives in the second century is probably a correction to a previously submitted one, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.1, as well as P.Hels. 10-20, p. 68; BAETENS 2020a, 136–137.

²⁹⁷ Cf. P.Hels I 10-20, p. 67 and on the frequency of census, THOMPSON 1997, 245; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 19–20; 26–28. QANDEIL 2022 links the periodicity of the various declarations to the mention of decrees, but the documentary basis is very tenuous, so that what he could establish for a certain period may not apply to the whole of Ptolemaic Egypt.

²⁹⁸ Cf. for instance QANDEIL 2022, 8–9.

²⁹⁹ P.Hels. I 10-16; 19; 20, from the so-called archive of the οἰκονόμοι of the Herakleopolite nome. Actually, P.Hels. I 19 dates 162 BCE.

³⁰⁰ O.Stras. I 772 (Thebes, 184/3 or 160/159 BCE – cf. Appendix, chapter 6); P.Tebt. III.1 806 (Arsinoite, 139 BCE); SB XIV 11893 (Arsinoite, 159 BCE); XXII 15369 (Herakleopolite, shortly after mid-II BCE), to which SB XXII 15213 (Arsinoite, 203/202 or 179/178 BCE, cf. ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230) may be added.

³⁰¹ SB XIV 11269 may be either a declaration or a petition, but it is too badly preserved to be sure of its content. Moreover, its dating is also uncertain: it may belong to the first century BCE or to the first century CE.

Materiality

Materially, declarations follow the standard for *hypomnemata*. They are written on vertical sheets of papyrus along the fibres. As already observed, these sheets are shorter than the average sheet for hypomnematic petitions: hypomnematic declarations are usually between 20 and 25 cm high, whereas hypomnematic petitions are usually 30 cm high. This phenomenon, which can be observed only in the Herakleopolite nome because of the paucity of preserved declarations originating in other nomes, may be linked to the fact that the text of a declaration is usually shorter than a petition³⁰².

When the final lines of a declaration are preserved, they contain a date highlighted through a blank and an indentation. In most cases, an εὐτύχει precedes this date³⁰³. Then, the εὐτύχει comes first, indented to the right after the main text and followed on the next line by the date, which is also indented. The occasional practice of marking the end of the main text with a *paragraphos* is also attested for one declaration, P.Hels. I 10 (Fig. 3.31).

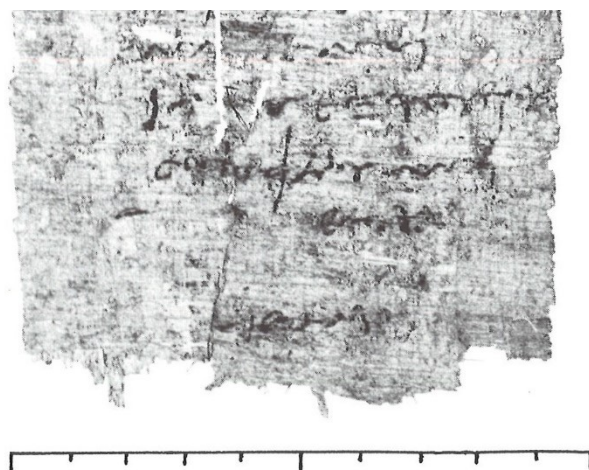


Fig. 3.31: P. Hels. I 10, detail of the closing.

Conversely, the addressee is only occasionally highlighted, especially in the Helsinki examples³⁰⁴; the early date of most declarations explains this characteristic. The adoption of a particular layout for the mention of the addressee in the opening formula only became

³⁰² Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.1.

³⁰³ Date: P.Hels. I 13; εὐτύχει + date: P.Hels. I 10; 15; 19; P.Tebt. III.1 806; SB XXIV 11893. The only case of a declaration without closing, O.Stras. I 772, is also exceptional in that it is written on an ostrakon.

³⁰⁴ The addressee is not highlighted in O.Stras. I 772, P.Hels. I 10, 11, 13 and probably 15, 16. It is highlighted through a blank and a clear line break, but without a clear indentation, in P.Hels. I 12, SB XIV 11893, XXII 15369, and possibly P.Hels. I 19. P.Hels. I 14 presents a clear *ekthesis* for the addressee, and possibly also a blank after it. The inline blank after the addressee of P.Hels. I 20 cannot be identified for sure as a deliberate highlight. The layout of the opening lines in SB XXII 15213 (203/202 or 179/178 BCE, cf. ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230) cannot be certainly established.

widespread during the last third of the second century, and all preserved declarations are older.

O.Stras. I 772, an isolated declaration of a palm grove from Thebes dated to the first half of the second century, is the only exception (Fig. 3.32)³⁰⁵. It is written on a potsherd as a continuous text without any structuration or final formula. Despite its neat appearance, one may wonder whether it is a draft or not because of the presence in the text of some mistakes and corrections and because of its irregular formulary: it has an exceptional introductory verb, *προσαγγέλλω*, and presents neither request nor final date. In any case, the choice of a potsherd for support may simply derive from this text's provenance: in the Thebaid, ostraca are much more common than elsewhere in Egypt³⁰⁶.

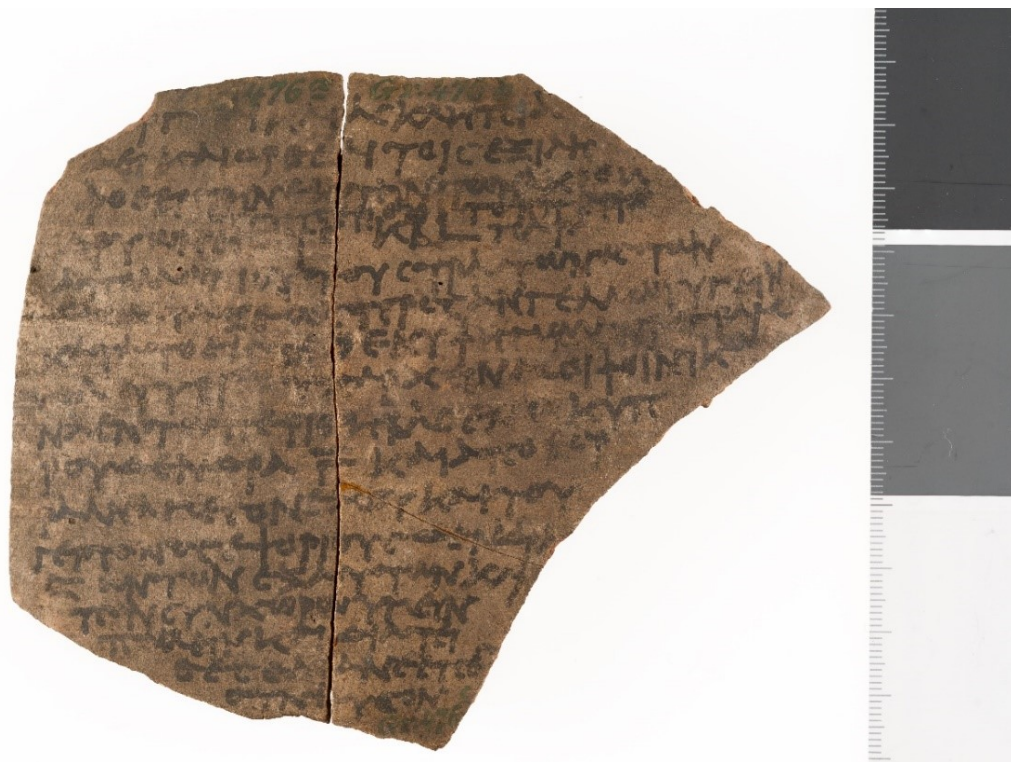


Fig. 3.32: O.Stras. I 772.

Formulary and Process Notes by a Second Hand

P.Hels. I 10 offers an example of the minimal formulary of a declaration³⁰⁷:

Διονυσίωι οἰκονόμῳ[ι]
παρ' Εὐβίου τοῦ

³⁰⁵ On the date of this declaration, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

³⁰⁶ Cf. the tables in CLARYSSE 2020, 161.

³⁰⁷ On l. 4; 10, cf. the corrections in VANDORPE 1988, 52 n. 12; CLARYSSE 1989, 247 = BL 9.106. Regularisation: l. 10: Καλατῇ, *lege* Καλατῇ.

- Κτησίππου
 ὑπαρχιφυλακίτου.
 5 ἀπογράφομαι
 τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μοι
 περιστερεῶνα
 ἔρημον τὸν ὄντα
 περὶ κώμην
 10 Καλατῇ. ἀξιῶ
 κατατάξαι μου
 τὴν ἀπογραφὴν
 παρὰ σοὶ ἐν χρη-
 ματισμῶι
 15 ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ὕστερου
 συκοφαντῶμαι.
 εὐτύχει
 (ἔτους) ιθ Θωυθ ιθ

To Dionysios the *oikonomos*, from Eubios son of Ktesippos, *hyparchiphylakites*. I register the empty dovecote belonging to me located near the village of Kalate. I ask to store my declaration by you in the archive, so I will not be falsely accused in the future. Farewell. Year 19, Thot 19.

This declaration, one of the shortest preserved, gives the minimum formulary of a declaration: opening, declared property introduced by ἀπογράφομαι (l. 5), registration request introduced by ἀξιῶ (l. 10), and final date. These elements are also attested in documents other than the declarations to the οἰκονόμοι of the Herakleopolite and are not confined to a single nome³⁰⁸.

Nevertheless, the formulary of declarations presents some flexible elements. For example, the core text details the declared property, but the exact elements vary. In the case of P.Hels. I 10, the scribe only mentions the property type and its location. On other occasions, we can find an estimation of its revenue and the taxes to be paid. Before the mention of the property, it is also possible to record the reason for the declaration³⁰⁹. The core text is

³⁰⁸ On the basic formulary of declarations, cf. P.Hels. I 10-20, p. 69–71.

³⁰⁹ Cf. for examples of various occasions O.Stras. I 772, l. 7-8: κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν (*lege* ὑμῶν) πρόγραμμα; P.Hels. I 11, l. 5-6: κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν πρόσταγμα; 14, l. 5: κατὰ τὸν ἐκτεθέντα καιρὸν; 15, l. 8-9:

usually introduced by the verb ἀπογράφομαι, as in P.Hels. I 10³¹⁰; yet from time to time, other formulas are used³¹¹. The label ἀπογραφή, given to declarations in parallel with ὑπόμνημα³¹², is linked to this introductory formulary.

Unlike third-century BCE declarations, which could lack the request³¹³, second-century property declarations usually contain a final request of registration³¹⁴. This request of registration, and the verb used to express it, ἀξιῶ, are adopted from contemporary petitions³¹⁵. However, two exceptions use imperatives³¹⁶; this less polite formula, widespread in the third century but adopted only by one petition and one early and exceptional document in the second century, survived longer in declarations for some unknown reason³¹⁷.

κατ[ὰ τὸ] πρόγραμμα; SB XXII 15369, l. 9-10: κατὰ τὸ ἐκκεῖμενον πρόσταγμα. In the case of royal decrees, they may be interpreted either as the original decree asking for a yearly declaration or as a decree asking for an extraordinary, punctual declaration.

³¹⁰ ἀπογράφομαι: P.Hels. I 10; 11; 12; 15; 16; 19; P.Tebt. III.1 806; SB XXII 15369. P.Hels. I 13 and 20 present the formula ἀπογράφομαι καὶ συντιμῶμαι.

³¹¹ προσαγγέλλω: O.Stras. I 772; συντιμῶμαι: P.Hels. I 14; absolute genitive: SB XIV 11893. SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230, introduces its text with the aorist ὠικοδόμηκα; its irregular formulary can be linked to its early date.

³¹² Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.2, as well as AVOGADRO 1935, 131; BAETENS 2020a, 137.

³¹³ Requests are absent from mid-third-century non-hypomnematic declarations, cf. P.Frankf. 5; P.Hib. I 33; P.Köln VII 314; W.Chr. 198; 244, l. 1-4 (?). They are often absent under third-century hypomnematic declarations, cf. P.Petr. III 68 b (for whose exceptional formulary cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); UPZ I 116; W.Chr. 242 (the earliest preserved hypomnematic declarations, dated to 222 BCE). However, the majority of third-century hypomnematic declarations are incomplete: P.Heid. VII 390; SB XXVI 16417 (for whose exceptional formulary cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); W.Chr. 222. SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230, presents a request for registration. Requests are more common under notifications of performed declaration to the ἐπιμελητής: it is present under P.Heid. VII 392 and W.Chr. 224 a, and may be lost in lacuna in W.Chr. 224 b and SB XXIV 16063. W.Chr. 224 c is a possibly example of such a notification without any request, but the opening lines are lost.

³¹⁴ Requests of registration can be expressed with the formulas κατατάξαι ἐν χρηματισμῷ (P.Hels. I 10, 12, 20) or καταχωρίσαι ἐν χρηματισμῷ (P.Hels. I 11, 15, 19, SB XIV 11893, as well as SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230, and P.Hels. I 18, whose opening lines are lost but were probably hypomnematic). P.Hels. I 14 presents one of the two formulas (l. 15: κατ[ατάξαι] or κατ[αχωρίσαι]). The passive form καταταγῆναι is also attested (P.Tebt. III.1 806, on which cf. CLARYSSE 1975, 72–73 = BL 7.273; SB XXII 15369). P.Hels. I 13 has συγχωρήσαι ἐπὶ τούτοις. Only O.Stras. I 772 does not make any request.

³¹⁵ The oldest attestation of the request for registration are P.Enteux. 22, an *enteuxis* dated to 218 BCE, and P.KölnSarapion 1, a *hypomnema* dated to 190 BCE; in general, the inclusion of a final request is a consistent part of hypomnematic petitions since the third century BCE. On requests of registration in petitions, cf. KELLY 2016, 409–413; BAETENS 2020a, 125–126; 137, especially 125 n. 168. ἀξιῶ is used by P.Hels. I 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, SB XIV 11893 and XX 15369 (as well as SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230, and P.Hels. I 18, whose opening lines are lost but were probably hypomnematic). ἀξιῶ is not an obliged choice: for instance, second-century *enteuxeis* use δέομαι to introduce requests, and second-century petitions to lower officials can use the verbs προσαγγέλλω and ἐπιδίδωμι (on these petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”).

³¹⁶ P.Hels. I 13; P.Tebt. III.1 806 (on which cf. CLARYSSE 1975, 72–73 = BL 7.273).

³¹⁷ The other *hypomnemata* with vetitive verbs for requests in the second century BCE are P.Diosk. 5 (a petition) and P.Sijp. 45 (an exceptional document, on which cf. *infra*, chapter 3.2.3.5).

The presence of a request for registration contrasts with the fact that declarations are not spontaneous messages from the sender requesting something from his addressee but required documents that one had to submit. Although this may seem paradoxical, there is actually an expectation from the sender, i.e. that a physical written trace of his declaration is preserved so that he will not be accused of non-compliance with the royal order. This preservation is to be performed by the addressee, who thus must react to the declaration. The dynamic is thus analogous to that of petitions: the sender submits a *hypomnema* to an administration official and expects some action in return for his submission.

Declarations always close on a date, usually preceded by an εὐτύχει³¹⁸. Contrary to petitions, the date does not seem to be a discretionary addition but a compulsory part of the formulary³¹⁹; already in the third century, it was systematically present, although usually above the text instead of below³²⁰. Moreover, the year of validity of the declaration is often additionally mentioned in the main text³²¹.

Only one declaration preserves process notes by a second hand, P.Tebt. III.1 806: second or third-hand traces are present on this papyrus's upper and lower margins and back. They are almost entirely unreadable apart from a date but show that declarations could receive multiple dockets and possibly transmission notes.

Property Declarations: Summary

Property declarations are mandatory documents that had to be submitted upon request to the administration, indicating various possessed goods. They follow the standard materiality of *hypomnemata*, vertical sheet and bipartite layout, although they tend to be written on shorter papyrus sheets. Since all the preserved examples are early, they only occasionally highlight the mention of the addressee. The minimal formulary of declarations

³¹⁸ Date: P.Hels. I 13; εὐτύχει + date: P.Hels. I 10; 15; 19; P.Tebt. III.1 806; SB XIV 11893; nothing: O.Stras. I 772. The final lines are not preserved for P.Hels. I 11; 12; 14; 16; 20; SB XXII 15369, as well as for SB XXII 15213 (dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230). Cf. also P.Hels. I 17; 18, fragmentary texts that may have been hypomnematic declarations and that end with εὐτύχει + date.

³¹⁹ The only declaration which does not mention the year, neither at the bottom of the text nor in the main text, is O.Stras. I 772, which is exceptional in many ways and possibly a draft. However, a date is present in the title of the addressees: τοῖς ἐξιληφόμεναι τὴν ἐκτὴν τῶν ἀκροδρυῶν τοῦ περὶ Θη(βας) εἰς τὸ κβ (ἔτος).

³²⁰ Dated in the upper margin: P.Heid. VII 392; SB XXIV 16063; XXVI 16417 (on this piece, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); W.Chr. 222; 224 a; 224 b; 242. Dated in the lower margin: P.Petr. III 68 b (on this piece, cf. HAGEDORN 2003, 226–227; ARMONI 2012, 213–214); not dated: UPZ I 116 (Memphite); lacunary: P.Heid. VII 390; SB XXII 15213 (the latest of these declarations, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230).

³²¹ P.Hels. I 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 20; SB XIV 11893. O.Stras. I 772 mentions the month but not the year, which must be deduced from the title of the addressees. Cf. also SB XXII 15213, dated to either 203/202 or 179/178 BCE by ARMONI 2001a, 237 = BL 12.230.

is composed of the opening, the declaration itself usually centred on the verb ἀπογράφομαι, a request for registration, and a closing date often preceded by εὐτύχει. Like petitions, the declarant expected a reaction from the addressee but no answer. This expectation explains why request formulas, probably adopted from petitions, appear at the end of these compulsory and not spontaneous *hypomnemata*. Thus, although these texts differ from petitions, they share some overarching characteristics concerning materiality, formulas and overall expectations of the addressee.

3.2.3.3 Offers for Public Auctions and Connected Documents

Some *hypomnemata* are linked to the public auction of goods or concessions. When the state auctioned goods or concessions for specific functions, like beer sale, funerary activities or tax farming, an offer drawn up as a *hypomnema* could be submitted³²². During the second century, these offers are called either ὑπόμνημα or ὑπόστασις by professional scribes³²³. They launched complex administrative procedures that ended with the final attribution of the auctioned elements³²⁴. Another type of hypomnematic document could be involved in the process: requests made by the bidder to accept the proposed sureties by a third party³²⁵.

Geographical and Chronological Distribution

These documents are rare and usually in bad condition. Including both offers and requests to accept sureties connected to the auction process, fewer than ten *hypomnemata* are preserved, all from the second century BCE³²⁶. A couple more were copied in longer texts called *diagraphai*: bank documents that authorised payments at the end of the auction procedure. Such is the case of the offers UPZ II 218, l. 29-36 and UPZ II 224, col. iii, l. 7-17³²⁷; in one additional case, P.Lond. VII 2188, l. 284-304, such a *diagraphé* containing

³²² On Ptolemaic public state auctions of abandoned property, tax farming rights, and monopolies, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.3, as well as MANNING 2003, 160–161; ARMONI 2012, 106–171; P.Tarich. 10, p. 94–95; JAKAB 2013, 221–232; JAKAB 2014. On the Demotic evidence, cf. HOGAN 2019.

³²³ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.3.3, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 138.

³²⁴ On these procedures, which varied according to the type of auctioned goods, cf. ARMONI 2012, 106–171.

³²⁵ Guarantors were needed in case the gain for the administration was not immediate, e.g. for the auction of tax farming rights. On guarantors, cf. ARMONI 2012, 144–147; 164–165.

³²⁶ P.Köln XVII 657; P.Mich. XVIII 777; P.Oxyrhyncha 15; P.Tarich. 10; UPZ II 222, and the requests P.Hels. I 36; 37. Moreover, P.Tebt. III.1 812 should be considered in this context: it is not an offer for the public auction of tax farming rights, but it is an offer for apprenticeship addressed to the tax farmers in charge: the type of the offer for public auction was adopted for a similar scope. In the case of UPZ II 222, although only the offer is preserved, one cannot exclude that it was part of a longer *diagraphé*, a type of document that often embedded hypomnematic offers.

³²⁷ Other bank *diagraphai*, UPZ II 219–221, 223, probably contained at the origin a hypomnematic offer; these offers are either too badly preserved to be sure of their typology (UPZ II 220) or simply not preserved (UPZ II 219, 221 and 223). On these *diagraphai*, cf. TM Arch 205.

a hypomnematic offer was further embedded in the acts of a process. These documents come from the Arsinoite and the Herakleopolite nomes and the region of Thebes³²⁸; the chronological distribution is irregular: preserved *hypomnemata* mostly date from the beginning of the second century BCE³²⁹, the two requests to accept sureties are from about 159 BCE³³⁰, the embedded pieces from the third quarter of the second century BCE³³¹, and no such document is preserved from the first century BCE. It is hard to understand how scribes prepared such documents because of their rarity, irregular distribution and bad preservation conditions.

Materiality

The materiality of these texts, especially of offers, is hard to assess: most preserved pieces are not usable³³². Concerning offers, only P.Oxyrhyncha 15 is fully preserved, and P.Köln XVII 657 is partially preserved; both present an irregular text³³³. Materially, they are drawn up as contemporary *hypomnemata*: they are composed as one column of text on a vertical sheet of papyrus, written along the direction of fibres, and highlight the closing εὐτόχει; P.Oxyrhyncha 15 also slightly highlights the opening addressee³³⁴.

Although one may doubt the general validity of this description because of the irregularity of the formulas of P.Köln XVII 657 and P.Oxyrhyncha 15, other papyri seem to confirm it. First, P.Tebt. III.1 812 (an offer concerning an apprenticeship addressed to tax farmers and mimicking the formulary of offers for public auction) is also written along the fibres on a vertical sheet suggesting that offers were drawn up on such papyrus sheets³³⁵. Second, this

³²⁸ Arsinoite: P.Mich. XVIII 777; P.Oxyrhyncha 15; P.Tarich. 10. Herakleopolite: P.Köln XVII 657, as well as the requests to accept sureties P.Hels. I 36; 37 and the special case P.Tebt. III.1 812. Thebaid: UPZ II 222, as well as the embedded P.Lond. VII 2188, l. 284-304; UPZ II 218, l. 29-36; 224, col. iii, l. 7-17.

³²⁹ P.Köln XVII 657 (161 BCE?); P.Mich. XVIII 777 (193 BCE); P.Tarich. 10 (shortly before 24/04/184 BCE, cf. BAETENS 2022, 292); as well as the special P.Tebt. III.1 812 (192/191 BCE). P.Oxyrhyncha 15 dates to 150-141 BCE, and UPZ II 222 to about 131/130 BCE.

³³⁰ P.Hels. I 36 and 37.

³³¹ P.Lond. VII 2188 (after 12/03/148 BCE); UPZ II 218 (131/130 BCE); 224 (131 BCE).

³³² P.Mich. XVIII 777 and P.Tarich. 10 are either drafts or personal copies, written on the back of other documents. There is no available image of UPZ II 222. P.Tebt. III.1 812 is not a regular offer for public auctions. The *hypomnemata* embedded in P.Lond. VII 2188, UPZ II 218 and 224 cannot be used to study the original layout and format of those texts.

³³³ P.Oxyrhyncha 15 uses the verb προσαγγέλλω instead of the usual ὑφίσταμαι, and P.Köln XVII 657 possibly mentions a cheating and may thus be influenced by petitions, e.g. in the presence of a request to investigate.

³³⁴ There is a conspicuous blank between l. 1 (Πετροσίρει κωμογραμματεῖ) and l. 2 (Ὁξυρύγχων παρὰ Σαμῶτος τοῦ) and a larger space before the παρὰ at l. 2, which can be interpreted as a highlighting of the mention of the addressee.

³³⁵ This text of 192/191 BCE also presents a blank followed by a change of line after the mention of the addressee, which may be the effect of the general unalignment of the text on the right margin of the column, or a very early conscious separation of the opening formula into two parts.

same document and the draft of a public offer P.Tarich. 10 present a closing formula in *eisthesis* pointing to the existence of this same feature on hypomnematic offers for public auctions.

The two preserved requests to accept sureties, P.Hels. I 36 and 37, are also drawn up as standard *hypomnemata*, with one column of text written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus. They even highlight the mention of the addressee in the opening formula. Their bottom is not preserved, so it is impossible to know whether there was a closing formula in *eisthesis*.

Formulary

The same problems occur when one tries to assess the standard formulary of such documents: too few standard documents are preserved in their totality. A few common points can be observed among the heavily fragmentary and reconstructed texts of offers³³⁶. The only entirely preserved text, the draft of a bid for the auction of a beer-sale concession, represents them well³³⁷:

P.Mich. XVIII 777:

Πυθίω[ν]ι οἰκονόμῳ παρὰ Πτο-
λεμ[α]ί[ου] τοῦ καὶ Πετεμίνιο[ς]
καλ[ουμέ]νου· ὑφίσταμαι [κα-]
τατάξ[ε]σθαι τὸ ἐμ Μούχει
5 \εἰς τὸ ιγ (ἔτος)/
ζυπώλιον ἀπὸ Τῦβι λ' ἕως
μηνῶν ὀκτώ, (τάλαντα) η. ἐγγύους
δὲ καταστήσω μονῆς τε
καὶ ἐκτείσεως κατὰ τὸ διά-
10 γραμμα.

To Pythion, *oikonomos*, from Ptolemaios, also called Peteminis. I commit to pay 8 talents for beer sales in Mouchis for the 13th year, for eight months from Tybi 30. I will appoint sureties of presence and of payment, according to the decree³³⁸.

³³⁶ Cf. also BAETENS 2020a, 138.

³³⁷ Regularisation: l. 6: ζυπώλιον, *lege* ζυτοπώλιον.

³³⁸ Translation P.Mich. XVIII 777, p. 147 modified.

Many features of this document reflect the typical characteristics of offers. The texts open with a hypomnematic formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος³³⁹. In the main text, the verb ὑφίσταμαι often appears³⁴⁰, the offered price is always there³⁴¹, and sometimes more details are added. An explicit request is sometimes present, but it is not compulsory³⁴². There seems to be no standard closing formula, but this can also derive from the state of the documentation: the final clause can be omitted when a document is embedded in another text or is simply a draft or a personal copy³⁴³.

Concerning requests to accept sureties, only two pieces from the same archive and the same year are preserved, P.Hels. I 36 and 37. They start with a hypomnematic opening formula followed by a bipartite main text with a narrative preamble and a request to accept the surety; the final lines are lost. One cannot estimate whether they are representative of the whole considered period.

Subscriptions and Process Notes by a Second Hand

No subscription under bids for auctions is preserved. P.Tarich. 10 presents a few poorly preserved lines in a second hand at the bottom of the text, but the link with the main text, a draft styled on the back of another, older text, is not clear: this note may just be a repetition of a part of the text, a correction, or even concern the text on the other side³⁴⁴. Likewise, the function of the text preserved on the back of P.Köln XVII 657 and written in a second hand is unclear: it may be a summary of the content of the offer on the front, but this is not certain according to the editor.

³³⁹ Such a formula probably hides behind the π preserved at col. ii, l. 2 of UPZ II 220.

³⁴⁰ The verb is preserved in P.Köln XVII 657; P.Mich. XVIII 777; P.Tarich. 10; UPZ II 224, as well as in the presumably hypomnematic offer UPZ II 220 and in the private offer mimicking public ones P.Tebt. III.1 812. P.Oxyrhyncha 15 has προσαγγέλλω instead. The case of P.Köln XVII 657 is exceptional, because ὑφίσταμαι is not the main verb of the text, but is only present in a relative clause – the main verb is ἀξιῶ, possibly influenced by the fact that some sort of fraud is suspected in the auction and that thus the situation is exceptional and could demand a petition.

³⁴¹ No price is mentioned by P.Oxyrhyncha 15, although it may hide in the lacuna at l. 10-11.

³⁴² The verb ἀξιῶ is present in P.Köln XVII 657 and P.Oxyrhyncha 15, as well as in one offer embedded in a Theban *diapraphe*, UPZ II 218, l. 35 and in the probably hypomnematic offer embedded in another Theban *diapraphe*, UPZ II 220, col. ii, l. 7. The actual request is partially preserved only in P.Köln XVII 657: the bidder asks to make some preliminary investigations (probably because another bidder is cheating), but the final line is lost. In this case, the presence of a suspected fraud may explain why the offer contains a request: frauds are usually reported through petitions, and this text may serve both as an offer and a petition. Indeed, its formulary is irregular: ὑφίσταμαι is not the main verb, but is used in a relative clause; the request is more central to the text.

³⁴³ P.Oxyrhyncha 15 and possibly P.Köln XVII 657 end with an εὐτόχει; the personal copies P.Mich. XVIII 777 and P.Tarich. 10 end respectively with nothing and with an εὐτόχει; the mimicking private offer P.Tebt. III.1 812 ends probably with a date; the embedded UPZ II 224 ends with a date. The final lines of the other offers are not preserved.

³⁴⁴ For P.Tarich. 10 as a draft, cf. ARMONI 2013, 1; 98; VIERROS 2015, especially n. 4.

Nevertheless, the embedded documents can help elucidate the type of answer such offers could receive. Indeed, some offers are part of bank *diagraphai*: long documents containing multiple copies of individual texts that preserve the whole administrative chain from the offer to the actual authorisation of payment of the offered sum to the royal bank. In these cases, the addressee transferred the offer to other officials charged with the verification of the actual value of the immovable³⁴⁵. These transfer notes resembled the answers received by petitions: they were short notes addressed directly to the forwarded official giving him instructions on how to handle the matter. Thus, subscriptions or other forms of transmission notes must have existed.

The only preserved process note by a second hand on a request to accept sureties closely resembles the internal notes added to petitions. As in some petitions, so on the upper margin of P.Hels. I 36 someone in the office of the addressee noted the date on which the document was received (l. 1: ἐλ(ήφθη) (ἔτους) κγ Θῶνθ ιδ). This note is identical to that in the upper margin of the petition P.Tebt. I 40 (l. 1: ἐλ(ήφθη) ἔτους γγ Τῶβι ιε)³⁴⁶, and shows that the handling of various types of *hypomnemata* could be very similar.

Offers for Public Auctions and Connected Documents: Summary

Although the procedure of public auctions required various hypomnematic documents, such as offers or requests for sureties, these documents are sparse and in a poor state of preservation. Nevertheless, some shared characteristics with other *hypomnemata* are visible: the materiality is, as far as it can be ascertained, consistent with that of other *hypomnemata*; the text has at least the opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος and the main sentence; reactions to these documents seem to be in the form of subscriptions. In the case of offers, requests are not always explicitly stated; however, it is clear that the sender expected a reaction from the addressee, ideally the acceptance of the offer. Thus, these documents adhere to the shared characteristics already identified for petitions and property declarations.

3.2.3.4 Other Administrative Functions of the Hypomnemata

When individuals had to elicit a reaction from the administration, they submitted *hypomnemata*. Petitions, declarations and offers are the most common cases, but some

³⁴⁵ Cf. P.Lond. VII 2188, l. 305-309; UPZ II 218, col. ii, l. 9-10; 220, col. ii, l. 18; 221, col. ii, l. 12-13. Cf. ARMONI 2012, 121.

³⁴⁶ On the superposition of various notes on P.Tebt. I 40, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand” with Fig. 3.29.

isolated pieces reveal that documents addressed from private individuals to the administration were more generally drawn up as *hypomnemata*.

At the end of the third century BCE, two *hypomnemata* contained applications for enrolment in the police³⁴⁷. This procedure is also attested in one later document from the Arsinoite nome, SB XIV 11860, dated to the twenty-fourth year of a sovereign of the second or first century BCE³⁴⁸. No image is available to study the layout of this document. According to the description made by the editor, this text is written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus: such a format marks an evolution from the third-century enrolment applications, which were written *transversa charta*; indeed, *transversa charta hypomnemata* have disappeared by the second century BCE. The formulary of this short note is akin to that of property declarations: the main sentence is introduced by the verb ἀπογράφομαι and mentions a πρόγραμμα that occasioned the application; the text ends with an εὐτύχει possibly followed by a date³⁴⁹. This formulary, but for the addition of the εὐτύχει, was already established in third-century applications. However, unlike the third-century applications to enrol in the police and the usual practice of second-century declarations, there is no explicit request at the end of this document. A summary of the issue closes the text; it resembles a secondary docket but is, according to the editor, by the same hand as the main text. Such applications are also attested in three Demotic *mkmk* only vaguely dated to the mid-Ptolemaic period, P.Loeb 40, 53 and 60³⁵⁰.

In a document dated 186 BCE, P.Heid. VIII 412, the hypomnematic type of written communication was adopted for a rare text: the communication by a soldier to a tribunal that he was willing to reopen a process for non-repayment of a debt dismissed for his non-appearance at the trial³⁵¹. The submitter presents two witnesses for the summons of the opponent. The main text is written as a single block on a vertical strip of papyrus, as was typical for the beginning of the second century BCE. Only the final lines present a finer structuration, with a date highlighted at the bottom right corner and a second block of text including the signatures of the two witnesses. The beginning of each signature is

³⁴⁷ P.Genova III 101; 102. Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.1.1. On this procedure, cf. BAUSCHATZ 2013, 73–74; 297–298.

³⁴⁸ The four possibilities are the years 182/181 (24th of Ptolemy V), 158/157 (24th of Ptolemy VI), 91/90 (24th of Ptolemy X) and 7/6 (24th of the emperor Augustus). The year 58/57 BCE (24th of Ptolemy XII) can be excluded because at this moment the throne was occupied by his daughter Berenice IV, who had exiled her father (cf. BENNETT – DEPAUW 2007, 214).

³⁴⁹ The date may belong either to the main text or to the subscription, but without a published image of the text it is impossible to decide which of the two options is the right one.

³⁵⁰ On these documents, cf. ZAUZICH 1972, 151; DEPAUW 2006, 324–325; BAETENS 2020a, 168.

³⁵¹ On this kind of procedure, called ἀναδικία, cf. P.Heid. VIII 412, p. 11–18.

highlighted by a slight *ekthesis* so that the two are easily distinguishable. The main text opens with a hypomnematic formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, without any particular layout feature. There follows one single long sentence, indicating the point of contention, the opponent and the witnesses, and centred on the verb ἀναδικῶ, “I appeal for rehearing of a case”³⁵². Although the request to reopen the process is evident, there is no ἀξιῶ formula. Indeed, a date immediately follows the main sentence without any request or εὐτύχει³⁵³. Afterwards, the signatures of the witnesses are recorded. This document has no parallel³⁵⁴, but it shows that the *hypomnema* could be conveniently adopted and adapted for other functions in the communication between individuals and the administrative apparatus.

Some texts relate to the distinctive category of cleruchic land and the procedure for transferring it to another owner. In fact, under the Ptolemies, the sovereigns granted their soldiers some plots of agricultural land as a form of rent. These plots, known in the scholarship as cleruchic land, were supposed to revert to the sovereigns at the soldier’s death to be attributed to new recipients. With time, the system evolved, and cleruchic land became transmissible, inheritable and even saleable. Practically, it was a particular type of private land, yet the administration kept a form of control on the transfer of land: every change of possessor of a plot of cleruchic land had to officially register the cession of property and pay a tax on the procedure³⁵⁵. This registration happened through specific requests addressed to the administration, notably to the ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχισμοῖς, none of which are preserved³⁵⁶. In some cases, the procedure did not run smoothly and additional special requests had to be submitted to settle the problem: these extraordinary requests were drawn up as hypomnematic petitions³⁵⁷.

Although no request for change of registration of cleruchic land is preserved, we have one parallel text that hints at how they were drawn up: P.land. VII 134 (Arsinoite, 83 BCE), a

³⁵² *LSJ*, s.v. ἀναδικέω.

³⁵³ It seems less likely that the εὐτύχει was lost in the small hole before the date; cf. P.Heid. VIII 412, p. 40–41.

³⁵⁴ Cf. P.Heid. VIII 412, p. 16; BAETENS 2020a, 139. I did not find any additional example of this procedure.

³⁵⁵ Cf. YIFTACH 2015, 135–136; SCHUBERT 2019. More generally on the institution of soldiers called κάτοκοι to whom plots of land were allotted, cf. SCHEUBLE-REITER 2012; FISCHER-BOVET 2014, 199–237.

³⁵⁶ SCHUBERT 2019, 289–291, noticed that the request is called ὑπόμνημα in the contract P.Oxy. XLIX 3482, l. 5 (Oxyrynchite, 73 BCE) and therefore supposed that such requests were hypomnematic; without a preserved document, this must remain a hypothesis, because of the polysemy of the word ὑπόμνημα.

³⁵⁷ SB XVI 12720 (on which text cf. the notes by KALTSAS 2009, 189 n. 11; ARMONI 2012, 190–191 n. 62–64); P.Tebt. I 30, l. 15–21; 31, l. 16–22. On these documents, cf. SCHUBERT 2019, 292–293; BAETENS 2020a, 127; MIRIZIO 2021, 315–325; 362–365. *Contra* for P.Tebt. I 30 and 31 SCHEUBLE-REITER 2012, 222 n. 432 that considers P.Tebt. I 30, l. 15–21 and 31, l. 16–22 as the first submitted requests to change the registration of the land.

request to change the registration of a plot of royal land sent to the village scribe³⁵⁸. It adheres to the typology of petitions, with opening, narration, request introduced by ἀξιῶ, and final εὐτύχει in *eisthesis*. However, it has some particularities: the sheet is noticeably smaller, the layout is archaic, without the *paragraphos* and the highlight of the addressee³⁵⁹, and there is a date after the εὐτύχει, unlike petitions and similar to property declarations. A large cross covers the main text: according to the editor, it is an office mark by the addressee³⁶⁰. The change of registration of a plot of royal land was likely subject to a procedure like that of cleruchic land, although in this case, it did not concern the military administration. Thus, the requests probably looked quite similar, although they were addressed to different officials.

Finally, the exceptional case of P.Mert. II 59 deserves mention. It contains a pre-settled agreement between two parties addressed to the χρηματισταί judges. It dates to either 154 or 143 BCE and comes from Krokodilopolis, the capital of the Arsinoite nome. The two senders, Asklaon and his wife Antigone with her guardian Alketas, were involved in a process in front of the χρηματισταί probably concerning their divorce. Before beginning the process, they made an agreement, wrote it as a *hypomnema* and submitted it to the judges asking them to accept it. Their acceptance, recorded in various additions above and below the text, turned the submitted agreement into the binding solution of the case.

The text is written in a single column along the direction of the fibres in the roll's interior side. The disposition is that of a *pagina* column of text, yet the single column is so wide that the document is in the end wider than it is high (Fig. 3.33). The scribe left much space above and below the text to accommodate the subsequent additions by the χρηματισταί office. The original document is thus written horizontally in the middle of the sheet. A *paragraphos* marks its end. There are no additional layout devices in the preserved parts of the text.

³⁵⁸ PSI XIII 1316 (Egypt, 125 BCE) and P.Tebt. III.1 808 (Arsinoite, 151 or 140 BCE), only fragmentarily preserved, are probably other such requests. On royal land in the Ptolemaic Fayyum, cf. MONSON 2012a, 144–149 (especially 147–148 for transfers of royal land between tenants); MONSON 2012b, 12–22 (especially 17 for land transfers).

³⁵⁹ The document was dated palaeographically to the first century BCE by its editor, especially because of the shape of the ε, cf. P.Iand. VII 134, p. 263. At this time, the mention of the addressee is usually highlighted and a *paragraphos* is usually added at the end of the main text, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2. A parallel for a first-century BCE *hypomnema* without highlight of the addressee is P.Tebt. I 54 (Arsinoite, 86 BCE).

³⁶⁰ P.Iand. VII 134, p. 264.

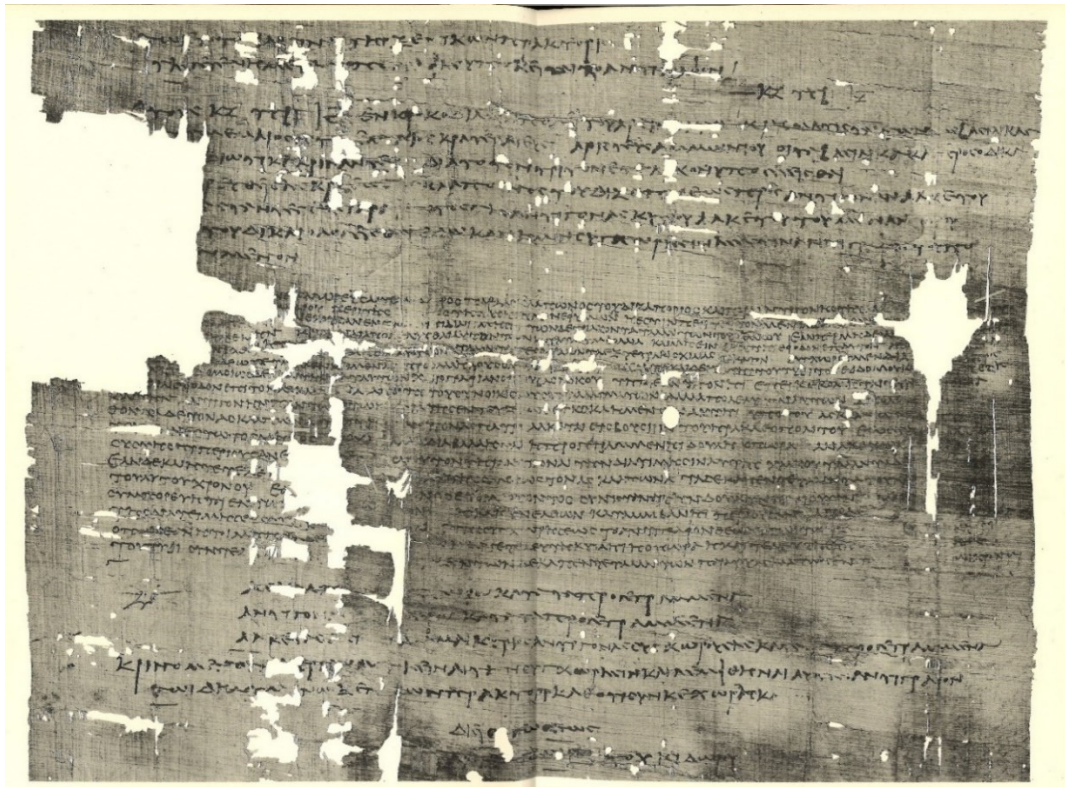


Fig. 3.33: P.Mert. II 59.

The text is long and contains many clauses. It opens with a hypomnematic formula, l. 11-12:

[τοῖς χρηματιστῶν]αῖς, [ὧν] εἰ[ς]αγωγεὺς Ἀρτεμίδωρος, παρὰ Ἀσκλάπωνος τοῦ Διζαπόριος καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιγόνης τῆς Ἀλκέτο[υ μετὰ κυρ]ίου τοῦ | [Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Μεν]άνδρου

To the *chrematists*, whose president is Artemidoros, from Asklapon son of Dizaporis and from Antigone daughter of Alketas with her guardian Alketas son of Menandros.

This opening contains a variation compared to the standard *hypomnemata*: it has a double mention of the sender: παρὰ τοῦ δέινος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δέινος³⁶¹. This specificity is linked to the processual nature of the document: the disputing parties had to be as clearly distinguished in the text as they were in the trial.

Afterwards, some subordinate clauses summarise the trial's context and the content of the agreed solution. The body of the text centres around the verb συγχωροῦμεν (l. 15), “we

³⁶¹ Cf. LEWALD 1909, 87–89.

assent” or “we agree”, and lists all the settlement conditions and the agreement details. There is no request nor closing formula whatsoever.

Second-hand annotations surround this first block of text; the scribe willingly left the space for them. First, in the bottom left corner, a sort of monogram was added, which the editor interpreted as a ἀνέ(γνωσται) (l. 29). Then, one single hand added below the text the parties’ signatures and the judges’ decision to make the agreement valid and above the text the date and the summary of the matter. In the end, this same hand added above everything a transmission docket addressed to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν, to whom the judges forwarded the decision. Although one single hand wrote all these notes, they are easy to distinguish thanks to the complex layout adopted, in which indentations and *paragraphoi* separate each part of the subscription.

In this case, the fact that the judges had to receive and approve the agreement probably dictated the choice of the hypomnematic type of document. However, only the opening remains from the general features of the type: the format, layout and formulary of this document are very specific.

Thus, the *hypomnema* could be generically used for communication with the administration. According to the content, the scribes adapted the formulas, and in the case of P.Mert. II 59, even the materiality, to the various specific situations. Nevertheless, all the mentioned examples share their opening formula and the fact that one or more individuals addressed them to the administration. The most striking feature of many of these documents is the absence of an explicitly mentioned request, yet they all aimed for a reaction by the administration: to be enrolled in the police, to have one’s process reopened, the cession of land registered, or the agreement approved. The request is implicit in the content, although omitted.

The majority of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* from the second and first centuries thus had a shared function: they were messages sent by one or more individuals to the administration to elicit a reaction. This reaction could be explicitly requested or simply implicit in the content of the message.

3.2.3.5 *Exceptional Functions*

A handful of documents drawn up as *hypomnemata* are not addressed by individuals to the administration to obtain something and, therefore, cannot be considered administrative *hypomnemata*. First, the hypomnematic documents could be adopted for correspondence

internal to the administration. P.Tebt. III.1 741, dated 187/186 BCE, is the last example of a type of hypomnematic document that was more current in the third century BCE: reports. In this case, a σιτολόγος reports to an ἐπιμελητής about some problems concerning a debt and about a document sent to the διοικητής, called ὑπόμνημα in the text. Except for this case, such informal reports drawn up as *hypomnemata* disappeared in the second and first centuries BCE³⁶².

Apart from the fossil of the third century P.Tebt. III.1 741, internal administrative correspondence drawn up as *hypomnemata* can mainly be explained in terms of interferences. Some elements in these documents made them akin to hypomnematic documents like petitions or declarations; this fact probably pushed the scribe to adopt the hypomnematic type of written communication for the text he was writing instead of the more usual letter.

Such is the case of P.Sijp. 45: a *hypomnema* sent to a διοικητής by a πράκτωρ ξενικῶν named Pyrros is appended to a letter by the same διοικητής to some undetermined ἀγορανόμοι. This *hypomnema*, dated to 197 BCE, is occasioned by an exceptional situation: because of the unrest in upper Egypt, king Ptolemy V had issued a decree asking all those who had enslaved Egyptian people to declare them and to pay a sale fee to the royal bank in order for their acquisition to be recognised. A woman, Thaybastis, thus declared her newly acquired enslaved girl, Thasion, to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν Pyrros and paid the royal bank the necessary fee. Pyrros then wrote the following message to the διοικητής Athenodoros, asking for the registration of the procedure:

P.Sijp. 45, l. 6-32³⁶³:

Ἀθηνοδώρῳ διοικητῇ παρὰ Πύρρου.

ἀπογέγραπται κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν πρόσταγμα

(ἔτους) η Φαῶφι β περὶ τῶν ἐχόντων σώματα

Αἰγύπ[τι]α ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταραχῆς

10 Θαυβάστις Σωκράτου Σύρα μετὰ κυρίου

Ἀπολ[λ]ωνίου τῶν Ἀνθεμίδου Κρητὸς,

³⁶² One document can be a contemporary business note composed as a *hypomnema*: P.Tebt. III.1 725; yet many problems arise: the opening is only badly preserved, and the editors hesitate concerning both its date (they date it palaeographically to the beginning of the second century BCE, but notice that the content of l. 14 and the possible mention of the architect Theodoros point to a date in the third century BCE) and its content (they are unsure whether it is a report or a petition).

³⁶³ Regularisations: col. i, l. 7: ἀπογέγραπται, *lege* ἀπογέγραπται; col. ii, l. 26: μέσω μελίχρω, *lege* μέσου μελίχρου; l. 30: μελάγχρω, *lege* μελάγχρου.

- ὑπηρεῖτου θωρακιτῶν ἐπιλέκτων
 Θάσιον] ὥς ἐτῶν ιη ὃ ἔφη εἶναι
 Αἰγύπτιον· καὶ τὴν καταβολὴν
- 15 πεποιήται Θαυβάστις ἐπὶ τὴν [[Σύρρου]]
 [Φι]λίππου τράπεζαν εἰς τὸν τοῦ
 βασιλέω[ς λό]γον (ἔτους) η Ξανδικοῦ ιε
 χαλκοῦ (δραχμῶν) φ καὶ καταλλαγὴν
 [(δραχμῶν)] νβ (τετρώβολον) καὶ τὸ γενόμενον τέλος {τῇ}
- 20 τῶν ἀνδραπόδων [[ὦνήι]] χαλκοῦ ρι (πεντωβόλου)
 [. . .] . . . ας. ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, σύνταξον
κ[α]ταγράψαι τὴν ὦνὴν τῇ Θαυβάστει
 [οὔ]σσι ὥς ἐτῶν λ βραχεῖαι μελίχρῳι
 [σ]τρογγυλοπροσ[ώπω]ι οὐλὴ μήλωι δεξιῷ[ι]
- 25 [μ]ετὰ κυρίου Ἀ[π]ο[λλ]ωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 col. ii ὥς ἐτῶν μ μέσω μελίχρῳ
 ἀναφαλάντου
 ὧτα ἀφεστηκότα οὐλὴ μετώπῳι
 ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἀγυῖας Ἀρσινόης Εὐεργέ-
 τιδος, Θασίου ἐτῶν ιη βραχείας
- 30 μελάγχρῳ στρογγυλοπροσώπου
 οὐλαὶ πλείους εὐσήμου ὦνῃ·
(ἔτους) η Ἀθὺρ κς Δαισίου δ.

To Athenodoros, the *dioiketes*, from Pyrrhos. It has been registered, according to the decree posted on year 8, Phaophi 2, in relation to everybody who owns Egyptian slaves originating from the rebellion in the country, Thaybastis daughter of Sokrates, Syrian with Apollonios as her guardian, one of the people of Anthemides, Cretan, *hyperetes* of the elite armoured forces, Thasion, approximately 18 years old, of whom she says that she is an Egyptian. And Thaybastis has made the payment at the bank of Philippos into the account of the king in year 8, Xandikos 15, in copper 500 drachmas and an agio [drachmas] 52 and 4 obols and the resulting tax on slaves in copper 110 <drachmas> and 5 (obols) [...]. If it seems you right, order to register the deed of purchase to Thaybastis, approximately 30 years old, short, with honey-

coloured complexion, round-faced with a scar on the right cheek, with her guardian Apollonios son of Apollonios approximately 40 years old, of medium size, of honey-coloured complexion, balding head, with protruding ears, scar on the left forehead, from the street of Arsinoe Euergetis, purchase of Thasion, approximately 18 years old, short, of dark hair with a round face, many scars, easily recognisable. Year 8, Hathyr 26, Daisios 4³⁶⁴.

Pyrros' document is exceptional. It starts with a hypomnematic heading τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (l. 6). The following main sentence adopts the formulary of hypomnematic declarations but turns it into an objective statement: ἀπογέγραπται κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν πρόσταγμα (ἔτους) η Φαῶφι β (...) Θαυβάστις (l. 7-10). Then follows another objective statement linked to the exceptional case of this decree: καὶ τὴν καταβολὴν πεποιήται Θαυβάστις (l. 14-15). There follows a request, which is not expressed by the more usual ἄξιῳ but with an imperative: ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, σύνταξον κ[α]ταγράψαι (l. 21-22). This formulary echoes that of older, mid-third-century *hypomnemata* and may be explained by the very early date of this document (197 BCE) and by its exceptional nature: it is not sent by an individual to the administration but is a kind of internal communication. The text closes with a date (l. 32).

Three factors may concur in explaining this case. First, this one-time procedure was occasioned by Egypt's internal political situation and was therefore exceptional in nature. Second, the document has an early date, and at the end of the third century, the *hypomnema* was still acquiring its specific administrative function, and some oscillations are still attested. Third, the procedure implied the idea of a declaration, a procedure that, since the 220s, required that the declaring person submitted a *hypomnema*. This link between declarations and *hypomnemata* may have influenced Pyrros' choice to write his document in a form that is akin to property declarations, with a hypomnematic opening, one main sentence centred on the verb ἀπογράφομαι, a closing request and a final date. This unique document remains an exception in the general typology of Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*.

Another interference is probably behind the specific case of P.Stras. VII 624 (Hermopolite, after 145 BCE³⁶⁵). It is a cover letter through which a βιβλιοφύλαξ transmits to a βασιλικὸς

³⁶⁴ Translation Michigan APIS 3035, last modified the 10/02/2022, CC 3.0 BY-NC, modified. Cf. also the translation in P.Sijp. 45, p. 312–313.

³⁶⁵ On its date, cf. OATES 1995, 16.

γραμματεὺς the copy of a ὑπόμνημα (l. 2), possibly a petition, that he has previously submitted to the στρατηγός. The cover letter, which probably contained some request, is drawn up as a *hypomnema*. We are thus again dealing with some internal correspondence whose typology was probably influenced by that of the transmitted document.

Generally, when the sender of a petition was an official in the administration, the lines between a petition and an administrative letter can be fuzzy. Most cases are typical petitions, like UPZ I 124 or P.Diosk. 4, but a couple of poorly preserved documents are not. SB XXVIII 16851 (Lykopolite, 154 or 143 BCE) is a hypomnematic text whose final lines are lost. Demetrios, ἀντιγραφόμενος τὴν ἀλικὴν τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου, is writing to the ἐπιμελητής Ptolemaios about a discovery he has made during a summons procedure: that some salt workers were acting illegally. Such a text may be either a petition if it originally included a request or a report on the facts if it did not; since the final lines with the possible request are missing, it is impossible to classify the document. Another example is BGU VIII 1783. According to its editor, it is an internal administrative communication that took the form of a petition; yet it is not certain that the writer of the petition is an ἀντιγραφεὺς, and so the exact status of this document must remain undetermined.

Another example of internal administrative correspondence exceptionally drawn up as a *hypomnema* is BGU XX 2840 (Herakleopolite, 200 or 176 BCE), a chain letter concerning the loan payment to some soldiers. A request by the military administration to proceed with the payment generated the administrative procedure, including verifying the figures and approving the payment³⁶⁶. This request was copied in the following documents and is partially preserved at l. 19-29; it was drawn up as a *hypomnema*. Usually, such requests were composed in the form of orders for payment, a specific letter type, as in the cases of P.Stras. II 103, l. 13-20 (Herakleopolite, 210 BCE) and UPZ II 206, l. 13-19 (Thebes, 130 BCE)³⁶⁷. However, as the editor pointed out³⁶⁸, in the case of BGU XX 2840, the writer starts by listing the amounts paid in the previous months, and the final figures do not seem to correspond to the average wage of soldiers. Moreover, the text is drawn up as a *hypomnema*, not a letter. It is thus possible that the amounts requested by the military administration were exceptional and that the scribe justified them through the earlier wages. If this is the case, then the exceptional nature of this request may explain why it was

³⁶⁶ On the details of the communication between officials in this document, cf. MIRIZIO 2021, 332–333.

³⁶⁷ On the general procedure of payment to soldiers, cf. ARMONI 2009; ARMONI 2012, 71–74.

³⁶⁸ BGU XX 2840, p. 6.

composed as a *hypomnema*, the type of document usually used for petitions and exceptional requests addressed by an individual to the administration³⁶⁹.

A later document that raises a similar difficulty is BGU XVIII.1 2747 (Herakleopolite, 86 BCE), another cascade document concerning payments for soldiers generated by an order for payment exceptionally drawn up as a *hypomnema* (preserved at l. 23-30). In this case, we cannot be sure that the situation was exceptional. Certainly, the editor mentioned two elements that may suggest extraordinary circumstances: first, the figures seem high compared to the standard payments; second, the payments may be linked to movements of garrisons connected with the rebellion of 90-88 BCE³⁷⁰. However, this does not imply that the request was exceptional, and it remains unknown why the scribe adopted this abnormal type of document instead of the more current epistolary order for payment.

A final exceptional case in the administration is P.Berl.Zill. 1, l. 64-78 (Herakleopolite, 155 BCE). It is so fragmentarily preserved that the content is mostly lost. The editor tentatively reconstructed only the first two lines as a hypomnematic opening formula addressed to the sovereigns: βασιλ[εῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι] παρὰ [Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ στρατηγοῦ] (l. 64-65)³⁷¹. He based the reconstruction of such a unique prescript (there is no other preserved Egyptian *hypomnema* addressed to the sovereigns) on the preceding lines, where the text mentions a εἰσδόςσεως τῷ βα[σι]λεῖ καὶ τῇ βασιλίσσηι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀρχ[ισωματοφυλάκ]ων [καὶ] στρατηγοῦ (l. 57-58)³⁷². If the reconstruction of the editor is correct, it would thus be the only *hypomnema* addressed to the sovereigns for the period taken into consideration, and its content may be an internal administrative communication (εἰσδόςσεως, the reading of which could not be checked lacking an image). However, the document is so lacunary that the proposition cannot be confirmed.

Interference is not only present in administrative correspondence but also in business and private. For instance, in P.Tebt. III.1 812 (Arsinoite, 192-191 BCE), a man called Apollonios writes to the local tax farmers offering a certain amount of drachmas in

³⁶⁹ In other cases, soldiers that had problems with being paid addressed petitions to the administration, cf. ARMONI 2009, 16–17; ARMONI 2012, 71 n. 131; 80.

³⁷⁰ BGU XVIII.1 2747, p. 86; 89; SARISCHOU LI 2000, 28–30, but cf. the doubts of ARMONI 2001c; ARMONI 2001d, 316.

³⁷¹ On the text, cf. MOOREN 1975, 108 = BL 7.29.

³⁷² *Hypomnemata* to the king are only attested outside Egypt, cf. SEG XIII 403; XLI 1556; 1574 (republished in HEINRICHS 2018, with corrections in SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2018, 378–382; CHRUBASIK 2019; also known as the Hefzibah stele, TM 754949 = 882712); XLVI 1519, and *supra*, chapter 2.1.3.

exchange for his *μυσταγωγία*, an otherwise unattested word among papyri probably indicating, according to the editors, some sort of apprenticeship in the field of tax farming. The text resembles the offers for tax farming that individuals sent to the administration, and the scribe probably drew it up as a *hypomnema* by interference with such official offers.

Likewise, P.Mich. IX 575, dated to 90 or (less likely) to 6 BCE³⁷³, adopts a very irregular *hypomnema* for a private request: someone wants to resign from an association and therefore sends a request to its board³⁷⁴. Because of the role of the addressee, superior to the sender, he probably tried to adopt the same format that he would have used to write to someone in the administration. However, the document is not the product of a professional scribe, as the numerous idiosyncrasies in both typology and grammar attest³⁷⁵. The opening and closing formulas are so mixed up between the hypomnematic and the epistolary that the document cannot be classified into one category³⁷⁶.

Finally, one document does not correspond to any characteristic of *hypomnemata*, SB XXII 15324 (Arsinoite, second or first century BCE)³⁷⁷. It is a letter full of orthographic idiosyncrasies containing only general wishes for good health and fortune in the few surviving lines. Such content is typical of private letters, and no link can be highlighted with the general functions of hypomnematic documents, especially since the rest of the text is lost. It remains a hardly explicable exception among Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. However, this document has one striking characteristic: its addressee is highlighted through layout features, as it would be in proper *hypomnemata*, thus showing that the writer of this exceptional document adopted not only the opening formula but also the materiality of the type.

³⁷³ MASCELLARI 2018a, 300.

³⁷⁴ On the text of this document, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

³⁷⁵ There are irregularities in orthography (l. 7: ἀξιῶν for ἀξιῶ), flexion (l. 2: συνοδείτοις for συνοδίταις) and syntax (l. 7-8: no infinitive after ἀξιῶ). The document is written *transversa charta* on a small, squarish piece of papyrus, a format that is used neither for letters nor for *hypomnemata*. The opening and closing formulas mix up the formularies of *hypomnemata* and letters.

³⁷⁶ *Hypomnemata* begin with the addressee in dative, letters with the sender in nominative, and here the text begins with the addressee in a mix of nominative and genitive (l. 1: Θρακὸς ἐπιμελητῆς). The mention of the addressee both appears before the sender, as in *hypomnemata*, and after him, as in letters (l. 2-4: τοῖς συνοδείτοις παρὰ Ἡπιόδωρος τοῖς συνοδείτοις). At the same lines, the mention of the sender, with παρὰ + nominative, mixes the παρὰ + genitive of *hypomnemata* with the bare nominative of letters, and results in a non-standard syntax (παρὰ does not usually take the nominative). The closing formula put together the εὐτύχει of *hypomnemata* and the ἔρρωσο + date of letters (l. 9: εὐτύχει. (ἔτους) κδ. ἔρρωσο. Μεσορῆ α).

³⁷⁷ Another unique *hypomnema* is PSI XIII 1313. It contains an offer of payment probably in exchange for some help. Yet the first lines are lost, so that one cannot be sure that the opening formula was hypomnematic.

Thus, a few *hypomnemata* do not conform to the general definition of administrative *hypomnema* adopted above. They are all exceptional individual cases. These texts fall into two categories: internal administrative correspondence on one side and business or private exchanges on the other. Although atypical, the scribal choices in these cases could mainly be explained in terms of interferences with more regular functions of the administrative *hypomnemata*. Sometimes, the existence of *hypomnemata* in similar procedures or at other steps of the ongoing procedure may have influenced the writer; on other occasions, the exceptionality of a situation may have persuaded the author to imitate petitions. In other, more complex cases, like P.Sijp. 45, more than one factor may have induced the interference. These cases are mainly byproducts of the main functions of *hypomnemata*.

3.2.4 The Ptolemaic Administrative *Hypomnema*: Summary

The analysis of all characteristics of second and first-century Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* aimed to establish the basis for a more precise definition of it after the changes at the end of the third century BCE. Most of the documents that open with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός share some characteristics:

- The materiality is consistent. The documents are primarily written along the fibres on vertical sheets of papyrus in the *pagina* format and present one column with a central block of text and at least one element isolated at the end, mostly an εὐτύχει or a date. Petitions are usually written on taller sheets than declarations, but this may be the effect of an insufficient sample of data.
- There is a consistent relationship between the sender and the addressee. The addressee is an administration official with titles and functions connected to his role; the sender is a private individual applying to the addressee because of his capacities as an official.
- There is an expectation of something to be performed by the addressee³⁷⁸. A request often makes explicit this expectation, as in petitions and declarations, but this is not always the case. However, even when the sender is not explicitly asking for something, he still expects something from the addressee. In offers, for instance, the writer may or may not add an explicit request, but he always expects his offer to be accepted. Likewise, in the only preserved application to be enrolled in the police, although the sender makes no request, he is clearly expecting his application

³⁷⁸ Cf. for a similar conclusion HERRMANN 1958, 27.

to be accepted, and the same is true in some way or another for all Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*.

- There is no written answer to the sender nor exchange of communication. The addressee reacts by performing some action, but he is not bound to address a written answer to the sender. Therefore, subscriptions are never addressed to the sender of the *hypomnema*, but they record an action by the addressee: transmit some instructions to another administration member. In this regard, *hypomnemata* are profoundly different from letters, which are fragments of communication based on the exchange between individuals.

These observations help us to define a Ptolemaic *hypomnema* of the second and first centuries BCE as a document complying with some formal requirements, executing the transmission of a piece of information from A to B, B addressed in his official capacity, and expecting B to perform a specific action. This definition results from the functional evolution observed at the end of the previous century when the function of the *hypomnema* was clarified and stabilised.

Although this definition seems immutable, *hypomnemata* still change during these centuries, but at a slower pace than before. First, some traces of the older situation are still observable at the beginning of the second century: the fixation of the type is progressive, and the older types, notably the early *prosangelma*, still influence a couple of second-century petitions. Moreover, some of the identified exceptional *hypomnemata* are dated to the first half of the second century BCE and reflect a stabilising situation³⁷⁹.

Second, the new, more precise definition of a *hypomnema* impacted the nature of the type. Indeed, as a document now essentially addressed from an individual to an official, the *hypomnema* acquired a hierarchical overtone that it did not have in the third century BCE³⁸⁰. Progressively, this overtone started to impact the formal characteristics of the hypomnematic type of documents. During the second century BCE, a new feature appears and becomes increasingly widespread: the practice of isolating the addressee's name on the sheet, thus visually highlighting the difference in status between the sender and the

³⁷⁹ Cf. BGU XX 2840 (200 or 176 BCE); P.Berl.Zill. 1 (155 BCE); P.Sijp. 45 (197 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 741 (187/186 BCE); 812 (192-191 BCE). Later papyri with exceptional functions are BGU XVIII.1 2747 (86 BCE), P.Stras. VII 624 (after 145 BCE, cf. OATES 1995, 16) and SB XXVIII 16851 (154 or 143 BCE). SB XXII 15324 is simply dated to the second or first century BCE.

³⁸⁰ On the absence of hierarchical overtone in third-century BCE *hypomnemata*, cf. *supra*, chapters 2.2.2.1, section "Variations of the Prescript Formula", and 2.2.3.1.

addressee. This difference in status also appears in another change through which *hypomnemata* went during the first century BCE: the introduction of the even more formal greeting διευτύχει. A secondary effect of the functional clarification of the *hypomnema* became an essential feature of the type that even impacted its materiality and formulary.

Despite these changes, during the second and first centuries BCE, the reader must have been able to recognise at first glance the type, because of its specific materiality and opening formula, and the identification of the type allowed them to know exactly what was in front of them: a *hypomnema*, i.e. a document in which an individual informed the administration of something and expected some reaction on its part. Once the type and its functions stabilised, the reader's expectations did so too.

3.3 Conclusion

The analysis developed in this chapter and the previous one allows for a global view of the evolution of *hypomnemata* under Ptolemaic rule. In the third century BCE, the *hypomnema* was created as a type and, despite some confusion, used for unidirectional communication: *hypomnemata* served to transmit unidirectional pieces of information from a sender A to an addressee B, regardless of their specific relationship. Unlike letters, *hypomnemata* were not part of a conversation and implied no exchange³⁸¹. With the widespread adoption of *hypomnemata* for administrative purposes at the end of the century, one element changed: the relationship from A to B was now steadily that of an individual addressing a member of the administration.

The *hypomnema* was still the type of document used for unidirectional communication. Nevertheless, it progressively acquired some additional values: it had become an administrative document, and because of this, it became a document that implied an unbalanced relationship between sender and addressee. The evolving layout of the prescript reflects the progressive change in the perception of the *hypomnema* by scribes: sender and addressee are physically divided on the sheet because they are socially different in real life. By the mid-second century BCE, the type had stabilised and had acquired the hierarchical overtone. *Hypomnemata* will not change much in the following decades.

³⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.4.2.

4 The Impact of the Roman Conquest on *Hypomnemata*

In the usual periodisation of Egyptian history, the death of Cleopatra VII and the transformation of Egypt into a province under a Roman governor marks the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt. The impact of this change went beyond the simple shift in political power, yet the extent of modifications, their chronology and the intentionality behind them have been at the heart of a significant paradigmatic shift in papyrological scholarship. While scholars first agreed that Roman Egypt experienced no modification of its Ptolemaic set-up, the present consensus says that a major break occurred in Egypt with the Roman conquest¹. Recent studies have looked at specific subtopics, trying to figure out in a more nuanced way which exact modifications Egypt underwent after the Roman conquest². A general image of Roman administration in newly annexed provinces has been developed, according to which a pragmatic approach characterised the administrative intervention by the new rulers: they only modified what needed to be and retained what was useful to them. Every province experienced its own mix of continuity and changes³.

This chapter aims to determine the impact of the conquest on scribal practices and the typology of *hypomnemata*. I will identify which changes documents with hypomnematic heading underwent in the first decades of Roman rule and then try to understand how these changes arose. The documentation betrays a general expansion of the adoption of *hypomnemata*. Two main expansive movements can be identified. On the one hand, the functions of administrative *hypomnemata* increase while many new subgroups of administrative documents appear in the documentation (e.g., census and death declarations). On the other hand, *hypomnemata* recovered a whole new function that was absent from the Ptolemaic documentation: recording contractual agreements between people. For each of these movements, the analysis of the corpus aims to answer the questions of how this change appeared and what role, if any, the acts of a new administration played in that evolution. Indeed, the relation between administrative innovation and scribal practice is complex.

¹ LEWIS 1970; LEWIS 1984; RATHBONE 1993; JÖRDENS 2009, 53–58. For a summary of the research on the topic, cf. HAENSCH 2008, 81–83; MONSON 2012a, 10–16 with further bibliography.

² Cf. MONSON 2012a, 11. Examples of such studies are HAENSCH 2008; JÖRDENS 2009 (especially the conclusion, 516–523); MONSON 2012a (especially the conclusion, 282–289); MONSON 2014.

³ Cf. HAENSCH 2008, 101; JÖRDENS 2009, 92–96; 110; 127–128; 516; MONSON 2012a, 4.

In order to determine this impact, I will focus on a specific chronological frame, from the conquest to the end of the first century CE, and work on groups of documents large enough to identify changes over time. Indeed, because of the slow pace of administrative change and scribal adaptation, only groups of documents whose evolution can be followed through the whole Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties help identify the impact of the conquest of the typology of *hypomnemata*⁴. Six main groups of documents fulfil these requirements: petitions, census declarations, death declarations, animal declarations, *synchoreseis*, and private and public offers to lease or buy. The analysis of the former four groups will address the first question, i.e. the modalities of the functional expansion of administrative *hypomnemata*, whereas that of the two latter groups will answer the second question, i.e. the modalities of the adoption of hypomnematic documents for contracts. They represent the two main sections of this chapter.

Documents that only appear later in the documentation have been excluded because their later date makes them unsuitable to answer the central question of this chapter. Such is the case of all the *hypomnemata* related to the introduction of new administrative practices in the second half of the first century CE – for instance, the introduction of the βιβλιοθήκαι and the property record or of the registration of contracts through the δημοσίωσις⁵. Likewise, isolated *hypomnemata* and poorly documented groups of *hypomnemata* are not taken into consideration.

Unlike in previous chapters, I take into account documents whose opening is lost but was undoubtedly hypomnematic. Indeed, following the stabilisation that occurred under the Ptolemaic rule, the chances of confusing hypomnematic and non-hypomnematic documents are sensibly inferior in Roman documents than in Ptolemaic ones. Nevertheless, the poor state of preservation of these documents was always taken into account.

4.1 Administrative Changes and Scribal Practices: First-Century Administrative *Hypomnemata*

At the end of the third century CE, Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* had stabilised to a specific function, here called “administrative *hypomnema*”. They transmitted a piece of information

⁴ On the slow pace of administrative changes, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1.

⁵ On the δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη and the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, cf. WOLFF 1978, 222–255; CLAYTOR 2020 (with the bibliography at n. 32). On the δημοσίωσις, cf. WOLFF 1978, 129–135; PRIMAVESI 1986, 101–103; MASCELLARI 2021, 49–50 and the bibliography in the recent editions BENAÏSSA – GONIS 2009; P.Oxy. LXXXV 5498; 5499; 5501, p. 73–74.

to individuals in their official functions and expected some reaction on their part. Within this frame, most Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* were petitions, and other functions were rare. With the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE, the administration of the Nile valley changed, but administrative *hypomnemata* continued to be used and even suddenly developed more functions⁶. Roman Egypt produced a broad spectrum of administrative *hypomnemata* with various purposes⁷.

However, the goal of this chapter will not be to draw a complete picture of these documents as it was made for Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. The focus will be on the processes through which this broad spectrum of documents was created, asking how scribes modified their practice and the typology of their documents to adapt to the changes and demands of a new administration. To do so, Roman *hypomnemata* will be compared to Ptolemaic ones, remaining true to the central perspective of this study: looking at *hypomnemata* as ever-changing objects.

To answer this question, I will focus on case studies that fit the following criteria: first, the type of documents must be known since the reign of Augustus and throughout the first decades of Roman rule to make it possible to observe its evolution. Second, the corpus must be large enough for variations between documents to be observable in some detail. Third, the administrative practices related to the chosen type must be known to highlight the relation between administrative and scribal practices. Three groups of *hypomnemata* comply with these constraints: petitions, census and death declarations, and sheep and goat declarations.

The detailed analysis of these three corpora will answer four main questions: which changes can be observed in administrative *hypomnemata* during the first decades of Roman rule? How did these changes happen? What is the relation between these changes and the modifications in the administrative practice introduced by the Romans? Finally, what do these changes tell us about the perception of *hypomnemata*?

⁶ On the introduction of new documents by the Romans, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 127–128; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 232.

⁷ There is no comprehensive list of all functions of administrative *hypomnemata* under Roman rule, but the reader can have an overview by comparing the following lists: MONTEVECCHI 1973, 87; 175–193; PALME 2009, 377–385 (both lists of documents sent by individuals to the administration, mixing hypomnematic and non-hypomnematic documents); MASCELLARI 2021, 21–22; 217 (lists of non-petitioning documents with hypomnematic prescript); P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 232–233 (list of declarations).

4.1.1 Roman Petitions: Strong Continuity with Ptolemaic Practice

Petitions remained in use during the Roman period without interruption⁸. Although scholarship tends to focus on either Ptolemaic or Roman petitions⁹, it was always clear that there is a strong continuity in the general practice and the typology of documents. The basic idea of addressing an official with some extraordinary request, mostly linked to suffered wrongs, without a clear division of the competences of individual officials, remains the same¹⁰. The main difference between the two phases is the disappearance of *enteuxeis*: this specific category of petitions, characterised by the opening formula τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα and used only for the sovereigns, disappears with the end of the Lagid dynasty¹¹. Only hypomnematic petitions are in use in the Roman period; they are the heirs of the older practice.

This continuity will be at the core of this subchapter. Three main aspects will be analysed: the materiality and formulas of the main text, the additional elements introduced after the greetings, and the process notes by a second hand on petitions as proxies for administrative handling. The analysis will highlight how the main characteristics of the petitions remained constant, although the administrative practice surrounding these documents changed profoundly. It will also show that the change affected the very definition of the *hypomnema*.

4.1.1.1 Materiality and Formulas: Strong Continuity

Looking at the format, layout and textual formulas of early Roman petitions, one observes a clear continuity from Ptolemaic over Augustan to late-first-century petitions. Materially, Augustan hypomnematic petitions are indistinguishable from Ptolemaic ones. They are written in the pagina format along the fibres and present a tripartite text with a highlighted addressee, the main text and a highlighted greeting formula¹². The only observable change is the occasional use of wider sheets, as in the case of P.Lond. II 354, an excellent example

⁸ For a list of Roman petitions, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 71–212. On the criteria behind this list, and the included or excluded texts, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 21–24; 47–70; as I adopted the same definition of petitions as Roberto Mascellari, I will rely on his list to decide which documents to include in the present discussion of Roman petitions.

⁹ For instance, the two main studies recently published on the subject take the year 30 BCE as a terminus for their survey: BAETENS 2020a; MASCELLARI 2021.

¹⁰ On the definition of petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 6–7; MASCELLARI 2021, 15–16; 21–23. On the absence of clear-cut jurisdictions under the Ptolemies, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1; under the Romans, cf. LEWIS 2000, 83–85.

¹¹ BAETENS 2020a, 21; MASCELLARI 2021, 16–17; 217–218.

¹² As examples of Augustan petitions with well-preserved layout, one may look at BGU IV 1188, XVI 2599, P.Coles 14, P.Lond. II 354 and P.Wash.Univ. II 77. Concerning the highlight of the addressee, BGU IV 1188 and 1189 represent a special case, with according to their editor a punctuation mark underlying the addressee.

of the materiality of Augustan petitions (Fig. 4.1)¹³. Those wider sheets are usually adopted for petitions to the *praefectus Aegypti*¹⁴. Moreover, the final *paragraphos* is now less common, although still in use.

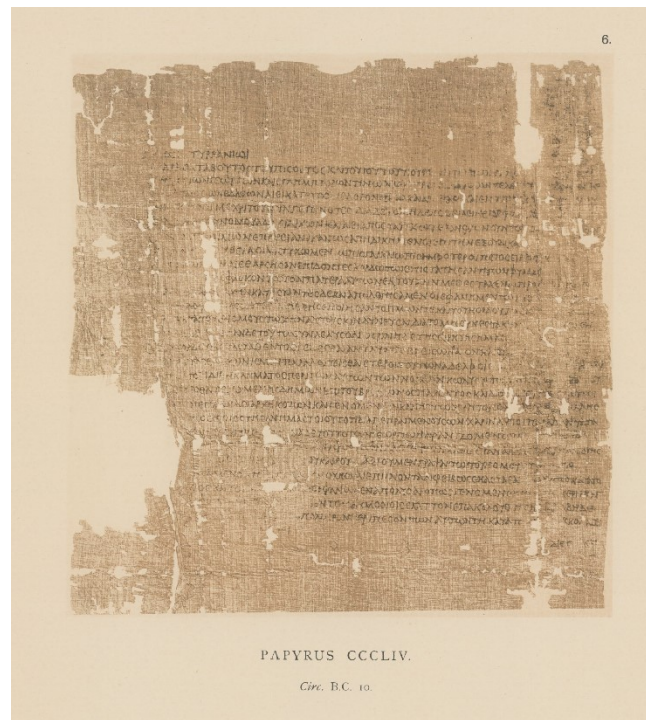


Fig. 4.1: P.Lond. II 354. The sheet is vertical, but the large inferior margin, empty, was cut from the plate.

These characteristics remained constant in the first century CE¹⁵. Vertical format and horizontal fibres persisted as essential features. Wider sheets appear on rare occasions throughout the Roman period¹⁶. The mention of the addressee is highlighted, and so are the greetings when they are present – indeed, greetings formulas are no longer compulsory¹⁷. The final *paragraphos* is still in use, although it is not compulsory, and scribes can even

¹³ On this document, cf. JÖRDENS 2017.

¹⁴ I thank for this suggestion Uri Yiftach. Augustan petitions wider than 20 cm are all addressed to the *praefectus* except one: BGU IV 1188; 1200; CPR XV 15; P.Lond. II 354; SB XVI 12713, the exception being CPR XV 10 a (addressed to the *στρατηγός*). However, at least two of them are drafts: CPR XV 15 (most probably a draft of P.Lond. II 354, according to the observations by JÖRDENS 2017, 272–274) and BGU IV 1200, whereas SB XVI 12713 is probably some sort of personal copy. The same is true of SB I 5235 (another Augustan petition to the *praefectus*, today 19.5 cm wide but originally wider), cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 80 n. 9.

¹⁵ As examples of Flavian petitions with well-preserved layout, one may look at BGU I 226, P.Mich. IX 524, P.Oslo II 21 and P.Tebt. II 302. Looking at Flavian documents allows us to consider the slow pace of administrative changes, which did not appear suddenly in 30 BCE, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1.

¹⁶ Cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 27 (with the counterexamples cited in n. 125). Some petitions addressed to the *praefectus* in the first century CE are still written on wider sheets, e.g. P.Graux II 9, P.Tebt. II 283 and SB XVI 12713 (but cf., among other counterexamples, P.Oxy. XLI 2987, a petition to the *praefectus* in a book hand on a sheet standardly 18.5 cm wide). A larger study of the format of Roman petitions is necessary to see if the size of the sheet has some links to the addressee of the petition.

¹⁷ MASCELLARI 2021, 1004. For instance, P.Mich. IX 524 has no greeting formula, although it has the second-hand signatures of the petitioners.

multiply them: thus, petitions can close on two *paragraphoi* to the right and the left of the main text or above and below the greetings¹⁸.

The only noticeable innovation in first-century documentation is the occasional highlighting of the addressee through a complex layout that centres it in the first lines¹⁹. BGU I 226 is a fine example of this evolution (Fig. 4.2). It also presents a visual element that was absent from Ptolemaic petitions: the scribe enlarges the initial π of the $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, a feature that will survive in later documents²⁰.

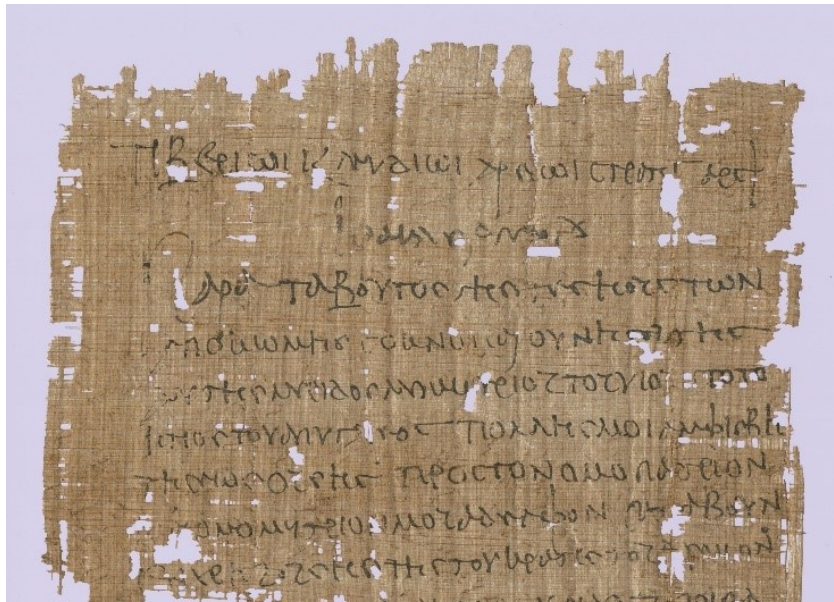


Fig. 4.2: BGU I 226, detail of the opening.

The fundamental textual structure of the hypomnematic petition, with opening, narration, request, final plea and greetings, remains in use in the Roman period²¹. The opening formula is always the $\tau\hat{\omega}$ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος, with the highlight of the addressee²².

Similarly to the Ptolemaic period, the addressee is mentioned with name and title, except

¹⁸ P.Coles 14, p. 66; MASCELLARI 2019a, 36 with n. 5. For examples of documents, cf. P.Ryl. II 129; 135; 136; 149; P.Tebt. II 302.

¹⁹ This layout was already mentioned by MARTIN 2007, 668; MASCELLARI 2021, 27.

²⁰ The bigger module of the π is not an exceptional feature of this document, but is more widely attested, cf. MARTIN 2007, 668; SCHUBERT 2018a, 344; MASCELLARI 2021, 218. On this visual feature in later documents, cf. SCHUBERT 2018a, 347; AMORY 2019.

²¹ MASCELLARI 2021, 20.

²² Cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 217–219; he explains all the exceptions he found in the first three centuries of Roman rule: for instance, the few petitions with epistolary format were not submitted through the ordinary administrative channels, and those with the rare prescript $\tau\hat{\omega}$ δεῖνι ὁ δαίμων are fossils of the *enteuxis* in some very specific procedures. Incomplete prescripts, like that of CPR XV 8 and P.Ryl. II 124, are probably incomplete drafts or copies of petitions. Cf. also MASCELLARI 2021, 219–224; 302–306.

for first-century petitions addressed to the *praefectus Aegypti*²³. The narration follows; it never opens with the verb ἀδικοῦμαι, typical of Ptolemaic *enteuxeis* but also used in Ptolemaic hypomnematic petitions²⁴. With time, especially in the later centuries of Roman rule, it developed more rhetorical touches and, notably, an optional introductory prelude²⁵. The request is still a compulsory part of the petition²⁶. It centres on the verb ἄξιω, although some variations appear with time: in later petitions, complex phrasal connections to the narration or more elaborated request formulas, in which ἄξιω is combined with other verbs or even replaced by them, increase their frequency²⁷. For example, the presence of the verb ἐπιδίδωμι in request formulas rises from the second century CE onward; Roberto Mascellari interprets this phenomenon as contamination with contemporary hypomnematic administrative declarations²⁸. Likewise, the verb ἔρωτῶ can be used, especially in third-century CE petitions; in this case, it is probably used as a translation of the Latin verb *rogo*²⁹. Optional modulating expressions are still attested; typical Ptolemaic ἐάν σοι φαίνεται will be replaced in the second century CE by ἐάν σοι δόξη³⁰. Similarly, the final plea is still in use³¹. In general, Roman-times requests become longer and more complex with time than Ptolemaic ones.

Concerning greetings, likewise, the presence of some little variations with time does not conceal the strong continuity with the Ptolemaic petitions. The final greeting formula becomes more cursive and can be abbreviated³², a phenomenon already observed at the end of the Ptolemaic period³³. It can also be absent, even in some pieces that were presumably not drafts or later copies but the submitted document³⁴. διευτύχει, which already appeared

²³ MASCELLARI 2021, 220–224; 236; 242. He mentions the exception of some early Roman petitions that do not mention the title of the addressee, yet it is uncertain whether they were the definitive, submitted copies.

²⁴ MASCELLARI 2021, 307–310.

²⁵ FOURNET 2004, 62; FOURNET 2013, 139–148; FOURNET 2019, 576–578. For instance, *gnomai* and *captatio benevolentiae* are used in petitions from the third and fourth centuries CE, cf. PAPATHOMAS 2007, 869; PAPATHOMAS 2009, 486–493; 496.

²⁶ MASCELLARI 2021, 515.

²⁷ MASCELLARI 2021, 533. On the complex phrasal connections, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 517–519, who observes that in the first century CE the more common formula is διό, and sometimes nothing introduces the request, whereas in the second century, subordinators introduced by ἐπεὶ becomes more frequent. On the connection between the narration and the request, cf. also BENTEIN 2016. On ἄξιω combined with other verbs from the second century CE onward, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 533. On other verbs replacing ἄξιω from the second century CE onward, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 535–544.

²⁸ MASCELLARI 2021, 19; 535.

²⁹ MASCELLARI 2021, 542–543 with further bibliography.

³⁰ MASCELLARI 2021, 989–995.

³¹ MASCELLARI 2021, 959–988.

³² MASCELLARI 2016, 369–370; MASCELLARI 2021, 1004–1005.

³³ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Formulary: Exceptions and Variations”.

³⁴ MASCELLARI 2021, 1004; 1006–1007.

under the Ptolemies as a more formal greeting³⁵, remained rare during the early decades of Roman rule and mostly reserved for the *praefectus Aegypti*³⁶; yet it became dominant from about the reign of Hadrian onward³⁷. Nevertheless, the principal characteristic remains constant: petitions close on a greeting formula which is not ἔρρωσο but εὐτύχει/διευτύχει³⁸.

Thus, although the continuing evolution brought some changes in the precise wording of petitions, the general structure remained unchanged between Ptolemaic and Roman petitions. The change from Ptolemaic to Roman rule did not significantly impact such documents' materiality or formulas.

4.1.1.2 *After the Greetings: Innovations in Early Roman Petitions*

If there is a strong continuity between Ptolemaic and early Roman petitions concerning materiality and formulas, Roman petitions differ from Ptolemaic ones after the final greetings. First, at the beginning of the first century CE, scribes sometimes add a date to some petitions³⁹; the earliest example of this phenomenon, P.Col. VIII 209, dates to 3 CE. This practice was occasionally attested under the Ptolemies and survived under the Romans⁴⁰. Nevertheless, the vast majority of petitions are still undated in the first century CE⁴¹.

Some decades later, another innovation appears at the end of petitions: petitioners are identified, either by adding a submission note of the type ὁ δεῖνα ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ προκείμενον ὑπόμνημα in their own hand⁴², or by asking someone to sign for them because they are not able to write in Greek⁴³, or finally by asking the scribe to identify them by name, age and

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section "Formulary: Exceptions and Variations".

³⁶ MASCELLARI 2021, 1003–1004.

³⁷ MASCELLARI 2018a. The last well dated petition with an εὐτύχει, BGU I 22, dates to 114 CE, cf. MASCELLARI 2018a, 296.

³⁸ Cf. also MASCELLARI 2021, 1007–1008.

³⁹ Cf. P.Bingen 58 (22 CE); P.Col. VIII 209 (3 CE); P.Oxy. II 283 (45 CE); XIX 2234 (31 CE); P.Ryl. II 136 (34 CE); 138 (34 CE); P.Stras. II 118 (22 CE); W.Chr. 365 (46/47 CE). They close on an εὐτύχει + date, or in two cases (P.Oxy. II 283; W.Chr. 365) simply on a date.

⁴⁰ For dated Ptolemaic petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section "Formulary: Exceptions and Variations".

⁴¹ Roberto Mascellari seems to consider the presence of a date a standard feature of submitted copies (for instance, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1027–1028: "ci aspetteremmo invece di trovare sempre la data a completare la redazione di un esemplare 'ufficiale' che è poi effettivamente consegnato alla cancelleria", "we would expect to always find a date closing the text of an 'official' copy that is actually given to the chancery"). However, he also notices that it is not compulsory, especially in petitions to high authorities (MASCELLARI 2021, 1011; 1027–1029). At least in the first century CE, the absence of the date can be linked to the Ptolemaic precedent.

⁴² Cf. P.Ryl. II 142 (37 CE).

⁴³ Cf. P.Mich. V 226 (republished by WINKLER – ZELLMANN-ROHRER 2016) and the observations by MASCELLARI 2021, 1010.

physical description⁴⁴; this last option can be considered less formal⁴⁵. Since all these notes perform the same function of identifying the petitioner and authenticating his petition, I shall call them signatures⁴⁶. This practice has no precedent in any Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnema* and represents a first-century CE innovation of which P.Ryl. II 125, dated 28/29 CE, is the earliest example⁴⁷.

As soon as signatures appeared, they could be combined with dates and greetings, thus creating petitions whose final lines were much more complex than Ptolemaic precedents⁴⁸. An example is P.Mich. IX 523, l. 14-22 (Fig. 4.3)⁴⁹:

(hand 1) [δ]ιὸ ἀξιῶ γραφῆναι τῷ τῆς
Καρ[αν]ίδος ἡγουμένῳ ἀναζητη-
σαι σὺν ἐμοί.
εὐτύχ(ει)

(hand 2) Ἀμμώνιος Εἰρηναίου ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ
προκ[ε]ῖμενον ὑπόμνημα.

(hand 1) (ἔτους) ιβ Ν[έ]ρωνος [Κ]λαυδίου Καίσαρος
[Σ]εβαστοῦ Γ[ε]ρμαν[ικο]ῦ Αὐτοκράτορ[ος]
Μ[ε]χέιρ[ρ] .

(hand 1) Therefore I ask that a written order be sent to the *hegoumenos* of Karanis to make an investigation with me. Farewell. **(hand 2)** I, Ammonios son of Eirenaios, have presented the aforesaid petition. **(hand 1)** Year 12 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Mecheir (day unclear)⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Cf. P.Ryl. II 127 (29 CE); 128 (after 13/02/30 CE); 140 (36 CE); 146 (39 CE), P.Mich. V 230, l. 31-33 gives an exceptionally detailed example of the practice: Παποντῶς ὡς (ἐτῶν) με, εὐμεγέθης, μελίχρως, οὐλή ῥινὴ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν) ὑπὸ ὀφρύν.

⁴⁵ On the lesser formality of the authentication by the scribe, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1013.

⁴⁶ On the function of these notes, cf. KELLY 2011, 150–151; MASCELLARI 2021, 1009.

⁴⁷ Cf. also P.Ryl. II 126, also dated 28/29 CE, whose initial lines are partially lost.

⁴⁸ For petitions with date and authentication note in the hand of the petitioner, cf. P.Mich. IX 523 (66 CE); P.Oslo II 21 (71 CE); P.Ryl. II 139 (34 CE); 148 (40 CE). For petitions with date and authentication by the scribe, cf. P.Athen. 32 (after 23/05/39 CE); P.Mich. V 228 (47 CE); 229 (48 CE); 230 (48 CE); IX 524 (98 CE).

⁴⁹ On the reading of l. 20, cf. MASCELLARI 2019b, 185 n. 48.

⁵⁰ Translation Michigan APIS 2491, last modified the 30/08/2017, CC 3.0 BY-NC, slightly modified.

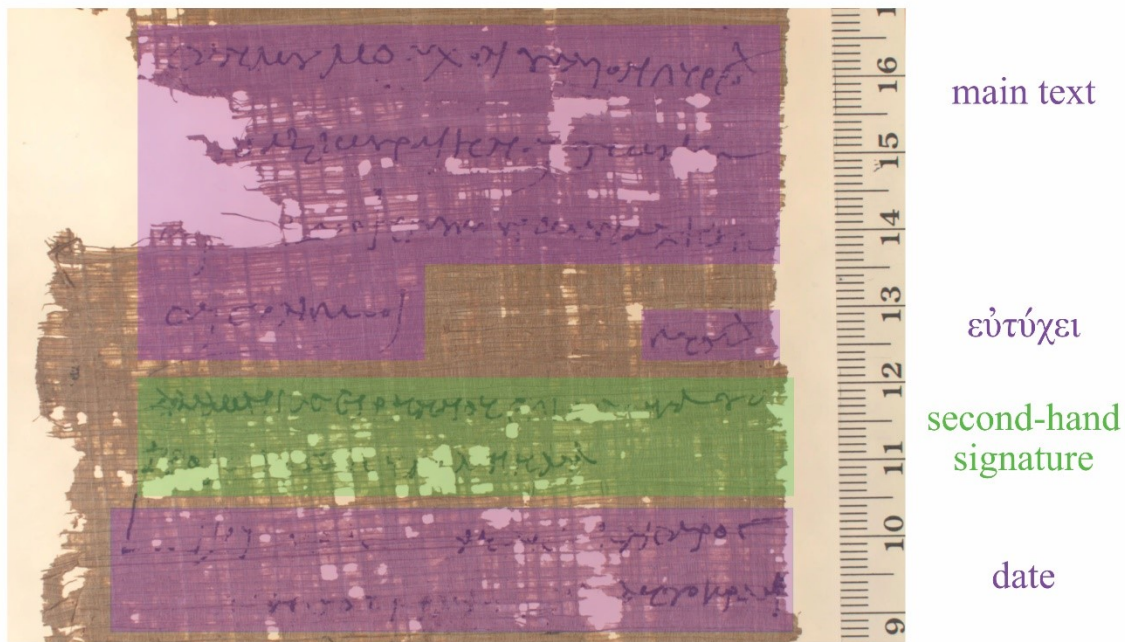


Fig. 4.3: The hands in P.Mich. IX 523.

The scribe left a window, i.e. some place for the petitioner to add his signature, between the end of the petition and the date⁵¹. Not all petitions are as elaborate, but this seems to be the most regular disposition of the text when the greeting formula, signature, and date are all present⁵².

Signatures are the main innovation of Roman petitions: there is nothing comparable under the Ptolemies. However, it is difficult to study the evolution of this practice and to establish when and if it ever became a compulsory part of petitions. Non-signed petitions could circulate even at a time when signatures had become a compulsory part of petitions. Indeed, under the Roman administration, many copies of one petition were produced, and scribes could omit signatures when they produced these copies⁵³. It is often impossible to know whether an unsigned petition was a copy or the submitted document itself⁵⁴.

The archive of the petitions of Euhemeria gives an excellent example of these methodological problems⁵⁵. These petitions date to the 30s CE and address Arsinoite nome officials. These higher instances probably forwarded them to the ἀρχέφοδος, a village

⁵¹ On windows, cf. SCHUBERT 2018a, especially 340; 343.

⁵² MASCELLARI 2021, 1011.

⁵³ MASCELLARI 2021, 34. For instance, the two non-signed petitions BGU I 226 and P.Berl.Möller 2, of the end of the first century CE, were probably additional copies submitted by the petitioners to be used as warrants and therefore lacked the signature, cf. KELLY 2016, 413–414; MASCELLARI 2021, 1094–1095.

⁵⁴ Cf. KELLY 2011, 70–71; MASCELLARI 2021, 28; 32–34.

⁵⁵ P.Ryl. II 124–152, p. 117–119; BUZÓN 1980, 136–137; VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 295–299 (TM Arch 187); MASCELLARI 2019b, 201–202 n. 80; MASCELLARI 2021, 38.

police official in Euhemeria who collected them. The preserved archive represents the files of the latter official, according to the standard hypothesis⁵⁶. It is a coherent group of about thirty texts and preserves the oldest preserved signatures under petitions. Among these documents, five groups are evident (cf. table):

Group 1: Document with subscriptions (i.e. transmission notes from the higher officials to the ἀρχέφοδος), but without signatures, all addressed to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν⁵⁷;

Group 2: Documents with signatures but without subscriptions, all addressed to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν⁵⁸;

Group 3: Documents without subscription nor signature to various officials, including the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν⁵⁹;

Group 4: SB XX 15032, a document to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν with signature (in the form of a scribal identification of the petitioner) and a second-hand address on the back transferring it to the ἀρχέφοδος;

Group 5: Documents whose last lines are lost and which are of no use in this analysis⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ On some alternative hypotheses and their problems, cf. MASCELLARI 2019b, 201–202 n. 80; MASCELLARI 2021, 38 n. 41.

⁵⁷ P.Ryl. II 132; 136; 145; 150; 151; 152; SB XX 15182. P.Oslo III 123 would fall into this group, but its belonging to the archive is highly doubtful.

⁵⁸ P.Ryl. II 125; 126; 127; 128; 139; 140; 142; 146; 148 (the latter is probably a copy, because the submission docket is written in the same hand as the main text). I included in the list both documents with submission dockets written by the petitioner in the form ὁ δεινὰ ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ προκειμενὸν ὑπόμνημα and documents with identifications of the petitioner by the scribe in the form name, age and scars; the second option is more frequent.

⁵⁹ P.Lond. III 1218; P.Ryl. II 124 (an incomplete copy); 129; 130; 133; 134; 135; 137; 138; 141; 143; 144; 147; 149. The papyrus P.Stras. II 118 would fall into this group, but its belonging to the archive is highly doubtful.

⁶⁰ P.Lond. III 895; P.Ryl. II 131.

	Presence of subscription (i.e. transmission notes from the higher officials to the ἀρχέφοδος)	Presence of signature (i.e. identification of the writer, by himself or by the scribe)	Addressee of the petition
Group 1	Yes	No	ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν
Group 2	No	Yes	ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν
Group 3	No	No	Various officials, including the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν
Group 4: SB XX 15032	No (but a second-hand address on the back, transferring it to the ἀρχέφοδος)	Yes	ἐπιστάτης φυλακιῶν
Group 5	Last lines lost		Various officials

There are two possible ways of interpreting this material. Roberto Mascellari considers that documents without signatures cannot be the submitted copy and that non-signed documents are always duplicates that served administrative purposes, either produced by the administration offices or submitted by the petitioners as additional copies to ease the administrative work⁶¹. It must then be assumed that petitioners submitted a signed copy of each petition to the higher authorities; those copies would have been archived by the latter and thus have never entered Euhemeria's archive. They do not correspond to any of the five groups. Documents from group 1 would then be administrative duplicates provided with a transmission note and forwarded to the ἀρχέφοδος. Documents from group 2 would be additional signed copies submitted directly to the ἀρχέφοδος and archived by him, and documents from group 3 would be additional duplicates submitted to or made by the

⁶¹ On the fact that petitions could submit more than one copy of a petition, cf. HAENSCH 1994, 495–498; MASCELLARI 2019b, 199 n. 76.

ἀρχέφοδος for his use⁶². SB XX 15032 would then be a document from group 2, to whom an additional hand has added an external address.

Otherwise, it can be proposed that the Ptolemaic practice was still in use. Petitioners submitted non-signed copies of their petitions to the higher officials that gave them back to them provided with a subscription; these would be documents of group 1. Group 2 would be either signed copies submitted to the ἀρχέφοδος or signed copies submitted to higher authorities and then transferred to the ἀρχέφοδος without a written subscription. SB XX 15032 would belong to this group, but a hand would have added the external address to the oral transmission instruction. Group 3 documents would be either office copies by the ἀρχέφοδος or documents without signature submitted to higher authorities and then transferred to the ἀρχέφοδος without a written subscription⁶³.

According to the first hypothesis, officials only received signed petitions; according to the second, they could receive both signed and unsigned petitions. However, both hypotheses are unproven assumptions. We do not know if signatures immediately became a compulsory part of petitions. In later centuries, one may want to discard all non-signed petitions as some sort of copy, but again, this must remain an unsubstantiated hypothesis⁶⁴. Indeed, at least death declarations indicate that both signed and unsigned *hypomnemata* could be submitted to the authorities as late as the second century CE⁶⁵.

To sum up, during the first century CE, some forms of identification of the petitioner appeared at the end of petitions. Those notes here called signatures can take various forms, such as submission dockets in the hand of the petitioner (ὁ δεῖνα ἐπιδέδωκα κτλ.) or physical descriptions of the petitioner made by the scribe. It is unclear whether they ever became compulsory in petitions because of methodological problems. They are not limited to petitions but appear under various hypomnematic documents at the beginning of the first

⁶² For Roberto Mascellari's hypothesis, cf. MASCELLARI 2019b, 199–201; MASCELLARI 2021, 34; 38–40.

⁶³ This hypothesis is similar to that by KELLY 2011, 43 with n. 21.

⁶⁴ Cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1009: “la ‘dichiarazione di consegna’ o ‘sottoscrizione’ è presente nelle petizioni che si possono ritenere ‘complete’”, “the ‘declaration of submission’ or ‘subscription’ [here used with a different meaning than that used in this study] is present in those petitions that can be considered ‘finished’”. *Contra* KELLY 2011, 71–72 with various arguments.

⁶⁵ Cf. C.Pap.Gr. II 33, a death declaration of 136 CE with signature and process notes by the administration, and C.Pap.Gr. II 34, a death declaration of 137/138 CE without signature but with process notes by the administration (i.e. it was submitted without signature). Generally, signatures are rare below death declarations and never became a compulsory part of the type.

century CE. They represent an innovation of the Roman period, probably reflecting changes in the administrative handling of petitions.

4.1.1.3 *Administrative Procedures: Process Notes by a Second Hand on Petitions*

Another domain in which Roman petitions progressively differed from Ptolemaic ones is the process notes left by their addressees (or their offices). These notes are recognisable because they are written by a different hand⁶⁶. They reveal the processes petitions underwent after their submission and, thus, the administrative practices of the officials who received them. Under the Ptolemies, such process notes took the shape of subscriptions, drafts of cover letters, or dockets. All these notes evolved under Roman rule, reflecting changes in the administrative procedures. Moreover, in parallel to these notes by nome-level officials, there existed other ways to deal with petitions specific to the *praefectus Aegypti* and other Roman *procuratores*⁶⁷.

Ptolemaic-Style Subscriptions to Petitions and the Appearance of So-Called Warrants

Subscriptions by nome-level officials, standard in the Ptolemaic period, disappeared during the first century CE. Petitions from Euhemeria dating from around 30-40 CE are again pivotal in the transition: just as they preserved the earliest signatures below papyri, they preserve the latest Ptolemaic-style subscriptions to documents⁶⁸. Indeed, a group of these petitions, all addressed to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν and dated between 29 and 42 CE, carry the same subscription in a second hand: ἀρχεφόδω· ἔκπεμψον + date⁶⁹. These notes conform to the Ptolemaic practice: they come just after the end of the main text and mention

⁶⁶ The list of such notes published by MASCELLARI 2021, 1030–1103, divided into notes by high authorities and notes by all other officials, was the basis for this study. Some notes mentioned in this list are so badly preserved that they could not be used, e.g. BGU XX 2870 (on which cf. MASCELLARI 2019a, 35–36), P.Stras. VI 508 and 566. The list also contains some notes that were not from a second hand, as CPR XXIII 2, P.Lond III 895 or P.Oxy. XLI 2987.

⁶⁷ HAENSCH 1994 remains the fundamental study of these subscriptions by high officials.

⁶⁸ In addition to Euhemeria's petitions, earlier Roman petitions with Ptolemaic-style subscriptions are P.Coles 14 (13 CE) and P.Oslo III 123 (22 CE). P.Ryl. II 118 may have carried such a subscription, but only the external address survives. BGU IV 1060 is an additional, but problematic case: it is usually dated to 14 BCE and presents a subscription that reads (l. 33-35): γρ(άψον) Θεῶνι ἀρχεφ(όδω) τὸν ἀφορικó(τα) τὸ ἔδαφος καταντῆ(σαι) (ἔτους) ις Φ(αμεν)ῶθ θ. MASCELLARI 2021, 18–19 n. 95 doubted the Augustan date: the document may just as well be late Ptolemaic. Moreover, the first imperative is very unusual: subscriptions do not usually order to write to someone; yet the resolution of the first monogram as proposed by WILCKEN 1906, 511 is very uncertain, as pointed by MASCELLARI 2019a, 35 n. 3. The same considerations apply to SB XIV 11274; XVIII.13087; 13088, three petitions dated 4 BCE from the same *tomos synkollesimos* whose subscriptions open twice with an unparalleled ἐπι(στεύλον). Otherwise, in the list by MASCELLARI 2021, 1088–1103, no other process note on Roman petitions conforms to the Ptolemaic model, excepted possibly for P.Oxy. II 286 (82 CE), whose final note can also be an internal docket.

⁶⁹ P.Ryl. II 132; 136; 145; 150; 151; 152; SB XX 15182. In the case of P.Ryl. II 136, the scribe who prepared the main text had already written a date, and the second hand only added (l. 17): ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψ(ον) in the window, between greetings and date. At the end, this document conforms to the typical text disposition petition > εὐτύχει > subscription > date.

the addressee in the dative, an instruction addressed to the latter and the date. They are usually combined with an external address on the back of the document⁷⁰.

Ptolemaic subscriptions performed various functions, mostly delegating the matter to lower officials with some instructions. On the contrary, all those early Roman subscriptions operate identically: they instruct some lower official to summon the accused party of the petition to an audience. From the first century onward, a new document type is developed to perform this precise function: the so-called warrants or summonses⁷¹. Since they do not carry a date and are only palaeographically dated, one cannot pinpoint the specific period of their appearance; however, the earliest ones are dated to the first century CE⁷². Those warrants are the heirs of Ptolemaic subscriptions in their textual and material features⁷³. Let us, for example, compare the subscription to the petition P.Ryl. II 132 (Fig. 4.4) and the warrant BGU XX 2861 (Fig. 4.5):

P.Ryl. II 132, l. 19-21 (Euhemeria, Arsinoite, July 10th, 32 CE):

(**hand 2**) ἀρχεφό(δω)· ἔκπεμψο(ν).

20 (ἔτους) ιη Τιβ(ερίου) Καίσαρο(ς) Σε(βαστοῦ)
Ἐπεὶφ ις.

(**hand 2**) To the *archephodos*: summon him. Year 17 of Tiberius Caesar
Augustus, Epeiph 16.

⁷⁰ P.Ryl. II 132; 136; 145; 150; 151; 152. The back of SB XX 15182 is blank according to the first editor. In the case of SB XX 15032, there is an external address, but no subscription; on this document, cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.2.

⁷¹ On warrants and their typology, cf. HAGEDORN 1979; DREXHAGE 1989; P.Poethke 5, p. 199–214; KELLY 2011, 98; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 506–508; SCHUBERT 2018b. On the terminology, warrants or summonses, cf. SCHUBERT 2018b, 253 n. 2; MICUCCI 2021, 171; recent scholarship has discarded the older term “orders to arrest” because warrants do not always imply detention.

⁷² According to the list of warrants published by P.Cair.Preis.² 5, p. 17–20, partially updated by SCHUBERT 2018b, 253 n. 3; 258–262, the earliest preserved warrant is P.Tebt. II 290, tentatively dated to the first half of the first century by HAGEDORN 1979, 64–65 n. 10. To those lists, add P.Louvre III 178 and the documents published by MINUTOLI 2020; MICUCCI 2021.

⁷³ On the links between subscriptions and warrants, cf. SCHUBERT 2018b, 266–269; FERRETTI ET AL. 2020, 201–202.

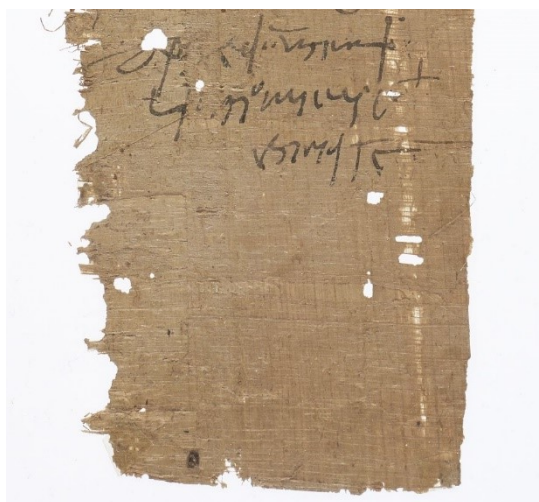


Fig. 4.4: P.Ryl. II 132, detail of the subscription.

BGU XX 2861 (Ptolemais Hormou, Arsinoite, mid-first to mid-second century CE):

ἀρχεφώδωι κώμ[ης Πτολεμ(αῖδος) Ὀ]ρμου. ἔκπεμψον Ἡρακλᾶν
γεωργὸν

Ἰσχυρίωνος ἐνκαλ[οῦμ]ενον ὑπὸ Ἡραείδος τῆς Πτολεμαίου ἐξαυτῆς.

To the *archephodos* of Ptolemais Hormou. Send forth immediately Heraklas son of Ischyryion, farmer, accused by Herais daughter of Ptolemaios⁷⁴.

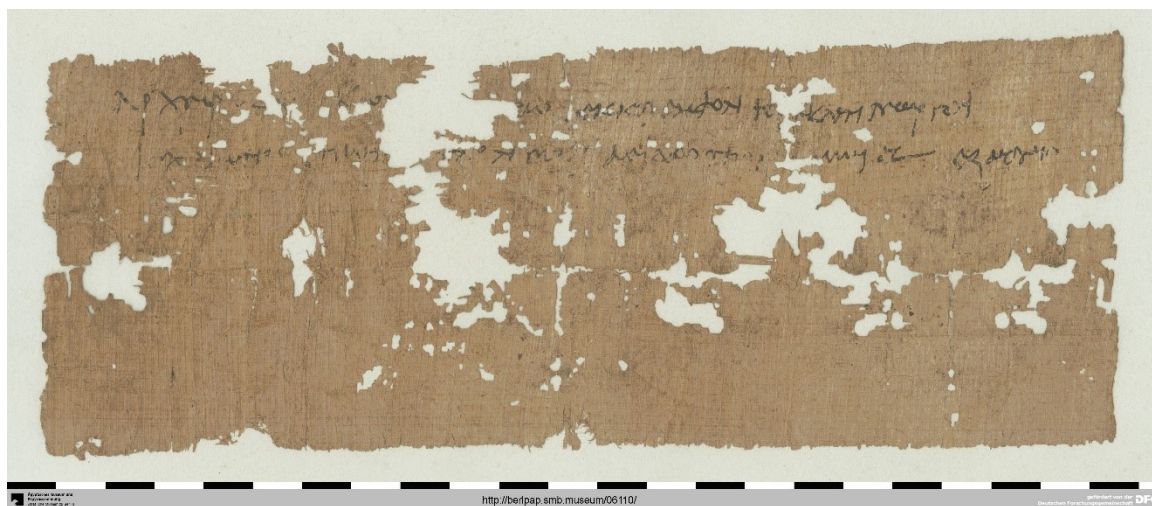


Fig. 4.5: BGU XX 2861.

Both texts are typical of their respective categories; they exemplify the links between the two. The subscription to the P.Ryl. II 132 conforms to the general features of Ptolemaic-style subscriptions added in the lower margin of petitions. BGU XX 2861 is, on the

⁷⁴ On the translation, cf. the note added by Fabian Reiter at BGU XX 2861, p. 142 n. 3, after the death of the editor of the document, Traianos Gagos.

contrary, typical of Arsinoite warrants⁷⁵. It is an independent text but follows the same structure as the older subscriptions, with addressee in dative and imperative. There are, however, some differences: first, for unclear reasons, warrants are not usually dated, unlike subscriptions⁷⁶. Second, the names of the opposing parties had to be added in warrants because the physical connection to the original petition was lost⁷⁷. Despite those changes, warrants are close to subscriptions, and like the latter, they were distinctly compact and delivered only limited information.

Materially, warrants tend to be written on squarish or horizontal strips of papyrus that retained the aspect of the lower margin where scribes previously added subscriptions; however, as independent documents, they were produced *transversa charta* and thus counted among the few Roman papyri whose writing runs against the fibres⁷⁸. Thus, the warrants' textual and material features find their explanation in their origin as process notes under petitions⁷⁹.

The links between the two types of documents, subscriptions to petitions and warrants, are further stressed by the irregular P.Oxy. LXXIV 5001 (Nemera, Oxyrhynchite, first-second century CE, Fig. 4.6):

ἀρχεφόδοι Νεμέρων.
πέμψον Πλουτίωνα
Πλουτίωνος γεωργὸν
ἐντυχόντος Ζωίλου.
5 μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου ι.

To the *archephodos* of Nemera. Send Ploution son of Ploution, farmer, because Zoilos has petitioned. Kaisareos month 10.

⁷⁵ On the standard formulas of warrants, cf. HAGEDORN 1979. BGU XX 2861 is typical for Arsinoite warrants; the Oxyrhynchite ones use a slightly different text to convey the same pieces of information.

⁷⁶ On dates on warrants, usually expressed simply as month + day, cf. HAGEDORN 2007a, 266.

⁷⁷ SCHUBERT 2018b, 268 suggests that the name of the opponent allowed to link the warrant to the corresponding petition in the archives.

⁷⁸ On the materiality of warrants, cf. P.Mich. X 589-591, p. 50; GAGOS – SIJPESTEIJN 1996, 81–85.

⁷⁹ On the link between the materiality of warrants and their origin, cf. FERRETTI ET AL. 2020, 201–202.

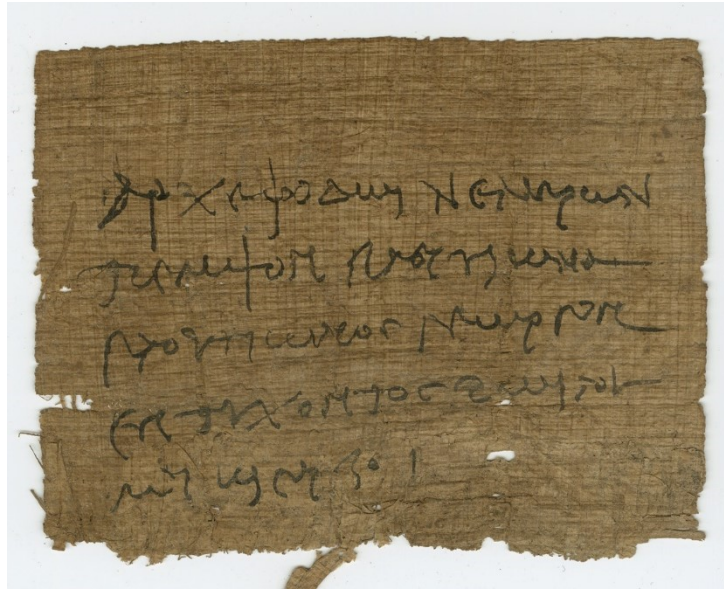


Fig. 4.6: P.Oxy. LXXIV 5001.

Two features of this document are unusual for warrants: the text runs along the fibres on a sheet more squarish than horizontal, and it closes on a date. Both these elements find a parallel in earlier subscriptions: the filiation between the two types can explain the irregularities of the Oxyrhynchos papyrus and maybe argue in favour of dating it to the first or early second century CE.

To sum up, changes in the handling of petitions occurred in the first century of Roman rule. Subscriptions to petitions, typical of Ptolemaic practice, disappeared and were replaced by a new type of document, the so-called warrants or summonses. Such an evolution implies changes in administrative practice. First, orders to summon were only part of the possible orders formulated in Ptolemaic subscriptions, but they are essential to the definition of warrants. Although other responses to petitions did not disappear⁸⁰, they were now reserved for other channels. Second, under the Ptolemies, higher officials gave the subscribed petition directly to the petitioner, who had to deliver it to the lower instance. Warrants, as independent documents, probably circulated through administrative communication channels.

Transmission Letters and Transmission Messages by Lower Officials

In Ptolemaic times, the functions of subscriptions are also performed, more rarely, by cover letters. The latter are administrative letters that include the text of the original petition as an attachment and send it to lower officials combined with some instructions. Although

⁸⁰ Cf. KELLY 2011, 86–94.

cover letters are functionally identical to subscriptions, they are more elaborate and include some typical epistolary phraseology such as the opening ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν and the mention of the transmitted petition in their text. In Ptolemaic Egypt, they are attested both as drafts added by office scribes to the submitted petition or as independent documents that contain the letter and a copy (ἀντίγραφον) of the original petition⁸¹. They also underwent some changes during the first and second centuries CE. At the end of this evolution, they developed a typology that does not conform to the epistolary model anymore.

Under the Romans, cover letters transmitting petitions are not attested as individual documents (except for one specific case, letters transmitting petitions from the *praefectus Aegypti* and other *procuratores*) but only as process notes on petitions that add to it the text of such a cover letter in a second hand⁸². Only one such note on a first-century papyrus is preserved that allows us to make a link with Ptolemaic practice, P.Mich. V 232 (Arsinoite, 36 CE). It contains a petition addressed to Chairemon, an ἐξηγητής (a nome official⁸³), that asks for the approval of a settlement concerning some mortgaged parcels of land⁸⁴. In the upper margin (l. 1-2), the office of the ἐξηγητής added a letter transmitting the petition to ὁ τὸ γραφεῖον πραγματευόμενος and including some instructions to be fulfilled⁸⁵:

Χαιρήμων τῷ τὸ γραφεῖον πραγματευ[ομέ(ν)ωι] Κρο[γίων(ι)] χαίρειν. τῶ[υ]
ἐπιδ]εδομένου ἡμῖν ἀξιώματος ἀντ[ί]γραφον ὑποτέτακται. καλῶς οὖν |
ποιήσεις κατακολουθήσας το[ῖ]ς δι' αὐτοῦ δηλουμέν[ο]ις, ὥς καθήκει.

⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand”, especially note 265.

⁸² Cf. M.Ch. 227 (Arsinoite, 189 CE); P.Mich. V 232 (Arsinoite, 36 CE); P.Oxy. III 475 (Oxyrhynchite, 182 CE); XXXVIII 2849 (Oxyrhynchite, 296 CE); P.Petaus 9 (Arsinoite, 185 CE); 24 (Arsinoite, 186 or 187 CE); P.Ryl. II 117 (Hermopolite, 269 CE); SB I 4415 (Arsinoite, 144 CE); as well as the less well-preserved P.Erl. 25 (on which cf. THOMAS 1990) and maybe P.Ryl. II 120 (whose addressee is probably lost in the lacuna) and P.Stras. I 5. Another such note may hide in the first lines of SB XVIII 13747, for which however the editor did not propose a transcription, cf. BASTIANINI 1986, 7. A connected document is P.Oxy. LVIII 3926, an internal copy of the note without opening (on this point, cf. REGGIANI 2018, 111–114; MASCELLARI 2021, 1101). Under Roman rule, I know of no independent cover letters with an appended ἀντίγραφον of the original petition, except for the specific case of letters involving petitions to the *praefectus Aegypti* and other *procuratores*, on which cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “High Officials and the Specificities of Their Answers”.

⁸³ Nothing in the text specifies the exact function of the ἐξηγητής. Later, the ἐξηγητής will be a city-level municipal official. However, at the early date of P.Mich. V 232, 36 CE, the ἐξηγητής seems to be a nome-level state official, cf. HAGEDORN 2007b, 198–201.

⁸⁴ Pace P.Mich. V 232, p. 37; MASCELLARI 2018b, 164, there is no need to postulate that the text of the petition was copied after the cover letter. The latter is so secondary on the sheet that it is more probable that it represents a later addition, either as a draft or as the definitive transmitted document.

⁸⁵ On the text of this note, cf. BELL 1945, 139 = BL 3.115; YOUTIE 1976a, 130 n. 3 = BL 7.110.

ἔρρ[ωσ]ο. ἔτους τρίτου καὶ εἰ[κ]οστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίαχ τρίτη.

Chairemon to the clerk of the *grapheion*, Kronion, greeting. Subjoined is the copy of a petition that has been presented to us. Be so kind, then, as to follow up its statements as is fitting. Farewell. Year twenty-three of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak three⁸⁶.

At the bottom of the petition, one finds an approval mark (l. 28: ἀνέγνωσαι. (ἔτους) κυ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χοί(ακ) γ⁸⁷; Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7: The hands in P.Mich. V 232.

The structure of P.Mich. V 232, which conforms to the standard characteristics of letters, appears again in SB XVI 12696 (dated 140 CE), a copy of such a letter⁸⁸. It will disappear afterwards, except when nome-level officials further transmitted petitions that *procuratores* and high instances first transmitted to them. In these cases, one may suspect the influence

⁸⁶ Translation Michigan APIS 3191, last modified the 30/08/2017, CC 3.0 BY-NC, slightly modified.

⁸⁷ On the reading, cf. MASCELLARI 2018b, 164.

⁸⁸ P.Oslo III 84 may preserve another case of a cover letter added as a process note to a petition dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, but the preservation of the piece is too poor to confirm this hypothesis.

of the administrative practice of high officials, whose handling of petitions was different from the outset, as it will be later discussed⁸⁹.

However, a new type of process notes by a second hand simultaneously appears on petitions. These new notes still perform the same function, i.e. transmitting a petition to a lower official with some instructions. However, they have a different structure from both older Ptolemaic-style subscriptions and cover letters: opening ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι, main text, signature in the form of a σεσημείωμαι, date⁹⁰. I call them here transmission messages for the sake of clarity. The earliest example of this structure is SB I 4415 (l. 16-23), dated 144 CE⁹¹:

Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ καὶ Τούρβων βασιλ(ικὸς) γραμ(ματεὺς)
Πολέμωνος μερίδος κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Μέμφεως.
τοῦ ἐπιδοθέντος μοι βιβλιδίου ἀντίγρα(φον)
πρόκ(εῖται). τὸ ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἐπιτέλει ὡς καθήκ(ει)
20 ὥς πρὸς σὲ τοῦ λόγου ἐσομένου, ἐάν τι μὴ
δεόντως γένηται. [σε]σημείωμαι.
(ἔτους) ζ' Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
Μεχεῖρ λ.

⁸⁹ Cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “High Officials and the Specificities of Their Answers”. Examples of such cover letters are P.Bacch. 21 (178 CE, a στρατηγός transfers to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς a petition that was first addressed to the ἀρχιερεὺς) or P.Fam.Tebt. 43 (182 CE, a νομάρχης transfers to a στρατηγός a petition that was first addressed to the ἐπιστράτηγος of the Heptanomia). Another specific case in which cover letters remained in use was the authorisation from the ἀρχιδικαστής to the local στρατηγοί to proceed with the execution against a debtor’s property, on which cf. PRIMAVESI 1986; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 261–262 and, for example, P.Fam.Tebt. 29; P.Oxy. X 1270; the latter procedure, very specific, follows the same procedure as the δημοσίωσις, a procedure for registering contracts attested from the end of the first century CE and with many links with loans and debt recovery, on which cf. WOLFF 1978, 129–135; PRIMAVESI 1986, 101–103; MASCELLARI 2021, 49–50 and the bibliography in the recent editions BENAÏSSA – GONIS 2009; P.Oxy. LXXXV 5498; 5499; 5501, p. 73–74. In this case, therefore, the influence of the δημοσίωσις practice may explain the longer survival of the cover letter in answering a specific set of petitions. Finally, in P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5361 the [βουλή] of Oxyrhynchus transmits a petition through a cover letter; since petitions to city councils are rare (cf. P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5361, p. 93), we do not know whether this was a current practice or not. Otherwise, no cover letters are preserved, neither in the form of process notes by a second hand on petitions, nor as independent letters which contain a copy of the original petition.

⁹⁰ Cf. M.Chr. 227; P.Oxy. III 475; XXXVIII 2849; P.Petaus 24; P.Ryl. II 117; SB I 4415; as well as the less well-preserved P.Erl. 25 (on which cf. THOMAS 1990) and maybe P.Ryl. II 120 (whose addressee is probably lost in the lacuna) and P.Stras. I 5. Another such not may hide in the first lines of SB XVIII 13747, for which however the editor did not propose a transcription, cf. BASTIANINI 1986, 7. P.Petaus 9 has an exceptional opening τῷ δεῖνι that reminds of older Ptolemaic-style subscriptions, but the note is otherwise much closer to the epistolary-like second-century transmission messages.

⁹¹ An earlier example is P.Ryl. II 122 (127 CE); this petition, whose initial lines are not preserved, contains an incomplete version of the new transmission message that simply reads ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι + main text.

Artemidoros, also known as Tourbon, royal scribe of the meris of Polemon, to the village scribe of (the village of) Memphis. A copy of the petition given to me precedes. Therefore, accomplish what follows as is fitting since you will be held accountable if something does not happen suitably. I have signed it. Year 7 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mecheir 30.

The origin of this new kind of process notes, transmission messages, can be tracked to the older cover letter P.Mich. V 232 and its parallel SB XVI 12696, a copy of such a transmission letter. Many clues allow us to make the link. First, like P.Mich. V 232 and SB XVI 12696, second and third-century transmission messages explicitly mention the petition they are transmitting. Moreover, they share with P.Mich. V 232 and SB XVI 12696 the presence of a date⁹²; they also share at least with P.Mich. V 232 the presence of an approval mark, in P.Mich. V 232 ἀνέγνωσται, in transmission messages σεσημείωμαι⁹³.

Likewise, they are often written in the upper margin, like P.Mich. V 232⁹⁴. A further link is suggested by SB XVI 12696 and P.Oxy. VI 899: in the former (l.1), a transmission letter is called by the scribe ἐπιστάλματος; in the latter (Vo, col. i, frag. 2, l. 4⁹⁵), a transmission message is called ἐπιστάλμ(ατος?).

Thus, processing a petition through transmission messages replaced processing it through cover letters around the mid-second century CE. This replacement implies that all kinds of Ptolemaic answers to petitions, i.e. subscriptions and cover letters, had changed by then. Subscriptions disappeared in the first century CE, replaced by warrants, a type of document that only took up one of the possible functions of subscriptions: requesting a lower subordinate to summon the accused party to a hearing. Rare under the Ptolemies, cover letters survived longer in Roman times and took up all other possible reactions by the addressed officials. In the first century CE, these letters are attested as epistolary process notes on petitions. However, by the mid-second century CE, these letters also disappeared, replaced by a new sort of non-epistolary process notes with specific opening and closing

⁹² Date: M.Chr. 227; P.Erl. 25; P.Oxy. III 475; XXXVIII 2849; P.Petaus 9; 24; P.Ryl. II 117; 120; P.Stras. I 5; SB I 4415; XVIII 13747.

⁹³ Approval mark: M.Chr. 227; P.Oxy. III 475; XXXVIII 2849; P.Petaus 9; 24; P.Ryl. II 117; 120 (in form of a series of crosses); SB I 4415.

⁹⁴ M.Chr. 227; P.Oxy. III 475; XXXVIII 2849; P.Petaus 24; P.Ryl. II 117; P.Stras. I 5; SB XVIII 13747. On this disposition of the text, cf. P.Petaus 17-23, p. 110; P.Petaus 24, p. 135. In the cases of P.Petaus 24 and, less clearly, in P.Oxy. III 475 (this papyrus is now in an unknown private collection, but its image can be accessed at WALKER – BIERBRIER 1997, 186, nr. 249), the upper margin is so large that one suspects it was deliberately left by the scribe.

⁹⁵ Published in P.Oxy. VI 899, p. 225.

formulas, here called transmission messages. Compared to warrants, these transmission messages allowed for more varied administrative procedures and are thus the functional heirs of both Ptolemaic cover letters and some Ptolemaic subscriptions.

The study of process notes as proxies of administrative practices shows again how the handling of petitions by the Roman administration evolved from the Ptolemaic precedent. However, the structure itself of petitions remained unchanged.

Dockets: the ὑπηρετής Giving the Petition to Someone and Various Other Notes

Under the Ptolemies, another kind of process note was in use parallel to subscriptions and cover letters: office dockets recording information such as the date of reception or the content of a petition. These notes, here generally called dockets, are different from all the others in that they do not transmit the petition further nor give any instruction to lower officials. They are much rarer under the Romans than on Ptolemaic petitions and display no clusters. Four petitions carry notes by a second hand summarising information from the text⁹⁶, and four others carry notes on the procedure activated by the petition⁹⁷. They resemble more occasional practices than systematic administrative procedures.

However, by the end of the first century, a new type of docket appeared under petitions: notes written by a second hand by the ὑπηρετής, an assistant of the στρατηγός. They all perform the same function: confirming that the ὑπηρετής has given to someone a copy of the petition⁹⁸. Indeed, the ὑπηρετής had, among others, the general task of delivering documents from the στρατηγός⁹⁹; sometimes, such documents were petitions addressed to the latter. The στρατηγός may send the ὑπηρετής to deliver a copy of a petition for various

⁹⁶ P.Fam.Tebt. 38, l. 26; P.Mich. V 228, l. 1-4; P.Mich. V 229, l. 42; P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2852, l. 43-44. The petition P.Oxy. VIII 1121 received on its back a similar docket, but it has no link with the content of the main text: it was probably a mistake: a docket concerning another petition was written on the back of this one, cf. P.Oxy. VIII 1121, p. 213.

⁹⁷ P.Got. 4, l. 28-30; P.Oxy. XLIV 3167, l. 1; P.Oxy. LVIII 3926, l. 34-41 (an internal copy of a transmission note without opening, cf. REGGIANI 2018, 111-114; MASCELLARI 2021, 1101), and the partially preserved P.Oxy. II 286, l. 28-29. Possibly, this is the case of P.Princ. III 117, l. 27-30 too, but the note is badly preserved and the date of the papyrus uncertain (55/54 or 4/3 BCE). Two additional problematic cases are P.Oxy. I 69 and BGU I 46: they both carry on the verso a σέση(μείωμαι), but there is no image to check the hands, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1099. A comparable note in Latin is attested under a third-century CE petition from Syria, cf. SB XXII 15500.

⁹⁸ BGU I 226 (Arsinoite, 99 CE); VII 1574 (Arsinoite, 176/177 CE); P.Flor. I 68 (Hermopolite, 172 CE?); P.Mil.Vogl. III 129 (Arsinoite, 135 CE); P.Oxy. III 485 (Oxyrhynchite, 178 CE); IX 1203 (Oxyrhynchite, 69-71 CE, on which cf. KELLY 2016, 428 n. 77); P.Petaus 24 (Arsinoite, 186 or 187 CE); SB V 7870 (Arsinoite, 103-107 CE); XXIV 16257 (Arsinoite, 123 CE), as well as the partially preserved M.Chr. 51 (Arsinoite, 104 CE); PSI VII 736 (Oxyrhynchite, 208 CE); SB V 7744 (Antinoopolis, 161 CE), whose initial lines are lost. The earliest such notes are P.Oxy. IX 1203 (69-71 CE); BGU I 226 (99 CE).

⁹⁹ On the functions of the ὑπηρετής of the στρατηγός, cf. STRASSI 1997, 40-41.

purposes, among which the most attested are to summon the opponent of the petitioner to a hearing and to notify a procedure of debt recovery¹⁰⁰. In these cases, the ὑπηρέτης would add a docket to the petition once he had delivered it. These dockets are a novelty of the Roman times.

These dockets by the ὑπηρέτης relate in multiple ways to the other notes and administrative procedures analysed above. For instance, summoning someone by asking the ὑπηρέτης to deliver to this person a copy of a petition was an alternative to summoning someone by sending a warrant to a police officer. The two procedures probably evolved in parallel in the same nomes, the first by creating a new type of document from older Ptolemaic subscriptions and the second by creating a new type of process notes on petitions. In both cases, the characteristics of petitions remained unchanged, but the process notes they received changed according to these administrative innovations. The direct summons of people also interacts with the practice of covering letters. There are examples of letters used to forward a petition to a ὑπηρέτης and asking him to give a copy of it to someone, and even an example of a ὑπηρέτης confirming through a note that he delivered a cover letter of a petition¹⁰¹.

Process Notes by Nome-Level Functionaries: an Intermediate Summary

This section aimed to study the administrative practice of officials dealing with petitions; it became evident that these practices were not uniform but changed with time. The following graph highlights the continuities and changes in the process notes on petitions (Fig. 4.8).

¹⁰⁰ Summons: BGU I 226; M.Chr. 51; P.Mil.Vogl. III 129; SB V 7744; 7870; on this procedure, cf. KELLY 2011, 95–96. Debt recovery: BGU VII 1574; P.Flor. I 68; P.Oxy. III 485; cf. also P.Oxy. IX 1203, a petition to halt a procedure of debt recovery (on which cf. KELLY 2016, 428). Other procedures are attested in P.Petaus 24 (notify a transmission message) and SB XXIV 16257 (publicly notify the search for disappeared opponents). PSI VII 736 is too poorly preserved to allow for a classification; yet its multi-level structure remembers the petitions for debt recovery. For examples of the multiple functions of served petitions, cf. KELLY 2016, 424–430.

¹⁰¹ Cf. M.Chr. 227 and P.Ryl. II 117 for the first case, P.Petaus 24 for the second.

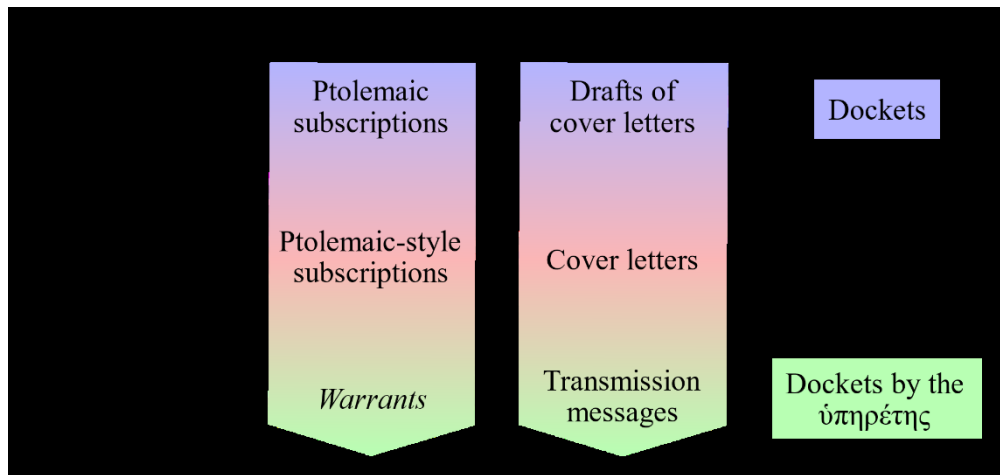


Fig. 4.8: Graphic representation of the evolution of process notes on petitions. Warrants are not process notes, but were integrated because they evolve from subscriptions.

The main changes appear at various moments between the second half of the first century and the first half of the second century CE. Before these changes, process notes in form of Ptolemaic-style subscriptions or cover letters were in use, in continuity with the older, Hellenistic practice. Afterwards, one finds transmission messages, dockets by the ὑπηρετής, as well as a new type of document, the warrant.

The various process notes performed different functions. Under the Ptolemies, both subscriptions and cover letters had the same purpose: to transfer the petition to a lower official provided with some instructions to fulfil. Under Roman rule, a differentiation appears. Whereas transmission letters and later transmission messages still transmitted a petition with some general instructions, subscriptions and later warrants fulfilled only one specific function: they ordered a lower official to summon the adversary of the petitioner to an audience. The first column of the graph experienced a reduction of the functions performed by the notes, whereas the second one did not.

Concerning dockets, i.e. process notes that do not imply the idea of transmitting the message, there is no continuity between the Ptolemaic and Roman practices. Ptolemaic dockets recorded information like the date of reception or the content of the petition; such annotations became anecdotal on Roman petitions. On the contrary, a new type of docket related to a new administrative practice appears on second and third-century Roman petitions. The στρατηγός could order his assistant, the ὑπηρετής, to give a copy of a petition to someone; in such cases, the ὑπηρετής wrote on the petition a docket once he had done his task. Such dockets are typical of the Roman practice and find no parallel on earlier petitions.

The administrative processing of petitions evolved during the first three centuries of the common era. However, the formal characteristics of petitions did not change. The administrative changes impacted process notes written by a second hand in the addressee's office but did not change the main text of the petition as prepared by the scribes. The same happens for petitions to higher officials, whose process notes will be the object of a separate analysis.

High Officials and the Specificities of Their Answers

High officials, namely the *praefectus Aegypti* and the other *procuratores* of equestrian status, also transmitted petitions to lower administration members and sometimes provided some instructions¹⁰². However, the procedure they followed differed from that described above and presents a different evolutive pattern. Rudolf Haensch identified four main phases in the handling of petitions by the *praefectus*¹⁰³:

- Phase one: the *praefectus* transferred petitions to lower levels through cover letters. Those letters conformed to the epistolary canon. However, they were not sent through the administrative channels; the petitioner himself delivered them. This practice lasted for at least the whole first century CE¹⁰⁴; even when subscriptions appeared, it always remained possible for the *praefectus* to answer petitions through cover letters¹⁰⁵.
- Phase two: at the beginning of the second century CE, the *praefectus* resorted to subscriptions to answer petitions and delegate them to lower officials¹⁰⁶. However, these subscriptions are profoundly different from Ptolemaic ones: they are not addressed to the lower official but to the petitioner himself¹⁰⁷. J. David Thomas identified four parts in their structure: date, content, validation in the form of an order to a subordinate (in phase two, ἀπόδος; in the following phases, πρόθεσ¹⁰⁸),

¹⁰² These procedures may quickly become cumbersome, as attested, for instance, by BGU I 168, in which the petitioner, after a first unsuccessful petition to the στρατηγός and a second petition to the ἐπιστράτηγος, was sent from the ἐπιστράτηγος to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς as substitute of the στρατηγός and then again to the ἐπιστράτηγος. On this point, cf. KELLY 2011, 86–94. For a list of *procuratores* of equestrian rank in Roman Egypt, cf. KRUSE 2019, 124–125.

¹⁰³ The reference study remains HAENSCH 1994. For more recent bibliography, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1019–1022.

¹⁰⁴ HAENSCH 1994, 489–490 and, for instance, P.Fam.Tebt. 15, l. 38–75.

¹⁰⁵ HAENSCH 1994, 490; 495–497.

¹⁰⁶ HAENSCH 1994, 490–492. As MASCELLARI 2016, 367 shows, it took long before the change in administrative practice impacted the way scribes formulated their requests.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. BICKERMANN 1930a, 177; THOMAS 1983, 370; THOMAS 1990, 216.

¹⁰⁸ On the difference between the two orders, cf. HAENSCH 1994, 503 with n. 54.

reference number (this last only appearing in the subsequent phases)¹⁰⁹. SB XIV 12087 (Arsinoite, 162 CE) offers two standard examples of such subscriptions in phase two (l. 17-18)¹¹⁰:

l. 17: (ἔτους) β Ἀ[δρ]ια[ν]οῦ . γ. τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρ(ατήγῳ) ἔντυχε. ἀπόδος.

Year 2, Hadrianos (day unclear). Petition the most excellent *epistrategos*.

Give back.

l. 17-18: (ἔτους) β Τῦβι ις. ὁ [στρατηγ]ὸς [ὅ] τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐστ[ι]ν ποιήσει. ἀπόδος.

Year 2, Tybi 16. The *strategos* will do whatever is related to him. Give back.

In these subscriptions, the main text is either addressed directly to the petitioner (in the form of an imperative, e.g. ἔντυχε) or, more rarely, styled in the third person. An imperative follows it, ἀπόδος, addressed to an assistant of the petitioned authority and instructing him to give the petition back to the petitioner. Such subscriptions are only attested for the *praefectus Aegypti* or other equestrian *procuratores*¹¹¹.

- Phase three: in the second half of the second century CE, petitions to the *praefectus* did not receive individual subscriptions but collective subscriptions, delegating groups of them to lower officials¹¹². This procedure was probably parallel to phases two and four at the end of the second century CE¹¹³.
- Phase four: from the second half of the second century CE, the *praefectus* started to resort to a new procedure that superseded all others during the third century CE. Petitions received individual subscriptions, were exposed publicly for a few days so petitioners could copy the answer, and then archived by the offices of the *praefectus*¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ THOMAS 1983, especially 370. On the function of the order to the subordinate, cf. also HAENSCH 1994, 491; MASCELLARI 2021, 1026. For more recent bibliography, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1024–1027.

¹¹⁰ Although the author of these subscriptions was not the *praefectus* but other *procuratores*, the example of SB XIV 12087 was retained because it shows the two standard formularies that were used by all high officials, including the *praefectus*. On these variations, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1025.

¹¹¹ THOMAS 1983, 371.

¹¹² HAENSCH 1994, 492–498 and, for instance, P.Oxy. VII 1032, l. 43–48.

¹¹³ HAENSCH 1994, 498–502 wanted to chronologically differentiate the various phases, but MASCELLARI 2021, 1019 n. 3 remarks that this does not have to be the case: chronologically contemporary ways to handle petitions are possible and adapts better to the documentation (including some recently published documents).

¹¹⁴ HAENSCH 1994, 499–500; 502–507 and, for instance, P.Oxy. XVII 2131.

The sources concerning the other *procuratores* are much poorer; generally, the procedures were similar to those of the *praefectus*, but *procuratores* seem to resort more often and for a longer time to letters than the *praefectus*, and only the *praefectus* seems to use the collective subscription of phase three¹¹⁵.

The process notes in a second hand left on petitions by higher authorities indicate that the administrative procedures started to change at the beginning of the second century CE. However, the development of these new practices did not impact the overall structure of petitions, which remained unchanged while the procedures around it evolved, thus proving its adaptability and efficiency. During the second century CE, the *praefectus Aegypti* answered petitions by transferring them through a cover letter, giving them back to the petitioner with a note, or exposing them publicly. Although these procedures differ massively, they could all be accommodated without changing the general characteristics of petitions.

Phases two, three and four of the evolution of process notes by higher officials implied creating a new type of subscription that produced the first direct written exchange between the sender and the addressee of a *hypomnema*. Indeed, for the first time, answers to *hypomnemata* were not addressed to further officials but to the submitter himself¹¹⁶. These notes create a written exchange of information between correspondents that was never to be observed earlier in *hypomnemata*. Two explanations can be proposed, none of which can be proven. First, the older idea that a *hypomnema* was a unidirectional communication may have lost its importance in the definition of the type: other elements were now more central to it, like the hierarchical overtone of the exchange and the administrative or para-administrative nature of it. Second, since this practice is limited to the *praefectus* and other *procuratores*, i.e. very high charges always held by Roman citizens of equestrian status, it may be the effect of an interference with Roman scribal practices that does not reflect a change in the perception of the *hypomnemata* in Egypt¹¹⁷. The existence of such notes generally across the empire and for all sorts of administrative procedures addressed to

¹¹⁵ HAENSCH 1994, 507–510.

¹¹⁶ This difference was already observed by THOMAS 1983, 370.

¹¹⁷ Similarly JÖRDENS 1997, 345–346 concerning the form of the orders of the prefect as stemming not from the Egyptian practice but from the Roman one.

Roman high officials may argue in favour of the second explanation¹¹⁸. However, these two explanations do not exclude each other.

4.1.1.4 *Roman Petitions: Summary*

One can frame the evolution of petitions under Roman rule under the double reading of strong typological continuity and administrative changes. The core of the text remained essentially unchanged in materiality and formulas, from the opening address to the closing greetings. A slow evolution brought about some innovations, such as the newly structured opening and the enlarged π of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ at the end of the first century CE or the increased rhetorical flavour of the narration in the third century CE, but the overall characteristics of the petition changed little.

However, the administrative framework around the petition changed a lot during the first century CE, and this engendered changes that, without affecting the core of the petition itself, changed what happened in its upper and lower margins. First, from about the mid-first century CE, petitions started to integrate in the bottom margin additional clauses identifying the sender, either penned by the scribe or by the sender himself, here called signatures. Although the exact circumstances behind their appearance are uncertain, and one cannot know whether they were a compulsory part of petitions from the beginning, they hint at changes in the administrative processing of petitions that requested such signatures.

Second, the process notes by the addressee changed around the end of the first century CE and the beginning of the second century CE, revealing changes in the administrative handling of petitions. Ptolemaic-style subscriptions disappear, warrants appear, cover letters by lower officials develop new features and turn into transmission messages, dockets by the $\upsilon\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ attesting the serving of a petition appear, and the *praefectus Aegypti* and other *procuratores* develop a new form of subscription addressed to the petitioner. The whole administrative apparatus surrounding petitions changed without affecting the document type itself.

However, one of these changes reveals that the perception of the petition has profoundly evolved. Indeed, under the Ptolemies, the *hypomnemata* never opened a dialogue between

¹¹⁸ On these kind of notes outside Egypt, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1030. For instance, such subscriptions are attested in Palestine before they are introduced in Egypt and belong to some sort of common bureaucratic language of Roman governors, cf. HAENSCH 1992, 261–263; HAENSCH 1994, 510–511.

the sender and the addressee. The sender contacted the addressee, and the addressee reacted appropriately but never answered the sender. He addressed all his written communications to other actors and never to the petitioner. At the beginning of the second century CE, the highest level of the Egyptian government under the Romans, the *praefectus Aegypti*, developed a new form of subscription that was addressed to the petitioner and replied to his request. This change may either imply that unidirectionality is a less crucial element in the definition of the *hypomnema* or betray the usage by Roman functionaries of practice external to the Egyptian tradition.

Typological continuity, administrative change, and a new perception of the *hypomnema* are thus the three main elements that emerged from this comparison between Ptolemaic and (early) Roman petitions.

4.1.2 Innovating under Roman Administration: Population Lists and the Census

In the case of petitions, the administration of Egypt under the Romans adopted and later modified an existing system. Therefore, scribes could continue a scribal practice they had inherited from their predecessors and maintain the main characteristics of the documentary type over the centuries. Petitions changed little with the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule in materiality, opening formula and the structure of the main text.

However, the political changes massively impacted scribal practice in other cases. The reforms made by the Romans to the census are an excellent case study for such an interaction between political evolution and changes in the typology of documents. Indeed, these innovations saw the appearance of many new document types, such as census, death, or birth declarations, which did not have clear precedents in Ptolemaic practice¹¹⁹. In order to study the link between the administrative changes brought in by the new census and the appearance of new hypomnematic documents, this chapter will address three topics: a summary of the creation of the Roman census, a study of the earliest extant census declarations and a comparison with death declarations. Other *hypomnemata* related to the census will be considered only in so far as they enrich our picture. However, a definition

¹¹⁹ Only a few Ptolemaic census declarations are known, all dated to the mid-third century before the appearance of the administrative *hypomnema*, cf. the list by CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 22 for a total of five documents (P.Alex. inv. 553, published by CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2002, is now known as SB XXVIII 17193); P.Lille I 27 and P.Tebt. III.1 814, l. 45-58, two of these five documents, are lists of people related to declarations more than the original declaration. No Ptolemaic death or birth declarations are known to date, and the same is true of all other *hypomnemata* related to the census, like *ἐπικρίσις* applications or *ἀναχώρησις* and apprenticeship declarations.

of the census and a short overview of the functioning of the Roman census in the second century CE are necessary to understand what follows.

A census is an official counting, usually of people, for administrative purposes¹²⁰. In Roman Egypt, this counting took the shape of requesting the whole population to declare to the administration all the members of every household at a fixed interval of years. Hundreds of those declarations are known between 3 BCE and 259 CE, all drawn up as *hypomnemata*¹²¹. Scholarship on Roman Egypt, based on the ancient Latin usage, also calls this request census and the year in which it was formulated census year¹²². These declarations helped create up-to-date lists of all people living in the province¹²³. Those lists served many purposes, among which the two most prominent probably were to ensure the payment of the poll tax (an annual fixed tax that all male inhabitants had to pay from their fourteenth to their sixtieth or sixty-second year of life unless they belonged to some privileged classes) and to establish the control of the Roman power over the population¹²⁴. The Roman government established this periodical obligation of declaration early on, but the process of creating the periodic census was progressive. Such a census existed in all provinces, although with different cycles and different forms of declarations¹²⁵.

In the second century CE, the census of Roman Egypt was an established and standardised practice¹²⁶. Every fourteen years, the *praefectus Aegypti* would publish a decree ordering a general census¹²⁷. All citizens of the province, most probably including the Romans, had

¹²⁰ For a general introduction to the census procedures in the ancient world from the Mesopotamian cultures to the Roman empire, cf. HUEBNER 2013 with further bibliography.

¹²¹ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 101; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 1; 22. On the higher time limit, cf. the additional document published by CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015. On the lower time limit, cf. KRUSE 2002, 65; 947 n. 47; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 9–11; JÖRDENS 2009, 65–66; HUEBNER 2013, 1412.

¹²² On the ancient meaning of *census*, from the verb *censere*, “to count”, cf. GIZEWSKI 1997.

¹²³ On the link between counting the population and establishing population lists and taxation lists, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 135–144; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 27; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 19–20; DOLGANOV 2021, 191; 193–194.

¹²⁴ BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 26–30. The age to be reached to be exempted from the poll tax is not fully clear, but lies surely between 60 and 62 years old, cf. PARKIN 2003, 154–163; P.Oxy. LXXXII 5319, p. 123–124.

¹²⁵ COTTON 2003, 118; JÖRDENS 2009, 63–64; 87–94; DOLGANOV 2021, 189–191; 194–195.

¹²⁶ The fundamental discussions of Roman census in Egypt are HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006. A practical summary of the procedure can be found in DOLGANOV 2021, 190. Because of the distribution of the discoveries, the second-century census is better known than the first-century; yet the second-century situation cannot be attributed as such to the earlier times. On this point, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 6–8.

¹²⁷ On the fourteen-year cycle, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 47–53; KRUSE 2002, 64; JÖRDENS 2009, 65–67. On the decree of the *praefectus Aegypti*, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 53–99; KRUSE 2002, 65; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 11 (expressing some reservations about the speculations by Marcel Hombert and Claire Préaux); JÖRDENS 2009, 68–69; DOLGANOV 2021, 190.

to be declared¹²⁸. Generally, every owner of a house or part of a house had to submit a declaration indicating his house property and its occupants, and declarations worked according to households (i.e. “one or more individuals operating as a unit”¹²⁹); yet there are no strict rules. For instance, uninhabited houses could be listed at the end of the primary declaration by the owner or declared separately; likewise, rented houses could be declared by their owner or their tenants¹³⁰. Because of this link between households and declarations, the procedure of the census and sometimes the declaration itself were called *κατ’ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή*, “declaration house(hold) by house(hold)”¹³¹.

A typical declaration would include various details, like the name and identification details of the declarant, a main text mentioning at least the ideas of declaration, property and inhabiting, a more or less detailed list of the inhabitants of the house, sometimes some closing remarks like an *ἐπιδίδωμι* clause (typical of the Arsinoite nome) or an oath-taking (typical of other nomes), and a date preceded or followed by the possible signatures¹³². The deadline for filling the declarations changed over time: the earliest declarations tend to be submitted in the year of the decree ordering the submission of declarations to complete a census, whereas later, it becomes common to do so in the following year¹³³. Multiple copies of each declaration were submitted, each to a different official. There were also collective declarations addressed to all officials at once: at least in the Arsinoite nome, only these may carry subscriptions by the addressed office¹³⁴. Despite the highly standardised procedure, many differences occur between nomes, and the practice never seems to have been uniform across Egypt¹³⁵. As mentioned, the administration created various sorts of population lists

¹²⁸ On whether Roman citizens had to submit declarations, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 11–12; DOLGANOV 2021, 196 with n. 59. *Contra* P.Thomas 6, p. 107–110; JÖRDENS 2009, 63 with n. 9.

¹²⁹ On the definition of household, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 13 n. 36.

¹³⁰ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 57–62; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 12–14. As a general rule, one finds declarations for the household of the declarant, or for the household of renters of a house of the declarant, or for empty houses, cf. BAGNALL 1991a, 18.

¹³¹ On the ancient lexicon for the census and the census declarations, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 100–101. On the word *oikia* meaning both house and household, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 55.

¹³² HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 99–129; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 22–26. For a practical schema, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 100.

¹³³ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 76–84; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 6; 16–18; JÖRDENS 2009, 75–76; 78–79; P.Hoogendijk 23, p. 108.

¹³⁴ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 84–97; 129–131; KRUSE 2002, 66–129; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 19–21.

¹³⁵ For instance, on the variations concerning place and date of submission of declarations, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 75–81; on the variation concerning the mention of the edict of the *praefectus Aegypti*, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 81–83; 531–534; on the variations concerning the formulary of declarations, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 20–26 (a summary of HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 99–129); on the variation concerning the administrative handling of declarations, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 93; KRUSE 2002, 66–129.

and tax lists from these declarations¹³⁶; between two censuses, those lists were kept up to date through death declarations¹³⁷.

4.1.2.1 *Establishment of the Roman Census*

A census for people is already attested in pharaonic Egypt¹³⁸. Under the Ptolemies, the administration kept registers of the population and levied various capitation taxes, i.e. taxes fixed at a standard rate for all members of the paying group¹³⁹. Many such registers, showing traces of regular updates, are preserved¹⁴⁰. On the contrary, only a few declarations of the members of a household are preserved, all dated to the mid-third century BCE, before the appearance of the administrative *hypomnema*¹⁴¹; those declarations are not standardised, and it is unknown whether the submission of such written declarations was ever a universal obligation¹⁴². It is likewise uncertain whether such declarations were later requested to help compile the population registers, as no second or first-century Ptolemaic household declaration is preserved. Whether or not there was ever a general obligation to submit census declarations under the (late) Ptolemaic rule, it was probably not based on a fixed-term periodical cycle¹⁴³.

Roman rule uniformised the rates (including reductions and exemptions) and simplified the levy of poll taxes across the province¹⁴⁴; this new version of the poll tax goes back to the

¹³⁶ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 135–144; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 27. P.Mich. XI 603 preserves a contract for scribes to draw up such lists from census declarations.

¹³⁷ WILCKEN 1912, 195–196; P.Thomas 6, p. 106; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 27; JÖRDENS 2009, 65; DOLGANOV 2021, 191.

¹³⁸ ALLAM 1988; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 13–14; 206–207; 224; the same is true for Persian Egypt, cf. THOMPSON 2009, 399 (citing as prove Textbook of Aramaic documents C3.9-10 = TM 89526-89527; Textbook of Aramaic documents C3.20-24 = TM 102212; 89537; 102203; 105631; 105650); AGUT-LABORDÈRE 2017, 688.

¹³⁹ On the definition of capitation taxes, also known as poll taxes, cf. MONSON 2014, 128–129. On the Ptolemaic census, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 45–47; RATHBONE 1993, 92; THOMPSON 1997; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 10–35; ARMONI 2012, 207–208; MONSON 2014, 130. On Ptolemaic capitation taxes, cf. RATHBONE 1993, 90–93; THOMPSON 1997; MONSON 2012a, 265; MONSON 2014, 131–152; 158–159; MONSON 2019, 154–155.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 13; 19.

¹⁴¹ Cf. the list by CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 22, for a total of five declarations (P.Alex. inv. 553, published by CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2002, is now known as SB XXVIII 17193); P.Lille I 27 and P.Tebt. III.1 814, l. 45-58, two of these five documents, are lists of people related to declarations more than the original declaration.

¹⁴² THOMPSON 1997, 244–245; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2002, 205; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 21–22; 27–28.

¹⁴³ THOMPSON 1997, 245; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 15; 19–20; 27–28; 33; ARMONI 2012, 207; HUEBNER 2013, 1411. On the dismissal of the earlier hypothesis of a yearly obligation of declaration, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 66 n. 26.

¹⁴⁴ MONSON 2014, 129; 159–160 with the bibliography on the older debate on the exact extent of continuity and change between Ptolemaic and Roman capitation taxes; his discussion supersedes older attempt to answer the question. Cf. also MONSON 2012a, 265–267; MONSON 2019, 155–156; VAN MINNEN 2022a.

first decade of Roman rule¹⁴⁵. Later, it also intervened in the way population registers were kept¹⁴⁶. The first household declaration attested again after the gap in the second and first century BCE dates to 3 BCE¹⁴⁷, but Roger Bagnall reasonably proposed that the first such obligation of declaring took place in 11/10 BCE¹⁴⁸. The Roman census was still an evolving procedure during its first decades, and it only stabilised in the second half of the first century CE; however, the small quantity of preserved first-century declarations prevents us from understanding this stabilisation process in detail¹⁴⁹.

The Romans could build their system not only on the Ptolemaic precedent but also on their practice in Italy and the territories they controlled. A five-year census is attested from the early times of the Roman Republic; it was based on oral declarations by all the adult male citizens concerning both their property and the members of their household¹⁵⁰. This system became increasingly inappropriate with the increased number of Roman citizens and the geographical extension of Roman territories¹⁵¹. During the first century BCE, it was progressively replaced by other counts of the Roman citizens, like the house-by-house and street-by-street count of Rome inhabitants under Caesar or the three general censuses of Roman citizens under Augustus¹⁵²; it was also complemented through local censuses of provincial inhabitants, based on a mix of local practice and Roman needs without a shared periodicity¹⁵³.

The exact degree of innovation introduced by the Roman administration in Egypt in the completion of population registers is uncertain and open to debate because of our poor understanding of the Ptolemaic census and especially of Ptolemaic household declarations. Although it is undeniable that the Roman census was based, from 11/10 BCE onwards, on periodical universal and compulsory household declarations, the extent of Ptolemaic usage of such declarations is debated¹⁵⁴. However, the Romans can undoubtedly be credited for

¹⁴⁵ WILCKEN 1912, 189 n. 4; MONSON 2014, 153; CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 643 n. 21; CLAYTOR ET AL. 2016a, 122; MONSON 2019, 155.

¹⁴⁶ RATHBONE 1993, 98–99; CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 644.

¹⁴⁷ TM 749316 (P.Mich. inv. 4406 a), published by CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015.

¹⁴⁸ BAGNALL 1991b, 263–265; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 3–5, further confirmed by CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 641–644.

¹⁴⁹ WILCKEN 1912, 193; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 6.

¹⁵⁰ NICOLET 1991, 126–127; GIZEWSKI 1997; HUEBNER 2013, 1411; DOLGANOV 2021, 187–188.

¹⁵¹ NICOLET 1991, 127; DOLGANOV 2021, 188–189.

¹⁵² NICOLET 1991, 127–133; COTTON 2003, 108–109; DOLGANOV 2021, 188–189; 195–196.

¹⁵³ COTTON 2003, 118; JÖRDENS 2009, 92–94; HUEBNER 2013, 1411; DOLGANOV 2021, 189–191.

¹⁵⁴ Scholars of Ptolemaic administration tend to downplay the degree of Roman innovation and to reduce it to the periodicity of declaration, cf. for instance CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 15; 33; ARMONI 2012, 207. Other scholars tend, on the contrary, to view Roman census as a distinctive new procedure, cf. NICOLET 1991,

the regularity with which the declarations were requested¹⁵⁵, although the periodicity was not fixed from the beginning. From an initial interval of seven years between periodical obligations of declaration, it stabilised on a fourteen-year cycle at the latest with the three general censuses of 33/34, 47/48 and 61/62 CE¹⁵⁶. It is likewise clear that the number of census declarations increased perceptibly under the Romans: there remains more than twenty for the first century CE¹⁵⁷, in striking contrast with the absence of evidence during most of the Ptolemaic period.

The typological study of census declarations helps to estimate the degree of innovation introduced by the Roman administration in asking for universal, periodic, compulsory household declarations. A high degree of uniformity indicates that the scribes could build on a fixed ground: either an older practice to write census declarations or new models circulated by the administration. On the contrary, a low degree of uniformity indicates that they had to create a new document. The second configuration indicates that Roman innovation was more significant than is usually acknowledged by scholars of Ptolemaic Egypt.

4.1.2.2 *The Creation of the Roman Census and Hypomnemata: Census Declarations*

Earliest Hypomnemata Related to the Census

The earliest preserved hypomnematic declarations of an individual, P.Grenf. I 45 and 46, date to 19 BCE and 18 BCE. They both originate in the Arsinoite nome. For three reasons, they are usually excluded from the discussion of the beginning of the Roman census: they do not declare a household, but a specific individual, Pnepheros son of Phanemieus; they preserve two declarations from consecutive years; their link with the establishment of

129; 135; RATHBONE 1993, 98–99; CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 638–639; DOLGANOV 2021, 189–190; 194–195; this view was, in the case of Dominic Rathbone, strongly linked to the idea that poll taxes were a major innovation of the Roman rule, an opinion recently revised by MONSON 2014. For a more nuanced view, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 62; 66 n. 26; 87; 92: Roman rule tended to keep structures in place and reformed census procedures only when necessary; yet it aimed to create a census and collect a poll tax in all provinces.

¹⁵⁵ CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 19–20; 27–28; ARMONI 2012, 207; MONSON 2014, 160; MONSON 2019, 155.

¹⁵⁶ BAGNALL 1991b, 255–256; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 2.

¹⁵⁷ New first-century CE census declarations are continuously published. Taking the catalogue of census declarations by BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 179–312 (dated to the first edition of 1994), its supplement of 2006 BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 313–326 (with the concordance proposed by COWEY – KAH 2007, 179–182) and the recently published P.Hoogendijk 23; P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980; 4981; 4982; 4983; P.Pintaudi 24; TM 970552 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2001), the total of first-century CE census declarations amounts to twenty-four. I have excluded P.Messeri 29 because its state of preservation does not allow to ascertain the interpretation of this list as a census declaration. P.Thomas 6, in Latin, is probably a declaration for a separate census of Roman citizens ordered by Claudius in 47/48 CE.

population lists is not clear¹⁵⁸. W. Graham Claytor and Roger Bagnall defined them as “ad-hoc arrangements” used during the earliest years of Roman rule¹⁵⁹. However, they already present a feature of later census declarations, the connection between inhabiting a house and declaring people.

Although they cannot be considered census declarations, they show how their scribes used elements already at their disposal to create new documents. Let us take the example of P.Grenf. I 45 (Fig. 4.9)¹⁶⁰:

Ἀπολλῶ(νίῳ) κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Θεαδελ(φείας)
παρὰ Πνεφερῶ(τος) τοῦ Φα-
νεμιέως δημοσίου γεω(ργοῦ)
(ἐτῶν) ξγ μελανχρῆς στρογ-
5 γυλοπροσώ(που) οὐλῇ ὀπθαλ-
μῷ δεξιῷ. ἀπογράφομαι
ἐματὸν εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) Καίσα(ρος)
θελῶν σύνταξιιν,
ἐν δὲ τῷ(ι) [. .]εαγρεμφη()
10 καταγίνομαι. διὸ ἐπιδί-
δωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη(μα), ὅπως
καταχωρισθῇ.
(ἔτους) ια Καίσα(ρος) Μεχ(εῖρ) γ.
(**hand 2**) ἐπιδέδοται (ἔτους) ια Καίσα(ρος) Παχῶ(ν) β.

To Apollonios, village scribe of Theadelphia, from Pnephros son of Phanemius, public farmer, 63 years old, black-skinned, round-faced, with a scar on the right eye. I register myself for the year 11 of Caesar, paying the poll tax, in which [...] I live. For this reason, I submit the *hypomnema* to be

¹⁵⁸ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 51; BAGNALL 1991b, 256; RATHBONE 1993, 90; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 2–3; JÖRDENS 2009, 66 with n. 27.

¹⁵⁹ CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 644 with n. 27. The old view that saw them as a fossil of an older, Ptolemaic practice of a yearly declaration, still to be found in KRUSE 2002, 64 n. 1, was revised by the publication of CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006; on this point, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 66 n. 26.

¹⁶⁰ The text follows the reedition as W.Chr. 200 a, yet at l. 8, I restore the original reading θελῶν, because the initial θ is clear on the image; indeed, what in W.Chr. 200 a is printed as a reading (τελῶν) was first presented in WILCKEN 1903, 395–395 as a regularisation (<τ>ελῶν, according to the editorial practice adopted back then in the APF; in nowadays practice, it corresponds to θελῶν with in the apparatus “*lege τελῶν*”). Regularisations: l. 5–6: ὀπθαλμῷ, *lege* ὀφθαλμῷ; l. 7: ἐματόν, *lege* ἐμαντόν; l. 8: θελῶν, *lege* τελῶν.

registered. Year 11 of Caesar, Mecheir 3. **(hand 2)** It has been given in the year 11 of Caesar, Pachon 2.

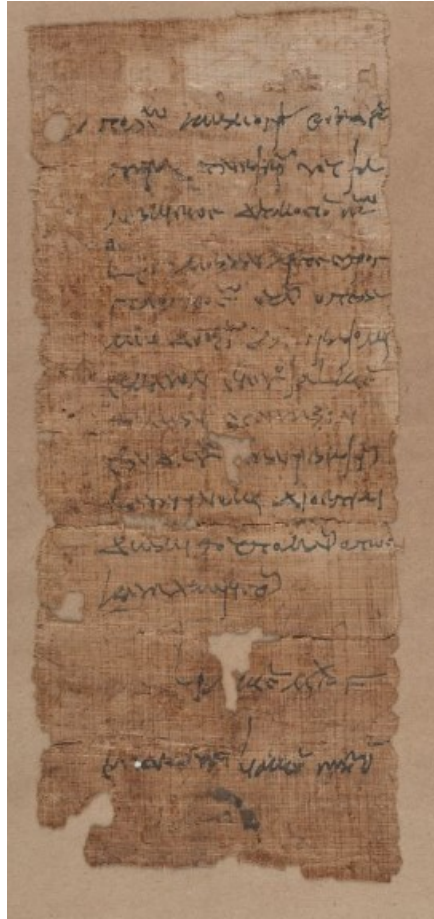


Fig. 4.9: P.Grenf. I 45.

In this papyrus, one observes that all structural elements come from the repertoire of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. Like most *hypomnemata*, it is written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus, leaving large upper, left and lower margins. It presents a text disposed into three blocks, the addressee indented to the left, the main text closing on a *paragraphos*, and a final element to the right (in this case, a date), followed by a second-hand process note. The main text is composed of formulas already in usage for some or all sub-categories of *hypomnemata*: the opening τῷ δέϊνι παρὰ τοῦ δέϊνος is standard, although the wealth of details concerning the sender is probably due to the specific function of the document; the ἀπογράφομαι clause was already in usage for property declarations; the final request introduced by διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι is attested for petitions to lower officials, the request of registration was in usage for petitions and property declarations, and property declarations typically close on a date. Thus, although no such declaration of an individual is known for the Ptolemaic era, the scribe who created P.Grenf. I 45 used elements that

belonged to the repertoire of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* and recombined them to create a new text. The choice of the *hypomnema* comes from the general purpose of this document: it is addressed by an individual to an administration official, a *κωμογραμματεὺς*, and expects him to perform the registration of the document.

The oldest preserved census declaration is TM 749316 (P.Mich. inv. 4406 a, Fig. 4.10)¹⁶¹. It dates to 3 BCE and comes from the archive of Harthotes, a public farmer from Theadelphia in the Arsinoite¹⁶². This text contains the key elements of what will become census declarations: it contains the mention of a house, the list of inhabitants, and at least the notions of property (l. 5: *ὑπάρχει μοι*) and of inhabiting (l. 6: *καταγίνομαι*). The text runs as follows¹⁶³:

Ἀκουσιλάωι καὶ . . . [. . .] . . . ισίωι καὶ Τιμοκρ[ά]τῃ καὶ
Διονυσίω καὶ . . . ρ . . . νωι λαογράφῃς Θεαδελφ[εία]ς
παρὰ Ἀρθώτου τοῦ Μαρρείου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
κώμης δημοσίων γεωργῶν ὥς (ἐτῶν) μα.
5 ὑπάρχει μοι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ οἰκία ἐν ἣ αὐτὸς
ἐγὼ κατ[α]γίν[ο]μαι λαογραφούμενος περὶ τὴν
κώμην . . . [. . .] . . . [.] . . . [.] . . . Πετε-
σούχου ὥς (ἐτῶν(?)) λγ καὶ ἡ τ . υτ
Τα [. . .]
10 εὐτύχει.
κατακεχόρ[ι]στ[α]ι (ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος Μεχεῖρ .¹⁶⁴

To Akousilaos and -isios and Timokrates and Dionysios and NN, laographoi of Theadelphia, from Harthotes son of Marres, one of the public farmers of the village, about 41 years old. I own a house in the village, in which I myself live, registered for the poll tax in the village [... and ...] son/daughter of Petesouchos, about 33 years old, and NN [...]. Farewell. Registered in the year 27 of Caesar, Mecheir (day unclear)¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶¹ For the first edition, cf. CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015.

¹⁶² On the archive of Harthotes and his descendants, cf. VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 158–161 (TM Arch 99); CLAYTOR ET AL. 2016b, 80–83; 117–119.

¹⁶³ Regularisation: l. 2: *λαογράφῃς*, *lege* *λαογράφοις*.

¹⁶⁴ It is hard to say whether the process note is in another hand than the main text. In case it is in the same hand, then this text would be a copy of the originally submitted declaration.

¹⁶⁵ Translation CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 649 slightly modified.

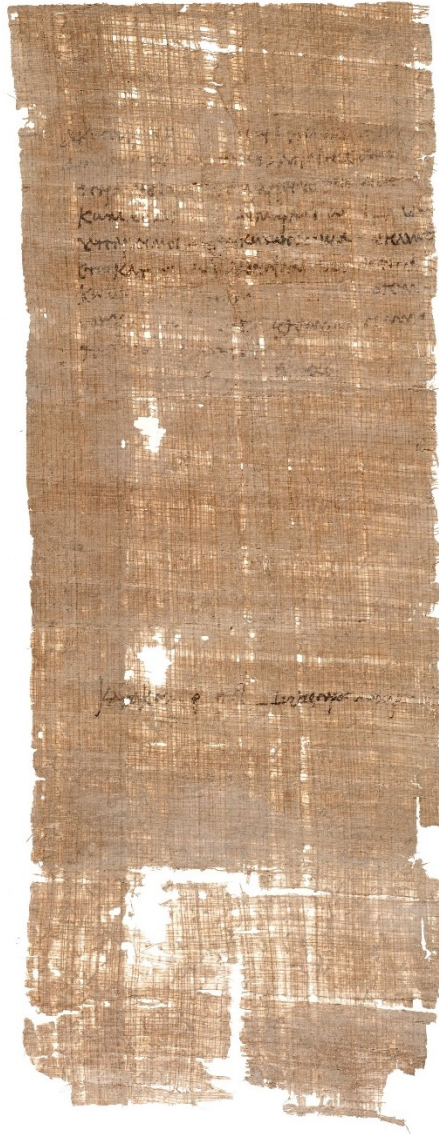


Fig. 4.10: TM 749316 (P.Mich. inv. 4406 a).

As for P.Grenf. I 45 and 46, because an individual writes this text to an official and expects the registration performed by the docket, the scribe composed the document as a *hypomnema*. Indeed, many characteristics of this document correspond to the general feature of *hypomnemata*: the text is written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus, the right margin is narrower than the others, the text is tripartite with the mention of the addressee and the closing formula highlighted on the sheet, there is possibly a *paragraphos* at the end of the main text, and the lower margin is used for a process note. The opening formula τῷ δέϊνι παρὰ τοῦ δέϊνος is characteristic of *hypomnemata*, and the closing εὐτύχει was current under Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, especially under petitions.

However, the type had to be adapted to a new function: declaring a household for its registration in population lists. Among the changes introduced by the scribe, the mention

of the sender is more detailed than usual, and the main text is not based on current formulas but had to be made up to give the requested pieces of information: the house, its location, the identity of its owner and whether he inhabits it, and the household with all members listed. The clause ὑπάρχει μοι, usually subordinated to the main verb ἀπογράφομαι in Ptolemaic property declarations, becomes the centre of the new document. Thus, whereas the type of the document dictates its general features, the content of the main text is not based on older formulas.

One finds the same pattern in the second oldest Roman census declaration, SB XX 14440, also from the archive of Harthotes from Theadelphia but dated 12 CE¹⁶⁶. However, there are some differences between these two declarations from the same village and archive:

- Ἰσιδώρῳ κωμογραμματῇ Θε-
αδελφῆας παρὰ Ἀρθώτου
τοῦ Μαρῆους δημ[ό]σις γεωρ-
γὸς καὶ εἰρεὺς Τοθοήους θεοῦ.
- 5 ἔχω ἐν Θεαδελφῇα οἰκίαν
ἐντὸς περιβόλου ε[ἰ]εροῦ, ἐν ᾗ
ἐγὼ αὐτὸς Ἀρθώτης μητρὸς [ς]
Ἑσερσύθεος (ἐτῶν) πεν[τή]κοντα πέ[ν]-
τε, Ἀρπατοθοήους υἱὸς (ἐτῶν)
- 10 ἐννέα μητρὸς Τᾱανχορί-
φις καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου Ἑσερσύθ[ι]ς/
Πασίωνος ἐτῶν {(ἐτῶν)} ο. Ἀρθώτ[η]ς
ὦ πρωγεγραμέν[ο]ς ὠμνύω
Καίσαρα [Α]ὐ[τ]οκράτ[ο]ρα Ἐλευθέριον)
- 15 θεοῦ <υἱὸν> Δία Σεβαστὸν ἱ μὴν
ἐξ ὑγιοῦς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρηθέας ἐπι-
δεδωκέναι τὸ προκείμενον
ὑπόμνημα μηδὲν ὑποστει-
λάμενος. εὐορκοῦντι μέν
- 20 μοι εὖ ᾗ, ἐφορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐν-

¹⁶⁶ On this document, cf. BAGNALL 1991b. On l. 12, cf. BL 11.230. Regularisations: l. 3-4: Μαρῆους δημ[ό]σις γεωργὸς καὶ εἰρεὺς, *lege* Μαρρήους δημοσίου γεωργοῦ καὶ ἱερέως; l. 9: Ἀρπατοθοήους, *lege* Ἀρπατοθοῆς; l. 15: ἱ, *lege* ᾗ; l. 16: ἀρηθέας, *lege* ἀληθείας; l. 20: ᾗ, ἐφορκοῦντι, *lege* εἴη, ἐπιφορκοῦντι; l. 23-24: μήρῳ ἀριστερῷ, *lege* μήλου ἀριστεροῦ.

αντία.

Ἀρθώτης Μαρήους ὁ πρωγε-
γραμμένος κ (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) νε οὐ(λὴ) φακῶ μή-
ρω ἀριστερῶ.

25 Ἀρπατοθοῆς ς (ἔτει) ὥς (ἐτῶν) θ.
κατακεχώρ(ισται) (ἔτους) μα Καίσαρος
Τῦβ[ι κ(?)]ς¹⁶⁷.

To Isidoros, village scribe of Theadelphia, from Harthotes son of Marres, public farmer and priest of the god Tothoes. I have in Theadelphia a house inside the enclosure of the temple, in which (live) I myself, Harthotes, whose mother is Esersythis, fifty-five years old, my son Harpatothoes, nine years, whose mother is Taanchoriphis, and my mother Esersythis daughter of Pasion, 70 years. I, Harthotes, the aforewritten, swear verily by Caesar Imperator Eleutherios, son of the god, Zeus Augustus that I have submitted the previous declaration salutarily and truthfully, reserving nothing; if I have sworn truthfully may it be well with me, if falsely, the opposite.

Harthotes son of Marres, the aforewritten, 20th year (since the registration?), 55 years old, with a mole on his left cheek.

Harpatothoes, 6th year (since the registration?), about 9 years old.

Registered in the year 41 of Caesar, Tybi [2?]6¹⁶⁸.

This declaration shares some elements with TM 749316: the scribe wrote the text as a *hypomnema* with opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus with the right margin narrower than the others¹⁶⁹. The addressee is not separated from the main text, as is usual in late Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, yet it is slightly highlighted using a thin indentation of the first two lines and a blank before the παρὰ. A process note occupies the lower margin. However, the final lines differentiate this document from TM 749316 and Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* generally: there is neither *paragraphos* nor a

¹⁶⁷ As is the case of TM 749316 (P.Mich. inv. 4406 a), it is hard to say whether the process note is written by the same hand of the main text. If this was the case, the text would be a copy of the original submitted declaration.

¹⁶⁸ Translation BAGNALL 1991b, 262 slightly modified.

¹⁶⁹ An image of this papyrus, combining the two fragments nowadays held at New York and Milan, can be accessed at BAGNALL 1991b, Pl. 1.

third closing element in the bottom right corner, but the text is followed by the signatures of the sender, Harthotes, and of his son Harpatothos, in the form of identifications made by the scribe. The disappearance of the closing εὐτύχει and the appearance of closing signatures anticipate the contemporary evolution of petitions¹⁷⁰.

The main text indicates the same elements as TM 749316, i.e. the house, its location, owner, and inhabitants in a list, but uses another syntax and formulas. It opens with ἔχω, a synonym for the ὑπάρχει μοι that opened TM 749316. The identification details of the sender are not integrated into the opening formula but in the main text. At the end, it adds an element that will later appear only in declarations from other Middle Egyptian nomes, a final oath¹⁷¹. As in TM 749316, there is no ἐπιδίδωμι clause or other request. Thus, in this fifteen-year-later declaration from the same sender, the general materiality, opening formula and content remained the same, but the way of formulating the content in the main text changed. The scribe did not follow the same structure as in TM 749316.

These three early hypomnematic documents related to census preserve the general structure of the *hypomnema* and adapt it to a new function¹⁷². Nevertheless, the solutions adopted for the exact formulation of the main text change and become decreasingly related to Ptolemaic precedents over time. The third closing highlighted element, present as a date in P.Grenf. I 45 and as εὐτύχει in TM 749316, disappears in SB XX 14440. The main text of P.Grenf. I 45 used a typical Ptolemaic structure with ἀπογράφομαι and final request, whereas the later documents use new main verbs, ὑπάρχει μοι and ἔχω, and have no request. SB XX 14440 innovates by introducing the final oath and the final signatures.

Declarations for the Census of 33/34 CE

Because of the paucity of preserved Augustan census declarations, one cannot judge whether the differences are the effect of scribal choices or chronological variations. To answer this question, we should look at some slightly later declarations, notably those of the census ordered in 33/34 CE. Only one fully preserved declaration has been published for this census, SB I 5661, from the Arsinoite nome. Nevertheless, five additional

¹⁷⁰ Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.2.

¹⁷¹ On the difference between declarations from the Arsinoite and Prosopite nomes, without a final oathtaking, and declarations from other nomes, with final oathtaking, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 25.

¹⁷² For another early declaration, cf. SB XXIV 16011. This partially preserved document is only loosely dated to the reign of Augustus.

incomplete documents, one from the Arsinoite and four from the Oxyrhynchite nome, can help determine the variability of census declarations from that year¹⁷³.

These declarations remain *hypomnemata*, written along the fibres on vertical strips of papyrus and opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος¹⁷⁴. Their right margin is usually narrower than the other¹⁷⁵. The mention of the addressee is systematically highlighted with an indentation; the mention of the sender is more concise than in the earliest declarations¹⁷⁶. However, the layout is not the tripartite Ptolemaic one anymore: the various names listed in the declarations are not visually integrated into the central block of text, but with one exception individually highlighted to be easily identifiable (for instance, cf. SB I 5661, l. 14-22, Fig. 4.11)¹⁷⁷. The *paragraphos* tends to disappear too¹⁷⁸.

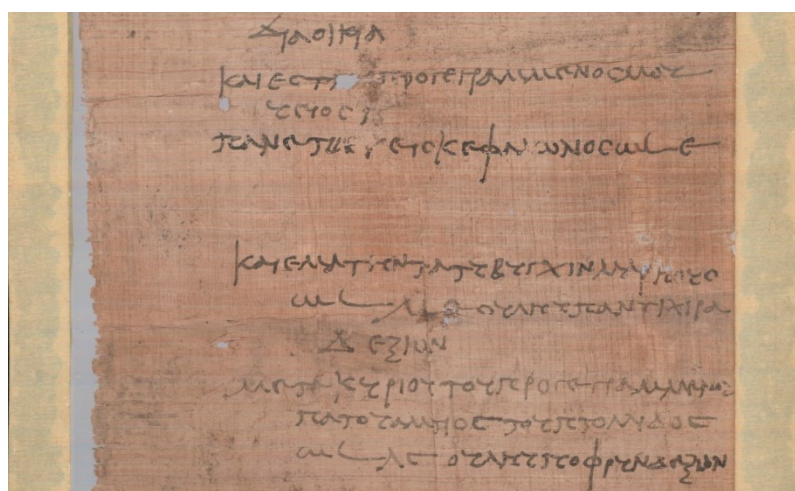


Fig. 4.11: SB I 5661, detail of the list of names.

¹⁷³ Arsinoite: SB X 10759. Oxyrhynchite: P.Oxy. II 256; P.Oxy.Hels. 10, plus P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980; 4981, whose opening formula is lost but was probably hypomnematic, as no other opening is attested for census declarations. The date of P.Oxy. II 256 is however uncertain, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 183.

¹⁷⁴ P.Oxy.Hels. 10; SB I 5661; X 10759. The openings of P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980 and 4981 are not preserved. The opening of P.Oxy. II 256 is probably hypomnematic, but the mention of the addressee is essentially lost in the lacuna.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980; 4981; SB I 5661; X 10759. In the other cases, the state of preservation of the papyrus does not allow to observe the margins.

¹⁷⁶ The mention of the addressee is highlighted in P.Oxy. II 256, P.Oxy.Hels. 10, SB I 5661 and X 10759; the addressee is not preserved in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980 and 4981. The majority of these documents present a highlight in Ptolemaic style, with indentation, but P.Oxy.Hels. 10 presents a different layout that reminds of contemporary small livestock declarations, on which cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.3. Senders are usually identified simply with name and patronymic, and guardian in case of women.

¹⁷⁷ Highlight of the list of names, or of individual mentions of names in the form of indentations, line breaks or enlarged first letter are attested in P.Oxy. II 256, LXXIV 4981, SB I 5661 and X 10759. P.Oxy.Hels. 10 does not seem to have such highlights, and the names are not preserved in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980.

¹⁷⁸ It is present in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980 and absent from P.Oxy. LXXIV 4981 and SB I 5661. It is impossible to say in P.Oxy. II 256, P.Oxy.Hels. 10 and SB X 10759.

There is no coherence for the main verb, with one Arsinoite text starting with ἀπογράφομαι and the idea of registering, another Arsinoite one with ὑπάρχει ὑμῖν and the idea of possessing, and two Oxyrhynchite with εἶσιν οἱ καταγινόμενοι and the idea of inhabiting¹⁷⁹.

The three ideas of registering, possessing and inhabiting are expressed varying in the main texts if they are expressed at all¹⁸⁰. The list of names is variously introduced in the syntax¹⁸¹. The formulas seem to be the effect of scribal variation in the Arsinoite nome; the Oxyrhynchite documentation presents a more coherent image, at least concerning the main sentence. Likewise, the geographical factor seems to explain the variation in the final lines: whereas the only declaration from the Arsinoite nome with preserved final lines closes on a date, the three Oxyrhynchite examples close on an oath-taking and then a date¹⁸². Signatures are sometimes present, creating the same interpretation problems as for petitions: one cannot determine whether they were a compulsory part of the formulary¹⁸³.

Thus, the main elements of census declarations remain the same: declarations are *hypomnemata* that contains a detailed list of people living in a place, introduced by a sentence that mentions some or all the ideas of possessing a house, inhabiting it and declaring its inhabitants. However, the individual documents for the 33/34 CE census differ between them and with older declarations, notably through the appearance of visual highlights for the list of names.

Subsequent Evolution of Census Declarations

Later documents will stabilise the formulas along geographical clusters. Among all the possible introductory verbs attested in the earliest declarations, later declarations will only use ἀπογράφομαι, and sometimes ὑπάρχει μοι in the Arsinoite nome, yet the details of how the various elements are formulated vary from nome to nome, and even from village to

¹⁷⁹ ἀπογράφομαι: SB I 5661. ὑπάρχει ὑμῖν: SB X 10759. εἶσιν οἱ καταγινόμενοι: P.Oxy.Hels. 10 and possibly P.Oxy. II 256. On the fact that older formularies are different from later ones, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 109.

¹⁸⁰ P.Oxy.Hels. 10 and maybe also P.Oxy. II 256 lack the notion of registering; SB I 5661 lacks the notion of property; SB X 10759 lacks either the notion of registering, or that of inhabiting (one of the two is attested at l. 5-6, which reads either [ἀπογραφόμεθα or [καταγινόμεθα, cf. CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015, 651). It is common for early declarations to omit some elements, cf. P.Oxy. LXXIV 4983, p. 94; P.Hoogendijk 23, p. 108.

¹⁸¹ P.Oxy. II 256, l. 8: ὅν εἶναι; P.Oxy.Hels. 10: nothing; SB I 5661, l. 14: καί εστιν; SB X 10759: nothing.

Those introductions are different from the later ones, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 113.

¹⁸² Arsinoite: SB I 5661. Oxyrhynchite: P.Oxy.Hels. 10, as well as P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980; 4981, whose opening lines are not preserved.

¹⁸³ Signatures are present in P.Oxy.Hels. 10, as well as in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4981, whose initial lines are lost. They are absent from SB I 5661, as well as from P.Oxy. LXXIV 4980, whose initial lines are lost. On the methodological problems concerning signatures in petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.2.

village¹⁸⁴. From the census of 61/62 CE, Arsinoite declarations tend to mention the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴν¹⁸⁵. From the census of 89/90 CE onward, the declarations can mention the *praefectus* order, although this practice is rare in the Arsinoite¹⁸⁶. The list will be separated from the main text through a clause with a form of the verb εἰμί and isolated at the end, bringing to completion an evolution whose beginnings were already visible in the declarations of 33/34 CE¹⁸⁷. If the oath remains a fundamental feature of Oxyrhynchite and Middle-Egyptian declarations in general¹⁸⁸, a feature that was absent from the earliest declarations will reappear in the Arsinoite: the ἐπιδίδωμι clause¹⁸⁹. The final lines of census declarations resemble that of contemporary petitions: declarations are dated and signed, with variable order of the two elements depending on geographical considerations, signatures coming before the date in the Arsinoite nome and afterwards elsewhere; however, there is no εὐτόχει¹⁹⁰. The lower margin can be used for various dockets from the addressees indicating the registration of the submitted declaration in the archives¹⁹¹.

Petitions and census declarations share another new feature: the layout of the opening lines can feature the addressee centred on the first lines and the π of the παρά enlarged; an early instance of this phenomenon is TM 970552 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2001, 61/62 CE¹⁹²), and a later, more developed one is BGU I 95 (147 CE; cf. Fig. 4.12).

¹⁸⁴ The fundamental discussion of the main text of census declarations remains HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 108–127, whose results are still valid after the publication of many new texts, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 20. In the Arsinoite nome, declarations start with ἀπογράφομαι or with ὑπάρχει μοι, the latter being the only option attested in the capital of the nome; many variations are attested in the detailed wording, especially among village declarations, less so in the capital; on Arsinoite census declarations, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 109–111. In the Oxyrhynchite, the core text is based on the verb ἀπογράφομαι, repeated twice, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 111. In the other nomes, the verb ἀπογράφομαι always comes first, but the precise wording of the main text changes from nome to nome and from village to village, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 111–112.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. for the census of 61/62 CE SB VI 9572 (with εἰκονισμόν instead of ἀπογραφὴν); TM 970552 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2001); for the census of 75/76 CE P.Pintaudi 24; SB XVIII 13324; the mention is restored in BGU XI 2088; P.Hoogendijk 23. Yet the mention is still absent from SB XII 10788 b and P.Oxy. LXXIV 4983, and its presence is unknown in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4982, the only declarations for these censuses from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

¹⁸⁶ KRUSE 2002, 142; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 6; 11; on these mentions, cf. the list in JÖRDENS 2009, 531–534.

¹⁸⁷ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 113–114.

¹⁸⁸ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 124–127: the oath-taking is usually part of declarations, except for the Arsinoite and the Prosopite nomes.

¹⁸⁹ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 123–124.

¹⁹⁰ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 127–129.

¹⁹¹ On these dockets, cf. KRUSE 2002, 66–129.

¹⁹² Published by PINTAUDI – MARTIN 2021.

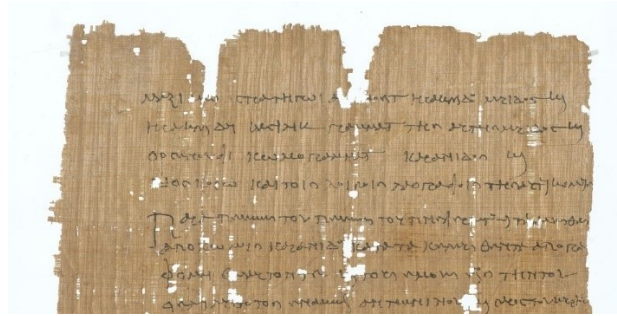
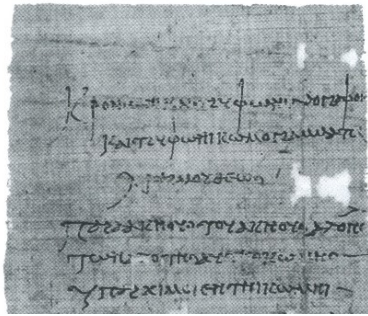


Fig. 4.12: TM 970552 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2001, to the left) and BGU I 95 (to the right), detail of the opening.

BGU I 54 (Karanis, Arsinoite, 161 CE, Fig. 4.13) offers a convenient example of a second-century census declaration from the Arsinoite nome¹⁹³:

Ἀρφαήσι κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Καρανίδος
παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου Ἀρπαγάθου
τοῦ Ἡρᾶ μη(τρὸς) Σεγάθ[ιο]ς ἀπὸ κώμης Κα-
ρανίδος· ἀπογράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς
5 ἑμούςς εἰς [τ]ὴν τοῦ διεληλυθότος κγ (ἔτους)
θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν),
εἰς ἣ[ν κ]αταγείνομαι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ,
Θαισα[ρί]ου οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλήν· εἰμὶ δὲ
Ἀ[μμών]ιος ὁ προγεγρ(αμμένος) (ἐτῶν) λς ἄση(μος)
10 καὶ [τὴν γυν]αῖκά μου Θαισάριον Ἀν-
των[ί]ο[υ] (ἐτῶν) κθ ἄση(μον) καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
ἡμῶν θυγατέρα Σευθάριον (ἐτῶν) θ
ἄση(μον)· ὑπάρχει δὲ τῇ γυναικί μου Θαισα-
ρίῳ τῇ προγεγρ(αμμένη) ἐν τῇ κώμῃ οἰκί(α) καὶ
15 αὐλή· διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι.
(ἔτους) α Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ
[Οὐή]ρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπεὶ γ.

To Harphaesis, village scribe of Karanis, from Ammonios son of Harpagathes, the son of Heras, mother Segath[is], from the village of Karanis. I register myself and my (family) for the house-by-house registration of the past 23rd year

¹⁹³ On the text, cf. BGU I 1-361, p. 354 = BL 1.12; BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 327 = BL 10.10. Regularisation: l. 11: τὸ, *lege* τὴν (cf. COWEY – KAH 2007, 148 = BL 13.12).

of the God Antoninus, for Thaisarion's house and courtyard in the village, in which I live. I am A[mmon]ios the above mentioned, 36 years old without a distinguishing mark and (I register) my wife Thaisarion daughter of Anton[i]u[s], 29 years old without a distinguishing mark and Seutharion daughter of both of us, 9 years old without a distinguishing mark. There belongs to my wife Thaisarion, the aforementioned, a house and courtyard in the village. Therefore, I submit (this registration). Year 1 of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, and Verus Caesar, the lord, Epeiph 13¹⁹⁴.

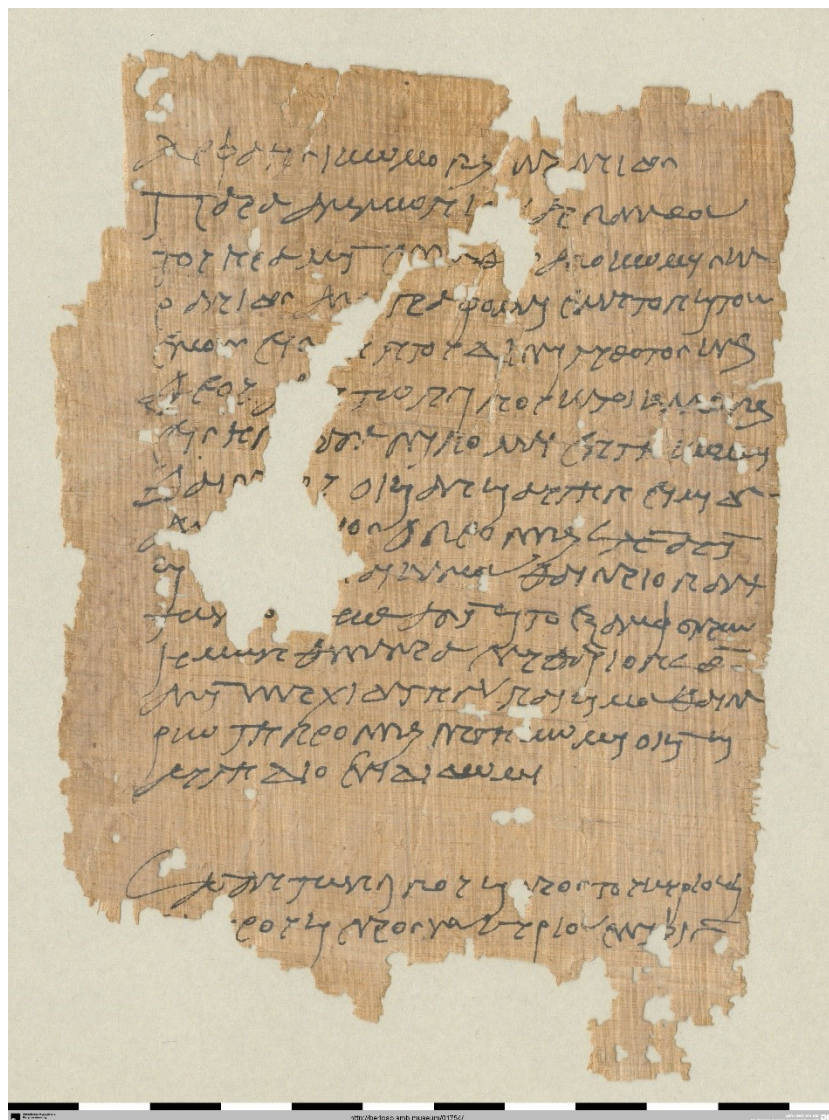


Fig. 4.13: BGU I 54.

¹⁹⁴ Translation HGV 9099, last modified the 19/10/2015, CC 3.0 BY, slightly modified.

Census Declarations: Summary

Scribes immediately adopted the *hypomnema* to draw up census declarations. The external characteristics of *hypomnemata*, the vertical format, horizontal fibres and opening formula with a highlighted addressee, belong from the very beginning to the repertoire of census declarations, probably because those documents served a function that conformed to the general definition of the *hypomnema* as defined in the later centuries of Ptolemaic rule. The material evolution of census declarations follows that of petitions: from a tripartite layout typical of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* to a more complex structure typical of second-century *hypomnemata*, with addressee centred on the first line, enlarged π of the $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, and complex final lines with signatures and date. Characteristically, census declarations systematically present a wider margin on the left than on the right; the broad diffusion of this practice, which goes back to the Ptolemaic time but was not as systematic, can be linked to the practice of archiving census declarations in *tomoi synkollesimoi*, the standard archival solution of Roman administration for this sort of documents¹⁹⁵.

However, if the external elements conform to the model and identify census declarations as *hypomnemata*, the details of the main text took longer to stabilise and never developed a uniform standard across Egypt. Scribes combined the three notions of declaring, possessing and inhabiting in various possible sentences, some of which, like the $\epsilon\chi\omega$ of SB XXIV 14440 or the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ of P.Oxy.Hels. 10, will disappear in the second century CE. Regional variation is well attested, for instance, in the general absence of the oath only in Arsinoite and Prosopite declarations. This flexibility of the core text indicates that scribes were probably not following a pre-existing, well-established Ptolemaic precedent for the specific textual content of census declarations. These texts are the creation of first-century Roman scribes, who reacted to the necessity to create new texts listing all inhabitants of the province house by house by combining some well-known elements, the hypomnematic features, with new content. If there were census declarations under the Ptolemies, they were undoubtedly different from later $\kappa\alpha\tau'\ \omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota$.

The role of scribes in creating these documents is underlined by a glance at another province, Arabia. There, as in Egypt, the Romans introduced a census after the conquest,

¹⁹⁵ The link between margins and *tomoi synkollesimoi* was observed by Serena Causo in her ongoing PhD on the materiality of documentary papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman and Byzantine times at the University of Ghent. However, this practice precedes the diffusion of the *tomoi synkollesimoi*, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2. For the definition of the *tomos synkollesimos*, cf. CLARYSSE 2003b, 352. For its adoption in the archiving of census declarations, cf. BAGNALL – FRIER 2006, 19.

although with different requirements than in Egypt: they aggregated the counting of people and immovable property. In this case, the documents submitted by the declarations differed considerably from Egyptian ones and had no hypomnematic prescript¹⁹⁶. There is no reason why the Roman administration would have circulated two different models in two different provinces; the most logical explanation is that the administration introduced the administrative practice in both provinces but left the creation of the documentary types to local scribes, possibly those in the service on the local administrators¹⁹⁷.

4.1.2.3 *The Creation of the Roman Census and Hypomnemata: Declarations of Death*

Through census declarations, the administration had at its disposal complete lists of the inhabitants in the province and could, for instance, estimate the income of the poll tax. However, due to births and deaths, such lists had to be updated between censuses. In the case of births, these changes had a lower impact on tax income because only male children that survived up to their fourteenth birthday became liable to the poll tax; they could be easily tracked through the fourteen-year-cycle census¹⁹⁸. In the case of an adult's man death, on the contrary, the change had to be notified to remove the person from the taxpayers lists¹⁹⁹; women payed no poll tax in Egypt, and there are indeed no preserved death declarations for women²⁰⁰. To update the taxpayers lists, the Roman administration already introduced under Augustus death declarations²⁰¹; C.Pap.Gr. II 1, dated 2-3 CE, is the earliest preserved example of such a text²⁰². Such notifications are unknown in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the administration adopted other solutions to keep population lists up to date²⁰³. Under Roman rule, they are systematically drawn up as *hypomnemata*, opening with τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος²⁰⁴.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. P.Hever 62; P.Yadin I 16.

¹⁹⁷ On the introduction of the census in the province of Arabia, cf. COTTON 2003; JÖRDENS 2009, 62–64; 87–94. On the role of scribes in creating new documents, cf. SCHUBERT 2016, 187.

¹⁹⁸ CASARICO 1985, 6; GERACI 2001, 701–705. On the existing birth declarations from Roman Egypt, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.2.4.

¹⁹⁹ On the link between death declarations and the fiscal system, cf. WILCKEN 1912, 195–196; CASARICO 1985, 9; KRUSE 2002, 139. Death of boys could also be declared to remove their names from the lists of those who will become liable to the poll tax.

²⁰⁰ CASARICO 1985, 5; 9.

²⁰¹ The reference work on death declarations remains CASARICO 1985.

²⁰² Cf. KRUSE 2002, 141. After the corpus of death declarations published by CASARICO 1985 (= C.Pap.Gr. II), many death declarations have been published, but to my knowledge none is earlier than C.Pap.Gr. II 1.

²⁰³ CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 19.

²⁰⁴ CASARICO 1985, 10. Because of the extremely high consistency in formulary of these declarations, I have treated together those for which the opening lines are preserved and those for which they are lost.

Submitting a death declaration was in the interest of the deceased person's relatives: to have him promptly removed from administrative lists meant they ceased to pay the poll tax at the shortest possible notice²⁰⁵. However, it is debated whether it was an obligation for them to promptly declare the death of a man²⁰⁶. It is possible that the administration had other ways of recording deaths, like the active implication of village scribes who could have recorded deaths they were aware of without waiting for a declaration; yet no mention of such parallel dynamics is attested in published papyri²⁰⁷. The existence of declarations for old men non-labile to the poll tax, often summoned in the debate, may be a clue that all deaths had to be declared, but can also be explained without such an obligation²⁰⁸. Equally inconclusive is the argument *ex silentio* that there is no mention of any decree imposing such a declaration²⁰⁹. There are too many unknown factors to determine the exact functioning of the death declarations²¹⁰.

First-century Death Declarations: Materiality and Formulas

Looking at death declarations from the first century CE, a sensibly different image from census declarations emerges. On the one hand, death declarations are assuredly an innovation without Ptolemaic precedents; on the other, death declarations display a very coherent image from the very beginning, with formulas and materiality immediately established. As it will become apparent, death declarations closely resemble petitions in that their main structure is standardised and close to Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, whereas their closing lines are much more varied and feature elements absent from the Ptolemaic practice.

²⁰⁵ KRUSE 2002, 139. According to the current hypothesis, proposed by WILCKEN 1912, 196, men were liable to the poll tax up to the end of the semester in which they died; on the problems to combine this hypothesis with the annual distribution of declarations, cf. SCHEIDEL 1999 (with the critical observations by KRUSE 2002, 140 n. 244).

²⁰⁶ A summary of this debate can be found in KRUSE 2002, 142–143; PARKIN 2003, 176–178. In favour of the obligation CASARICO 1985, 18; 21, against the obligation KRUSE 2002, 143, both with older bibliography.

²⁰⁷ SCHEIDEL 1999, 67. In Ptolemaic Egypt, scribes could keep population lists up to date without written death declarations, for instance.

²⁰⁸ On the link between declarations for old men and compulsory nature of the declarations, cf. CASARICO 1985, 18. For other possible explanations of declarations for old men, cf. GERACI 2001, 711; KRUSE 2002, 141; PARKIN 2003, 176.

²⁰⁹ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 142.

²¹⁰ Cf. SCHEIDEL 1999, 69–70. Indeed, we still do not understand why the yearly peak of declared deaths and of real deaths differ, and why many deaths went unnoticed in the declaration system. On Scheidel's observations, cf. the critics by KRUSE 2002, 140 n. 244.

With one Oxyrhynchite and one Herakleopolite exception, all other preserved death declarations from the first half of the first century CE come from the Arsinoite nome²¹¹. The poor state of preservation of the earliest preserved death declaration, C.Pap.Gr. II 1 (Oxyrhynchite, 2-3 CE), does not allow a proper study of its materiality and formulas. C.Pap.Gr. II 2 (Arsinoite, 12 CE) is the second earliest known death declaration and the earliest fully preserved one (Fig. 4.14). It already displays all the features of later documents:

- Ἀσκληπιάδῃ βασι[λ]ικῶι
 γραμματῇ
 παρὰ Τεφο[ρ]σά[ιτ]ρος τῆς
 Πετσίρεως τ[οῦ . . .] ρεως.
 5 Μαρσῶκῃς Μαρρείου
 λαογραφούμενος ἐπὶ
 Θεαδελφείας τῆς Θεμίσ[του]
 μερίδος ἐτελεύτη[σε]
 τῇ ιζ τοῦ Τῦβι τοῦ
 10 ἐνὸς καὶ μ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος[ς, διὸ(?)]
 ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι
 τὸ τούτου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ[ι]
 τῶν τετ[ε]λευτηκό-
 τῶν γραφῇ ὑπὲρ [τ]οῦ
 15 ἀπαρενόχλ[ητό]ν με
 γενέσθαι. εὐτύχει.
 (ἔτους) μα Καίσαρος Τῦβ(ι) [. . .]
 (**hand 2**) κατακεχώ(ρισται) περὶ τελ[ευτ(ῆς)]
 (ἔτους) [μα] Καί[σ]αρος Τῦβ(ι) [. . .]

To Asclepiades, royal scribe, from Teforsais daughter of Petsiris son of -ris.
 Marsokis son of Marres, inscribed in the poll-tax registers at Theadelphia of
 the Themistos district, died on Tybi 17 of the forty-first year of Caesar.
 [Therefore] I ask his name to be placed in the list of the dead so that I should

²¹¹ Arsinoite: C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 4; 5 a; 5 b; 6; P.Gen. III 137; SB XXVIII 16834, as well as possibly SB XX 15037 (cf. KRUSE 2002, 1028 n. 335, basing his hypothesis on the formulas of the subscription). Herakleopolite: C.Pap.Gr. II 3. Oxyrhynchite: C.Pap.Gr. II 1. I have considered C.Pap.Gr. II 7, dated 50 CE, with the documents of the second half of the century.

be undisturbed. Farewell. Year 41 of Caesar, Tybi (day unclear). **(hand 2)**
concerning the death, registered in the year 41 of Caesar, Tybi (day unclear).

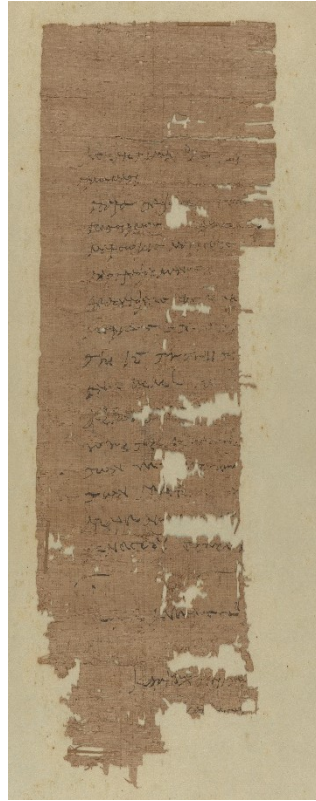


Fig. 4.14: C.Pap.Gr. II 2.

Visually, this document closely resembles Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*: vertical sheet of papyrus, horizontal fibres, highlighted addressee, main text as one block closed by a *paragraphos*, third final block composed of an εὐτύχει and a date. As for census declarations, the choice of the hypomnematic type of document, with its specific materiality and opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, conforms to the function of this text: to transmit a piece of information to the administration and ask for a reaction. The core sentence follows a structure that all death declarations from the first half of the first century will use: name, patronymic and fiscal status, main verb (most of the time ἐτελεύτησεν) and date of the death²¹². As in petitions and most Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, a request follows, introduced by the verb ἀξιῶ. The closing εὐτύχει + date also comes from the Ptolemaic repertoire²¹³. The ample bottom margin is then used for a process note.

²¹² Cf. CASARICO 1985, 13–17.

²¹³ E.g. the petitions P.Amh. II 35 (Arsinoite, 132 BCE); P.Coll.Youtie I 16 (Arsinoite, 109 BCE?, a draft); P.Diosk. 5 (Herakleopolite, 146 BCE?); P.Hels. I 9 (Herakleopolite, 163 BCE); P.KölnSarapion 1 (Memphite?, 190 BCE); P.Ryl. II 68 (Hermopolite, 89 BCE); PSI III 168 (Thinite, 118 BCE); SB VIII 9792 (Hermopolite, 162 BCE); UPZ I 124 (Memphite, 175 or 165 BCE), or the property declarations P.Hels. I 10

All early-first-century death declarations from the Arsinoite or the Herakleopolite nome follow this fixed structure²¹⁴. As for all *hypomnemata*, they are written on vertical sheets along the fibres; the opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος has a highlighted addressee, either through an *ekthesis* or in later documents, by centring it, and the main text closes on a *paragraphos*²¹⁵. In contrast with C.Pap.Gr. II 2, they mainly present a narrower right margin²¹⁶. The main text always contains the same pieces of information in the same order²¹⁷, and the main verb is always τελευτάω. The only exception to this is C.Pap.Gr. II 1, which possibly has the euphemistic μ[ετήλλαξε τὸν] βίον (l. 1-2). C.Pap.Gr. II 1 is also the only early declaration which does not provide the fiscal status of the deceased, but only his profession. Indeed, it is the earliest death declaration and belongs to a time when the formulary was not established yet.

The expression λαογραφούμενος + village of registration almost systematically indicates the mention of the fiscal status²¹⁸. The expression λαογραφούμενος literally indicates someone inscribed in population lists and therefore liable to the λαογραφία, the poll tax.

However, this participle can have a more specific meaning in the Arsinoite nome. Sherman L. Wallace proved that it could indicate the μητροπολίται, a group of inhabitants of the nome capital who paid only half of the rate of the poll tax²¹⁹. Indeed, in census returns, the expression λαογραφούμενος (ἐπιτεκρινόμενος), only attested in declarations from the nome capital, indicates members of this privileged group²²⁰. Despite this specific usage of the participle, however, the basic meaning of the verb remains “inscribed in the poll-tax

(Herakleopolite, 163 BCE); 15 (Herakleopolite, 163 BCE); 19 (Herakleopolite, 162 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 806 (Arsinoite, 139 BCE); SB XIV 11893 (Arsinoite, 159 BCE).

²¹⁴ Cf. C.Pap.Gr. II 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 a; 5 b (another copy of 5 a); 6; P.Gen. III 137; SB XX 15037; XXVIII 16834.

²¹⁵ Among death declarations from the first half of the first century CE, all are written on vertical sheets along the fibres and all have a final *paragraphos* when it is possible to ascertain its existence (I thank Sophie Kovarik and the other members of the Österreichischer Wissenschaftsfonds FWF project I 4674 “vom Nil zum Kaukasus”, directed by Pr. Fritz Mitthof, for having provided me a better image of C.Pap.Gr. II 3). When preserved, the addressee is highlighted in all cases but one (C.Pap.Gr. II 5 a). In two cases (C.Pap.Gr. II 4; 6), the highlighting does not occur, as in Ptolemaic time, through an *ekthesis*, but like in later documents, by centring the mention of the addressee – the same is true of C.Pap.Gr. II 11, whose date is uncertain (41-68 CE).

²¹⁶ Cf. C.Pap.Gr. II 3; 4; 5 a; 5 b; 6; P.Gen. III 137. SB XX 15037 does not present it, and the state of preservation of SB XXVIII does not allow to assess it.

²¹⁷ The structure name of the deceased + patronymic + fiscal status + main verb + date is attested in all considered death declarations; the only exception is P.Gen. III 137, where the patronymic may be lacking.

²¹⁸ C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 3; 4; 6; P.Gen. III 137. Otherwise, C.Pap.Gr. II 5 a and 5 b (two copies of the same declarations) have τελῶν τὴν λαϊκὴν σύνταξιν, SB XX 15037 a lacuna, and the deceased of SB XXVIII 16834 is ἀφῆλιξ, under age and therefore not liable to the poll tax

²¹⁹ WALLACE 1938, 116–119 (with the useful observations by SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010, 101–102 n. 39). On the status privilege linked to the poll tax, cf. KRUSE 2013; MONSON 2019, 156; VAN MINNEN 2022a.

²²⁰ HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 104–105.

registers”. In the early Arsinoite death declarations, all of which come from the villages and mainly declare the death of people with Egyptian names, one may doubt that all the deceased belong to the privileged group of the inhabitants of the nome capital; they were probably paying the poll tax at full rate²²¹.

There is always a request, sometimes introduced by ἀξιῶ, sometimes by ἐπιδίδωμι, and once by both²²². The high frequency of ἐπιδίδωμι is exceptional both among contemporary petitions and census declarations and among Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*²²³. It seems to be a specificity of death declarations. The exact request formulas vary, although the idea of inscribing the name of the declared person among the deceased is always present, sometimes expressed with the passive ταγῆναι, sometimes with one form of the verb ἀναφέρω²²⁴.

As in the case of petitions, the formulary becomes more fluid in the final lines of the documents. The εὐτύχει is usually present in Arsinoite death declarations of the first century CE²²⁵; other possible but not systematic elements include the date and the signature of the sender²²⁶. As for petitions, there are various possible combinations of these elements²²⁷. They are all absent, however, from C.Pap.Gr. II 3, the only early-first-century CE Herakleopolite declaration. To sum up, in the first half of the first century CE, when census declarations were still variously composed, death declarations already conformed to a standard and closely resembled petitions.

The second half of the first century CE witnesses a shift in the preservation pattern of death declarations, with Arsinoite documents less represented and usually in a bad state of

²²¹ Similar doubts in GERACI 2001, 709, *pace* CASARICO 1985, 15–16.

²²² ἀξιῶ: C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 5 a; 5 b; P.Gen. III 137 (adding the clause εἰν φαίνεται, συντάξαι of Ptolemaic flavour); SB XX 15037. ἐπιδίδωμι: C.Pap.Gr. II 4; 6; SB XXVIII 16834. The only Herakleopolite death declaration, C.Pap.Gr. II 3, has a more elaborate ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ἀναφόριον καὶ ἀξιῶ, εἰν φαίνεται.

²²³ ἐπιδίδωμι is rare in petitions from the first century CE, cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 535; it does not appear in first-century CE census declarations; among Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, it was only used for some petitions to lower officials.

²²⁴ ταγῆναι: C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 4; 5 a; 5 b; SB XXVIII 16834. ἀναφέρω: C.Pap.Gr. II 3 (ἀνεύγκαι); 6 (προσανεύγκης and ἀνευεχθῆ); P.Gen. III 137 (ἀνευεχθῆναι); SB XX 15037 (ἀνευεχθῆναι). C.Pap.Gr. II 1 has an exceptional καταχωρίζομαι.

²²⁵ C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 6; P.Gen. III 137; SB XX 15037 (whose Arsinoite origin is only assumed on the basis of its subscription); XXVIII 16834. εὐτύχει is missing from C.Pap.Gr. II 4 and 5 b (and therefore probably also from C.Pap.Gr. II 5 a, a copy of 5 b whose final lines are lost).

²²⁶ A signature is present in C.Pap.Gr. II 4, 5 b and SB XXVIII 16834. A date in C.Pap.Gr. II 2, 4, P.Gen. III 137 and SB XVIII 16834.

²²⁷ For instance, SB XXVIII 16834 has all of them; P.Gen. III 137 only εὐτύχει and a date; SB XX 15037 only εὐτύχει, and C.Pap.Gr. II 4 has a signature and a date, but not εὐτύχει.

preservation, whereas the Oxyrhynchite nome dominates the picture²²⁸. In the same way that census declarations are influenced by the provenance of the document, the difference in origin impacts the formulas of death declarations.

The high standardisation of death declarations remains visible in the second half of the first century CE. These later texts are all written along the fibres on vertical papyrus sheets, with a narrower right margin and a *paragraphos* at the end of the main text²²⁹. As for census declarations, the generalisation of the narrower right margin can be linked to the widespread use of *tomoi synkollesimoi* to archive these declarations²³⁰.

In the highlight of the addressee, a geographical differentiation is observable: whereas in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the older Ptolemaic practice of highlighting the mention of the addressee by moving the mention of the sender to the next line (yet without any indentation) persists²³¹, in the Arsinoite nome the mention of the addressee is highlighted by centring it and skipping a line before the main text, in a development typical of later Roman *hypomnemata*²³².

The formulas of the main text, already fixed as early as in C.Pap.Gr. II 2, remain unchanged during the whole first century CE. The only variation deserving mention is C.Pap.Gr. II 10 (Arsinoite, 66/67 CE), which expresses the patronymic and matronymic of the deceased in greater detail; it is a phenomenon that will become typical of later declarations²³³. The end of the text, on the contrary, presents a marked geographical division: death declarations from the Oxyrhynchite markedly prefer the verb ἀξιῶ to express their request, use the verb ἀναγράφομαι instead of τάσσομαι and ἀναφέρομαι and systematically add an oath-

²²⁸ Arsinoite: C.Pap.Gr. II 10; 13; 14; 16, and C.Pap.Gr. II 11 (41-68 CE). P.Gen. III 137, dated 50 CE, was treated with earlier documents. Herakleopolite: C.Pap.Gr. II 12 (origin uncertain; on the identification of this document as a death declaration and on its possible origin, cf. KRUSE 2002, 163–166). Oxyrhynchite: C.Pap.Gr. II 7; 8; 9; 15; 17; 18; P.Oxy. LXV 4478.

²²⁹ These features are always present when the preservation of the papyri allows us to observe them. The only exceptions are C.Pap.Gr. II 10 and 13, whose right margins are not narrower than the left ones.

²³⁰ The link between margins and *tomoi synkollesimoi* was observed by Serena Causo in her ongoing PhD at the University of Ghent on the materiality of documentary papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman and Byzantine times. However, this practice precedes the diffusion of the *tomoi synkollesimoi*, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2. For the definition of the *tomos synkollesimos*, cf. CLARYSSE 2003b, 352. For its adoption in the archiving of death declarations, cf. KRUSE 2002, 149; 155–156; 158.

²³¹ The highlight through a line break is present in C.Pap.Gr. 7, 9, and P.Oxy. LXV 4478, and is absent for lack of space in C.Pap.Gr. II 15. The opening is not preserved in C.Pap.Gr. II 8, 17 and 18. On the opening of C.Pap.Gr. II 8, cf. MARTIN 2008. On the the addressee layout for death declarations, cf. MARTIN 2007, 668–669.

²³² C.Pap.Gr. II 10; 13; 16, and cf. also C.Pap.Gr. II 11 (41-68 CE). In the case of C.Pap.Gr. II 14, the scribe seems to have used a larger writing for the addressee. On the the addressee layout for death declarations, cf. MARTIN 2007, 668–669.

²³³ Cf. CASARICO 1985, 13.

taking²³⁴. All these elements are absent in the only Arsinoite death declaration from the second half of the first century CE with preserved final lines, and the difference persists in second-century declarations²³⁵. Another geographical difference on the final lines is observable in the second century CE: in the Arsinoite nome, the *paragraphos* becomes optional but continues to be attested, whereas it disappears in the Oxyrhynchite nome²³⁶.

After the oath and the closing *paragraphos*, Oxyrhynchite death declarations do not add any detail (εὐτύχει, date, signature), except for C.Pap.Gr. II 9, which closes on a date²³⁷.

The same is true for the only well-preserved Arsinoite declaration²³⁸. Nevertheless, this is not an absolute rule, as date and signatures will still sometimes appear under second-century death declarations (εὐτύχει, on the contrary, disappears under death declarations just as it had disappeared from census ones)²³⁹.

Death Declarations: Process Notes

Most preserved first-century death declarations contain process notes, i.e. notes added by a second hand in the office that received them²⁴⁰. Death declarations were submitted to two administrative levels: local scribes, either κωμογραμματεῖς or γραμματεῖς πόλεως, and nome-level officials, namely the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. A declaration could also be submitted to other functionaries for people with specific professional or fiscal status²⁴¹. The

²³⁴ Cf. C.Pap.Gr. II 7; 9; 15; 17; 18; P.Oxy. LXV 4478. In the case of C.Pap.Gr. II 8, the formula is only partially preserved; it may have contained the verb [ἐπιδίδω]μι. C.Pap.Gr. II 15 is the only case in which the oath precedes the request. An oath is also present in C.Pap.Gr. II 12, possibly from the Herakleopolite nome, on which cf. KRUSE 2002, 163–166.

²³⁵ C.Pap.Gr. II 10 (with ἀναφέρομαι and no final oath). For second-century death declarations and their formulas, cf. the tables in CASARICO 1985, 19; 24–33.

²³⁶ The presence of the *paragraphos* is systematically noticed in the editions by CASARICO 1985. C.Pap.Gr. II 52 (170 CE) offers an example of an Arsinoite death declaration without *paragraphos*, C.Pap.Gr. II 53 (171 CE) one with *paragraphos*. The last Oxyrhynchite death declaration with a *paragraphos* is C.Pap.Gr. II 22 (102 CE).

²³⁷ A date is also present at the end of C.Pap.Gr. II 12, probably a Herakleopolite death declaration (cf. KRUSE 2002, 163–166).

²³⁸ C.Pap.Gr. II 10. But P.Gen. III 137, dated 50 CE, still presented an εὐτύχει and a date.

²³⁹ E.g. C.Pap.Gr. II 33 (Arsinoite, 136 CE, date and signature); 44 (Oxyrhynchite, 153 CE, only date); cf. the observations by CASARICO 1985, 19. The latest well-dated εὐτύχει to my knowledge is under P.Gen. III 137 (50 CE), but one should also mention the one below P.Monts.Roca IV 68 (I-II CE; the editors have a palaeographical preference for the second century, but the presence of the εὐτύχει may push towards the first century).

²⁴⁰ Process notes are absent from C.Pap.Gr. 6; 10; P.Gen. III 137; P.Monts.Roca IV 68. They may have been present in C.Pap.Gr. II 1; 5 a; 7; 8; 11; 13; 14; 16; SB XXVIII 16834, but those documents' final lines are lost. They are present in C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 3; 9; 12; 15; 17; 18; SB XX 15037; P.Oxy. LXV 4478, and possibly in C.Pap.Gr. II 4; 5 b.

²⁴¹ κωμογραμματεὺς: C.Pap.Gr. II 3; 4; 6; 13; 16; XXVIII 16834. γραμματεὺς πόλεως: C.Pap.Gr. II 15; P.Oxy. LXV 4478. βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς: C.Pap.Gr. II 2; 5 a; 11; 12 (on which cf. KRUSE 2002, 163–166); 14; SB XX 15037 (the addressee is lost, but can be reasonably proposed thanks to the formulas in the subscription, cf. DUTTENHÖFER 1989, 227; KRUSE 2002, 1028 n. 335). Other fiscal or administrative functionaries: C.Pap.Gr. II 7; 8; 9; 10; 17. Unknown addressee: C.Pap.Gr. II 1; 5 b (this is the same declaration

different officials had different roles in handling death declarations, and therefore the process notes of their offices vary²⁴².

For the first century, most notes indicate that the addressee had processed the declaration²⁴³. These annotated declarations probably worked as a receipt for the declarant or other administrators, and they indicate that another copy was recorded in the addressee's archives²⁴⁴. They take different shapes but share one characteristic: they are all dated at the end. C.Pap.Gr. II 2, to the royal scribe, has the earliest preserved docket, which resembles dockets for contemporary census declarations (l. 18-19): κατακεχώ(ρισται) περὶ τελ[ευτ(ῆς)] + date²⁴⁵. Otherwise, dockets fall into two groups: longer dockets with the name of the scribe in the nominative, a long sentence with the verb ἀνοίσω ("I will report") and final date²⁴⁶, or shorter dockets with name + σεσημείωμαι + date²⁴⁷.

However, SB XX 15037, a declaration dated 49 CE whose addressee was presumably the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, presents the first occurrence of a note in a second hand transferring the death declaration to a lower official with some instructions²⁴⁸.

l. 14-20:

τῷ κωμογρα(μματεῖ)· εἰ τετελ(εύτηκε),
ἀναγρα(ψάμενος) προσφώνη(σον)

as C.Pap.Gr. II 5 a; it may be a copy addressed to the κωμογραμματεὺς, as proposed by YOUTIE 1976b, 59 or a double of C.Pap.Gr. II 5 a addressed to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, like in the case of C.Pap.Gr. II 72 a and b, two copies of the same declaration to the royal scribe; cf. KRUSE 2002, 156 n. 296); 18; P.Gen. III 137. Cf. CASARICO 1985, 10–11; KRUSE 2002, 143–144.

²⁴² CASARICO 1985, 20–21; KRUSE 2002, 147–163.

²⁴³ On this type of process notes, cf. KRUSE 2002, 147–149.

²⁴⁴ KRUSE 2002, 148–149.

²⁴⁵ On this docket, cf. KRUSE 2002, 150.

²⁴⁶ C.Pap.Gr. II 3 (to the village scribe), l. 15-19: ὧρος κωμογραμματεὺς Ἀνκυρων καὶ τῷ[ν συν]κυρουσσῶν κωμῶν μετ' ἐπιτρό[π]ου Ἡρακλ[είδου] τοῦ πατρός. αὐτὸς ἔχω τὴν ἴσιν καὶ ἀνύσω (*lege* ἀνοίσω) [αὐτὸν] διὰ τῶν βυβλίων ἐν τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι. (ἔτους) ς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Χοιᾶχ ις; C.Pap.Gr. II 12 (to the royal scribe), l. 9-13: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) ὁ προγεγρ(αμμένος) β(ασιλικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) ἀνοίσω τὸν προγ[εγρ(αμμένον)] ἐν τοῖς τετελ(ευτηκόσιν) ὥς καθή(κει). (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ [Σ]εβαστοῦ, μ[ηνὸς] Καισαρείου ιζ (on this document, cf. KRUSE 2002, 163–166).

²⁴⁷ C.Pap.Gr. II 9, l. 19-24 (to the ἐγλήμπτωρ γερδίων): Φιλίσκος σεσημ(είωμαι). (ἔτους) ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου [Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερ]μανικοῦ [Αὐτο]κράτορ[ος] [Με]χ(εῖρ) κς [Σεβ(α)στῆ].; C.Pap.Gr. II 15, l. 18-20 (to the city scribe): Διογένης[ς] σεσημ(είωμαι). (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτορ[ος] Κ[αί]σαρος Οὐεσ[α]σιαν[οῦ] [Σεβαστοῦ] -ca.?-] δ; C.Pap.Gr. II 17, l. 29-31 (to the [πράκτο]ρες χειρωναξίου γερδίων): Ἀπολλώνιος σεσημ(είωμαι). (ἔτους(?)) δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ [Σε]βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεχ(εῖρ) . . .; C.Pap.Gr. 18 (unknown addressee), l. 14: [-ca.?-] ρς σεσημ(είωμαι) (ἔτους) ια; P.Oxy. LXV 4478 (to the city scribe), l. 18-21: Διογένης σεσημ(είωμαι). (ἔτους) ἐ[β]δόμου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Χοί(ακ) ιθ.

²⁴⁸ Only the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς transferred death declarations to κωμογραμματεῖς, therefore DUTTENHÖFER 1989, 227; KRUSE 2002, 1028 n. 335 suspect that this was the original addressee of this death declaration whose initial lines are lost. Because of the formulas in the subscription, KRUSE 2002, 1028 n. 335 proposed that this text originates in the Arsinoite.

ὥς κ(αθήκει). (ἔτους) [ἐν]άτο(υ) Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Ἀ[ὕ]τοκράτορο[ς] μη(νὸς)
Καισαρεί(ου) ιγ.

To the village scribe. If he has died, having registered it, report as it is fitting.
Year nine of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator,
Kaisareos month 13.

If such a note is exceptional among contemporary death declarations, it finds a parallel in petitions. Since the Ptolemaic time indeed, it was current for higher officials to transfer petitions to lower ones adding some instructions through a note on the original document. These notes, here called Ptolemaic-style subscriptions, often took the same shape as the note on SB XX 15037: addressee in the dative + imperative + date²⁴⁹. Sometimes, the imperative is combined with other dependent clauses, like in this case²⁵⁰. They are still attested under petitions of the first half of the first century CE, notably in the documents from the archive of petitions from Euhemeria²⁵¹. They also find more general adoption in contemporary administrative *hypomnemata* – for instance, they are attested in one Augustan offer to buy public goods²⁵².

In the second century CE, officials stop answering petitions with these subscriptions inherited from the Ptolemaic practice. They continue, however, to use them for death declarations, and SB XX 15037 finds many parallels in later documents. Indeed, from the second century CE onward, the process notes of death declaration fall into two groups²⁵³:

²⁴⁹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, section “Subscriptions and Other Process Notes by a Second Hand”.

²⁵⁰ E.g. P.Dion. 11 (Hermopolite, 108 BCE), l. 38-43: Βίαντι· ε[ἰ] ἐ[στὶ] βασιλικὸς γεωργός, [π]ρονοηθῆναι ὥς ἀπερίσπα[στ]ος κατασταθήσεται μέχρι ἂν [ἀπὸ] τοῦ σπόρου γένηται. (ἔτους) ι Θῶυθ κδ; P.Hamb. IV 238 (Herakleopolite?, 159 BCE), l. 32-35: Σωγέν[ε]· παραγ[γεῖλαι] τῷ Λεοντίσκῳ παραχρήμα ἀπ[αντάν] πρὸ<ς> ἡμᾶς. ἐὰν δὲ στραγείηται, μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃς. (ἔτους) κβ Φαμενώθ κ.

²⁵¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “Ptolemaic-Style Subscriptions to Petitions and the Appearance of So-Called Warrants”.

²⁵² Cf. P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 14-17, where such a note is used to transmit a *hypomnema* from the ἴδιος λόγος to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. On this category of documents, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.2.2. On this note, cf. KRUSE 2002, 526. Some other first-century CE administrative *hypomnemata* are dealt through cover letters, e.g. P.Amh. II 68; SB V 7599, two cases of sale of public goods κατὰ παράδειξιν, a procedure on which cf. *infra*, chapter 4.2.2.5, section “Origin of Public Offers”.

²⁵³ I have excluded the unreadable notes on the upper margin discussed by KRUSE 2002, 156–158.

- Lower officials, i.e. village scribes, city scribes, and financial administrators, add dockets indicating that they have seen and recorded the declaration²⁵⁴.
- Nome-level officials, i.e. the royal scribe, add subscriptions transferring the declaration to lower officials provided with instructions to fulfil²⁵⁵.

This second category of process notes is only attested in the Arsinoite nome, from where most declarations to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς come²⁵⁶. These subscriptions decline the instruction to verify the fact and update the register of the dead in various ways²⁵⁷, yet they all follow the same structure of older subscriptions: dative + instruction + date²⁵⁸. From the second century, they also integrate a feature that they share with what I called transmission messages on petitions: a signature of the transmitting instance in the form of a σεσημειώμαι²⁵⁹. They are still close to their first-century precedent:

C.Pap.Gr. II 33, l. 26-32:

(**hand 2**) τῷ κωμογρα(μματεῖ). εἰ ταῖς ἀληθ(εῖαις)
 ἐτελ(εύτησεν) ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος), ἐπιτέλ(ει) ὡς καθ(ήκει),
 ὡς πρὸς σὲ τοῦ λόγου
 ἐσομένου, ἐάν τι παρὰ
 30 τὸ δέον γένη(ται). (**hand 3**) Ἀνουβίω(ν) γρα(μματεὺς) σεση(μειώμαι).
 (**hand 2**) (ἔτους) κα Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθὺρ ς.

(**hand 2**) To the village scribe. If the aforementioned has truly died, process as is fitting since you will be held accountable if something happens contrary to what is suitable. (**hand 3**) Anoubion the scribe, I have signed it. (**hand 2**) Year 21 of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Hathyr 6.

²⁵⁴ On such notes, their various forms, and their geographical distribution, cf. KRUSE 2002, 147–149.

²⁵⁵ On such notes, cf. KRUSE 2002, 149–156.

²⁵⁶ KRUSE 2002, 149–150.

²⁵⁷ On the possibly formulas, cf. KRUSE 2002, 151–154.

²⁵⁸ C.Pap.Gr. II 20; 21; 24; 30; 31; 33; 34; 45; 59 b; 60; 61; 62; 63; 73; P.Narm. I 7; PSI Com. VI 13; SB XXVIII 16835; TM 765547 (P.Lond. inv. 1594), as well as the partially preserved C.Pap.Gr. II 55 (date lost); 68 (date and signature lost); 69 (date and signature lost). The process note is illegible in C.Pap.Gr. II 35; 48.

²⁵⁹ Such a signature is only absent in C.Pap.Gr. II 20 and 21, dated 101 CE, and possibly from C.Pap.Gr. II 73 (215 CE), whose subscription is, however, hard to read. It is nowadays lost, but was probably present, in C.Pap.Gr. II 68; 69; TM 765547 (P.Lond. inv. 1594). On transmission messages, cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “Transmission Letters and Transmission Messages by Lower Officials”.

As in the first century CE, these notes find parallels in the administrative handling of other *hypomnemata*; for instance, they can be found in the offer to lease public land P.Tebt. II 374, l. 22-26²⁶⁰.

Thus, the administration did not change its processing of death declarations the same way it changed its processing of petitions. In the latter case, Ptolemaic style subscriptions, with addressee, orders and date, disappeared during the first century CE and were later replaced by letters and their evolution, transmission messages²⁶¹. In the former case, the administration continued to use subscriptions to transfer death declarations from the nome-level to the local-level administration.

Death Declarations: Summary

Death declarations present a strikingly different image than census declarations. Although they are an entirely new document type, scribes did not make progressive attempts to implement a new type. They established from the beginning a definite type of document that remained stable for three centuries. One may imagine that the new administration circulated a model of this type, yet it would be strange if that happened only for death declarations and not for census declarations. Indeed, the high variability of census declarations in the first century AD, which expressed the same content in many ways, suggests that the administration asked for specific content (house-by-house lists of the inhabitants of the province) but left the scribes figure out a document that would transmit such content. There is no reason why the procedure should have been different for death declarations.

On the contrary, one may suspect that, although death declarations did not exist in Ptolemaic times, scribes used other existing documents as sources to create this new one. Indeed, death declarations correspond closely to a Ptolemaic type of *hypomnema* in their materiality, formulas, process notes and first-century evolution: petitions. A death declaration is close to a petition because it implies a request, which may have inspired scribes to choose the model of petitions of this new document. The availability of a pattern,

²⁶⁰ On these notes, cf. KRUSE 2002, 583–585; 589. In other cases, *hypomnemata* were transmitted through cover letters, as for the case of sales *κατὰ παράδειξιν*, cf. for instance P.Petaus 17; 18; 20; 22. On the procedure of sale *κατὰ παράδειξιν*, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.2.2.5, section “Origin of Public Offers”.

²⁶¹ Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.1.3, section “Process Notes by Nome-Level Functionaries: an Intermediate Summary”.

combined with the simplicity of the task (report the death of one individual), helped the scribes to quickly develop a new type of document.

Death declarations share some characteristics with all *hypomnemata*, notably the general materiality and the opening formula. They also share with both petitions and census declarations some changes, like the progressive abandonment of the tripartite layout in favour of a more complex distribution of the text on the papyrus sheet, with the addressee centred in the initial lines of the text and separated from the main text, and the final lines variously combining date, signature and process notes. Another common feature is the progressive vanishing of the closing εὐτύχει that either disappeared, as for census and death declarations, or became optional, like under petitions. These changes, shared by all administrative *hypomnemata* studied here, whatever their content, were probably the effect of collective drifts of practice by the scribes themselves.

Other elements are shared only by petitions and death declarations. The main text is divided into a narration and a request. The processing of the document implied for both death declarations and petitions that a copy of it could be sent from higher to lower officials, and this happened in the first century through subscriptions inherited from the Ptolemaic practice. However, petitions are not the only type to compare death declarations; for instance, census and death declarations from outside the Arsinoite nome include an oath in their final lines from the second half of the first century CE onward.

Three elements are typical of death declarations only. First, they kept the usage of the verb ἐπιδίδωμι as an alternative to ἀξιῶ for the request. Second, they kept the usage of Ptolemaic-style subscriptions even in the second and third centuries CE. Third, narration and request formulas are standardised because they reflect an ordinary practice: the reported situation is always the same, and the action to be performed likewise. On the contrary, the exact narration and request content changes in the petitions, as it depends on the extraordinary circumstances that forced the sender to submit a petition.

One may wonder whether such a close typological link between petitions and death declarations may suggest that the submission of death declarations was not compulsory. Scribes had to create a document for an optional request to the administration and turned to the type they had for optional, extraordinary requests, i.e. the petitions. Elias Bickermann

already proposed such a typological argument to argue in favour of an absence of obligation²⁶². No matter how tempting that may be, it should remain a clue, not a proof.

The comparison between census and death declarations proves that the relation between administrative innovations and typological changes in the documentation is not simple. The same novelty, the change of the census according to new principles, implied the increase or the appearance in our documentations of two new hypomnematic types of documents: census declarations and death declarations. In both cases, the function of these documents dictated the choice of the *hypomnema*. They corresponded to the function the *hypomnema* had developed in the last centuries of Ptolemaic rule: an individual had to transmit a piece of information to the administration. However, in one case, the creation of the new type of document was a long and hesitant process, whereas, in the other, the scribes developed almost immediately a document whose characteristics would remain unchanged for three centuries. The relative complexity of the task, as well as its closeness to existing types, influenced the speed required to create new documents.

4.1.2.4 Other Hypomnemata Connected to the Establishment of the Roman Census

During the first century CE, scribes created not only census and death declarations but also other hypomnematic documents related to the population registers. For instance, there were population subgroups in Egypt since Augustus' reign, characterised among others by paying different poll tax standards. Roman citizens and citizens of the Greek cities (Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais and, from the second century CE, Antinoopolis) were totally exempted from paying the tax. The members of two specific groups, i.e. the μητροπολίται, “inhabitants of the nome capitals”, and the οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου, “those of gymnasial status” (known in the Arsinoite as the κάτοικοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴσοε, “settlers from the 6475 Greek men in the Arsinoite”), paid the poll tax at a reduced rate. These groups, as well as other privileged groups like priests, had to be recorded in population lists²⁶³.

Since privileged groups represented a reduction of fiscal income, the administration closely scrutinised them and had to acknowledge one's right to membership in them. The request for this recognition was usually left to the parents of the children asking for it. They had to

²⁶² BICKERMANN 1930b, 25. The argument was the opposite, that because death declarations were optional (he did not doubt this point), they had to be written as petitions. However, the main point remains the same: the typological closeness of death declarations to petitions speaks for an absence of obligation.

²⁶³ On these groups, cf. NELSON 1979; WHITEHORNE 1982; CANDUCCI 1990; DELIA 1991; VAN MINNEN 2002; RUFFINI 2006; BROUX 2013; KRUSE 2013, 307–308; KRUSE 2019, 123; 126; DOLGANOV 2021.

prove their child's right to belong to the group based on inheritance either on the paternal side or, more often, on both the paternal and maternal side. For this purpose, they submitted the related documentation to the administration. The exact procedure changed from one group to the other. For instance, to have their child recognised as a μητροπολίτης, the parents had to prove their metropolite status and his legitimate birth and address the documents to local officials. We best know the procedures concerning people of metropolite or gymnasial status²⁶⁴.

These complex procedures implied, at different steps, that an individual contacted the administration in a written form, and thus scribes created various hypomnematic documents related to these tasks. At some point after the birth of a legitimate child of privileged groups, declarations of births, or, as Naphtali Lewis called them, “registrations of status”, could be submitted to notify the administration of the birth of the child and its ascendance²⁶⁵. However, births could also be registered through the periodical census declarations²⁶⁶.

Around the time when boys from the privileged groups turned fourteen, their families applied for the examination of their right to belong to the privileged groups and to enjoy the connected fiscal privileges. This examination was called ἐπίκρισις²⁶⁷. Various pieces of information had to be provided concerning, for instance, the boy's registration or the status of his parents. The exact requirements changed according to the various groups. Scribes drew up these applications as *hypomnemata*²⁶⁸.

The procedure is well known for the second century CE. It was probably standardised during the second half of the first century CE, at different moments in the different nomes.

²⁶⁴ On these procedures, cf. DELIA 1991, 56–58; KRUSE 2002, 252–271; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2010, 58–59; KRUSE 2013; DOLGANOV 2021, 220–225.

²⁶⁵ On these documents, cf. GERACI 2001; KRUSE 2002, 171–176; PARKIN 2003, 175–178; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010. It is still unclear, due to the state of the documentation, whether children whose parents did not belong to privileged groups were also declared, cf. GERACI 2001, 701–704; 706–707; KRUSE 2002, 172–173; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010, 122–129. On the specific case of birth declarations for Roman citizens, cf. GERACI 2001, 675–696; PARKIN 2003, 178–182; DOLGANOV 2021, 199–207; documents concerning Roman citizens were in Latin and, therefore, did not follow the characteristics of *hypomnemata*. On “registrations of status”, cf. LEWIS 1997, 23.

²⁶⁶ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 171–172; KRUSE 2013, 317–318. However, for some groups, like Roman or Antinoite citizens, there may have been an obligation to register. On census declarations used as proofs in ἐπίκρισις procedures, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 145–147.

²⁶⁷ On the word ἐπίκρισις and the related notion of εἰσκρισις (the examination for the admission into the ephebia of Greek cities or into the class of the priests), cf. MONTEVECCHI 1975, 227–228; BUSSI 2003, 148–150; DOLGANOV 2021, 219–220.

²⁶⁸ On these documents, cf. NELSON 1979; MONTEVECCHI 2000; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2010, 51–56 (with at n. 6 a list of documents from Oxyrhynchus, the focus of the article); KRUSE 2013, 311–315; 319–323. They are called applications, declarations, reports or requests for ἐπίκρισις in the secondary literature.

For instance, in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the definitive establishment of the procedure related to the gymnasial class and of the list of its members took place in 72/73 CE. However, *hypomnemata* related to the ἐπίκρισις from the second half of the first century are sparse, usually late and poorly preserved. Moreover, the situation at the beginning of Roman rule is poorly understood. No *hypomnema* related to these procedures is known for the first half of the first century CE. This situation does not allow us to study the processes through which scribes designed these new documents²⁶⁹.

Nevertheless, looking at P.Oxy. VII 1028 (Oxyrhynchos, 86 CE, Fig. 4.15), one recognises mechanisms similar to those already observed in the cases of petitions, census and death declarations²⁷⁰:

- (cross)
Κλαυδίῳ Μακεδονίῳ στρα(τηγῶ)
καὶ Γαίῳ βα(σιλικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ Διον(υσίῳ)
καὶ Φιλίσκῳ γ(υμνασιαρχήσας) καὶ Ἀπολλῶ(νίῳ)
5 καὶ Θέωνι γρα(μματεῦσι) πόλ(εως)
παρὰ Ταορσέως τῆς Θομψήμιο(ς)
τοῦ Θοώνιος τῶ[ν] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων)
πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου Θομ-
ψήμιος τοῦ Θοώνιος. κατὰ τὰ
10 κελευσθέντα περὶ τοῦ ἐπι-
κριθῆναι τοὺς προσβαίνοντ(ας)

²⁶⁹ On the progressive establishment of the procedures related to the ἐπίκρισις, cf. MONTEVECCHI 1975, 229–231; WHITEHORNE 1982, 182–183; CANDUCCI 1990, 229; KRUSE 2002, 257–258; VAN MINNEN 2002, 340–347; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2010, 55–58; BROUX 2013; KRUSE 2013, 315–316; 323–324. About a dozen first-century CE requests to verify the status of boys are preserved, mostly in a highly fragmentary status. The earliest preserved is P.Flor. I 79 (Hermopolite, 60 CE), which is a request to be admitted to the ephebia (on this document, cf. WHITEHORNE 1982, 180–183; VAN MINNEN 2002, 345–346; at this early time, the admission in the ephebia had the function of the later ἐπίκρισις of the οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου). It is the only more or less fully preserved piece together with P.Oxy. II 258 (Oxyrhynchite, 86/87 CE?) and VII 1028 (Oxyrhynchite, 86 CE), two declarations for the ἐπίκρισις of a μητροπολίτης in Oxyrhynchos. These early documents are, in some regards, different from the later ones, cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2010, 62. Every time the opening formula is preserved, it is hypomnematic. The only preserved first-century declarations of birth are P.Tebt. II 299 (Arsinoite, after 49/50 CE; in this case, the child belongs to another privileged group, i.e. priests, cf. SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010, 110); P.Warr. 2 (Arsinoite, 72 CE), both fragmentarily preserved. However, the earliest attestation of these *hypomnemata* is O.Bru. 14 (upper Egypt, 38/39 or 42/43 CE), a model document written on an ostrakon for a birth declaration (cf. HAGEDORN 1976a; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART 2010, 126–127; FOGARTY 2022, 260 n. 6).

²⁷⁰ At l. 1, the mark on the papyrus is some sort of office mark, cf. P.Oxy. VII 1028, p. 163; therefore, I prefer to edit it as “cross” instead of the χ of the original editors. On l. 31–32, cf. P.Oxy. XLIX 3472, p. 140 = BL 8.240. The resolution of the abbreviation at l. 4 was doubted, cf. P.Lond.Wasser., p. 281 n. 583 = BL 12.137. Regularisation: l. 40: Ταορσός, *lege* Ταορσεύς.

- εἰς τοὺς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) εἰ ἀμφοτέρω(ν)
γονέων μητροπολιτῶν
(δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, προσφωνῶι
- 15 τὸν υἱὸν μου Χαιρήμονα
Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Σόιτος
παστοφόρον Σαράπιδος
θεοῦ μεγίστου ἀπογρα(ψάμενον) ἐπ' ἀμ-
φόδου Ἰπποδρόμου προσ-
- 20 βεβηκέναι τῷ ἔνεσ-
τῶτι ε (ἔτει) καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν
(δωδεκάδραχμον) καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ μὲν πα-
τέρα ἐμοῦ δὲ γενόμε-
νον ἄνδρα Ὀννώφριν
- 25 Σόιτος παστοφόρον τοῦ α(ὕτου)
θεοῦ ἀπογρα(ψάμενον) ἐπὶ τοῦ α(ὕτου)
ἀμφόδου ἐν (δωδεκαδράχμοις) τετελε(υτηκέναι)
τῷ α (ἔτει) Δομιτιανοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὸν πατέρα
- 30 μου Θομψήμιν Θοώνιο(ς)
ἀπογρα(ψάμενον) ἐπὶ Θοηρείου Θενε-
πμοῖ ἐν (δωδεκαδράχμοις) τετελε(υτηκέναι)
τῷ β (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τίτου,
καὶ ὁμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα
- 35 Καίσαρα Δομιτιανὸν
Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν[ν]
μὴ ψε(ύσασθαι). (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
- 40 Ἐπεὶφ α. (**hand 2**) Ταορσὸς
[.] . [.] . . . ς ἐπιδέδω(κα)

To Claudios Macedonios, *strategos*, and Gaios, royal scribe, and Dionysios and Philiscos, *ex-gymnasiarchoi*, and Apollonios and Theon, city-scribes, from

Taorseus daughter of Thompsonemis son of Thoönis, of the city of Oxyrhynchos, with her guardian Thompsonemis son of Thoönis. In accordance with the orders concerning the selection of boys approaching the age of fourteen when their parents on both sides are residents of the metropolis rated at twelve drachmas, I declare that my son Chairemon son of Onnophris son of Sois, pastophoros of Sarapis the most great god, registered in the quarter of the Hippodrome, has reached the age in the present 5th year and that he is a person rated at twelve drachmas, and that his father my late husband Onnophris son of Sois, pastophoros of the said god, registered in the same quarter among those rated at twelve drachmas, died in the 1st year of Domitian the lord, and that my father Thompsonemis son of Thoönis, registered in the quarter of the Thoereion of Thenepmoi among those rated at twelve drachmas, died in the 2nd year of the god Titus; and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus that I have made no false statement. Year 5 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Epeiph 1. **(hand 2)** I Thaorseus have submitted [...] ²⁷¹.

²⁷¹ Translation P.Oxy. VII 1028, p. 162–163 completed and modified. On l. 31–32, cf. P.Oxy. XLIX 3472, p. 140.

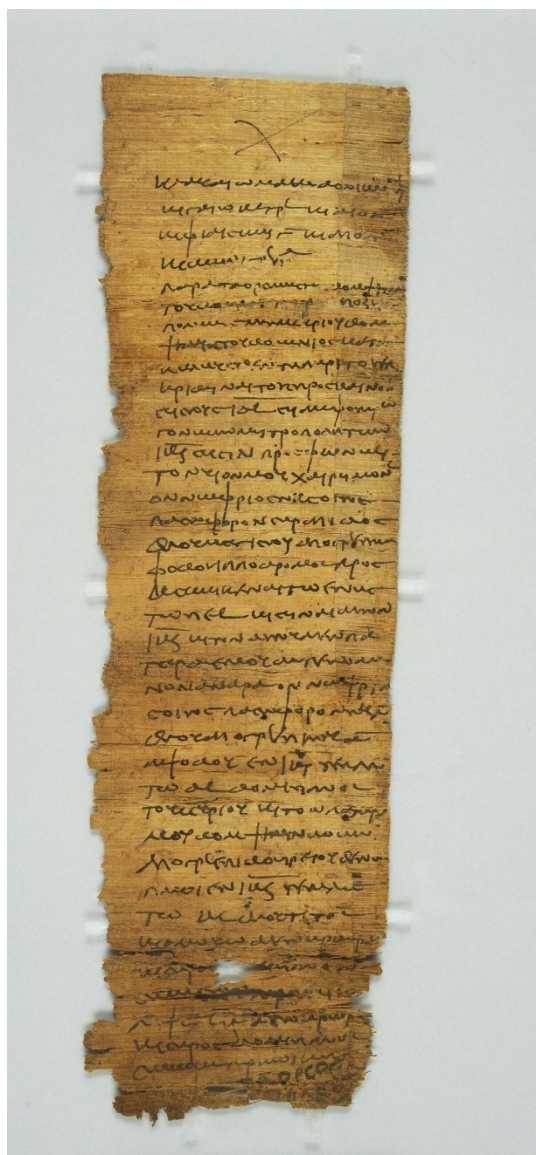


Fig. 4.15: P.Oxy. VII 1028.

The papyrus, broken at the bottom, still preserves enough elements to study its characteristics. It conforms to all the general elements of *hypomnemata*. Thus, the sheet of papyrus is vertical, the writing runs along the fibres, and the right margin is narrower than the others. A cross, probably some office mark, occupies the upper margin, whereas the lower one contains a signature in a second hand before breaking off. The opening formula is τῷ δέϊνι παρὰ τοῦ δέϊνος, and the addressee is highlighted according to the Ptolemaic practice. The text opens with a mention of a regulation asking for the declaration, like contemporary census declarations. It is centred on the verb προσφώνω, “to report”, and does not contain any request. Like contemporary census and death declarations from Oxyrhynchus, it closes on an oath-taking. The final lines contain a date and a signature, elements that appeared more generally on Roman *hypomnemata* during the first

century CE. Therefore, this document, although with a specific formulary related to its specific function, follows the general trends that we identified for early Roman *hypomnemata*, such as the shared general materiality, the varying specific text based on the function, the evolution of the closing lines, and the geographical differentiation for the presence of an oath.

The only two preserved birth declarations from the first century CE, P.Tebt. II 299 (up to fourteen years after 49/50 CE) and P.Warr. 2 (72 CE), both fragmentary and from the Arsinoite nome, display the same pattern. These documents remind us of petitions and death declarations because of their proximity to Ptolemaic precedents. The usual material aspects (although the potential highlight of the addressee mention is impossible to ascertain) is combined with a text centred on the verb ἀπογράφομαι and closing either on a request (P.Tebt. II 299, l. 22-23: [ἀξιῶ] ταγῆναι) or a more general clause (P.Warr. 2, l. 15: ἐπιδίδω(μι) τῇ(ν) ἀπογ(ραφήν)). Their administrative handling and process notes from the second century CE indicate similar practices as those attested for death declarations²⁷².

Also close to death declarations are some other *hypomnemata* related to population lists. Among them, one can mention the requests to record one's son in the list of apprentices, related to the payment of specific taxes, or the request to record people who have fled their village to avoid taxes (so-called ἀναχώρησις) in the related lists²⁷³. These documents, all from Oxyrhynchus, are only attested in the first century CE. Their creation process resembles death declarations and will, therefore, not be the object of additional detailed analysis²⁷⁴. It will suffice to mention one specificity, i.e. the longer survival of a simple closing with εὐτύχει and no date nor signature²⁷⁵. Apprenticeship declarations have another

²⁷² KRUSE 2002, 176.

²⁷³ On the former group, apprenticeship declarations, cf. FORSELV 1998; KRUSE 2002, 176–180; REITER 2002; BERGAMASCO 2004, 31–35. Known examples of these documents are P.Mich. III 170, 171, 172, PSI VIII 871 and SB XXIV 16186. On the second group, ἀναχώρησις declarations, cf. WILCKEN 1912, 196; P.Oxy. XXXIII 2669, p. 97; P.Gen. II 94, p. 46–47; DUTTENHÖFER 1991; SIJPESTEIJN 1992; LINK 1993, 310–312; HANSON 2007. Known examples of these documents are P.Gen. II 94, P.Mich. X 580, P.Oxy. II 251, 252, 253 and XXXIII 2669. Related texts from the Arsinoite nome are SB IV 7463 and TM 140537 (P.Mich. inv. 786), two oaths in which the speaker declares that he is not hosting someone; HANSON 2007 believed that these documents had the same function as the Oxyrhynchite ones, but in fact, they are not asking for the registration of the ἀναχώρησις in the population lists.

²⁷⁴ For instance, on the parallel between death declarations, birth declarations and ἀναχώρησις declarations, cf. WILCKEN 1912, 196; DUTTENHÖFER 1991, 264.

²⁷⁵ Simple εὐτύχει: P.Mich. III 170 (Oxyrhynchite, 49 CE); 171 (Oxyrhynchite, 58 CE); P.Oxy. II 251 (Oxyrhynchite, 44 CE); 253 (Oxyrhynchite, 19 CE); SB XXIV 16186 (Oxyrhynchite, 70 CE). εὐτύχει + date: P.Mich. III 172 (Oxyrhynchite, 62 CE). Broken final lines: P.Mich. X 580 (Oxyrhynchite, ca. 19/20 CE); P.Oxy. II 252 (Oxyrhynchite, 19/20 CE; probably without an εὐτύχει); XXXIII 2669 (Oxyrhynchus, 41-

characteristic: contrary to most Oxyrhynchite *hypomnemata*, they have no final oath-taking²⁷⁶.

In summary, many *hypomnemata* related to population lists appeared in the first century CE. Parallel to the better-attested census and death declarations, one can cite birth declarations, applications for ἐπίκρισις, apprenticeship declarations, or ἀναχώρησις declarations. These documents are poorly attested and do not allow a detailed study. Nevertheless, their characteristics show that scribes used the same processes as for census or death declarations to create them. Notably, birth, apprenticeship and ἀναχώρησις declarations closely follow the creation pattern of death declarations, with precedents in Ptolemaic petitions.

4.1.2.5 Hypomnemata Related to Census and Population Lists: Summary

The study of documents related to the introduction of the Roman census in Egypt allows us to make general observations about the evolution of the *hypomnema* in the first century of Roman rule. The new rule modified the administrative procedures, and scribes had to create various new documents. Even for census declarations, which had some precedents in the mid-third century BCE, the document was newly created, as the analysis has shown. The presence of many preserved examples allows us to study how scribes produced these new types.

Some elements were defined from the beginning by the function of these texts: they had to convey information from an individual to a member of the administration, i.e. the function that *hypomnemata* had in the last centuries of Ptolemaic rule. Thus, from the very beginning, these new documents were drawn up as *hypomnemata* and shared some formulary and material features with contemporary and older *hypomnemata*, such as the opening formula and the general materiality of the texts (vertical format, horizontal fibres, narrower right margin, highlighted addressee).

A shared evolution is noticeable for first-century *hypomnemata* in general. The layout of the opening lines of petitions, census declarations and death declarations follow a shared pattern: from the Ptolemaic-style highlight of the addressee through a combination of *ekthesis* and line break to a more complex layout with the name of the addressee centred in

54 CE). PSI VIII 871 and P.Gen. II 64 have neither εὐτόχει nor date or signature; however, since they are copies, the final clauses may have been omitted by the scribe who prepared them.

²⁷⁶ Cf. P.Mich. III 170; 171; 172; PSI VIII 871; SB XXIV 16186.

the first lines, spatially away from the main text, and an enlarged π of the ensuing παρά.

The structure of the final lines also changes, with the isolated element typical of Ptolemaic practice (an εὐτύχει or a date) giving ground to complex layouts with date and signatures.

Moreover, geographical differentiation becomes evident in the documentation; for instance, Oxyrhynchite census declarations, death declarations and ἐπίκρισις applications often include an oath, whereas this element is rare in contemporary Arsinoite documents.

Despite these similarities, the creation and evolution of these documents follow distinct paths. The two cases of census declarations and death declarations best reflected these differences. Scribes took almost one century to establish more or less fixed models for census declarations. They were definitely not working from pre-existing models and worked through trial and error. On the contrary, scribes very quickly found a model for death declarations, i.e. petitions, and established the characteristics of the new type of document from the beginning. There was not a single path through which scribes adapted to the demands of administrative innovation but a multitude of solutions according to the task they had to perform.

To answer the initial question on the relation between political change and the typological evolution of documents, the case study of the census's creation reflects the complexity of the matter. The overall characteristics of *hypomnemata* are not affected by the creation of the census. Scribes inherited a type from the Ptolemaic period and kept developing it through the Roman period. New features appear, like the signatures in the final lines of *hypomnemata*. These features do not concern only census but appear simultaneously under petitions. It is hard to say whether they come from more general administrative necessities or simply from the evolution of the scribal practice. For sure, they are not related only to the necessities of the census.

However, the new census demanded the creation of numerous new documents from the local scribes. They reacted adaptatively, drawing from the tradition at their disposal when possible and developing something new when necessary. In the case of census declarations, the novelty was significant enough to demand a longer adaptation time. In this case, one may wonder whether the new administration had not prescribed the document's content (list of people according to household, indicating who leaves and who holds each house), leaving the local scribes, be they in the service of local administrators or private scribes, to

figure out a document combining these demands with their scribal tradition²⁷⁷. As census declarations are the only *hypomnemata* related to census whose submission was undoubtedly compulsory, maybe the administration was more involved in their creation than in other related *hypomnemata*. Nevertheless, the great variety of documents between nomes, villages and census years indicates that absolute uniformity was not required by the administration.

4.1.3 Sheep and Goat Declarations: Between Continuity and Innovation

With petitions on one side and declarations related to the census on the other, we observed two extreme versions of the relation between administrative changes and the evolution of the documentary typology. In the case of petitions, administrative innovation had a limited impact on how scribes prepared the documents. Except for some innovation in the closing formulas, Roman petitions remain very close to their Ptolemaic precedent even when their administrative handling evolved. On the contrary, in the case of declarations related to the census, new administrative needs prompted the creation of new types of documents which had no clear precedent in Ptolemaic practice.

The case of sheep and goat declarations (or small livestock declarations) falls somewhere between these two extremes and allows us to observe yet another way in which administrative changes impacted the practice of ancient scribes. Indeed, as in the case of petitions, scribes had a Ptolemaic precedent on which to build: hypomnematic property declarations. Nevertheless, as for census declarations, they modified this precedent during the first century CE to follow the changes in the administrative practice of counting animals. Since almost sixty documents are preserved, these documents offer an excellent case study for analysing the relation between administrative changes and the typology of documents between the reign of Augustus and the end of the first century CE²⁷⁸.

Sheep and goat declarations contribute to the animals' census, a practice well attested in Egypt since pharaonic times²⁷⁹. In Ptolemaic and Roman times, it had an obvious fiscal purpose: in order to collect taxes on animals, the administration had to know the quantity

²⁷⁷ On the role of the scribe in the creation of formularies, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 82; SCHUBERT 2016, 187.

²⁷⁸ Specific lists of documents are given in each chronological subsections, cf. *infra*, chapters 4.1.3.1, 4.1.3.2 and 4.1.3.3, as well as chapter 4.1.3, note 284; on sheep and goats declarations, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, particularly 146–149; 168–173; 185–186; 193–195; 198–199; BALCONI 1984; BALCONI 2000; KRUSE 2002, 213–235; LANGELLOTTI 2012; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 233–244.

²⁷⁹ Cf. ALLAM 1988; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 13; 206–207; 224; JÖRDENS 2009, 127. We do not know whether these older practices were associated with taxes on the animals.

of livestock and their owners²⁸⁰. Under the Ptolemies, the count was mainly the task of scribes, although we have a couple of Ptolemaic animal declarations indicating that people could declare their own animals²⁸¹. Like Ptolemaic census declarations, Ptolemaic animal declarations are scarce; however, unlike census declarations, animal declarations are attested during both the third and the second centuries BCE, and scribes drew them up as *hypomnemata* since the end of the third century BCE²⁸².

The widespread use of declarations seems to be an innovation introduced by the Romans²⁸³. Many such documents are preserved between the reign of Augustus and the end of the third century CE. The discussion will focus on sheep and goat declarations, which are well attested during the whole Roman rule in Egypt, especially in the first centuries BCE and CE²⁸⁴. Although also camel and donkey declarations are attested, they do not allow us to study the relation between Ptolemaic and Roman *hypomnemata* because of the paucity of the documentation and have therefore been excluded from this study²⁸⁵.

These declarations were submitted yearly to various addressees. After some variations in the first decades of Roman rule, the usual addressees stabilised to the στρατηγός and the

²⁸⁰ AVOGADRO 1935, 137–140; P.Mich. XVIII 782, p. 192; KRUSE 2002, 180; 213; CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 206–207; 224; JÖRDENS 2009, 124–125; 127; LANGELLOTTI 2012, 13–14; 35–58; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433–5452, p. 125; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 236 n. 15.

²⁸¹ On the Ptolemaic practice of counting animals, cf. CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 206–207; JÖRDENS 2009, 121; ARMONI 2012, 205–206.

²⁸² Later hypomnematic declarations: W.Chr. 242 (sheep declaration of 222 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 806 (a declaration for a horse of 139 BCE). The register of abstracts of sheep and goat declarations SB XXII 15370, of 151/150 or 140/139 BCE, indicates that small livestock could still be declared in the second century BCE. In the mid-third century BCE, animals were declared through non-hypomnematic declarations, cf. P.Lille Dem. I 12–20; TM 45906; 45907 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2301; 1196), Demotic declarations of sheep and goats dated 252 and 250 BCE; P.Frankf. 5, a subjective declaration of a household, small livestock and pigs of 241/240 BCE; P.Hib. I 33, a subjective declaration of sheep of 245 BCE. On Ptolemaic animal declarations, cf. BALCONI 2000, 143–145; ARMONI 2012, 208–210. On this evolution, cf. *supra*, chapters 2.2.3.2 and 3.1.3.2.

²⁸³ Cf. CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2006, 206–207; JÖRDENS 2009, 121; 127–128.

²⁸⁴ LANGELLOTTI 2012, 131–153 provides a list of Roman sheep and goat declarations; she includes some at the time unpublished documents that were subsequently edited as P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433 (= Micaela Langellotti's declaration num. Oxy.19.1); 5434 (Oxy.21.9); 5435 (Oxy.21.7); 5437 (Oxy.21.8); 5438 (Oxy.25.1); 5441 (Oxy.59.1); 5443 (Oxy.84.1); 5444 (Oxy.86.1); 5445 (probably Oxy.98.2); 5448 (Oxy.II.3); 5449 (Oxy.II.1); 5450 (Oxy.II.2); 5451 (Oxy.II.4); 5452 (Oxy.128.1). To her list, add P.Oxy. LXXIV 5436; 5439; 5440; 5446; 5447; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27; TM 8693 col. ii (P.Hawara inv. 316 + 322, col. ii), for a total of ninety-eight documents, of which fifty-seven date to the first century BCE or CE.

²⁸⁵ On camel declarations, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, particularly 133; 170–173; 195–197; BALCONI 1990; KRUSE 2002, 181–212; HAGEDORN 2018. A list of documents can be found in HAGEDORN 2018, 137 n. 1. Camel owners may have declared their herds already in the first century CE, but no first-century declaration is preserved, cf. BALCONI 1990, 114 with n. 5; KRUSE 2002, 181; JÖRDENS 2009, 122–123 with n. 139. On donkey declarations, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, particularly 134; 149–150; 173–174; 197–199; BALCONI 1990, 114; 119 with n. 24; JÖRDENS 2009, 123–124. The fiscal regulations concerning donkeys and horses differed from those of camels, sheep and goats, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 123–124; ARMONI 2012, 209–210. Only three Roman donkey declarations are known, P.Oxy. XII 1457, PSI VII 785 and SB I 4516, and no horse declaration.

βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς²⁸⁶. The period of submission was constant: the end of the month Tybi and the beginning of the month Mecheir, i.e. our January-February²⁸⁷. Owners could declare their animals individually, but they could also join with other owners to declare their herds collectively; this second option could be used, for instance, when multiple small herds pastured together under the supervision of one shepherd²⁸⁸.

In 1935, Sandra Avogadro noticed that the evolution of sheep and goat declarations underwent three phases during the first century CE, a conclusion confirmed by new materials published since then²⁸⁹. Her three phases will be the basis of the present discussion.

4.1.3.1 Phase One: Early Julio-Claudian Sheep and Goat Declarations

Some forty small livestock declarations share an early version of the administrative procedure: owners of sheep and goats had to declare their herd once a year, between the end of the month Tybi and the beginning of the following month Mecheir. The documents fall into two subgroups: a dossier of ten declarations from the Herakleopolite nome, almost all dated to 13 BCE²⁹⁰, and three times as many Oxyrhynchite declarations, almost all later²⁹¹. Only one loosely dated Arsinoite declaration does not belong to either of these subgroups, but its poor state of preservation does not allow us to make a detailed analysis of it²⁹².

²⁸⁶ BALCONI 1984, 37; 45–47; KRUSE 2002, 215–216; 219–220; 222–235; JÖRDENS 2009, 121; LANGELLOTTI 2012, 18–20; 23–33; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433–5452, p. 125; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 236–237.

²⁸⁷ AVOGADRO 1935, 185–186; BALCONI 1984, 36; JÖRDENS 2009, 121 with n. 131; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433–5452, p. 124. This allows to clarify the date of all the declarations to January-February of the mentioned regnal year, as already noticed for instance by BALCONI 1984, 36. This stance was systematically taken in the following pages, without discussing it for each papyrus individually.

²⁸⁸ P.Mich. XVIII 782, p. 192; HABERMANN 2001, 78; 81–82; KRUSE 2002, 214; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 239.

²⁸⁹ On the three phases, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 168–169; BALCONI 1984, 47–48; BALCONI 1990, 115–117; BALCONI 2000, 147–148; KRUSE 2002, 214; JÖRDENS 2009, 122–123; 126; LANGELLOTTI 2012, 11–12; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 235.

²⁹⁰ BGU XVI 2578–2587, all dated 13 BCE except for BGU XVI 2586 (5 BCE). The opening of BGU XVI 2579, 2580, 2584 and 2585 is lost but was surely hypomnematic.

²⁹¹ P.IFAO III 43; P.NYU II 12; P.Oxy. II 245; 353 descr. = C.Pap.Jud. III 482; XXXVIII 2850; LV 3778; 3779; LXXI 4822; LXXXIV 5434; 5435; 5436; 5437; 5438; 5439; 5440; P.Princ. II 24; SB XII 10794; 10795; XVI 12759; 12760; 12763; XX 14094, as well as P.Batav. 8; P.Berl.Möller 7; P.IFAO I 5; P.Oxy. LXXI 4823; LXXXIV 5433; P.Oxy.Hels. 8; SB XVI 12761; 12762, whose openings are lost but were surely hypomnematic. The earliest well-dated document is P.Oxy.Hels. 8 (9 BCE), the latest P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5440 (43 CE). P.Oxy. VI 962 descr., still unpublished, is dated to the reign either of Claudius or of Nero; it may therefore fall into Sandra Avogadro's group one or two.

²⁹² P.Mich. XVIII 782, only loosely dated to the first half of the first century BCE because of its belonging to Sandra Avogadro's first phase. The text, whose opening is lost but was surely hypomnematic, is assigned to the Arsinoite nome because of its formulas.

Herakleopolite Small Livestock Declarations from the First Phase

The Herakleopolite declarations are earlier and closely resemble second-century BCE Ptolemaic property declarations. The text of these documents opened with the hypomnematic τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. It continued with the declaration of the good (not necessarily animals), usually introduced by the verb ἀπογράφομαι, and with the request of registration, generally expressed through the verb ἀξιῶ. It closed on a date, often combined with an εὐτύχει. Materially, these declarations do not differ from other second-century BCE *hypomnemata*²⁹³.

This Ptolemaic structure is still present in the Herakleopolite declarations, as the example of BGU XVI 2583 (13 BCE) will show²⁹⁴ (Fig. 4.16):

- (**hand 2**) Φνεβι(έως) ἔσ(χον) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρο(ς) Μεχ(εῖρ) ι
(**hand 1**) Ἡρακλίδη καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ
τοῦ Ἡρ[ακλεοπολίτου τὸ] ἔπτακαι-
5 δέκατον ἔτ[ος Κα]ί[σ]αρ[ος]
παρὰ Ἀπολλ . . . τοῦ Ο . [. .] . . ασσας . . .
προεστῶτος τῶν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ
Σιμαρίστου τῶν ἀπὸ Φνε[βιέως].
ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ προκίμ[ενο]ν
10 ἔπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος Καίσαρος τὰ ὑπάρ-
χοντά μοι πρόβατα [τέλεια]
σύνμεικτα διακόσια ἐξήκοντα ὀκτὼ
καὶ τοὺ ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους
ἄρνας καὶ αἰγας δεκαεπτὰ καὶ ἐρείφους
15 καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου . .
τε . . . ς ἐπιμεμιγμένας τοῖς ἐμοῖς προβ-
άτοις πρόβατα τέλεια ἐννέα σὺν
ἀρνάσι ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ πᾶν πρόβατα
traces
20 νεμόμενα καὶ ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐ-

²⁹³ On second-century BCE property declarations, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.2. There are two Ptolemaic hypomnematic animal declarations: W.Chr. 242 (sheep declaration of 222 BCE) and P.Tebt. III.1 806 (horse declaration of 139 BCE).

²⁹⁴ Regularisation: l. 13: τοῦ, *lege* τούς.

λιζόμενα περί Φνεβιέα καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ
νομοῦ. ἄξιῳ ἐὰν φαίνεται καταχωρίσαι
τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει.
εὐτυχεῖτε

(hand 2) Of Phnebieus. I had it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 10 (?). **(hand 1)**
To Heraklides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the
pasture-tax of the [Herakleopolite nome] for the seventeenth year of Caesar,
from Apoll- son of NN, overseer (of the sheep) of Herakleios son of Simaristos,
one of those from Phnebieus. I register for the aforementioned seventeenth year
of Caesar the two hundred and sixty-eight miscellaneous [adult] sheep
belonging to me as well as this year's accompanying lambs and seventeen goats
and kids as well as the nine adult sheep of Herakleides son of Herakleides, [...]
mixed together with mine, so that there are in all [...] sheep, pasturing, watering
and abiding around Phnebieus and throughout the nome. I ask, if it should
please you, to register the declaration as is fitting. Farewell²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁵ Translation BGU XVI 2583, p. 59 slightly modified.

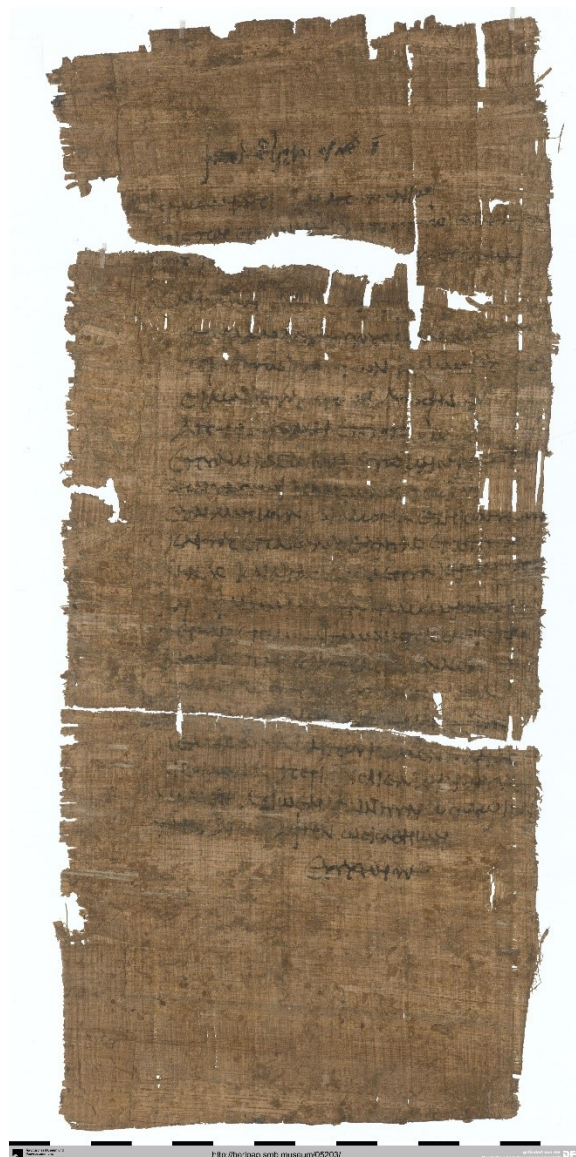


Fig. 4.16: BGU XVI 2583.

From a typological point of view, this document does not differ from Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. With its vertical sheet, horizontal fibres and tripartite text, the overall impression is the same as Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*. The text opens with a highlighted mention of the addressee, τῷ δεῖνι, followed by a block of text that includes the mention of the sender (παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος), the main clause (ἀπογράφομαι) and a final request of registration (ἄξιῳ ἐὰν φαίνεται καταχωρίσαι). An isolated εὐτυχεῖτε closes the document. Even the docket in a second hand in the upper margin finds parallels in the Ptolemaic practice²⁹⁶.

²⁹⁶ Cf. BGU VIII 1831 (50 BCE), l. 1: κατὰ Σαδα() ἔλ(αβον) (ἔτους) β Τῷβ(ι) ια (on the text, cf. WILCKEN 1935, 122 = BL 3.24); P. Yale IV 148 (137 BCE), l. 1: ἐλ(ήφθη) (ἔτους) λγ Παῶνι κη. Such dockets are attested

BGU XVI 2583 is representative of contemporary Herakleopolite sheep and goat declarations²⁹⁷. The variations are minimal. If BGU XVI 2583 has a narrower right margin, this is not always the case; this feature was already optional in Ptolemaic documents²⁹⁸. BGU XVI 2583 lacks a *paragraphos* at the end of the main text, but such a *paragraphos* can appear on Herakleopolite small livestock declarations; it was a widespread element under first-century BCE *hypomnemata*²⁹⁹. Herakleopolite declarations constantly introduce the main text with ἀπογράφομαι, although some variations of the following formulas occur³⁰⁰. The request is always present. However, BGU XVI 2583 is exceptional and closer to Ptolemaic precedents by its use of ἀξιῶ; usually, Herakleopolite declarations simply use an ἐὰν φαίνεται to express their request³⁰¹. There is always a highlighted closing element; it can be an εὐτύχει, as in BGU XVI 2583, but it can also be a date, as in second-century BCE declarations³⁰². The layout is usually tripartite³⁰³. In the documents of 13 BCE, the upper margin usually brings a process note in a second hand akin to that of BGU XVI 2583, and the lower margin is usually left empty³⁰⁴.

The closest precedent for these documents is second-century BCE property declarations. There are only two differences between these earlier documents and Herakleopolite sheep and goat declarations. On the one hand, ἀξιῶ, the basic verb of petitions, was the most

on petitions. They are different from later process notes on small livestock declarations, cf. KRUSE 2002, 226–227.

²⁹⁷ On the general structure of these documents, cf. BGU XVI 2578–2587, p. 51.

²⁹⁸ BGU XVI 2578, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585 and 2587 have a narrower right margin, BGU XVI 2580, 2581, 2586 do not, and BGU XVI 2579 is too poorly preserved to observe its margins. On margins in first-century BCE Ptolemaic petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2.

²⁹⁹ BGU XVI 2578, 2584 and 2586 have a final *paragraphos*, BGU XVI 2582 and 2583 do not, and the final lines of the other documents are not preserved. On *paragraphoi* in first-century BCE Ptolemaic petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2.

³⁰⁰ For instance, BGU XVI 2581 and 2582 do not mention the year for which the declaration was made, and BGU XVI 2582 lacks the third element of the formula νεμόμενα καὶ ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐλιζόμενα.

³⁰¹ The formula is ἐὰν φαίνεται καταχωρίσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει in BGU XVI 2578, 2579 (partially in lacuna), 2582, 2584, 2586 and 2587 (partially in lacuna).

³⁰² BGU XVI 2582, 2583, 2586 and possibly 2584 close on an εὐτύχει, BGU XVI 2578 and 2579 on a date, and the final lines of the other documents are lost. In the case of BGU XVI 2578, the date is combined with an unparalleled note (read as [...]ρονό[ς] μονογράφου) by the editor, who did not comment on it).

³⁰³ The only document which does not have, at least apparently, a tripartite layout is BGU XVI 2587. However, the division of the παρὰ between l. 4–5, as π-αρά, is highly unusual. Looking at the online picture, l. 2–4 seems to be indented and contain the mention of the addressee, and l. 5 seems to start with a fully written παρὰ. One may read the traces at the end of l. 4, read by the editor ...π, as the usual Καίσαρος attested at this point by contemporary Herakleopolite declarations. This reading cannot be confirmed only based on the picture, and the original should be checked.

³⁰⁴ The docket in the upper margin is present in BGU XVI 2580, 2582, 2584, 2585 and 2587. The lower margin is empty whenever it is preserved. BGU XVI 2586, dated 5 BCE, has a different set of process notes: some traces in the upper margin, and various notes in the lower one (one hand calculated the totals of declared animals, and one hand added, l. 18: κατακεχ(ώρεκα) (έτους) κε Καίσαρος Μεχειρ β, a registration note closer to those on later declarations). On these notes, cf. KRUSE 2002, 226–227; LANGELLOTTI 2012, 18.

common verb to express the request in Ptolemaic declarations, whereas it is usually absent from Herakleopolite small livestock declarations. On the other hand, Ptolemaic declarations always closed on a date, whereas Herakleopolite livestock declarations close either on an εὐτύχει or on a date. Since we do not know anything about property declarations in the first century BCE, it is hard to explain the origin of these differences. Contemporary petitions influenced second-century BCE property declarations, and a close link between petitions and sheep and goat declarations is still noticeable in the Herakleopolite documents³⁰⁵. The influence of petitions can explain the presence of the isolated εὐτύχει on Herakleopolite declarations, but it does not explain the disappearance of the ἀξιῶ-formula.

Therefore, Herakleopolite documents indicate that very early under Roman rule, owners of sheep and goats had to declare their herd yearly. Scribes relied on the Ptolemaic tradition to create these documents that closely resemble second-century BCE property declarations. The differences between the Ptolemaic documents and the early Roman ones are hard to explain, as we do not have examples of property declarations of the first century BCE before the Roman conquest.

Oxyrhynchite Small Livestock Declarations from the First Phase

It is possible to follow Oxyrhynchite sheep and goat declarations over a longer period of time than Herakleopolite declarations. However, most of their characteristics are already in place in the earliest well-preserved document, P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 (3 BCE, Fig. 4.17):

- Διογένηι στ[ρα]τηγῶι καὶ Διονυ(σίῳ) βα(σιλικῶι) γρ(αμματεῖ) καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ[ι]
τοπάρχῃ
παρὰ Χ[εν]αμῶτος τῆς Πέτρωνος. ἀπο-
γράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κζ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος τὰ ὑ-
5 πάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα) κ, καὶ
τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρνας, ἃ νεμήσεται
περὶ Παῖμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας καὶ δι' ὅ-
λου τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπιμεμειγμένα τοῖς τοῦ
ἀνδρός μου Θώνιος τοῦ Πατοΐφιος προβάτοις
10 διὰ νομέως Λευκαδίου τοῦ Σωσιβίου,

³⁰⁵ On the link between Ptolemaic declarations and petitions, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.2, section “Formulary and Process Notes by a Second Hand”. On the links between Herakleopolite sheep and goat declarations and contemporary petitions, cf. KRUSE 2002, 266.

ὧν καὶ τάξομαι τὸ καθήκον τέλος.
εὐτύχει.

(**hand 2**) [..... π]αρὰ Διογέ(νους) στρα(τηγοῦ) ἀ[ν]αγεγρα() πρόβα(τα)
[εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα)] κ. (ἔτους) κζ Καίσα[ρος] Μεχ(εῖρ) ε.

15 (**hand 3**) [κα]τεχώρισεν ὁ παρὰ Διονυ[σίου βα(σιλικοῦ)] γρα(μματέως)
ἀναγεγρα() πρόβα(τα) εἴκοσι , (γίνεται) [πρ(όβατα)] κ.
(ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος, Μεχ(εῖρ) ε.

To Diogenes, *strategos*, and Dionysios, royal scribe, and Apollonios, *toparches*, from Chenamous daughter of Petron. I register for the current 27th year of Caesar the twenty sheep I own, total 20 sheep, and the lambs that follow them, which will pasture in the neighbourhood of Paimis in the western toparchy and throughout the entire nome, mixed with the sheep of my husband Thonis son of Patoiphis, having as shepherd Lucadios son of Sosibios; I shall also pay the proper tax upon them. Farewell. (**hand 2**) I(?), NN, agent of Diogenes, *strategos*, have registered twenty sheep, total 20 sheep. Year 27 of Caesar, Mecheir 5. (**hand 3**) NN, agent of Dionysius, royal scribe, has entered (and?) registered twenty sheep, total 20 sheep. Year 27 of Caesar, Mecheir 5³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁶ Translation P.Oxy. LXXI 4833, p. 112–113 modified.

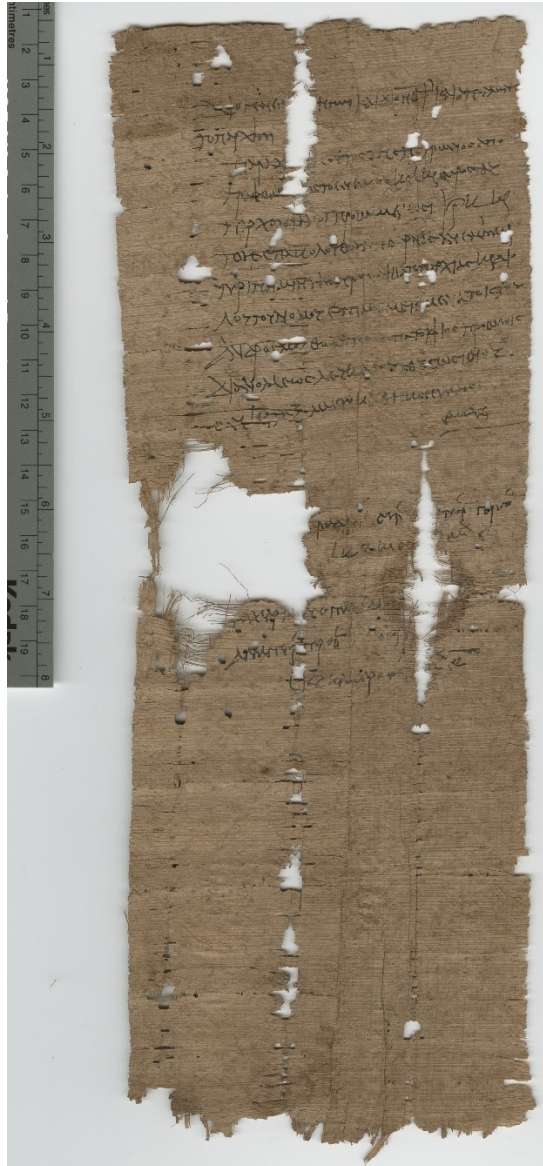


Fig. 4.17: P.Oxy. LXXI 4822.

Materially, this document still belongs to the Ptolemaic tradition, with a vertical sheet, horizontal fibres, and tripartite main text. The right margin is noticeably narrower than the left, and the text closes on a *paragraphos*. The latter is placed under the highlighted εὐτύχει instead of under the main text; this exceptional place is already in use under some first-century Ptolemaic petitions³⁰⁷. Some formulas of the main text are also in line with the Ptolemaic tradition and the Herakleopolite Augustan small livestock declarations. The hypomnematic opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, the closing εὐτύχει, the introductory ἀπογράφομαι all belong to the repertoire of Ptolemaic and Herakleopolite property declarations.

³⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2, and BGU XVIII.1 2731; P.Rain.Cent. 52.

In the second part of the text, however, some elements differ from Ptolemaic and Herakleopolite small livestock declarations³⁰⁸. First, opposite to the Herakleopolite documents and breaking away from the Ptolemaic precedent, this declaration makes no request to its addressees. This element clearly distinguishes Augustan Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite declarations: in the Herakleopolite nome, BGU XVI 2586, dated 5 BCE, still makes a request, whereas in the Oxyrhynchite, P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, dated 3 BCE just two years later, does not. All the Herakleopolite documents make requests, and none of the Oxyrhynchite do.

Requests disappear from early Roman sheep and goat declarations after the Herakleopolite documents. However, the geographical and chronological evolution of this disappearance remains mysterious. We only know that in the second century BCE and as late as 5 BCE, Herakleopolite scribes added a request to their property declarations, whereas as early as 3 BCE, Oxyrhynchite scribes did not³⁰⁹.

Another difference concerns the formula through which the grazing region of the herd is mentioned. In this case, the Herakleopolite declarations used νεμόμενα ποτιζόμενα αὐλιζόμενα περὶ [name of a village] καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ, whereas P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 uses ἃ νεμήσεται περὶ [name of a village + toparchy] καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ διὰ νομέως [name of the shepherd]. These formulas are so distinctive that scholars use them to identify the provenance of small livestock declarations, as, throughout the Roman period, each nome had a specific set of formulas to indicate the grazing area of a herd³¹⁰. Moreover, P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 closes on mentioning the taxes related to the herd, something absent from Herakleopolite sheep and goat declarations.

Finally, the registration notes added in the lower margin of P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 do not correspond to the practice observed in the Herakleopolite declarations of 13 BCE. Indeed, the latter had a blank lower margin and dockets in the upper margin that came from Ptolemaic precedents. However, BGU XVI 2586, a Herakleopolite sheep and goat

³⁰⁸ On these differences, cf. also BALCONI 2000, 147.

³⁰⁹ Most early Roman animal declarations are Oxyrhynchite, whereas we do not have any Oxyrhynchite Ptolemaic animal declarations. Ptolemaic declarations are mostly Herakleopolite, but we do not have any Herakleopolite declaration between 5 BCE and the third century CE. Other nomes are too sparsely attested to attempt any study.

³¹⁰ E.g. HAGEDORN 1976b (for a mid-second-century CE document that he attributes to upper Egypt); P.Mich. XVIII 782, p. 194 (for an early-first-century CE document attributed to the Arsinoite nome; on this case, cf. BALCONI 2000, 146–147). On the local variations of grazing area formulas, cf. HAGEDORN 1976c; BALCONI 2000, 149–150; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 241.

declaration of 5 BCE, already presented a registration note closer to that of P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 in its lower margin ³¹¹.

Despite its early date, P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 is representative of the other Oxyrhynchite declarations of the first phase identified by Sandra Avogadro. Materially, the general format with a vertical sheet and horizontal fibres is, without surprise, standard³¹². Other layout elements are current in the corpus, like the narrower right margin and the closing *paragraphos*, usually placed at the end of the main text and not, as in P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, after the εὐτύχει³¹³.

The layout of the documents evolves over time. Concerning the addressee's mention, the *ekthesis* typical of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* decreases, and the spacing between the name and the title of the addressee increases. Thus, the document's layout progressively highlights the addressee's mention by centring it instead of indenting it, an element that will become evident in end-first-century CE *hypomnemata*. This phenomenon is already noticeable in a group of declarations from 21 CE addressed to a στρατηγός named Hierax³¹⁴. In these documents, the *ekthesis* is markedly less noticeable, and a blank tends to divide the addressee's name and title (for instance, cf. P.Oxy. LV 3778 and SB XII 10794, Fig. 4.18).

³¹¹ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 227; P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 115. The same note is also present in P.Mich. XVIII 782, a declaration attributed to the first phase and the Arsinoite nome. It is probably an old form of registration note in the Arsinoite, cf. KRUSE 2002, 218.

³¹² I know of no exception for the vertical sheet. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2850 and LXXXIV 5434 are written against the fibres; the latter is a draft, but the former is clearly the submitted document, subscribed by the administration. I have no explanation for why it is written against the fibres.

³¹³ The narrower margin is only absent in SB XVI 12761, and I know of no exception for the *paragraphos*, as far as the preservation state of the documents allows to observe these features. Concerning the *paragraphos*, it usually appears at the bottom left corner of the main text. The only exceptions to this rule are P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, which has a *paragraphos* under the closing εὐτύχει, SB XVI 12762, which has two *paragraphoi* above and below the εὐτύχει, and P.Oxy. LV 3778, which has a long line dividing the main text from the process note (such a long *paragraphos* may also hide in the lacuna of P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5435, according to the editor). P.NYU II 12 has a Verschleifung in the lower margin which can be read as an isolated *paragraphos* or as an extremely cursive εὐ(τύχει).

³¹⁴ P.IFAO III 43; P.NYU II 12; P.Oxy. LV 3778; 3779; LXXXIV 5435; 5436; 5437; P.Princ. II 24; SB XII 10794. On the addressee of P.NYU II 12, cf. PARASSOGLU 1971, 51 = BL 6.118.

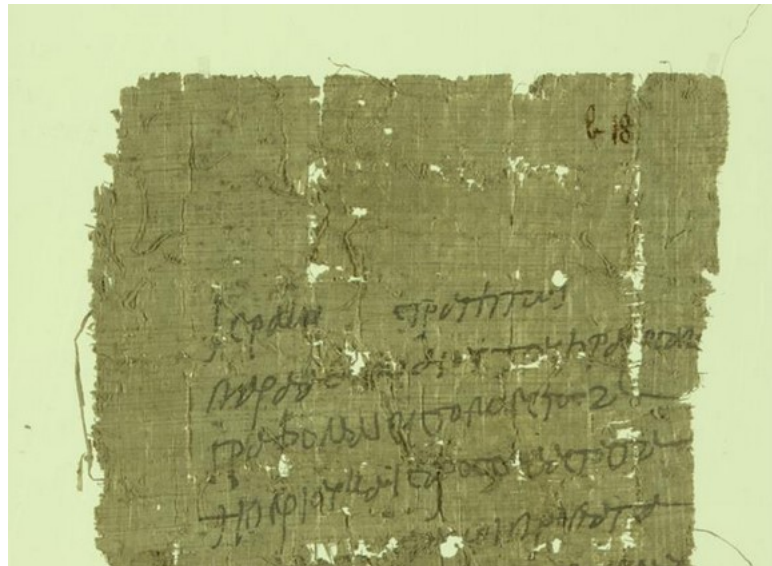
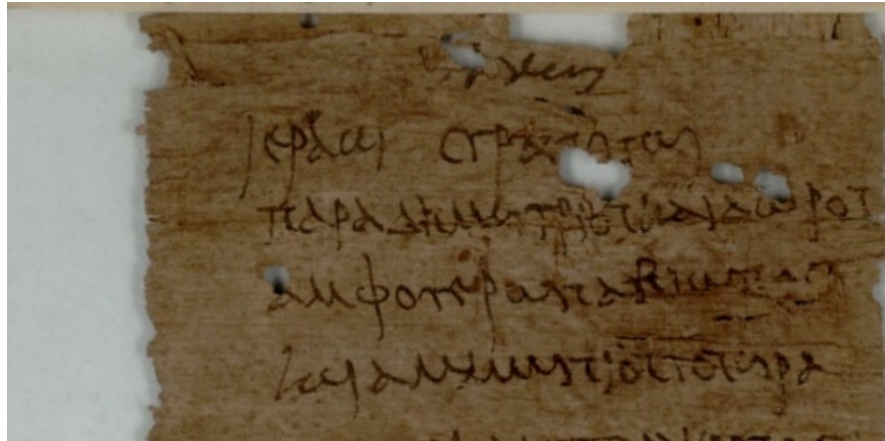


Fig. 4.18: P.Oxy. LV 3778 (above) and SB XII 10794 (below), detail of the opening.

The same evolution is noticeable in the final closing element, the third block of the Ptolemaic tripartite layout. In second-century BCE property declarations, this block was a date, often combined with an εὐτύχει, clearly distinguished on the sheet by a mix of indentation and blanks. In Herakleopolite small livestock declarations of the beginning of the Roman rule, this block was either a date or an εὐτύχει, but it was likewise clearly highlighted through the layout. In P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, the closing εὐτύχει is likewise immediately noticeable on the sheet.

In later Oxyrhynchite small livestock declarations of the first phase, the importance of the closing element decreases. These documents usually end only with an εὐτύχει – the closing with a date, typical of the Ptolemaic precedents, has disappeared. Moreover, the εὐτύχει itself is almost always abbreviated and squeezed at the end of the main text instead of being

fully written and isolated in the lower margin as in older texts³¹⁵. P.Oxy. II 245, LXXXIV 5439 and SB XII 10795 (Fig. 4.19) offer examples of the new position of the εὐτύχει³¹⁶.

BGU XVI 2586 (the latest Herakleopolite declaration of the first phase, dated 5 BCE) already presents this position of the εὐτύχει. In a couple of cases, the closing element has disappeared altogether³¹⁷.

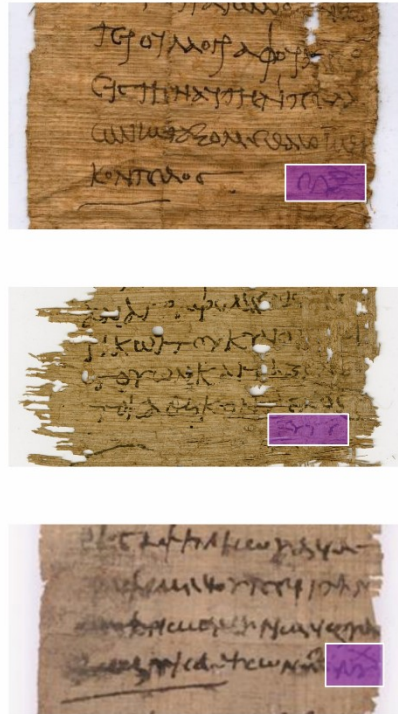


Fig. 4.19: P.Oxy. II 245 (above), LXXXIV 5439 (in the middle) and SB XII 10795 (below), detail of the closing.

With the progressive disappearance of the highlighted opening and closing formulas, the layout of these small livestock declarations loses its tripartite structure and departs from its Ptolemaic precedents. The mention of the addressee tends to be centred instead of indented, and the closing element loses its importance.

The formulas of P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 are, in general, representative of the Oxyrhynchite sheep and goat declarations from the first phase. The opening is always τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ

³¹⁵ εὐτύχει: P.Berl.Möller 7 (cf. the correction proposed in the Appendix, chapter 6); P.Oxy. II 245; 353 descr. = C.Pap.Jud. III 482; XXXVIII 2850; LV 3778; LXXXIV 5433; 5439; 5440; P.Princ. II 24; SB XII 10795; XVI 12760; 12761; 12762. It is always abbreviated εὐτύχει, but in SB XVI 12760 (which has, l. 15: εὐτύχει) and 12761. SB XII 10795, l. 18 was edited εὐ(τύ)χει, but its Verschleifung can also be read εὐτύχει. P.NYU II 12 has a wave in the place of the εὐτύχει, which can be read either as an isolated *paragraphos*, or as a highly cursive εὐ(τύ)χει.

³¹⁶ All the above mentioned εὐτύχει are placed as in the three examples, but for P.Oxy. LV 3778 (21 CE), which has a slightly more isolated εὐτύχει. Only P.NYU II 12 has a clearly highlighted closing element, which is, however, nothing more than a wave.

³¹⁷ P.Oxy. LV 3779; LXXXIV 5434.

δεῖνος, the main text centres on the verb ἀπογράφομαι, lists the declared animals, indicates their grazing area with the formula ἃ νεμήσεται περὶ [name of a village + toparchy] καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ διὰ νομέως [name of the shepherd] and closes on the mention of the taxes to be paid. There is never a request. The closing is almost always εὐτύχει, and there is neither date nor signature³¹⁸.

However, P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 is exceptional in mentioning neither the declarant's nor the shepherd's registration place. Herakleopolite declarations tended to mention the declarant's registration place and did not mention the name and registration place of the shepherd³¹⁹. On the contrary, Oxyrhynchite declarations usually mention the name and registration place of the shepherd³²⁰.

Finally, the position of the registration note of P.Oxy. LXXI 4822 is representative of the Oxyrhynchite practice in general³²¹. However, the formula will eventually stabilise not to a form of the verb καταχωρίζω (as was the case in BGU XVI 2586 and P.Oxy. LXXI 4822)

³¹⁸ On the general formula, cf. BALCONI 1984, 39–40; BALCONI 2000, 146. When the declarations are collective, as in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5435, the formulas are adapted. Among the smaller variations, P.IFAO I 5 and P.Oxy. LV 3779 mention the ἐννόμιον, the mention ἐπιμεμυγμένα usually precedes that of the grazing area (but P.Oxy. II 245 has the same formula as P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, and P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2850 places it after the mention of the shepherd), P.Oxy. II 245 places the mention of the accompanying lambs and kids after that of the grazing area, P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2850 indicates the grazing area with ἀναβήσονται (on which cf. BALCONI 1985a), and P.Berl.Möller 7 indicates the shepherd with the preposition ὑπό. In P.IFAO III 43 and P.Princ. II 24, the declaration includes some pieces of information in the upper margin, the place where the animals graze in the former, the totals of declared animals in the latter. It seems very doubtful that the first hand of P.Oxy. II 245 added the month and day to the subscription date, as proposed by the editors (the hand is uncertain in SB XVI 12761).

³¹⁹ Cf. BALCONI 2000, 147. Only BGU XVI 2586, made by a representative of the owner, does not mention the registration place of the declarant – in the other cases, either the place is mentioned, or the preservation of the papyrus is too poor to judge.

³²⁰ Cf. P.Batav. 8; P.Berl.Möller 7; P.IFAO III 43; P.NYU II 12; P.Oxy. II 245; 343 = C.Pap.Jud. III 482; XXXVIII 2850; LV 3778; 3779; LXXXIV 5433; 5434; 5435; 5439; 5440; P.Princ. II 24; SB XII 10795; XVI 12760; 12761; 12762. There is, however, one case which mentions both the registration place of the declarant and of the shepherd: P.Oxy. LV 3779. On the mention of the declaration place of the shepherd, cf. SIJPESTEIJN 1987, 135–136; P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 114; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 242.

³²¹ The lower margin usually carries a registration note by a second hand, cf. P.Berl.Möller 7; P.Oxy. II 245; LV 3778; 3779; XXXVIII 2850; LXXI 4822; LXXXIV 5433; 5435; 5437; 5439; P.Oxy.Hels. 8; P.Princ. II 24; SB XII 10795; XVI 12760; 12761; 12762. Such a note is only absent in P.NYU II 12; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5434; 5440.

but to a σεσημ(είωμαι)³²². Registration notes under death declarations underwent the same lexical change. The use by scribes of the upper margin for various notes is also attested³²³.

To sum up, the Ptolemaic structure is less evident in Oxyrhynchite declarations from the first phase than in Herakleopolite ones. One difference is marked from the beginning: Oxyrhynchite declarations do not make any request. Another develops with time: Oxyrhynchite declarations lose the tripartite layout with clearly distinguished addressee in *ekthesis* and closing in *eisthesis*. Other differences in the formulas are noticeable: for instance, Oxyrhynchite declarations mention the name and registration place of the shepherd, the taxes to be paid on the herd, and never close on a date.

Three reasons can explain why Oxyrhynchite documents differ more strongly from Ptolemaic precedents. First, Oxyrhynchite documents are usually later than Herakleopolite ones and, therefore, more distant in time from the Ptolemaic precedents³²⁴. Second, Ptolemaic property declarations come from the Herakleopolite and the Arsinoite nomes, and we do not know anything about Oxyrhynchite Ptolemaic declarations, so Oxyrhynchite livestock declarations also are more distant in space from their Ptolemaic precedents. The different preservation patterns on documents from the Arsinoite, Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes produce a bias in our documentation. Third, scribes from different nomes had different practices concerning hypomnematic declarations in the Roman period. This observation, already made for census and death declarations, is also true of sheep and

³²² P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2850, l. 24-27 offers a well-preserved example of the standard formula: Σαρα(πίων) τοπ(άρχης) σεση(μείωμαι) πρόβα(τα) δέκα δύο, αἶγ(ας) τρε[ίς], (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα) ιβ, αἶγ(ες) γ. (ἔτους) ιε Τιβερίου καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ Μεχ(εῖρ) α. Such a formula is to be found under P.Oxy. II 245, LV 3778, 3779, LXXXIV 5433, 5435, 5437, 5439, SB XII.10795 and XVI 12760, although in P.Oxy. LV 3779 and SB XVI 12760 the verb is lost and may have been ἀναγέγραφα as in the following examples. Indeed, P.Oxy.Hels. 8, P.Princ. II 24, SB XVI 12761 and 12762 use the verb ἀναγέγραφα, possibly also the reading in P.Berl.Möller 7 (cf. on this uncertain registration note KRUSE 2002, 221 n. 496; P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 114). On these notes, cf. P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 114–115. On the administrative procedures behind these notes, cf. KRUSE 2002, 221–222; P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 111–112; LANGELOTTI 2012, 18. On the evolution of registration note, cf. KRUSE 2002, 219 (concerning the Arsinoite nome).

³²³ P.Oxy. II 245; LXXXIV 5438 and SB XVI 12760 present a number (maybe for a *tomos synkollesimos*), P.Oxy. LV 3778 and LXXXIV 5435; 5436 a place mention, SB XVI 12763 the name of the month and P.Princ. II 24 (on whose hands cf. BALCONI 1984, 41) the totals of declared animals. On these notes, cf. BALCONI 1984, 40–42.

³²⁴ All Herakleopolite declarations date to 13 BCE except for one dated to 5 BCE; on the contrary, the oldest Oxyrhynchite declarations date to 9 BCE (P.Oxy.Hels. 8), 7 BCE (P.IFAO I 5) or 3 BCE (P.Oxy. LXXI 4822) – P.Oxy. LXXI 4823 being generally dated to the reign of Augustus. All other Oxyrhynchite declarations are later and date to the first century CE.

goat declarations³²⁵. Therefore, Oxyrhynchite scribes may have departed sooner from the Ptolemaic precedent than their Herakleopolite counterparts.

4.1.3.2 Phase Two: Late Julio-Claudian Sheep and Goat Declarations

At some point during the reign of Claudius, the administrative procedure changed. People were now asked to submit two yearly declarations, a so-called πρώτη ἀπογραφή in the month of Mecheir (ca. January-February) and a so-called δευτέρα ἀπογραφή in the month of Epeiph (ca. June-July)³²⁶. The first declaration listed the exact number of sheep, goats, lambs and kids, and the differences from the previous year, and the second one listed the additional lambs and kids born in between³²⁷. The change must have happened between 43 CE, the date of the last declaration of the first phase, and 54 CE, when P.Oxy. II 297 gives us indirect evidence for the existence of the new procedure. Indeed, the latter document, a letter, mentions while speaking of sheep and lambs a πρώτην ἀπογραφὴν (l. 9-10), which implies the existence of a first and a second declaration by then. This phase is only attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome over a short period of time (58 to 67 CE)³²⁸; we cannot be sure whether this procedure was ever implemented throughout Egypt³²⁹.

Only a handful of documents from the second phase are preserved³³⁰. πρώται ἀπογραφαί are in a poor state, and none is fully preserved. δευτεραι ἀπογραφαί are more common and better preserved. However, there is enough evidence to highlight some typological changes from the first phase. The evolution already noticed in the Oxyrhynchite first-phase

³²⁵ On the variations of the formulas of small livestock declarations, cf. HAGEDORN 1976c; BALCONI 2000, 149–150; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 241.

³²⁶ AVOGADRO 1935, 186; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433-5452, p. 124.

³²⁷ On the formulary of the first declarations, cf. P.Köln IV 188, p. 178–179; there is no need to consider, with BALCONI 1984, 48; BALCONI 2000, 148, that the formulary of P.Köln IV 188 is not representative of phase two.

³²⁸ The earliest and the latest well-dated pieces are P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5441 (58 CE) and P.Oxy. LXXI 4824 (67 CE), while P.Oxy. LXXI 4825 is dated between 65 and 69 CE.

³²⁹ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 214; JÖRDENS 2009, 122. P.Flor. III 374 is a Hermopolite declaration that was dated in the *editio princeps* 55/56 CE, although a later date cannot be excluded (cf. BASTIANINI 1982, 212 n. 6; the hypothesis of 55/56 CE remains the favoured one in BASTIANINI – WHITEHORNE 1987, 66; WHITEHORNE 2006, 64, although always given as uncertain); its formulas resemble those of Sandra Avogadro's third phase, yet one cannot exclude they may be the Hermopolite version of phase two (they are also close to P.Köln IV 188, a first declaration from phase two). Because of the uncertainties of dating and of phase, this document is of no help to ascertain whether phase two was ever used outside the Oxyrhynchite.

³³⁰ First declarations: P.IFAO I 21; P.Köln IV 188; P.Ross.Georg. II 13; none of those is fully preserved. Second declarations: P.Oxy. II 246; XXXVIII 2851; LXXI 4824; 4825; LXXXIV 5441. All have a preserved hypomnematic opening but for P.Ross.Georg. II 13, whose opening is lost but was surely hypomnematic. Additionally, P.Oxy. VI 962 descr., still unpublished, is a declaration dated to the reign either of Claudius or Nero, and may fall into phase one or two. On the case of P.Flor. III 374, cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.3.2, note 329.

documents continues: thus, second-phase documents lack a request, and their layout does not usually display the tripartite structure³³¹.

However, in the second phase, sheep and goat declarations present some innovations we have already encountered in petitions, census and death declarations. First, at the end of the main text, the mention of the paid taxes disappears, and an oath-taking, something typical of Oxyrhynchite *hypomnemata* in general, appears³³². Second, in the final lines of declarations, in parallel with the disappearance of the εὐτύχει, new elements appear, notably a date or the signature of the declarant³³³. These innovations concern both πρῶται and δεύτεραι ἀπογραφαί.

Therefore, second-phase Oxyrhynchite small livestock proves, first, that the progressive break away from Ptolemaic traditions continued during the first century CE, and second, that the livestock declarations were part of a larger category of *hypomnemata* that developed the same innovations in the same period.

4.1.3.3 Phase Three: Late First-Century Sheep and Goat Declarations

At the end of the first century CE, the procedure for declaring sheep and goats changed one more time: owners had to declare their herd once a year, in the month Mecheir, but indicating the changes that had intervened since the previous one³³⁴; this procedure is attested between 85 and 238 CE³³⁵. Among first-century CE declarations, six Oxyrhynchite

³³¹ The request is absent in the first declaration P.Ross.Georg. II 13 and in the second declarations P.Oxy. II 246, XXXVIII 2851, LXXI 4824 and LXXXIV 5441. The final lines of the other declarations are not preserved. The only document which still presents the tripartite structure is P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2851 (although the position of the closing διετύχει is unclear on the picture); the others follow the same evolution noticed

in the first phase. I thank Sophie Kovarik and the other members of the Österreichischer Wissenschaftsfonds FWF project I 4674 “vom Nil zum Kaukasus”, directed by Pr. Fritz Mitthof, for the image of P.Ross.Georg. II 13.

³³² Cf. P.Oxy. II 246; XXXVIII 2851; LXXI 4824; LXXXIV 5441; P.Ross.Georg. II 13. Cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 172–173; BALCONI 1984, 44; BALCONI 2000, 149–150; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 242.

³³³ Among the documents with preserved final lines, P.Oxy. II 246, a second declaration, closes on a ε[ὐ]τυχεῖτε]. The editor of P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2851, another second declaration, proposed the reading διετύχει, but cf. Appendix, chapter 6. Two other second declarations, P.Oxy. LXXI 4824 and P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5441, close on a signature, in the latter case preceded by a date. The annotation below P.Ross.Georg. II 13, a first declaration, is also a signature, cf. Appendix, chapter 6.

³³⁴ The link to the previous year was already there in the second phase, cf. P.Köln IV 188, p. 178–179; according to BALCONI 1984, 48; BALCONI 2000, 148, the Cologne document would reflect a transition between phase two and three, but this is unnecessary.

³³⁵ On the duration of the third phase, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 122. The earliest sheep and goat declaration from phase three is P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443 (85 CE), from the Oxyrhynchite nome. In the Arsinoite nome, the earliest declaration surely belonging to phase three is SB XIV 12117 (118–138 CE). Two earlier declarations, P.IFAO I 31 (97 CE) and TM 983852 (P.Narm. inv. 67.70, 90 CE), are too poorly preserved to be attributed with certitude to phase three; on these documents, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.1.3.3, note 336. In the other nomes, sheep and goat declarations of phase three are only attested in the second or the third century CE. In the catalogue published by LANGELLOTTI 2012, 131–153, the latest well dated sheep and goat declaration is SB I 5277 (238 CE).

documents dated between 85 and 99 CE can be attributed to this last phase; two Arsinoite documents may be added³³⁶. Most of them are in a poor state of preservation, but one document, P.Köln II 86 (Oxyrhynchite, 99 CE), allows us to follow the evolution of this documentary type (Fig. 4.20)³³⁷.

- (cross)
 Ἀντάμῳνι στρ(ατηγῶ) καὶ Ἀχιλ(λεῖ) βα(σιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 καὶ οἷς καθήκει
 παρὰ Διογένους τοῦ Πακ. . ()
 5 τοῦ Σεῦθ. . ὡς τῶν ἀπὸ Θώλ(θεως)
 Κάτω. τῶι διελθόντι ἔτει
 ἀπεγρ(αψάμην) ἐπὶ τῆς α(ὕτης) κόμης
 πρόβ(ατα) τριάκοντα ἑπτὰ
 αἶγ(α) ἓνα ἄρν(ας) ἔξ , (γίνεται) πρόβ(ατα) μυ
 10 αἶγ(α) α, ἔξ ὧν διεφθ(άρη) τέλεια
 πρόβ(ατα) δεκαπέντε ἄρν(ες) δύο ,
 (γίνεται) πρόβ(ατα) ιζ, καταλ(είπεται) πρόβ(ατα) κς αἶγ(α) α
 ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος)
 13bis Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 15 Γερμανικοῦ, ἃ νεμήσεται)

³³⁶ Oxyrhynchite: P.Köln II 86; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443; SB XX 14095, col. ii, as well as P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5444; 5445; SB XX 14095, col. i, whose opening is lost but was surely hypomnematic. Arsinoite: TM 983852 (P.Narm. inv. 67.70), as well as P.IFAO I 31, whose opening is lost but was surely hypomnematic. The two Arsinoite documents are too poorly preserved to be sure of their attribution to the third phase. In the case of TM 983852 (90 CE), there is a mention of the declaration of the previous year, as is typical of phase two and three, but the following text is lost, so that its editor, GALLAZZI 2002, 455–456, hesitates in attributing TM 983852 to either the second or third phase. In the case of P.IFAO I 31 (97 CE), there is no mention of a previous declarations, and the text starts with ἀπογράφομαι; the editor suspected, therefore, that it may belong to the first phase, but the subsequently published TM 983852 indicates that by that date the Arsinoite knew the practice of referring to the declaration of the previous year, typical of the second and third phases. The absence of such a mention in P.IFAO I 31, therefore, cannot be explained by attributing it to the first phase, and the only possibly reason is that it was the first time the declarant had to register a newly created herd, as in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5444. These documents are discussed here with the documents of the third phase because of their date, but their attribution to either the second or the third phase is uncertain. Indeed, we do not know anything concerning the evolution of small livestock declarations in the Arsinoite nome in the first century CE, and therefore, we do not know whether there was ever a second phase there, how long it lasted, and whether these documents may not belong to it (cf. on this also JÖRDENS 2009, 122 n. 134).

³³⁷ At l. 1, the mark on the papyrus is some sort of office mark; therefore, I prefer to edit it as “cross” instead of the χ of the original editors. BALCONI 1984, 41 = BL 8.155, prefers to read λ and considers this mark a column numbering in a *tomos synkollesimos*, but on the image a right upward stroke is clearly visible, and therefore, a λ seems a less reliable reading. On l. 13 bis, cf. SIPESTEIJN 1984, 67–68 = BL 8.155.

- περὶ τὴν ἀ(ὕ)τὴν κώμ(ην) καὶ δι' ὅλ(ου) τοῦ
νομο(ῦ) διὰ νομέ(ως) Ἀτρέω(ς)
λαογρ(αφουμένου), καὶ ὁμνύ(ω) Αὐτοκράτορα
Καίσαρα Νέρουαν Τραιανὸν
- 20 Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν ἀληθ(ῆ)
εἶναι τὰ προγεγρ(αμμένα).
- (**hand 2**) Ἀντάμων στρ(ατηγός) διὰ Ἰσχυρ()
ὑπογ(ραμματέως) σεση(μείωμαι) πρόβ(ατα) κς
ἀῖγ(α) α
- 25 (**hand 3**) Ἀχιλ(λεὺς) βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεὺς) δι' Ἀχιλ(λ)
βο(ηθοῦ) σεση(μείωμαι) πρόβ(ατα) κς
ἀῖγ(α) α

To Antamon, *strategos*, and Achilleus, royal scribe, and whomever appropriate, from Diogenes son of Pak- son of Senth-, one of those from Tholtheus in the lower toparchy. In the past year, I registered in this village thirty-seven sheep, one goat and six lambs, total 43 sheep, 1 goat, out of which fifteen adult sheep and two lambs died, total 17 sheep; 26 sheep and 1 goat remain, which I also register for the current 2nd year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, which will pasture in the neighbourhood of this village and throughout the entire nome, having as shepherd Hatreus, registered, and I swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus that what precedes is true. (**hand 2**) I Antamon, *strategos*, have signed through Ischyr-, secretary, 26 sheep and 1 goat. (**hand 3**) I Achilleus, royal scribe, have signed through Achill-, assistant, 26 sheep and 1 goat.

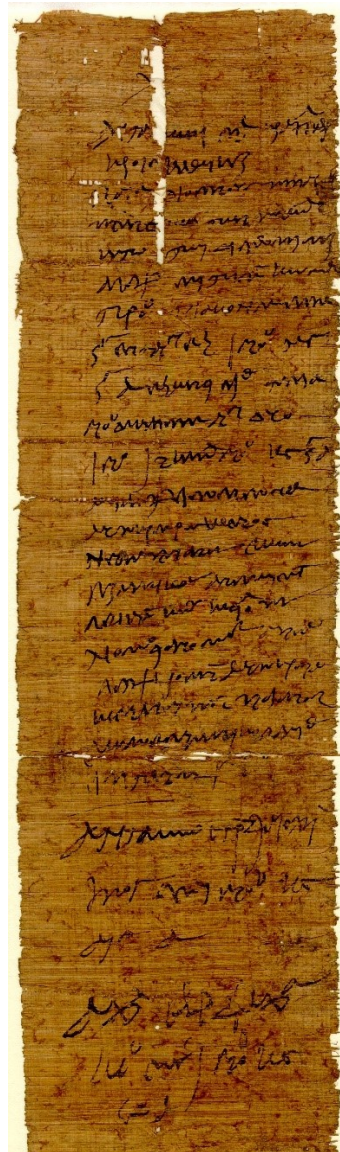


Fig. 4.20: P.Köln II 86.

Besides some variations in the formulas dictated by the new procedure (notably the duplication ἀπεγραψάμην – ἀπογράφομαι), this document reflects the evolution of Oxyrhynchite declarations during the first and second phases. First, the abandonment of the tripartite layout seems to continue. The addressee is not in *ekthesis* but aligned with the main text. It is not really centred, either, but the second line is in a slight *eisthesis* as if to centre it. The π of the *παρά* is slightly enlarged. This addressee resembles those of 21 CE. In parallel, the closing element in *eisthesis* disappears, and there is neither a closing εὐτύχει

nor a closing highlighted date. Nevertheless, the exact frequency of these characteristics at the end of the century remains uncertain³³⁸.

Second, the evolution of the final lines is confirmed. In the Oxyrhynchite nome, the request and the mention of the taxes to be paid have disappeared from livestock declarations³³⁹. On the contrary, an oath is present³⁴⁰. Although a date and a signature are absent from P.Köln II 86, contemporary declarations can have them, as in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445. The registration note remains the same as during phase one³⁴¹. The exact combination of date, signature, and process notes probably depends on the function of the various copies of the same declaration³⁴².

Third, the difference in grazing area formulas according to the nome is confirmed. P.Köln II 86 uses the same formula as the older Oxyrhynchite declarations to indicate the grazing area, and the same is true of most contemporary Oxyrhynchite declarations³⁴³. On the contrary, the only Arsinoite document with preserved grazing area formulas shows, despite its many lacunas, a different set of formulas³⁴⁴. However, opposite to older Oxyrhynchite

³³⁸ TM 983852 (P.Narm. inv. 67.70) has an even clearer centred layout. On the contrary, the opening is less clear in the other documents. Some sort of Ptolemaic-style highlight is still visible in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443, which indents the addressee to the left. SB XX 14095, col. ii indents the addressee to the left, as in Ptolemaic layouts, but also increases the interlinear space between the mentions of the addressee and the sender, as in Roman layouts. The closing highlighted element has disappeared in all sheep and goat declarations with preserved final lines, but this amounts to only two documents, P.Köln II 86 and P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445. The latter closes on a date, which is not highlighted, but merged with the main text before the closing *paragraphos*.

³³⁹ Cf., in addition to P.Köln II 86, P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445. On the disappearance of the request, cf. BALCONI 2000, 147; KRUSE 2002, 226. On the disappearance of the mention of the taxes, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 172; BALCONI 2000, 149; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 242.

³⁴⁰ An oath is preserved in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5444 and 5445, in addition to P.Köln II 86.

³⁴¹ The *σεσημ(είωμαι)* note is attested during phase two in P.Oxy. II 246 and XXXVIII 2851. P.Köln II 86 indicates that the note remains in usage at the end of the first century CE (although in a version without final date), whereas the other contemporary papyri are all broken in their final lines. No registration note is preserved under second-century CE Oxyrhynchite small livestock declarations. The *σεσημ(είωμαι)* note without date is also used in PSI I 56 (Hermopolite, 107 CE). P.Corn. 15 (Arsinoite, 129 CE) presents a *σεσημ(είωμαι)* note with date, but P.Alex.Giss. 4 and SB XII 10806, also from the Arsinoite but later in the second century, present another set of formulas that first appeared under camel declarations, cf. KRUSE 2002, 217–218.

³⁴² BALCONI 1984, 45–46; KRUSE 2002, 217; P.Oxy. LXXI 4822, p. 112; LANGELLOTTI 2012, 20–21 with n. 36. In the second century CE, oath and date always go together, cf. P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 243.

³⁴³ The formula is partially preserved in P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443 and 5444. P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445 does not have any mention of the grazing area – an exceptional feature shared with P.Oxy. II 246, a 66 CE declaration belonging to phase two, and with P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5446, a 107 CE declaration belonging to phase three. On the grazing area formula in the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. HAGEDORN 1976c, 159; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 241.

³⁴⁴ P.IFAO I 31, which contains at least the verbs *εἰσάγω* and *ἐπιμείγνυμι*, closer to Arsinoite formulas (cf. HAGEDORN 1976c, 160–161).

declarations, third-phase declarations do not only mention the registration place of the shepherd but also sometimes that of the declarant, as in P.Köln II 86³⁴⁵.

The recent publication of P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27 showed that the characteristics established at the end of the first century CE for the third phase remained constant in the later centuries³⁴⁶. However, second and third-century CE sheep and goat declarations have a more varied origin than in the first century³⁴⁷. This varied provenance shows that regional variations continue to be attested. For instance, the oath is absent from sheep and goat declarations outside of the Oxyrhynchite nome³⁴⁸, and the taxes to be paid are mentioned in Hermopolite declarations³⁴⁹. Likewise, declarations from the Arsinoite and Hermopolite nome rarely close on a date, unlike declarations from elsewhere³⁵⁰.

In summary, the administrative practice around sheep and goat declarations changed again at the end of the first century CE. This change implied some minor modifications of the formulas, but the declarations' general structure remained close to that already in usage since phase two. The typological characteristics of small livestock declarations stabilised.

4.1.3.4 *Sheep and Goat Declarations: Summary*

Two elements distinguish the corpus of small livestock declarations. First, a Ptolemaic precedent was available to the scribes. Second, the administrative procedure that requested these declarations changed over time. Since the corpus is large and covers the whole first century CE, we have a chance to look in detail at the relation between administrative changes and typological modifications of the documents.

These documents underwent a progressive evolution that distanced them from their Ptolemaic precedent. Some elements disappeared quickly, as the practice of closing the declarations with a request and of adding the registration note in the upper margin; others

³⁴⁵ Other examples of this phenomenon are P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443, 5444 and TM 983852 (P.Narm. inv. 67.70). The registration place of the declarant is more commonly indicated in later declarations, cf. BALCONI 2000, 149 with n. 26; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5433-5452, p. 125.

³⁴⁶ P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 235.

³⁴⁷ Cf. LANGELOTTI 2012, 12; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 234–235.

³⁴⁸ Cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 173; BALCONI 2000, 150; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 243 and for instance P.Alex.Giss. 4 and P.Corn. 15 for the Arsinoite nome (without oath), P.Oxy. I 74 and PSI I 40 for the Oxyrhynchite nome (with oath). *Pace* BALCONI 2000, 150, no oath is attested in the Hermopolite small livestock declarations. The only oath attested outside the Oxyrhynchite nome is in P.Bad. II 21, whose origin is unknown (cf. P.Heid. IV 302, p. 77 n. 10 = BL 8.14).

³⁴⁹ Cf. P.Sarap. 4; 5; PSI I 56. On this, cf. AVOGADRO 1935, 172; BALCONI 1984, 44; BALCONI 2000, 149–150; P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 242.

³⁵⁰ AVOGADRO 1935, 173. I have checked her observation against the documents listed in LANGELOTTI 2012, 141–153, as well as those published in P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5446-5452; TM 8693 col. ii (P.Hawara inv. 316 + 322, col. ii).

took longer, such as the disappearance of the tripartite layout and of the εὐτύχει. This progressive evolution probably differed from nome to nome, although we can only observe it in detail in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Indeed, geographical differences appear very early in the corpus and can be traced throughout it. Despite these differences, scribes did not work in isolation: for instance, BGU XVI 2586 (5 BCE), the latest Herakleopolite declaration, presents a less highlighted εὐτύχει, as in later Oxyrhynchite declarations.

Many of the observed modifications do not concern specifically sheep and goat declarations. The disappearance of the tripartite layout, the appearance of a signature at the end of *hypomnemata*, or the adoption of a closing oath in the Oxyrhynchite nome are also visible, for instance, in death declarations. Therefore, a shared evolution among administrative *hypomnemata* is observable across functions and nomes. Scribes must have preceived that those documents were related and transformed them in parallel.

Nevertheless, in the case of the introduction of the signature and the closing oath, there is a chronological correspondence between one administrative change (the introduction of the double yearly request in the Oxyrhynchite) and the appearance of these features in sheep and goat declarations. Therefore, the question should be asked whether some causal relation between these two simultaneous phenomena can be highlighted. The question is tricky because we do not know at which moment between 43 and 54 CE the administrative practice switched, nor at which moment between 43 and 58 the signature and oath were introduced. We do know, however, that at the same time, these modifications were also introduced on petitions and death declarations, i.e. *hypomnemata* that did not undergo a switch in the administrative practice. Therefore, although it is tempting to link administrative change and typological modification of the documents, there is no positive proof for such a hypothesis.

One specific characteristic of sheep and goat declarations is the disappearance of the final request. Indeed, Roman petitions and death declarations, both based on the structure of Ptolemaic petitions, always kept the mention of the request, which was a defining element of these documents. On the contrary, census declarations never asked for something except for the very early and difficult P.Grenf. I 45 – although second-century CE Arsinoite census declarations closed on a διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι.

The request under Ptolemaic property declarations appeared in the second century BCE, influenced by contemporary petitions. It was emblematic of Ptolemaic administrative

hypomnemata: their senders always expected a reaction from their addressee and often asked explicitly for it. Sheep and goat declarations inherited this Ptolemaic structure characterised by the presence of a request, yet very quickly, scribes abandoned this request and definitely opted for a text that did not ask anything from its addressee.

The disappearance of the request from Augustan small livestock declarations may indicate that the expectation of a reaction from the addressee started to decrease under Roman rule. Indeed, one of the striking characteristics of Augustan Egypt is the sudden increase in the number of compulsory declarations requested by the administration³⁵¹. Scribes had to adapt to this requirement and drafted these new documents as *hypomnemata*. This increase in compulsory declarations may have reduced the perception of *hypomnemata* as documents submitted with an expectation. They were progressively used not only to make a request but also to fulfill one. In spontaneous *hypomnemata*, like petitions and death declarations (but in the latter case, the spontaneous nature of the documents is debated), the request made by the sender tends to be made explicit, with an ἀξιῶ (most petitions and death declarations) or an ἐπιδίδωμι (some Arsinoite death declarations, and some petitions from the second century CE onward)³⁵². Required documents, on the contrary, either did not make any request (most census declarations, as well as small livestock declarations) or closed on a fossil of a request, a διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι (Arsinoite census and camel declarations of the second century CE)³⁵³.

Spontaneous and compulsory *hypomnemata*, however, were still close enough to share their evolutive pattern in the second century CE. For instance, the appearance of the διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι formula on second-century Arsinoite census declarations can also only be explained by the perceived connection with death declarations, which sometimes indicated a request through an ἐπιδίδωμι in the Arsinoite. These documents were still perceived as belonging to the same category.

³⁵¹ Cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 92–94; 127–128.

³⁵² The case of C.Pap.Gr. II 32 a and b (Arsinoite, 129 CE) reflects the interchangeable nature of ἀξιῶ and ἐπιδίδωμι: two declarations for the death of the same man are submitted once to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς and once to the κωμογραμματεὺς. The former contains an ἀξιῶ-request, and the latter an ἐπιδίδωμι-request, both asking the same thing. Although there is some tendency to divide ἀξιῶ and ἐπιδίδωμι requests on death declaration from the early-second-century Arsinoite nome along the function of the addressee, this is not an absolute rule.

³⁵³ The relation between spontaneous and compulsory *hypomnemata*, as well as between the verbs ἀξιῶ and ἐπιδίδωμι, is much more complex than indicated by BICKERMANN 1930b, 24–25. Nevertheless, his idea of stressing the difference between spontaneous *hypomnemata* making a request and compulsory *hypomnemata* without request inspired these reflections.

4.1.4 First-Century Administrative *Hypomnemata*: Summary

The functions covered by *hypomnemata* already increased under the reign of Augustus, as the appearance of census, death, and livestock declarations indicates; many other functions will be introduced under the Flavians, like the declarations of immovable property to the βιβλιοθήκαι or the requests for registration of contracts, but they have not been treated here³⁵⁴. Moreover, the sudden increase in the corpus of documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome allows us to see many geographical differences in the details of the documents, for instance, the absence of an oath on the Arsinoite census and death declarations. Despite the increase in functions and geographical variations, the overall evolution of the features in *hypomnemata* remained consistent. Similar changes in *hypomnemata* occurred across functions and nomes around the same decades. No progressive divergence between subgroups of *hypomnemata* is observable.

The layout of the addressee changed during the first century CE. During the first decades, the indentation decreased, as in P.Oxy.Hels. 10 (a census declaration of 34 CE), C.Pap.Gr. II 6 (a death declaration of 37 CE) and SB XII 10794 (a small livestock declaration of 21 CE); at the end of the century, the mention of the addressee is mostly centred, and the π of the παρά starts to grow, as in the late-first-century petition BGU I 226 and census declaration BGU I 95. The final lines of *hypomnemata* also share common developments. Shortly before the mid-first century CE, scribes introduced oath takings, dating formulas and signatures (i.e. formulas identifying the sender, written either by the sender himself, by one acquaintance of the latter or by the scribe) in the lower margin of *hypomnemata*. For example, all documents under study can bear a date and signatures from the first half of the first century CE, one of the earliest census declarations (SB XX 14440, 12 CE) bears an oath and signatures, and Oxyrhynchite census, death and small livestock declarations end with an oath from the mid-first century CE onward. The addition of new elements in the final lines caused a modification of the layout, and no element in the closing section is highlighted in the Ptolemaic tradition anymore; this change, combined with the contemporary shift in the layout of the addressee, implies the disappearance of the typical Ptolemaic tripartite layout. Moreover, the modification of the closing lines caused a

³⁵⁴ On the δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη and the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, cf. WOLFF 1978, 222–255; CLAYTOR 2020 (with the bibliography at n. 32). On the registration of contracts, or δημοσίωσις, cf. WOLFF 1978, 129–135; PRIMAVESI 1986, 101–103; MASCELLARI 2021, 49–50 and the bibliography in the recent editions BENAÏSSA – GONIS 2009; P.Oxy. LXXXV 5498; 5499; 5501, p. 73–74.

decrease in the frequency of the final εὐτύχει, which, after having appeared on many Augustan *hypomnemata*, will later only occasionally appear under petitions.

Common administrative developments can also be observed through the study of process notes, i.e. the notes in a second hand that the addressed officials added to the documents. For instance, officials initially transmitted petitions and death declarations to their subordinates with subscriptions inherited from the Ptolemaic practice. With time, these Ptolemaic-style subscriptions disappeared from petitions, although not from death declarations. Likewise, death and small livestock declarations shared an evolution on the registration dockets added by the addressed officials; in both cases, after some early adoptions of the verb καταχωρίζω, the registration was mainly indicated by a σεσημ(είωμαι). Some conscious or unconscious perception of the relatedness of various subgroups of *hypomnemata* best explains this parallel evolution.

The relation between Ptolemaic precedents and Roman administrative *hypomnemata* is a complex one. Indeed, the various documents of our case studies show various ways in which scribes operated. Petitions remain closest to the Ptolemaic tradition. Two elements distinguish them from other administrative *hypomnemata*: they kept the closing εὐτύχει (turning it into a διετύχει) even when it had disappeared from other *hypomnemata*, and in the Oxyrhynchite nome, they never introduced the final oath that was typical of declarations³⁵⁵. Death declarations relied on the same precedent but modified it, for instance, by using more frequently the verb ἐπιδίδωμι in request clauses or by introducing an oath-taking in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Small livestock declarations made an even more marked departure from their model (Ptolemaic property declarations) and modified their final lines completely by omitting the request and the εὐτύχει, and sometimes including a date, a signature and, in the Oxyrhynchite nome, an oath. Census declarations had no Ptolemaic model except for the general hypomnematic structure and therefore varied a lot before stabilising their structure. However, the progressive and tentative creation of a standard model for census declarations took place within the global evolution of *hypomnemata*; for instance, the adoption of a final oath for census declarations only in the Oxyrhynchite nome finds a parallel in death and small livestock declarations. Overall, however, all the above-mentioned documents stabilised at the end of the first century CE

³⁵⁵ Cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 902: oath taking was never characteristic of petitions.

and do not change much in the following centuries³⁵⁶. The creation period, therefore, seems to be limited to the first century of Roman rule.

The increase in new documents was caused by a change in the administration's needs. Without the administrative change, these documents would not have existed. For sheep and goat declarations, it had been suggested that scribes followed models circulated by the new administration³⁵⁷. However, the data collected for this analysis indicates greater involvement of the local scribes, be they active in the local administration or acting as private scribes. Although the contents were prescribed by the Roman authorities, the scribes were free to design the new documents that would conform to this request³⁵⁸.

Indeed, as has been demonstrated, scribes adopted a type already at their disposal, the *hypomnema*, to design these new documents. As a document transferring to another individual one specific piece of information, it was immediately and unanimously considered appropriate to carry out these new functions. Scribal practice is coherent on this point from the very beginning of the Roman rule. Scribes also traced their new documents to Ptolemaic precedents whenever they could.

Scribes did not have a clear Ptolemaic precedent to draw from only for census declarations. In this case, scribes took much longer to develop and stabilise a new document type, and only in the second half of the first century CE did census declarations assume their more or less definitive form. Documents from the same year and geographical area display marked differences. This proves that the administration circulated no model: otherwise, the documents would have been highly standardised early on. By analogy, we should not expect that the administration circulated models for the other classes of *hypomnemata*. On the contrary, their swift standardisation is best explained thanks to the existence of Ptolemaic precedents.

However, scribes are not simply reacting to administrative changes. Some changes in the documents are not related to any precise administrative modification, like the disappearance of the request under sheep and goat declarations; they are probably an effect of this phase of general innovations. Likewise, some administrative changes did not impact

³⁵⁶ On this, cf. also P.Aegyptus Cent. I 27, p. 235; 244, concerning more generally the pivotal role of Flavian period in the stabilisation of administrative practices in Egypt.

³⁵⁷ BALCONI 2000, 149. On the role of scribes to turn oral declarations into written documents, cf. JÖRDENS 2009, 82.

³⁵⁸ For a similar interpretation of a later phenomenon, cf. SCHUBERT 2016, 187.

how scribes prepared documents; for instance, petitions maintained the same structure even when their administrative handling changed, as their structure was already able to account for these new procedures.

This observation about the role of scribes in creating new documents is coherent with what we know about the Roman practice when creating an administration in newly conquered provinces³⁵⁹. As much as possible, they resorted to locally existing structures and modified them only to adapt them to their needs. The parallel with the province of Arabia confirms the role of scribes in creating census declarations: the Romans introduced census declarations after the conquest there as well, but the scribes of this province came up with totally different documents than the Egyptian ones³⁶⁰.

There is an obvious parallel with the history of Ptolemaic practice. The Macedonian conquest of Egypt and the end of the fourth century BCE was followed by a long period of documentary instability, during which the *hypomnema* and other documents were created. On the contrary, the second and first centuries BCE are characterised by a more stable typology of documents with fixed characteristics for each text. With the Roman conquest of Egypt, the typology of *hypomnemata* underwent a similar process: after a long century in which scribes negotiated between traditional practices and new requirements, they settled on some fixed characteristics that remained constant throughout the following two centuries. In both cases, the administrative change may have been the original impulse for the documentary transformation, but scribes had an active role in designing the new documents.

The many changes that *hypomnemata* underwent in the first century of Roman rule did not impact the general definition of the type. The newly created documents all feature the general characteristics of *hypomnemata* that we identified for the Ptolemaic period: they comply with some formal requirements, execute the transmission of a piece of information from A to B, B addressed in his official function, and expect B to perform a specific action but not to reply with a written message.

Two modifications of the general appearance of *hypomnemata* may denote a change in the perception of this group of documents. First, requests become less widespread at the end of Roman administrative *hypomnemata* than under Ptolemaic ones. This phenomenon may

³⁵⁹ Cf. HAENSCH 2008, 101; JÖRDENS 2009, 92–96; 110; 127–128; 516; MONSON 2012a, 4.

³⁶⁰ Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.2.2, section “Census Declarations: Summary”, and P. Hever 62; P. Yadin I 16.

indicate that the expectation of an action performed by the addressee may have decreased with the increase of compulsory declarations. However, it is evident that the sender still expected the administration to correctly process its declaration, whether required or spontaneous.

Second, in one specific case, the unidirectionality of *hypomnemata* seems to be lost. Indeed, in the second century CE, the *praefectus Aegypti* and other Roman *procuratores* processed the petitions addressed to them by adding a note that could address the petitioner himself or herself. These notes transform *hypomnemata* into written exchanges of information between correspondents, something new in the history of *hypomnemata*. This highly specific case may reflect interference with Roman scribal practice from other provinces in the offices of the *praefectus* and other *procuratores*, yet it may also indicate that the administrative and hierarchical overtone may have become more important than the unidirectionality in the definition of *hypomnemata*.

4.2 Functional Expansion of *Hypomnemata*: Contracts

In addition to the new applications developed by administrative *hypomnemata*, the usage of hypomnematic documents extends to certain types of contracts: *synchoreseis* and offers to lease. Apart from the fact that they appear under Augustus, open with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός, and contain agreements or proposals between private individuals, the two groups of documents have very little in common. Their most significant differences concern the communication they enact and their geographical distribution. *Synchoreseis* are a form of administrative *hypomnema* in which two parties submit a mutual agreement to an official to be recorded; they are typical of Alexandria. Private offers to lease are private documents addressed by one individual to another individual to propose an agreement; they are typical of the Arsinoite and, to a lesser degree, the Hermopolite nome. The evolutive patterns that brought about this sudden appearance of a contractual function for hypomnematic documents will be at the core of this section.

4.2.1 *Synchoreseis*

Synchoreseis are special contractual agreements typical of the Alexandrian documentation submitted by the contracting parties to juridical courts for approval. Ancient scribes considered them sufficiently apart to develop a specific formal label for them, συγχώρησις, and never called them ὑπόμνημα or ἀναφόριον. Likewise, modern scholarship does not usually consider them to be *hypomnemata*. Nevertheless, *synchoreseis* belong to this study

because they open with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος³⁶¹. They also correspond to the general definition of administrative *hypomnemata* we developed studying the Ptolemaic documentation: they are documents transmitting a piece of information from A to B, B addressed in his official function, and expecting B to perform an action. In the case of *synchoreseis*, A are the contracting parties, and B is the court official expected to register the contract. This chapter will analyse the structure of *synchoreseis*, looking for the modifications to the *hypomnema* that scribes performed to adapt it to a new function. Afterwards, it will trace back their origin and the evolutive pattern that lead to their appearance in Augustan documentation.

4.2.1.1 Augustan and Early Roman Synchoreseis: Description of a Type

Synchoreseis, a typical Alexandrian type of document, first appear in the so-called Augustan Alexandrian archive³⁶². Indeed, the reign of Augustus is paradoxical in papyrological documentation: it counts among the less well-documented periods of Greek papyrology, yet it has furnished significant documentation for Alexandria, a place otherwise poorly attested in papyri. This paradox is the effect of the odds of archival preservation: the only archive known to date that originated in ancient Alexandria dates to ca. 24/23 to 5/4 BCE³⁶³. It is coherent group of one hundred Alexandrian documents dated to the reign of Augustus, mainly *synchoreseis*; they were discarded by their owner at an unspecified moment in the first century CE and recycled by a cartonnage maker to make

³⁶¹ However, SCHUBART 1913, 47; 49 considered the *synchoresis* as a form of *hypomnema*.

³⁶² No *synchoresis* is known in the Ptolemaic period, cf. the list in VAN MINNEN 2020a. P.Mert. II 59 is a precedent for the type, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.4, and *infra*, chapter 4.2.1.2.

³⁶³ No other archive from Alexandria is listed in the database TM Arch. The main publication of this archive remains SCHUBART 1913; one may also want to consult BGU IV 1098-1184, p. 161; BALCONI 1985b; BRASHEAR 1996; P.Cair.Gad 8, p. 91–95; VAN MINNEN 2016, 144; VAN MINNEN 2020b; CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021; VAN MINNEN 2021; additional information can be found in two websites from the university of Cincinnati: VAN MINNEN 2007 (now out of date and no more updated) and the more recent VAN MINNEN 2020c. CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2 offers an up-to-date list of documents. On the range of the archive, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 37; BALCONI 1985b, 183–184; P.Bingen 45, p. 215; a few the papyri from the archive are however only generically dated to the reign of Augustus, cf. the list in CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2 (more complete than that in TM Arch 430). Thanks to the new dating of BGU IV 1161 proposed by VAN MINNEN 2021, 205, the upper limit can be moved from 25/24 BCE to 24/23 BCE. VAN MINNEN 2022b, 1006 redates the archive to 23/22 to 5/4 BCE; he bases his proposal on a new dating of BGU IV 1142 and 1161, but only the former has been published.

mummy covers for tombs in Abu Sir al-Malaq, ancient Bousiris in the Herakleopolite nome³⁶⁴. Later, first-century CE *synchoreseis* are only known in smaller numbers³⁶⁵.

Although *synchoreseis* were contractual agreements submitted to juridical courts, the preserved Augustan archive does not emanate from these courts but from the scribal office that prepared those documents on behalf of the contracting parties. Indeed, all the preserved Augustan *synchoreseis* are drafts at a more or less advanced stage of preparation, and none of them are the final, submitted contract³⁶⁶. For some of the contracts, we even have more than one draft and can follow various steps in the preparation of the text³⁶⁷. Drafts are tricky for the study of typology, because they do not necessarily reflect the final appearance of the document; moreover, scribes sometimes deliberately omit some parts of the document in the draft stage and only add them in the final version³⁶⁸.

There are two ways to overcome this problem. The first is to focus on the most advanced drafts of the Alexandrian archive. Indeed, six Augustan *synchoreseis* were probably meant to be the definitive contract: they are relatively well written and laid out and include the

³⁶⁴ On the Abu Sir cartonnages, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 36–37; BRASHEAR 1996, 367; FALIVENE 1998, 21–24; SALMENKIVI 2002, 28–29. The dismantling of these cartonnages yielded three main groups of documents: Herakleopolite documents from the first half of the first century BCE, Herakleopolite documents from the reign of Augustus, and Alexandrian documents from the reign of Augustus (cf. CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2 for an up-to-date list of documents belonging to this last group). A list of the documents can be found in SALMENKIVI 1997, 1084 n. 4 with additions and corrections in SALMENKIVI 2002, 28 n. 1; three further additions are made by CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2, C.Pap.Gr. I 8, 13 and P.Horak 82. On the link between discarded Alexandrian documents and Herakleopolite cartonnages, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 42; SALMENKIVI 2002, 29–33; 35–36; VAN MINNEN 2016, 144. On the date of the Abu Sir cartonnages, on which the archaeological information is very scant, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 47; PREISENDANZ 1933, 179; GRIMM 1974, 56–57; SALMENKIVI 2002, 19. On their excavation, cf. SALMENKIVI 2002, 15–21 with all the relevant sources and bibliography.

³⁶⁵ Four first-century CE *synchoreseis* with preserved opening lines are known to me: P.Fouad 44 (44 CE); P.Oxy. II 268 (after 29/11/57 CE); XII 1471 (81 CE); XXVII 2471 (ca. 50 CE). Cf. the list of known *synchoreseis* by VAN MINNEN 2020a.

³⁶⁶ SCHUBART 1913, 42–47; BRASHEAR 1996, 368–369; P.Cair.Gad 8, p. 93–94. The exact location of this scribal office is uncertain: it may have been external to the courts, as proposed by SCHUBART 1913, 45, or also that of scribes active at the courts, as proposed by CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 4; VAN MINNEN 2022b, 1006 (probably on the basis that it is usually thought that scribes at courts prepared the *synchoreseis*, cf. MITTEIS 1912, 66; WOLFF 1978, 28); on this, cf. MÜLLER 1985, 27. These interpretations do not change the fact that we are dealing with drafts, wherever the actual office was.

³⁶⁷ SCHUBART 1913, 43. For example, SB XXIV 16072 and 16073 (published by BRASHEAR 1996) are two drafts of the same contract written on the two sides of the same sheet of papyrus (same among others for BGU IV 1054 and 1055 or for BGU IV 1145 Ro and Vo); on the same sheet of BGU IV 1140 there are some preliminary notes related to the draft BGU IV 1130, written on another sheet.

³⁶⁸ Cf. the remarks by SCHUBART 1913, 43 that some texts are so full of abbreviations that they are more suggested than really written down, or the window left in BGU IV 1059 and 1121 because the scribe did not have some pieces of information. Even very well written pieces, like BGU IV 1055, 1058 and 1106, are drafts to whom a second hand added essential pieces of information like the addressee or the date. A clear example are final formulas: the presence or absence at the end of the standard ἀξιοῦμεν and date probably reflects the incomplete nature of these documents (cf. SCHUBART 1913, 48 n. 1; WOLFF 1978, 94 n. 62 for a similar remark).

signature of the contracting parties in a second hand, suggesting that those documents were supposed to be the final copy but, for some reason, were discarded or required further emendations³⁶⁹. Their typology can thus be considered near definitive, and they form a surer basis for the study of Augustan *synchoreseis*. Their systematic comparison with the four well-preserved later *synchoreseis* from the first century CE helps identify the core traits of early Roman *synchoreseis*.

The signed drafts of the Alexandrian archive are written along the fibres on sheets of papyrus high and narrow: they are well above 30 (usually over 35) cm in height and only 12-15 cm in width³⁷⁰. This high format is characteristic of the Alexandrian Augustan documents, which are, according to Brashear, usually drawn up on about 38 x 15 cm sheets³⁷¹. At least the sheet's vertical orientation and the fibres' horizontal disposition are confirmed by well-preserved first-century CE *synchoreseis*, although the proportions of the sheet are less elongated³⁷².

As for the layout, the Alexandrian signed drafts systematically highlight the addressee³⁷³. A marked *paragraphos* closes the following main text³⁷⁴. After the main text, one finds various poorly preserved and often erased text blocks. First, hard-to-read traces are usually

³⁶⁹ Cf. SCHUBART 1913, 43–44. The examples of this phenomenon here considered are BGU IV 1107, 1108, 1113, 1126, 1145 Ro and 1170_1.

³⁷⁰ Cf. BGU IV 1107 (37 x 12 cm); 1108 (38 x 15.5 cm); 1126 (35 x 12 cm); 1145 Ro (37.5 x 12.5 cm). In the case of BGU IV 1170_1, a sheet originally 33.5 cm high and about 10-11 cm wide was subsequently glued to another one when the papyrus was reused for subsequent drafts. Only BGU IV 1113 (28 x 16 cm) is exceptional, but the original is lost and thus one cannot exclude that the sheet was originally taller or that there were errors in the measurement (as for BGU IV 1156, cf. Appendix, chapter 6).

³⁷¹ BRASHEAR 1996, 368. Cf. also SCHUBART 1913, 37; BRASHEAR 1993, 11; P.Cair.Gad 8, p. 93. One exception can be BGU III 1001, probably a *synchoresis* from the reign of Augustus found in Hermoupolis which is written on a horizontal sheet; yet another contract concerning the same parties was copied on the same sheet, and one may thus wonder whether BGU III 1001 is the originally submitted contract or a copy of it.

³⁷² Two first-century CE *synchoreseis* are relatively well preserved: P.Fouad 44 (34.5 x 15 cm) and P.Oxy XII 1471 (29.5 x 9.4 cm). P.Oxy. XXVII 2471 (15 x 11 cm) may have had a similar format, but it is broken on its left and bottom margin. Another fully preserved first-century CE *synchoresis* (P.Oxy. II 268, 29.5 x 38 cm i.e. horizontal format) is a copy (l. 1: ἀντίγραφον); it displays a horizontal format, just like another copy of a *synchoresis*, P.Freib. II 8 (after 20/02/144 CE), and another possible copy of a *synchoresis* (BGU III 1001, Augustan); horizontal *synchoreseis* seem to be attested in the second century CE, cf. P.Mil.Vogl. I 26.

³⁷³ Cf. BGU IV 1107; 1108; 1126; 1145 Ro; 1170_1. In the case of BGU IV 1113, no image is available (cf. VAN MINNEN 2021, 196 n. 51); according to the edition by Wilhelm Schubart, who took care to always reproduce the original layout of the documents in BGU IV, the addressee was highlighted too. Another Augustan *synchoresis* that highlights the addressee is BGU III 1001; yet this document is on the same sheet as another contract pertaining to the same persons, and one may thus wonder whether it preserved the original layout. A preliminary description of the layout of Augustan *synchoreseis* can be found in VAN MINNEN 2016, 144.

³⁷⁴ Cf. BGU IV 1107; 1108; 1126; 1145 Ro; 1170_1. BGU IV 1113 also had a *paragraphos* according to the layout of the *editio princeps*.

present at the bottom right corner of the main text, probably some sort of εὐτύχει³⁷⁵. Second, the first hand can add a date, usually in a central position and sometimes placed farther below to leave a blank window for the contracting parties' signatures³⁷⁶. After the text's completion, subsequent hands add these signatures, either above or below the date; in one case, they are highlighted by a *paragraphos*³⁷⁷. These signatures are based on the verb συγχωρῶ and underline the acceptance of the agreement by the contracting parties; they are different from later signatures on administrative *hypomnemata*. Other lines of text are sometimes present, but erasure prevents us from understanding their content³⁷⁸. An example of the format and layout of Augustan Alexandrian signed drafts is BGU IV 1107 (Fig. 4.21).

³⁷⁵ These traces are unreadable in BGU IV 1107, 1126 and 1145 Ro. They read εὐτύχει in BGU IV 1170_1. In the case of BGU IV 1108, Schubart proposed κεχειρ(ογράφηκα?), but VAN MINNEN 2021, 196 corrected this to εὐτύ(χει). Schubart also saw traces in BGU IV 1113, but their presence cannot be verified on the lost original; according to VAN MINNEN 2021, 196, it is probable that they read εὐτύ(χει) too.

³⁷⁶ When present, the date is usually in *eisthesis* in a central position on the sheet. It can directly follow the central text, as in BGU IV 1170_1, or more commonly it can be written farther below, as in BGU IV 1107 and 1108 (according to Schubart, this was also the case of BGU IV 1126, but the traces are extremely hard to read today). According to Schubart, BGU IV 1113 was dated at the beginning; this has no parallel among *synchoreseis*, cf. WOLFF 1978, 94; P.Bingen 45, p. 217. There is apparently no readable date in BGU IV 1145 Ro.

³⁷⁷ BGU IV 1107.

³⁷⁸ Cf. BGU IV 1108; 1126. The lines under BGU IV 1145 Ro are written in the opposite direction, therefore they probably do not belong to the discussed *synchoreseis*. In BGU IV 1107, 1113 and 1170_1 there are no such additional lines.

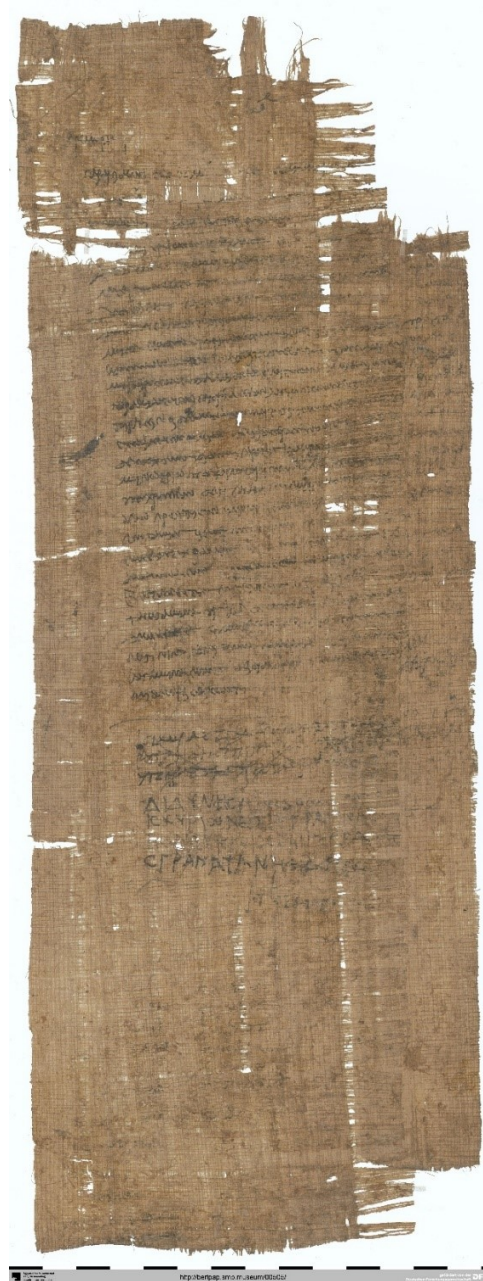


Fig. 4.21: BGU IV 1107.

Thus, not only the opening formula but also the materiality of Augustan *synchoreseis* indicates links with Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*: like the latter, *synchoreseis* present an addressee in *ekthesis*, the main text closed by a *paragraphos*, and the bottom margin used for additional elements, the date and the signatures in this case.

Later *synchoreseis* of the first century CE present a simpler version of the same structure: their text is tripartite, with an indented addressee, the main text closed by a *paragraphos*,

and a closing date sometimes isolated³⁷⁹; no additional traces or signatures are present, and indeed signatures disappear from *synchoreseis* after the reign of Augustus³⁸⁰. In this regard, *synchoreseis* are exceptional among contemporary documents with hypomnematic opening. First, they stopped adding signatures in their lower margin, whereas most *hypomnemata* that did not have signatures under Augustus acquired them in the following decades. Since the two forms of signatures, that of Augustan *synchoreseis* and that of first-century CE administrative *hypomnemata*, are very different, one may wonder whether there is any link between the two phenomena. Second, they kept the indented addressee when other *hypomnemata* progressively abandoned it, and the layout of their opening lines continued to follow the Ptolemaic model during the first and even the second century CE³⁸¹.

Scribes could use *synchoreseis* for all sorts of contracts between individuals³⁸², and the specific content influenced the clauses in the main text. However, all *synchoreseis* share some general formulaic features³⁸³. First, they all start with the hypomnematic formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός³⁸⁴. The addressee in the dative, mentioned with name and titles, is the head of the Greek court in Alexandria in charge of registering the contract, usually the κριτήριον³⁸⁵. The παρὰ + genitive clause indicates the contracting parties and is thus always

³⁷⁹ The full layout is well attested only by P.Fouad 44. In P.Oxy. XII 1471 and XXVII 2471 the highlight of the addressee is clearly visible, but the final lines are poorly or not preserved. In P.Oxy. II 268, the scribe who drafted the ἀντίγραφον wrote all the words one after another without any structure. There are two additional documents that are probably *synchoreseis*, although their initial lines are not preserved; they confirm these simplified final lines: both P.Athen. 15 and P.Heid. IV 327 close with a date (in the the latter not isolated but in the main text block) as well as a note in a second hand (an uncertainly read note on the Athenian papyrus, a registration note on the Heidelberg one). In later *synchoreseis*, the date can be isolated (e.g. BGU III 729, 144 CE; P.Oxy. XLI 2973, 103 CE) or integrated in the main text (e.g. BGU III 741, 143 CE). A nice parallel for this layout is BGU IV 1111 (15 BCE), a very advanced Augustan draft and among the few Augustan drafts addressed not to the ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου but to the ἀρχιδικαστής, the addressee of all later *synchoreseis*.

³⁸⁰ WOLFF 1978, 94.

³⁸¹ There is at least one *synchoreseis* with the new layout of the opening lines, P.Fam.Tebt. 20, but the majority of first and second-century *synchoreseis* kept the older, Ptolemaic-style indentation.

³⁸² SCHUBART 1913, 47

³⁸³ On the structure of *synchoreseis*, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 47–49; 56–57; WOLFF 1978, 93–94; P.Bingen 45, p. 216–217; P.Cair.Gad 8, p. 95–96; VAN MINNEN 2022b, 1007.

³⁸⁴ BGU IV 1107 and 1170_1 have the mention κολ(λημα) before the opening formula. Scholarship on Augustan *synchoreseis* usually consider that these abbreviations do not belong to the main text but are the effect of the situation of the archive, composed of drafts. These *synchoreseis* were not part of *tomoi synkollesimoi*. On this, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 46; P.Cair.Gad 8, p. 93; VAN MINNEN 2016, 144; VAN MINNEN 2020b, 234.

³⁸⁵ On this court, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 59; 71; WOLFF 1970, 75; 79–82; WOLFF 1978, 28; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 483; GROTKAMP 2018, 139. Two addressees are attested in Augustan *synchoreseis*: the ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ) κριτηρίου and (less frequent) the ἀρχιδικαστής καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων. In the Augustan *synchoreseis*, the titles or the name of the addressee may be omitted. One may attribute this to the drafted nature of these documents, but the title is also missing in three signed drafts, BGU IV 1107, 1113 and 1170_1, and the name in two first-century CE *synchoreseis*, P.Fouad 44 (44 CE)

bipartite: *παρὰ τοῦ δέινος/τῶν δέινων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δέινος/τῶν δέινων*; sometimes there is even the additional mention of the legal guardian of a woman: *μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δέινος*.

BGU IV 1059 offers a fine example of such an opening (l. 1-4)³⁸⁶:

Πρωτάρχῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου παρὰ Φιλωτέρας τῆς Ἀντιόχου ἀστῆς μετὰ
κυρίου *vac.* καὶ παρὰ Λαοδίκης τῆς Λυσίου Μακέτας μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ Μάρκου Σολπικίου Πρωτάρχου

To Protarchos, the tribunal supervisor, from Philotera daughter of Antiochos, citizen (of Alexandria), with her guardian (*blank to be filled with name*), and from Laodike daughter of Lysios, Macedonian, with her guardian her brother Marcos Sulpikios Protarchos.

In this case, the document is addressed to Protarchos, and the contracting parties are Achilles on one side and Lyka and her husband Dionysios on the other. This bipartition, with double mention of the *παρά*, is typical of *synchoreseis* and distinguishes their opening from that of all other hypomnematic documents³⁸⁷.

The main text centres on a conjugated form of the verb *συγχωρεῖν*, usually objectively but sometimes subjectively stated, followed by infinitive clauses³⁸⁸; there can be some preliminary considerations before the main verb. At the end of the main text, there is a fossil of the requests typical of *hypomnemata*: the verb *ἀξιοῦμεν*, sometimes even abbreviated *ἀξιοῦ(μεν)* or *ἀξ(ιοῦμεν)*, without any subsequent infinitive making the request explicit. It is probably a hint to the parties' expectation that the addressee would validate the contract³⁸⁹. Then follow, separated from the main text, the additional clauses already

and P.Oxy. XXVII 2471 (ca. 50 CE). One may thus suggest that in early *synchoreseis* the opening formula was more loosely structured than in later ones as the name and titles of the addressee are always mentioned in later, second and third-century CE *synchoreseis*, cf. the list of known *synchoreseis* by VAN MINNEN 2020a.

³⁸⁶ On the punctuation of this opening, cf. VAN MINNEN 2020b, 234.

³⁸⁷ LEWALD 1909, 87–89.

³⁸⁸ Among the *synchoreseis* with preserved *συγχωρεῖν* verbal form listed in CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2, ca. 20% have a subjective formula (*συγχωρῶ* or *συγχωροῦμεν*) and the remaining 80% an objective formula (*συγχωρεῖ* or *συγχωροῦν*). Both formulas are attested in later *synchoreseis*, but the objective one is more frequent, and the subjective one disappears after 144 CE (P.Freib. II 8), cf. the list of known *synchoreseis* by VAN MINNEN 2020a. In P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5569, l. 9 (295 CE) is for the first time attested the formula *ὁμολογεῖ καὶ συγχωρεῖ*.

³⁸⁹ On this *ἀξιοῦμεν* formula, present both in Alexandrian and later *synchoreseis*, cf. MITTEIS 1912, 66; SCHUBART 1913, 56–57; WOLFF 1978, 94 with n. 61. Longer requests are extremely sparse and can only be found in BGU III 1001 (probably a *synchoresis*), P.Mil.Vogl. I 26 and P.Oxy. II 68. Sometimes this clause is absent from Alexandrian documents, probably because they are drafts, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 48 n. 1; WOLFF 1978, 94 n. 62; it is also missing in P.Oxy. XII 1471 (81 CE) and in some later *synchoreseis*. The abbreviated version of the formula is not only present in Alexandrian drafts (e.g. BGU IV 1107; 1126; 1145 Ro; 1170_1),

discussed concerning the layout: traces in the bottom-right corner (probably some form of εὐτύχει), date, signatures³⁹⁰; in later *synchoreseis*, there would be only the date. This date at the end differentiates *synchoreseis* from other notarial contracts³⁹¹.

This formulary has similarities and differences with the standard structure of Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*. The opening formula is hypomnematic, although scribes introduced a variation with the double παρά to recognise the existence of two different groups of senders, the two contracting parties. The main text is sometimes subjectively formulated, as is typical of *hypomnemata*, but more often, it is objectively written, as typical of notarial contracts. The final ἀξιοῦμεν derives from the practice of closing a *hypomnema* with a request clarifying which action the sender expected from the addressee, yet it has lost most of its substance to become a mere hint to the request. The probable presence of an εὐτύχει at the end of all signed drafts is an inheritance of the hypomnematic formulas³⁹². The date at the end comes from the practice of closing *hypomnemata* with a separate clause; the combination request of registration + date is, for instance, typical of Ptolemaic property declarations. A *synchoresis* can thus be described as a contract based on a modified version of the materiality and structure of Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*, which was adapted to a different function.

4.2.1.2 Origin and Evolution of the Synchoresis as a Type of Contract

To explain the links between *synchoreseis* and earlier administrative *hypomnemata* that emerged during the description of the type, one should look at the origin of the *synchoresis* as a type of contract. Indeed, the *synchoreseis* were originally agreements made within the context of a dispute before the courts: the litigating parties agreed on some dispute-solving terms and submitted them to the courts to stop the trial and have the agreement recognised³⁹³. Only one such agreement survived, the already discussed P.Mert. II 59³⁹⁴. It is drawn up as a *hypomnema*, albeit a peculiar one, and has many contact points with later

but also in later, definitive *synchoreseis* (e.g. P.Fouad 44); it is not the effect of the abbreviated quick formulas of a draft. However, scribes could also choose to fully write the verb, as in BGU IV 1108.

³⁹⁰ Other drafts also have notes interpreted by Schubart as monograms, e.g. BGU IV 1149, l. 38; those are probably internal scribal note, as in the case of BGU IV 1114 (l. 31: δι(ορθωτέον(?))). The same interpretation can be given for the notes by a second hand on top of BGU IV 1156.

³⁹¹ MITTEIS 1912, 66.

³⁹² Cf. BGU IV 1108; 1113; 1170_1 (on the first two, cf. VAN MINNEN 2021, 196); the εὐτύχει may be hidden in the unreadable traces of the three other signed drafts, BGU IV 1107; 1126; 1145 Ro. Four others Augustan *synchoreseis* possibly have this same εὐτύχει: BGU IV 1104; 1112; 1171; 1173 (on the first two, cf. VAN MINNEN 2021, 194; 196). This εὐτύχει is usually abbreviated.

³⁹³ SCHUBART 1913, 49–52; WOLFF 1978, 28; 92 n. 49.

³⁹⁴ Cf. P.Bingen 45, p. 215. On P.Mert. II 59, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.4.

synchoreseis: it is addressed to the χρηματισταί judges, opens with a τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, and the main text centres on the verb συγχοροῦμεν (l. 15) preceded by some preliminary considerations and followed by infinitive clauses. There is no request nor date, but the parties' signatures are present at the end of the document. Although the request is not explicit, the parties expected the judges to interrupt the trial and validate the contract, which becomes effective only through their approval (l. 32: κρίνομεν οὖν κυρίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν συγχώρησιν). Being a document sent from private individuals to members of the juridical branch of the administration and expecting some reaction from the addressee, this agreement conformed to the standard use of *hypomnemata* under the Ptolemies.

At an unknown point between the mid-second century BCE (date of P.Mert. II 59) and the last quarter of the first century BCE (date of the Augustan *synchoreseis*), the step was taken to submit agreements to the courts even outside the framework of a trial³⁹⁵. During this evolution, the *synchoreseis*, although no longer consensual agreements interrupting a trial, kept the typological characteristics of the older agreements and continued to be drawn up as particular kinds of *hypomnemata*.

The transition from processual to non-processual *synchoreseis* happened in Alexandria, where Greek courts were more readily available³⁹⁶ – indeed, *synchoreseis* remained a typical Alexandrian document during the whole Roman period³⁹⁷. Because of the paucity of Alexandrian documents dating from the considered period, we have no way to follow the process through preserved witnesses: we can only observe that, under Augustus, the *synchoreseis* seems well established in Alexandria for all sorts of contracts. Nevertheless, the link between the appearance of *synchoreseis* in the preserved record and the change of rulers in Egypt may be as much the effect of chance preservation as that of a causal link. *Synchoreseis* may have entered the preserved record under Augustus not because they did not exist before and are an invention of the Roman administration but because Ptolemaic documentation from Alexandria is lost.

Some clues indicate that the evolution may have taken place in Ptolemaic Egypt. First, the official to whom Augustan *synchoreseis* are addressed, the ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ)

³⁹⁵ SCHUBART 1913, 51–53; WOLFF 1978, 28; 92 n. 49. According to ALLAM 1984, Egyptian pharaonic models may have inspired the idea of registering private documents in courts.

³⁹⁶ SCHUBART 1913, 53–54; P.Bingen 45, p. 215–216.

³⁹⁷ WOLFF 1978, 95.

κριτηρίου, seems to have more links to the Ptolemaic than to the Roman organisation of justice. Indeed, it is mentioned in one Ptolemaic papyrus and therefore existed before Augustus³⁹⁸. On the contrary, the ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ κριτήριον disappears from the papyrological record after Augustus. Its location in the αὐλή, i.e. the royal palace in Alexandria, underscores the links to the Ptolemaic organisation of justice. Second, under Augustus, the typological characteristics of *synchoreseis* seem well established, and their use routine: we have almost daily preserved *synchoreseis* for the days around end-March and April 13 BCE³⁹⁹. This stability may suggest that the transition from processual to non-processual *synchoreseis* had already taken place before the first documents of 24/23 BCE entered our documentation. In this case, late Ptolemaic Alexandria would be a logical place to look for this evolution. Nevertheless, one cannot be sure that nothing changed with the Romans. Indeed, with the loss of the Alexandrian documentation from the Ptolemaic period, there is no way to know if anything changed with the new rule.

The material and formulaic features of Augustan *synchoreseis* are only understandable by looking at their Ptolemaic precedents. The format and layout of the text, the opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δέινος, the final ἀξιοῦμεν, the probable εὐτύχει, the place of the date at the end of the text can all be traced back to Ptolemaic administrative *hypomnemata*. Some changes had to be introduced to adapt the hypomnematic type of documents to the needs of contractual agreements, like the bipartition of the opening formula to indicate the two contracting parties unambiguously or the frequent adoption of objective clauses for the main text. Because of the high standardisation of Augustan *synchoreseis*, this evolution possibly occurred under the Ptolemies, although we have no trace of it.

During the first century CE, *synchoreseis* remained relatively stable in their typology. The only noticeable differences between Augustan and first-century *synchoreseis* were the less narrow proportions of the papyrus sheet in the later contracts and the simplification of the closing formula to the plain date. Another change concerns the addressee: if Augustan

³⁹⁸ Cf. P.Lond. VII 2188, l. 89. On this court, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 59; 71; WOLFF 1970, 75; 79–82; WOLFF 1978, 28; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 483; GROTKAMP 2018, 139. According to WOLFF 1970, 79–82; WOLFF 1978, 28, the κριτήριον is identical with the χρηματιστάι courts to which already P.Mert. II 59 was submitted, but the link remains hypothetical.

³⁹⁹ Considering only well dated documents with preserved opening lines, cf. BGU IV 1102 (10/03/13 BCE); 1166 (25/03/13 BCE); 1058 (30/03/13 BCE); 1055 (31/03/13 BCE); 1122 (31/03/13 BCE); 1144 (31/03/13 BCE); 1053 (02/04/13 BCE); 1101 (03/04/13 BCE); 1148 (03/04/13 BCE); 1129 (07/04/13 BCE); 1149 (07/04/13 BCE); 1057 (09/04/13 BCE); 1151, l. 26–48 (12/04/13 BCE); 1103 (14/04/13 BCE, cf. VAN MINNEN 2021, 193); 1052, l. 1–34 (15/04/13 BCE); 1056 (17/04/13 BCE).

documents were addressed either to the ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ) κριτηρίου or rarely the ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων⁴⁰⁰, first-century *synchoreseis* are only addressed to the latter⁴⁰¹. This change is probably the effect of a reorganisation of the Alexandrian courts and the prerogatives of the ἀρχιδικαστῆς⁴⁰².

This typological continuity at a time when Egypt's court system underwent significant changes is no surprise. Under the Romans, Alexandrian courts increased their notarial functions, so people continued submitting *synchoreseis* to them for registration⁴⁰³. Indeed, *synchoreseis* only disappeared around the end of the third century CE, with the general waning of contract registration and most contract types in Roman Egypt⁴⁰⁴.

A characteristic of first-century CE *synchoreseis* is their closeness to the Ptolemaic model. They preserved the tripartite layout that other *hypomnemata* had lost until the end of the century and beyond. The disappearance of signatures after Augustus underlines the difference between *synchoreseis* and other administrative *hypomnemata*. The former have a tripartite text composed of addressees – body – date that reminds of Ptolemaic documents. The latter can have a new centred layout for the addressee and very complex closing lines that combine dates, signatures and process notes.

4.2.1.3 *Synchoreseis: a Summary*

The appearance of *synchoreseis* can be framed as a double movement of extension and adaptation. The usage of *hypomnemata* extended beyond what had become its usual context, a communication to the administration, to become a contractual agreement between private parties. This expansion implied the adaptation of the features of the type to this new function. Nevertheless, the *synchoresis* remained formally an administrative

⁴⁰⁰ For instance, BGU IV 1126 and 1145 Ro are addressed to the former officer, BGU IV 1108 to the latter. Many Augustan *synchoreseis* only give the name of the addressed officer, as in BGU IV 1107, 1113 and 1170_1; when a title is given, it is always one of these two, cf. the list of documents in CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021, 158 n. 2.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. P.Fouad 44; P.Oxy. II 268; XII 1471; XXVII 2471. The office of the ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ) κριτηρίου completely disappears from the papyrological documentation after the Augustan texts.

⁴⁰² On the changes between Ptolemaic and Roman juridical systems, cf. SCHUBART 1913, 71; ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS 1992, 187–188; CAPPONI 2005, 59–61; LIPPERT 2008, 181–184; 186–189; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 21–23; 471–472; 482–484. Thanks to SB XIV 11411, we know that the ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων already existed under the Ptolemies (cf. HAENSCH 2008, 90; CLAYTOR 2011, 214–216; ARMONI 2013, 7–8), but its primary role in the reception of *synchoreseis* is a later, Julio-Claudian innovation.

⁴⁰³ The office of the ἀρχιδικαστῆς, the so-called καταλογεῖον, not only received the *synchoreseis* but was also responsible of the state registration of notarial and non-notarial contracts, cf. WOLFF 1978, 28; 129; ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS 1992, 187–191; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 62–69; 73–76. Indeed, this was probably the office's main function.

⁴⁰⁴ KOVARIK 2013, 201; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 185; 188.

hypomnema in that the two parties addressed an individual in its official function to have their agreement recognised as valid. Therefore, this extension of the functions of the *hypomnema* remains inside the frame of the administrative *hypomnema* as it was in use for the last two centuries before the Roman conquest.

Synchoreseis appear in the documentation under Augustus. Nevertheless, this appearance cannot be linked to the political changes happening in Egypt. The *synchoreisis* being an Alexandrian type of document, the loss of most Alexandrian documentation creates the illusion of a link between the appearance of the *synchoreisis* and the Roman conquest of Egypt. Had we preserved more Ptolemaic Alexandrian documentation, or had we not had the bunch of Alexandrian Augustan documents preserved in cartonnages from the Herakleopolite nome, this link would disappear.

The high standardisation of Augustan *synchoreseis* indicates that the appearance of the *synchoreisis* as a type of contract may have started already in late Ptolemaic Alexandria. It is impossible to know whether the change of rule from the Ptolemaic dynasty to the Roman empire had any impact on *synchoreseis*.

4.2.2 Leases drawn up as *Hypomnemata*

Hypomnematic offers to lease are documents in which one party, the lessee, writes to another party, the lessor, proposing a lease⁴⁰⁵. They are standard *hypomnemata*, written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus, opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός and transmitting a piece of information from one party to the other. However, they are not addressed to an official and therefore are not administrative. They are the only significant group of *hypomnemata* being non-administrative since the function of the *hypomnema* stabilised at the end of the third century BCE and imply an extension of the use of *hypomnemata* in a new field. Moreover, their focus is not on a past event but on a prospective action⁴⁰⁶.

From the very beginning, the main text of offers to lease opens with the formula βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι, which has no parallel in Ptolemaic documentation. The verb βούλομαι, however, is not specific to these texts; it also appears in some contemporary administrative *hypomnemata* as, for instance, texts sent to the administration manifesting the intention to

⁴⁰⁵ On these offers and their structure, cf. HERRMANN 1958, 25–39; ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 3–4; WOLFF 1978, 114–116.

⁴⁰⁶ On the wish as characteristic of lease *hypomnemata*, cf. WOLFF 1978, 115.

buy or lease land. Those *hypomnemata* appear in the documentation contemporary to private offers to lease, have a similar function (expressing the intention to lease, buy or obtain a right or a good, and making an offer for it) and similar formulas. Because they are the closest contact point between private offers and administrative *hypomnemata*, they must be taken into consideration to understand how and why scribes applied an administrative type of document to this new private function.

Therefore, this chapter will study the parallel evolution of private offers to lease and related administrative *hypomnemata*. A second section will highlight some shared characteristics of these groups of documents. This will lead to a re-evaluation of the origin of lease *hypomnemata* in comparison with current research on land tenure in the Arsinoite nome.

4.2.2.1 Augustan Hypomnemata Expressing Intention

P.Ryl. IV 600: the Earliest Private Offer to Lease

P.Ryl. IV 600 (Arsinoite, 8 BCE), an offer to lease the crop of an olive grove, illustrates the expansion of the functions of *hypomnemata*. It is the earliest preserved lease *hypomnema*. Although clearly hypomnematic, this document does not find clear precedents in the Ptolemaic documentation, neither materially nor textually (Fig. 4.22)⁴⁰⁷.

R:

- Ποσιδωνίῳ τῷ πρωνοοῦντι τῶν Θεα-
νοῦτος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παρὰ Ἀμμω-
νίου τοῦ Ἀρχε[δή]μου καὶ Δ[ω]ρίωνος τ[οῦ]
Δωρίωνος τῶ[ν] δ[ύ]ω. βολόμ[εθα] [μισθώ-]
5 σεσθαι τὸν ὑ[πάρ]χοντα τ[ῇ] Θεανοῦτι
ἐλεῶνος νεοφύτου περ[ὶ] Καρανί[δα]
τοὺς καρποὺς [τ]οῦ δετέρου καὶ εἰς[ο]σ-
τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσα[ρ]ος ἐκπεπωκῶτας
εἰς τὸ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτος) Καίσαρ(ος)
10 φόρου τοῦ [πα]ντὸς ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς τε-
σσαρ<ά>κοντα ἅς καὶ ἀποδώσωμεν ἐ[ν]
μηνὶ Ἀθὺρ ἕως τριακάδος ὅτ[ων] ἀλλή[-]

⁴⁰⁷ Regularisations: l. 4-5: μισθώσεσθαι, *lege* μισθώσασθαι; l. 6: ἐλεῶνος νεοφύτου, *lege* ἐλαιῶνα νεόφυτον; l. 7: δετέρου, *lege* δευτέρου; l. 9: τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ, *lege* τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστόν; l. 10-11: δραχμᾶς, *lege* δραχμῶν; l. 13: ἐγγύν, *lege* ἐγγύων; l. 14: ἐρησιλογίας, *lege* εὐρησιλογίας; l. 15: πλήων διδόντι μεταμισθύν, *lege* πλέον διδόντι μεταμισθοῦν; l. 20: ἀκούθως, *lege* ἀκολούθως; l. 21: συνπέπισμε, *lege* συμπέπεισμαι; l. 26: πλήν, *lege* πλέον; μεταμισθοῖν, *lege* μεταμισθοῦν.

- λων ἐγγὺν εἰς ἔκτισιν ἄνευ πάση[ς ὑπερ-]
 θέσεως καὶ ἐρησιλογίας καὶ ἐξίναί [σοι]
- 15 τῷ [.] πλήων διδόντι μεταμισθὺν, τὸ[ν]
 δὲ κατασπασμὸν ποησώμεθα ἐ[ν]
 Ἀθὺρ μηνὶ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστ[οῦ (ἔτους)]
 Καίσαρος. (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρ(ος) Φῶφι κ.
 (**hand 2**) Δωρίων Δωρίονος ὁμολογῶ συμμεμισθῶ[σθαι]
- 20 ἀκλούθως τοῖς προκειμένοις πᾶσι καὶ συνεκτ[είσω]
 τὸν φόρον <ὄν> καὶ συνπέπισμε. (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος
 Φαιῶφι εἰκάδι.
 (**hand 3**) Ποσειδώνιος ὁ προνοῶν τῶν Θεανιο[ῦτος]
 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπεικεχώρηκα μι[σθοῦν]
- 25 ἐπεὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις πᾶσει καὶ ἐ[ξέσ-]
 ται μοι τῷ τὸ πλὴν <διδόντι> μεταμισθοῖν.
 (ἔτους) τρίτου καὶ ἱκοστοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀθὺρ β.

V:

Traces 1 line

[-ca.?-] (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρ[ρο]ς Φ[αῶ]φ[ι] κ

Traces 1 line

To Poseidonios, superintendent of what belongs to Theanous daughter of Alexandros, from Ammonios son of Archedemos and Dorion son of Dorion, the two of them. From the newly planted olive grove near Karanis belonging to Theanous we wish to lease the fruits of the twenty-second year of Caesar, fallen in the twenty-third year of Caesar, at a total rent of forty silver drachmas, which we will pay by the thirtieth of the month Hathyr, we being mutual sureties for payment without any delay or excuse; and it is allowed to you to relet to anyone making a higher bid. We will gather the crop in the month Hathyr of the twenty-third year of Caesar. Year 23 of Caesar, Phaophi 20. (**hand 2**) I, Dorion son of Dorion, agree that I am a partner to the lease made agreeably to all the above-mentioned conditions, and I will, as a partner, pay the rent on which I have agreed. Year 23 of Caesar, Phaophi twenty. (**hand 3**) I, Posidonios, superintendent of what belongs to Theanous daughter of Alexandros, have

granted the lease on all the above-mentioned conditions, and it is allowed to me to relet to anyone making a higher bid. Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr 2.

(Back) traces – year 23 of Caesar, Phaophi 20 – traces⁴⁰⁸.

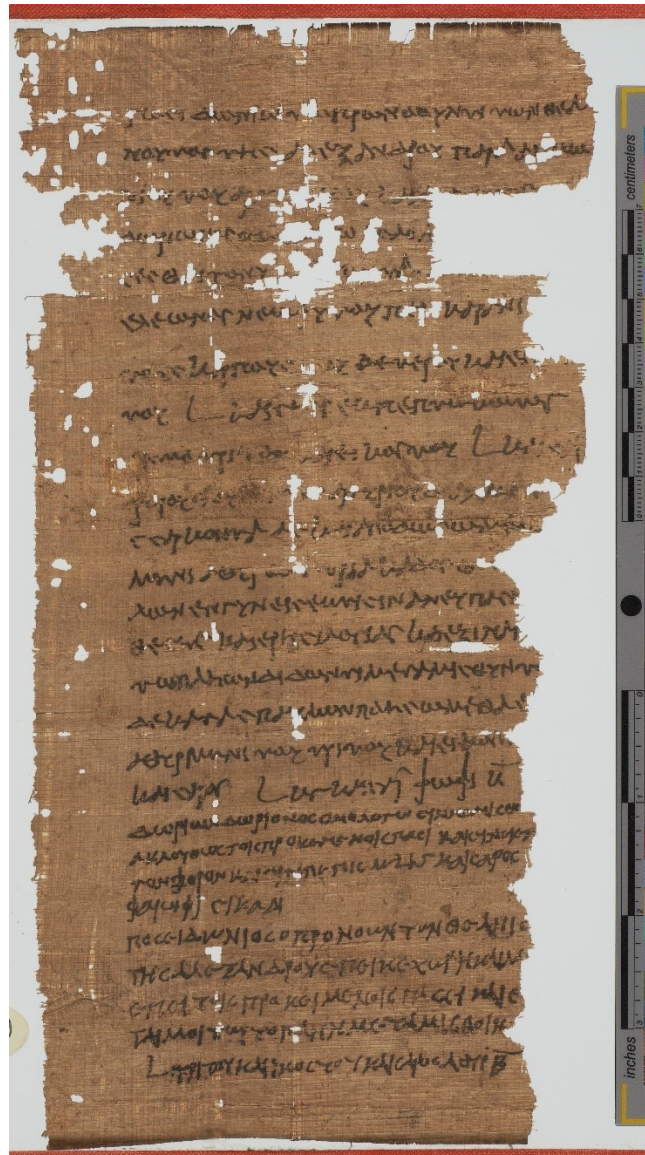


Fig. 4.22: P.Ryl. IV 600.

This document comprises one column of text written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus, with wider top, left and bottom margins and narrower right margin. However, its layout differs from the typical contemporary tripartite layout of *hypomnemata*. The addressee is not separated from the main text, as in most contemporary *hypomnemata*, but inserted in the main block of text. Nothing sticks out from this central block, whose lines grow closer together in the lower part as if the scribe had run out of space. The closing date

⁴⁰⁸ For the whole translation, cf. P.Ryl. IV 600, p. 82 modified.

is also perfectly aligned in the main block, although a blank precedes the abbreviation (ἔτους) and sets it slightly apart from the remaining text. The lower margin is occupied by two notes in different hands, one from the senders and one from the addressee.

Despite not having the tripartite layout, the text of P.Ryl. IV 600 has a tripartite structure. It opens with an opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος and closes on a date. Opposite to contemporary *hypomnemata*, however, the main text does not express an action (as ἀξιῶ in petitions, ἀπογράφομαι in declarations, ὑφίσταμαι in Ptolemaic offers to lease, ἐπιδίδωμι in some death declarations, συγχωρῶ/συγχωροῦμεν in *synchoreseis*), but an intention: βολόμ[εθα μισθώ]σεσθαι, i.e. βουλόμεθα μισθώσασθαι, “we want to lease”. Moreover, it is not an administrative *hypomnema* because it is not addressed to a member of the administration but to the representative of the private owner of an olive grove. The non-administrative nature of the communication may explain the absence of highlight on the addressee in the layout: the relationship is not necessarily unequal between the sender and the addressee, the representative of the owner.

Some of the material and textual specificities of P.Ryl. IV 600 find parallels in other Ptolemaic and Augustan *hypomnemata*. For instance, the lack of highlight for the addressee is present in P.Iand. VII 134 (Arsinoite, 83 BCE), a request to change the registration of a plot of royal land, and in SB XX 14440 (Arsinoite, 12 CE), a census declaration. The final date can be found, for instance, on P.Iand. VII 134, Ptolemaic property declarations, some Ptolemaic offers for public auctions and Augustan *synchoreseis*. The handwritten note of the addressee in the lower margin echoes administrative process notes.

Therefore, P.Ryl. IV 600 reflects some more general characteristics of *hypomnemata*, although some remain unique. It is the earliest preserved *hypomnema* expressing an intention with the verb βούλομαι. Moreover, the handwritten note of one of the senders, based on the verb ὁμολογῶ, has no parallel in the Ptolemaic and early Roman hypomnematic corpus. Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* have no signature of the sender. Augustan *synchoreseis* from Alexandria and P.Mert. II 59, the second-century BCE proto-*synchoresis*, have signatures of both senders based on the verb συγχωρῶ that later disappear. Administrative *hypomnemata* will only acquire signatures in the first half of the first century CE, and they are based on the verb ἐπιδέδωκα. Later first-century CE private offers to lease followed the administrative model; moreover, they never had both the signature of the sender and the process note of the addressee.

Offers to Buy Public Goods

The use of the verb βούλομαι as in P.Ryl. IV 600, unattested among published Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, is present in three other Augustan hypomnematic documents: P.Oxy. IV 721, IX 1188, l. 18-28 and XX 2277, l. 14-18⁴⁰⁹. They are three offers to buy public goods addressed to the ἴδιος λόγος and dated 13/14 CE. They all originated in the Oxyrhynchite nome, opposite to P.Ryl. IV 600, which comes from the Arsinoite nome.

In the first one, P.Oxy. IV 721, two senders offer to buy some parcels of ὑπόλογος royal land, i.e. royal land that had turned unproductive and therefore was sold to private acquirers through a simplified procedure that did not include an auction of the parcel⁴¹⁰. The document, whose image is unavailable, is a draft with blanks left for missing information. It starts with a hypomnematic opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός, with probably a highlighted addressee judging by how short the first line is. The main text starts with the formula βουλόμεθα ὀνήσασθαι, followed by the details of the parcels to be purchased, the price to be paid, and the fiscal advantages for the first years related to the low quality of the purchased land; the papyrus breaks off at this point.

The two other pieces, P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28 and XX 2277, l. 14-18 are similar to each other, with the large lacunas in the latter filled through the better-preserved former piece. They are two offers to buy goods that are deemed ἀδέσποτα, without an owner and therefore liable to confiscation by the ἴδιος λόγος – in the first case, branches of dried wood, in the second, parcels of land⁴¹¹. In both cases, the offer is embedded in a lengthier administrative correspondence through which the higher officials, starting from the ἴδιος λόγος, instructed lower officials to handle the case. Although an embedded copy, P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28 presents the typical layout of contemporary *hypomnemata*, with an addressee isolated in

⁴⁰⁹ Two additional Augustan *hypomnemata* may have (had) such a formula: P.Oxy. IV 835 descr., who according to the *descriptum* in the P.Oxy. IV volume has “the same formula” as P.Oxy. IV 721 (cf. P.Oxy. IV 835, p. 259), and TM 132374 (P.Duke inv. 85), an offer to lease the crop of a date orchards similar to P.Ryl. IV 600 whose initial lines are not preserved.

⁴¹⁰ On P.Oxy. IV 721, the category of ὑπόλογος-land and its sale, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 48–49; KRUSE 2002, 478–492; 503–524; ALESSANDRI 2005, 49–55; 69–91; 170–186; BAZZOCCHI 2008; JÖRDENS 2009, 480–482; KRUSE 2015; CLAPUYT 2018. KRUSE 2002, 496 n. 1378, wonders whether P.Oxy. IV 721 reflects a common procedure for ὑπόλογος land, since it specifically concerns confiscated land that had turned ὑπόλογος and is addressed to the ἴδιος λόγος, an official linked to confiscations but not related to the sale of ὑπόλογος land in later documents. Yet this administrative specificity may also be related to the early date of P.Oxy. IV 721. Whatever the case, the formulas of P.Oxy. IV 721 are identical to those of other Julio-Claudian offers for ὑπόλογος land, like P.Köln III 141 and P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24, and those later cases are also related to confiscated land that had turned ὑπόλογος.

⁴¹¹ On these documents, as well as on the sale of ἀδέσποτα goods, cf. KRUSE 2002, 524–538; ALESSANDRI 2005, 36–49; 186–189.

ekthesis at the beginning of the document, a main text closed by a *paragraphos* and a process note occupying the lower margin. It may have either been the layout of the submitted offer or have been introduced by the scribe preparing the cascade administrative document.

The better-preserved formulary of P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28 allows us to see the structure of these texts. The opening τῷ δεῖνα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός is followed by the expression of the intention, βούλομαι ὠνήσασθαι, and the details of the goods the sender wanted to purchase.

The text ends with a request, expressed as in Herakleopolite sheep and goat declarations through an ἐὰν φαίνεται. Therefore, the scribe drew up this document as a request to the administration to activate a standard procedure, something which is not uncommon in the hypomnematic corpus and is typologically related to petitions⁴¹².

Although the ἐὰν φαίνεται formula cannot be identified in P.Oxy. IV 721 and XX 2277, l. 14-18 because of their incomplete preservation, it seems a common element of Julio-Claudian requests to buy public goods. Indeed, a couple of later requests to buy ὑπόλογος-land are attested and include an ἐὰν φαίνεται clause⁴¹³.

Therefore, under Augustus, a new sort of *hypomnema* appears, documents expressing an intention, the wish to lease or to buy something. Three of these documents belong to the category of administrative *hypomnemata* and contain offers to buy public goods. According to the best-preserved piece, P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28, they were drawn up as administrative requests, with hypomnematic opening formula, main text opening with βούλομαι ὠνήσασθαι and a final request expressed through an ἐὰν φαίνεται. The last document concerns private people and contains an offer to lease the crop of an olive grove addressed

⁴¹² Petitions can be defined as extraordinary requests, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.1, as well as BAETENS 2020a, 6–7; MASCELLARI 2021, 15–16; 21–23, but the border between them and non-extraordinary requests is very thin. Drawing up all sorts of administrative *hypomnemata* as requests was common in the second century BCE, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.4. Among early-Roman requests typologically close to petitions, one can cite various declarations related to population lists, such as death, birth, apprenticeship and ἀναχώρησις declarations, or the Herakleopolite small livestock declarations, cf. *supra*, chapters 4.1.2.3, 4.1.2.4 and 4.1.3.1.

⁴¹³ The two other Julio-Claudian offers to buy ὑπόλογος-land, P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24 and P.Köln III 141, both preserved at least partially such a clause (P.Amh. II 68, l. 23: ἐὰν οὖν φαίνεται; P.Köln III 141, l. 19-20: ἐὰν οὖν φαίνεται[α]ι). Such a clause may have been present in P.Oxy. IV 835 descr., according to a note of the edition of P.Oxy. IV 721, p. 199, which proposes for the final clause of the unpublished P.Oxy. IV 835 descr. [ἀξίῳ ἐπιστεῖλαι (?) -cā.?-] καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσι. There are not other Julio-Claudian offers to buy ἀδέσποτα, and the only other Roman offer for such goods, P.Oxy. XLVII 3334, breaks off before its final clauses.

to the representative of its owner. Its non-administrative nature sets it apart from contemporary *hypomnemata*.

4.2.2.2 Later Julio-Claudian Hypomnemata Expressing Intention

If, under Augustus, various administrative offers to buy but only one private offer to lease are preserved, the proportion is inverted already in the later decades of Julio-Claudian rule. Indeed, administrative documents offering to buy or lease public goods remain sparse throughout the first century CE⁴¹⁴. In contrast, in the Arsinoite nome, the number of preserved hypomnematic leases increased steadily, and they became the most frequent written version of a lease agreement from the last quarter of the first century CE onward⁴¹⁵. Outside this nome, however, hypomnematic offers to lease are scarcer⁴¹⁶; in the Oxyrhynchite nome, for instance, the *hypomnema* is almost absent, and leases are usually drawn up as private protocols already from the first decades of Roman rule, while in the Hermopolite nome, only about half of second-century leases are *hypomnemata*⁴¹⁷.

Private Offers to Lease

Under Tiberius and Caligula, no administrative offer is preserved, whereas four private hypomnematic offers to lease are attested⁴¹⁸. These documents all originated in the Arsinoite nome. They materially follow the characteristics of typical *hypomnemata*: one column of text written along the fibres on a vertical sheet of papyrus, leaving a narrower right margin. Contrary to the earlier P.Ryl. IV 600, they systematically highlight the mention of the addressee, usually in the Ptolemaic fashion with a line break and sometimes an indentation⁴¹⁹. In P.Mich. XII 630, however, one recognises the new practice of highlighting the addressee by centring and separating the name from the main text, an

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *infra*, chapters 4.2.2.2, section “Public Offers to Lease or Buy”, and 4.2.2.3, section “Public Offers to Buy or Lease”.

⁴¹⁵ On the particular evolution of lease contracts in the Arsinoite nome, cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1054; 1061; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 51–52.

⁴¹⁶ On the geographical differentiation of lease contracts, cf. WOLFF 1978, 117–118 with n. 56; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1057–1058; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187.

⁴¹⁷ On the situation in the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. WOLFF 1978, 124–125; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1058; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187. On the situation in the Hermopolite nome, cf. WOLFF 1978, 118 with n. 56; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1058 with n. 29. On the private protocol, another type of written contract, cf. WOLFF 1978, 122–127; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50–51; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023b.

⁴¹⁸ P.Mich. XII 630 (Arsinoite, 38 CE); P.Ryl. II 166 (Arsinoite, 26 CE); 167 (Arsinoite, 39 CE); SB XX 14314 (Arsinoite, 26 CE). Despite its bad state of preservation, TM 128570 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2367; Arsinoite, 34/35 CE) surely belongs to this group too; the loss of its initial and final lines, however, makes it impossible to use this document to study the typology of hypomnematic offers to lease. Two additional offers generically dated to the first century CE, P.Hamb. I 99 and SB XVIII 13903, have been excluded from the discussion.

⁴¹⁹ The opening lines of these documents are often hard to read. In P.Ryl. II 166 and SB XX 14314 there is at least the line break, in P.Ryl. II 167 a combination of indentation and line break.

evolution that finds parallels in contemporary administrative *hypomnemata*, like death or small livestock declarations. Although their content is different from that of administrative *hypomnemata*, these documents evolved similarly to their administrative counterparts, indicating that the two types of documents were connected in the scribes' minds.

Two other material features of lease offers already present in P.Ryl. IV 600 are consistent with contemporary administrative *hypomnemata*. There is no *paragraphos* at the end of the main text, and the closing highlighted element progressively disappears⁴²⁰. When a closing formula is present, it is usually inserted in the main block of text and not isolated on the bottom margin⁴²¹.

The bottom margin is used to add either the signature of the sender combined with a date, or the subscription of the addressee without a date. As in P.Ryl. IV 600, both are present in the oldest specimen, SB XX 14314, but in later documents, one finds either one or the other⁴²². The signature of the sender now follows the administrative model, with either a handwritten note centred on the verb ἐπιδέδωκα or an identification of the sender by the scribe⁴²³. Later offers likewise usually have one or the other, not both⁴²⁴. Nevertheless, in later documents, there is almost always a date in the closing lines⁴²⁵.

Concerning the formulas, these offers systematically open with the hypomnematic τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. Moreover, they systematically present an εἰς φάνηται at the end; this formula has links to Ptolemaic and Augustan administrative *hypomnemata* and was notably attested in P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28, an administrative offer to buy ἀδέσποτα from 13 CE.

Another connection with Ptolemaic practice is the appearance in two offers of the verb ὑφίσταμαι, often used in second-century BCE offers for public auctions⁴²⁶. Finally, if the main text in most of these offers starts with the formula βούλομαι (or βουλόμεθα)

⁴²⁰ P.Ryl. II 166 presents a *paragraphos*, but after the subscription of the addressee; the other offers have no *paragraphos* at all.

⁴²¹ P.Ryl. II 166 closes on an εὐτύχει inserted in the main text, like those of contemporary small livestock declarations, and P.Mich. XII 630 on a date likewise inserted in the main block of text. SB XX 14314 has no closing element. Only P.Ryl. II 167 still displays an isolated εὐτύχει.

⁴²² P.Ryl. II 166 presents the subscription of the addressee accepting the offer. P.Mich. XII 630 and P.Ryl. II 167 have the signatures of the senders, in form either of a description by the scribe or of a handwritten note.

⁴²³ ἐπιδέδωκα: SB XX 14314. Identification from the scribe: P.Ryl. II 167. P.Mich. XII 630 uses both, one for the first lessee, one for the second lessee.

⁴²⁴ Cf. WOLFF 1978, 115–116.

⁴²⁵ Later Julio-Claudian offers are all lacunary in their final lines; BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1-8 closes on a date, but it is an abstract of a contract and not the original one. Among Flavian offers (for a list, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.2.2.3, note 441), only P.Stras. VIII 704 seems not to have a date (although the preservation of the bottom margin should be checked on the original), all the other pieces are either broken in the bottom margin or have a date. On the closing date as a standard feature of private offers to lease, cf. WOLFF 1978, 115.

⁴²⁶ Cf. P.Mich. XII 630, l. 12: ὑφιστάμεθα τελέσειν; SB XX 14314, l. 11: ὑφίσταμαι τελέσειν.

μισθώσασθαι and, therefore, express an intention, SB XX 14314 uses (l. 6-7) μίσθωμε (*lege* μίσθωμαι) ἐὰν οὖν συ (*lege* σοι) φαίνεται ἐπιχωρήσαι, a mix indicating an action moderated by requesting the addressee's agreement. The use of the verb ἐπιχωρέω in such an offer to lease is also exceptional⁴²⁷.

Concerning the content, SB XX 14314 is the closest to P.Ryl. IV 600: it is an offer to lease the crop of a grove addressed to the representative of its owner. P.Mich. XII 630 is another crop lease addressed to the owner directly. On the contrary, P.Ryl. II 166 and 167 are offers for the lease of immovable property, a parcel of land in the former case and a mill in the second. Crop leases had a relatively simple formulary, just like administrative offers to buy. They focused on the price to be paid and the deadlines for payment, and other conditions were secondary. On the contrary, the offers to lease immovable property are much longer, because they indicate the obligations of both the lessor and the lessee concerning the treatment of the good, the payment of the related taxes, and the availability of sowing seeds or working tools.

One similar offer dates to the reign of the emperor Claudius, and another three to that of Nero⁴²⁸. They are identical to the four earlier offers just analysed and will not be studied in detail. Like all earlier private offers to lease, they all originated in the Arsinoite nome.

Offers to Obtain Concessions

Four Julio-Claudian offers are closely related and differ from the above-analysed private offers to lease. P.Mil. I² 6 (Arsinoite, 26 CE), P.Grenf. II 41 (Arsinoite, 46 CE), TM 986772 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2011, 56/57 CE⁴²⁹) and BGU XX 2869 (Arsinoite, 57/58 CE) are offers to obtain concessions⁴³⁰. The first one is an offer to sub-lease a part of the concession to gather and sell papyrus reeds growing in the marshes of the estate of Livia and the sons of Germanicus, addressed to the main lessor. In the second one, the addressee may be the concessioner managing the notary of Soknopaiou Nesos, but the first lines of the document are poorly preserved; one may wonder whether it is a sublease, as in the case of P.Mil. I² 6,

⁴²⁷ Cf. *infra*, chapters 4.2.2.2, section “Offers to Obtain Concessions”, and 4.2.2.3, section “Offers to Obtain Concessions”, as well as WOLFF 1956, 329 with n. 7; REITER 2008, 211 n. 9.

⁴²⁸ Claudius: SB XVI 13012. Nero: BGU II 591; P.Ryl. II 171; P.Stras. IV 185 Ro. To these pieces, one may add BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1-8, an abstract of a lease, probably an offer to lease, dated to the reign of Claudius and originated in the Hermopolite nome, and P.Aberd. 181 descr., an only partially published offer to lease dated to either the reign of Claudius or that of Nero. Two additional offers generically dated to the first century CE, P.Hamb. I 99 and SB XVIII 13903, as well as one dated to the second half of the first century CE, P.IFAO I 10, have been excluded from the discussion.

⁴²⁹ Published by PINTAUDI – MARTIN 2022.

⁴³⁰ On this category of documents, cf. HUSSELMAN 1970.

or the primary lease of the concession. The third one is an offer for the right to gather and sell salt and gypsum from the estate of a certain Lucius Aponius Annianus, addressed to an estate administrator. The last one is an offer for the concession of transport rights in the villages of Narmouthis and Berenikis Thesmophorou, addressed to the νομάρχης, the official in charge of auctioning such concessions. The material aspects of BGU XX 2869, P.Mil. I² 6 and TM 986772 are standard for contemporary *hypomnemata*, whereas there is no available image of P.Grenf. II 41.

Three documents, BGU XX 2869, P.Grenf. II 41 and P.Mil. I² 6, display characteristic formulas, expressing intention not with βούλομαι but with ὑφίσταμαι limited by a condition. The main text starts with a genitive absolute ἐπιχωρηθέντος/ἐπιχωρηθείσης μοι, then centres on the verb ὑφίσταμαι, and ends with the clause ἐὰν φαίνηται ἐπιχωρήσαι. The verb ἐπιχωρέω is usually employed to express the concession at the time⁴³¹. The verb ὑφίσταμαι was already used for all kinds of offers for public auctions in the second century BCE, including offers for concessions, monopolies, and rights to produce and sell. It was also used after βούλομαι in some early Roman private offers to lease. The specificity of these documents can explain why scribes chose to focus on the verb ὑφίσταμαι and avoid the verbs βούλομαι and μισθῶμαι; the latter were usually used in private or public offers for movable and immovable goods, and not for concessions.

However, TM 986772, dated at the end of the Julio-Claudian period, indicates that the formulas of other offers to lease also started to be used for concession offers. At the beginning of the main text, it adopts the formulas of private offers to lease goods, βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι. The final lines being heavily damaged, we do not know how the text continued.

Public Offers to Lease or Buy

The reign of Claudius also produced two documents belonging to a very occasional group: offers to lease public land. Indeed, the tenure of public land was rarely based on offers and written agreements; it was usually customary tenure by royal or public farmers. Offers to

⁴³¹ Cf. WOLFF 1956, 329, with n. 7; REITER 2008, 211 n. 9. Two contemporary *cheirographa* express concession with the verb ἐπιχωρέω, PSI VI 692 (Oxyrhynchite, 52/53 CE) and SB VI 9347 (Arsinoite, mid-first century CE, cf. the reedition by REITER 2008). On the *cheirographon* for such concessions, cf. REITER 2008, 212. There are two offers to lease that mix the verbs μισθῶω and ἐπιχωρέω, P.Ryl. IV 600 and SB XX 14314; they are, with P.Ryl. II 166, the oldest preserved offers, and the only ones with both the signature of the sender and the process note of the addressee, and their early date can explain the mix of the two verbs. In the case of SB XX 14314, the irregular formulas of the text can also explain why the two verbs appear together.

lease public land are scarce and almost always reflect exceptional situations, as seems to be the case with P.Oxy. II 279 and SB XXIV 16294⁴³².

In P.Oxy. II 279, a man named Theogenes writes to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, proposing to take on the cultivation of a parcel of public land attributed to someone else and offering to pay a higher rent. Judging from the proposed rent, he aims to change part of a lower-productive parcel into grain land⁴³³. He is thus effectively proposing to oust the current tenants of the plot and take their place, a practice which seems to be unusual in Roman Egypt⁴³⁴. This text does not use the more current βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι, but a more flattering (l. 3-7) [βο]υλόμ(ενος) πλεῖον περιποιησάι τοῖς δη[μοσ]ίοις, ἐπιδέχομαι συνχωρηθεῖσθ[αι] μοι (...) τῆς γεωργίας, “wanting to secure a higher income for the public treasury, I undertake, if the right to cultivate is granted to me”.

The latter case, SB XXIV 16294, is an offer to lease (l. 12: βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι) a parcel of public land addressed to the representatives of the public farmers of the village of Theadelphia in the Fayyum⁴³⁵. In the Fayyum, public land was collectively administered by the local public farmers, with an active role in the procedure given to their πρεσβύτεροι⁴³⁶. In the case of SB XXIV 16294, the sender addressed an offer to these πρεσβύτεροι, who act as an intermediate between the administration, which has granted customarily the right to cultivate royal land to the local public farmers collectively, and the individual farmers cultivating the individual plots⁴³⁷. Therefore, SB XXIV 16294, a standard offer concerning both materiality and formulas, resembling both administrative and private offers to lease or buy, is a sort of intermediate document between administrative offers sent to officials and private offers sent to the owner of plots⁴³⁸; it shows how related the two categories of documents can be.

Two other administrative offers date to the reign of Nero, P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24 and P.Köln III 141. They are public offers to buy ὑπόλογος land, comparable to the older P.Oxy. IV

⁴³² On the terms of tenure of public land, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 70–88; KRUSE 2002, 559–601; ROWLANDSON 2006, 181–187; MONSON 2012a, 149–153; MONSON 2012b.

⁴³³ Cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 85; KRUSE 2002, 580–581; ROWLANDSON 2006, 183 n. 35.

⁴³⁴ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 579–581; ROWLANDSON 2006, 183–184; as Jane Rowlandson remarks, the petition P.Oxy. XXIV 2410 (Oxyrhynchite, 120 CE), submitted by some farmers against someone acting like the sender of P.Oxy. II 279, indicates that the practice of making bids for public land already rented by someone else was not common. On the many problems surrounding P.Oxy. II 279, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 85–86.

⁴³⁵ The interpretation of this text changed with the reedition of HAGEDORN – WÖRZ 1997. P.IFAO III 16, dated second half of the first century CE, may be a very fragmentary parallel.

⁴³⁶ ROWLANDSON 1996, 82–83; 93; ROWLANDSON 2006, 189–192; MONSON 2012a, 149–151.

⁴³⁷ Cf. ROWLANDSON 2006, 189–190.

⁴³⁸ Indeed, YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1054 n. 15 considers it a private *hypomnema*.

721. P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24 is addressed to the στρατηγός, the opening formula of P.Köln III 141 is not preserved. These documents correspond to the general characteristics of offers to the administration. Contrary to P.Oxy. IV 721, their last lines are preserved so that one can notice that they use the ἐὰν φαίνεται already attested in P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28 and in most Julio-Claudian private offers to lease. Nevertheless, these documents have some specificities. In the case of P.Köln III 141, the *hypomnema* seems to be drawn up on a squarish papyrus sheet. However, some ink traces indicate that the lower margin is not the original one but was cut later⁴³⁹; therefore, the sheet was probably vertical at the beginning. In the case of P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24, the offer closes on a διευτύχει, a highly formal closing usually reserved for petitions to the *praefectus Aegypti* in the first century CE⁴⁴⁰.

4.2.2.3 Late First-Century Hypomnemata Expressing Intention

Private Offers to Lease

A definitive change in the documentation is observable under the Flavians. The number of private lease *hypomnemata* markedly increased, with some fifteen to twenty documents preserved for the last quarter of the first century CE⁴⁴¹. By then, a shared evolution has taken place all over Egypt: leases are no more registered in notarial offices but recorded in types of contracts that do not need registration⁴⁴². However, this shared evolution presents geographical and chronological variations. In the Arsinoite nome, *hypomnemata* replaced notarial contracts to become the main written form of lease contracts, but only in the last quarter of the first century CE⁴⁴³. In the Oxyrhynchite nome, *hypomnemata* and notarial contracts are almost absent, and private protocols have been used for lease contracts from the beginning of Roman rule⁴⁴⁴. The Hermopolite nome represents a mid-way: the lease

⁴³⁹ Cf. P.Köln III 141, p. 77.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. MASCELLARI 2021, 1003–1004.

⁴⁴¹ For the years 69 to 99 CE, cf. BGU XI 2033; 2123; P.Fam.Tebt. 5; P.Hamb. I 5; P.Iand. III 26; P.Lond. II 163; P.Prag. I 38; P.Soter. 3; 4; 26; P.Stras. VIII 704; P.Würzb. 11; SB XXII 15346; TM 765546 (P.Lond. inv. 1602 a); W.Chr. 192, as well as the fragmentary P.Lond. III 1225 (the only non-Arsinoite document, originated in the Hermopolite nome); P.Mich. XIV 678 (an offer to lease a house and the related concession for wool carding, which may as well be classified as an offer for concession, especially since we do not know what formula was used by the scribe; cf. on this REITER 2008, 211 n. 9); P.Stras. V 321; SB XIV 11431; XVIII 13102 whose opening is totally lost. Some vaguely dated documents can also fall in this time span: P.Iand. III 26 a (late I – early II CE); P.IFAO I 10 (second half of the I CE); P.Hamb. I 99 (I CE); P.Mich. XXI 849 (late I – early II CE); SB XVIII 13903 (I CE).

⁴⁴² Cf. KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1057–1058; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50.

⁴⁴³ Cf. WOLFF 1978, 117–118; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051; 1054 with n. 13; 1061; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 51–52; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. WOLFF 1978, 124–125; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1058; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187. On the private protocol, cf. WOLFF 1978, 122–127; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50–51; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023b.

hypomnema is known there, especially in the second century CE, but will always coexist with other types of lease contracts, notably the *cheirographon*⁴⁴⁵.

Flavian private *hypomnemata* continue to present a parallel evolution with contemporary administrative *hypomnemata*. Documents such as BGU XI 2033 and P.Lond. II 163, for instance, present an opening with the new, centred highlighting of the addressee (e.g. BGU XI 2033, Fig. 4.23). Likewise, the final lines abandon the Ptolemaic-style highlighted closing element and use various combinations of date and second-hand note, either the sender's signature or the addressee's subscription⁴⁴⁶.

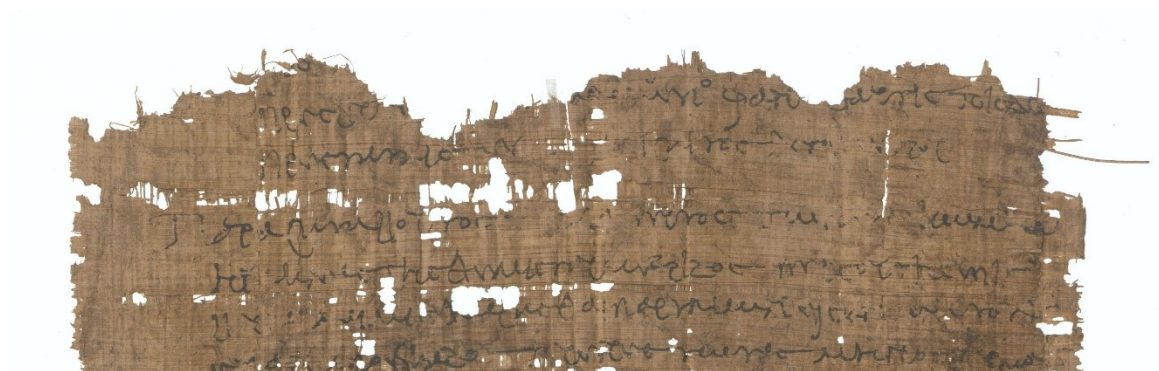


Fig. 4.23: BGU XI 2033, detail of the opening.

Otherwise, despite the high variability of their content due to the specificities of each lease and of the clauses related to it, these documents generally follow the characteristics already highlighted for earlier private offers, such as a vertical sheet, horizontal fibres, opening τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, text starting with βούλωμαι μισθώσασθαι, possible final ἐὰν φαίνεται, date and signatures of the sender or subscription of the addressee in the bottom margin.

Offers to Obtain Concessions

Under the Flavian, the specific formulas of P.Mil. I² 6, P.Grenf. II 41 and BGU XX 1869, two offers to lease concessions and not goods, are still attested in PSI V 459 (Arsinoite, 72 CE), another *hypomnema* with the same function⁴⁴⁷. It is an offer addressed to the exactor of some taxes in the Arsinoite and offering a lump sum for the right to sell wool

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. WOLFF 1978, 118 with n. 56; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1058 with n. 29. In the first century CE, the only possible Hermopolite hypomnematic private lease *hypomnemata* are BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1-8, an abstract of what seems to be a private offer to lease, and P.Lond. III 1225, a fragmentary piece whose opening is lost. On the *cheirographon* type of document, cf. WOLFF 1978, 106–114; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 43–49; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023c.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. for instance BGU IX 2123; P.Soter. 3; 26.

⁴⁴⁷ The same formulas are still to be found in P.Fay. 36, 111/112 CE, the latest *hypomnema* with this structure; cf. BGU XX 2869, p. 188.

over nine months, standard in its materiality⁴⁴⁸. As for P.Mil. I² 6, it is an offer to sublease a concession but opposite to P.Mil. I² 6, there is no private estate but the administration at the top of the chain.

However, already in the case of TM 986772 (P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2011), offers for concessions started taking over the formulas of offers to lease. This phenomenon is also attested in W.Chr. 315 (Arsinoite, 88 CE). It is an offer addressed to the priests of Soknopaios to lease the concession for wool carding in the villages of Neilou Polis and Soknopaiou Nesos⁴⁴⁹. At the beginning of the main text, it adopts the formulas of private offers to lease goods, βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι, followed by an absolute genitive indicating the offered price. At the end, however, the verb ἐπιχωρέω, typical of offers for concessions, reappears in the closing ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρήσαι⁴⁵⁰. This document, therefore, presents a mix of the two sets of formulas.

Another example of this phenomenon is P.Giss.Univ. I 12 (Arsinoite, 87/88 CE), an offer for the management rights of a marshy region in Theadelphia⁴⁵¹. The opening lines are lost so that the addressee of the document remains unknown, yet they were reasonably hypomnematic. The sender expresses his intention to lease the management concession with βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι; because of a lacuna, we do not know whether he also used in the final lines ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρήσαι. The extremely high offered amount, 11'000 drachmas, indicates that this probably is the primary concession of this right, which the offeror would then sublease in smaller packages. Both W.Chr. 315 and P.Giss.Univ. I 12 are standard in their materiality, with W.Chr. 315 presenting the new, centred highlight of the addressee.

The same sort of mix between the verbs ἐπιχωρέω and μισθόω is noticeable in two contemporary private offers to lease, P.Soter. 26 and P.Würzb. 11, which seem to use the same formulas of W.Chr. 315, i.e. βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι and ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρήσαι.

⁴⁴⁸ On this document, cf. REITER 2004, 185 with n. 21.

⁴⁴⁹ An additional late-first-century CE offer for a wool-carding concession is P.Mich. XIV 678, an offer to lease a house and the related concession to card wool, dated 98 CE. The first lines of this document being lost, we do not know what formulas it used. On its specific case, cf. REITER 2008, 211 n. 9.

⁴⁵⁰ On this document, cf. also WOLFF 1956, 329 n. 7.

⁴⁵¹ On this document and in general on the management of the marsh in Theadelphia called Drymos, cf. REITER 2004, 192–198.

The adoption of the βούλομαι-formula by offers for concessions made the two groups of documents closer and further enabled those bidirectional influences⁴⁵².

Public Offers to Buy or Lease

If the number of private offers soared under the Flavians, comparable public offers remained sparse. We have one offer to buy ἀδέσποτα goods, P.Oxy. XLVII 3334 (ca. 89-94 CE), and one embedded offer for ὑπόλογος land, SB V 7599, l. 18-26 (95 CE)⁴⁵³. They are both addressed to the στρατηγός, as already Neronian offers were. In general, they also are very close to their Julio-Claudian precedents. P.Oxy. LXVII 3334, one of the rare non-embedded public offers for which an image is available, shows that the materiality of these documents does not differ from other contemporary *hypomnemata*. SB V 7599, l. 18-26 is from the Arsinoite nome, opposite to older offers to buy, all from the Oxyrhynchite nome except for the Hermopolite P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24. Its existence indicates that offers to buy public goods were also in use in the Fayyum⁴⁵⁴.

Moreover, we have a fragmentary offer to lease public land, P.Flor. III 368 Ro (Hermopolite, 96 CE) whose poor state of preservation does not allow a detailed analysis⁴⁵⁵. Notable characteristics are its seeming adoption of the later, centred highlighting of the addressee and of the formula βουλόμεθα μισ[θώσασθαι] (l. 3), which does not appear in the only older offer to lease public land, P.Oxy. II 279.

Finally, a group of Hermopolite lease *hypomnemata* dated around 78 CE are addressed to an official, the nome ἐξηγητής, but their goal is to lease private property that belonged to orphaned children⁴⁵⁶. Indeed, these documents indicate the existence of a specific procedure to lease out land belonging to orphaned children. Potential lessees had to make an offer to the ἐξηγητής, an official that must have had some role concerning orphaned children; this offer is prepared as a typical lease *hypomnema*, although it is not addressed to the lessor. The procedure is different: the addressee had to organise a public auction of the lease of the parcel, and if no one outbid the offered rent, the lease would automatically be attributed to the sender. This procedure is expressed variously in the final lines of

⁴⁵² Despite the coherent image offered by early documents, some mix between μισθόω and ἐπιχωρέω was also to be found in the two earliest private offers to lease, P.Ryl. IV 600 and SB XX 14314.

⁴⁵³ On these documents, cf. KRUSE 2002, 485–488; 531–532; 538; ALESSANDRÌ 2005, 176–189.

⁴⁵⁴ Another such text is P.Münch. III 64, l. 13-16, but its poor preservation does not allow to use it in this study.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 581.

⁴⁵⁶ P.Amh. II 85; 86; P.Heid. IV 337. P.Bad. II 18 may be an older occurrence of the same type of document, but its poor state of preservation does not allow to ascertain its function.

P.Amh. II 85 and 86, but apart from this clause, these documents conform to the general characteristics of hypomnematic offers to lease. The closer parallel for their formulas is P.Flor. III 368 Ro, the only preserved Flavian offer to lease public land, which suggests that waiting for the heirs to come of age, these parcels were administered as public land (although only the taxes were to be paid to the state, and the rent to a person indicated by the ἐξηγητής).

4.2.2.4 Early Roman Hypomnemata Expressing Intention: General Observations

To sum up, three types of documents expressing intention are attested in the documentation: private offers to lease, offers for concessions, and public offers to buy or lease. Some of those documents correspond to the general function of *hypomnemata* under the Ptolemies, i.e. to address an official in the administration expecting some reaction, but some do not. The border between the two categories is faint, as is shown by the case of leases and subleases of concessions, treated identically whether the concession was made by the administration or by a private individual, and by the case of SB XXIV 16294, an offer to lease addressed to the heads of the group of public farmers that held the customary tenure of public land in a village and that can be interpreted either as representative of the administration or as representative of the current lessees subleasing part of their plot⁴⁵⁷.

The clause βούλομαι + infinitive connects the majority of these documents. It differs from other central clauses of hypomnematic main texts by expressing an intention instead of an action. This clause has no Ptolemaic precedent and appears under Augustus for both private and public offers. However, it is sometimes combined with other clauses of Ptolemaic origin, like the ὑφίσταμαι indicating the offered price or the εἰν φαίνεται at the end expressing a form of polite request. Such formulas indicate that these documents are not entirely cut from the general evolution of *hypomnemata*. The only exception to the practice of adopting βούλομαι as the main verb concerns offers for concessions of rights. These documents adopt as main verb ὑφίσταμαι, as was already the case for such offers under the Ptolemies; they will only introduce the βούλομαι clause in the second half of the first century CE.

The specific content of these documents can visibly impact the complexity of the text. Some texts are straightforward, like fruit leases, which only mention the description of the crop, the offered price and the deadline for payment. Others are much more complex, listing

⁴⁵⁷ On the ambiguous position of village elders, cf. ROWLANDSON 2006, 189–190.

many details concerning the duties of the lessor and the lessee, as in the offer to lease a mill P.Ryl. II 167, listing the work tools that had to be furnished with the mill and detailing which taxes were to be paid by which party of the transaction. This variability comes from the diversity of situations in which those *hypomnemata* were used.

These documents are attested throughout the first century CE and do not change over time. They are drawn up as *hypomnemata*, and their material features evolve following the general changes undergone by other contemporary *hypomnemata*. These links between offers and other administrative *hypomnemata* indicate the scribal awareness of the links between these various sub-categories of *hypomnemata*.

Scribal terminology also confirms the links between these texts and other *hypomnemata*. Scribes call early Roman hypomnematic documents either ὑπόμνημα, as was already the case under the Ptolemies, or ἀναφόριον⁴⁵⁸. The latter word was rare under the Ptolemies as a synonym of ὑπόμνημα and became more common under Roman rule. These terms also apply to public offers to lease or buy, called either ὑπόμνημα or ἀναφόριον⁴⁵⁹. Private leases are usually called ἀναφόριον or μίσθωσις, not ὑπόμνημα⁴⁶⁰. The doublet ἀναφόριον – μίσθωσις reminds us of the practice concerning declarations, called either ὑπόμνημα/ἀναφόριον, indicating the type of document, or ἀπογραφή, indicating its content⁴⁶¹.

The relative proportion of these three categories evolved over time: if public offers and offers for concessions remained scarce during the first century CE and even afterwards, private offers to lease experienced a marked increase at the end of the century, becoming the predominant type of document for written leases in the Arsinoite nome. This chronological differentiation combines with a geographical differentiation: whereas most preserved public offers come from the Oxyrhynchite or the Hermopolite nome, private offers and concession offers usually have an Arsinoite provenance. The existence of SB V

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. MARTIN 2007, 663 n. 8; MASCELLARI 2021, 21; 1104–1105. Cf. also *nFWB*, s.v. ἀναφόριον; ὑπόμνημα.

⁴⁵⁹ ὑπόμνημα: P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 14. ἀναφόριον: P.Amh. II 68, l. 14; SB V 7599, l. 11; SB XXIV 16294, l. 34–35. The three specific cases of P.Amh. II 85, 86 and P.Heid. IV 377, three requests for the lease of land belonging to orphans addressed to the ἐξηγητής, are called by their scribes μίσθωσις, a word designating their content instead of their function also attested for private offers to lease.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. P.Mil.Vogl. II 104, p. 195; MÜLLER 1985, 51; QUENOUILLE 2019, 680–681 and, for instance, P.Mich. XII 630, l. 23–24.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. BAETENS 2020a, 137 with n. 184; 195 n. 314; however, *contra* Gert Baetens's opinion in his note 314, ἀναφόριον designates the form and not the content of contracts. On the specific case of census declarations, cf. HOMBERT – PRÉAUX 1952, 101.

7599, l. 18-26, an offer to buy ὑπόλογος land from the Arsinoite nome, indicates that these public procedures were also in use in the Fayyum. On the contrary, private offers to lease seem to reflect a geographical differentiation, being predominant in the Arsinoite nome from the Flavian times onward, attested but not predominant in the Hermopolite nome from the second but probably already the first century CE, and almost absent in the Oxyrhynchite nome⁴⁶².

Finally, in the case of private offers, their specific evolution pattern and link with other *hypomnemata* deserve to be mentioned in the long-standing juridical debate concerning their nature. Indeed, jurists have long argued whether these offers are simply offers or actual contracts⁴⁶³. An original link to public offers is generally accepted; yet, private lease *hypomnemata* may have remained actual offers until at least the reign of Diocletian or may have turned into fictitious offers and proper contracts already at the beginning of Roman rule⁴⁶⁴. Hans Julius Wolff proposed a more gradual evolution, according to which *hypomnemata* remained for a long time offers, but started during the third century CE to be confused with other types of contracts until they definitely lost their nature of proposals to become pure contracts in the Byzantine times⁴⁶⁵. At the origin of this confusion was, according to him, the extension of the lease *hypomnema* to a broader spectrum of leases and not only to those marked by a social difference between lessor and lessee⁴⁶⁶. The general evolution observed in the usage of *hypomnemata* confirms his interpretation: when, under the Flavian, private hypomnematic leases became dominant and almost replaced all other types of written lease contracts in the Arsinoite nome, the bases for the progressive

⁴⁶² Cf. WOLFF 1978, 117–118; 124–125; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1054 with n. 13; 1058 with n. 29; 1061; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50–52; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187. In the case of the Hermopolite nome, the *hypomnema* is surely attested in the later centuries, cf. for instance W.Chr. 370 (121 CE), but probably already in the first century CE, with the fragmentary BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1-8 and P.Lond. III 1225.

⁴⁶³ For instance, on the *hypomnema* as an actual contract, a mere fictitious offer: HERRMANN 1958, 34–39. On the *hypomnema* as an offer and not a contract: ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962. In many of these discussions, the role of the signature of the sender or the addressee in the validity of the contract is central to the discussion; in KRÄNZLEIN 1982, it determines which lease *hypomnemata* are contracts and which are offers. For a summary of the discussion, cf. MÜLLER 1985, 61–76.

⁴⁶⁴ Indeed, the main difference between the various juridical opinions on the lease *hypomnemata* concern the chronology of this switch. For HERRMANN 1958, 38–39; HERRMANN 1961, 249, lease *hypomnemata* almost immediately became actual contracts; for ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 17–18, the *hypomnema* lost its nature of a proposal only under Diocletian.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. WOLFF 1978, 116; 120–122.

⁴⁶⁶ On the social difference between lessor and lessee in early private offers to lease, cf. *infra*, chapter 4.2.2.5, section “Origin of Private Offers to Lease”.

confusion between offers to lease and other lease contracts that Wolff observed in the third century CE were set.

4.2.2.5 *Origin of Hypomnemata Expressing Intention*

In the case of *synchoreseis*, the links between the change of rule and the typology of documents are impossible to establish. *Synchoreseis* are a possibly Ptolemaic type of document, specific to Alexandria, that appears in our documentation only under Augustus because of the loss of most Alexandrian documentation except for some Augustan archives discovered in the Herakleopolite nome. The case of *hypomnemata* expressing an intention is also quite complex, although a link with administrative changes can be proposed in their case. I will propose separate interpretations for concession offers, public offers and private offers, moving from the documents closest to Ptolemaic practice to those most divergent.

The closest Ptolemaic precedent to the documents discussed here is offers for public auctions, a group of second-century BCE *hypomnemata*. Under the Ptolemies, the state could auction confiscated land, monopolies and concessions on specific rights, and tax farming rights⁴⁶⁷. Although the practice of public auctions remained under the Romans, especially for confiscated land of good quality⁴⁶⁸, we have no offers for public auctions among early Roman documents. The preserved public offers are not related to auctions but to procedures avoiding the auctioning (except for the specific case of lease of goods belonging to minors), and the preserved offers for concessions do not mention any auction (except for BGU XX 2869). Therefore, the exact links between Ptolemaic and early Roman offers are hard to clarify.

One first-century BCE document should also be mentioned as a possible precedent: P.Cair.Goodsp. 9. This short notice is not a *hypomnema* because it has no addressee. It concerns some land, notably island land, but the landlord (or, if it was a sublease, the current tenant) is not mentioned. Nevertheless, it shows some elements that anticipate early Roman documents: the link between the μίσθωσις and the formula παρὰ τοῦ δέινος that we find in

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, chapters 3.1.3.3 and 3.2.3.3.

⁴⁶⁸ Good quality confiscated land was auctioned through a procedure called προκήρυξις on which we have mostly later evidence (for instance SB X 10527, Arsinoite, 151/152 CE) – cf. on this KRUSE 2002, 539–548; JÖRDENS 2009, 479–480; 483–484; ALESSANDRÌ 2012; KRUSE 2015, 157. The auction of tax farming rights seems to have been reduced, cf. KRUSE 2002, 621; JÖRDENS 2009, 264–267; yet one has to differentiate between various taxes, as JÖRDENS 2009, 265 remarks. At least some taxes (especially industrial taxes and monopolies) were still concessioned, although maybe not auctioned, through the function of the νομάρχης – on whose interpretation as a tax farmer in the Roman period cf. REITER 2004. Our knowledge of Roman monopolies and their relation to industrial taxes remain poor, cf. REITER 2008, 209.

offers to lease or the absolute genitive of early offers for concessions. It shows that, although we know nothing about hypomnematic offers in the first century BCE, some formulas were already circulating before the Roman conquest.

Origin and Evolution of Offers for Concessions

Early Roman offers to obtain concessions are the closest to Ptolemaic scribal practice. Their oldest version (represented by BGU XX 2869, P.Grenf. II 41, P.Mil. I² 6 and PSI V 459) looks like the older, second-century BCE offers for public auctions. Both are standard *hypomnemata* of their times, with a main text centred on the verb ὑφίσταμαι, indicating the object of the offer and the offered price. Ptolemaic public auctions and Roman offers for concessions also have a functional link: Ptolemaic auctions could also concern concessions, and therefore, they dealt with the same objects as Roman concession offers. Because of the poor state of preservation of the Ptolemaic examples, it is hard to study the exact formulary they used and their exact links with early Roman offers for concessions.

Nevertheless, many differences remain between the two groups of documents. Among Roman offers, only BGU XX 2869 seems to be an offer connected to a public auction, whereas the other pieces have no apparent links to auctioning procedures and are often offers for subleasing concessions, indicating transactions between private individuals. Part of the Roman formulary, and especially the use of the verb ἐπιχωρέω, does not seem to have parallels in Ptolemaic offers. In the Ptolemaic examples, an ἄξιω seems to be frequent; this is not the case in Roman offers for concession, although they use an ἐὰν φαίνεται in their final lines to indicate the wish that the addressee would give the concession, a formula that finds a second-century BCE parallel in P.Tarich. 10. The loss of a request formula was also observed in livestock declarations, confirming the links across *hypomnemata* with different functions.

Three elements make it difficult to retrace the exact relation between these two Ptolemaic and Roman corpora and to explain their similarities and differences. First, both groups are small and poorly preserved, so their internal characteristics are hard to establish. Second, there is a gap in the preservation of documents, with nothing preserved between the end of the second century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE⁴⁶⁹. Third, administrative practices have evolved, and the links between the two are unclear; Roman auctions for

⁴⁶⁹ The last Ptolemaic documents are UPZ II 218, l. 29-36 and 224, col. iii, l. 7-17, dated 131/130 BCE, and the first Roman document is P.Mil. I² 6, dated 26 CE.

concessions are especially poorly documented⁴⁷⁰. However, given our observations on administrative *hypomnemata*, one may imagine that the scribes used already available elements to compose Roman documents. The idea of using *hypomnemata* centred on the verb ὑφίσταμαι for concession offers must have come from their repertoire, although the specific context had changed.

In the second half of the first century CE, offers for concessions start taking up the βούλομαι and the μισθώσασθαι of other offers, as P.Giss.Univ. I 12, TM 986772 and W.Chr. 315 indicate. The introduction of the notion of leasing, μίσθωσις, probably comes from the other contemporary offers – it was, in general, absent from Ptolemaic and early Roman offers for concessions but current in early Roman private offers to lease⁴⁷¹. The non-administrative nature of many offers for concessions may explain this interference, which was, moreover, two-sided, with the verb ἐπιχωρέω appearing in some offers to lease.

In the second century CE, the two groups of documents remained close without merging. For instance, second-century offers for concessions will tend to adopt the formula βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι, taking up the βούλομαι of lease offers but keeping their distinctive ἐπιχωρέω⁴⁷². Nevertheless, some second-century offers for concessions use βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι⁴⁷³. Both verbs can also appear in the same text, for instance, the offer for concession P.Amh. II 92 or the offer to lease P.Mich. III 185⁴⁷⁴.

Origin of Public Offers

Among the oldest Roman *hypomnemata* expressing intention are offers to buy public goods of two kinds, ὑπόλογος land and ἀδέσποτα goods. These documents are attested already under Augustus and throughout the first century CE⁴⁷⁵. They are not offers for public

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. REITER 2008, 209.

⁴⁷¹ In the subscription of P.Grenf. II 41, the lessee indicates that it is allowed for the lessor to “ματαμισθ(οὺν)” (l. 26), but otherwise, this notion never appear in the main text. The notions of concession and of lease were usually distinct in ancient practice, cf. WOLFF 1956, 329 n. 7; REITER 2008, 211 n. 9; yet the early documents P.Ryl. IV 600 and SB XX 14314 betray some confusion.

⁴⁷² Cf. HUSSELMAN 1970, 66 and P.Aberd. 45; P.Amh. II 92; P.Mich. XII 628; P.Ryl. II 98; 98 a; PSI V 458; W.Chr. 318, as well as probably in SB XXVI 16537.

⁴⁷³ Cf. HUSSELMAN 1970, 66 and BGU XI 2032; P.Graux. II 21; P.Louvre. II 113; P.Stras. IV 269; W.Chr. 317.

⁴⁷⁴ P.Amh. II 92: βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι – εἰάν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι. P.Mich. III 185: βούλομαι μισθῶσασθαι – εἰάν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρήσαι.

⁴⁷⁵ ὑπόλογος land: P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24; P.Köln III 141; P.Oxy. IV 721; SB V 7599, l. 18-26. ἀδέσποτα: P.Oxy. IX 1188, l. 18-28; XX 2277, l. 14-18; XLVII 3334.

auctions but offers for a simplified procedure for selling public goods introduced by the Romans: the sale κατὰ παράδειξιν⁴⁷⁶.

Indeed, to understand the origin of these documents, one must bear in mind that there were two sale procedures of public goods in Roman Egypt, the public auction, or sale κατὰ προκήρυξιν, and the simplified direct sale, or sale κατὰ παράδειξιν⁴⁷⁷. The first was already practised under the Ptolemies and survived under the Romans⁴⁷⁸. We have a couple of offers for such auctions from the second century BCE, which show that they were drawn up as administrative *hypomnemata*, but we have no idea of how such offers evolved over the first centuries BCE and CE, for lack of preserved offers. On the contrary, the second procedure counts among the administrative innovations introduced by the Romans⁴⁷⁹.

As with many new procedures introduced by the Romans, its appearance implied the creation of a new type of document with a specific function, i.e. to transmit a piece of information to the administration, the intention to buy a good κατὰ παράδειξιν. Based on what we observed for other administrative *hypomnemata*, one can postulate that scribes were free to create the appropriate document for the new procedure, and that they resorted to their repertoire whenever possible⁴⁸⁰. As in the other cases, the specific function of these documents explains the choice of the *hypomnema*.

Scribes very quickly found a standard type for offers for sales κατὰ παράδειξιν, and there are almost no changes between Augustan and Flavian offers. The only notable evolution is a change in the addressee: earlier offers are directed to the ἴδιος λόγος and later offers to the στρατηγός⁴⁸¹. This change reflects an administrative development but does not impact the typological characteristics of the offers, which remained administrative *hypomnemata* with a specific set of formulas. The stability of the documents indicates that scribes quickly developed the new document, either because a precedent was available or because the new procedure was clear enough to allow for a quick standardisation of the new formulas.

⁴⁷⁶ On the sale κατὰ παράδειξιν, cf. KRUSE 2002, 478–538; BAZZOCCHI 2008; JÖRDENS 2009, 480–482; KRUSE 2015; CLAPUYT 2018.

⁴⁷⁷ On the differences between the sale κατὰ παράδειξιν and the sale κατὰ προκήρυξιν (i.e. by public auction), cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 48; 52–53; KRUSE 2002, 508–514; JÖRDENS 2009, 477–485; ALESSANDRÌ 2012, 119–129; KRUSE 2015, 157.

⁴⁷⁸ JÖRDENS 2009, 485; KRUSE 2015, 157.

⁴⁷⁹ JÖRDENS 2009, 485; KRUSE 2015, 157.

⁴⁸⁰ On the creation of new administrative *hypomnemata* under the Romans, cf. *supra*, chapter 4.1.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. KRUSE 2002, 496–498; 530–532; 538; ALESSANDRÌ 2005, 71–73; 81–83; 188–189; JÖRDENS 2009, 478.

These new documents centre their main text on the structure βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι, for which no precedent is known. Indeed, second-century BCE offers for public auctions centred on the verb ὑφίσταμαι. We know nothing about offers for public auctions in the first century BCE, but the formula with ὑφίσταμαι must have survived because Roman scribes still knew it and used it for concession offers⁴⁸². There are, therefore, two possible scenarios for the origin of the βούλομαι formula, depending on how offers for public auctions looked in the first century BCE. Offers for public auctions used ὑφίσταμαι for all sorts of auctions in the second century BCE. In the first century BCE, a split may have occurred, with scribes using ὑφίσταμαι for concessions and βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι for goods; this division would then continue under the Romans. As an alternative, all Ptolemaic offers in the second and first centuries BCE for public auctions may have used ὑφίσταμαι. The formula βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι would have developed under the Romans, certainly for offers κατὰ παράδειξιν, possibly also for offers for goods auctioned by the administration. In both cases, scribes finally adopted the βούλομαι-formula also for concession offers at the end of the first century CE.

The first alternative would explain why the characteristics of Roman offers for sales κατὰ παράδειξιν were so quickly standardised: scribes had a fixed model at their disposal. On the contrary, the second one seems more fitting with the general evolution of the typology of *hypomnemata*, which remained quite conservative during the late centuries of Ptolemaic rule to become quite innovative in the early decades of Roman rule. These hypotheses exemplify the methodological problems that the absence of a rich first-century BCE documentation creates when dealing with the changes from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt⁴⁸³.

The origin of the other public offers, to lease public land and to lease the goods of orphaned children, is impossible to ascertain. The three offers to lease public land P.Oxy. II 279, SB XXIV 16294 and P.Flor. III 368 Ro do not reflect a standard administrative procedure (public land was usually leased out on customary tenure without written documentation), and each has characteristics that prevent the study of its origin⁴⁸⁴. The oldest specimen, P.Oxy. II 279, uses an unparalleled structure, and one may suspect that the scribe had to prepare an extraordinary document and resorted to a text specifically made for this occasion. In the second document, SB XXIV 16294, the boundary between administrative

⁴⁸² Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.2.2.5, section “Origin and Evolution of Offers for Concessions”.

⁴⁸³ On these problems, cf. HAENSCH 2008.

⁴⁸⁴ On the terms of tenure of public land, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 70–88; KRUSE 2002, 559–601; ROWLANDSON 2006, 181–187; MONSON 2012a, 149–153; MONSON 2012b, 12–18.

and private leases is fuzzy so that it can be counted among the private offers⁴⁸⁵. The last example, P.Flor. III 368 Ro, dates from 96 CE and is too late to figure out any link with Ptolemaic practices. It uses some of the same formulas as the three requests for leasing the goods of orphaned children through a public auction addressed to the city ἐξηγητής of 78 CE. For these documents, too, the absence of older documents does not allow us to study the relation between these new documents and Ptolemaic practices. Nevertheless, their existence and parallelism with P.Flor. III 368 Ro indicate that scribal practice was still evolving and creating new documents under the Flavians, as was the case for status declarations.

Origin of Private Offers to Lease

The origin of private offers to lease is a debated question. These documents are exceptional from three points of view. First, they are not administrative *hypomnemata* in that they are not addressed to an official but exchanged between private persons. Second, unlike the other lease contracts, they do not report a past transaction but convey an offer, an intention⁴⁸⁶. Third, these documents have an irregular distribution, being very frequent in the Arsinoite nome (and, to a lesser extent, in the Hermopolite nome) while almost absent in the Oxyrhynchite nome⁴⁸⁷. Although administrative *hypomnemata* are the general model for lease *hypomnemata*⁴⁸⁸, it is unclear why scribes resorted to an administrative type for private purposes, nor why the change occurred at that specific time and place.

As Uri Yiftach already remarked, the question of their appearance under Augustus must be distinguished from that of their dominance from the Flavian times onward, when they became the main form of written lease and almost totally replaced other forms of lease contracts⁴⁸⁹. The non-notarial nature of *hypomnemata* best explain their popularity from the Flavian times onward: they were quick and practical and did not need to be registered⁴⁹⁰.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, chapter 4.2.2.2, section “Public Offers to Lease or Buy”.

⁴⁸⁶ On the legal oddity of lease *hypomnemata*, cf. WOLFF 1978, 115; 120; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. *supra*, chapters 4.2.2.2, section “Private Offers to Lease”, and 4.2.2.3, section “Private Offers to Lease”, as well as WOLFF 1978, 117–118; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50–52; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. HERRMANN 1958, 26; WOLFF 1978, 114.

⁴⁸⁹ YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1052; 1054.

⁴⁹⁰ YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1057–1061. Leases were excluded from notarial registration everywhere in Egypt; in the Arsinoite, they were replaced by *hypomnemata*, and in the Oxyrhynchite, by so-called private protocols, another type of contract. On this evolution, cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1057–1061. On the private protocol, cf. WOLFF 1978, 122–127; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 50–51; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023b.

Contracts were still prepared by professional scribes, which may have worked at γραφεῖα, but the complex procedure of registration was avoided⁴⁹¹.

The first question needs more discussion. It was long thought that these private offers extend a Ptolemaic administrative practice to private transactions⁴⁹². This hypothesis relies on the assumption that under the Ptolemies, all public farmers needed to apply periodically to the state in a written form to renew their lease of public land⁴⁹³. However, it has recently been demonstrated that there was no periodical application to lease out royal land, and tenure was customary⁴⁹⁴. Indeed, there is no preserved Ptolemaic offer to lease public land, and the few preserved Roman offers are exceptional⁴⁹⁵. Therefore, private offers to lease cannot be considered an extension of the hypothetical Ptolemaic public lease offers to private practices. The different understanding of Ptolemaic land tenure developed in the last decades implies a re-evaluation of the origin of private offers to lease.

Two other non-exclusive hypotheses appear more convincing. The first is the “absentee landlord” theory, which claims that the change in social relationships appearing under Augustus is responsible for the emergence of the new documents⁴⁹⁶. The main novelties experienced by the Arsinoite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes in the early Roman times were the appearance of large imperial estates and the right for people of non-cleruchic status to own cleruchic land, which also led to the development of large estates⁴⁹⁷. Indeed, there was

⁴⁹¹ On the registration procedure, cf. WOLFF 1978, 40–44. That scribes at notarial offices also drafted texts that were not to be registered at the same office comes from the mid-first-century CE accounts of the γραφεῖον of Tebtynis, where scribes recorded payment received not only for registered contracts, but also for documents labelled χρογογραφ(ία), ἀναφορά or ὑπομνημάτων, i.e. non-registered documents, cf. for instance P.Mich. II 123, col. ii *passim* (an account of all documents made in the γραφεῖον, and not only of contracts, cf. HUSSELMAN 1970, 231). On the γραφεῖον as a place where all sorts of documents with and without obligation of registration were drafted, cf. HUSSELMAN 1970, 224; 231.

⁴⁹² HERRMANN 1958, 27–28; HERRMANN 1961, 248–249; ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 23; WOLFF 1978, 119; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051; 1056; JÖRDENS 2009, 468 n. 134. Doubts already in KRUSE 2002, 566.

⁴⁹³ Cf. HERRMANN 1961, 246–247; ROWLANDSON 1996, 70–71; KRUSE 2002, 565; ROWLANDSON 2006, 182.

⁴⁹⁴ P.Coll.Youtie I 15, p. 118–121; ROWLANDSON 1996, 70–71; 80–88; KRUSE 2002, 559–560; 565–568; 596–597; ROWLANDSON 2006, 182–184; 187–193; MONSON 2012a, 145–151; MONSON 2012b, 12–18.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3. For instance, among the documents that HERRMANN 1958, 27 nn. 6; 7 cited for arguing that private offers to lease derive from public ones, P.Eleph. 20 is a Ptolemaic offer for a public auction of confiscated goods (cf. MONSON 2012a, 117–118), P.Oxy. II 279 is a non-standard document (cf. *supra*, chapter 4.2.2.2, section “Public Offers to Lease or Buy”), BGU II 640 is an offer for αἰγιαλός land, a specific type of shore land that was only exceptionally arable (cf. on this ROWLANDSON 1996, 83–84; KRUSE 2002, 576; P.Messeri 30, p. 175–178), P.land. III 28 is an offer for grazing land (KRUSE 2002, 578 n. 1572). More general on Roman offers, cf. KRUSE 2002, 559–597; P.Yale IV 160, p. 124.

⁴⁹⁶ HERRMANN 1958, 28; HERRMANN 1961, 248; ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 22–30; WOLFF 1978, 119–120; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1052; 1057. The label “absentee landlord” is to be found in WOLFF 1978, 119; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1054.

⁴⁹⁷ On the introduction of large imperial estates, so-called οὐσῖαι, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 55–57; JÖRDENS 2009, 509–511; MONSON 2012a, 94; 103; BROUX 2019, 170–172; LANGELLOTTI 2020, 144–152. On the

indeed a tendency for local elites to acquire cleruchic land and increase their landed property under Roman rule⁴⁹⁸. Cleruchic and, in general, private land was an attractive investment in Roman Egypt, thanks to a new fiscal system which taxed them at a low and fixed standard⁴⁹⁹.

The relationship between land owners and local farmers became more distant for both imperial estates and the cleruchic land now owned by the local elite⁵⁰⁰. Even the geographical distance between the landlord and the property sometimes increased, because some elite owners lived far from their parcels⁵⁰¹. In the Oxyrhynchite nome, private landlords who chose not to cultivate their land themselves account for most land leases in the first centuries of Roman rule⁵⁰²; a similar pattern can be assumed for most private land leases in mid-first century Tebtynis in the Arsinoite nome⁵⁰³.

According to the “absentee landlord” theory, these new, distant landowners may have been perceived as entities as remote and powerful as the administration, prompting the use of *hypomnemata* to address them. The *hypomnema* may also simplify the transaction because both parties do not have to meet at the scribal office, as was the case for notarial contracts.

status of imperial farmers, cf. LANGELOTTI 2020, 186–188. On the reduction of the restrictions on ownership of cleruchic land, cf. MONSON 2012a, 121–122.

⁴⁹⁸ On the progressive concentration of private land in fewer hands, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 53; 116–118; ROWLANDSON 2006, 193–194; MONSON 2012a, 122; MONSON 2012b, 16; LANGELOTTI 2020, 184. For an example of an Oxyrhynchite family accumulating land from the first decades of Roman rule onward, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 107–108; for an Arsinoite family, cf. ROWLANDSON 1999, 152–153; LANGELOTTI 2020, 112–117.

⁴⁹⁹ In Ptolemaic Egypt, private land was subject to much higher tax rates; cleruchic land enjoyed fiscal privileges, but access to it was restricted. In Roman Egypt, access to all sort of private land, including cleruchic land, was not restricted, and both were taxed at low rates. This made private land an interesting investment. Such is the main argument of MONSON 2012a.

⁵⁰⁰ On this distance, cf. MONSON 2012a, 8; 122–131. On the spectrum of landholders in the Oxyrhynchite nome in late Roman times, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 123–124.

⁵⁰¹ Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz stressed the geographical distance more than the social distance. According to him (cf. ARANGIO-RUIZ 1962, 23; 26; 30), the lease *hypomnemata* were sent to the lessor. However, this idea was based on the wrong conception that *hypomnemata*, like letters, were sent and not handed in – we know on the contrary that *hypomnemata* usually were not sent, cf. *supra*, chapter 2.2.2.4, as well as BICKERMANN 1930a, 170–172; BAETENS 2020a, 219–223, with full list of arguments and literature. This problem does not invalidate the theory: because of the absence of the landlord, offerors had to present their *hypomnema* to their representatives, cf. WOLFF 1978, 120. Yet landlords from the local elite were more present than owners of οὐσῖαι, and visited their fields, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 271–272; in the Arsinoite, many of them still inhabited the villages in the mid-first century CE, cf. LANGELOTTI 2020, 105; 186.

⁵⁰² ROWLANDSON 1996, 264; 267; 271; 275; ROWLANDSON 1999, 145. Yet, for the bias in the documentation, cf. ROWLANDSON 1999, 146.

⁵⁰³ Cf. ROWLANDSON 1999, 155; LANGELOTTI 2020, 186.

The fact that many of the earliest private offers to lease are addressed and submitted to a representative of the landlord due to his absence seems to confirm this theory⁵⁰⁴.

It was recently recognised that the patterns of land tenure changes from nome to nome in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt⁵⁰⁵. For instance, the Oxyrhynchite nome had a larger proportion of private land compared to the Arsinoite nome⁵⁰⁶ (in both nomes, most private land in the Roman period was cleruchic⁵⁰⁷). Moreover, Oxyrhynchite individuals tended to mix ownership of private property and lease of public land, whereas, in the Arsinoite nome, each of these tenures belonged to different group of individuals⁵⁰⁸. These regional differences in land tenure may enrich the “absentee landlord” theory and explain the regional differences in scribal practice, with scribes resorting to *hypomnemata* in the Arsinoite and to private protocols in the Oxyrhynchite nome⁵⁰⁹. For instance, while keeping the notarial contract for most leases under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Arsinoite scribes may have turned to *hypomnemata* when writing to the agents of the new, distant landowners. On the contrary, the stronger interrelation between public farming and private landowning in the Oxyrhynchite may have diminished the impact of the distance; instead of keeping notarial contracts for most leases and turning to *hypomnemata* for a couple of them, they adopted the private protocol as a new way of drawing up all lease contracts. Indeed, the earliest Oxyrhynchite land leases do not reflect a marked social difference, and when, from the mid-first century, municipal landowning accounts for most of the

⁵⁰⁴ The offer is made to the representative of the owner in BGU II 591, P.Ryl. II 166, 167, 171, IV 600 and SB XX 14314. This is also probably the case in TM 128570 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2367), as the offer concerns an οὐσία and therefore, the owner was reasonably not in the Arsinoite (on this owner, cf. BROUX 2019, 163–164; ARPAIA 2020, 290–292). Among these documents, P.Ryl. II 171, TM 128570 and SB XX 14314 concern οὐσία, the others other land property. The offer is directly made to the owner in the case of P.Mich. XII 630, P.Stras. IV 185 Ro and SB XVI 13012 (where however the addressee is of a higher social standing than the senders anyway). BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1–8, P.Aberd. 181 descr. and TM 132374 (P.Duke inv. 85) are too fragmentary to establish their addressee.

⁵⁰⁵ ROWLANDSON 1996, 2–4; 65–67; 94–97; ROWLANDSON 2006, 177–181; 189; MONSON 2012a, 73–107; 151–153; MONSON 2012b, 7–18.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 65–67; ROWLANDSON 2006, 177–181; MONSON 2012a, 96–97; 101–105.

⁵⁰⁷ ROWLANDSON 1996, 41; 43–48; ROWLANDSON 2007, 208–210; MONSON 2012a, 86; 88–90; 92; 102–104; LANGELLOTTI 2020, 143–144.

⁵⁰⁸ ROWLANDSON 1996, 94–97; ROWLANDSON 1999, 155; ROWLANDSON 2006, 189; MONSON 2012a, 151–152. The same individuals leased out public and private land in the Arsinoite, cf. LANGELLOTTI 2020, 186, but they were not usually landlords. The boundaries could, however, be blurred also in the Arsinoite nome, cf. LANGELLOTTI 2020, 180; 195.

⁵⁰⁹ On the geographical differentiation of lease contracts, cf. WOLFF 1978, 117–118 with n. 56; KRÄNZLEIN 1982, 312–313; YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1051 with n. 3; 1057–1058; YIFTACH – VANDORPE 2019, 187.

Oxyrhynchite land leases, the private protocol had already established itself as the contract for leases⁵¹⁰.

However, the “absentee landlord” fails to account for the totality of Julio-Claudian offers to lease. Indeed, not all preserved early private offers are addressed to an agent of the owner and therefore reflect a social difference between lessor and lessee⁵¹¹. For this reason, it is interesting to combine it with the so-called “*karpomisthosis*” theory⁵¹².

According to this theory, the *hypomnema* was adopted very quickly for leases of fruits (καρπούς, usually olives or dates) because it shortened the procedure. Since the hypomnematic offers did not require the notarial registration, they allowed to quickly enter into a lease contract, which was essential when dealing with fruit: fruit needed to be picked and sold before it turned sour, and the deadline for paying back the lease was very short, usually a few months⁵¹³. *Karpomisthoseis* account for more than half of the preserved early hypomnematic offers to lease, including the two documents for which the “absentee landlord” theory does not work⁵¹⁴. Moreover, they are the only leases for which the *hypomnemata* immediately replaced the notarial contracts, whereas, for other leases, such as land leases, most contracts were still notarial until the Flavian period⁵¹⁵. Nevertheless, this theory does not explain why the *hypomnema* was chosen instead of another type of non-notarial contract like the *cheirographon*, and it does not account for the three to six offers which do not concern fruit⁵¹⁶.

A combination of both theories accounts for all the preserved material and contributes to the explanation of why, in the absence of any administrative or non-administrative

⁵¹⁰ On the evolution of the social relationships in Oxyrhynchite land lease, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 272–279. Only in the third century CE, big estates managed by a representative of the landowner became dominant in Oxyrhynchite land lease, although we mostly have indirect evidence for this, cf. ROWLANDSON 1996, 276–279.

⁵¹¹ Cf. P.Mich. XII 630; P.Stras. IV 185 Ro, as well as YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1054–1055.

⁵¹² For the word “*karpomisthosis*”, cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1055. Already Uri Yiftach, who proposed the theory of the *karpomisthosis*, remarked that the two theories could be easily integrated, cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1057.

⁵¹³ Cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1055–1056.

⁵¹⁴ Among Julio-Claudian hypomnematic offers to lease, BGU II 591, P.Mich. XII 630, P.Ryl. IV 600, P.Stras. IV 185 Ro (a lease of a grove of fruit-tree for few months, therefore probably a *karpomisthosis*), SB XVI 13012 and XX 14314 concern fruit leases, P.Ryl. II 166, 167 and 171 do not. Among the offers that were probably hypomnematic but whose opening lines are not preserved, TM 132374 (P.Duke inv. 85) is a *karpomisthosis*, BGU XIX 2801 Vo, l. 1–8, P.Aberd. 181 descr. and TM 128570 (P.Sorbonne inv. 2367) not. The two documents that were not addressed to an agent of the landlord, P.Mich. XII 630 and P.Stras. IV 185 Ro, are both *karpomisthoseis*.

⁵¹⁵ YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2007, 1055.

⁵¹⁶ On the various types of non-notarial contracts, like the *cheirographon* and the private protocol, cf. WOLFF 1978, 106–128; KEENAN ET AL. 2014, 43–53; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023b; FERRETTI ET AL. 2023c.

precedent, *hypomnemata* were suddenly used to record private leases; indeed, Arsinoite scribes may have chosen other types of documents, like the private protocol of Oxyrhynchite tradition or the *cheirophon* they already used.

In addition, the general changes in scribal practice around the first decades of Roman rule must be factored in. Indeed, early Roman administration tended to introduce written applications where Ptolemaic administration did not use them⁵¹⁷; therefore, scribes under Augustus were creating many new documents and, notably, many new administrative *hypomnemata*. Some of those, like offers for sales *κατὰ παράδειξιν*, were very similar to leases⁵¹⁸: they were addressed to a representative of the owner (an official for the state, a manager for the private owner), they expressed an intention (to buy or to lease), and they often concerned agricultural land or products. Despite the Oxyrhynchite provenance of most offers for sales *κατὰ παράδειξιν*, the existence of SB V 7599, l. 18-26 proves that the practice was also used in the Arsinoite nome. In a period of general innovation and especially of creation of new administrative *hypomnemata*, the existence of these new documents may have inspired scribes to use *hypomnemata* also for private leases, although this new function was very different from the traditional administrative usage of *hypomnemata*.

To sum up, private offers to lease are not the heir of hypothetical Ptolemaic offers to lease royal land and have no precedent in Ptolemaic practice. They appear in the Fayyum under Augustus, in a period during which two parallel developments occurred. On the one hand, the number of distant landowners in the Fayyum increased. On the other hand, scribes were creating many new documents for new administrative procedures, among which offers for sales *κατὰ παράδειξιν*; in doing so, they resorted to a type of document they knew very well, the *hypomnema*. In this context, scribes developed a new type of offer based on the *hypomnema* that also responded to practical necessities, e.g. the need for fast, non-notarial written leases.

⁵¹⁷ JÖRDENS 2009, 127–128.

⁵¹⁸ Some hypomnematic offers to lease specific subtypes of public land such as ὑπόλογος and αἰγιαλός (shore) land are known in the second century CE, cf. KRUSE 2002, 569–577. If these special procedures originated in the decades after the Roman conquest, the appearance of private offers to lease would have been contemporary with the introduction of these new public offers to lease. However, nothing can prove this hypothesis, and it is safer not to suggest a link between these second-century CE public offers and early Roman private offers.

4.2.2.6 *Lease Hypomnemata: a Summary*

In the first decades of Roman rule, a new category of *hypomnemata* appeared: documents expressing an intention, usually through a main text centred on the verb βούλομαι. Some functional links with Ptolemaic offers for public auctions are evident, but the state of the documentation does not allow to follow the links between Ptolemaic and Roman practice. Indeed, no first-century BCE offer for public auctions is preserved, and the only link between this second-century BCE corpus and Roman documents is P.Cair.Goodsp. 9, an irregular document whose context is obscure.

Some of these documents are administrative *hypomnemata*, i.e. documents addressed to an official in his official capacity. The appearance of these pieces mirrors that of other administrative documents, like census declarations: new administrative procedures or changes to existing procedures generated the need for new documents, and scribes developed new variants of the administrative *hypomnema* to face these needs.

The social, economic and scribal changes experienced in Egypt in the first decades of Roman rule also had a deeper impact on scribal usage of *hypomnemata*. Indeed, in some nomes, notably the Arsinoite nome, *hypomnemata* developed a completely new function, the private offer to lease. In these cases, the information is transmitted from one private individual to another. Although not prompted directly by an administrative innovation, the various changes that Egypt was experiencing at the time undoubtedly played a role in the appearance of this new scribal practice. After some decades of progressive establishment, these new *hypomnemata* became widespread at the end of the first century CE in the Arsinoite and, to a lesser extent, the Hermopolite nome.

4.2.3 *Functional Expansion of Hypomnemata: a Summary*

In the first decades of Roman rule, *synchoreseis* and lease *hypomnemata* appear, two groups of documents opening with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος and documenting an agreement or a proposal for an agreement between two individuals. In both cases, the *hypomnema* acquires a new contractual function unattested under the Ptolemies. However, each of these groups has a specific story and a specific relation to the administrative change Egypt was experiencing.

Synchoreseis are an autonomous development specific to the city of Alexandria for which the potential links with administrative changes under the new Roman rule are uncertain. In their case, scribes remained between the boundaries of the administrative *hypomnema* in

that they addressed information to an official and requested an action: two parties had found an agreement and asked the official to recognise it and turn it into a valid contract. This extension of the functions of *hypomnemata* and the associated modifications to its structure are probably the heirs of a Ptolemaic practice that we only witness under Augustus because of the loss of earlier Alexandrian documentation.

On the contrary, the inclusion of Egypt into the Roman empire is at the origin of lease *hypomnemata*. In the early decades of Roman rule, scribal practices changed to adapt to the requirements of a new administration and to the evolution of social and economic relationships among individuals. This administrative turmoil explains the appearance of many new administrative *hypomnemata*, including texts expressing the intention to buy or lease public goods to the administration. It also explains the appearance of a new, non-administrative group of *hypomnemata*: private offers to lease. In their case, the structure of the *hypomnema* is less impacted than in the case of *synchoreseis*: there is no double sender nor objective text. At the same time, the functional extension is more significant because these documents are no longer addressed to an official, but to the potential lessor of a good. Although this extension is not the fruit of an administrative need, it is directly linked to administrative innovation in early Roman Egypt.

Therefore, the extension of the *hypomnema* to contractual functions follows various paths depending of the geographical region and results in different developments. It shows the complexity of the links between administrative changes and scribal practice and the role of scribes in shaping the documents they create.

4.3 Conclusion

The question of changes and continuity of the *hypomnema* between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is complex. Petitions underwent almost no modification; census declarations were created anew by scribes because of an impulse from the new administration; small livestock declarations were modified by scribes because of an impulse from the new administration; *synchoreseis* were created anew by scribes possibly already under the Ptolemies, but appear in the documentation only under Augustus because of the chances of preservation; private offers to lease were created anew by scribes, without a direct role by the new administration but under the influence of the general socio-economic evolution.

Many evolutions are shared across the different functions endorsed by *hypomnemata*. For instance, the new layout of the opening lines is widely attested; the closing εὐτύχει

disappears from all *hypomnemata* except for petitions; signatures by the sender appear on petitions, declarations and offers to lease; the request formula is reduced to the mere verb in *synchoreseis* and declarations. The presence of many trends of evolution shared among various sub-types indicates that scribes still considered all these documents as belonging to the same general category.

Despite its evolution and its extension to new types of documents, the general definition of *hypomnemata* does not change. According to the Ptolemaic documentation of the second and first centuries BCE, I defined a *hypomnema* as a unidirectional piece of communication complying with formal requirements, transmitting information, addressed to an official, and expecting a reaction. These components remain fundamental in the definition of the early Roman *hypomnema*.

Communication remained unidirectional in all first-century CE documents with a hypomnematic opening. The addressee never answers in a written form to the sender. The only exception are second and third-century CE subscriptions to petitions by the *praefectus Aegypti*. It may indicate a loosening of the unidirectionality in the second century CE or simply an influence of Roman practice in the reaction of the *praefectus*.

Although requests are now less frequently expressed and, except for petitions, are either absent or reduced to shorter formulas, the expectation of a reaction on the part of the addressee remains clear. Declarations or *synchoreseis* activate standardised administrative procedures that the addressee is expected to accomplish, and even offers to lease expect consent to the lease on the part of the addressee.

However, with the appearance of private offers to lease, *hypomnemata* are no longer addressed to individuals in their administrative capacity. Indeed, the hierarchical overtone of *hypomnemata* that developed during the second and first centuries BCE became more important than the administrative nature of the communication. It is no longer an individual writing to another because of his administrative function but an individual writing to another because of his higher position that prompted resorting to the hypomnematic document type. Although the hierarchical element did not replace entirely the administrative component of the definition of the *hypomnema* (otherwise, the *hypomnema* may have extended further away from the administrative circle), it had become present enough to elicit the appearance of a new subgroup of *hypomnemata*, private offers to lease.

Thus, throughout, the importance of Ptolemaic precedents in creating new *hypomnemata* and the persistence of the basic definition of the *hypomnema* despite some adaptations indicate the importance of understanding Egyptian Ptolemaic scribal practices in order to understand the Egyptian Roman practices. Indeed, the main innovations were not exclusively imposed by the Roman powers but also the product of local tradition.

5 Conclusion

In this work, I aimed to write a history of the *hypomnema*, defined as a piece of written communication for which an ancient writer chose the opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος instead of the epistolary ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν. The adopted chronological approach made it possible to take into account the appearance, evolution, stabilisation, and changes experienced by the type over the four centuries under consideration. The result was an adaptative definition of the function of *hypomnemata* that became more precise over time.

I could find no trace of the *hypomnema* in Greek, Aramaic or Demotic documentation of the fourth century BCE. These traditions only knew the letter as a form of communication. Nevertheless, Greek and Aramaic scribal practices present some elements of third-century *hypomnemata*. On the one hand, in the fourth century BCE, the Greek word ὑπόμνημα acquired a concrete meaning and began designating written documents. They were personal notes without a sender and an addressee, yet they created a link between the word ὑπόμνημα and the written text. On the other hand, Aramaic epistolography knew the idea of switching the position of the sender and the addressee in the prescripts of letters, and the prescript to A from B. Aramaic writers also knew the idea of labelling documents in their incipit. From the meeting of these two traditions in one or the other Macedonian chancery, the early explicit prescript ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος appeared in parallel to the letter.

By the mid-third century BCE, we can observe in some detail the evolution of *hypomnemata* thanks to the preservation of the Zenon archive. At the time, hypomnematic documents are still a moving category, with a low level of standardisation and many interferences with other groups of documents. Nevertheless, they tend to share some features, such as a preference for vertical sheets of papyrus with horizontal fibres, some consistency in opening and greeting formulas, and the frequent absence of an address on the back. The content is diversified and determines the chosen layout. To account for the consistencies and the variations, I propose to consider the mid-third-century BCE *hypomnema* as a stabilising category, whose elaboration process had already started a few decades ago but was still ongoing.

In the third century BCE, the typology of Greek documentary papyri is not established yet, and many variations are visible in the documentation. The relation between the letter and the *hypomnema* is also uncertain. The two forms of communication exist side by side and

are used for the same content. Hybrid documents that mix hypomnematic and epistolary features are also attested. Nevertheless, an initial distinction is visible: whereas the letter is conceived as part of a dialogue between absent people, i.e. as an exchange, the *hypomnema* is a unidirectional written message. It transmits a piece of information from A to B; there is no message from B to A, neither before nor after the composition of the hypomnematic document.

At the end of the third century BCE, the stabilisation phase is over, and the *hypomnema* finds its place in the repertoire of Greek scribes. It goes through a functional specialisation and is progressively restricted to one specific type of communication, transmitting a piece of information from one private individual to a member of the administration; the sender expects the addressee to react to his communication but not to send a reply. Within this framework, the *hypomnema* supersedes all other types of documents. It has become what I call the administrative *hypomnema*. This functional specialisation of the *hypomnema* goes with a material standardisation of the documents. The format, layout and greeting formula of the standard *hypomnema* are established, and the implicit opening formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ubiquitous. This process reached its completion at the beginning of the second century BCE. This stabilisation of function and materiality implies a stabilisation of the reader's expectation: through the materiality and opening formula, he could immediately recognise what kind of communication he was dealing with. Letters and *hypomnemata* are not confused anymore.

During the following centuries of Ptolemaic rule, the *hypomnema* changes little, yet a modification in its perception is progressively visible. The specific function now endorsed by *hypomnemata* implies a steadily unbalanced relationship between individual private sender and addressee, the latter being addressed in his official capacity. Therefore, the *hypomnema* acquires a hierarchical overtone, and this overtone impacts its materiality: during the second century BCE, scribes progressively isolate the mention of the addressee at the beginning of the sheet. This phenomenon, combined with the highlight of the greeting formula εὐτύχει, creates the tripartite layout of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata*, where the text is split into three blocks: the mention of the addressee in *ekthesis*, the main text, and the closing greetings in *eisthesis*. Such a layout, stressing the name of the addressee and the polite greeting formula εὐτύχει, underlines the politeness of the communication, whatever the transmitted content.

The Roman conquest implied a transformation of the Egyptian administration that also impacted a highly administrative document type such as the *hypomnema*. The most visible change is the increase in administrative functions of the *hypomnema*. Many new documents, such as census declarations, are introduced already at the beginning of Roman rule. This process starts with an impulse from the new administration, which introduces a new procedure such as the fourteen-year census. However, the administration does not create a model for the new documents. On the contrary, local scribes design them, relying on their repertoire, reusing and recombining formulas and structures as much as possible, yet introducing new elements when necessary.

Early Roman administrative *hypomnemata* shared many innovations across various functions, implying that scribes perceived the relatedness of these documents whatever their exact content. For instance, in the closing lines of *hypomnemata*, signatures and date appear, the εὐτύχει is restricted to petitions, and oaths are introduced in the Oxyrhynchite declarations. In parallel, a new layout of the opening addressee appears, characterised by the central position of the name of the addressee and the increased size of the π in παρά. These processes cause the disappearance of the tripartite layout across administrative *hypomnemata*.

In parallel, the *hypomnema* extends beyond its now traditional administrative function and is adopted for writing to addressees that are placed at a higher hierarchical level in relation with the sender, from whom the sender expects something, but who are not administrative officials. This evolution is specific to one group of documents: private offers to lease. In their case, the hierarchical overtone that the *hypomnema* acquired under the Ptolemies has become more important than its functional administrative specialisation.

From this brief sketch, the lively history of the *hypomnema* becomes apparent. This history has two striking characteristics. First, its pace changes over time, as it alternates between phases of swift evolution, as in the third century BCE and the first century CE, and phases of slow change, as in the second and first century BCE. Second, it tends towards an increase in precision in the definition of the *hypomnema*. The first *hypomnemata* did not share much more than their unidirectionality. By the end-third century BCE, *hypomnemata* have become unidirectional and administrative. At the end of the Ptolemaic rule, they are unidirectional, administrative and hierarchical and expect a reaction from their addressee. Under the Romans, the hierarchical overtone increases in importance, so now

hypomnemata are unidirectional and hierarchical, still expect a reaction from their addressee, and most of the time address him in his official administrative capacity. A similar increase in precision is also attested in the definition of ancient letters¹.

Throughout the history of the *hypomnema*, two orders of characteristics could be identified. On the one hand, some features are shared by all *hypomnemata*, whatever their exact content. Such is the case, for instance, of the vertical format of the papyrus sheet, the adoption and then abandonment of the tripartite layout, or the preference for the greeting εὐτύχει over the epistolary ἔρωσο. On the other hand, some characteristics are specific to one class of *hypomnemata*. Such is typically the case of the formulas used in the main text, which depend on the document's content. Some features even move from one level to the other; for instance, the ἀξιῶ-formula, typical of petitions since the third century BCE, tends to appear across all sorts of *hypomnemata* in the second and first centuries BCE, only to restrict itself again to petitions and death declarations in the first century CE. We can frame these two levels in terms of types and subtypes, or groups and subgroups, of hypomnematic documents. Every *hypomnema* presents the common features of hypomnematic documents and the specific features of its subgroup of *hypomnemata*. Every step of the history of these documents implied specific sets of type and subtype features.

When an ancient scribe, trained in Greek and active in Ptolemaic or Roman Egypt, had to write a message from someone to someone else, he had two choices at his disposal. He could write a letter or a *hypomnema*. Nevertheless, depending on when he was active, the conscious and unconscious elements underlying and dictating his choice would have changed. The second-century BCE scribe with whom we introduced this study would have acted differently than a first-century CE scribe. By writing a history of the *hypomnema*, I hope to have shown the similarities and differences between the choices of these two scribes and many others.

¹ Cf. SARRI 2018, 5–16.

6 Appendix: Proposed Corrections to Published Papyri

Textual corrections, based on the available images:

- BGU II 591, l. 15: instead of Μαρκ(ί)ω, read Μάρκωι (from the image).
- BGU IV 1056: there is no trace of a l. 27; l. 26, add ἄξι(οῦμεν) (from the image; cf. other *synchoreseis*, e.g. BGU IV 1124).
- BGU XVIII.1 2731, l. 15: Roberto Mascellari doubted whether the traces of ink read as δ in the reading δ[ι]ευτ[ύχει] were indeed writing¹; the presence of a *paragraphos* under the ε, and not under these traces, indicates that they are not the remainings of the first letter of the word: otherwise, the *paragraphos* would have started under them. The correct reading is εὐτ[ύχει].
- P.Berl.Möller 7, l. 22: instead of τέλος, read τέλ(ος). εὐτύχ(ει) (from the image; the λ of τέλος is hanging above the ε, which indicates an abbreviation; below, a χ is hanging above an υ, and contemporary declarations of small livestock usually close on an εὐτύχει, often abbreviated, e.g. P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5439).
- P.Cair.Zen. III 59439, l. 7: add *vac.* εὐτύχει after ὑοφορβῶν (from the image).
- P.Cair.Zen. III 59457: verso, add Ζήνωνι (from the image).
- P.Hels. I 1, l. 2: instead of [χαίρειν *vac.*], read [*vac.*] (the presence of παρά + genitive at l. 3 forces to consider this document a *hypomnema* instead of an *enteuxis*; a blank after the addressee is attested from the second century BCE onward; this would be the earliest occurrence of this feature)².
- P.Lond. VII 2029, l. 1-2: instead of [ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι], read [... Ζήνωνι] (there is no need to postulate the mention ὑπόμνημα; given the following list, something like [λόγος Ζήνωνι] παρὰ Δημη[τρίου] may also be proposed).
- P.Mich. IX 575, l. 7: instead of δεξάμενος, read δεξαμένους. A small υ is visible between the ο and the final σ. The clause thus reads (l. 7-8): ἀξειῶι δεξαμένους τὴν ἀπόρεισιν – to be regularised as ἀξιῶ δεξαμένους τὴν ἀπόρρησιν. This sentence closely resembles the standard request formula at the end of petitions, an ἀξιῶ followed by an infinitive clause. The writer forgot, however, the infinitive, just as he got wrong with the opening formula, in which he mixed the epistolary

¹ MASCELLARI 2021, 1003.

² KALTSAS 2003, 214 cites an unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1988) by Gregg William Schwendner reaching the same conclusion based not on the layout but on the fact that the document is called, l. 28, ὑπόμνημα.

and hypomnematic openings³. The fact that the addressee, the ἐπιμελητής of a σύνοδος (an association), is to receive the ἀπόρρησις (probably the sender's resignation from the association) finds a parallel in P.Lond. VII 2193, the law of the cultic association of Zeus Hypsistos. In this law, dated just like P.Mich. IX 575 to the first century BCE⁴, the members of an association are forbidden to διδόναι, to give the ἀπόρρησις. The comparison of the two texts shows that, in case of resignation, the members of an association are to διδόναι, to give the ἀπόρρησις, and its committee is to δέχεσθαι, to receive it.

- P.Mich. XVIII 778, l. 1: instead of δοικητή[ι], read διοικητή[ι] (from the image).
- P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2851, l. 20: the editor proposed the reading διευτύχει, yet this formula would be unparalleled among all first-century hypomnematic declarations: διευτύχει was at the time almost only used for petitions to the *praefectus Aegypti*⁵, and excluding petitions I am only aware of closing διευτύχει in P.Amh. II 68, l. 17-24, an offer to buy a parcel of public land⁶. The reading διευτύχει should therefore be discarded, but the traces as visible in the online image are too scant to propose any alternative reading without looking at the original.
- P.Petr. II 9_5, l. 1: instead of ὑπόμνημα, read ὑπόμνεμα (from the image).
- P.Ross.Georg. II 13 (small livestock declaration, Oxyrhynchite nome, reign of Nero): the editor mentioned in his commentary that the reading of the note by a second hand was surely wrong⁷. This is the edited text:

[...]

- 1a [εἰς τὸ . . (ἔτους) Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου]
 [Κα]ίσαρ[ος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]
 Αὐτοκράτ[ορος καὶ τοὺς ἐπακο-]
 λουθοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἄρ[ν(ας)]
 ιε, ἃ ναμήσεται περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν-
 5 ν κώμην καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ
 διὰ νομέως Ἀμοίτου τοῦ Φα-

³ On the opening formula of P.Mich. IX 575, cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.3.5.

⁴ On the date of P.Mich. IX 575, cf. MASCELLARI 2018a, 300.

⁵ MASCELLARI 2021, 1003–1004.

⁶ One may add O.Leid. 38, a letter on ostrakon dated by its editors to the second or first centuries BCE. BUZÓN 1980, 114 = BL 9.385 proposed to date it to the beginning of the Roman times, because its διευτύχει has no parallel among Ptolemaic letters. There is no available image to check the palaeographic dating.

⁷ P.Ross.Georg. II 13, p. 58: “die Subscriptio ist sicher falsch gelesen”.

νίου λαογρα(φουμένου) εἰς Νεμέρα
 καὶ ὁμνύω Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον
 Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
 10 Αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν ὑποστὰ-
 λέσθαι. [τ]ὴν δὲ προσεσομένην
 γονὴν δηλώσω ἐν τῇ β ἀπογρα(φῇ).
 (hand 2) Πλουτίων [Π]λουτίωνος ὄμνυ(μί)
 με καταχωρῶν Ἡρακλᾶς α ρα
 15 εὐδαιμον κ[αὶ] ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 [...]

l. 4: *lege* νεμήσεται. l. 10-11: *lege* ὑποσταλῆναι?

Thanks to a digital image of the piece, I could verify the text, and I propose the following corrections at l. 10-11 and 13-15⁸:

(...)

 καὶ ὁμνύω Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον
 Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
 10 Αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν ὑπεστὰ-
 λέσθαι. [τ]ὴν δὲ προσεσομένην
 γονὴν δηλώσω ἐν τῇ β ἀπογρα(φῇ).
 (hand 2) Πλουτίων [Π]λουτίωνος ὁμώ-
 μεκα τὸν ὄρκον. Ἡρακλᾶς ἀπελεύθερος
 15 Εὐδαιμονί[δ]ο[ς] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 traces
 [...]

l. 10-11: *lege* ὑπεστάλθαι. l. 13-14: *lege* ὁμώμοκα.

⁸ I thank Sophie Kovarik and the other members of the Österreichischer Wissenschaftsfonds FWF project I 4674 “vom Nil zum Kaukasus”, directed by Pr. Fritz Mitthof, for having provided me the photo. I thank all the participants to the 109. papyrologisch-epigraphische Werkstatt at the university of Vienna for their comments on the reading, and again Sophie Kovarik for having invited me to present the text.

The final lines are a standard signature by the declarant, for which P.Oxy. LXXI, l. 20-26, P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5441, l. 22-27 and P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445, l. 14-17 are contemporary parallels.

- l. 13-14: on the spelling ὁμώμεκα, cf. the commentary to P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445, p. 144, another first-century CE small livestock declaration with the same confusion. The ω at the end of l. 13 has a strange shape and ends in a horizontal stroke above the μ, a sort of *paragraphos* or of abbreviation stroke (but the word was not abbreviated).
- l. 14-15: the text must contain the identification of the person who wrote on behalf of Ploution, a certain Heraklas.
- l. 14: the traces at the end of the line, almost a *Verschleifung*, are difficult to read. They should contain the name of Heraklas' father or, as Amin Benaissa suggested to me, the indication ἀπελεύθερος, freedman. The latter suits the traces and the presence of the ensuing feminine name. For a parallel for a freedman signing for someone else, cf. P.Oxy. XLVI 3275, l. 44-49 (Oxyrhynchos, ca. 103-111 CE).
- l. 15: as already noticed by the first editor, the traces at l. 15 read either εὐδαιμονιδ- or εὐδαιμονκ-; the former seems preferable. A feminine name Εὐδαιμονίς is well attested in Roman Egypt⁹; this would be its earliest attestation of the name in first-century CE Oxyrhynchos¹⁰. Eudaimonis can be either the mother or the former owner of Heraklas depending on the reading of the traces at the end of l. 14. The hypothesis of the mother is less probable: the end of l. 14 does not resemble to the abbreviation for (μητρός), and these signatures usually lack the matronymic¹¹. On the contrary, the indication of the former owner would replace the patronymic in the case of

⁹ The masculine Εὐδαιμονίδης, although attested in the Peloponnese as Εὐδαιμονίδας (*LGPN* III.A, s.v. Εὐδαιμονίδας), is unattested in Egypt.

¹⁰ Other early attestations of the name in Oxyrhynchos are in P.Eirene IV 29, l. 56 and 30, l. 12, dated in the edition to the late first early second century CE, before 103/104 CE, but the Oxyrhynchite provenance of the fragments is uncertain. Better dated are P.Oxy. III 504, l. 7, dated to 118/119 CE by BENAÏSSA 2011, 227, and P.Oxy. XLVII 3336, l. 19, dated 133 CE.

¹¹ Despite the high frequency of this kind of illiterate signature, only three first-century CE papyri have such a formula with a matronymic: P.Oxy. II 275, l. 41-43; LXVI 5433, l. 14-15; PSI VIII 871, l. 29-32. In all these cases, none of which is a declaration, the formula is name + patronymic + papponymic + matronymic, sometimes with the maternal papponymic too, and there is no place for the complete sequence in the present papyrus.

freedmen, and women named Eudaimonis are attested as slave owners in the Arsinoite nome in the first century CE¹².

- l. 15: after the ψ of ἔγραψα, the traces become very slurred. The reading is based on the most current formula of these signatures, but other options cannot be excluded¹³.
 - l. 16: some traces are visible below the μ of Εὐδαιμονίδ[ο]ς. The final lines should have contained the end of the formula (something like μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα) and the date.
- TM 131719 (P.Texas inv. 6) and BGU VIII 1824 are the only Ptolemaic attestations of a closing abbreviated εὐτύχ(ει). The first occurrence is surely wrong. At l. 22, the edited text proposes [εὐ(τύχει)] ἔτους κα Παρμοῦθι ζ, but the reading ἔτους κα Παρμοῦθι ζ is to be preferred. Although the εὐτύχει is widespread in second-century BCE petitions, there are parallels for petitions ending simply with a date¹⁴. On the contrary, there are no attestations of the abbreviated form εὐ(τύχει) before the Roman period¹⁵. The lacuna is too small to allow an entirely written εὐτύχει or even an εὐτύχ(ει), and it seems more probable that it was left unwritten, especially since the text is a draft. The second occurrence is less unsure, but still doubtful. At l. 32, the edited text proposes εὐτύχ(ει). This abbreviation is more common than εὐ(τύχει), but still attested only from the Roman period¹⁶. The traces on the papyrus read εὐτύχ with a long final vertical, followed by a *paragraphos*. It is very uncommon to place *paragraphoi* after the text: they are usually below the letters; in this case, it would be below the lost letters ει. Thus, the traces can be read εὐτύχ(ει), εὐτύχι, or εὐτύχ[ει].

¹² Cf. P.Mich. II 121 Vo, col. vi, l. 18; col. vii, l. 6 (Arsinoite, 42 CE); V 281 (Arsinoite, I CE).

¹³ For instance, among contemporary Oxyrhynchite livestock declarations, P.Oxy. LXXI 4824 (67 CE) has ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5441 (58 CE) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5445 (98 CE) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5446 (107 CE) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

¹⁴ P.Hels. I 31 (Herakleopolite, 160 BCE); P.Oxyrhyncha 8 (Arsinoite, 142 BCE); P.Tebt. III.1 800 (Arsinoite, 153 or 142 BCE).

¹⁵ The earliest εὐτύχει abbreviated after the εὐ(is to be found in papyri.info is BGU IV 1173, a *synchoreisis* dated to 5/4 BCE, whose reading is however uncertain (l. 20, εὐ(τύχει)). Otherwise, the only attestations of an εὐτύχει abbreviated after the εὐ(are to be found in the archive of petitions from Euhemeria: P.Ryl. II 132 (32 CE, l. 18: εὐ(τύχει)), 136 (34 CE, l. 16: εὐ(τύ)χ(ει)), 149 (39 CE, l. 25: εὐ(τύ)χ(ει)), to whom one can add SB XII 10795 (28 CE, l. 18: εὐ(τύ)χ(ει) – a Verschleifung that can also be read εὐτύχ(ει)) and 11018 (first half I BCE, l. 9: εὐ(τύ)χ(ει); on its date, cf. MASCELLARI 2009, 140). It seems common to add the χ as a mark of abbreviation after the εὐ(.

¹⁶ The first attestation is possibly BGU XVI 2584 (before the 20/02/13 BCE, l. 14: εὐτύχ(ει)). This abbreviation is common in the first century CE; in the archive of petitions from Euhemeria, for instance, it is used in P.Ryl. II 125-128; 130; 133-135; 138-144; 146; 147.

Handshift corrections¹⁷:

- BGU IV 1187, l. 35: εὐτύχει is probably written in a more cursive style of the principal hand. The ε followed by a wave indicating υτυ closely matches l. 28 (ἐπί). The upwards stroke of χ finds parallels in many χ, e.g. l. 3 (ὑπαρχόντων). Likewise, the S-like final ι is to be found elsewhere in the main text, especially at line ends (cf. l. 27, φαίνεται, and l. 31, μοί).
- P.Eleph. 24: one may wonder whether there is a change of hand at l. 13 for the final εὐτύχει. The word is written in a more cursive way, but the movement of the pen finds some parallels, e.g. the χ at l. 7 (ὑπαρχόντων), the ligature ει at l. 9 (γραμματεῖς), or the general movement at l. 13 (ἱεροῦ).
- P.NYU II 45: the hand change at l. 9 between the prescript and the main text of the *hypomnema* is doubtful¹⁸. Something happened with the reed (the scribe either dipped it in the inkpot, sharpened it, or changed it), but the shape of letters remains constant: cf. the shape of α, ρ, τ and υ between l. 8-9 (ὑπόμνημα, παρὰ Ἀρυώτου) and l. 12 (Θοτορταίου), the ligature of ηι at l. 8 (νομ[ά]ρχηι) and l. 14 (συναγωγῇι), or the tendency to give to longer letters an s-shape (as for ι, ρ, φ). The whole *hypomnema* at l. 9-16 is probably written by the same hand, and another hand wrote the letter at l. 17-22.
- P.Ryl. IV 577, l. 20: εὐτύχει is probably written by the first hand, simply in a more cursive way, cf. the shape of the first ε and of the final ι, whose ductus is similar to that of the main text (e.g. the ε in εὐθύνης, l. 19, and the ι in ἀξιῶι, l. 13).

Date corrections:

- O.Stras. I 772 was generically dated by its editor to the second century BCE. However, the mention at l. 4 of a twenty-second year reduces the possible dates to 184/183 BCE (twenty-second year of the reign of Ptolemy V) and 160/159 BCE (twenty-second year of the reign of Ptolemy VI).
- The editor of TM 58468 (P.Duke inv. 360) unsurely dated it to the second century BCE because of the papyri cache it belongs to, a group of Duke documents extracted from the same cartonnage. Most of these documents are dated to the second half of

¹⁷ On the distinction between different hands or various styles of the same hand, cf. FOURNET 2022, 465–466. On hand change in greeting formulas, cf. SARRI 2018, 140–183; MASCELLARI 2021, 1004–1006.

¹⁸ WILCKEN 1930, 236 first proposed this change of hand based only on the plate of the first edition.

the second century, although the editor is still cautious concerning this dating¹⁹. However, P.Duke inv. 360 has no onomastic link to the other documents from the same cartonnage. The hand seems slightly older, more from the first half of the second century CE (see the asymmetrical ω and the hanging ν). Moreover, its greeting formula $\xi\rho\rho\omega\sigma\omicron$ and the presence of an address on its back find more parallels in the *hypomnemata* from the third century BCE. Concerning $\xi\rho\rho\omega\sigma\omicron$, the only second-century attestation for *hypomnemata*, P.Tebt. III.1 793, col. i, l. 30, is early (183 BCE) and appears in an embedded document that may have undergone modifications when copied. Thus, TM 58468 may be older than suggested by the editor and may date to the first half of the second century BCE, or even to the late third century CE; it would have later been reused in a cartonnage together with later documents in the second half of the second century.

- Between the three dates suggested by Ulrich Wilcken for UPZ I 124, i.e. 175, 165 and 112 BCE, the last one should be excluded; indeed, by that time, the addressee of the petition, Krateros, στρατηγός at least of the Memphite nome, should carry the title of συγγενής instead of that of τῶν πρώτων φίλων²⁰.

Other corrections:

- In the publication of BGU IV 1156, the editor indicated the document's width as 23 cm; when the verso was subsequently published in 2021²¹, the width was also given as 23 cm. Yet, in the online pictures, the document is much narrower: 12-13 cm, according to the ruler integrated into the image. These dimensions are standard for Augustan *synchoreseis*, which tend to be written on narrow and elongated sheets.

One problematic case:

- Two *hypomnemata* addressed to a διοικητής Phoinix, SB VIII 9800 a and P.Hib. II 244, are difficult to date. P.Hib. II 244 is only partially published, and there is no available image of it, so one must rely on SB VIII 9800 a to have an idea of the content of these pieces. This *hypomnema* is exceptional and hard to classify. First, it contains the typical informal content of third century BCE *hypomnemata*. Second, it adopts the later, implicit prescript and uses a formula only attested in Ptolemaic

¹⁹ For the edition, cf. BAUSCHATZ 2005, 194–196; for the papyrus cartonnage, cf. BAUSCHATZ 2016, 25–26; 29–33; BAUSCHATZ 2021, 193 nn. 2; 3.

²⁰ Cf. MOOREN 1977, 92–96; 105–106.

²¹ CLAYTOR – VAN MINNEN 2021.

petitions from the last quarter of the third century BCE, ἀξιῶ, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, συντάξαι γράψαι²². Third, it mentions an ἐπιμελητής, an official only attested from the reign of Ptolemy IV²³. Fourth, it displays the highlighting of the addressee through both an *ekthesis* and a line break, a feature attested only from the second century BCE onward²⁴. Although both documents are traditionally dated palaeographically to the mid-third century BCE, the writing of SB VIII 9800 a is not incompatible with a date in the late third or even early second century BCE (cf. P.Gen. III 133). The διοικητής Phoinix is usually placed in the second half of the third century, either under Ptolemy III or under Ptolemy IV, but both dates have difficulties²⁵. On this basis, it seems hard to order chronologically these documents more precisely than in the late third or early second century BCE. Three groups of documents are oscillating: the two *hypomnemata* addressed to Phoinix, the files of a certain Theomnestos (P.Köln XI 438-451), where Phoinix is mentioned (P.Köln XI 438, l. 6), and the files of the banker Hermias (P.Stras. II 103-108, VII 622), connected to the ones of Theomnestos.

²² The earliest surely dated attestation of this formula is BGU VI 1244 (225 BCE; on the date, cf. Ulrich Wilcken, in SCHUBART – KÜHN 1922, 192 = BL 11.26).

²³ P.Köln XI 438-451, p. 83.

²⁴ Cf. *supra*, chapter 3.2.2. The first well-dated attestations of the combination of *ekthesis* and line break for the addressee are in UPZ I 124 (175 or 165 BCE) and UPZ I 2 (163 BCE); at the time, it was only frequent in the Arsinoite nome. The only parallel for such a highlighted opening in the third century could be P.Cair.Zen. III 59383, yet it uses a completely different formula and layout (παρά τοῦ δέινος τῷ δέινῳ)

²⁵ Ptolemy III: FALIVENE 2012. Ptolemy IV: P.Köln XI 438-451, p. 82–84. MANNING 2003, 150 n. 88, following BRESCIANI 1983, 20, proposed a date under Ptolemy II; this date was based on the alleged presence of a διοικητής Phoinix in the Karnak Land Survey Demotic ostrakon (TM 51369), who would have been some sort of temporary substitute for the well attested διοικητής Apollonios. However, after the new edition of this Demotic ostrakon by CHAUVEAU 2011, who identified the pharaoh in the text with Psammeticus, the reading “διοικητής Phoinix” is no more tenable, and the date under Ptolemy II has lost its basis.

7 Reader's Help

7.1 Greek: Transliterations, Citations, Translations

Throughout this study, I retained the Greek alphabet when citing words coming from ancient texts. I adopted transliterations when an ancient word has become a modern concept and is used independently from a specific ancient text; the latter case is typical of types of documents or of definitions of formal elements of the papyrus roll. Transliterated words with modern meanings are usually defined in the text and the glossary.

Citations of ancient texts follow the general opinion of the editors; possible textual problems that may affect my interpretations are discussed in the footnotes. For literary sources, I compared various editions. For papyri and inscriptions, I retained the text of the latest edition and integrated the corrections I identified in the literature or BL. The cited text follows the orthography of the original document. Regularisations of irregular orthographies were indicated in the footnotes only in the cases that strongly affected the reading – I avoided recording small blunders like itacisms and confusions in the length of vowels that do not affect the comprehension of the text. Translations are mine excepted where else indicated.

7.2 Glossary

Administrative *hypomnema* In this work, a *hypomnema* whose sender is a private individual and whose addressee is a member of the administration addressed in his official capacity.

Back In this work, the side of a papyrus where the *hypomnema* does not start.

Blank Part of a papyrus sheet deliberately left unwritten, of the size of a letter or a line.

Cheirographon Contract drafted as a letter from one party to the other.

Demotic format Format in which narrow columns of text less than ca. 10 cm wide and with almost no margins run parallel to the length of the roll on a vertical sheet of papyrus.

Diagraphe Bank document authorising a payment.

Docket Small process note recording information of help for the addressee.

<i>Eisthesis</i>	Type of indentation in which a line of text shifts to the right.
<i>Ekthesis</i>	Type of indentation in which a line of text shifts to the left.
<i>Enteuxis</i>	A petition, usually to the king, opened with the formula τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν ὁ δεῖνα.
Format	The shape and physical properties of a papyrus sheet.
Front	In this work, the side of a papyrus where the <i>hypomnema</i> starts.
<i>Hypomnema</i>	A written communication that opens with the formula (ὑπόμνημα) τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος or one of its variations.
Hypomnematic document	See <i>hypomnema</i> .
<i>Kollesis</i>	Joint between two of the sheets composing a papyrus roll.
Layout	Distribution of the text on a papyrus sheet.
Letter	A written communication that opens with the formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, perceived as the one half of a communication between distant persons.
<i>Mkḿk</i>	The Demotic <i>hypomnema</i> .
Opening, explicit	Opening formula of a <i>hypomnema</i> that includes the label ὑπόμνημα. The most common version is ὑπόμνημα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος.
Opening, implicit	Opening formula of a <i>hypomnema</i> that does not include the label ὑπόμνημα. The most common version is τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος.
<i>Pagina</i>	Format in which columns of text at least 10 cm wide run parallel to the length of the roll on a vertical sheet of papyrus.
<i>Paragraphos</i>	Small hyphen placed to the left of the text below a line start.
Petition	A formal request for help when one is facing difficulties, mostly injustice.
Prescript	Opening formula.
Process note	In this work, whatever addition another hand did once the <i>hypomnema</i> had been submitted. It includes among others subscriptions and docketts.

- Proselasma, early*** Type of document only used in the third century BCE, opening with the formulas *προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος* or *προσαγγέλλει τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα*, usually notifying a crime without making any request. It merges with the *hypomnema* at the end of the century, and the label *προσάγγελμα* remains to identify a loosely-defined sub-category of petitions, usually addressed to village officials.
- Roll, inside** Side of a papyrus roll where the *kolleseis* are perpendicular to the fibres.
- Roll, outside** Side of a papyrus roll where the *kolleseis* are parallel to the fibres.
- Signature** In this work, a note identifying someone, usually the sender of a *hypomnema*. It can take the shape of a handwritten note by the signatory, or of a short description of him by the scribe. It is not a process note, because it is added before the submission of a document.
- Subscription** In this work, only the short transmission note used to transmit a *hypomnema* combined with some instructions from one official to another. It is characterised by the absence of epistolary formulas and the frequent adoption of imperatives. It belongs to the process notes, since it is added after the submission of a *hypomnema*. Also called Ptolemaic-style subscription.
- Synchoresis*** An Alexandrian type of contract in which two parties address their agreement to the head of an Alexandrian tribunal, opening with the formula *τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*.
- Tomos synkollesimos*** Roll made by pasting together individual documents meant to be archived together.
- Transversa charta*** Format in which the column of text is written perpendicular to the length of a roll turned at an angle of ninety degrees. On the inside of the roll, the writing thus runs perpendicular to the fibres.
- Window** Blank supposed to be filled in by another writer.

7.3 List of Recently Published Greek Papyri Cited According to TM and Inventory Number

TM Number	Inventory Number	Edition
TM 2486	P.Köln inv. 20350 + P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 17 + 37	CLARYSSE – FISCHER-BOVET 2020, 70–75
TM 8693, col. ii	(P.Hawara inv. 316 + 322, col. ii)	GONIS 2021
TM 43096	P.Stanford inv. Class. Gr. 5	CLARYSSE – FISCHER-BOVET 2020, 75–80
TM 58182	O.Ashm.Shelt. 42 + O.Mus.Hist.Nat.Lyon inv. 807	GORRE 2010
TM 58458	P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. 301	BAETENS 2020b
TM 58467	P.Duke inv. 676	BAUSCHATZ 2005, 189–193
TM 58468	P.Duke inv. 360	BAUSCHATZ 2005, 194–196
TM 128479	P.Heid. inv. G 5017	ARMONI 2005
TM 128570	P.Sorbonne inv. 2367	ARPAIA 2020
TM 129892	P.Fordham University inv. 5	CLAYTOR 2011
TM 131719	P.Texas inv. 6	MARTINEZ 2011, 207–214
TM 131855	P.Duke inv. 325	BAUSCHATZ 2016, 35–36
TM 132374	P.Duke inv. 85	MAIRS 2010
TM 140537	P.Mich. inv. 786	HANSON 2007
TM 380607	P.Trinity College Dublin inv. Gr. F 127	BAETENS 2014b
TM 699704	P.Vindob. inv. G 60501	LÁDA – PAPATHOMAS 2015
TM 703254	P.Vindob. inv. G 56639	STERN 2016, 22–32
TM 703255	P.Vindob. inv. G 56637	STERN 2016, 34–45
TM 749316	P.Mich. inv. 4406 a	CLAYTOR – BAGNALL 2015
TM 754942	P.CtYBR inv. 5059	JOHNSON 2018, 161–165
TM 765530	P.Petrie Museum inv. UC 31916	BLUMELL – ALIBERTI 2018
TM 765546	P.Lond. inv. 1602 a	GONIS 2018, 173–177
TM 765547	P.Lond. inv. 1594	GONIS 2018, 177–180
TM 832314	P.Mich. inv. 1980	BERKES – CLAYTOR 2019, 56–59
TM 957326	P.Köln inv. 7682 Vo + 7683 Vo	ARMONI 2021, 192–197

TM 970552	P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2001	PINTAUDI – MARTIN 2021
TM 971544	P.Sorbonne inv. 2855	UGGETTI 2022 (descr.)
TM 983852	P.Narm. inv. 67.70	GALLAZZI 2002
TM 986772	P.Narm. inv. 07/11/2011	PINTAUDI – MARTIN 2022

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Fig. 2.12, p. 49: P.Cair.Zen. III 59484 = PSI IV 442: P.Cairo inv. JE 49013. PSI Online, <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;4;442>> (last consulted the 01/08/2023).

Fig. 2.13, p. 50: PSI IV 400: P.Laur. inv. 10752. PSI Online, <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;4;400>> (last consulted the 01/08/2023), detail; P.Cair.Zen. III 59446: P.Cairo inv. JE 48974. Photographic archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum, <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Cair.Zen.&vVol=3&vNum=59446>> (last consulted the 01/08/2023), detail; PSI IV 413: P.Laur. inv. 10765. PSI Online, <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;4;413>> (last consulted the 01/08/2023), detail.

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- Fig. 3.9, p. 114: UPZ I 8: P.Lond. inv. P. 44. P.Lond. I, Pl. 19.
- Fig. 3.10, p. 119: P.Dryton 34: P.Lond. inv. P. 401. British Library Digitised Manuscripts, <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_401> (last consulted the 02/08/2023).
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- Fig. 3.14, p. 124: P.Hels. I 36: P.Hels. inv. 21. H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010), Pl. 44, detail

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- Editions of inscriptions: AIEGL, *GrEpiAbbr. Liste des abréviations des éditions et ouvrages de référence pour l'épigraphie grecque alphabétique*, 2022, <<https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>> (last consulted the 24/07/2023)
- Journals: SIBC, *L'Année philologique: bibliographie critique et analytique de l'Antiquité gréco-latine*, <<https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abreviations/>> (last consulted the 24/07/2023)

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- APIS: *Advanced Papyrological Information System*, <<https://papyri.info/apis/>> (last consulted the 26/06/2023)
- DELG: P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris 1968)
- DNP: H. Cancik – H. Schneider – M. Landfester (eds.), *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1996-2003)
- HGV: Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg, *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*, <<https://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>> (last consulted the 15/12/2019)
- LCL: *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge)
- LGPN: P. M. Fraser – E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987-2018)
- LSJ: G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones – R. Mckenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon. With a Revised Supplement* ⁹(Oxford 1940 & 1996)
- nFWB: Universität Leipzig, *Multilingual Online Dictionary of the Technical Administrative Language of Graeco-Roman-Byzantine Egypt*,

<https://www.organapapyrologica.net/content/dictionary_start.xed> (last consulted the 31/07/2023)

- TM: M. Depauw, *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world. Texts*, <<https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/>> (last consulted the 28/06/2023)¹
- TM Arch: W. Clarysse – K. Vandorpe, *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World. Archives*, <<https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/>> (last consulted the 26/06/2023)²
- TM Petitions: G. Baetens, *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World. Petitions*, <<https://www.trismegistos.org/petitions>> (last consulted the 20/06/2023)³

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² On TM Arch, cf. VANDORPE ET AL. 2015, 15–16.

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