Apprenticeship Education in Roman Egypt:

A Prosopographical Study



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ABSTRACT

Since the late nineteenth century, a steadily growing corpus of apprenticeship contracts from Roman Egypt, the so-called *didaskalikai*, has been discovered and published. The *didaskalikai* have chiefly been analysed in studies of law, child labour and even slavery, and the form of education the *didaskalikai* attest has generally been perceived as oppressive, the fate largely of society's poorest, who were unable to pursue the more advantageous educational route of *paideia*. This thesis provides an in-depth study of the *didaskalikai* using a prosopographical approach that examines the personal histories and social networks of the individuals attested therein, situating them in their immediate social and economic contexts. The thesis challenges the view that these individuals comprised a homogeneous group of lower- or middle-socioeconomic people. It likewise challenges the view that the form of education the contracts attest was inherently oppressive or utilised solely by the socially or economically disadvantaged. Ultimately, this thesis argues that the vocational education attested in the *didaskalikai* was pursued by individuals from a variety of backgrounds in Roman Egypt (Chapters 1–3). It likewise argues that this type of education regularly offered those who undertook it the opportunity for upward social and economic mobility, regardless of their original socioeconomic background (Chapters 4–5).

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… history is written by scholars, and therefore it is natural and pleasant for them to think that the activity of their estate is the basis for the movement of all mankind, just as it is natural and pleasant for merchants, farmers, and soldiers to think so (this does not get expressed only because merchants and soldiers do not write history)…

Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, Epilogue Part II, Chapter Two

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of the ancient Greek and Latin sources follow those listed in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2012) 4th Edition, edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. Abbreviations of papyrological volumes follow those listed on the Papyri.info 'Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets' accessible at https://papyri.info/docs/checklist. Papyri are normally cited by referencing the volumes listed in the Papyri.info checklist. Where the only reference available for a papyrus document is its inventory number, its initial publication is cited and/or its Trismegistos (TM) number is given. Exceptions to these rules follow the abbreviations listed below.

ADRA	Van Minnen, P. (2022) 'Alexandrian Documents from the Reign of Augustus.' Available at: https://classics.uc.edu/users/vanminnen/ancient_alexandria/index.html.
Harth.	Claytor, W.G., Litinas, N. and Nabney, E. (2016) 'Labor Contracts from the Harthotes Archive', *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 53, pp. 79–119.
Grammateus	Grammateus: The Architecture of Documentary Papyrology Project by the Swiss National Science Foundation and Université de Genève (PI: Paul Schubert). Accessible at https://grammateus.unige.ch/descriptions
EAH	Bagnall, R.S., Brodersen, K., Champion, C.B., Erskine, A. and Huebner, S.R. (eds) (2013) *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
RIT	Alföldy, G. (1975) *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

METROLOGY, CURRENCY AND DATING

An outline of metrology, currency and dating practices in Roman Egypt is given here to prevent ambiguity, given the variation in scholarly practice. Heeding the words of Dominic Rathbone ('metrological excursuses provoke yawns'),[1] I have limited this list of measures and currencies to those used in this thesis. For a fuller treatment, see Bowman 1986: 236–238; Pestman 1994: 47–48; Rathbone 2009: 301. For a fuller assessment of the Egyptian calendar in Roman Egypt, see Pestman 1994: 38–41, 317; 1967: 10. I have opted for the more anglicised constructions of these measures and their plural forms: for example, artab (sg.) or artabs (pl.), not artaba or artabas/artabae.

Metrology and Currency

Measures	
Aroura (*pl.* arouras)	Standard unit of measurement for farmland. Approx. 2756 m^2, 0.68 acres, or just less than half of a typical football pitch.
Artab (*pl.* artabs)	A dry measure used for such items as wheat, beans and seeds. Approx. 38.8 litres.

Currency	
Note: Silver was the standard for currency in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Despite this, papyri occasionally list currencies in either bronze or gold. When these appear in the thesis, conversion rates are discussed in the text.	
Obol (*pl.* obols)	1/6 of a drachma
Drachma (*pl.* drachmas)	Standard unit of currency in Egypt, roughly equivalent to 3.5 grams. Regularly minted as a *tetradrachm*, or a four-drachma coin. The *tetradrachm* was equivalent to the Roman *denarius.*
Stater (*pl.* staters)	Four drachmas, or one *tetradrachm*
Mina (pl. minas)	100 drachmas
Talent (*pl.* talents)	6,000 drachmas

[1] Rathbone 2009: 301.

Dating

Documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt are typically dated by the regnal year. During the Roman era, this corresponds to the reign of the emperor, thus permitting relatively precise dating for those documents that preserve the date.

As noted by P. W. Pestman, 'Every year consists of twelve months of thirty days each. Five "supplementary days" (ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι) are added at the end of the year (each day the birthday of one of five gods is celebrated). This makes a total of 365 days'.[2]

Thot	29 Aug.–27 Sept.
Phaophi	28 Sept.–27 Oct.
Hathyr	28 Oct.–26 Nov.
Choik	27 Nov.–26 Dec.
Tybi	27 Dec.–25 Jan.
Mecheir	26 Jan.–24 Feb.
Phamenoth	25 Feb.–26 March
Pharmouthi	27 March–25 April
Pachon	26 April–25 May
Payni	26 May–24 June
Epeiph	25 June–24 July
Mesore	25 July–23 Aug.
ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι	24 Aug.–28 Aug.

[2] Pestman 1994: 39.

Translation and Transliteration

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. When transliterating names, places, and objects from Greek into English, I have opted for the most common English spelling to minimise confusion. For example, I have used 'Apollonius' for Ἀπολλώνιος, rather than 'Apollonios'. When transliterating names which have no common English spelling, I have opted for a more Hellenising transliteration. For example, I have used 'Abaros' for Ἄβαρος and Onnophris for Ὀννῶφρις. When providing the Greek text of a papyrus document, I have opted to use the IFAO-Greek Unicode font designed specifically for papyrologists and which enables accurate representation of the diacritics and symbols used in that field.

Introduction

CONTRACTS OF APPRENTICESHIP FROM ROMAN EGYPT

> The subject of vocational training in the ancient world of Greece and Rome has received very little attention from writers upon ancient educational practice and theory. This has been due chiefly to the fact that the ancient writers whose works have come down to us paid little attention to craftsmen and the lesser tradesmen of their social order. Furthermore, a conventional attitude toward manual labor and skilled labor was established by the political theorists Plato and Aristotle, which maintained itself traditionally throughout the history of ancient philosophic literature. This was the idea that all forms of manual labor and retail trade were 'banausic'.
>
> – W. L. Westermann, 1914: 601

In the year 53 CE, Pausiris, a man living in Oxyrhynchus, initiated a contract whereby a certain Apollonius agreed to teach Pausiris' son, Dioskous, the art of weaving.[1] This contract enumerated the logistical details of the agreement, including the duration of the teaching arrangement (1 year), the amount Pausiris would provide Apollonius for Dioskous' upkeep (14 drachmas for clothing for the year and 5 drachmas monthly for food) and the amount either party would be fined for breaking the agreement (100 drachmas to be paid to the opposite party and a further 100 drachmas to the public treasury). Roughly five years later, Pausiris again entered a similar contract, yet this time the roles were reversed: he was to teach weaving to the orphaned nephew of a woman named Helen.[2]

The two documents attesting to these apprenticeship arrangements belong to a larger corpus of contracts referred to collectively as the διδασκαλικαί. Preserved on scraps of papyri and ostraca, their publication and analysis have been ongoing since the first archaeological discoveries of papyri in Roman Egypt in the late nineteenth century. The διδασκαλικαί are notable in the Greco-Roman world for containing the only documents to directly attest to the contractual and educational details of vocational education, particularly from the perspective of those involved in the educational arrangements. Prior to the discovery of the διδασκαλικαί documents, the only sources attesting to the

[1] P. Wisc. 1 4.
[2] P. Mich. 3 171.

functional details of vocational education in Greco-Roman antiquity were literary and legal texts that had survived to modernity in preserved manuscripts.

As stated by W. L. Westermann in the epigraph above, literary and legal sources attesting to vocational education in the Greco-Roman world tend to depict it in bleak or otherwise negative terms. A few examples demonstrate this perspective. The first is a passage from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, where Socrates comments on the life of the artisan:

> The so-called banausic [mechanical] arts have a bad name, and quite reasonably they are in ill repute in the city-states. For they ruin the bodies of those who work at them and those who oversee them. They compel these men to remain seated and to work in gloomy places, and even to spend entire days before a fire. While their bodies are being enervated, their souls, too, are becoming much enfeebled. More especially, also, the banausic arts offer men no leisure to devote to their friends or to the state, so that such men become base in relation to their friends and poor defenders of their fatherland.[3]

The profession of an artisan, then, was largely viewed as physically, morally and politically debilitating, and artisans lacked any agency or hope of gaining control over their circumstances.

Plato and Aristotle further demonstrate the tendency to view artisans negatively. As stated by L. F. Anderson, '[i]n Plato's ideal republic the artisans constitute a distinctly inferior class, unfitted for war or the pursuit of science'.[4] In Aristotle's view, '[n]o low mechanic ought to be admitted to the rights of a citizen, nor any other sort of people whose employment is not productive of virtue'.[5] For these influential thinkers, the artisanal class was categorically inferior in almost every way and was particularly ill-suited to exercise control over their own circumstances or those of their peers.

This broadly pessimistic narrative of vocational education, and the assertion of its inferior nature, endorsed by Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle (and much of the classical literary tradition) could not be assessed for reliability until the appearance of documentary material related to the topic. The

[3] Xenophon *Oec.* 4.3. Translation by Westermann 1914b: 601.
[4] Anderson 1912: 191.
[5] Arist. *Pol.* 7.9. Translation Anderson 1912: 191.

importance of the διδασκαλικαί corpus lies in its unique ability to enable modern scholars to evaulate the narrative advanced in the literary tradition and to give voice to the non-elite individuals attested therein. This thesis analyses the lives of those non-elites attested in the διδασκαλικαί to determine more accurately the reality of their circumstances. Specifically, this thesis undertakes a prosopographical study, or an investigation into the personal histories, of those individuals attested in this corpus and argues for a new interpretation of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt grounded in concrete evidence concerning their identities, choices, and trajectories.

THE ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΚΑΙ DOCUMENTS: AN INTRODUCTION

The most recent published list of the known διδασκαλικαί contracts appears in the 1995 article by Marco Bergamasco, 'Le διδασκαλικαί nella ricerca attuale', which catalogues 42 extant contracts of apprenticeship from Graeco-Roman Egypt.[6] However, one of the contracts listed by Bergamasco (and Keith Bradley) should not be considered an apprenticeship contract but a labour contract since no educational purpose is indicated.[7] In the decade following this publication, Bergamasco published three separate articles adding another four contracts to the διδασκαλικαί corpus.[8] From a papyrological perspective, these publications by Bergamasco form the most exhaustive introduction to the corpus, though in the intervening years, nine more contracts have been published to add to Bergamasco's 45 (see Table 1 below). Taken together, the contracts date from as early as 215 BCE to as late as 567 CE, though the bulk are from the first century BCE through the third century CE.

[6] Bergamasco 1995.
[7] P. Mich. 5 346b. For Bradley's list, see Bradley 1991: 107. Though neither scholar states why he includes this document, it seems it was included because an apprenticeship contract appears on the same piece of papyrus (P. Mich. 5 346a). For a detailed explanation for why P. Mich. 5 346b should not be considered an apprenticeship contract, see Appendix 1, page 240.
[8] Bergamasco 1998, 2004, 2006a. Though in another article Bergamasco argues for the inclusion of a further document in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, this document does not attest the arrangement of an apprenticeship but is a private letter which simply alludes to the existence of an apprenticeship arrangement. The document is certainly useful for context, though it cannot be counted as an apprenticeship arrangement. Bergamasco 2006b.

Table 1: The Διδασκαλικαί Documents in Chronological Order

	Document	Language	Provenance	Date	Duration	Trade
1	P. Heid. Gr. 3 226[9]	Greek	Unknown	215–213 BCE	6 Years	Physician
2	SB 24 16131	Demotic	Toy	25–1 BCE	1.5 Years	Weaving
3	BGU 4 1124	Greek	Alexandria	18 BCE	Unknown	Nail smithing
4	SB 22 15538	Greek	Alexandria	13 BCE	1 Year	Flute-playing
5	O. Bodl. eg. inscr. 328[10]	Demotic	Theban Area	13 BCE	Unknown	Weaving
6	P. Mich. 5 346a	Greek	Tebtynis	13 CE	2.5 Years	Weaving
7	P. Fouad Inv. 89(a)	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	20 CE	Unknown	Weaving
8	P. Oslo Inv. 1496[11]	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	31–44 CE	3 Years	Weaving
9	P. Oxy. 2 322	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	36 CE	2 Years	Weaving
10	P. Mich. 2 121 R 2 8	Greek	Tebtynis	42 CE	5 Years	Weaving
11	P. Fouad 37	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	48 CE	2 Years	Linen Weaving
12	P. Mich. 3 170	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	49 CE	Unknown	Weaving
13	P. Oslo 3 141	Greek	Karanis	50 CE	Unknown	Weaving
14	P. Wisc. 1 4	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	53 CE	1 Year	Weaving
15	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	54 CE	2 Years	Weaving
16	P. Mich. 3 171	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	58 CE	Unknown	Weaving
17	PSI 10 1132	Greek	Talithis	61 CE	Unknown	Mat Weaving
18	P. Mich. 3 172	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	62 CE	Unknown	Weaving
19	P. Oxy. 2 275	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	66 CE	1 Year	Weaving

[9] As both Fritz Uebel and Antonio Ricciardetto have noted, this document is likely a scribal exercise rather than a contract drawn up for real individuals since it contains two versions of the contract and is written in a poor hand (Uebel 1965: 276; Ricciardetto 2017). It is listed here and in Appendix 1 since the document suggests that apprenticeships in medicine were at least common enough that it was necessary for scribes to be trained to draft contracts for this trade. Thus, it is not unreasonable to conclude that this document attests to apprenticeships in medicine being arranged in Hellenistic Egypt. As the individuals mentioned in the contract are likely fictional, they are not included in prosopographical investigations.

[10] TM 566333. See Winkler 2015.

[11] See Mangerud 2017: 81ff.

20	PSI 8 871	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	66 CE	Unknown	Copper smithing
21	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	66 CE	2.5 Years	Weaving
22	SB 24 16186	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	70 CE	Unknown	Weaving
23	SB 12 10946	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	98–103 CE	Unknown	Weaving
24	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326	Greek	Ankyropolis	98 CE	4 Years 4 Months	Not Mentioned
25	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	100–199 CE	Unknown	Shorthand Writing
26	P. Heid. Gr. 4 327	Greek	Ankyropolis	99 CE	5 Years	Embalming[12] or Beautification
27	P. Tebt. 2 442	Greek	Tebtynis	113 CE	Unknown	Weaving
28	P. Tebt. 2 385	Greek	Tebtynis	117 CE	2 Years	Weaving
29	P. Col. inv. 164[13]	Greek	Unknown/Oxyrhynchus?	118–122 CE	Unknown	Too Fragmentary to Discern
30	P. Mich. Inv. 4238[14]	Greek	Theadelpheia	128 CE	1 Year	Carpentry
31	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443-459	Greek	Arsinoites	139 CE	Unknown	Too Fragmentary to Discern
32	SB 20 15162	Greek	Arsinoites	150–199 CE	3 Years	Mat Weaving
33	SPP 22 40	Greek	Soknopaiou Nesos	150 CE	1 Year 2 Months	Weaving
34	P. Oxy. 4 724	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	155 CE	2 Years	Shorthand Writing
35	P. Vars. SN7 (8)	Greek	Ptolemais Drymou	169 CE	3 Years	Weaving

[12] The word used for the trade in this contract, ἡ σωμφιακὴ, is a *hapax legomenon*. Consequently, its meaning is unclear. However, the term likely refers to a burial-related profession. The word σώμφις appears in two documents from the second century BCE and appears to be connected to individuals associated with burial-related tasks for people and cats. It is unusual, however, that none of the standard terms for embalming (ταριχευτής, ἐνταφιαστής, or χοαχύτης) are not used.
[13] See Bergamasco 2006a.
[14] TM 133260; see Eckerman 2011.

36	P. Oxy. 14 1647	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	175–199 CE	4 Years	Weaving
37	P. Oxy. 4 725	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	183 CE	5 Years	Weaving
38	P. Grenf. 2 59	Greek	Soknopaiou Nesos	188 CE	1 Year 8 Months	Weaving
39	PSI 3 241	Greek	Antinoopolis	200–299 CE	1 Year	Weaving
40	BGU 11 2041	Greek	Arsinoites	200 CE	3 Years	Weaving
41	P. Oxy. 38 2875	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	200–225 CE	3 Years	Building
42	BGU 4 1021	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	200–299 CE	3 Years	κτενιστικῆς τέχνη[15]
43	P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	200–349 CE	Unknown	Too Fragmentary to Discern
44	P. Oxy. 86 5562	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	236–238 CE	3 Years	Weaving
45	P. Oxy. 41 2977	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	239–240 CE	5 Years	κτενιστικῆς τέχνη
46	P. Oxy. 31 2586	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	264 CE	5 Years	Linen Weaving
47	P. Oxy. 67 4596	Greek	Oxyrhynchus	264 CE	4 Years	Weaving
48	SB 18 13305	Greek	Karanis	271 CE	1 Year	Weaving
49	SB 24 16320	Greek	Kellis	293–304 CE	Unknown	Weaving
50	P. Kellis 1 12	Greek	Kellis	300–399 CE	Unknown	Linen Weaving
51	P. Aberd. 59	Greek	Panopolites?	475–525 CE	Unknown	Embroidery
52	SB 14 11982	Greek	Upper Egypt	554 CE	8 Years	Brocade Making?

[15] The specific task undertaken in the κτενιστικῆς τέχνη is not known. Some scholars suggest hairdressing; others, wool carding (the process of preparing wool for weavers). In this thesis, both are treated as plausible (and consequently both are included when calculations are made regarding trades attested), though hairdressing is understood to be the least problematic interpretation. A detailed explanation for this position can be found in footnote 34 on page 126.

53	P. Lond. 5 1706	Greek	Aphroditopolis	567 CE	Unknown	Too Fragmentary to Discern
54	SB Kopt. 1 045	Coptic	Unknown	After 5th century	2 Years	Weaving

The documents vary typologically, with most being best categorised as συγγραφαί, the type of private legal document most commonly used for agreements between individuals in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.[16] Identifying features of this type of legal document are its inclusion of the date at the beginning, a statement outlining the terms to which the parties are agreeing and a statement acknowledging the document's validity.[17] Thirty-three of the 54 documents in the corpus are in this format.[18] A further 14 of the documents are χειρόγραφα, an epistolary format often used between two contracting parties.[19] One of these χειρόγραφα is the only document in the corpus attesting to the cancellation of a previously arranged apprenticeship.[20] Six of the διδασκαλικαί are registration documents, or ὑπομνήματα, in which the parent of the apprentice informs the regional tax farmers of the apprenticeship arrangement and its conditions. The final document in the corpus is too fragmentary for its classification to be determined.[21]

Generally, the contracts follow a consistent structure. Both the συγγραφαί and the χειρόγραφα open with the date and a statement of agreement that identifies the two relevant parties, the trade being taught and the duration of the teaching arrangement. This opening formula is then normally followed by a maintenance clause indicating who will provide for the apprentice's upkeep, including food, clothing, housing and taxes. Following the maintenance clause, most contracts contain a conditional clause outlining the penalties for the failure of any individual (guardian, master or apprentice) to fulfil

[16] Grammateus *s.v.* 'Syngraphe'.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Two of these are in Demotic (SB 24 16131, O. Bodl. eg. inscr. 328; for the latter, see Winkler 2015). Though this makes it difficult to assess the phraseology (most analyses of legal formulations focus on Greek phraseology), the content of these Demotic contracts matches that normally included in συγγραφαί.
[19] Grammateus s.v. 'Cheirographon'. One of these χειρόγραφα is in Coptic (SB Kopt. 1 045). As with the Demotic contracts above, the content and phrasing of this Coptic contract appear to match that attested in the Greek χειρόγραφα.
[20] BGU 4 1124.
[21] P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V

their side of the contract. The contracts normally close with signatures or notes informing us that a scribe signed on behalf of illiterate individuals.

The most common trades recorded in this corpus relate to the textile industry (38 of the 49 documents where the trade is discernible, 40 of the 49 if the κτενιστής is understood to be a wool carder; see Table 1 above). Most often these contracts simply state that the apprentice is to learn the craft of weaving (ἡ γερδιακὴ τέχνη), though some contracts indicate a specialisation (e.g., seated weaving, linen weaving or mat weaving).[22] The remaining third of the corpus attests to various other trades such as music performance, building, nail smithing, copper smithing, hairdressing, embalming, medicine, and shorthand-writing.[23]

THE ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΚΑΙ: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

The publication of the first of the apprenticeship contracts occurred at the turn of the twentieth century with the explosion of papyrological discovery from Egypt and the plethora of publications that followed. Apprenticeship contracts appeared among the first papyri excavated at Oxyrhynchus, Tebtynis, Bousiris and Soknopaiou Nesos. They consequently appeared in the first publications of Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vols. 2 and 4 in 1899 and 1904, respectively) and their *The Tebtunis Papyri* (vol. 2 in 1907); the Berlin State Museum's *Berliner griechische Urkunden* (BGU; vol. 4 in 1912); and Carl Wessely's *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos* (1902). The aim of these publications was not to analyse the papyri historically but to simply make publicly available the copious papyri that had been discovered. It was not until the early 1910s that the apprenticeship contracts were isolated by scholars into a single corpus for historical analysis.

That task was assumed by three German scholars of Roman law—Ulrich Wilcken, Adolf Berger and Hans Lewald—who all published, in relatively short succession, books with brief sections

[22] On trade specialisation, see Chapter Four, pages 125–129.
[23] There are also two contracts in which the trade is either not mentioned or is too fragmentary to discern.

addressing the apprenticeship contracts.[24] These three scholars provided immensely useful assessments, highlighting the contracts as a unique category for study (now referred to as the διδασκαλικαί, the term used for this type of contract in antiquity) and assessing the newly assembled corpus for trends that might solidify into sub-categories to aid future scholars in their investigations. Ultimately, Wilcken, Berger and Lewald's investigations were primarily limited to locating the contracts within the wider context of Roman law, legal practice and legal terminology rather than assessing their implications for education in antiquity.[25]

In 1914, the American papyrologist W. L. Westermann published two articles entirely devoted to assessing the system of education attested in the διδασκαλικαί corpus.[26] In addition to broadening the scholarly conversation beyond the contracts' legal implications, Westermann added one more contract to the existing eight. He conceded Wilcken and Berger's claim that the contracts could be separated into Lehrlingsverträge and Lehrverträge but found this distinction inconsequential, seeing no difference between the two besides economic outcome.[27] Westermann observed that the Lehrverträge, or teaching contracts, consistently entail payment to the master craftsman, likely because the master would not otherwise have benefitted financially from taking an apprentice. This differs from the master weaver, for example, who would likely see an increase in production and therefore in income from an apprentice's labour.[28]

Most importantly, Westermann put forward the lastingly influential theory that a meaningful distinction exists between pure διδασκαλική contracts and what he designated as διδασκαλική with a παραμονή clause.[29] To Westermann, those contracts with a παραμονή clause represent a unique arrangement combining educational apprenticeship with a παραμονή, or indentured servitude, agreement. Such παραμονή arrangements were a type of legal arrangement known from other contracts

[24] Lewald assessed the contracts in his 1910 book *Zur Personalexekution im Recht der Papyri* (Lewald 1910: 18-19). Lewald was followed by Berger who, in 1911, published *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Berger 1911). Wilcken, in his section of the 1912 co-edited first volume of *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Wilcken and Mitteis 1912: 261), included the first collection of the various apprenticeship contracts known at that time (eight in total).
[25] Cf. Westermann 1914: 295.
[26] Westermann 1914a, 1914b.
[27] Westermann 1914a: 295ff., 1914b: 604f., 608f.
[28] Westermann 1914a: 299.
[29] Westermann 1914a: 303; 1914b: 604f, 608f.

and were used when an individual indentured themselves or their child in place of a debt or to receive an immediate loan that would be repaid at the end of a predetermined timeframe. The labour the indentured individual provided served in place of the interest on the loan. Westermann's categorisation along these lines (i.e., pure διδασκαλική contracts and διδασκαλική contracts with παραμονή clauses) has prevailed in scholarship since the publication of his articles and particularly in the 21st century.[30] Scholars after Westermann have increasingly placed vocational education within the purview of studies on slavery and (child) labour rather than of studies on education in antiquity.

Westermann's article constituted the sole scholarly inquiry into apprenticeship contracts for the following twenty years, at which point the topic was resumed due to the discovery of new contracts that doubled the total count. This development came in 1935 with an article published by Angela Zambon that added 12 new apprenticeship contracts to the list.[31] Zambon provided a longer and more detailed analysis than Westermann but came to largely similar conclusions. She followed this article with another much shorter one in 1939, adding another contract and demonstrating that in some cases the pupil was required to live with the master rather than return home.[32] Until the 1990s, Zambon's 1935 article would remain the standard reference edition for the corpus, with a contract count of 22 (including the one from her 1939 article).

Two separate publications from the 1950s instigate a major shift in the scholarly treatment of the διδασκαλικαί. The first, the final publication to investigate the corpus purely from a legal perspective, and the second, the first major investigation into the corpus from a social history perspective, together mark a turning point in scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί. The former came in 1958 when Johannes Herrmann published an article arguing a revisionist perspective for the juridical nature of the contracts.[33] Herrmann claimed that the contracts had until then been understood as a component of Roman law when they ought to be seen as born out of Hellenistic legal institutions. Ultimately, Herrmann's claims were rejected, with Marco Bergamasco later declaring that, while Herrmann's

[30] E.g., Vuolanto 2003: 193ff; Laes 2015: 479; Claytor *et al* 2016: 89. For a critical assessment of this claim that παραμονή was a regular feature of apprenticeship contracts, see Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[31] Zambon 1935.
[32] Zambon 1939.
[33] Herrmann 1958.

arguments were pertinent, they were, nonetheless, invalid because the contracts better resembled Roman legal contracts for employment and service and should therefore be compared to those.[34] Hermann's article was thus the last to use the corpus to investigate the legal frameworks of the early Roman world, a concern which originated in the initial publications by Wilcken, Berger and Lewald.

The beginning of a new era of scholarly inquiry was born with the second publication referred to above, namely Clarence Forbes' 'The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity' in 1955.[35] In this article, Forbes surveys the education of slaves throughout Greco-Roman antiquity from Classical Athens to the early Byzantine period. Because a portion of the apprenticeship contracts explicitly label some apprentices as slaves, Forbes makes extensive use of Zambon's edition of the διδασκαλικαί in the section of his article devoted to the apprenticeship of slaves (as opposed to other routes of education for slaves such as the *paedagogium*). However, his conclusions add little to those of Zambon twenty years earlier with respect to the διδασκαλικαί themselves, the apprentices or the education system attested by these documents. The significance of his article lies not in its conclusions but in its impetus and in the change it initiates in scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί thereafter.

Forbes states in his article that its impetus was a remark by Henri-Irénée Marrou that there had not yet been, at the time of his writing *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, a systematic investigation into the education of Greek slaves.[36] Forbes' article is notable, then, for serving as the first systematic investigation into the education of slaves (as opposed to more focused investigations

[34] Bergamasco 1995: 101-102. Bergamasco's rejection of Herrmann's thesis is in line with the broader changes in the field of papyrology at the time, changes which might explain the general lack of engagement with Hermann's thesis by subsequent scholars of the corpus (Bergamasco is an exception in this trend). Ten years after Hermann's publication, Naphtali Lewis gave a paper to the 12th International Congress of Papyrology challenging the so-called *Sonderstellung* theory (i.e., the idea that Egypt was exceptional in the Roman world in that it maintained a uniquely Hellenistic/Ptolemaic organisation and consequently could not be used as evidence for trends elsewhere in the empire). Instead, Lewis asserted a new theory, now often referred to as the 'Romanity of Roman Egypt', which would go on to become the prevailing notion regarding the nature of Roman Egypt (Lewis 1970, 1984). A recent monograph, however, published by Andrew Monson (Monson 2012) has challenged the idea of the Romanity of Roman Egypt convincingly enough that at least one prominent papyrologist has conceded that the process of transition from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt was likely a 'complex and kaleidoscopic process of negotiation between Roman and local aspirations, both changing across time' (Rathbone 2013: 90). The implications for this development on Hermann's conclusions, namely whether the διδασκαλικαί are more a product of Ptolemaic or Roman juridical customs, have yet to be investigated.

[35] Forbes 1955.

[36] Forbes 1955: 322. Cf. Marrou 1956: 498.

utilising either literary, documentary or archaeological evidence).[37] Forbes' article is the only publication to date to attempt to integrate vocational education and the διδασκαλικαί into the narrative of education in antiquity put forward by Marrou and Werner Jaeger.[38] It does this specifically by supplying this form of education with its own systematic history. Forbes' article is significant in that it is the first, and as yet only, attempt at a history of education in antiquity that is at once both comprehensive and systematic in its treatment of all currently attested forms of education.

It is impossible to say for certain why subsequent scholarship did not adopt Forbes' approach to education in antiquity. Yet, there is reason to believe that his publication may have unintentionally created a negative association with the corpus and, consequently, helped perpetuate the negativity associated with apprenticeship education generally. Forbes' publication sits at a pivotal moment in the scholarship on these documents, which is exhibited in that the scholarly publications preceding it viewed the διδασκαλικαί corpus as heterogeneous, although the nature of this heterogeneity was subject to debate. Wilcken and Berger saw it in the Lehrlingsverträge and Lehrverträge distinction, and Westermann in the διδασκαλική and διδασκαλική with παραμονή distinction.[39] Forbes, by contrast, saw a distinction between slaves and free individuals undertaking apprenticeship. Through their respective distinctions, each scholar clearly indicated that the corpus does not support generalisations. By contrast, scholarship after Forbes, as is demonstrated below, tended to generalise about the corpus, marking little or no internal distinction, and to treat the corpus as uniform. These generalisations were often pessimistic in nature. The tendency to generalise may result from a trend, beginning with Forbes, in which the contracts, as well as the individuals and form of education attested by them, cease to constitute the sole focus of investigation and increasingly serve as supporting evidence for various historical claims in broader social histories. The recent pessimistic treatment may in part result from Forbes' (and to some extent Westermann's) association of apprenticeship education with enslavement

[37] For an overview of the publications on the education of slaves before Forbes which fit this definition, see Forbes 1955: 322 fn. 6.
[38] Martin Bloomer's edited volume on education in antiquity similarly attempts to graft vocational education into the broader narrative of education in antiquity, yet ultimately fails to do so (Bloomer 2015). Despite the fact that the entire Part VI of the volume (ten chapters) is nominally devoted to non-literary and non-elite education, only two (out of thirty-four) chapters investigate enslaved education or apprenticeship education.
[39] Berger 1911: 168–169; Wilcken and Mitteis 1912: 261; Westermann 1914a: 297–298.

since, as is demonstrated below, the corpus increasingly becomes associated with slavery in the years following the publication of Forbes' article.

Westermann and Forbes do not appear to have intentionally associated the διδασκαλικαί and apprenticeship education with the grim circumstances of enslavement. Despite his admission that some contracts essentially arrange indentured servitudes and his observation that in 'the manufacturing industries free and slave labour were used side by side and the former was never eliminated by the encroachments of the latter',[40] Westermann is quick to defend the noble nature of the 'banausic' trades, compared to the ancient elites who ridiculed them:

> This philosophic convention as to the 'banausic' trades is repeated through the centuries and determines the supercilious attitude toward labor even in the works of Cicero. That it was nothing more than a convention is proven by the great interest which Plato shows in these very trades. A great number of his similes are taken from the lives of tradesmen. Moreover, a large number of the citizens of a state like Athens were of these very craftsmen classes. We must never lose sight of the fact that the great political-philosophic literature of Greece is generally reactionary and anti-democratic.[41]

The fact that some apprenticeships made use of indentured servitude clearly did not lead Westermann to view this form of education in a wholly negative light. It is likewise with Forbes, who was particularly careful in his article to insist that enslavement and apprenticeship were not inherently linked in antiquity. Forbes asserted that 'apprenticeship was common for slaves but even more so for the freeborn' and that 'the boys involved are predominantly free'.[42] He further noted that only eight of the twenty-two contracts in Zambon's edition were for individuals explicitly designated as slaves.[43]

Despite what appears to be a conscious effort by both Westermann and Forbes to spare the apprenticeship education system as a whole from association with enslavement, scholarly publications in the sixty years after Forbes have tended to treat the corpus as evidence, primarily in social histories,

[40] Westermann 1914b: 602.
[41] Westermann 1914b: 602.
[42] Forbes 1955: 328f.
[43] Forbes 1955: 329.

of the economically and socially disadvantaged.[44] A negative association, deriving from apprenticeship education's connection to enslavement, became widespread, affecting the treatment of the corpus as a whole, including its free individuals.

The next major publication in the history of scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί demonstrates this pessimistic shift. In 1985, Keith Bradley published in *Historical Reflections* an article titled 'Child Labour in the Roman World'.[45] With Bradley's chapter, the total number of contracts rose to thirty.[46] When prefacing his investigation of the apprenticeship contracts, Bradley explains that, while the contracts have been examined several times since their discovery, most of the publications have focused on papyrological or legal issues and that he intends to focus on their social history and, in particular, their relationship to child labour.[47] This is the first time the term 'child labour' is used of the apprenticeship contracts, and its usage directly leads to a group of scholars connecting the apprenticeship system with child labour in antiquity.

In his assessment, Bradley details the childhood and education of Marcus Cicero Minor and then compares it to the circumstances of the children recorded in the apprenticeship contracts. Throughout his chapter, Bradley equates the apprenticeship system attested in the contracts with child labour. Ultimately, he concludes that the apprenticeship contracts attest to conditions in which 'economic constraints dictated that [children] should begin work, at about the age of twelve or so, in trades and even places not necessarily of their own choosing, and while the skills they acquired may have been economically beneficial, they were not likely to lead to significant social improvement'.[48] Bradley goes on to quote Moses Finley: 'Childhood was a preparatory stage for adulthood, to be

[44] Exceptions include the papyrologically focused publications of Marco Bergamasco and the treatment of the corpus by Eva Wipszycka in her investigation into the textile industry in antiquity. Bergamasco 1995, 1996, 1998, and 2006; Wipszycka 1965.
[45] Bradley 1985. Bradley would later republish this article with minor adjustments in his 1991 book *Discovering the Roman Family*. Bradley 1991: 103-124.
[46] Bradley 1991, 1985: 316, although one of them, P. Mich. Inv. 5196b, appears to be a misprint. This contract is not listed by any other scholars, nor in the Michigan (APIS) database or in any other major papyri databases. One potential explanation for this was put forward by Anna Kelley in her 2018 PhD thesis. Kelley (2018: 145 n.161) points out that the listed contract may be a misprint of the unpublished P. Mich. Inv. 436 recto, which has a processing number of 5196. The few details about P. Mich. Inv. 436 recto on the Michigan (APIS) database list the papyrus as a letter and date it to the 4th century CE. If this papyrus does document a cheirographon apprenticeship contract, in addition to being the only extant apprenticeship contract dating to the 4th century CE it would increase the contract count to 55.
[47] Bradley 1991: 120 fn. 20.
[48] Bradley 1991: 111.

traversed as rapidly as was biologically reasonable, and nothing more'.[49] For Bradley, apprenticeship, though it may have provided some economic benefit, was ultimately a form of 'child labour' that prevented lower-class children from participating in the activities and opportunities enjoyed by the social elite.[50]

This conclusion is not altogether problematic. No one would dispute that Marcus Tullius Cicero Minor inhabited a vastly different world from the children who undertook trade apprenticeships or that apprenticeship initiated these children into a quotidian routine that fell utterly short of his own. However, Bradley's methodology of cross-class comparison ultimately fails to accomplish its explicit aim of 'examin[ing] some of the circumstances under which children outside the aristocracy were prepared for adulthood' by opting to assess their situation in light of the elite experience.[51] Such a cross-class comparison is only capable of demonstrating the natural gulf between the circumstances of society's wealthiest (an outlier class) and the experiences of the majority. Bradley's depiction of this disparity is exceptionally powerful in its demonstration of the unique privileges enjoyed by ancient Rome's elites and their disconnectedness from the more common experience of life, even if it misses the stated mark, and his article became among the most influential publications on the διδασκαλικαί. It is listed as an essential introduction to the topic by Christian Laes in his chapter in Martin Bloomer's edited volume on the history of education in antiquity, and it is described by Graham Claytor, Elizabeth Nabney and Nikos Litinas as 'the seminal work' on the topic and elsewhere by Nabney as 'the classic study on child labour'.[52]

However, Bradley's article contains two specific problems that have profoundly affected subsequent scholarly discussion. The first is that Bradley overlooks the range of backgrounds and experiences, both positive and negative, that are represented in the contracts by evaluating apprentices against the aristocratic outlier rather than in their own immediate context. Bradley repeatedly describes

[49] Finley 1981: 159. See also Bradley 1991: 118.
[50] Bradley 1991: 111–112. Bradley refers to apprenticeship as child labour and even titles his article/chapter on the subject 'Child Labor in the Roman World'. Bradley 1985, 1991.
[51] Bradley 1991: 103.
[52] Laes 2015: 482. For the reference to the study as 'the seminal work', see Claytor *et al.* 2016: 89 n.34; for the reference to it being 'the classic study of child labour', see Nabney 2021: 7. See also Groen-Vallinga 2022: 137.

those undertaking vocational education as from 'lower-class families',[53] which is a natural description when the point of comparison is Marcus Tullius Cicero Minor, the scion of one of Rome's leading political families. However, Bradley's categorisation stands in stark contrast to a claim posited by Christian Laes, who describes these individuals, though without providing evidence for why, as 'slightly better-off people from the so-called "middling classes"'.[54] These two scholars' views are clearly irreconcilable, and they are rendered so by the fundamental limitation common to both their approaches: the assumption that those who undertook this form of education were a homogeneous group in terms of social and economic background.

The second problem is Bradley's quickness to generalise about the nature of childhood, and by extension apprenticeship education, in antiquity. Again, this is due to his perception of apprentices as a homogeneous group.[55] This willingness to generalise is most clearly demonstrated in his argument that there are essentially two types of childhood in antiquity: that in which children are supplied with a proper education without the expectation to pursue an occupation (i.e., the upper classes and elites, as seen in Marcus Cicero Minor) and that in which children are forced to work, foregoing education and assuming a life of labour. Bradley's publication ultimately represents a general shift away from the more nuanced view of the corpus as heterogeneous, held by previous scholars, and towards a more simplified view of the corpus as homogeneous and overwhelmingly negative.

One exception in the more recent tendency to generalise about the διδασκαλικαί is the scholarship of Marco Bergamasco. Angela Zambon's 1935 edition of the apprenticeship contracts remained the standard edition until Bergamasco published a series of articles on the διδασκαλικαί between 1995 and 2006 with the aim of providing a new and updated edition of the corpus.[56] In addition to providing a detailed history of scholarship on the contracts and an updated list (totalling 46 in his 2006 publication),[57] Bergamasco covered topics such as the social standing of the masters, apprentices,

[53] Bradley 1991: 116.
[54] Laes 2015: 476.
[55] This is not to say that Bradley completely lacks nuance. He does distinguish between the treatment of free and enslaved girls in that he assumes freeborn girls did not participate in apprenticeship, being unaware of the contracts that attest this, an issue which has been corrected by Van Minnen 1998 and Morgan 2015.
[56] Bergamasco 1995, 1998, 2004, 2006a.
[57] One of Bergamasco's 46 should not be considered an apprenticeship contract. See Appendix 1, page 240 for a more thorough outline of the rationale for this claim.

and guardians; the flow of money (mostly taxes, but also payment); the duration of apprenticeships; and the expectations and obligations of the master and apprentice. Bergamasco's article, due to its detail and comprehensive list of contracts, remains the primary edition for the διδασκαλικαί corpus.[58]

Scholarly publications since the turn of the millennium can be broadly categorised into two schools: those that follow Bradley's assessment of apprenticeship education as uniformly bleak and those that view it as meaningfully beneficial to those involved. The former is manifest in the scholarship of Christian Laes and Ville Vuolanto, both of whom see in the apprenticeship contracts, particularly those with a παραμονή clause, a slippery slope towards a child's *de facto* enslavement.[59] This enslavement, they assert, is the inevitable result when the parent is unable to repay the loan given in the παραμονή arrangement, leaving the child in indentured servitude indefinitely. Laes is often more nuanced, acknowledging the moderate economic stability of most of the individuals who appear in the corpus (which would likely reduce occurrences of *de facto* enslavement) and insisting that scholars and readers avoid 'any anachronistic interpretation, either by stressing the dark side or the rosy picture'.[60] Yet his interpretation, as well as that of Vuolanto, ultimately depicts a darker reality in the vein of Bradley's article—that apprenticeship education was a form of child labour in which the selling of children to pay off debts and the general use of children as economic tools were the norm.

The second, more optimistic, school of thought is seen in publications by Christel Freu and Harry Morgan. In several articles from the 2010s, Freu examined the apprenticeship contracts in her work on the social benefits of the apprenticeship system and argued that these were significant.[61] Specifically, in her 2016 article on apprenticeship education in the Mediterranean in the imperial era, Freu utilised the διδασκαλικαί corpus, alongside other epigraphic evidence for the apprenticeship of sculptors, to demonstrate that to become an apprentice augmented one's social network, for apprentices could access the business connections of their masters, gaining admission to a network of individuals operating in the same industry.[62] The apprentice would see immediate economic benefit from access to

[58] See, for example, Laes' recommendation of Bergamasco in his bibliography. Laes 2015: 482.
[59] Vuolanto 2003: 195, 2015: 104; Laes 2015: 479.
[60] Laes 2015: 479-80.
[61] Freu 2011, 2016, 2018.
[62] Freu 2016.

this social circle rather than expending time and effort in establishing their name and reputation themselves. To Freu, apprenticeship quickly increased both social and economic standing among what she describes as the growing middle class of the Roman era.[63]

Harry Morgan likewise saw the positive effect of apprenticeship arrangements on individuals, particularly slaves. In a 2015 article, Morgan reviewed the corpus and suggested that these contracts attest to a sphere of ancient society where the treatment of slaves and free individuals differed little.[64] He concludes that the 'social value of a child's labour was assessed not according to his legal status, but rather by the economic contribution of his work…the division of 'servile' and 'non-servile' occupational status is, as we have seen, rooted in an anachronistic post-industrial view of workplace hierarchies which has little basis in ancient concepts of labour'.[65] This idea of equal treatment between slaves and freeborn individuals in apprenticeship contexts was not necessarily new. Christian Laes had asserted in 2008 that 'the difference in the day-to-day reality between slaves and freeborn children, both as to the profession performed and the lack of free choice, will have been minimal'.[66] Nonetheless, Morgan's essay changed the tone of the assessment from pessimistic to optimistic: whereas Laes' assessment implies that the situation was equally adverse ('lack of free choice' being common to both slave and free), Morgan sees in the apprenticeship arrangement the opportunity for a slave to be liberated, to a limited extent, from discriminatory treatment, and to be judged by the standards of a freeborn individual. Morgan asserts an inverted model to that which developed after Forbes: the presence of enslaved apprentices did not diminish the perceived status of their free counterparts; rather, their inclusion illustrates a case of parity of access and treatment between free and enslaved individuals in antiquity.

Despite the attempts of scholars of the διδασκαλικαί in the past forty years to elucidate the circumstances of apprentices and the broader artisanal class, they have ultimately constrained their study to the institutions themselves rather than the individuals involved in those institutions. This has

[63] Freu 2016: 184. The concept of a growing middle class in the Roman era is one that has been addressed by scholars such as Emmanuel Mayer and Matthew Gibbs. Mayer 2012; Gibbs 2008/2009.
[64] Morgan 2015: 14.
[65] Morgan 2015: 14–15.
[66] Laes 2008: 261.

occurred despite repeated attempts from Bradley onwards to provide a social history of the non-elites attested in the διδασκαλικαί. Bradley's article explicitly focused on 'child labor'; Laes' work, on childhood; Freu and Morgan, on apprenticeship education. Fueling this inexorable drift toward institutions has undoubtedly been the increasing popularity of New Institutional Economics as a methodological framework for historians of antiquity over the past few decades.[67] The influence of this methodological framework, which suggests that any economic study must include assessments of social and legal institutions, can be seen in the fact that, as mentioned above, assessments of the non-elite experience in vocational education have focused less on individuals and more on institutions. Further, many publications that include assessments of the διδασκαλικαί explicitly state that New Institutional Economics is the methodological framework they use.[68] While studying institutions is by no means fruitless, it has disadvantages. As at least two prominent historians of labour in antiquity have noted, the use of New Institutional Economics in social histories of antiquity has only created new top-down analyses whereby the experiences of specific non-elite individuals are, yet again, rendered invisible.[69] It appears, then, that despite the efforts in recent decades to provide a social history of those who undertook apprenticeship in Roman Egypt—to elucidate their specific circumstances—little progress has been made.

PROSOPOGRAPHY: A NEW APPROACH

A new approach is in order, specifically one that places the non-elite individual at the centre of inquiry. Prosopography, or the investigation into the personal histories of individuals, is the ideal approach to elucidate the circumstances of non-elite individuals and to initiate a social history of vocational education. Absent from the scholarly history on the διδασκαλικαί is a thorough prosopographical

[67] For an overview of New Institutional Economics and its popularity in the field of ancient history, see von Reden and Kowalzig 2022.
[68] For examples of scholarly publications explicitly using New Institutional Economics and also containing assessments of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, see Gibbs 2008/2009; Venticinque 2016.
[69] Flohr and Bowes 2024: 10.

investigation of the individuals known to have been involved in this form of education, without which no detailed claims can be made about the circumstances of apprentices in Roman Egypt (or, more broadly, non-elites in the Roman world) or the role served by apprenticeship education in that setting.

Prosopography is not a new approach in itself, but it has never yet been applied to the study of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, despite the sore need for the depth and specificity it can deliver. Prosopography is a more suitable methodological tool than cross-class comparison, such as that employed by Bradley, for analysing the circumstances of the relevant individuals. Prosopography places individuals, families and communities into their immediate context, furnishing a more nuanced and objective assessment of vocational education than do assessments made relative to outliers. A copious number of papyrological documents have been published over the past 125 years, making a prosopographical study of non-elites in Roman Egypt not only possible but highly fruitful.

This thesis undertakes such an investigation. By elucidating the social and economic circumstances of those who undertook this form of education, the thesis argues two points. Firstly, those who engaged in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. This first point, which reasserts the heterogeneity thesis maintained by scholars of this corpus until Forbes' 1955 article, requires a new interpretation of the role apprenticeship education played in Roman Egypt. Secondly, apprenticeship education was regularly both economically and socially advantageous to those who undertook it, regardless of their socioeconomic status. In stating this, I do not claim that apprenticeship education was a uniformly positive experience for every apprentice. No doubt there were instances of oppression and even physical abuse at times, like in any imperfect system.[70] My argument is that this form of education regularly benefitted apprentices and facilitated their upward mobility.

[70] It is common in scholarly publications to demonstrate the oppressive nature of apprenticeship by citing Lucian's 'The Dream', where the author claims to have been beaten by his uncle and teacher of sculpting, and a passage in the Digest (Dig. 9.2.5.3) where Ulpian refers to a legal case in which a cobbler, attempting to discipline his apprentice, accidentally takes his eye out (for references to these texts as evidence of abuse being typical of apprenticeships, see Bradley 1985: 323, 1991: 112; Morgan 2015: 13). An unpublished papyrus, P. Mich. inv. 5031a, from early-first-century Karanis also attests to a boy who may have once been an apprentice and who fled his instructor due to having been beaten by the teacher (I am grateful to Silvio Foce for sharing this papyrus with me and look forward to his publication of the text). These texts suggest that physical abuse did, in fact, happen in apprenticeships, but it is not clear that these events represent the norm. Further, as Christian Laes points out, evidence of physical abuse in apprenticeship arrangements does not automatically constitute evidence that

Prosopography as a Methodology

It is important to state briefly what is meant by prosopography in this thesis, how this methodology is executed and why it is effective in this study. There are two recognised types of prosopography: an encyclopaedic approach that collates individuals, including brief lists of known data for each, and a more in-depth approach that analyses such data to reconstruct personal and group biographies and social networks, creating a cohesive and detailed social narrative from the ground up. The former approach is typically used to investigate non-elites since they tend to leave behind fewer, less descriptive documents. This lends itself to a more encyclopaedic and quantitative assessment. The latter approach is typically reserved for elites since they tend to leave fuller paper trails that support more thorough analysis. [71]

Perhaps the most recognisable examples of the encyclopaedic approach in the field of ancient history are the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* and the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*.[72] These multi-volume works compile what little is known of tens of thousands of individuals from across the Roman world, whether they be attested in historical texts or documentary evidence. The most recognisable use of the in-depth biographical analysis approach appears in Sir Ronald Syme's 1939 monograph *The Roman Revolution*, a book that challenged what were then traditional interpretations of the shift from Republican to Imperial Rome by assessing the social networks around Octavian.[73]

In addition to the main points outlined above, this thesis demonstrates that Greco-Roman Egypt, due to its abundant papyrological documentation, is the ideal setting for an analysis of non-elites using the form of prosopography normally reserved for elites. The documentation drawn from this setting amply supports the thorough investigation of craftspeople and merchants' finances, occupations, social activities, relationships, and participation in professional associations, as well as their status as slave or free. This thesis provides both an encyclopaedic prosopography (Appendix 2) and an in-depth prosopography (the content of the thesis). What follows outlines of how an in-depth prosopographical study can be applied to non-elites in the context of this thesis.

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apprenticeship was characterised by oppression since instances of abuse appear as well in the more elite form of education, παιδεία. For evidence of this, see Herod. *did.*; Cf. Laes 2005, 2008: 262; 2015: 478.

[71] Stone, L. (1971) "Prosopography," *Historical Studies Today*, 100(1), pp. 46–79.

[72] For the former, see https://pir.bbaw.de/#/overview, for the latter, see Jones, Martindale and Morris 1971–1992. See Ruffini 2011 for such an approach to Byzantine Egypt.

[73] Syme 1939.

On the Nature of the Documentation

A note must be made about the nature of the documentation and the degree of certainty with which a prosopographical assessment, specifically one attempting to assess financial and social circumstances, can be undertaken for a corpus such as the διδασκαλικαί. The extant documentation on those attested in this corpus is far from complete. Of the 54 currently attested διδασκαλικαί documents dispersed throughout Roman Egypt, the largest number come from the city of Oxyrhynchus (25) and from various towns and villages throughout the Arsinoite nome (14) during the first three centuries CE.[74] These documents evidence the involvement of approximately 168 individuals in this form of vocational education. These individuals are found in the apprenticeship contracts in any of four different roles: teacher, student, parent/owner, or κύριος.[75] At times, individuals appear in multiple contracts and are found in different roles depending on the contract. Despite the moderately high number of individuals attested, for most, nothing is known about their personal lives beyond the content of the διδασκαλική document in which they are attested. Only 30 individuals are attested in a document outside their apprenticeship contract. Consequently, for many individuals there is no surviving documentation attesting to their personal history, much less their financial status. It is perhaps this apparent lack of information that has prevented scholars from investigating the personal histories of the individuals in this corpus.

Nonetheless, a prosopographical investigation of this corpus is possible due to specific aspects of the documentary evidence. This corpus contains clusters of documents from certain locations and periods (namely, the metropolis Oxyrhynchus and towns throughout the Arsinoite nome in the first through third centuries CE). These clusters of apprenticeship contracts are not coincidental but usually reflect the distribution of papyrological discovery throughout Egypt (i.e., clusters of apprenticeship

[74] While other cities, towns and villages, such as Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Thebes, Ankyropolis, Aphrodito and Kellis are attested, most of these areas have yielded at most, two contracts.

[75] The term κύριος refers to a woman's legal guardian who authorises her legal arrangements. Under the Greek legal system of Greco-Roman Egypt, women were unable to conduct their own legal affairs (as opposed to their freedom to do so under the coextensive Egyptian system). The exception to this restriction is when a woman has the right of *ius liberorum*, where '[t]hree children (in Rome), four (for freed slaves and residents in Italy), or five (in the provinces) qualified… [a] women [for] exemption from being in guardianship' (OCD *s.v.* 'ius liberorum'). In this corpus, the position of κύριος usually appears in the case of the parent/owner being a widow. An exception is in the contract P. Mich. 3 171, where the woman arranges an apprenticeship for her biological nephew (an orphan) and her husband acts as her κύριος. For more on the role of the κύριος, see OCD *s.v.* 'guardianship'; Arjava 1997; Rowlandson 1998: xviii, 105, 163f; Keenan, Manning, *et al.* 2014: 104, 557.

documents often appear where more papyrological documentation exists).[76] As a result of these documentary clusters, the individuals and families attested in the apprenticeship contracts also often have their own archives or dossiers.[77] Though usually small, these archives and dossiers permit a relatively deep analysis of the individuals' and their family members' lives.

In some cases, these archives and dossiers contain explicit information about the financial standing of a family and provide direct insight into their socioeconomic status. In other cases, the types of documents (e.g., petitions and litigations) in an individual's archive can, as is demonstrated below, strongly suggest middle socioeconomic status even where little to no financial information is provided.[78] In yet other cases, personal information (e.g., physical descriptions, genealogical details, neighborhoods of residence, professions, civic status) furnishes comparison with better attested individuals of similar circumstances whose financial documents have been preserved. Consequently, a small amount of personal information can suggest, albeit tenuously, that an individual was likely of a certain socioeconomic status.

Finally, although the διδασκαλικαί contracts are the best documentary evidence for apprenticeship education in Greco-Roman Egypt, references to them are also found in other documents, such as census records, private letters and employment contracts. These references often provide not only greater insight into how the apprenticeship system operated but also further prosopographical data

[76] For more on this distribution, see Gibbs 2008/2009: 8–9; Cuvigny 2009; Bagnall 2020: 50–62.

[77] There has been some debate in the field of papyrology as to the distinction between 'archives' and 'dossiers'. The current consensus is that an archive is 'a deliberate collection of papers in antiquity by a single person, family, community (e.g., of priests) or around an office' and a dossier is 'a group of texts brought together today concerning a particular person or family, or a particular subject'. Vandorpe 2009: 218. Cf. Pestman 1994: 51, 1995: 92–92.

[78] Further to this point, the mere existence of an archive or dossier connected to an individual could be cautiously used as evidence to suggest that the family had at least a middle socioeconomic status. This is due to the high costs associated with having documents drawn up. In addition to the costs of paying a scribe to draft the document, the price of the papyrus itself was moderately expensive with a single roll costing approximately the equivalent of several days' wages for a casual labourer. Obtaining any form of document on papyrus was not cheap and was consequently more accessible to those who had sufficient financial means. Additionally, Roger Bagnall describes the need for writing in a society where literacy was low and the cost of written documents high as 'above all for protecting property rights – recording ownership of land, houses, slaves, and animals; documenting obligations (or their satisfaction) in money or produce; and providing evidence that they had discharged their obligations of various sorts toward the government'. The need to protect property rights would be more of a concern for those who owned property and, consequently constituted the propertied classes than those who were poor and consequently had less to protect. While this does not mean that poorer individuals did not obtain documents, it does mean that individuals of some financial means would have been more likely to obtain documents and, in particular, to obtain enough documents to be considered an archive by modern scholars. Bagnall 2020: 12.

on individuals who are confirmed to have undertaken an apprenticeship but whose contracts are not extant. These three factors—the geographical and temporal documentary clusters, the biographical information provided in the διδασκαλικαί documents and the references outside the corpus of legal contracts—make it possible to gain insight into the lives of those involved in this vocational education system and their experience of it.

On Terms: Class vs. Socioeconomic Status

As one aim of the prosopographical assessment undertaken in this thesis is to detail the social and economic circumstances of those involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, the term 'socioeconomic status' has been chosen to refer to their backgrounds. This choice marks a shift in the terminology used to discuss the διδασκαλικαί. Rather than 'socioeconomic status', scholars have tended to use 'class', but there are certain drawbacks to class-based terminology that justify the shift in terminology.

Both Bradley and Laes use class-based terminology to describe the circumstances of the individuals attested in these contracts.[79] Such terminology is a modern invention which neither has a basis in Roman Egyptian society nor refers to any specific legal, economic or social categories that existed in that era. This is not to say that class-based terminology cannot be helpful, but some sense of the difficulty it causes is illustrated by the reception of Emanuel Mayer's thought-provoking 2012 book *The Ancient Middle Classes*, which argues for the emergence of a 'middle class' from the Late Republic and the Principate that saw itself as culturally distinct from the social elites. In his review of the book, Henrik Mouritsen describes Mayer's argument thus:

> [The book] is shaped around a single, radical theory: the existence of a Roman 'middle class', by which Mayer does not mean people of middling fortune, a fairly uncontroversial proposition, but a class characterised by distinct patterns of economic behaviour (rooted in trade and urban production) and, as importantly, cultural values that set it apart from the aristocratic elite.[80]

[79] Bradley 1985: 311ff., 1991: 103ff.; Laes 2015: 476, 479.
[80] Mouritsen 2012.

Here, Mouritsen identifies two ways one might interpret the term 'class'. The first refers to an individual's fortune (roughly synonymous with socioeconomic status) and is, as he says, 'fairly uncontroversial'. The second, however, refers to a group in society that is (and may even see itself as) distinct from other groups in its cultural values and economic patterns of behaviour. It is this second interpretation that is controversial and is the primary criticism of several reviews.[81] Mayer's use of 'class' is not problematic *per se*, and one could responsibly carry out an argument using this term so long as one provides a definition for what one means by 'class', but Mouritsen's response to Mayer's book demonstrates the ambiguous nature of the term. While both Bradley and Laes imply Mouritsen's first interpretation of 'class' (particularly as Laes refers to those attested in the διδασκαλικαί as being 'slightly better-off' before he uses the term), neither explicitly defines their class-based terminology. This lack of clarification ultimately makes it difficult to understand how they arrive at the designations of 'lower class' and 'middle class'. For this thesis, the term 'socioeconomic status' is preferred to class-based terminology because its construction mitigates ambiguity by combining in one word the two aspects this thesis explores: the διδασκαλικαί individuals' economic and social standing. The following two sub-sections present precisely what is meant by 'economic' and 'social standing' and how these indicate an individual's socioeconomic status.

Where used in this thesis, the terms 'middling status', 'middling means' and 'moderate means' denote moderate economic status, as opposed to lower or upper. The terms 'wealthy' and 'affluent' denote upper economic status. Individuals described as 'having at least some wealth' or as having or being of 'moderate wealth' are not necessarily of upper economic status, though they may have wealth enough to make a certain purchase or perform a certain task, which the context will make clear. Additionally, the terms 'artisan' and 'craftsperson' are used interchangeably.

Financial Thresholds

This section contains a basic outline of the approximate ranges, in drachmas, this thesis uses for the terms lower, moderate and upper economic status, which are assessed by examining the archives and

[81] E.g., Dyson 2013; Noreña 2013; Squire 2013.

dossiers of the individuals in this corpus to determine, where possible, their income and assets. Table 2 below provides a succinct outline of these approximate ranges. In most cases, the documentary evidence does not provide specific amounts for total income and assets, yet in many cases rough estimates can still be obtained. To the extent that it is possible, this outline of economic thresholds considers economic reference points relevant to Roman Egypt and, specifically, the locales where the διδασκαλικαί documents have their provenance (e.g., basic cost of sustenance in the region, average wage rates, πόρος requirements for liturgies in the metropoleis and villages). Local reference points aid the reconstruction, as far as is possible, of what those attested would have perceived as lower, moderate and upper economic status. Inevitably, all these individuals would find themselves in the lowest economic stratum when compared to the likes of Cicero, but less relevant here is how these individuals measured up in the range of economic distribution across the empire and more how they fared in the local world they inhabited. It should be emphasized that these provisional ranges are specific to this thesis. Furthermore, the financial thresholds are not firm boundaries, but are instead indicative of relative degrees of financial flourishing.

Table 2: Financial thresholds used for economic standing in this thesis

Economic Status	*Minimum Threshold*
Lower	Earning 20 drachmas per month (in the first through the mid-third century CE) and 60 drachmas per month (from the late-third century)
Middle/middling	200 drachmas in assets
Upper	4,000 drachmas in assets

The easiest marker to calculate is the threshold for lower economic standing given that it corresponds to the minimum amount an individual or family must earn to subsist.[82] Alan Bowman undertook the initial analysis of data attested in papyri from Roman Egypt to ascertain average wage-rates, the average

[82] Naturally, beyond this were other necessary costs such as accommodation and taxes. These costs are much more difficult to ascertain. For accommodation, the documents attesting housing prices and rents are, as noted by Drexhage, difficult to analyse due to an absence of any indication of the quality and, often, size of the property and the lack of consistency in the pricing. Drexhage 1991: 78–91

cost of wheat and, consequently, the estimated cost for subsistence in Roman Egypt.[83] In an appendix to his book on the history of Greco-Roman Egypt, Bowman attempts to contextualise the purchasing power of certain units of currency and metrological units relevant to Roman Egypt. He outlines average wage-rates and compares them to estimations of the cost for subsistence. Bowman bases his estimation of the cost of subsistence on moderate calculations of calories needed per day and average wheat prices during two periods (the first through the mid-third century and from the mid-third century to the end of the third century). Despite the fact that market prices could change drastically and rapidly across small areas due to the volatility of Nile flooding and consequent agricultural and economic crises, the average price of an artab of wheat remained, according to Bowman, remarkably stable in the first and second centuries CE, ranging from 5 to 12 drachmas, with the average being around 8 drachmas per artab.[84] According to Bowman, this number increased due to inflation to an average of 17.2 drachmas per artab of wheat by the mid-third century, with all recorded prices in that timeframe being between 12 and 24 drachmas.[85]

Since Bowman's book, these questions have also been addressed by both Dominic Rathbone and Kyle Harper who, even with more up-to-date data, have largely validated Bowman's conclusions.[86] The one instance of disagreement is when precisely the inflation occurred. Both Rathbone and Harper disagree with Bowman that the inflation occurred in the mid-third century,[87] with Rathbone arguing for its occurrence from the mid-270s and Harper from the 290s. Thus, it is reasonable to use Bowman's figures for subsistence in Roman Egypt, with a slightly modified time scale.

Accounting for at least one active male adult (i.e., working manual labour), a family of five would, according to Bowman's calculations, need approximately 36–40 artabs of wheat per year for

[83] Bowman 1996: 236—239.
[84] Bowman 1996: 238. Harper's updated analysis of grain prices is particularly useful, being more extensive than Bowman's and providing more precise averages (as opposed to Bowman's rounded estimates). Consequently, as Harper's calculations ultimately confirm Bowman's conclusions, his calculated averages are provided here instead of Bowman's due to their precision. Harper 2016: 815f. An artab is a measure of capacity roughly equivalent to 38.8 litres. Bowman 1996: 237.
[85] Additionally, significant inflation occurred between the 170s and 190s CE resulting in prices for certain commodities (e.g., grain) doubling during this period. However, prices appear to return to the ranges presented here by the 250s, just before the hyper-inflation of the late-third century. See Rathbone 1997: 217–220.
[86] Rathbone 1996, 1997; Harper 2016.
[87] Rathbone 1996; Harper 2016: 814.

subsistence.[88] So, a family of five would need, based on average wheat prices, at least 24 drachmas per month for sustenance in the first through the mid-third century and 52 drachmas per month from the late-third century to the fourth.[89] As demonstrated by both Bowman and Harper, the average monthly wage of an unskilled agricultural labourer was approximately 20–22 drachmas in the first through the mid-third century and 60–68 drachmas from the late-third century. Bowman's conclusion in light of these numbers is worth quoting in full:

> This income would buy about [30–33 artabs of wheat per year in the first two centuries and] 40–45 artabs of wheat per year [in the late-third century] which, after deduction of tax-payments and the cost of clothing, accommodation etc., was probably not quite enough to support a notional family of five. But it will frequently have been supplemented by extra payments of rations or income from other sources.[90]

It is clear, then, that the average unskilled agricultural worker and his family were probably just making ends meet or, to use a modern phrase, were 'living paycheck to paycheck'. They were not destitute but were earning only enough to cover basic needs. In the words of Micaela Langellotti regarding the inhabitants of the village of Tebtynis during this time, 'it is likely that the majority of the population was involved in agricultural activities, thus suggesting that most families would have made just enough money to support themselves'.[91]

This fact informs how this thesis defines the economic threshold for 'lower' socioeconomic status: individuals of this status do not have assets or discretionary income but spend all or most of their income on living expenses related to basic human needs. Consequently, if the assessment of an individual's financial status does not reveal any assets or reveals an income close to 20 drachmas per month in the first through the mid-third century CE and 60–68 drachmas per month from the late-third century, then it is inferred that the individual and his or her family were of lower economic standing.

[88] Bowman does clarify that this is 'discounting peripheral sources of food (fish, meat obtained from hunting, fruit, wild plants, etc.)'. Bowman 1996: 237—238.
[89] As only five of the fifty-four apprenticeship contracts are dated after the fourth century and these five tend to be rather fragmentary, there is no need to detail prices beyond the fourth century.
[90] Bowman 1996: 238.
[91] Langellotti 2020: 131.

Further, in the frequent situation where no financial data is available, evidence that an individual may have worked as an unskilled agricultural labourer and evidence suggesting that an individual struggled to cover the costs of their basic human needs could both suggest lower economic status. In brief, any evidence of minimal financial means or an occupation known to have paid a wage in the range just at or slightly above the minimum needed to survive is taken in this thesis to indicate lower economic status.

The thresholds for middle and upper economic status are determined using indicators of financial standing from contemporary documents, namely the minimum πόρος (i.e., wealth) requirements for individuals to be nominated for liturgies, or local public services.[92] These πόρος requirements not only demonstrate the contemporary notions of how much accumulated wealth was necessary for survival without daily labour but also indicate how much was necessary for an individual to, in certain circumstances, take financial responsibility for a village, town or city.

In his book *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, Naphtali Lewis documents all the instances where a public office or service is mentioned in Roman Egyptian papyri, the conditions for nomination, the term length and any other relevant information regarding the role.[93] Among the more common conditions for nomination is a minimum πόρος,[94] or 'accumulated wealth'.[95] The

[92] Dominic Rathbone has recently expressed uncertainty as to whether the liturgies in Roman Egypt were compulsory public services from the first through to the first half of the second century CE (Rathbone 2013: 84ff.). Instead, Rathbone thinks it at least plausible that these positions were actually paid positions during this time. Even if this is true, it does not negate the applicability of πόρος requirements for calculating economic standing during this period for two reasons. Firstly, as Rathbone acknowledges, πόρος requirements for liturgic positions were still in place during the first two centuries, thus making them a contemporary measure of economic standing (Rathbone 2013: 85). Secondly, as outlined above, prices remained rather stable between the first through third centuries in Egypt. Consequently, πόρος requirements from later in this time range (e.g., the late second century) can be seen, cautiously, as useful for measuring economic standing earlier in this period (e.g., in the first century).

[93] Lewis 1997: 11–63.

[94] As pointed out by Laurens Tacoma, it is unclear whether the nature of these minimum πόρος requirements was formal or informal (i.e., explicitly defined). Other common conditions Lewis lists for various positions include being part of the bouleutic order (after 200/201 CE) and literacy. Tacoma 2006: 130—132. Cf. Venticinque 2016: 134, 148—160.

[95] There is disagreement amongst scholars of Roman Egypt as to whether the term πόρος refers to annual income or total accumulated wealth. Ramsay MacMullen, Roger Bagnall, Alfred Tomsin, Pierre Jouguet, F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell and Ulrich Wilcken have all also expressed support for the 'annual income' interpretation (MacMullen 1974: 151 fn. 51; Bagnall 1977: 68; Tomsin 1952: 506ff.; Jouguet 1911: 219; Kenyon and Bell, note to P. Lond. 199, note to P. Lond. 1220; Wilcken 1912 vol. I: 343f.). Paul Meyer, Allan Chester Johnson, Jean Scherer and Naphtali Lewis all take the position that πόρος refers to accumulated wealth, including assets (Lewis 1963: 5, 1997: 73; Meyer, note to P. Giss. 58; Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22; Scherer, fn. 9 to P. Phil. 1). Remarkably, only two scholars, Wilcken and Scherer, provide a rationale for their interpretation. Wilcken gives the example of a mid-second century weaver from Soknopaiou Nesos requesting exemption from liturgical service by claiming to be ἀπόρος, or without wealth, and living only on his μισθός, or wages (P. Lond. III p. 131 no. 846). Wilcken

minimum πόρος varies depending on the nature of the liturgical position, revealing a hierarchy whereby higher positions, expecting more from the individual in terms of financial responsibility, required a higher πόρος. As a common feature of appeals for exemption from nomination to public office was the claim of being ἄπορος, or 'without wealth' (i.e., poor), these minimum πόρος amounts can be used as a rough guide to contemporary notions of what kind of financial status indicated middling fortune or wealth.[96] Those who were deemed ἄποροι were exempt from the financially burdensome liturgies and were obliged only to serve in positions that required a few days of physical labour annually (e.g., the dike corvée).[97] What follows is an outline and analysis of the minimum πόρος amounts attested for various liturgies to aid in defining the financial thresholds for moderate and upper economic status in this thesis.

Among what Allan Chester Johnson describes as the liturgies given to men of 'humbler means' is the position of village elder (πρεσβύτερος).[98] The various documents attesting the πόρος of individuals filling this position have led Ramsay MacMullen to conclude that, depending on the village location and the time, the position required a πόρος of between 200 and 800 drachmas.[99] MacMullen uses for his sources those collected by Johnson in his 1936 economic history of Roman Egypt. Johnson lists instances of village elders having a πόρος of up to 2000 drachmas, yet the increase in minimum πόρος requirement occurs gradually throughout the third century, which may result from the inflation

interprets this as suggesting the weaver is not necessarily without property but simply does not regularly earn enough to qualify for the position. However, this evidence could easily be interpreted to prove the 'accumulated wealth' interpretation of πόρος: as Wilcken acknowledges, there is no evidence that this weaver actually owns property. Consequently, the weaver's statement that he is ἀπόρος followed by the statement that he is μισθοῦ πορίζοντος τὸ ζῆν, or 'procuring wages in order to live', might simply indicate that he does not have the accumulated wealth to sustain himself while undertaking the public service. Scherer argues that in P. Phil 1, the term πόρος appears to be used as a synonym for τίμημα, a more technical term for the estimated value of one's property for tax purposes. This usage is further confirmed by the fact that, as Lewis points out (and as acknowledged by Jouguet), an individual's πόρος could be confiscated should he decide to abandon his post, which seems to hint at total accumulated wealth in property, rather than in income, since it is difficult to imagine one's annual income being confiscated (Lewis 1963: 5, 1997: 73; Jouguet 1911: 219). Another point in support of the 'accumulated wealth' interpretation is the detrimental practice of *cessio bonorum*, in which an individual nominated to a liturgy that he could not afford relinquished (part of) his property to another rather than undertake the financially burdensome liturgy. *Cessio bonorum* would make more sense if the πόρος the individual in question gives up is their accumulated wealth as opposed to their annual income. In this thesis, the term πόρος is taken to denote accumulated wealth since most of the evidence favours this interpretation.

[96] On appeals to poverty in requests to be exempted from liturgies, see P. Lond. 3 846; SB 8 10196; P. Fay. 1 106; Venticinque 2016: 133, 151.

[97] On ἄπορος, see Lewis 1997: 74. On the dike corvée, see Westermann 1925.

[98] Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22.

[99] MacMullen 1974: 14, 23—24, 151 fn. 51; Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22. Cf. Lewis 1997: 43; Venticinque 2016: 151.

of the latter part of that century, which also affected the income of agricultural labourers (on which see above). The positions of village guard (ἀρχιφύλαξ) and *sitologos* (σιτολόγος), or the official in charge of the granary and taxes paid in kind, appear to have required similar πόρος amounts. A document from late second-century, Panopolis attests the πόρος of the village guard as 200 drachmas, and a nomination list from the village of Karanis, dated to the early third century, attests the πόροι of individuals eligible for the position of *sitologos* as ranging between 700 and 800 drachmas.[100] Despite Johnson's application of the word 'humble' to those whose πόρος was within this range, this group's accumulated wealth is substantially higher than the income of the average agricultural labourer, being roughly between 10 and 36 times the labourer's monthly income in the first through the mid-third century CE (i.e., 20–22 drachmas per month) and between 16 and 29 times higher after the late-third century (i.e., 60–68 drachmas per month).

At the higher end of the range of attested πόροι for village-level positions and the lower-to-middle grade for regional-level positions, the requirements range from 1,000 drachmas to one talent (i.e., 6,000 drachmas).[101] Another nomination list from the village of Karanis, dated to the second century, attests that the πόρος of those eligible for the higher position of village leader (κωμάρχης) was between 1000 and 2000 drachmas, suggesting a minimum πόρος requirement of approximately 1,000 drachmas.[102] The position of village scribe (κωμογραμματεύς), which does not appear to have necessitated literacy, appears to have had a minimum πόρος of around 3,000 drachmas.[103] Johnson observes that the πόρος of individuals elected to the committee that determined the value of unsold property appears to have been between 4,000 and 6,000 drachmas.[104]

The πόρος for mid-to-high regional positions appears to jump significantly from those listed above. The position of *praktor* (πράκτωρ), or the official in charge of taxes for a given region, has a larger range of documented πόροι (600–21,000 drachmas). The position of the τραπεζίτης, or the public banker serving the entire nome, was held by men whose πόρος ranged from 3 talents 1,000 drachmas

[100] P. Achmim 7; P. Col. 8 230. Cf. Venticinque 2016: 148. On the *sitologos*, see *EAH* s.v. 'sitologos'.
[101] Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22.
[102] P. Fay. 23. Cf. Lewis 1997: 34—35; Venticinque 2016: 148.
[103] Lewis 1997: 34. For the lack of literacy requirement, see Lewis 1997: 34, 69 fn. 29; P. Petaus 10, 11.
[104] Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22.

(i.e., 19,000 drachmas) to 8 talents 2,600 drachmas (i.e., 50,600 drachmas). It is unclear whether these amounts indicate minimum πόρος requirements. As the nomination lists only document the πόρος of those nominated to these offices rather than the minimum requirements, instances with a single or very small number of individual(s) pose a difficulty for determining the minimum πόρος requirements. As Lewis points out regarding the individual whose πόρος is listed as 8 talents 2,600 drachmas, it is doubtful that this figure indicates a minimum πόρος amount rather than a simple statement of his wealth, particularly as the other individuals who held this position had a much smaller πόρος.[105] Even higher wealth figures are attested for individuals in official positions in the higher administration of Roman Egypt,[106] but these are beyond the scope of this outline, which is meant to provide the economic context for villages and metropoleis.

Based on these πόρος amounts, the local administration in Roman Egypt perceived an individual as financially stable enough to undertake a burdensome public service if his πόρος was greater than 200 drachmas. Below this amount, he would be considered ἄπορος—too poor for even the lowest of the financially demanding liturgies—and would have been required instead to serve the community with his physical labour. Above this amount, he could sustain a family of four for nine to ten months, in the first through the mid-third century, or for three months in the late-third. Moreover, he could demonstrate discretionary income, above those barely subsisting, sufficient to accumulate such a sum in assets. Therefore, 200 drachmas is taken in this study as the point at which an individual might be considered of moderate economic standing or 'of middling fortune'. As stated above, this threshold should not be understood to be a firm boundary, but rather indicative of a certain degree of economic flourishing.[107] A πόρος above 1,000 drachmas, which made one eligible for high-ranking village positions or low-to-medium-ranking regional positions, might be considered on the upper end of 'middling fortune'. Evidence of a πόρος above 4,000 drachmas would seem to indicate entry into the

[105] Lewis 1997: 47 s.v. τραπεζιτεία, 74 fn. 59.
[106] Johnson notes that the position of the χειριστής, presumably a sort of imperial agent, in the Hadrianic period was expected to have a πόρος of 100,000 HS (i.e., 100,000 drachmas). Johnson 1936: 611 fn. 22.
[107] One might wish to use another measure of financial flourishing, such as the price of certain animals (e.g., donkeys) useful for agricultural and transportation purposes as a metric for assessing moderate economic flourishing. Such a metric would still confirm the general rule of 200 drachmas being indicative of a moderate amount of economic flourishing since prices for these animals range from 38 drachmas in the earlier first century CE to around 300–400 drachmas before significant inflation sets in during the third century.

upper economic financial range since, as indicated above, a πόρος of this amount would have qualified an individual for positions higher than village-level liturgies and medium-grade regional liturgies.

Social Categories for Roman Egypt

This section discusses the various social statuses in Roman Egypt that applied to the individuals attested in the διδασκαλικαί. In this thesis, 'social status' or 'social standing' refers to the position an individual holds within the stratification of society by virtue of participating in official civic, cultural or religious groups. What follows here is a brief assessment of these different groups and where they fell in the social hierarchy of Roman Egypt.[108]

Recent assessments of documentary material from early Roman Egypt have revealed that the establishment of a rigid hierarchy of hereditary and exclusive civic statuses was part of a series of civic reforms instituted after Egypt was annexed to the Roman empire in 30 BCE.[109] The most explicit categorisation of these new statuses in an ancient source appears in the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos* (a guide for the *Idios Logos*, or official in Roman Egypt in charge of irregular revenues).[110] In order from the most to the least privileged, these categories are Roman citizens, citizens of a πόλις, and Egyptians. The distinction between these statuses was that Romans and πόλις citizens were exempt from the poll tax whereas the Egyptians were not.

However, as noted by Micaela Langellotti, recent developments in the social history of Roman Egypt render this simple tripartite model unsatisfactory as a descriptor of the complexity of civic status and its implications.[111] Particularly relevant are developments in the meaning behind the term ἐπίκρισις. The scholarship on the term ἐπίκρισις in Greco-Roman Egypt has undergone considerable revision since the late 19th century.[112] The consensus for the past 50 years is that ἐπίκρισις was a process of formal scrutiny whereby children who had reached the legal age to pay the λαογραφία (a poll tax, often referred

[108] This section uses Micaela Langellotti's recent study of the social stratification of the village Tebtynis as a foundation and supplements it with further discussions of different civic statuses. Langellotti 2020.
[109] Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Jördens 2012: 249ff
[110] See Hakkert 1970 for a fuller history of the *Idios Logos* and its function in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Delia 1991: 15; Jördens 2012: 249; Rowlandson 2013: 220; Dolganov 2020. The *Gnomon* is preserved in two separate papyri (BGU V 1210 and P.Oxy. 3014). See Speidel 2013.
[111] Langellotti 2020: 104–106.
[112] Generally, earlier scholars believed it to indicate military service while later scholars viewed it as indicating privileged status. See Nelson 1979: 1–9 for an overview of all the early developments.

to by its Latin name, *tributum capitis*) could be declared approved (ἐπικεκριμένοι) for membership in one of five privileged civic and/or social statuses: Roman citizenship, citizenship of one of Roman Egypt's four πόλεις (Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais Hermiou or Antinoopolis), membership of the gymnasial order, membership of the metropolitan order or membership of the priesthood.[113]

The fact that some among the Egyptians (i.e., those of the gymnasial and metropolitan orders) and priests underwent a similar, though admittedly less rigorous, ἐπίκρισις examination to those who held Roman or πόλις citizenship (and consequently received a reduction on the poll tax) indicates that the Egyptians were not treated as a homogeneous group. As Valerio Marotta asserts, 'The *apó tou gymnasíou* and the metropolites, in their quality as *epikekriménoi*, represented an intermediate category between the true Egyptians—also called *laographouménoi*, as they had to pay the entire *tributum capitis*—and the *polítai* of the Greek cities'.[114] Andrea Jördens has suggested that the majority of the population of Roman Egypt did not have any privileged status at all.[115] Consequently, it seems it is the ἐπίκρισις—rather than Roman or πόλις citizenship—that distinguished individuals from Marotta's 'True Egyptians' and which initiated them into an exclusive prestigious civic group.

Membership of any of these civic groups would have been enviable for the perquisites they offered (usually financial and legal). Both metropolites and Alexandrians received a reduced tax rate on land owned, with Egyptians paying between 8 and 10 drachmas per aroura, metropolites 3 drachmas and Alexandrians 2 drachmas 3 obols.[116] Furthermore, as mentioned above, both Roman and πόλις citizens were exempted from the poll tax entirely (compared to the reduced poll tax for those of the gymnasial and metropolitan status).[117] Unlike Roman citizens, however, Alexandrians were not protected against corporal punishment and were not guaranteed a right to appeal.[118] As noted by Roger

[113] See Nelson 1979: 5, 60—62; Delia 1991: 28 for documentation and description of this document's use in investigations for the five different groups. In particular, see Jördens 2012: 252, 257 for an assessment of how the gymnasial social and cultural status became a legal status useful for incentivising the non-citizen population to integrate into the Roman legal infrastructure.
[114] Marotta 2017: 188.
[115] Jördens 2012: 256. Though Jördens does not explain precisely how she comes to this conclusion, it is a reasonable suggestion. As Bagnall and Frier noted in their demographic study of Roman Egypt, it seems roughly two thirds of the Egyptian population lived in rural areas and it is reasonable to suspect that the majority of these did not have privileged status since at least two of these privileged statuses corresponded to one being a citizen of a specific city or metropolis (i.e., the citizen of a *polis* and the metropolitan). Bagnall and Frier 1994: 57.
[116] Delia 1991: 31. See P. Ryl. 2 216 (II/III^{P}).
[117] Delia 1991: 30ff.
[118] Delia 1991: 31-32.

Bagnall, the main privilege of membership of the metropolite and gymnasial orders was the reduced poll tax rate.[119]

Both Jane Rowlandson and Peter van Minnen have argued that certain civic statuses may have offered an element of social prestige. In particular, these scholars cite the example of metropolite status which, as the population of the metropolis grew, likely became a marker of privileged social status as it appears not to have been bestowed on those who moved to the metropolis afterwards.[120]

Until recently, the consensus was that the gymnasial order was an elite sub-class of the metropolitan order rather than the next rung up the ladder of civic hierarchy. However, in a chapter published in 2002 Peter van Minnen asserts that the two may have been similar in terms of the privileged status and perquisites bestowed.[121] Van Minnen argues that the two orders merely indicated different cultural backgrounds. Gymnasial status was bestowed on those in the villages whose background was generally Greek and was generally more of a social than fiscal status. Metropolite status, conversely, had its origin in the Roman administrative system and was bestowed on the inhabitants of the metropolis and was likely limited to those who lived there when the status was first established at the outset of Roman imperial rule.[122] This distinction explain why there were separate ἐπίκρισις procedures for these two statuses. As Langellotti has demonstrated, the Hellenic background of the gymnasial order hints at an elevated social status. This elevated status was validated by the individual or family's connection (however tenuous) to the Greeks and Macedonians who settled in Egypt centuries before, and to their culturally elite institution of the gymnasium, and was maintained by exclusive practices that kept status and wealth within the group (e.g., endogamy and the passing down of catoecic land, or land originally granted to Greek settlers in Egypt).[123] Whether the gymnasial order was an elite subgroup of the metropolitite order or a parallel civic status, the connection with Hellenic culture afforded its members

[119] Bagnall 2007: 187.
[120] Van Minnen 2002: 340f.; Rowlandson 2013: 222.
[121] Van Minnen 2002.
[122] As evidence for this, Van Minnen demonstrates, firstly, that the financial perquisites (i.e., the reduced poll tax rate) of the two were essentially the same. Secondly, there were too many documented individuals of the gymnasial order and they were too diverse economically, socially and politically for the order to be truly an elite minority of the metropolitan order and some individuals even held both gymnasial and metropolitan status (Cf. Broux 2013: 145). Finally, Van Minnen argues that the fact that freedmen of metropolites obtained metropolite status is a distinctly Roman practice whereas the freedmen of those of the gymnasial order not being granted their former master's privileged status is distinctly Greek (Cf. Broux 2013: 145f). See Jördens 2012: 257.
[123] Langellotti 2020: 111–118.

an elevated social prestige that, in combination with the tendency to possess moderate to high amounts of wealth, appears to have exceeded that of the metropolite.

The final social group explored here due to its appearance in the διδασκαλικαί is a religious one: namely, the Egyptian priesthood. Langellotti states that the 'generally accepted view holds that the social and economic power characteristic of the Egyptian clergy during the Ptolemaic period underwent a gradual curtailment under the Romans' which can be seen in specific administrative actions such as the confiscation of temple land, the imposition of restrictions and bureaucracy to manage access to priesthood, and the establishment of a high priest in Alexandria whose role was to manage the Egyptian priesthood.[124] Despite these developments, members of the Egyptian priesthood appear to have maintained, at least in the first two centuries under Roman rule, their elevated social status as local elites, particularly in certain areas such as Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos.[125] Langellotti's case study of the priests in Tebtynis illustrates this point well: the group enjoyed both fiscal and liturgic privileges in the form of exemptions from the poll-tax and from certain compulsory services, such as service on the dikes.[126] Further, these priests appear to have maintained both their group exclusivity and their hold on the local economy. The former is evidenced in that this group appears to have formed a σύνοδος ἱερέων, or an association of priests, suggesting an attempt to foster a sense of community and solidarity around their status.[127] The latter can be seen in that, though the temple land of Tebtynis was confiscated in the late first century BCE, the evidence now suggests that this may not have been as extensive as previously thought. In fact, it appears that much of the temple land remained in private ownership, a situation supported by Langellotti's observation that men bearing priestly names appear to constitute between 7.8 and 14.3 percent of the individuals attested as arranging contracts, with a large majority of these contracts involving the leasing of land.[128] The combination of these factors (i.e., privileged civic

[124] Langellotti 2020: 106.
[125] For more on the decline of the priestly groups after this point, which was likely due to significant depopulation resulting from extreme climatic conditions leading to drought and famine (as a result of agricultural crisis), both ultimately resulting in increased economic pressures, see Love 2021a: 19–25. Though Marina Escolano-Poveda has recently asserted that the priesthood did not, in fact, experience decline during the second and third centuries CE, her argument is based, as Edward Love rightly notes, on literary evidence and almost entirely omits the historical evidence in support of priestly decline. Escolano-Poveda 2020, Love 2021b.
[126] Langellotti 2020: 107–108.
[127] P. Mich. 5 322b. Cf. Langellotti 2020: 106–107.
[128] Langellotti 2020: 108, 152; Monson 2005: 86–87.

status, power over the local economy and the maintenance of exclusivity) demonstrates that those in this priestly group were viewed as part of the social, and possibly economic, local elite.

* * *

These two aspects, economic standing and social standing, and their definitions outlined above provide the basis for how this thesis categorises the individuals of the διδασκαλικαί. Inevitably, there are situations where, due to the fragmentary or limited nature of papyrological documentation, only one aspect, social or economic, is available for scrutiny, and in some cases the scant evidence may attest to very little regarding even one of these aspects. Such situations are clearly indicated, and interpretations are put forward cautiously in light of comparative evidence from other individuals who are better documented and appear to be in similar situations.

THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis has five chapters split into two parts. The first part of the thesis, comprising Chapters One through Three, substantiates its first argument, namely that those involved in apprenticeship education came from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Chapter One assesses the evidence for individuals of lower socioeconomic status in the corpus, demonstrating that the best evidence for such a contingent is that of enslaved apprentices. To these enslaved individuals can be cautiously added a small number of free individuals whose circumstances suggest an impoverished background. Chapter Two assesses the evidence for individuals of moderate socioeconomic status in the corpus. It not only demonstrates the existence of such a contingent of middling socioeconomic individuals, but also argues that this contingent was likely the largest in the corpus. Chapter Three assesses the evidence for individuals of upper socioeconomic status participating in apprenticeship education and likewise demonstrates the existence of such a contingent in the corpus, detailing how their participation differs from those of other socioeconomic backgrounds.

The diverse backgrounds of those involved in apprenticeship education and, specifically, the appearance of a substantial contingent of individuals of moderate socioeconomic standing suggests that the prevailing interpretation of apprenticeship education put forward by Bradley is no longer tenable. Part Two of the thesis, comprising Chapters Four and Five, addresses this issue and provides a new interpretation of the role of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. Part Two makes the second argument of the thesis, that apprenticeship education regularly benefited those who undertook it, whether slave or free. Chapter Four argues that there were substantial economic and social incentives for individuals in Roman Egypt to undertake apprenticeship. Chapter Five focuses specifically on the relationship between slavery and apprenticeship. It argues two points: (i) contrary to recent scholarly assertions, undertaking an apprenticeship did not regularly lead to enslavement and (ii) though the circumstances of enslaved apprentices appear to have differed in certain ways from those of their freeborn counterparts, enslaved apprentices could nonetheless expect to benefit from apprenticeship education. In particular, it offered them the opportunity for upward social and economic mobility (as it did for freeborn apprentices). In the case of slaves, this upward mobility not only made obtaining freedom more likely but also would enable them to support themselves afterward.

Two appendices are provided at the end. The first contains a complete table of all currently known apprenticeship contracts from Greco-Roman Egypt. This table updates Bergamasco's list of 46 documents (attested in his publications between 1995 and 2008) to 54 documents. Furthermore, it provides the first list to include non-Greek apprenticeship contracts (two Demotic and one Coptic). The second appendix provides a prosopography, using the encyclopaedic approach outlined above, for all the individuals attested in the διδασκαλικαί corpus. This appendix details all that is currently known about them, where relevant discussions of their personal histories appear in the thesis, and the documents attesting them.

PART I:

The Variety of Socioeconomic Backgrounds

Chapter One

THE LOWER SOCIOECONOMIC CONTINGENT

The aim of Part I of this thesis is to demonstrate the diverse backgrounds of those involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. Part I contributes to an unacknowledged debate in scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί, namely which kinds of individuals participated in apprenticeship education. In his seminal article on the διδασκαλικαί, Keith Bradley describes all those appearing in these contracts (apart from two individuals) as lower class.[1] However, Christian Laes later states concerning these contracts that 'most children involved did not come from the lowest classes. These were typically agreements between the slightly better-off people from the so-called "middling classes"'.[2] These two claims regarding the socioeconomic status of most individuals in the corpus cannot simultaneously be true.[3] Part I of this thesis contributes to this debate by providing the first systematic assessment of the socioeconomic circumstances of the individuals attested in this corpus. The three chapters comprising Part I assess the evidence for individuals from lower, middling and upper socioeconomic backgrounds, respectively, demonstrating the presence of individuals from each. Chapter One argues for the presence of a contingent of lower socioeconomic individuals in the corpus, with the qualification that, apart from one individual, the only verifiably lower-socioeconomic status individuals were slaves. This chapter has two main sections: the first briefly demonstrates the presence of enslaved individuals in the corpus (a topic covered more thoroughly in Chapter Five, which discusses the relationship between apprenticeship and slavery); the second section examines the sole free

[1] Bradley 1985: 311, 323, 326–330. On the two individuals, see Bradley 1991: 109–111.
[2] Laes 2015: 476.
[3] It is tempting to reconcile the two claims by suggesting Bradley's category for 'lower class' was broader than that of Laes since Bradley' point of comparison is the family of Cicero whereas Laes concerned himself more with common individuals. A reconciliation of the claims along these lines, however, does not work. This is because Bradley makes clear what he understands to indicate that an individual is not of 'lower-class' standing by identifying one individual, a certain Pompeius, as not being so (Bradley 1991: 109). As will be shown in Chapter Two, Pompeius was not an international figure, but merely a moderately successful individual who rose to prominence on a local and perhaps even regional level. Thus, what Bradley implies would make an individual of moderate socioeconomic standing appears to correspond to that understood by Laes.

individual whose documents suggest he might be of lower socioeconomic status and then presents evidence that may, should new discoveries come to light, support the presence of other such individuals.

Slaves Undertaking Apprenticeships

Specific references to enslaved apprentices in the corpus are the most explicit evidence we have for the participation of those of lower socioeconomic status in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. That enslaved individuals were regularly apprenticed to learn trades is neither a new nor a controversial claim. The presence of enslaved individuals in the apprenticeship contracts of Roman Egypt was known from the outset of scholarly investigation into this topic in the early twentieth century.[4] Yet, it would be remiss not to outline the copious evidence for enslaved individuals engaging in apprenticeships in a chapter analysing lower socioeconomic individuals in the διδασκαλικαί. What follows is an outline of which contracts attest to enslaved pupils. For a fuller assessment of the circumstances of enslaved individuals in apprenticeship arrangements, see Chapter Five.

Table 3: List of Contracts with an Enslaved Apprentice

Count	Document	Identification	Place	Date	Trade
1	SB 22 15538	τὸν δοῦλόν μου	Alexandria	13 BCE	Musician
2	P. Mich 5 346a	παιδίσκην	Tebtynis	13 CE	Weaving
3	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Implied by trade (see below)	Oxyrhynchus	100-199 CE	Shorthand Writing
4	SPP 22 40	παιδίσκην δού[λην]	Soknopaiou Nesos	150 CE	Weaving
5	P. Oxy 4 724	δοῦλον	Oxyrhynchus	155 CE	Shorthand Writing
6	P. Oxy 14 1647	δούλην	Oxyrhynchus	175-199 CE	Weaving
7 (?)	P. Grenf. 2 59	τὸν ἑαυτην παῖδαν	Soknopaiou Nesos	188 CE	Weaving
8	PSI 3 241	δούλην	Antinoopolis	200-299 CE	Weaving
9	BGU 4 1021	δοῦλον	Oxyrhynchus	200-299 CE	Hairdressing

[4] This is demonstrated by the fact that one of the first apprenticeship contracts to be published, by Karl Wessely in 1902, was for an enslaved pupil from second-century Soknopaiou Nesos to learn the trade of weaving. The contract in question is now referred to as SPP 22 40. See Wessely 1902: 32.

10	P. Oxy. 86 5562	δούλην	Oxyrhynchus	236–238 CE	Weaving
11	P. Oxy. 41 2977	οἰκογενο̣ῦ̣[ς] δούλης	Oxyrhynchus	239-240 CE	Hairdressing
12 (?)	SB 18 13305	[παιδίσκη]ν?	Karanis	271 CE	Weaving
13	SB 24 16320	[οἰκ]ο̣γενο̣ῦς μ̣ου δο̣ύλης	Kellis	293-304 CE	Weaving

Of the 54 apprenticeship contracts known from Roman Egypt, at least 11 attest pupils who can be confidently described as enslaved (see Table 3 above) since these contracts identify them as slaves in the opening clauses. Unlike the 38 contracts for freeborn apprentices (see Table 4 below for an overview of the distribution of slaves and free apprentices in the corpus), which list the familial connection, 10 of these 11 contracts identify the apprentice as a slave with the word δοῦλος, δούλη or παιδίσκη. The remaining contract (number 3 in Table 3 above) is fragmentary and does not contain such an identifier, but the pupil is likely to have been a slave since shorthand writing tended to be practised by slaves.[5]

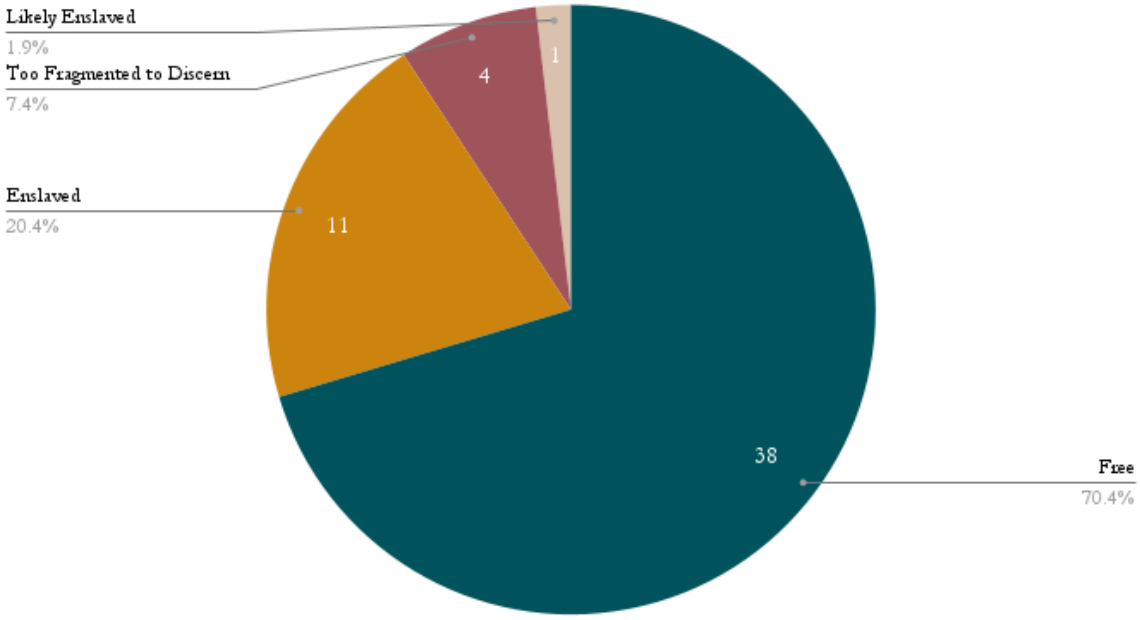
Two further contracts may attest enslaved apprentices but do not state the apprentices' status in the introductory line. The first is P. Grenf. 2 59, number 7 in Table 3 above. This document has been included in every list of the διδασκαλικαί since Zambon, and each list has marked the pupil as a slave. There is, in fact, good reason for this designation, but it is not as certain as previous scholars have thought. The line describing the pupil says τὸν ἑαυτην παῖδαν, or 'her boy', and, as noted by Van Minnen, the word παῖς, unlike παιδίσκη, is used in apprenticeship contracts to refer to both free and enslaved children in the corpus.[6] Despite the ambiguity of this term, the pupil is still likely enslaved since there is no statement of a familial relationship between the pupil and the woman arranging the apprenticeship as one would expect if the pupil were free. Consequently, while it is likely that this apprentice is enslaved, this cannot be asserted with the same degree of certainty as with the other 11 contracts.

SB 18 13305, or number 12 in Table 3 above, is counted as unknown in this thesis. It was initially understood as attesting an enslaved apprentice, but this interpretation has been challenged in

[5] On the connection between shorthand writing and enslavement, see Kirsh 2024 and pages 208–211 of this thesis. Not all shorthand writers were enslaved, but the the connection between the two was strong enough to lead Hans Teitler to claim in his monograph on shorthand writers in antiquity that, though there were certainly free shorthand writers, 'very often stenography was the work of slaves, or at any rate of *humiliores*'. Teitler 1985: 28.
[6] Van Minnen 1998: 202. The scribe appears to have written this phrase using incorrect Greek grammar.

recent years due to the fragmentary nature of the document. Among the sections missing from the document is the line introducing the pupil. In the *editio princeps*, Orsamus Pearl restored the reference to the pupil as Ἰσίωνος [παιδίσκη]ν, or 'the slave-girl of Ision'.[7] Peter van Minnen has proposed the alternative reading of Ἰσίωνος [ἀδελφοῦ θυ]γα[τ]έρα, or 'the daughter of Ision's brother',[8] which, despite appearing to supply the number of letters needed to fill the gap, he acknowledges as 'merely a suggestion'.[9] Roger Bagnall's remarks on papyri fragmented beyond possible textual restoration are apposite to this instance: '[e]ditors and critics often succumb to the temptation to rewrite the lost text, but that must be viewed as an exercise in prose composition, not as restoration, and historians use such reinvented texts at their peril'.[10]

Table 4: Distribution of Enslaved and Free Apprentices in the Διδασκαλικαί



Enslaved apprentices, then, constitute a sizeable contingent of the corpus. Ten of the 54 apprentices can be confidently categorised as enslaved due to their identification as either δοῦλος/δούλη or παιδίσκη. A further apprentice is categorised as enslaved due to being apprenticed to learn shorthand writing since this trade tended to be learned by enslaved individuals (see Chapter 5). Another apprentice appears to

[7] Pearl 1985: 256.
[8] Van Minnen 1998: 202–203.
[9] Van Minnen 1998: 203.
[10] Bagnall 2020: 27.

have been enslaved due to the absence of any indication of a familial relationship between the pupil and the woman arranging the contract. Thus, 12 out of the 50 pupils whose status can be verified, or 24%, can be confidently categorised as enslaved, and this figure provides the most explicit evidence that individuals of lower socioeconomic status participated in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt.

Free Individuals of Lower Socioeconomic Status

Only one individual in the διδασκαλικαί corpus can be reasonably suggested to have been both free and of lower socioeconomic status: Pausiris, son of Panephremmis, whose personal history is covered in this section. The evidence for other free individuals of lower socioeconomic status is scarce, and what evidence exists is circumstantial. Keith Bradley acknowledges only two individuals (Pompeius and Hermias, covered in Chapter Two) as not belonging to the lower socioeconomic stratum; he refers to all others as lower-class.[11] Bradley does not make this generalisation because he believes the rest of these individuals were slaves—only 10 of the 30 contracts he compiled were for enslaved apprentices—yet he offers no justification for assuming that the majority of freeborn apprentices were also of lower socioeconomic status.

As is demonstrated in Chapters Two and Three, Bradley's claim that the corpus consisted almost solely of lower socioeconomic individuals is untenable since there is significant evidence that individuals of middling and upper socioeconomic status participated in apprenticeship education. However, the theory that the corpus contains both free and enslaved individuals of lower socioeconomic status deserves serious consideration since, if true, it would substantially affect our understanding of the nature of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. If the only individuals of lower socioeconomic status involved in apprenticeship education were enslaved, then apprenticeship would appear to have been inaccessible to free individuals of that status and open only to those of some financial means (i.e., those of middling economic means and above, or those wealthy enough to own slaves).[12] If the evidence

[11] Bradley 1991: 112, 116.
[12] On the involvement of individuals of middling and upper socioeconomic status, see Chapters Two and Three.

suggests that the contingent of lower socioeconomic individuals constituted both the free and the enslaved, however, then apprenticeship would have been open even to the poor who wished to participate but had no wealthy master to arrange this for them.

The present section assesses the evidence that could—however weakly—suggest the presence of free individuals of lower socioeconomic status in the corpus. Chapters Two and Three, which argue for the presence of middle and upper socioeconomic contingents in the διδασκαλικαί, benefit from the availability of both direct and circumstantial evidence. This availability facilitates a relatively detailed investigation into personal finances and social status through documentation. The current section's investigation into the presence of free individuals of lower socioeconomic status lacks such an advantage, being based upon circumstantial evidence—except for the documentation that attests Pausiris' status—and lending itself to multiple interpretations. The available evidence is nevertheless examined since the presence of free, lower-status individuals would carry significant implications for our understanding of apprenticeship education in this context, as stated above.

Lower socioeconomic status is more difficult to determine than higher for two reasons. Firstly, for conclusive proof that an individual came from a lower socioeconomic background, the evidence would need to clearly demonstrate that their πόρος was below 200 drachmas (based on the financial thresholds defined for this thesis and outlined in the Introduction) or that they did not have an elevated social status. The limited nature of the documentation constrains investigation on this point. One of the main reasons for possessing written documents in Roman Egypt was the protection of property, and the acquisition of documents was expensive.[13] Poorer individuals had less property to protect, if any, and less financial capability to even acquire such documents. It is not that poorer individuals did not acquire some documents (they certainly did), but those of at least moderate means were more likely to leave the kind of direct evidence needed to clearly discern their financial state. Such documents might attest, for example, an individual's payment for their home (rented or bought) or the total value of their possessions (which could then be compared to that of those more advantaged individuals outlined in the following two chapters). These documents would also reference an individual's social status (e.g.,

[13] Bagnall 2020: 12

civic status, priesthood, bouletic class). But, except in the case of Pausiris, son of Panephremmis, such documents are not attested for individuals in this corpus except in cases where they demonstrate at least moderate financial means.

Secondly, given the paucity of documentation for many of the individuals in this corpus, it is often impossible to determine whether an individual is, in fact, of lower economic status or simply experiencing temporary financial hardship. For example, were it not for the single word identifying a certain Hermias, whose circumstances are detailed in the next chapter, as the son of an *agoranomos,* the contract in which he appears could easily be interpreted as evidence that he was of a poorer background since it is one of the few διδασκαλικαί contracts to include an indentured servitude arrangement for the child.[14] As is argued more thoroughly in Chapter Five, however, this particular contract was arranged in the middle of an economically troubled time in which local magistrates appear to have been especially financially impacted. Consequently, it is more likely that Hermias was not from a poorer background but that his family was experiencing temporary financial hardship. Caution, then, is warranted in claiming that an individual in this corpus is of lower socioeconomic status when, like Hermias, that person is not attested outside their διδασκαλική contract.

This section begins by introducing the one individual whose personal documents suggest he may have been both free and of lower socioeconomic status. Then, it examines two aspects of circumstantial evidence for the possible existence of others of such status. This evidence is highly inconclusive but must be considered because its application to individuals of middle or upper socioeconomic status is problematic, and the alternative is that it applies to free individuals of lower socioeconomic status. Finally, this section presents two case studies that may attest to families of disadvantaged backgrounds who, depending on the interpretation of the evidence, may qualify as of lower socioeconomic status.

[14] P. Oxy. 31 2586.

Pausiris, Son of Panephremmis

The one individual who can justifiably be suggested to have been both free and of lower socioeconomic status is Pausiris, son of Panephremmis. Pausiris appears as a teacher of weaving to an enslaved pupil in a contract from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos dated to 150 CE.[15] The eight documents in Pausiris' archive shed some light on his family's history. Three of the eight documents are tax receipts, two of which are for the weaver's tax.[16] These tax documents combined with the apprenticeship contract in which Pausiris appears as a teacher of weaving reveal that the weaving trade was hereditary in his family.

The most telling evidence of the family's lower socioeconomic background is the three πενθήμερος certificates, or receipts for having completed the five-day dike corvée, in their archive.[17] The dike corvée was undertaken primarily by those of lower financial means, as discussed above.[18] Rather than serve the state through liturgic service, 'Egyptian peasants who, for the most part, did not have the financial means to contribute to the liturgical system, were obliged to spend five days (ἡμέρας πέντε) each year of unpaid work on the upkeep of the irrigation system'.[19] Furthermore, the dike corvée was the obligation of those of Egyptian civic status—the lowest status—with Roman and Alexandrian citizens, metropolitans, and priests being exempt from the work.[20] Thus, any individual attested in such πενθήμερος certificates decidedly did not have an elevated civic status and was deemed financially incapable of fulfilling liturgic obligations by the state. Such individuals were ἄπορος, or lacking wealth, which fits the definition used in this thesis for lower socioeconomic standing.

The πενθήμερος certificates in Pausiris' archive attest that his family were of lower socioeconomic status, specifically by revealing that he and his father were required to serve for the dike corvée. The name in the third πενθήμερος certificate is missing, but Graham Claytor proposes that the individual in question is either Pausiris (serving for a second time) or an unknown brother of Pausiris

[15] SPP 22 40.
[16] For two of the tax documents (one for the weaver's tax and the other various other taxes), see Gonis 2016 numbers 1 and 2. For the other weaver's tax document, SB 22 15486.
[17] SB 8 9864, P. Mich. inv. 1602e and 3860b (for the latter two, see numbers 1 and 2 in Claytor 2018).
[18] See the Introduction, page 30. See also, Sijpesteijn 1964: 8–9; Claytor 2018: 179 fn. 3; Grammateus *s.v.* 'Penthemeros Receipt'.
[19] Grammateus *s.v.* 'Penthemeros Receipt'.
[20] Sijpesteijn 1964: 9.

since the familial relations detailed in the contract clearly indicate that the individual in question is a son of Panephremmis.[21] The evidence suggests that this lower socioeconomic standing was intergenerational.

Despite this evidence of their status, two documents from the archive, one which attests a payment of the weaver's tax by Pausiris' father and another that Pausiris had the purity of a calf certified by a priest in Soknopaiou Nesos, should caution against the assumption that πενθήμερος certificates indicate destitution.[22] The former attests to Panephremmis, the father of Pausiris, paying a total of 90 drachmas for the weaver's tax for himself and his two sons. Regarding the second document, the attested prices for cattle in the 2nd century CE in Egypt range from 62–120 drachmas, with the outlier of one calf selling for 330 drachmas, which Hans-Joachim Drexhage has described as 'exceptionally high'.[23] We do not know what price Pausiris paid for the calf, but his capability to do so indicates some discretionary income. Even if the price was on the lower end of attested prices for bovines, more than the monthly wages of an unskilled agricultural labourer (approx. 20–22 drachmas)[24] would be required to meet the minimum income necessary to save up for such a purchase. Thus, while the family of Pausiris was appears to have been of lower socioeconomic status (as suggested by both their participation in the dike corvée and the fact that no individual in the family appears to demonstrably had more than 200 drachmas), they appear to have been better off than unskilled labourers and were by no means destitute.

Circumstantial Evidence for Free Individuals of Lower Socioeconomic Status

As noted above, Pausiris' is the only family in the corpus where direct evidence might indicate lower socioeconomic status. However, certain circumstantial evidence may hint at the presence of other free individuals of lower socioeconomic status. As stated above, though this evidence is inconclusive, it requires consideration; even if firm conclusions cannot yet be drawn, future scholars with more

[21] Claytor 2018: 182.
[22] SB 22 15486 and W.Chr. 89.
[23] Drexhage 1991: 302. Drexhage describes the calf selling for 330 drachmas as 'Erstaunlich hoch… Eine Erklärung sehe ich nur darin, daß es sich hier um ein außergewöhnliches Exemplar von Jungstier gehandelt haben könnte'.
[24] See Introduction.

evidence may be able to do so. In any case, the evidence presented in this section would not fit comfortably with individuals of middle or upper socioeconomic status and therefore cannot be set aside. The first item of evidence is the identification of certain individuals by their scars, and the second is the appearance of the phrase 'Persian of the Epigone' after certain individuals' names.

Twenty-two of the individuals attested in the corpus are identified by a scar (οὐλή), and a further two are identified specifically as lacking distinctive signs (ἄσημος).[25] Information regarding scars or distinctive signs appears at the beginning of the contract, immediately after other basic information such as an individual's name, patronymic, and sometimes approximate age. For example, Kleimas, a man who lived in the village of Ptolemais Drymou in the late-second century and who apprenticed his son to learn weaving, is introduced as 'Kleimas, a freedman and son of Areios… being about fifty years old with a scar on his right elbow', while Herakleides, the teacher to whom Kleimas apprenticed his son, is introduced as 'Herakleides, a weaver from Tebtynis(?), being about thirty years old with a scar on his forehead on the left side'.[26]

It is tempting to take the mere presence of a scar as indicative of lower socioeconomic status, as scars sizable enough to be used as identifiers might be the result of hazardous work or limited access to medical aid. However, the mere presence of a scar is not sufficient to signify lower socioeconomic background and, in fact, could indicate the opposite, since scars from surgeries or military service would indicate higher economic status.[27] Nonetheless, there may still be reason to suspect that the use of a scar as an identifier in a contract dated to the Roman era (as with scar references in the διδασκαλικαί) could indicate lower socioeconomic status. The theory would be that scars were used by scribes as the lower social status equivalent to other identifiers for those of higher social standing. All parties in a contract needed to be identifiable for the enforcement of contract conditions. For individuals of prominence, their social status itself, in addition to patronymics, appears to be the preferred identifier. In one contract

[25] These individuals are attested in SB 18 13305, P. Vars SN7 8, SPP 2240, PSI 10 1132, P. Mich. 2 121r., P. Tebt. 2 442, P. Tebt. 2 385, P. Mich. inv. 4238 (see Eckerman 2011), P. Ross. Georg. 2 18, SB 20 15162, P. Fouad 37.
[26] P. Vars. SN7 8.
[27] For an overview of the scar references in papyrological documentation and what can be discerned about the causes of such scars from a medical perspective, see Papakostas *et al.* 2022. Examples of soldiers being moderately well-off include Pompeius and the soldiers, explored below, serving as witnesses in the Ptolemaic wills. See Clarysse 1991.

from the corpus, a certain Hermias is identified as the son of a former magistrate, which reveals that he is part of the bouletic class. Another two individuals, Menodorus and Apollonius, are identified as citizens of Alexandria. In these instances, the reference to an individual's status (and to their parents) sufficed for identificatory purposes. For individuals of no prominence, with no elevated social status, their bodies would have been the only resource available for identification.

In his study of the wills of the Petrie Papyri, Willy Clarysse notes that the use of scars for identification appears to become less prevalent in the Roman Era.[28] The fact that the use of scars in legal formulae changes between the Ptolemaic and Roman period suggests a change in the function of those scar identifiers. In the Ptolemaic era, scars served as a single item in a comprehensive list for identifying an individual.[29] The fact that scars are only occasionally used in the Roman period suggests that they were used to identify individuals only in specific circumstances. It may be that these circumstances are those outlined above—when an individual was of lower socioeconomic standing, having no prominent social status. Complicating this theory are the appearance, in the διδασκαλικαί, of individuals identified by scars who are known to have been of at least middling socioeconomic standing.[30] Absent a systematic assessment of the use of scars in the Roman era, however, such a theory ultimately remains conjectural.[31]

Though identification by scars on its own does not indicate lower socioeconomic status, combining this evidence with the identification of an individual as the inferior party in a contract may point that way. The term Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, or 'Persian of the Epigone', is used to indicate the inferior party in the Roman era. Though in the Ptolemaic era the term originally indicated an individual of Persian descent, by the Roman era it had come to signify the inferior or disadvantaged party in a

[28] Clarysse 1991: 54. Whereas identification by scars applies to only about 14% of individuals in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, it occurs regularly in the Ptolemaic witness-identification clauses.
[29] Clarysse 1991: 49—55.
[30] Menodorus, teacher of weaving and citizen of Alexandria is identified by a scar (P. Fouad 37), as are Segathis, a priestess who lived in Soknopaiou Nesos in the mid-second century, and her son, Stotoetis (Stud. Pal. SPP 22 40). As is discussed in Chapter Two, nothing is known about Menodorus' finances, though his apprenticeship contract states that he is an Alexandrian citizen, which suggests middling socioeconomic status. Segathis and Stotoetis, as discussed in Chapter Three, undoubtedly came from a family of significant economic means, as demonstrated by the fact that Segathis receives a substantial loan from Stotoetis (840 drachmas) a few months after she arranges a weaving apprenticeship for her slave girl (BGU XI 2043).
[31] Some hope for such a study can be gleaned from the recent publication by Andrew Connor on scar descriptions in lists where the author details in a footnote that he is currently working on such a systematic study of scar descriptions and usage in papyri. Connor 2024: 35 fn 11.

contract.[32] Though this identification on its own does not directly evidence lower socioeconomic status, as the inferior party in a contract is not necessarily poor, Marco Bergamasco has claimed that the use of this term in the διδασκαλικαί may nonetheless indicate lower socioeconomic background.[33] Since this term is uncommon in the διδασκαλικαί (7 individuals of 168), as is identification by scars (24 individuals of 168), and the evidence for those of lower socioeconomic status is also scarce, their combination may indicate a slim representation of lower-status participation. Of the seven individuals in the διδασκαλικαί corpus identified as 'Persian of the Epigone',[34] four are also identified by their scars,[35] demonstrating the overlap one might expect under this theory.

A contract from the village of Talithis dated to 61 CE attests that Thermouthis, a forty-two-year-old woman with a scar on the middle of her chin, with her twenty-two-year-old son and guardian, Psenkebkis, with a scar on the left side of his neck, arranged an apprenticeship in mat weaving for her younger son with Konopis, a mat weaver with a scar on the middle of his forehead.[36] Thermouthis, Psenkebkis and Konopis are also identified as 'Persian of the Epigone'. The identification of all three individuals, including the teacher, as the inferior party in this contract would appear to indicate that 'inferior party' carries a meaning other than the party using the contract to fulfil a need, or the disadvantaged party. Otherwise, how could every person in this contract be the disadvantaged party? The fourth individual identified both by a scar and as the inferior party in the διδασκαλικαί is Tasoukis, a forty-nine-year-old woman from Tebtynis, who apprenticed her son to learn weaving in 42 CE.[37] Nothing is known about these four individuals beyond the information contained in the apprenticeship contracts attesting them. Yet, the fact that each is identified by their scars and as the inferior party may suggest they were of lower socioeconomic background. In any case, the combination of these details makes categorising these individuals as middle or upper socioeconomic status difficult. The case for

[32] For a fuller history of the usage of term, see Vandorpe 2008. For this term being used to signify the inferior party of a contract, see Bevan 1927: 109–111; Rowlandson 1999: 142 fn. 9; Van Minnen 2016: 145.
[33] Bergamasco 1995: 111–112.
[34] See P. Oslo 3 141, PSI 10 1132, P. Mich 2 121r., P. Ross. Georg. 2 18.
[35] Another of the seven occurrences of this term in the διδασκαλικαί is in a contract where an individual is also identified with a scar. However, this specific contract is so fragmented that none of the individuals are identifiable by name. Consequently, it is unclear whether the individual identified as 'Persian of the Epigone' is the same individual as the one identified later in the contract as having a scar on their finger. P. Ross. Georg. 2 18.
[36] PSI 10 1132.
[37] P. Mich. 2 121 R 28.

their lower status is by no means conclusive, however, particularly in the absence of a systematic study of the use of scars and more direct evidence (as in the case of Pausiris) of lower socioeconomic standing.

Two Case Studies: Two Families in Ankyropolis and Polydeuces of Oxyrhynchus

Two examples in the διδασκαλικαί may provide important evidence, depending on their interpretation, for free individuals of lower socioeconomic status in the corpus. The first is the relationship between two families in early second-century Ankyropolis; the second is an unusual arrangement made by a father for his daughter in mid-third century Oxyrhynchus. Due to the ambiguity of the circumstances in each case, two hypotheses that make sense of all the data can be presented for each case study: a darker scenario, in which certain individuals are poor and exploited, and a more positive scenario of reciprocal benefit.

In the first case study, two contracts from the city of Ankyropolis in the Herakleopolite nome, dated to 98 and 99 CE, provide an example where one party may have been from a lower-status background. In these contracts, a couple, Ischyras and Didyme, apprentice both the children under their guardianship to another couple, Isidorus and Apollonarion. The first apprenticeship is arranged for Ischyras and Didyme's daughter, Suairous, whose trade is not mentioned.[38] The second apprenticeship is for their son or ward, Eudaimon, to learn a burial-related trade from Apollonarion.[39] This second contract contains a reference to the first and indicates that Suairous is still undertaking her apprenticeship with Isidorus and Apollonarion, meaning that at this point, the two known children of Ischyras and Didyme are living and undertaking apprenticeships with Isidorus and Apollonarion.

That these two apprenticeships occur between two families seems to indicate a relationship between them, though the nature of that relationship is unclear. One possibility is a relationship of reciprocity in which Isidorus and Apollonarion benefit from the domestic assistance and help in

[38] P. Heid. Gr. 4 326. The editors of this papyrus suggest that it might be a work contract (Dienstvertrag). However, a reference to this contract in P. Heid. Gr. 4 327 confirms that it is, in fact, a διδασκαλική, or apprenticeship contract by referring to it as such.

[39] P. Heid. Gr. 4 327. The trade in question is σωμφιακὴ. For a fuller assessment of the possibilities of what this trade could be, see footnote 12 on page 5 above. Regarding the relationship between Eudaimon and Ischyras, the editors of this papyrus suggest that Eudaimon might be a ward of Ischyras instead of his son. The document is unclear, however, and the word preceding 'son' (υἱὸν) is not fully preserved. Whether Eudaimon is Ischyras' son or the son of a close relative or friend, the boy is clearly under the custodial care of Ischyras.

Apollonarion's embalming business. In turn, Ischyras and Didyme not only have their children clothed, housed and fed by Isidorus and Apollonarion but also receive their children's wages, increasing their household income while simultaneously lowering their expenses. Ischyras and Didyme also benefit from their son Eudaimon's acquisition of an economically promising trade and their daughter Suairous' experience as a household assistant to a more prosperous family. Both families, then, would have benefitted from such an arrangement, finding it agreeable to enter such an arrangement twice. The existence of reciprocal relationships elsewhere in the διδασκαλικαί, such as between the weavers Pausiris Sr and Epinikos (see Chapter Four, pages 160–163), further supports the possibility of such a relationship between the families of Ischyras and Isidorus.

However, a darker interpretation is still possible: Ischyras and Didyme may have either been poor or experiencing temporary financial hardship and consequently arranged apprenticeships for their children with a prosperous local family to alleviate the financial burden of supporting them and to earn money from their labour. That prosperous local family exploited the poorer family by accepting the cheap labour. Such a scenario would match Bradley's description of the subjects of this corpus as the struggling lower classes making use of apprenticeship for a lack of better options.

The evidence regarding whether the relationship between these two Ankyropolite families was one of reciprocity or exploitation is inconclusive. In the former scenario, the situation would provide evidence of the use of apprenticeship for building social reciprocity and maintaining economic stability (on which see chapter Four). In the latter, the family of Ischyras and Didyme was not of lower socioeconomic status but was experiencing financial hardship, or else they were of that status and would therefore count as an instance of lower socioeconomic individuals in this corpus.

In the second case study, one of the latest dated apprenticeship contracts from Oxyrhynchus suggests that the family of the apprentice was either experiencing financial hardship or came from a lower socioeconomic background.[40] In this contract, a certain Polydeuces arranges an apprenticeship for his daughter Aphrodite with the weaver Thonis. The contract states that Polydeuces received a loan of 400 drachmas from Thonis and would not receive his daughter back until he repaid the full 400

[40] P. Oxy. 67 4596.

drachmas. This type of arrangement was referred to in antiquity as παραμονή and was a form of indentured servitude in which the indentured servant's labour substituted for interest on a loan.[41] Chapter Five of this thesis argues that this type of indentured servitude arrangement is highly unusual in the apprenticeship contracts of the διδασκαλικαί corpus, so the fact that Polydeuces utilises it in Aphrodite's apprenticeship suggests either lower socioeconomic status or temporary financial hardship.

Another detail, that Aphrodite is to be clothed and fed by Thonis instead of receiving wages, further supports the idea that Polydeuces and Aphrodite were in a disadvantageous financial position. The financial burden of supporting the apprentice (i.e., room and board, taxes the apprentice must pay) is normally shared by the parent/slave-owner and the teacher rather than assumed by the teacher alone.[42] It is unclear which party is responsible for paying Aphrodite's poll and trade tax while she is apprenticing under Thonis, as this information is not included in the contract. Either way, this contract establishes an arrangement for Polydeuces that reduces or removes the financial burden of caring for his daughter for four years. Moreover, Aphrodite's apprenticeship arrangement is the only currently attested διδασκαλική where room and board are explicitly labelled as substituting for wages (though there are contracts where no wage is mentioned), which implies that Polydeuces and Aphrodite were uniquely disadvantaged.[43] In summary, Polydeuces utilised an unusual arrangement whereby his

[41] For a fuller description of παραμονή arrangements, see the Introduction (specifically, pages 9–10) and Chapter 5 (specifically, pages 166–188) of this thesis.

[42] For example, in the contract P. Vars SN7 8 from Ptolemais Drymou in 169 CE, the father feeds and clothes the child and pays for any outstanding taxes for the child, but the teacher pays for taxes during the apprenticeship. In P. Mich. 2 121 r 2 8 from Tebtynis in 42 CE, the mother pays the poll tax for the child, but food, clothes and the trade tax is paid by the teacher. In P. Tebt. 2 385 from Tebtynis in 117 CE, the child lives at home with the mother and is fed by her, but the teacher provides the money for the food in addition to supplying clothing, paying for all taxes and paying the child wages.

[43] Arrangements without a wage for the student are particularly prevalent in situations where a slave-owner is apprenticing their slave to learn a trade where the teacher does not financially benefit from the work of the student. For example, in SB 22 15538 from first-century BCE Alexandria, no wage is provided to the slave-boy Narcissus who is to learn to play several types of flutes. In P. Oxy. 41 299 (second century CE) and P. Oxy. 4 724 (155 CE) from Oxyrhynchus, no wage is given to the slaves who learn the skill of short-hand writing. In all three of these situations, the slave-owner supplies the teacher with wages. The traditional interpretation for this arrangement is that certain trades are unlikely to lead to increased income with a pupil around. Whereas a weaver can give an apprentice a basic task to work on which will help create a product, teaching a pupil to play the flute requires that the flautist take time out of money-earning endeavours to teach. This led Adolf Berger to suggest a different legal category for each situation, a Lehrlingsvertrag (or apprenticeship contract) and Lehrvertrag (teaching contract) (Berger 1911: 168–169). *Contra* Freeman 2023: 50, who claims originality for this observation; this explanation for there being no wages for certain trades is one of oldest points of agreement amongst scholars working on apprenticeship contracts and regularly appears in the scholarly publications on them. See Berger 1911: 1968; Westermann 1914b: 608–609; Bergamasco 1995: 100–102. See also the Introduction to this thesis, pp. 9–9.

daughter became indentured, he personally became a debtor, his daughter forewent wages for four years of labour and he was either partially or completely freed from the financial burden of supporting her.[44]

The final piece of evidence for Polydeuces and Aphrodite arranging this apprenticeship under disadvantageous circumstances is that Aphrodite is a freeborn girl apprenticed to learn a trade: as has been noted by Peter van Minnen, freeborn girls appear only rarely in the apprenticeship contracts (4 out of 54 apprentices).[45] In his article, Van Minnen observes that, aside from this contract, in all instances where a freeborn girl appears she is apprenticed to a female teacher.[46] Van Minnen thinks this is to ensure that the girl will not be sexually harassed by the teacher, in whose home she would have to live.[47] Even in the situation above, with Ischyras' daughter, the girl is apprenticed into a home where a couple are to teach her. If Van Minnen is correct, then this unique situation, in which a girl entering puberty is apprenticed to learn a trade from a male teacher, and reside in his house day and night, implies a particularly disadvantageous situation where Polydeuces had no better options for his daughter's future.

However likely this bleak interpretation might seem, it is complicated by two details. The first is a single word in the opening of the contract identifying Thonis as an ἱστωνάρχης. Kerstin Droß-Krüpe, analysing the various roles and tasks associated with the ἱστωνάρχης in more recently discovered documents, suggests that the occupier of this role obtained a state-authorised monopoly over a certain area to issue permits for weaving in that area.[48] In some cases (e.g., Thebes) the ἱστωνάρχης had the authority to approve or reject requests to build looms, profited from issuing these permits and received monthly payments from regional weavers for the right to practise weaving.[49] This additional authority and profit appear to have supplemented his own work as a weaver, which included taking on employees and apprentices.[50] The ἱστωνάρχης, then, was a weaver who had managed to obtain significant authority and was likely of at least moderate financial means (if not somewhat wealthy) given the income gained

[44] Cf. Parsons 2007: 116ff. for a similar conclusion.
[45] Van Minnen 1998.
[46] Van Minnen 1998: 201.
[47] There have been some mixed responses to this theory. Anna Kelley is skeptical since an enslaved girl getting pregnant is not economically sensible either (Kelley 2018: 147–148). Miriam Groen-Vallinga suggests that it is explainable due to human-capital theory where women are not likely to earn as much as men and therefore they were less likely to undertake apprenticeships (Groen-Vallinga 2022: 121).
[48] Droß-Krüpe 2020.
[49] Droß-Krüpe 2020: 135. Cf. SB 26 16365 for an example of an ostracon which Droß-Krüpe suggests is one such payment.
[50] Droß-Krüpe 2020: 134—136.

from the granting of permits.[51] Polydeuces would be hard pressed to find a more ideal teacher to instruct his daughter in the weaving trade. As the ἱστωνάρχης, Thonis was likely among the most powerful and well-connected weavers in the region. Few weavers were better suited to equip their pupils with both the technical skill of weaving and the business skills necessary to excel in that industry—and perhaps to one day obtain the lucrative position of ἱστωνάρχης. From this perspective, Aphrodite's apprenticeship would appear to be advantageous, and she and Polydeuces would not likely be of lower status.

The second detail which complicates the bleakness of the first scenario pertains to the loan Polydeuces received. Thonis' position as a ἱστωνάρχης suggests some business acumen, and he would have assessed Polydeuces' situation to ensure he would not lose money by giving a loan to him, for lending implies confidence in the recipient to repay the loan. If Thonis judged Polydeuces capable of loan repayment, it may be because Polydeuces was planning to make an investment which he hoped would exceed his loan over the course of four years. He decided to approach the most successful, and powerful, weaver in Oxyrhynchus to combine both a loan and an apprenticeship for his daughter using a hybrid παραμονή-διδασκαλική arrangement. As stated above, the inclusion of the παραμονή arrangement meant that his daughter's education and labour would cover the interest on his loan, leaving him less to repay after the four years than would a traditional loan. Polydeuces was confident that his daughter would be well cared for because Thonis possessed more than sufficient funds to provide for her and, should Polydeuces' investment fail, she would be cared for while he attempted to remedy the situation. Under this theory, Polydeuces and his family would not be classified as of lower socioeconomic background.

Overall, the case for either family's lower socioeconomic status seems inconclusive based on the available evidence, and only the discovery or publication of further documents attesting to their circumstances could provide the necessary insight. However, the ambiguity of their circumstances justifies their inclusion in an investigation into free individuals of lower socioeconomic status in this corpus.

[51] That he likely had several streams of income (granting permits and his own weaving business) also helps explain how he is capable of giving out a loan during an economic recession.

A contingent of lower socioeconomic individuals was clearly involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. What is unclear is whether this contingent was composed primarily of slaves or whether it also included free individuals. At least a quarter of the apprentices from this corpus were of lower socioeconomic status purely due to being enslaved, but beyond these, only Pausiris, the weaving teacher from second century Soknopaiou Nesos, was clearly of lower socioeconomic status. While there is circumstantial evidence for other free individuals of lower socioeconomic status, this evidence is problematic, being inconclusive and open to more than one interpretation. Undoubtedly, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and any *argumentum ad silentio* or *argumentum ad ignorantiam* against the presence of free, lower socioeconomic individuals in this corpus would unduly dismiss what little can be deduced from the circumstantial evidence. The identification of some individuals by their scars and of some by the term 'Persian of the Epigone' make it reasonable to suggest that they may have come from poorer backgrounds. The evidence is not conclusive regarding whether the family of Ischyras and Didyme or of Polydeuces match Bradley's description of the lower classes who engaged in apprenticeship due to lacking better options. In both cases, two plausible interpretations could explain the scant data, one reciprocal and the other unilaterally disadvantageous.

A conservative estimate of the lower socioeconomic contingent in the corpus would include only those who are enslaved and Pausiris. Beyond these, certainty is impossible given the current evidence. If other free individuals of lower socioeconomic standing participated in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, likely candidates would include the families of Thermouthis, Konopis, Tasoukis, Ischyras and Didyme, and Polydeuces and Aphrodite.

Chapter Two

THE SO-CALLED 'MIDDLING CLASSES'

In his seminal article on the διδασκαλικαί, Keith Bradley asserts that apprenticeship education 'impeded any possibility of real social advancement'.[1] He then describes the instances of two individuals of elevated social status (a Roman legionary veteran and the son of a former magistrate) apprenticing their sons to learn linen weaving as unusual.[2] In his analysis, Bradley does not identify any other individuals in this corpus as having such an established civic or economic status.

Bradley's assertion, however, stands in stark contrast to a statement by Christian Laes:

> The apprenticeship contracts imply that most children involved did not come from the lowest classes. These were typically agreements between the slightly better-off people from the so-called 'middling classes': through mutual agreement, they apprenticed their children to fellow artisans in order to invest in their future skills.[3]

Beyond this statement, Laes provides no rationale for categorising these individuals as being of the 'middling class' or 'slightly better off', but upon closer inspection, the corpus does in fact attest at least twelve individuals (including the two mentioned by Bradley) connected to trade education (whether as teachers of a craft or parents of pupils learning a trade)[4] who would best be described as of middling economic means (i.e., their accumulated wealth was between 200 and 4,000 drachmas).[5] There is also reason to believe that a further 37 individuals (totalling 49 of the 168 individuals attested in the corpus)

[1] For the legionary veteran, see Bradley 1991: 109. For the son of the magistrate, *ibid*: 110–111.
[2] Bradley 1991: 109. Cf. P. Fouad 37.
[3] Laes 2015: 476.
[4] Though scholarly investigations have tended to focus either on the teachers or the pupil and their families, it is necessary to treat both together in a social history as both were indisputably part of the same milieu. It is not uncommon to find a parent apprenticing their children to a teacher and later appearing as a teacher themselves. Further, by undertaking an apprenticeship, pupils were entering into a workplace where they themselves might, after perfecting their craft, ultimately find themselves teaching the trade as well. For an example of a treatment focused on the teachers, see Liu 2017; for pupils and their families, see Bradley 1985, 1991: 103–124.
[5] For these numbers, see pages 25–33 in the Introduction.

were likely of middling economic means. Thus, what Bradley saw as an unusual situation instead appears to be a trend in want of an explanation. This curious phenomenon is the impetus for this chapter.

Both Bradley and Laes have made claims regarding the demographics of those involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, yet neither scholar provides a rationale for his categorisations. Missing from scholarship is a detailed analysis of all the documents associated with individuals in this corpus who might be of middling socioeconomic status. This chapter argues that a contingent of individuals of middling socioeconomic status did in fact participate in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt and that this contingent is the largest in the corpus. This chapter substantiates Laes' claim, stated above. It accomplishes its aims through two assessments. The first is an in-depth prosopographical investigation into the twelve individuals/families who demonstrate the existence of a contingent of middling socioeconomic means. These twelve are singled out for a prosopographical study because their personal documents provide a clearer indication of their status than others attested in the corpus. The twelve individuals are analysed in order of those with the most documentation to those with the least. The second section examines certain circumstantial evidence from the apprenticeship contracts that suggests that more individuals were of moderate economic means than the twelve analysed in the first part.

SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES OF MIDDLING MEANS

Lucius Pompeius Niger and Didyme

We begin with one of the individuals Bradley described as unusual: the Roman legionary veteran. Lucius Pompeius Niger, also known as Zoilos and regularly referred to as Pompeius in private letters, was born in Oxyrhynchus in the early years of the first century CE. He became a soldier around 20 CE and retired around 44 CE, at which point he was granted Roman citizenship.[6] Before gaining this civic status, Pompeius appears to have been of metropolitan status, based on the information contained in a

[6] For an explanation for why he received Roman citizenship only after being discharged from the military, see Mangerud 2017: 36, Whitehorne 1988: 447–448, Mitthof 2000: 403–404. Cf. Waebens 2013.

tax document from 30 CE likely belonging to Pompeius that lists his poll-tax as twelve drachmas (the reduced rate given to individuals of metropolitan status).[7]

In all previous assessments of the διδασκαλικαί, Pompeius' involvement in apprenticeship education appeared to those working on the corpus to be limited to the single apprenticeship contract in which he explicitly appears. In this contract, Pompeius arranges for his son, Fuscus, to learn linen weaving.[8] However, in a recent assessment of Pompeius' archive, Jens Mangerud has argued that another of Pompeius' sons, Syros, was likely apprenticed to learn the trade as well.[9] Mangerud's assessment rests on his argument for the identity of Pompeius' wife, a factor complicated by his military service, which prevented Pompeius from officially marrying before his retirement.

Several women who appear in Pompeius' documents have been identified as his wife. Heraklous and Charitous have been the primary candidates, for they both appear as authors of letters to Pompeius in his archive.[10] However, in neither case are details about the women's relationship to him provided. Mangerud argues that another woman, a certain Didyme, daughter of Dionysius, should instead be identified as the wife of Pompeius.[11] As mentioned above, the confusion here arises due to Pompeius' career as a legionary officer, which prohibited him from formally marrying until he retired.[12] Yet, that he was married, covertly or informally, prior to his retirement is suggested by the fact that his legitimate son, Fuscus, is attested as being born sometime around 38 CE, eight years before Pompeius

[7] SB 20 14665. This document does not actually name 'Pompeius', but a certain 'Zoilos, son of Syros' as the tax payer. The assignment of this document to the archive of Pompeius was made by Jens Mangerud based on a new reading of another text known to be part of Pompeius' archive, SB 8 9824 (Mangerud 2017: 36). The traditional reading of SB 8 9824 has Pompeius rather confusingly referred to as πρότερον μὲν | Ν̣εῖλος νυνεὶ δὲ Πολέμ̣[αρχος], 'formerly Neilos, now Polemarchos'. Mangerud suggests that the text is better read as πρότερον μὲν | Ζ̣ῳ ίλος νυνεὶ δὲ Πομ[πήιος], or 'formerly Zoilos, now Pompeius'. With this reading in mind and the context that Pompeius' father was, in fact, named Syros, Mangerud convincingly argues that the tax document referred to above likely belongs to Pompeius since the Zoilos of that document pays his taxes in the same area of Oxyrhynchus (the Hermaion Quarter) where Pompeius owns a portion of a house which he inherited from his father. On the reduced rate of the poll tax for metropolitans, see Bagnall 2007: 187.
[8] P. Fouad 37.
[9] Mangerud 2019. The contract in question is P. Oslo inv. 1496 (Mangerud 2017: 82–94). Though the trade Syros learned is not preserved in the contract due to damage, there are two reasons to believe that he learned the trade of weaving: firstly, the teacher seems likely to have been related to the teacher of weaving who taught Fuscus and, secondly, individuals who arrange apprenticeships for multiple family members tend to do so in the same trade (e.g., Tryphon the weaver, discussed below, and a certain Pausiris, both of whom were contemporaries of Pompeius in Oxyrhynchus and who both arranged apprenticeships in weaving for several of their family members).
[10] SB 6 9121 (from Heraklous) and SB 6 9120 (from Charitous). See also Eitrem and Amundsen 1951; Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 126.
[11] Mangerud 2019.
[12] Mangerud 2019: 569.

retired.[13] Despite this confusion, Mangerud's claim is convincing since, rather than basing it on the mere appearance of a woman in Pompeius' archive, he identifies Didyme as Pompeius' wife based on four aspects of Didyme's own personal archive that indicate that she was somehow legally tied to Pompeius.

Firstly, as both Pompeius' and Didyme's legal papers were included in the acquisition lot of papyri purchased from Maurice Nahman by the University of Oslo in 1934, Mangerud argues that they likely belonged to the same archive.[14] Secondly, an antichretic loan from Didyme to Pompeius appears to function as a dowry and states that Pompeius allowed Didyme and her children to live in his house instead of him paying interest.[15] Traianos Gagos, Ludwig Koenen and Brad McNellen have demonstrated that it was common practice at this time to issue dowries in the form of a loan.[16] In the case of Pompeius and Didyme, the loan appears to be a dowry since they lived in the same house. Thirdly, Didyme is attested as owning a third part of a house in 29 CE, and Pompeius, after his retirement and reception of Roman citizenship, is attested as owning a previously unattested third part of a house. This suggests that the house in question likely came under his possession after the marriage.[17] Further support for equating these two houses is that the names, listed in both documents, of the other individuals associated with the house match the names one would expect to find in Didyme's family based on contemporary naming conventions.[18] Finally, a recently published apprenticeship contract reveals that Didyme apprenticed her son to a certain Apollonius, who has been suggested to be the brother of the linen-weaver Menodorus, to whom Pompeius later apprenticed his son Fuscus.[19] In this apprenticeship contract, the father of Didyme's son is not named but is described

[13] P. Fouad 37.
[14] Mangerud 2019: 563, 568.
[15] P. Fouad 44. An antichretic loan is a contractual agreement in which the debtor grants the creditor usufruct rights (i.e., the right to use and enjoy a particular asset, such as a house or plot of land) for the duration of the loan. The creditor is free to use the asset directly and/or derive income from it. This income substitutes for monetary interest and may, depending on the terms of the agreement, be applied toward repayment of the principal. Van Minnen 2016: 150; Bobbink and Mauer 2019.
[16] P. Fouad 44. Mangerud 2019: 568; Gagos *et al*. 1992.
[17] For the house's appearance in Didyme's papers, see SB 8 9827 a. For its appearance in Pompeius' papers, see P. Thomas 6. See also Mangerud 2019: 566–8.
[18] 'We may note that the names of two of the co-owners mentioned there are likely to occur in her family: Didymos, the masculine variant of Didyme, and Apollonios, the name of Didyme's uncle and grandfather'. Mangerud 2019: 568.
[19] P. Oslo. Inv. 1496 recto. On the relationship between Apollonius and Menorodus, Mangerud 2019: 564 and pages 86–88 below.

as ‘out of town’. Since other documents testify that Didyme, along with her children, lived with Pompeius, and another suggests he received a dowry from her, the statement that the father is ‘out of town’ may allude to Pompeius’ career as a legionary, which would have required him to regularly be away from the city.

Compared to the mere appearance of Heraklous and Charitous in the private letters of Pompeius, the extensive range of documentary evidence cited by Mangerud—joint ownership of a house, cohabitation, an apparent dowry and a reference to her son’s father being ‘out of town’—fortifies his argument. If Mangerud’s assertion that Didyme was the wife of Pompeius is accepted, then Pompeius’ arrangement of an apprenticeship for Fuscus to learn linen-weaving is not a one-off event; rather, both he and his wife arranged trade apprenticeships for at least two of their sons.

Regarding the financial standing of Pompeius and Didyme, it is clear both from the fact that he was a legionary and from the documents in their archive that their family was of at least middling economic means.[20] As Dominic Rathbone has observed, ‘[i]n all the cases, including Pompeius, the veterans had a census of HS 375 [i.e., 375 Alexandrian drachmas] or more, the minimum qualification fee for the fifth *classis*, that is of the *assidui*, the basic criterion for armed military service’.[21] Thus, the fact that Pompeius was a legionary veteran reveals that he must have had, even before beginning his military career, a πόρος that would have qualified him for lower village-level liturgies.[22] Beyond this evidence for their relative wealth, however, several documents from their archive confirm that Pompeius and Didyme were both individually of at least middling means and were even better off once their assets were combined (see Table 5 below).

Four documents in Didyme’s sub-archive demonstrate that she and her family were independently of middling economic standing prior to her marriage to Pompeius. The first three are a series of loan and loan repayment documents from 26–29 CE which reveal not only her ability to repay a substantial loan but also her ownership of a one-third share of a house she had inherited from her

[20] For Pompeius and his family gaining Roman citizenship, see P. Thomas 6. For veterans of the Roman army receiving citizenship, see Alston 1995: 68, 123.
[21] Rathbone 2001: 112.
[22] These requiring, on the lower side, 200 drachmas in accumulated wealth. See Introduction, pages 25–33.

father.[23] In these documents, appearing at first with her father and later with her paternal uncle (presumably due to her father's death), she receives an antichretic loan from a certain Harmiysis. As part of the contractual arrangement, the creditor, Harmiysis, is permitted to live in her portion of the house in place of charging interest on the principal. The original loan amount from 26 CE was 100 drachmas.[24] In 29 CE, Harmiysis' tenancy was extended and the loan amount increased to 160 drachmas.[25] At some point later (the final document is too fragmentary to date), the full amount of the 160-drachma loan was indicated to have been repaid by Didyme.[26] Since this was an antichretic loan, it is unclear whether Didyme did, in fact, pay back the full 160 drachmas or if the principal was repaid through Harmiysis' use of the property (if he used the space for business as well as for living purposes). In either case, these documents show that Didyme, at some point after 29 CE, was either capable of paying at least 160 drachmas outright or had strategically leveraged her share of her father's property by granting usufruct in exchange for a loan which would, over time, convert to income.

Didyme's ownership of the one-third share of the inherited house further suggests her being of middling economic means. Though the value of the house is not explicitly stated in these documents, there is reason to believe that it was substantial. Another document from Pompeius' personal archive attests to a house which might be the house in question. The value of this house is listed at 500 drachmas.[27] This will be explored further below.

The fourth document demonstrating Didyme's economic standing is the antichretic loan to Pompeius (mentioned above) dated to 44 CE.[28] In this document, Didyme loans Pompeius 400 drachmas. As is standard in antichretic loans, Pompeius, being the debtor, is required to give Didyme usufruct of an asset. In this instance, Didyme and her children are given usufruct of and permission to live in Pompeius' house.[29] As mentioned above, Mangerud has argued that this loan is a dowry for

[23] P. Oslo. Inv. 1491, SB 9827 a and b. The former is not yet published but is, according to Mangerud, in preparation to be included by Anastasia Maravela in a forthcoming volume of the Papyri Osloenses (Mangerud 2017: 41 fn. 27).
[24] P. Oslo. Inv. 1491
[25] SB 9827 a.
[26] SB 9827 b.
[27] PSI 11 1183.
[28] P. Fouad 44.
[29] This house is mentioned in several of his documents and is the house he inherits from his father. The inheritance is attested in SB 8 9824. Other references appear in PSI 11 1183, SB 12 10788 a-c and possibly even in SB 6 9121.

Pompeius since this form of loan is known to have been commonly used for the payment of dowries, and additionally, the loan does not appear to have been repaid and thus would have provided a place for Didyme and her (and presumably his) children to live while he was away as a legionary.[30]

It is clear that Didyme was of moderate financial standing before she married Pompeius. At their marriage, she brought with her at least 900 drachmas between her dowry and her share of her father's house. Beyond this, her use of the antichretic loan demonstrates that she either had at once a further 160 drachmas available or had earned that amount through strategic use of her assets. Didyme, then, would qualify in her own right as having been of middling socioeconomic status, and her union with Pompeius only further increased her economic standing.

Four documents from Pompeius' personal archive aptly demonstrate his middling economic standing independent of the assets and money he gained through his marriage to Didyme. The most conclusive evidence for his accumulated wealth comes from a census document in which he declares his partial ownership of two properties, with his total property portfolio worth 900 drachmas.[31] Regarding these two properties, one is a fourth-share of a house he inherited from his father,[32] listed at a value of 400 drachmas. The second house is a property in which Pompeius has a one-third share valued at 500 drachmas. This second house is the one argued by Mangerud to have been the house Didyme inherited from her father.[33] If Mangerud's argument is accepted and the second house listed in Pompeius' census is indeed the same as the one Didyme inherited, then this document provides the value of her share of her father's house (i.e., 500 drachmas). If the house listed in the census is not her house, then the couple would seem to own a total of three houses, Didyme's not being listed here. In this case, Pompeius' one-third share of this house could serve as a reasonable proxy for estimating Didyme's house and permit a rough guess at their combined property portfolio as approximately 1400 drachmas. The same census document also contains the beginnings of a fragmentary list of valuable possessions and furniture, with all that remains extant being two entries listing items of considerable

[30] Mangerud 2019: 569. For antichretic loans being used for dowries, see Gagos *et al.* 1992.
[31] For evidence of owning multiple houses, see P. Thomas 6 (where he declares his total portfolio) and SB 12 10788 a–c.
[32] The identification of this house as the one he inherits in SB 8 9824 is clear from the document's references to the others who own shares and statement regarding its location.
[33] Mangerud 2019: 568.

value. The label for neither item is preserved,[34] but the values are 200 and 150 drachmas. When furnishings are considered, their assets attested in this document amount to either 1250 drachmas or 1750.

Beyond this, another census record would also seem to suggest either Pompeius' ownership of yet another house or his ability to rent one.[35] After mentioning the house he inherited from his father, Pompeius says 'in which I reside when I come here from time to time', suggesting that he regularly lived outside Oxyrhynchus.[36] Indeed, two other documents, both private letters, seem to confirm this. The first is a letter from a certain Heraklous to Pompeius requesting that he come to her aid since she is being harassed by a certain Seraeous.[37] Jens Mangerud and Anastasia Maravela have convincingly argued that Heraklous is likely a tenant living in Pompeius' inherited house in Oxyrhynchus and that Seraeous is a particularly meddlesome relative of Pompeius who has one of the shares of the house.[38] Consequently, when Heraklous writes to Pompeius '[i]f the letter reaches you, come immediately. If not, I shall leave the house. If you don't come, I shall sit on a donkey and come to the Arsinoite…', it is reasonable to suggest that Pompeius is not living in Oxyrhynchus at this time but somewhere in the Arsinoite nome.[39] The second letter suggesting that Pompeius lives outside Oxyrhynchus points to a more precise location. In this letter, a certain Charitous writes to Pompeius saying that Pompeius' name was not found in certain documents in the office of the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς, or royal scribe, and requesting that Pompeius come home at once.[40] As several scholars have pointed out, the office of the royal scribe was in the metropolis of a nome and, if Pompeius needs to come home to rectify an issue at this office, his home would be in the metropolis.[41] As the provenance of this document is the Arsinoite nome and the former letter suggests that Pompeius is in the Arsinoite nome at the time of its writing, it seems almost certain that in his retirement Pompeius lived in Arsinoë, the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome, when he was not living in Oxyrhynchus.

[34] Though the editor has supplied [supelle]ctilem, or 'household furniture'.
[35] SB 12 10788 b.
[36] Translation Smolders 2013a: 3.
[37] SB 6 9121.
[38] Mangerud and Maravela 2019: 236.
[39] Translation Litinas 2013. Litinas' edition is the first to offer the reading of Ἀρσινοήτην at the end of the text.
[40] SB 6 9120.
[41] Eitrem and Amundsen 1951: 178; White 1986: 142–143.

The fact that this house is not listed in the census document could suggest that Pompeius did not own his house in Arsinoë. However, this is not necessarily the case as the census document appears to be addressed to the officials of the Oxyrhynchite nome. It may be that Pompeius is only declaring the property he owns in that nome. In either case, the fact that Pompeius either owned or rented a home in Arsinoë further demonstrates his financial standing.

Pompeius also appears to have had a considerable amount of money not tied up in property investment. This is evidenced by the fact that he appears in another contract in which he loans an individual 200 drachmas.[42] The details reveal that the loan was, in fact, repaid with regular instalments, that Pompeius charged an interest of 12% and would have received back a total of 224 drachmas.[43] Although Pompeius did not earn a significant amount from the interest on this loan, the fact that he was able to part for an extended time with 200 drachmas, the amount given in the Introduction as the minimum needed to qualify an individual for lower village-level liturgies, is further evidence of Pompeius' relative wealth.

The final document from Pompeius' archive discussed here provides further circumstantial evidence for such a financial standing. This document is a petition from 59 CE in which Pompeius recounts to a strategos an incident in which a slave lost control of a donkey that then injured Pompeius.[44] In this document, Pompeius describes how he was riding his own donkey, returning to Oxyrhynchus ἐξ ἀγροῦ. The fact that Pompeius is here attested as owning a donkey indicates at least a moderate amount of discretionary income since contemporary prices (the earliest being from the early second century) for donkeys attest 48–280 drachmas.[45] Most tellingly, Pompeius states that he is returning ἐξ ἀγροῦ as 'from the fields' or 'from the farm' rather than 'from the countryside', as Rathbone translates: '[i]n theory soldiers were not allowed to own land in the province where they served, and Pompeius might have just rented land, but comparison with Arsinoite veterans suggests that he will have owned some private land'.[46] Whether Pompeius owned or simply rented agricultural land, this document attests that

[42] For the loan of 200 drachmas, see PSI XIII 1318.
[43] For this reading of the loan document see Mangerud 2017: 78–81.
[44] P. Fouad 1 28
[45] Drexhage 1991: 283.
[46] Rathbone 2001: 113.

he was actively working in agriculture above a decade after his retirement from his legionary position. He was, it would seem, still earning money.

Table 5: Documents attesting Pompeius and Didyme's financial standing

Description	*Amount*	*Document(s)*
Didyme's share of her father's house	500 drachmas?	P. Oslo. Inv. 1491, SB 9827 a and b
Didyme's Receipt and Repayment of Substantial Loan	160 drachmas	
Didyme's Dowry to Pompeius	400 drachmas	P. Fouad 44
Pompeius census declarations	900 dr. (properties; possibly 1400 dr.?) + 350 dr. (valuable furniture)	PSI 11 1183, SB 12 10788 a-c
Receipt for loan repayment to Pompeius	200 dr.	PSI 13 1318
Reference to Pompeius owning or renting land	Not known	P. Fouad 1 28

These documents demonstrate that Pompeius would have possessed πόρος qualifying him for high-ranking village-level liturgies and low- to medium-level regional positions. In short, he was at the upper end of the category for middling economic means outlined in the Introduction. As mentioned above, Pompeius' situation has been described by Bradley as 'unusual'.[47] Indeed, no other individual studied in this chapter appears to have both arranged apprenticeships for their children (as opposed to their slaves) and enjoyed the same degree of wealth or civic status (i.e., Roman citizenship) as Pompeius (with the possible exception of Hermias, the other individual mentioned by Bradley and whose personal history is explored below). Yet, he was certainly not elite; the family of Pompeius and Didyme is best described as of Laes' 'so-called middling classes'. The question the remainder of this chapter seeks to

[47] Bradley 1991: 109.

answer is the degree to which Pompeius, being of middling economic means, was unusual or typical in this corpus.

Tryphon the Weaver

The second individual studied here is Tryphon the Weaver, son of Dionysius. Tryphon's is perhaps the single best documented family in this corpus.[48] Comprising a total of 44 documents, Tryphon's archive has allowed modern scholars to piece together his life and the life of his family in greater detail than most other individuals attested in the contracts. His archive documents his achievements and setbacks, providing much insight into his financial status.

Born in Oxyrhynchus between 8 and 9 CE, Tryphon came from a long line of weavers. His great-grandfather (Didymus), grandfather (Tryphon), father (Dionysius), and both of his uncles (Didymus and Thoonis) were all registered as weavers in a family census record.[49] Tryphon appears to have continued the tradition by acting as κύριος, or guardian, to his mother, Thamounion, when she arranged an apprenticeship for his brother, Onnophris, to learn the craft of weaving in 36 CE.[50] Tryphon also proceeded to arrange a weaving apprenticeship for his son, Thoonis.[51] It is also known, though the specific contract is not attested, that Tryphon's other son, Apion, became a weaver, since a later tax document in the archive refers to Apion as an apprentice of the weaving trade.[52]

A census record from early in Tryphon's life provides an important detail about him and his family: they were metropolites, meaning they had a somewhat elevated civic status.[53] This is indicated in a line identifying the census record as an ἐπίκρισις and in an attached tax record for Tryphon's family listing their poll tax as 12 drachmas.[54] Tryphon's status as a metropolitan is regularly mentioned in scholarship on Tryphon's archive but typically goes unacknowledged in scholarship on the

[48] TM Arch. ID: 249. For overviews of Tryphon, his archive and his life, see Brewster 1927; Morris 1978; Rowlandson 1998: 112–113; Kelly 2011: 131–133.
[49] P. Oxy. 2 288.
[50] P. Oxy. 2 322. Presumably Dionysius, Tryphon's father, is deceased at this point, which would explain his absence. Given that Tryphon was likely around 16 years old at this point, he may have only just completed his own apprenticeship (for which there is currently no known documentation).
[51] P. Oxy. 2 275.
[52] P. Oxy. 2 310.
[53] P. Oxy. 2 288.
[54] In the city of Oxyrhynchus the reduced poll tax rate for metropolitans was 12 drachmas. Bagnall 2007: 187. See also, page 35 above.

διδασκαλικαί.[55] Yet it is an important detail, as it shows that Tryphon and his family came from a similar social background to Pompeius' family, which were likely metropolitan before he gained his Roman citizenship.

Regarding Tryphon's financial standing, his archive demonstrates not only that weaving seems to have provided well for him and his family but also that he was economically upwardly mobile. Tryphon's archive shows only economic growth from the mid-30s CE onward despite substantial personal and professional setbacks. Among the deleterious occurrences were family and health issues: sometime before 37 CE, his first wife, Demetrous, left him and, according to a petition he submitted, stole some of his property;[56] shortly after, in 37 CE, Tryphon agreed to continue paying the wet-nurse, a certain Seraeous, for his daughter by Demetrous. Seraeous moved in with him and within a few months became pregnant by him and became his second wife.[57] Tension mounted and culminated in an event where Seraeous was beaten and burned by Demetrous and her mother. [58] A decade later, in 49 CE, Seraeous' employer kidnapped one of her and Tryphon's children, claiming the child was his slave. The employer accused Seraeous of kidnapping the child in the first place because her child had died. Tryphon and Seraeous won a lengthy legal battle for custody of the child.[59] The employer then took matters into his own hands. In 50 CE, he either arranged or participated in an ambush on Tryphon and Seraeous, who was again pregnant, and beat them so badly that Seraeous miscarried and was, according to Tryphon's petition, in danger of dying.[60] By 52 CE, Tryphon had apparently been rendered partially blind due to a cataract.[61] Tryphon and Seraeous had to overcome many obstacles, even if some of their troubles may have been self-inflicted, but despite this they ultimately retained financial stability.[62]

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[55] For mentions of this status, see Brewster 1927; Morris 1978; Kelly 2011: 131–133. For omissions, see Bradley 1985, 1991; Bergamasco 1995; Rowlandson 1998: 112–113.
[56] On Tryphon's first wife leaving him, see P. Oxy. 2 282. The precise date of the petition is unknown. 37 CE is the *terminus ante quem* since Tryphon relationship with Seraeous develops in that year.
[57] For the wet-nursing contract, see P. Oxy. 2 321; for Seraeous' dowry and pregnancy, P. Oxy. 2 267. For an analysis of these rather confusing documents, see Vandoni 1975.
[58] P. Oxy. 2 315
[59] P. Oxy. 78 5175 and P. Oxy. 1 37.
[60] P. Oxy. 1 38. and P. Oxy. 2 324.
[61] P. Oxy. 1 39.
[62] More than one scholar has suggested that Tryphon and Seraeous were both somewhat troublesome people. Jens Mangerud and Anastasia Maravela describe Seraeous as someone 'who apparently had a penchant for trouble and quarrels' and 'did not have a quiet life' (Maravela and Mangerud 2019: 325–326). Mariangela Vandoni has suggested, based on an analysis of the series of documents related to Demetrous' leaving of Tryphon and Seraeous'

In one of his petitions, Tryphon claims that these vicissitudes negatively affected his business.[63] Indeed, it seems reasonable to believe that these events did affect his business since any loss of or threat to his child would naturally impact his plans for the family business, to say nothing of the personal distress it would cause. However, other documents from his archive suggest that this series of unfortunate events may not have affected his financial standing as much as he claimed in his petitions. On the contrary, Tryphon appears to have been a capable entrepreneur and maintained upward economic mobility despite them. As Royce Morris has indicated, Tryphon's archive attests to the fact that throughout his life he was regularly able to pay his taxes and repay his loans, even during an era generally recognised as an economic depression caused by a severe Nile flood in 45/46 CE.[64]

The documents in Tryphon's archive generally cluster around the mid-to-late 30s CE and throughout the 50s and early 60s. Like Pompeius', Tryphon's archive attests to his moderate financial standing, preserving information regarding his property portfolio, his valuable possessions, his wife's dowry and instances where he acted as a creditor (see Table 6 below). Beyond this, his documents reveal that he ran a successful, and growing, weaving business and an entrepreneurial real estate endeavour. Ten documents in total, of which nine are from his archive, provide firm evidence that his πόρος categorised him as of middling economic means. These documents also suggest that Tryphon's second wife (like Pompeius' wife, Didyme) may have been moderately well-off independent of Tryphon, or at least that she came from a family of moderate means.

The first document from the 30s is one of the petitions referred to above, and it evidences Tryphon's moderate financial standing by demonstrating his ability to purchase relatively expensive items. The petition is dated to between 29 and 37 CE and reveals that Tryphon owned several valuable items that were removed by his first wife when she left him.[65] Tryphon provides a list of the items; unfortunately, due to the papyrus' fragmentary state, only the price of the first item remains. This first item was worth 40 drachmas, which was not an insignificant amount. As outlined in the Introduction,

wet-nursing contract and dowry contract, that Tryphon probably had an affair with Seraeous (Vandoni 1975: 332–336).

[63] P. Oxy. 1 38.

[64] On the flood of 45/46 CE, see Gapp: 1935: 258–260; Toepel 1973: 305ff.; Morris 1978: 263–264 fn. 3, 272.

[65] P. Oxy. 2 282; Cf. Tenger 1993: 160.

according to rough calculations made by Alan Bowman, 40 drachmas at this time in Roman Egypt was roughly the amount needed to purchase enough wheat to feed an active, adult male for half a year, or approximately two month's salary for a casual agricultural worker.[66]

The second document from the 30s is a loan contract from Seraeous to Tryphon which, like the antichretic loan Didyme provides Pompeius for her dowry, attests explicitly to the union between Seraeous and Tryphon as well as the dowry she provides him.[67] The amount she gives him is 40 drachmas plus a pair of gold earrings worth 20 drachmas and a white robe worth 12 drachmas. The value of these items (72 drachmas in total) seems rather low, at least compared to the 400 drachmas of Didyme's dowry. This, however, is likely because it was probably not a true or full dowry. Strictly speaking, though this document does attest her dowry, Tryphon and Seraeous are not married at this point. The document has the clause ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀγράφω[ς],[68] 'since we are living with one another without a contract/unofficially', which suggests that this situation is an ἄγραφος γάμος, or a non-contractual marriage. Traianos Gagos, Ludwig Koenen and Brad McNellen have argued, based on comparisons with other archives, that this situation is a sort of 'trial period' for the marriage and that the dowry amounts for these 'trial marriages' are lower so that 'the financial stakes were kept low'.[69] In most other cases detailed by Gagos *et al.*, the original and smaller dowry is eventually replaced with one much larger in value (e.g., in one instance, a 20 drachma dowry is replaced with one of 200 drachmas).[70]

Though there is evidence that the loan for Tryphon and Seraeous' trial marriage was eventually repaid, no such larger dowry for Tryphon and Seraeous is currently known and this could be due to the partial survival of the evidence.[71] Should it be true that Tryphon received an undocumented full dowry,

[66] Bowman 1996: 238. Cf. Drexhage 1991: 10-24, 402–448; Pestman 1994: 49; Winkler 2015: 100 fn. 21, 115. Introduction, pages 25–33.
[67] P. Oxy. 2 267.
[68] P. Oxy. 2 267 ll. 18–19.
[69] Gagos *et al.* 1993: 189–192.
[70] Gagos *et al.* 1993: 188.
[71] The loan repayment for their trial marriage appears to have occurred seven years after their trial marriage began. Since it was customary in such trial marriages for the loan/dowry to be returned after a short period of time, usually a few months, this is somewhat unusual. Mariangela Vandoni has suggested that this delay (and, according to her, the absence of an official marriage contract) could be due to their unique circumstances (Vandoni 1975: 332–336). As she points out, it seems that Tryphon and Seraeous may have been preoccupied with other more pressing developments at the time their trial marriage ended, namely Seraeous being set on fire by Tryphon's ex-wife. Their union certainly seems to have been confirmed since Seraeous is described officially as his wife in the

it would suggest that he ultimately would have received an even larger amount which, since he appears to have stayed married to Seraeous permanently, would have remained part of his assets. However, in the absence of evidence, such a situation remains purely conjectural. What is clear, though, is that Tryphon received at least 72 drachmas from his trial marriage to Seraeous and was capable of repaying that amount at a later date.

Two documents, from 37 and 57 CE respectively, indicate not only Tryphon's financial stability but also his economic means, demonstrating that, by the late 30s if not earlier, he was capable of acting as a creditor. These documents attest that he loaned money to other individuals—16 drachmas to his mother in the first instance and 52 drachmas to a man named Dioscorus in the second.[72] Neither of these loans is substantial, considering that François Lerouxel has recently calculated that the median loan amount in Oxyrhynchus between 30 BCE and 69 CE was 134 drachmas.[73] Nevertheless, these two documents, along with the document listing the expensive items taken by his wife, reveal that Tryphon's financial position by the late 30s CE, at least, afforded him significant discretionary funds and made him financially stable enough to act as a creditor.

Five documents from the 50s further confirm Tryphon's upward economic trajectory. One suggests that Tryphon's weaving business was growing at this time, and the remaining four attest to his ownership or partial ownership of three separate properties. The first document indicates that in 54 CE Tryphon purchased another loom.[74] The price of this loom was not particularly high (20 drachmas). Nevertheless, the purchase demonstrates that his weaving business was doing well, with Tryphon being capable of either maintaining his business, by replacing older or broken equipment, or even expanding it. Such flourishing would have occurred despite the aforementioned devastating circumstances of the late 40s and early 50s (i.e., the kidnapping of his child, the attack on him and his wife leading to her

petition Tryphon eventually sends to the local authorities regarding the fire incident. As Vandoni argues, it seems that the extreme delay in repaying the loan from the trial marriage may simply be due to the fact that the deadline passed during the chaos and eventually became irrelevant and was only brought up at a much later date.

[72] P. Oxy. 2 269, 319.

[73] Lerouxel 2016: 50, 91. Lerouxel has identified 24 extant loan documents from this period in Oxyrhynchus. Though he does not provide a comprehensive list of the loan documents and their amounts, he claims that the median better represents the data since '[l]a médiane présente l'avantage d'être moins influencée par les sommes anormalement petites ou grandes de l'échantillon que la moyenne' (ibid: 50).

[74] P. Oxy. 2 234; cf. Morris 1978: 271–272.

miscarriage and his going partially blind). As the document attesting his blindness (dated to 52 CE, two years before his purchase of the loom)[75] requests that he no longer be liable for the weaver's tax, as he is unable to practice that craft due to his cataract, Tryphon likely took on a more supervisorial role at this time. Such a development would also help explain why he seems more at liberty to focus on real estate, the primary emphasis of his business endeavours in the 50s.

There are four documents attesting to Tryphon's property portfolio. The first and earliest document, a petition from 50 CE, reveals that Tryphon either jointly owned or leased with other unmentioned individuals a property that had been burgled.[76] Though the value of this property is not mentioned, some sense of its worth can be gained by examining the five extant sale documents for house purchases from first-century Oxyrhynchus.[77] The prices attested in these sales, all listed in bronze currency, are 13 talents 3,000 drachmas for a house, 30 talents for 2/3 of a house, 32 talents for half of a house, 45 talents for a house and 52 talents 3,000 drachmas for a house.[78] There are two plausible ratios for converting these amounts to silver drachmas, the standard currency used in this thesis for assessing an individual's πόρος. The first ratio is the standard conversion rate used across Roman Egypt for land taxes at this time (1 silver drachma for 300 bronze drachmas) and the second rate is one idiosyncratic to Oxyrhynchus in the first century CE (1 silver drachma for 450 bronze drachmas).[79] An extremely conservative estimate (based on the Oxyrhynchite ratio and assuming the value of the house owned by Tryphon was equal to that attested in the lowest recorded house sale) would place Tryphon's

[75] P. Oxy. 1 39.
[76] P. Oxy. 2 316.
[77] One other contract of sale exists for this period in Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. 34 2720. This is not included here since it is a purchase for 1/12 of the house (i.e., only the cellar) and its lower price (9 bronze talents) represents the fact that it was for only a small part of a house. Thus, its inclusion would skew the data which tend to attest house prices for either for the entirety of a house or of a larger portion (e.g., 1/2 or 2/3) of the house.
[78] See Drexhage 1991: 84–85 for an overview of house prices in first century CE Oxyrhynchus.
[79] Four of these contracts of sale (all but P. Oxy. 1 99, the sale of ½ a house for 32 talents) list the price in both bronze and silver currency and the ratio for conversion is consistently the Oxyrhynchite ratio (1 silver drachma = 450 bronze drachmas). However, Klaus Maresch, in his study of the history of bronze and silver money in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, has suggested that the official conversion rate (i.e., 1 : 300), as obtained from conversions for land taxes across Egypt, was the real conversion rate used here and that this idiosyncratic Oxyrhynchite ratio is 'eine archaisierende Schreibweise, in der eine ptolemäische Ratio weitergeführt wird' (Maresch 1996: 118). It seems somewhat conjectural that ten documents spanning over a hundred years from that city would consistently contain an incorrect, but consistent conversion rate. However, the statement, referred to by Maresch, in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos forbidding the practice of exchanging bronze for silver at any rate other than the official one does make the situation of Oxyrhynchus perplexing. Maresch 1996: 114–119.

known πόρος in 50 CE at 180 silver drachmas, just under the threshold for humbler, village-level liturgies.

The remaining three documents relating to Tryphon's property profile are more informative for calculating his πόρος. The second document, dated to 55 CE, is a contract of sale in which Tryphon purchases half of a three-storey house for 32 bronze talents.[80] The remaining two documents attest that Tryphon utilised two separate loans, one for 160 silver drachmas and the other for 314 drachmas, to purchase yet another house in 59 CE.[81] Tryphon purchased both of these using loans instead of his personal capital.[82] Though possibly Tryphon, as an astute businessman, simply preferred using others' capital when making large investments, the fact that he utilised loans in this situation does suggest that Tryphon needed the help of financing to purchase each of these houses. In any case, other documents from his archive demonstrate that he had a reputation for repaying his debts.[83] So, assuming he successfully paid off each of his loans, a conservative estimate of Tryphon's πόρος, based solely on his property profile, would come to around 1074 drachmas at the end of this period when he had paid off these loans.

Another document suggests both that Seraeous came from a family of moderate economic status and, in time, owned property as well. This document, however, is outside Tryphon's archive and instead belongs to that of Pompeius; it is, in fact, the letter written by Heraklous to Pompeius requesting that he protect her from harassment by a certain Seraeous.[84] As discussed above, Mangerud and Maravela have argued that this Seraeous individual is a particularly meddlesome relative of Pompeius.[85] This relative, they argue, was none other than Seraeous, the second wife of Tryphon.

The rationale for this identification is that, although the name in the letter was transcribed by the original and successive editors as Serapous, Mangerud and Maravela suggest that the text actually

[80] P. Oxy. 1 99. The tax on the purchase (the *enkyklion*) was around 10%. Thus, Tryphon likely spent an additional 3 talents and 1200 drachmas. See Wallace 1938: 226–231.
[81] P. Oxy. 2 318, 320.
[82] For the loan for the purchase in 55 CE, see P. Oxy. 2 304.
[83] For example, P. Oxy. 2 306.
[84] SB 6 9121.
[85] Mangerud and Maravela 2019.

reads 'Seraeous',[86] a name which is not terribly common in first century Oxyrhynchus and is overwhelmingly attested by appearances of Tryphon's wife in his archive. Both individuals named Seraeous (i.e., from Pompeius' archive and from Tryphon's) also appear to be related to a man named Apion (in Tryphon's archive, Apion is Seraeous' father; in the document from Pompeius' archive, the relationship is unstated). It is known that Pompeius owned the house he inherited from his father jointly with his brothers, one of whose name is Apion. This Apion seems to have died sometime before 64 CE, around the same time of the letter from Heraklous (dated to sometime between 62 and 64 CE), and passed on his share of the property to his daughter (Pompeius' niece), a woman called Teseuris. As Seraeous is a somewhat uncommon name, it might be a nickname or abbreviated version of the more common name of Teseuris.[87] In the letter from Heraklous, Seraeous acts as someone with a share of ownership of the property (i.e., attempting an eviction). The description of Seraeous in the letter from Heraklous would seem to match the character of the Seraeous in Tryphon's archive in that she has a proclivity for drama and troublemaking. Though identifications between individuals attested in the papyri must be made cautiously, a significant amount of evidence exists for this one.[88]

Should the Seraeous of Heraklous' letter be the Seraeous married to Tryphon, this document would attest that Tryphon's second wife eventually inherited a one-fourth share of a property. As Pompeius' census records list the value of his one-fourth share of the property as 400 drachmas, it is

[86] The transcription is based on comparison with the shapes of other letters in the document and provides images of the document for confirmation of their reading.

[87] Such nicknames, or hypocoristic names, are not uncommon (Pestman 1994: 44). Regarding how the name Seraeous might be such a hypocoristic name for Teseuris, Maravela and Mangerud state that '[t]he name Teseuris (with variant form Tesauris) is apparently the feminine equivalent of Pesouris, "the Syrian"… One might thus have expected a Hellenized form Syra being used as an alias (compare Pesouris/Syros in P.Oxy. I 37 and 38). It is still noticeable that the feminine form apparently has the root seur/saur and not sour, and it is perhaps conceivable that a reduced form ser/sar, caused by shift of stress to the suffix, might be the root of the name Seraeous/ Saraeus' (Maravela and Mangerud 2019: 329 fn. 34).

[88] The fact that the Seraeous in Tryphon's archive is known to have been a wet-nurse, a rather poorly paid occupation, certainly complicates this interpretation since the Seraeous in Pompeius' archive would be expected to be of moderate means like Pompeius. However, Pompeius is the only known member of his family to experience significant upward economic and social mobility (due to his career as a soldier). Consequently, it is difficult to discern whether others in his family were of moderate socioeconomic standing like him or not. Indeed, Pompeius' family appears to have been of the same socioeconomic background as Tryphon's family (i.e., of metropolitan status, as suggested by one of Pompeius' early tax documents, SB 20 14665). Thus, it would not necessarily be unusual for Pompeius' family to be in the same milieu as Tryphon's. Nevertheless, the fact that Tryphon's wife appears as a wet-nurse twice at least a decade apart certainly complicates this issue. The pressing question is whether she made a career out of wet-nursing or simply made use of the opportunity to earn extra money when she gave birth to their son Apion (born in the mid-to-late 40s, see P. Oxy. 2 310 and Biscottini 1966b: 260). For full certainty on this point, scholars must await the publication of further documents relating to this/these woman/women.

reasonable to assume that Seraeous' share was also this amount. This suggests that Seraeous came from a moderately well-to-do family (i.e., that of Pompeius) and that she was, through her inheritance, moderately well-off independent of Tryphon. By the early 60s CE, their total combined property portfolio would include at least four houses. The value of their property portfolio by this point would be in the proximity of 1500 drachmas. When all his financial documents are considered, Tryphon's πόρος qualifies him for mid-to-upper-level village liturgies and even lower regional liturgies. Seraeous' inheritance, added to their accumulated wealth, would have qualified Tryphon for even higher liturgies.

Table 6: Documents from the archive of Tryphon attesting to his and Seraeous' financial dealings

Description	*Amount*	*Document(s)*	*Date*
Petition to recover lost furniture from ex-wife	> 40 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 282	29–37 CE
Receipt of dowry from Seraeous	72 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 267	37 CE
Loan (given) to his mother	16 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 319	37 CE
Letter to Onnophris offering money	At least 2,000 dr. possibly more	P. Oxy. 2 325	41 CE
Petition regarding a burgled house	Value of house unknown. Approx. 180 dr.?	P. Oxy. 2 316	50 CE
Receipt for purchase of a loom	20 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 264	54 CE
Receipt of purchase of house	426.66 dr.	P. Oxy. 1 99	55 CE
Loan (given) to Dioscorus	52 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 269	57 CE
Loan (received) to purchase house	160 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 318	58–59 CE
Loan (received) to purchase house	314 dr.	P. Oxy. 2 320	59 CE

Letter from Pompeius' archive attesting a Seraeous owning a share of a house	400 dr.	SB 6 9121	62–64 CE

One further document suggests yet greater financial resources in Tryphon's family. This final document, however, does not attest Tryphon directly but appears to be a document belonging to a family member and kept by Tryphon. This document is a letter to a certain Onnophris from his father regarding the health of his brother.[89] The only two individuals whose names are preserved are Onnophris and Papontos, the latter indicated as being a close friend of Onnophris. Though several individuals in Tryphon's corpus are named Onnophris, including his brother, and it is also known that his maternal uncle's name was Papontos, both names are very common, so the precise connection of either person to Tryphon is uncertain.[90] The relevance of this document to the economic standing of Tryphon and his family appears in a short, off-handed comment after the illness of Onnophris' brother is mentioned. The father says, καὶ ἂν θέλῃς ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) Α, δώσωι·, or, 'and if you wish, I will send another 1,000 drachmas'. The implication of this statement is that on at least one occasion prior to this letter, though possibly more, 1,000 drachmas had been sent by the father to Onnophris. This letter attests that someone in Tryphon's close circle was capable of easily parting with at least 2,000 drachmas, an amount that would qualify one for nomination to most village-level liturgies and some region-level liturgies.

* * *

From a purely financial perspective, Tryphon exemplifies an individual in the διδασκαλικαί corpus who defies the categorisation of lower-socioeconomic standing. He and his family had the moderately elevated social status of metropolitan, which brought with it certain financial benefits. Beyond this, the documents in his archive demonstrate conclusively that he was, in fact, of middling economic status.

Petechonsis of Thebes

[89] P. Oxy. 2 325.
[90] See also Piccolo 2003: 204–206.

Another individual whose personal documents suggest he was of middling economic status is Petechonsis, son of Thoteus, a linen-weaver from Thebes who lived in the late first century BCE. He has not traditionally been included in scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί as, until recently, there was no reason to suspect that he was involved in apprenticeship education. However, in 2015, Andreas Winkler published a Demotic contract, dated to 13 BCE, from Petechonsis' Greek-Demotic bilingual archive which he argued is an apprenticeship contract.[91] The reason for uncertainty is that the document does not explicitly state whether it is a teaching arrangement. Identifying the contract as relating to apprenticeship arrangements like those found in the διδασκαλικαί is further complicated by the fact that only one other Demotic apprenticeship contract exists (SB 24 16131; of unknown provenance and dated to the late first century BCE).[92] Therefore, the extent to which Demotic contracts of apprenticeship followed the same legal formula as the Greek διδασκαλικαί is unclear.[93] Nonetheless, the contents of this Demotic contract do seem to indicate a teaching arrangement: they include a mother creating a contractual arrangement on behalf of her son with a master weaver, the master weaver's payment to the mother (presumably wages) and discussions of the payment of a weavers' tax and weaving supplies, all of which are regular components of other διδασκαλικαί documents.[94] Consequently, despite the absence of an explicit label signifying that the contract is a teaching arrangement, it is probable that Petechonsis was a teacher of linen-weaving.

Two other documents from Petechonsis' archive reveal that he both leased and farmed land,[95] which suggest at least milddling socioeconomic status. The first document, a lease contract dated to 16 Sept 19 BCE, attests that Petechonsis leased two plots of farmland for a year and received a rent of four

[91] O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 328; Winkler 2015.
[92] Inventory number: Pap. Berlin P 9800. The SB publication only contains the final lines of the contract (written in Greek). For the full text including the Demotic, see Zauzich 1997/8.
[93] Though, based on comparison between these two Demotic contracts and the Greek once, it seems that the Demotic contracts may have used a similar or even the same legal formula. The SB 24 16131 contract resembles the Greek contracts in many ways: it includes information about where the apprentice will stay, the obligations of both parties and wages. However, some aspects are unique, such as stipulating that the apprentice pays for any broken or stolen items, the explicit statement of which days of the month cannot be missed and of payment in kind rather than in the drachmas common in Greek contracts.
[94] Winkler 2015: 102.
[95] Winkler 2015: 98.

artabs of wheat at a rate of 11/12 to the artab in return.[96] The three documents attesting wheat prices in Thebes that are closest chronologically to Petechonsis' lease contract are dated to 13, 10 and 9 BCE.[97] In 13 BCE, the price was four drachmas per artab; in 10 and 9 BCE, two and a half drachmas. A conservative estimate of his earnings (using two and a half drachmas per artab) from this one-year lease arrangement in silver drachmas would be just over 9 1/3 drachmas, and a generous (at four drachmas per artab) estimate would be 15 drachmas—not a significant amount. Though this document does not attest Petechonsis earning much from leasing his land, the fact that he owned two plots of land to lease indicates that he had πόρος, or accumulated wealth, and was of at least middling socioeconomic standing. Moreover, this πόρος was earning him income (with little to no effort on his part), even if insignificant.

The second document is a receipt for harvest tax paid by Petechonsis in 15 BCE and is more indicative of his πόρος .[98] The receipt records that he paid 72 artabs of wheat in taxes for that year. Based on the amount paid, Winkler estimates that Petechonsis likely owned and farmed between 10 and 18 arouras of land.[99] As Winkler notes, even the lower estimate would be substantial and would indicate some wealth.[100] The taxes alone (paid in wheat) were enough to feed seven men for a year.[101] Based on the attested wheat prices outlined above, a conservative estimate would place Petechonsis' tax payment at 180 silver drachmas for this year, with a generous estimate at 288 drachmas. Moreover, when considering the amount likely left over from taxes, Winkler concludes that '[r]egardless of whether Petechonsis possessed 10 or 18 arouras, his agricultural dealings were profitable and surely substantially supplemented his earnings from the textile trade, possibly even surpassing them'.[102]

That Petechonsis was likely at least of middling economic means is further demonstrated in one of his transactions. The apprenticeship contract mentioned above reveals that he paid his new

[96] O. Mattha. 274. Cf. Winkler 2015: 98ff. In his entry in O. Mattha., Girgis Mattha speculates that the deduction of 1/12 from each artabs may have been to cover expenses for cleaning and sifting the wheat. This, however, should be considered conjectural until further evidence for this deduction is discovered.
[97] O. Stras. 46, 48, 51, respectively. Cf. Drexhage 1991: 18.
[98] O. BM EA 20145 (for which, see Wångstedt 1968: 32–32).
[99] Winkler 2015: 100f.
[100] Winkler notes that land registration records from the Arsinoite nome in the second-century CE attest to another weaver who owned more than 20 arouras of land, thus providing an example of yet another weaver actively involved in either leasing or farming land. Winkler 2015: 101, P. Bodl. I 27.
[101] Winkler 2015: 100 fn 21.
[102] Winkler 2015: 100–101.

apprentice a total of 18,000 copper drachmas as a salary for an unspecified duration.[103] As this transaction did not occur in Oxyrhynchus (the location of the idiosyncratic 1:450 silver to bronze currency ratio), the standard 1:300 ratio is a more plausible conversion.[104] Thus, in this transaction Petechonsis was able to pay 60 silver drachmas (likely in advance, not uncommon for apprenticeship arrangements) for his new apprentice. This amount, made in a single payment to the apprentice's mother, would have roughly equalled three month's wages of an unskilled agricultural labourer at the time or, if converted to wheat using the attested price of that cereal in 13 BCE Thebes, the amount needed to feed a family of five for three to four and a half months.[105] His ability to make such a payment in one transaction demonstrates that he had discretionary funds at this time and was of middling economic standing.

Petechonsis, then, appears to have had several streams of income: firstly, he leased plots of land, though this likely did not render significant profit unless he leased large numbers of plots of land for which contracts are not extant. The amount he earned through farming was much more lucrative, with the tax on his earnings from a single year demonstrating that he met minimum πόρος requirements for local-level liturgies. Finally, he also maintained his profession as a linen weaver and would have earned money from this endeavour. It is difficult to compare Petechonsis' financial status to that of Tryphon or Pompeius. The dossier of texts relating to him currently consists of only six documents, which only provide insight into the financial dealings outlined above. Comparison is further complicated by the fact that his dossier only lists his land holdings, whereas Tryphon's and Pompeius' property profiles appear to have consisted entirely of houses (with Pompeius' archive only hinting at agricultural endeavours). Nevertheless, the small amount that can be discerned demonstrates that Petechonsis was also of moderate wealth, which led Winkler to describe him as among of the most prosperous known weavers from Roman Egypt.[106] Though there is no evidence that he held any privileged civic status (in fact, he lived roughly twenty years before the earliest ἐπίκρισις documents),

[103] For the conversion of copper drachmas to silver, see page 73 above.
[104] *Pace* Winkler 2015: 115, who uses 1:400 as the conversion ratio, perhaps as a way to average the difference.
[105] O. Stras. 46 for the price of wheat in 13 BCE Thebes; Cf. Drexhage 1991: 18. For the wheat needed to feed a family of five, see Bowman 1996: 237–238 and footnote 88 on page 28.
[106] Winkler 2015: 101. As Winkler notes, another weaver from the second century CE appears to have owned a plot of land over 20 arouras.

what can be gleaned from his personal documents regarding his economic standing strongly suggests that Petechonsis was, like Pompeius and Tryphon, of middling socioeconomic status.

Thonis, Son of Peteuris, and Dioscorus, Son of Athenodorus

Two διδασκαλικαί contracts attest two further individuals involved in apprenticeship education who were likely of at least middling socioeconomic status.[107] These individuals are Aurelius Thonis, son of Peteuris, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Athenodorus, both living in Oxyrhynchus in the mid- to late-third century CE and both attested as teachers of weaving. Though no archive exists for either of them and, consequently, nothing is known about them beyond what is contained in their respective διδασκαλική contracts, these contracts reveal almost conclusively that they were both of at least middling economic means. This is demonstrated in that both, in their respective contracts, supply a loan to the parent of the pupil, to be repaid later—a unique situation in which a teaching arrangement is coupled with an arrangement of παραμονή, or indentured servitude.[108] Each man provides 400 drachmas in loans. That each had this sum available for investment suggests that they, like the individuals discussed in the previous section, must have been of at least middling economic means since the amount loaned is twice the minimum needed to qualify one for lower, village-level liturgies (i.e., 200 drachmas) and approximately 18–20 times the monthly wages of an unskilled labourer.[109]

Beyond these one-off transactions, further evidence indicates that Thonis was of middling economic standing. Thonis has already been briefly introduced in Chapter One as the teacher of Aphrodite, given by her father Polydeuces to be apprenticed in weaving. As detailed in Chapter One, Thonis held what appears to have been a powerful and lucrative administrative position related to the trade of weaving. Evidence for this comes from a single word in the opening of the contract where

[107] P. Oxy. 31 2586 and 67 4596.
[108] For more on παραμονή, see Samuel 1965 and Hengstl 1972. Coupling these two arrangements was not a normal phenomenon, *contra* Vuolanto 2003: 195, 2015: 104; Laes 2015: 479; see Chapter Five of this thesis for a more thorough rebuttal of this idea.
[109] Both contracts are dated to 264 CE, roughly 10 years before Rathbone suggests that the first indications of serious inflation appear. Consequently, the wages of unskilled labourers here are calculated based on 20–22 drachmas per month. See the Introduction, pages 25–33.

Thonis is identified as an ἱστωνάρχης. Since its first appearance in papyri published in the early 20th century, the precise position or role to which ἱστωνάρχης refers has been the subject of scholarly debate.[110] Until recently, it was thought that the term might refer to a merchant-entrepreneur who utilised a 'putting-out system' whereby he sub-contracted the labour for production by providing weavers with raw material and paying them per article of clothing produced (assumedly at a low rate) and then sold the clothing on the market at a profit.[111] However, Kerstin Droß-Krüpe has demonstrated the untenable (and anachronistic) nature of the theory of a 'putting-out system' in Roman Egypt.[112] Instead, Droß-Krüpe suggests that the ἱστωνάρχης was likely a sort of governmental, administrative position with significant financial perks.

Analysing the various roles in which the ἱστωνάρχης appears and the tasks with which he is associated in more recently discovered documents, Droß-Krüpe suggests that in this role the individual likely obtained a state-authorised monopoly to issue permits for weaving within a certain area. In some cases (e.g., Thebes), the ἱστωνάρχης even appears to have held the power to approve or reject requests to build looms. He also appears to have made income from the issuing of permits, for which he received monthly payments from weavers in his region for the right to weave.[113] In addition, the ἱστωνάρχης regularly worked as a weaver himself, engaging employees and apprentices.[114] Given these particular activities which the ἱστωνάρχης is attested undertaking, it is not implausible that the role was like or even could have been associated with being the president of an association of weavers.

Droß-Krüpe ultimately adopts a cautious position regarding the role of the ἱστωνάρχης, stating that it is merely a working hypothesis that incorporates all the attestations and should not be considered

[110] For a detailed overview of the history of the term and its various interpretations, see Droß-Krüpe 2023. See also page 55 above.
[111] This theory was first put forward by Theodor Reil in 1913 and, as Kerstin Droß-Krüpe suggests, may have been suggested by him due to such a system being prevalent in the 19th century textile industry. For a more thorough overview of the 'putting-out system' and the history of its association with the ἱστωνάρχης, see Droß-Krüpe 2020.
[112] Droß-Krüpe 2020. More recently published papyrological documents reveal that the textile industry of Roman Egypt not only functioned completely differently from a 'putting-out system', but also failed to meet any of the basic preconditions for a 'putting-out system' to function properly. These preconditions are external acquisition of raw products and marketing of completed products, small or no level of specialisation or training, extensive use of product standardisation and the economic dependence of workers on a single person for both raw materials and remuneration.
[113] Droß-Krüpe 2020: 135. Cf. SB 26 16365 for an example of an ostracon which Droß-Krüpe (as well as Sherman Wallace and Axel Persson) argue is one such monthly payment.
[114] Droß-Krüpe 2020: 134—136.

conclusive due to the lack of extensive evidence and some differences between the attestations of this term. However, her analysis is built upon the functions different individuals with the title ἱστωνάρχης are known to have performed as attested in various papyri. Despite lacking extensive evidence regarding the specifics of the ἱστωνάρχης role, Droß-Krüpe's description details well what little can be known of the position.

The ἱστωνάρχης certainly had significant power and was likely of at least moderate financial means (if not upper economic standing) given the income from the granting of permits as well as the capital needed to purchase the concession from the state. Thonis appears to have had more than one stream of income (e.g., granting permits and his own weaving business), which would help explain how he could loan such a substantial sum. Though nothing else is known of his financial or social standing, his loan of over 400 drachmas and ἱστωνάρχης appellation both strongly suggest that Thonis was likely of at least moderate economic standing. That Dioscorus also gave out a loan of this amount likewise suggests that he was also of at least middling economic standing.

Herakleides, Taurinos and Nilos in Alexandria

Another document, dated to 18 BCE and written in Alexandria, attests three individuals who also qualify as being of moderate economic means. This document, BGU 4 1124, preserves what is currently the only known cancellation of an apprenticeship contract. In this cancellation arrangement, Herakleides, son of Pammenos, and Taurinos, son of Dorion, arrange for the termination of an apprenticeship which they had arranged for Herakleides' son, Hermaiskos, to learn the trade of nail smithing under the instruction of a certain Nilos, son of Nilos. Two details in this agreement indicate the moderate economic standing of these three individuals.

The first detail is the amount paid by Herakleides and Taurinos: the document states that Herakleides and Taurinos gave Nilos 100 drachmas as a penalty for prematurely cancelling the arrangement. This amount alone would be significant, yet it likely represents only half the amount the two men paid. Financial penalties for premature cancellation of an agreed-upon arrangement are a common detail listed in διδασκαλικαί contracts, with twenty-one of the διδασκαλικαί contracts listing such penalties (see Table 7 on page 98 below). Among the more common penalties is 200 drachmas

total, with 100 drachmas being given to the other party and 100 to the public treasury. A fine to be paid to the public treasury is a common feature of these penalty clauses, and ten of the twenty-one penalty clauses include one. This particular document suggests that Herakleides and Taurinos did pay a penalty fee to the public treasury.

In addition to the 100 drachmas being given to Nilos, the document contains a reference towards the end of the cancellation agreement to a liability for τῷ ὡρισμ<έν>ωι προστίμωι ἀπαραποδίστῳ ὄντι, or as Peter van Minnen translates, 'the statutory penalty (to the state) that is impossible to avoid'.[115] As Herakleides and Taurinos' document is the only known cancellation of an apprenticeship contract, it is difficult to assert with certainty the nature of this 'statutory penalty'. However, the only consistently referenced action the state takes in the establishment of apprenticeship contracts is its imposition of a financial penalty to be paid to the public treasury in the instance of cancellation. It is therefore likely that this 'stautory penalty' refers to that financial penalty. As the amount paid to the treasury is, without exception in the attested documents, the same as that paid to the other contracting party, Herakleides and Taurinos plainly paid a total of 200 drachmas to cancel their apprenticeship arrangement.

That these men could spare this amount suggests that they were of at least moderate economic means, though the document does not specify whose money is being used to pay these penalty fees. The fact that Taurinos, whose relationship with Herakleides is not clear, appears together with Herakleides in the cancellation arrangement is unusual. In all other extant apprenticeship contracts, the only circumstances under which two individuals are listed as responsible for giving over the child to the teacher is when the primary guardian of the child is a woman. In this case, the person accompanying her is her κύριος, or guardian whose presence allows her to make legal arrangements. Yet, the document for cancellation is clear that both Herakleides and Taurinos were involved in the initial arrangement of Hermaiskos' apprenticeship, not just its cancellation. Was Taurinos a sort of financer who made this apprenticeship possible and ultimately took financial responsibility when circumstances precluded Hermaiskos and Nilos from continuing? As is shown below, Taurinos certainly had the capital to be involved in such activities, though it is not clear whether he did, in fact, act as a financial backer or was

[115] Van Minnen 2022: 1.

simply just a co-arranger of the apprenticeship. Two interpretations of the situation seem plausible: either Taurinos alone was financially well-off or both men were.

In the first scenario, Herakleides would be financially incapable of handling such penalties and ultimately reliant on the more financially stable Taurinos. Taurinos may have been an investor or financer who was prepared to assume financial responsibility for Hermaiskos' education. Yet, this raises the question of why Taurinos would volunteer his money for the apprenticeship arrangement in the first place. These arrangements, though capable of supplementing household incomes, were usually not particularly lucrative. Additionally, there is no attestation in the corpus to another individual undertaking such a role, namely an investor who assumes the financial responsibility for the apprenticeship in expectation of a return on their investment. Consequently, there is no convincing reason to believe that Taurinos is acting here as a financer or investor.

The second interpretation is that Taurinos was simply a close friend or relative of Herakleides. In this scenario, Taurinos did not necessarily absorb the full financial impact of the penalties but rather was simply a party interested in Hermaiskos' education. Indeed, there is nothing in the contract to suggest he does pay the full penalty; the contract states that Nilos receives his due of the penalty (100 drachmas) from both Herakleides and Taurinos. Both men may have been capable of paying up to 200 drachmas. Under this interpretation, Herakleides's financial standing would be best categorised as on the higher end of the range for lower economic status or the lower end of the range for middling economic status, having some discretionary income at hand to deal with unexpected circumstances but not quite enough to pay the penalty without seriously damaging his financial standing. Ultimately, the limited evidence makes it difficult to identify Herakleides' financial standing with any certainty. What is clear, however, is that Taurinos at least was of such economic standing, if not even of upper economic standing.

The apprenticeship document provides a second detail about Taurinos which firmly demonstrates that his πόρος was substantial, likely placing him in the same financial range as Pompeius and some of the other wealthy individuals attested in Tryphon's archive. This second detail is a statement at the bottom of the contract stating that a separate loan agreement from a couple of months prior, which had been arranged between Taurinos and Nilos, the nail smith teacher, was to remain

unaffected by the current document. Importantly, this statement also provides the details of the loan. According to the document, Taurinos had given to Nilos a loan of 700 drachmas which was to be repaid with interest. The fact that Taurinos is attested, in this single document, to have given somewhere between 700–900 drachmas in a single year demonstrates that he had a significant πόρος. It seems that he had at least this amount available in cash (the document states that the 100 drachmas given to Nilos is in cash) for investments. An estimate of Taurinos' socioeconomic standing would place him somewhere in the upper region of the middling socioeconomic status category used here: that is, he likely had a πόρος of at least 1,000 drachmas.

The 700-drachma loan further implies that Nilos himself was of middling economic status or was at least perceived to be financially successful. The fact that he is given such a substantial loan (well above the amounts Tryphon received in any of his loans for purchasing property) indicates that Taurinos had reason to believe Nilos would be able to repay the amount with interest. Understanding why Taurinos trusted Nilos with a loan capable of purchasing several homes, or one very nice one (at least in Oxyrhynchus), is complicated by the fact that nothing is known about Nilos besides what is attested in this cancellation agreement. As no direct evidence in documents attests how Nilos obtained his financial security, the source of his moderate wealth remains conjectural. Working in a specialised craft such as nail smithing, however, could have provided him significantly more money than working as a non-specialised tradesman.[116] Though he likely did not have quite the same financial standing as Taurinos, it is reasonable to suspect that Nilos' financial standing was somewhere in the lower to middle of the financial range for an individual of middling economic status.

Apollonius and Menodorus, Sons of Apollonius

Apollonius and Menodorus are two further individuals from first-century Oxyrhynchus who held privileged civic status, may have been of middling socioeconomic status and were involved in vocational education. Their involvement in apprenticeship education was as teachers of their trade. Mangerud has speculated that these two may be brothers, which seems likely. They were

[116] For more on this argument, see Chapter 5, pages 121–136.

contemporaries and both sons of an Apollonius. They both belonged to the Althaean deme, lived in Oxyrhynchus, were craftsmen teaching a trade (likely weaving, but the line attesting the trade Apollonius teaches is lost), were both acquainted with the family of Pompeius and appear as teachers to Pompeius' sons.[117] Unlike Tryphon or Pompeius, no archive or dossier associated with them has been recovered; consequently, very little is known of their personal lives or financial dealings. Yet, as with Thonis, Herakleides and Nilos, certain details in the apprenticeship contracts themselves provide sufficient evidence to demonstrate that they held privileged civic status. Further, circumstantial evidence suggests the likelihood that these two individuals may have been of moderate financial status.[118]

Their names, which indicate a privileged civic status, provide the first piece of evidence suggesting that they were likely of middling socioeconomic status. In their respective apprenticeship contracts, both men's names are followed by the Demotic Ἀλθαιεύς. This Demotic term indicates that they were citizens of Alexandria and members of the Althaean deme.[119] As outlined in Chapter One, this civic status was more privileged in terms of perquisites than the metropolitan status of Tryphon, though less privileged than the Roman citizenship of Pompeius.[120] As such, both Apollonius and Menodorus would have had various financial privileges such as exemption from the poll tax and reduced land tax.[121] Further, as Diana Delia has pointed out, Alexandrians domiciled outside Alexandria were under no obligation to perform public services in their city or town of residence and thus could be spared from its financially demanding liturgies.[122] Though it is not conclusive or direct evidence of their financial standing, the fact that these individuals came from a moderately privileged civic background and benefitted from significant reductions in financial obligations makes it plausible that they were at least moderately well-off.[123]

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[117] Mangerud 2017: 88, 2019: 565.
[118] For the identification of Apollonius with another teacher in the διδασκαλικαί, see Chapter 5.
[119] P. Fouad 37; P. Oslo Inv. 1496.
[120] On the ranking of civic status, see Elmaghrabi 2021: 54–55.
[121] Delia 1991: 30ff.
[122] Delia 1991: 32.
[123] Further support for the idea that someone with a social status such as theirs living in Oxyrhynchus would likely have been of at least middling economic means is provided by the few attestations of other individuals from first-century Oxyrhynchus who were also members of the Althaean deme. For example, a document, dated to 35 CE and kept in the archive of Tryphon, mentions an individual whose name is lost but who was a member of the Althaean deme (P. Oxy. 323). This person received a repayment for a loan of 100 drachmas which he had given

A final detail suggesting their moderate financial standing appears at the end of their respective documents. Though it would seem both documents were written by an experienced scribal hand, the subscription at the bottom of each was undertaken by the respective teacher. Apollonius and Menodorus, then, could write. As noted by Mangerud, Apollonius certainly seems to be more comfortable and capable with a pen than Menodorus.[124] Yet, the fact that they could write at all is notable; Tryphon, for example, is described in several of the subscriptions for his documents as not knowing his letters.[125] Whereas Tryphon was seemingly unable to even write his name, the subscriptions Apollonius and Menodorus write contain full statements of agreement specific to their contracts. The fact that both men appear to have had some amount of education in letters is by no means conclusive evidence of their moderate financial standing. Yet, this detail combined with the evidence already explored strongly suggests that these two men came from a background of at least middling socioeconomic status.

Hermias of Oxyrhynchus

The final individual discussed in this prosopographical analysis is the other individual mentioned by Bradley to have had an elevated social standing: Hermias, son of Ptolemaeus. Like the previous six individuals discussed here, no archive has been recovered for Hermias; he only appears in one document, an apprenticeship contract dated to the third century CE, in which he arranges for his son to undertake training in linen-weaving.[126] A small glimpse into his personal history, however, is provided in the opening lines of this contract where he is identified as the son of a certain Ptolemaeus, a former

to another person. There is no way to know if the two Althaeans here (i.e., Apollonius and Menodorus), both likely weavers, were connected to the Althaean in Tryphon's archive. Yet this document does reveal the existence of another Althaean in Oxyrhynchus who was in the same social circle as the weavers in the διδασκαλικαί and who was in a financial position to give out a moderately substantial loan. Another document, dated to 56 CE, refers to a certain Nicippus, son of Nicippus, of the Althaean deme, who served as the guardian for a woman named Herakleia. Though she did not give out the initial loan, the document attests to Herakleia's inheriting an account which led to her being owed 200 drachmas (P. Oxy. 2 271). Another document attests to a family of Althaeans in Oxyrhynchus, the father of which applied for his son to be accepted into the ephebate (P. Oxy. 49 3463). Yet another individual, a certain Leonides, son of Ptolemaios, and also a member of the Althaean deme, appears in a petition from Oxyrhynchus, dated to between 69–71 CE, where he is denounced for fraudulent behaviour regarding the mortgage of a property offered as security on a loan he gave out (SB 4 7339). Beyond simply attesting the accusations against him, the document demonstrates that he had been capable of loaning a significant sum. Though the amount is not attested, the offer of a property totaling 46 arouras as collateral suggests that the loan amount was very high.

[124] Mangerud 2017: 94.

[125] P. Oxy. 2 267; P. Oxy. 2 304; P. Oxy. 2 324.

[126] P. Oxy. 31 2586.

agoranomos of the city of Oxyrhynchus. This detail suggests that he was likely of at least moderate financial means.

As the son of a magistrate, Hermias was a member of a privileged social order and likely came from a family of significant wealth. In his analysis of the different compulsory public services of Roman Egypt, Naphtali Lewis lists several documents which collectively give some indication of eligibility criteria for the position of the *agoranomos*. Lewis' conclusion is brief but telling: '[Bouletic class]. Wealth is evident'.[127] Though the specific amount of wealth is not entirely clear, the nature of the role is indicative of the wealth required: the duty of the *agoranomos* was to oversee the functioning of the public marketplace and, in difficult times, to compensate for public financial hardship from their own resources. Based on the two requirements detailed by Lewis, it is clear that Hermias and his family would have held some form of elevated civic status (metropolitan, gymnasial or potentially both, as well as membership of the bouletic order) and would have come from a line that was, at least at one point, wealthy enough to participate in such prestigious magistracies.

These magistracies could be very financially demanding and, if the magistrate was not careful, could lead to financial ruin for the incumbent and his family.[128] The contents of the contract do seem to suggest that Hermias may have had some financial problems (indicated by the receipt of a loan and the arranging of indentured servitude for his son).[129] It is reasonable to suspect that his family may have been financially crippled by his father's magistracy, which he likely held during the final years before that office became defunct in the mid-third century due to the economic difficulties of the time (for a more thorough discussion of the evidence for this claim, see pages 138–144 of Chapter Four and 182–188 of Chapter Five). It is likely, then, that Hermias came from an elite family but that this status had diminished to such an extent that he found himself involved in activities of a more middling socioeconomic nature. Despite these unfavourable conditions, the contract reveals that Hermias may have used this apprenticeship arrangement as an investment. His son's wages were high enough to have

[127] Lewis 1997: 11.
[128] On the magistracies causing financial difficulties for the incumbent, see Tacoma 2006: 265-268 as well as pages 138–144 and 182–188 of this thesis.
[129] Both of these aspects are unusual in the corpus, *contra* Vuolanto 2003: 195, 2015: 104; Laes 2015: 479. See Chapter 5, pages 166–188.

far exceeded the 400-drachma loan he received and had the potential to recoup a substantial amount of what may have been lost by his father (see Chapter Five for this analysis). Whether this investment worked in the end is unknown since, as mentioned above, Hermias is only attested in this single document. Nonetheless, what is definitively known regarding Hermias is that he came from a family traditionally of upper socioeconomic status and appears to have suffered temporary financial hardship which placed him, for a time, amongst those of middling socioeconomic status.

* * *

Bradley's description of Pompeius and Hermias as unusual for this corpus is perhaps technically correct, given that Pompeius is the only individual attested to have held Roman citizenship and also appears to have had more wealth than the others and Hermias was the son of a former magistrate. However, such a description is not unproblematic. It is on account of his service as a legionary soldier in the Roman army that Pompeius obtained his Roman citizenship and accumulated moderate financial resources, and it is likely that he came from a similar financial and social background as Tryphon, Petechonsis, and the other individuals discussed above. Hermias certainly came from a family whose social and economic standing had, undoubtedly, been very high at one point. Yet, his family appears to have been financially devastated such that he was forced to place his son into an indentured servitude arrangement. His financial standing at the time of arranging the apprenticeship for his son was likely similar to that of the other individuals explored here. This prosopographical analysis shows that Pompeius and Hermias were by no means the only individuals in this corpus whose involvement in apprenticeship education was not to educate a personal slave and who can be clearly demonstrated to have been of moderate socioeconomic status.

There is further, though more circumstantial, evidence to suggest that moderate economic means was more prevalent among those who participated in apprenticeship education than is evident from prosopographical analysis. Two pieces of circumstantial evidence from this corpus support this claim: firstly, the existence of archives for individuals attested in the corpus and the inclusion of petitions in those archives and, secondly, the appearance of penalty clauses in certain contracts.

Archives and Petitions

Due to the high costs involved in drawing up documents, the possession of enough documents to form an archive suggests that an individual was of at least some financial means. Scribes charged a fee for drafting documents, and papyrus itself was expensive, with a single roll costing roughly the equivalent of several days' wages for a casual labourer.[130] Roger Bagnall describes the need for obtaining any form of document in Roman-Egypt, where literacy rates were low and the cost of written documents high, as 'above all for protecting property rights – recording ownership of land, houses, slaves, and animals; documenting obligations (or their satisfaction) in money or produce; and providing evidence that they had discharged their obligations of various sorts toward the government'.[131] Protecting property rights would have pertained to property owners—the propertied strata—rather than to the poor who had less to protect. This does not, of course, preclude poorer individuals from having obtained documents to protect what little they had, but those of financial means would have been more likely to obtain them, especially in quantities large enough to be considered archives by modern scholars. Therefore, those in the διδασκαλικαί corpus with personal archives (e.g., Pompeius, Tryphon and Pausiris Sr) were more likely to be of at least some financial means.

The types of documents found in these archives also suggest middling socioeconomic status. The archives of Tryphon and Pompeius reveal that both utilised the legal system by petitioning local

[130] Bagnall 2020: 12. There is some variation in the estimated cost of papyrus. Bagnall's assertion of several day's wages is a more moderate claim compared to some higher and lower estimates. See Bagnall 2020: 12 fn. 16.
[131] Bagnall 2020: 12.

authorities, requesting intervention in situations where they perceived themselves as wronged.[132] The fact that they used written petitions indicates that they were of at least middling economic standing. Benjamin Kelly, in his seminal assessment of petitions from Roman Egypt, describes the types of individuals who used them:

> Then there is the fact that, for the most part, only particular sorts of people tended to bring disputes to official attention in the first place. A good number of people of high and middling economic status certainly appear as petitioners and litigants, and there is no reason to believe that any of the major ethnic groups of the province avoided the justice system as a rule. Nevertheless, the very poor seem to be underrepresented as petitioners and litigants. The costs of having petitions drafted and of attending court hearings would perhaps have deterred some. But the social profile of petitioners was also the result of the existence of clear ideas about what sort of disputes were appropriate to be brought before a state official: overwhelmingly, the petitions complain of wrongs that in some way or other involved property or economic transactions. Obviously, those in the propertied classes were more likely to be the plaintiffs in such disputes. Thus, the fact that only particular types of people tended to engage directly with the legal system further limited its potential to provide 'legal control' in certain milieux.[133]

Thus, employing the legal system via petitions strongly suggests the individual was of at least middling socioeconomic status. That they used such petitions is further circumstantial evidence that Tryphon and Pompeius were at least of middling economic means.

Penalty Clauses in the Διδασκαλικαί

The διδασκαλικαί contracts regularly contain a clause indicating a financial penalty (see Table 7 below) for terminating the apprenticeship arrangement before the end of the agreed timeframe. The amounts attested for these financial penalties are not insignificant, with the lowest being 100 drachmas, the

[132] E.g., P. Oxy. 1 28; 2 282, 315, 316 and 324 for Tryphon and P. Fouad 28 for Pompeius.
[133] Kelly 2011: 34—35.

highest 500 silver pieces or 2500 staters and the most common (11 of the 21 attested penalty clauses) being 200 drachmas (usually 100 drachmas to the other party and 100 to the local treasury).[134]

Such clauses only occur in documents drafted using the συγγραφή and χειρόγραφον format (49 documents) and are not included in the hypomnematic registration documents (6 documents).[135] Of the 49 συγγραφαί and χειρόγραφα, 21 contain the financial penalty clause and 8 do not. The remaining 20 are too fragmentary to tell whether a penalty clause was originally present. Depending on whether all, some, or none of the incomplete documents contained the penalty clause, the prevalence of this condition ranges from roughly 43% (21 containing and 28 not containing) to 84% (41 containing and 8 not containing) of the contract formats known to have included such penalty clauses.

Compared to the average wages for unskilled labour, outlined more thoroughly in the Introduction, this penalty is substantial. For the first through mid-third centuries CE, the average monthly wage of a casual agricultural worker was roughly 20 drachmas, which rose in the late-third century to 60–68 drachmas due to inflation.[136] These financial penalty clauses suggest that those involved in apprenticeship arrangements might be expected to have, in savings or as discretionary income, between a month and a half and almost two years of a casual agricultural worker's salary should problems arise over the course of an apprenticeship. The most common penalty amount, 200 drachmas total, would require an individual to pay the minimum amount needed to qualify one for lower-level village liturgic positions.

That such terminations of contract did arise is confirmed by the one extant document from late-first century BCE Alexandria containing the cancellation of an apprenticeship arrangement for a young boy to learn nail smithing. This contract, discussed above, is the cancellation agreement between

[134] For the lowest penalty amount, see P. Oxy. 41 2977; for the highest, SB 24 16131; for examples of 200 drachmas, P. Oxy. 2 275, 4 725, 41 2971.
[135] For an overview of the formats used in these legal documents, see the introduction.
[136] See Introduction, pages 25–33. The latest attested contracts with financial penalty clauses are four contracts from the third century CE. The penalty amount for one is unknown (SB 24 16320; Kellis) due to the fragmentary nature of the contract. The attested amounts in the remaining three are 100 drachmas (P. Oxy. 41 2977; Oxyrhynchus), 200 drachmas (SB 18 13305; Karanis), 400 drachmas (200 to the other individual and 200 to the local treasury; BGU 11 2041; Arsinoite Nome). Due to the small number of contracts from this period and the spread of documentation, it is difficult to discern whether the penalty amounts adjusted with inflation.

Herakleides and Taurinos, on the one hand, and Nilos the nail smith on the other.[137] As discussed previously, the contract explicitly states that Herakleides and Taurinos paid 100 drachmas to the master nail smith and implies that they paid another 100 drachmas to the public treasury. Thus, though only one cancellation agreement is extant, that agreement reveals that the financial penalties contained in these clauses were not simply legal fictions but were, in fact, acted upon when the premature termination of an arrangement occurred.

While it cannot be argued that these financial penalty clauses completely excluded families of lower socioeconomic standing from arranging apprenticeships, it is reasonable to suggest that they acted as a deterrent to families unable to risk such a financial loss should the apprenticeship not succeed. The most common amount attested in these financial penalties (200 drachmas) would have been exceptionally difficult for an unskilled agricultural worker, earning 20–22 drachmas per month, to raise; the highest amount attested (2500 staters, or 10,000 drachmas) would have been devastating. Even the lowest attested penalty amount (100 drachmas), attested in the late-third century when unskilled agricultural wages had risen to between 60 and 68 drachmas per month, was still substantial and would have placed a heavy financial burden on anyone of lower economic standing at that time. Though poorer individuals could possibly have paid these penalties with a loan, this necessity would further demonstrate the risk of apprenticeship for anyone who was not already at least of moderate financial means. Since interest would likely be expected, the individual below moderate economic means would ultimately have to pay an even higher amount than the standard penalty which they were unable to afford in the first place. These clauses, then, strongly suggest that those who arranged apprenticeships for their children and agreed to paying a financial penalty for cancellation would have been able to bear such a financial risk and consequently were more likely individuals of at least moderate means.

The documents containing penalty clauses mention at least forty-four individuals who agreed to pay a fine for premature cancellation. Among them are several of the individuals who have been shown to be of moderate means: Tryphon, Herakleides, Taurinos, Nilos, Apollonius the Althaean and

[137] BGU 4 1124. The editors of BGU 4 1124 suggest that the 100 drachmas is an interest amount paying back a loan. See Chapter 5 for a fuller argument against this amount being interest on a loan and instead being the standard financial penalty for breaking a contracted apprenticeship agreement.

Menodorus the Althaean. Further, as the two contracts in which Apollonius and Menodorus appear are of the χειρόγραφον format (i.e., contracts utilising the form of a letter from Apollonius and Menodorus, respectively, and addressed to the parent of the pupil), it is reasonable to suspect that the other contracting parties, Didyme and Pompeius respectively, also agreed to the same financial penalty. This is because the only instances in which a teacher agrees to a financial penalty and the parent or owner does not are in (i) χειρόγραφα documents (such as that of Apollonius, Menodorus and Number 13 in Table 7 below) and (ii) documents which are too fragmentary to discern whether the parents did, in fact, agree to a financial penalty (Number 14 in Table 7). Thus, it seems likely that agreeing to such penalties is suggestive of moderate economic means.

For two individuals in particular, their agreement to such financial penalties aids us in assessing their circumstances where more direct evidence from their personal documents is absent. The first is Ischyras, the man from the city of Ankyropolis who arranged apprenticeships for his son and daughter. In the analysis of Ischyras' circumstances in Chapter One, two plausible scenarios were put forward to make sense of the arrangement of two apprenticeships with the same family. The first scenario was that the two families enjoyed a relationship of reciprocity and were of similar socioeconomic standing. In the second, more pessimistic scenario Ischyras and his family were not financially stable and were exploited for cheap labour by a local wealthy family. That Ischyras was poor and had no choice but to agree to the financial penalty to gain much needed income cannot be precluded. Yet, that such financial penalties likely dissuaded poorer individuals from arranging apprenticeships is further evidence to support the first scenario presented above. It seems likely, though not certain, therefore that Ischyras and his family were of at least moderate economic standing.

The second relevant individual is a certain Pausiris Sr: a weaver and contemporary of Tryphon, Pompeius, Didyme, Apollonius and Menodorus. Pausiris (like the former three) is one of the few individuals in this corpus for whom a substantial archive is extant (23 documents between himself and his two sons). Further, his archive demonstrates that he was more involved in apprenticeship education than any other individual in the corpus. He appears in a total of four contracts of apprenticeship, three where he apprentices his three sons (Ammonios, Dioskous and Pausiris Jr) to learn the trade of weaving

and another where he himself agrees to teach the trade of weaving to the relative of a family acquaintance.[138]

The very fact that there is an archive associated with Pausiris Sr hints at his moderate economic standing. However, as there is no explicit evidence to support this he was excluded from the prosopographical study above. Despite the relative extensiveness of his archive, the extant documents (belonging to him and two of his sons) do not quite permit an in-depth personal history exploring the details of their finances. Though the documents contain financial data, it is limited and difficult to interpret. Regarding Pausiris Sr himself, his only document containing financial data is a tax receipt for his payments of the weaver's tax over approximately a year, a total of 32 drachmas.[139] Regarding his two sons, Dioskous and Pausiris Jr, more documentation is available pertaining to the dowries each received and what they did with that money. It is, however, difficult to assess the extent to which this financial data demonstrates that the family was of middling economic standing.

Some sense of the difficulty of assessing their circumstances can be seen by reviewing what little is known about the family's finances. It is known that Dioskous received a total of 220 drachmas, split over two loans, as a dowry from his wife Thermouthion, who also used the sale of her share of her deceased father's house to repay a loan of 140 drachmas.[140] While this suggests that Dioskous married into a family of middling economic standing, there is no explicit evidence that he came from a family of similar economic standing. If he did enjoy some financial security, the only explicit evidence attesting it is his wife's dowry, received in his adulthood seven years after beginning his apprenticeship education.

Dioskous' brother, Pausiris Jr, appears to have received an even more impressive dowry in the form of jewellery and other goods worth a total of 300 drachmas. Pausiris Jr, though, seems to have gone on to use the entirety of the dowry to pay off a series of personal loans over the course of a year and a half and then create a fictive loan repayment document claiming, apparently falsely, that he had repaid his wife the dowry and consequently could not be requested to repay the amount at any time in

[138] P. Mich. 3 170, 171, 172; P. Wisc. 1 4.
[139] P. Mich. 10 598.
[140] Gagos, Koenen and McNellen 1992: 187–189.

the future.[141] Whether Pausiris was a scoundrel squandering his wife's inheritance or an individual experienced in moving money to his advantage cannot be completely discerned. Only three documents attest his activities beyond his financial fiasco: the document attesting his apprenticeship in the weaving trade, a private letter that refers to his letting a space in the family house, and a formal declaration by his two brothers that he had moved to Alexandria.[142] One could interpret these documents as showing some amount of upward mobility, but this is not necessarily clear as his activities could also be interpreted as opportunistic (letting a space in the house where his mother and relatives live) and evasive (his brothers' declaration seems to indicate an obligation for Pausiris Jr to pay the poll tax regardless of where he lives).

It is unclear from the evidence attested in documents containing specific financial transactions whether the family of Pausiris Sr was of moderate financial means or whether his sons simply managed to marry into financially well-off families. However, Pausiris appears in one of the contracts containing a penalty clause.[143] In this contract, Pausiris agrees to teach the trade of weaving to the relative of a friend and consents to a financial penalty, should he cancel the arrangement prematurely, of 200 drachmas total (100 drachmas to the other party and 100 to the public treasury). It is unknown whether he agreed to such financial penalties in the apprenticeship arrangements for his three sons, as each of these contracts is a hypomnematic registration document and consequently does not record financial penalties. But the fact that he does appear in at least one contract to consent to such financial penalties is the only evidence that particularly suggests financial stability. Pausiris Sr was possibly, like his son and namesake, a financial risk-taker. It is also possible that he was comfortable with the possibility of paying as penalty an amount which would, if he had it, make him eligible for lower village-level liturgies.

[141] For a more detailed overview of this series of events, see Gagos, Koenen and McNellen 1992: 184–187.
[142] P. Mich. 3 172, P. Mich. inv. 93, P. Mich. inv. 94.
[143] P. Mich. 3 171 (number 25 in Table 7).

Table 7: Individuals who appear in a contract which contains a penalty clause affecting them

	PERSON	ROLE	DOCUMENT	DATE	PLACE	AMOUNT	NOTE
1	Herakleides	Father	BGU 4 1124	18 BCE	Alexandria	200 drachmas (only 100 drachmas are attested since this document only contains the payment to the other party and not the payment to the public treasury)	Cancellation of contract
2	Taurinos	Sponsor?					
3	Nilos	Teacher					
4	Gaius Iulius Philios	Owner of Apprentice	SB 22 15538	13 BCE		225 drachmas	Upper socioeconomic status; see Chapter Three
5	Libouke	Teacher	SB 18 13305	271 CE	Karanis	200 drachmas	
6	Ision	Owner of Apprentice? Father?					
7	Segathis	Owner	Stud. Pal. SPP 22 40	150 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	Upper socioeconomic status; see Chapter Three
8	Stotoetis, Son of Segathis	κύριος					
9	Pausiris	Teacher					
10	Taseus	Mother? Owner?	P. Grenf. 2 59	188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	Unknown; fragmentary text	Possibly upper socioeconomic status; see Chapter Three, page 110 footnote 36
11	Satabous	κύριος					
12	Paouetis	Teacher					
13	Orsenouphis	Teacher	P. Mich. 5 346a	13 CE	Tebtynis	Pupil taught at teacher's expense	
14	Name Missing	Teacher	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443-459	139 CE	Arsinoite Nome	Unknown; too fragmentary	

					(specific town unknown)		
15	Isodorus	Father	BGU 11 2041	200 CE	Arsinoite Nome (specific town unknown)	400 drachmas (200 to the public treasury and 200 to the other party)	
16	Zosimus	Teacher					
17	Ischyras	Father	P. Heid. Gr. 4 327	101 CE	Ankyropolis	Complex; at least 140 drachmas	
18	Apollonarion	Teacher					
19	Athenodora	Owner	SB 24 16320	293–304 CE	Kellis	Unknown; too fragmentary	
20	Apollonius (the Althaean)	Teacher	P. Oslo inv. 1496	31–44 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Cost of damages and expenses + wages still owed + half as much (of the sum of the preceding two?) + 100 drachmas	
21	Thamounion	Mother	P. Oxy. 2 322	36 CE	Oxyrhynchus	120 drachmas (60 to other party and 60 to public treasury)	
22	Tryphon (the Weaver)	κύριος					
23	Abaros	Teacher					
24	Menodorus (the Althaean)	Teacher	P. Fouad 37	48 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Cost of damages and expenses + wages still owed + half as much (of the sum of the preceding two?) + 100 drachmas	
25	Pausiris (Sr)	Father	P. Wisc. 1 4	53 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
26	Apollonius	Teacher					
27	Apollonous	Mother	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	54 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
28	Diogenes	κύριος					

29	Heras	Teacher					
30	Tryphon (the Weaver)	Father	P. Oxy. 2 275	66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
31	Ptolemy	Teacher					
32	Taseus	Mother	P. Oxy. 41 2971	66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
33	Name Missing	κύριος					
34	Seuthes	Teacher					
35	Hermas	Father	SB 12 10946	98–103 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
36	Papontas	Teacher					
37	Ischyrion	Uncle	P. Oxy. 4 725	183 CE	Oxyrhynchus	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
38	Heraclas	Teacher					
39	Aurelius Diogenes	Owner	P. Oxy. 41 2977	239–240 CE	Oxyrhynchus	100 drachmas	Likely upper socioeconomic status, see Chapter Three, page 110 footnote 36
40	Thonis	Teacher					
41	Name Missing	Apprentice	SB 24 16131	25–1 BCE	Toy	500 silver pieces (2500 staters)	
42	Name Missing	Teacher				100 silver pieces (500 staters)	
43	Didyme	Mother(?)	P. Col. Inv. 164	118–122 CE	Unknown	200 drachmas (100 to the public treasury and 100 to the other party)	
44	Name Missing	Teacher					

The prosopographical assessment above clearly demonstrates that Pompeius and Hermias were not unusual in the διδασκαλικαί corpus for being of moderate socioeconomic status. Ten other individuals can be shown, based on their personal histories, to likewise have been of middling economic and social status. Further, there is circumstantial evidence that several individuals had substantial archives, containing petitions, and that 43 individuals in the διδασκαλικαί corpus consented to agreements to pay not insignificant financial penalties in the event of pre-mature cancellation. This evidence strongly supports the claim that the corpus had a sizable contingent of individuals who, like those explored in the prosopographical analysis, were of moderate economic means.

As mentioned above, given the fragmentary nature of a significant number of documents in the corpus, it is unclear to what extent financial penalties were a regular part of the διδασκαλικαί contracts. With their inclusion in 43–84% of the documents in the corpus, this phenomenon of financial penalties is clearly common, if not typical, in the διδασκαλικαί contracts. Should such penalties in fact suggest that the individuals consenting to such conditions were of moderate economic standing, then these penalty clauses would demonstrate that the individuals of moderate socioeconomic standing constituted the largest contingent of participants in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt.

Chapter Three

LOCAL ELITES AND THE UPPER SOCIOECONOMIC CONTINGENT

The final chapter of this section of the thesis argues that there is a contingent in the διδασκαλικαί corpus that appears to have been wealthier than those examined in Chapters One and Two. These individuals were of upper socioeconomic standing, often local elites. Moreover, with one attested exception, these individuals tended to arrange apprenticeships not for their own children (like those of lower- and middling socioeconomic standing) but for their slaves.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the claim that individuals in this corpus arranged apprenticeships for their slaves, and the affluence typical of these individuals, is not controversial. Indeed, the διδασκαλικαί corpus was one of the main corpora used in Clarence Forbes' 1955 detailed study of the education of slaves in antiquity, and several scholars have asserted the wealth of those who arrange apprenticeships for their slaves.[1] However, as demonstrated in Chapters One and Two, discussions of the backgrounds of those involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt have tended to focus on determining whether those involved in apprenticeship education were of lower or moderate socioeconomic standing. The current section demonstrates that the number of individuals known to have been of upper socioeconomic status is so great that the corpus cannot be properly understood or discussed without consideration of this group. Additionally, the existence of a wealthier contingent further substantiates this thesis' claim that a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds characterised those involved in this form of education.

[1] Forbes 1955. M. Schnebel and Peter van Minnen have discussed Gaius Iulius Philios' business practice of giving out loans and Michael Freeman describes the aristocratic culture from which Panechotes comes. Schnebel 1933: 40, Van Minnen 2016, Freeman 2023: 39.

As indicated in Chapter One, in approximately one quarter of the διδασκαλικαί contracts, the person arranging the apprenticeship is doing so for his or her slave. Though nothing is known about some of these individuals beyond this simple fact, for several, information in the contract itself or in other documents from their archives and dossiers allows a wider glimpse into their circumstances. Insights into the backgrounds of these slave-owning individuals confirms, as one would expect, a pattern of wealth. Using this evidence, six individuals are undeniably of upper socioeconomic status: Gaius Iulius Philios, Segathis and her son Stotoetis, Aurelius Silvanus, Panechotes, and Aurelius Sentius. Beyond these six, there is reason to believe a further three individuals may have also been of upper socioeconomic status, though the evidence for them is more limited: Herakleon, Plato, and Platonis. Finally, it would be remiss not to revisit three individuals from the previous chapter whose civic standing suggests a background of upper social standing, even if their economic standing may have been adversely affected by unknown circumstances: Hermias, Apollonius and Menodorus. This section analyses the documents attesting each of these individuals and argues for their upper socioeconomic status.

Gaius Iulius Philios

Gaius Iulius Philios was a freedman, a Roman citizen and a former slave of Augustus who lived in Alexandria at the end of the first century BCE.[2] Five of the six documents in Philios' archive are loan contracts for at least ten separate instances in which he acted as creditor. These contracts furnish insight into Philios' financial standing. In these loan contracts, the conditions favour Philios, the lender. Though only three of the loans are listed as having interest, each loan contract outlines a series of penalties for late or missed payments. These penalties could be severe: for example, if the debtor missed a single daily payment over the course of several months to a year, they might be seized and forced to pay a fine of 50% of the principal and an interest of two drachmas per one hundred owed per month (in addition to either the entire principal amount or the amount owed). Additionally, some of the loan

[2] Van Minnen 2016: 145.

contracts stipulate that the debtor is prohibited from using any form of sanctuary to avoid paying the loans.[3] Due to these strict conditions, M. Schnebel originally described Philios as a 'durchtriebener, abgefeimter Wucherer', or a 'cunning, sly usurer'.[4] However, Peter van Minnen has recently argued that this characterisation is inaccurate,[5] pointing to the fact that one of the loan contracts (BGU 4 1053) lists Philios lending money to a group that has received and paid off two loans in the past. He concludes that Philios was not so much a manipulative creditor as a 'smart businessman who spread his investments and avoided bad debtors'.[6]

Of the six papyri documents associated with him, one is uncertain in its attestation of Philios. This uncertain document is the διδασκαλική in which the slave, Narcissus, is apprenticed to learn to play several flute instruments. His involvement in apprenticeship education has recently been questioned by scholars such as Peter van Minnen and Graham Claytor,[7] for the line attesting the identity of the individual who arranged the apprenticeship for Narcissus is too fragmented to fully discern.[8] All that is discernible in both the contract and the corresponding abstract drawn up by the scribe is 'Gaius Iulius…'.[9]

Despite the scepticism expressed by Van Minnen and Claytor due to the incomplete name, Philios still might reasonably be the individual attested in this contract. Firstly, the apprenticeship document is dated to 13 BCE, and all the other documents attesting Philios are dated to between 15 and 13 BCE.[10] Secondly, the apprenticeship document of Gaius Iulius and all of the documents attesting Gaius Iulius Philios state that money was transferred by the individual in question through the bank of Kastor. Finally, the apprenticeship contract and all the documents associated with Philios appear to have been drawn up at the same scribal office in Alexandria. Thus, the 'Gaius Iulius…' of the apprenticeship contract and Gaius Iulius Philios were active at the same time, using the same scribal

[3] BGU 4.1156 and 4.1053.
[4] Schnebel 1933: 40. See also, Bergamasco 1995: 113.
[5] Van Minnen 2016.
[6] Van Minnen 2016: 150.
[7] Van Minnen 2016: 145 fn. 5, 2021: 199–200; Claytor 2024b: 306 fn. 100.
[8] The first editors of the document, Annie Bélis and Daniel Delattre, suggested Philios due to the fact that 'Gaius Iulius' could be discerned and Gaius Iulius Philios was a well-known individual in documents related to Alexandria.
[9] On the abstract drawn up by the scribe, see ADRA *s.v.* 'BGU 4.1125.16–34'; Claytor 2024b: 305 fn. 98.
[10] SB 22 15538 (διδασκαλική) and BGU 4 1156, 1166, 1053, 1149 and 1151.2 (loans).

office and arranging large transfers of money through the same bank. Further, as is shown below, Gaius Iulius Philios was undoubtedly wealthy. That the 'Gaius Iulius…' of the apprenticeship contract arranges for his slave to learn to play flutes suggests he did not need the more lucrative income from a slave trained in weaving.[11] Both men, then, are known to have been wealthy. Though the identification of Philios with the individual in the apprenticeship contract cannot be made with certainty, the fragmentation where the name 'Philios' should appear does not disprove it. For the purposes of this thesis, Philios will be taken to be the same individual arranging the apprenticeship. It should be noted, however, that until further evidence appears, this identification is merely a conjecture, albeit one making the best use of the circumstantial evidence.

It currently seems unclear, due to the small amount of evidence attesting him, whether Philios would be better characterised as a manipulative, self-interested money lender or as a strategic businessman. More certain is that his business acumen appears to have served him well. In a little more than two years, he is documented as having given out a total of 1440 drachmas in loans. To put this amount into perspective, in other documents from Alexandria dated to the same year as four of Philios' five loan contracts (13 BCE), three separate women arranged contracts for wet-nursing in which they earned between 8 and 12 drachmas per month; a man arranged a two-year lease agreement for a house containing several workshops for a rent of 60 drachmas per month, and another woman arranged a three-year παραμονή arrangement (indentured servitude) for 100 drachmas.[12] That Philios was able to loan such a substantial amount indicates that he was one of the wealthiest individuals attested in this corpus.

The Family of Segathis

Another family that appears to have been wealthy is that of Segathis, a priestess from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos in the Arsinoite nome, who lived from roughly 90–169 CE. She first appears in 150 CE in a διδασκαλική document where she apprentices her slave girl, Taorsenouphis, to learn the trade

[11] On the lucrative nature of weaving, see Chapter Four.
[12] BGU 4 1058, 1106, 1107 (wet-nursing contracts); BGU 4 1166 Vo./P.Berol. 13048 verso (lease agreement); BGU 4 1126 (παραμονή).

of weaving. In this case, Segathis' son, Stotoetis (also a priest), serves as her sponsor. A sense of the family's financial position can be gleaned from another document in their archive dated to a month after she arranged this apprenticeship. This document details that Segathis received a loan from her son, Stotoetis, for 840 drachmas and Stotoetis received the slave girl, Taorsenouphis, as mortgage.[13] Having this amount as discretionary income with which he could give out in a single loan (even to his mother) certainly indicates that Stotoetis was wealthy. The remaining documents attesting Segathis are receipts attesting her repaying this loan to her son, indicating that she was also financially capable.

At least some of their wealth undoubtedly came from the family's occupation as priests/priestesses as they were likely paid comparatively well for their services in the temple. Two separate accounts from the temple at Soknopaiou Nesos, dated to 138 and 140 CE (i.e., when Segathis was roughly 50 years old and Stotoetis about 30), list the temple's expenditure on the salary for the prophet (i.e., the priest) of the god Suchos, or Sobek, as 344 drachmas per year.[14] By comparison, another document dated to 150 CE lists that the salary of an archer and watchman for a toll station in Soknopaiou Nesos was 16 drachmas per month, or 192 drachmas per year.[15] Even with their temple salary alone, the family of Segathis would have been at least above average in wealth; however, their salary from the temple was likely not their only source of income.

Beyond their temple income, they were likely involved in the breeding and selling of camels. Soknopaiou Nesos was one of two places in Roman Egypt where documentary evidence confirms the breeding and selling of camels (the other being Dionysias) and this business appears to have been lucrative.[16] In the mid-second century CE, the average price for a camel was 653 drachmas, roughly four times more than a donkey.[17] That a significant number of the families of camel sellers in Soknopaiou Nesos were also priestly families has been observed by Andrea Jördens and Colin Adams.[18] Further, Ruben Smolders and Katelijn Vandorpe have speculated that Stotoetis may be the same

[13] BGU XI 2043; cf. Smolders 2013b: 1.
[14] SPP 22 183 col. 2, BGU 1 337.
[15] P Lond. 1169.
[16] Adams 2007: 105—109. As Adams notes: '[i]n almost every camel-sale transaction, at least one of the parties is usually a resident of Soknopaiou Nesos, and where this is not the case, the party is from Dionysias'. Adams 2007: 106.
[17] Drexhage 1991: 296. Cf. Adams 2007: 107—108.
[18] Jördens 1995: 64—72, Adams 2007: 107.

individual as another Stotoetis, who was of a family of camel sellers.[19] However, Smolders and Vandorpe are cautious about connecting Segathis and her son Stotoetis with this specific family of camel sellers since Stotoetis is a very common name in Soknopaiou Nesos.[20]

Yet, there is reason to suspect that Stotoetis the priest and one of the two camel sellers of the same name are, in fact, the same person. Firstly, all three men lived in Soknopaiou Nesos at around the same time. The son of Segathis is first mentioned in the διδασκαλική document in 150 CE, though he is 40 years old at this point and is presumably acting as a sponsor for his 60-year-old mother because his father is deceased. The two camel owners named Stotoetis are first mentioned in declarations of camels ten years prior to this in 140–141 CE.[21] Secondly, a camel registration document from Soknopaiou Nesos reveals that a certain Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis, registered six camels in 137 CE.[22] She is said to be accompanied by her κύριος, who is her συνγενοῦς, or 'relative', Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis. The Stotoetis of the Segathis archive does, in fact, have a sister named Taouetis (named after her maternal aunt). Given that, as Jördens and Adams have pointed out, camel breeding and selling was normally a family business and often run by priests, it would be reasonable to assume that the Stotoetis of the Segathis archive is the same individual as one of the two camel owners of the same name.

Should these two Stotoetis be the same individual, then the family of Segathis were not only priests/priestesses but also they managed a camel-breeding business. This situation would help explain how Stotoetis could have loaned 840 drachmas to his mother. Thirteen years prior to his giving out such a substantial loan, his sister would have owned six camels (worth around 4,000 drachmas). Depending on which Stotoetis he is, he would have owned four or seven camels (worth roughly 2,600 or 4,500 drachmas, respectively) about 10 years before he gave out the loan to his mother[23] Given the documented evidence that Stotoetis loaned a substantial amount to his mother and that she was capable of repaying it, and given the likelihood that they both earned comparatively high incomes from their

[19] Smolders 2013b: 2, Smolders and Vandorpe 2013.
[20] Jördens 1995: 66 fn. 139. Cf. Smolders and Vandorpe 2013: 2.
[21] BGU 1 353-55, 57.
[22] P. Grenf. 2 45a.
[23] BGU 1 357, 354.

roles as priest/priestess, and that they quite plausibly bred and sold camels, it is clear that the family of Segathis was of upper-socioeconomic status.

Silvanus, Panechotes and Sentius

Little is known of the personal lives of the remaining individuals besides what is detailed in their respective διδασκαλικαί documents, but another three individuals can be identified with certainty as of upper socioeconomic status based on the identificatory clauses of their contracts. For Aurelius Silvanus, a man in third-century CE Antinoopolis who arranged an apprenticeship in weaving for his slave-girl Nike, the identification clause identifies him as a professional athlete.[24] It is not clear which competitions Silvanus competed in, as the contract only reveals his profession by the phrase πλειστονίκη παραδόξῳ, or 'admirable victor of many contests', but it is known that, when metropoleis were granted βουλαί at the beginning of the third century CE, athletic competitions became more widespread in Roman Egypt.[25] This development allowed athletes to compete in more agonistic events, win more prizes (in cash or kind) and establish a degree of prestige and security by joining such associations as the synods of athletic victors.[26] Consequently, it is likely that the title of πλειστονίκής παράδοξος indicates significant success in an agonistic career and that Silvanus may have been at least moderately well-off financially, if not wealthy.

Though Panechotes, also called Panares, is known only from the single διδασκαλική contract dated to 155 CE in which he apprentices his slave to learn shorthand writing, this contract identifies him as a former kosmetes of the metropolis of Oxyrhynchus.[27] That he is a former magistrate and is arranging an apprenticeship for his slave to write at a faster pace both suggest that Panechotes had significant administrative tasks to manage. Moreover, apprenticing a slave to learn shorthand writing suggests Panechotes was likely of upper economic standing since it indicates that he did not require the

[24] PSI 3 241. On Silvanus being wealthy, see Bergamasco 1995: 113.
[25] Remijsen 2015: 114f; Fauconnier 2023: 154—155. Cf. Frisch 1986: 12; Van Rengen 1997: 290; Remijsen 2013: 358—359.
[26] On the synods of athletic victors, see Fauconnier 2023.
[27] P. Oxy 4 724. For the first observation of Panechotes being from a wealthier background, see Bergamasco 1995: 113.

relatively lucrative income from a slave who could work in a more productive industry such as weaving.[28]

Of Aurelius Sentius, like Panechotes and Silvanus, nothing is known other than the details in the apprenticeship contract in which he arranges for his slave, Ptolemy, to learn the trade of cutting hair (or wool carding?) in third-century CE Oxyrhynchus.[29] The identificatory clause in the contract identifies him as a οὐετρανὸς τῶν ἐντείμως ἀπολελυμένων ἀπὸ δουπλικιαρίων, or 'a veteran of the honourable disbanded troop of duplicares'. That he is a veteran of the Roman army and, specifically, a *duplicarius* suggests he may have been affluent, as *duplicarii* were auxiliary soldiers who received double the standard military pay for a soldier.[30] Comparison with individuals like Pompeius, the legionary discussed in Chapter Two who appears to have accumulated significant wealth, makes it reasonable to suggest that Sentius was of an upper socioeconomic status.[31]

Slave Owners with Hellenic Backgrounds

Beyond the six individuals outlined above, another four may have been members of the local elite. Unlike for the individuals above, there cannot be a high degree of certainty regarding the financial conditions of these individuals, but circumstantial evidence nonetheless suggests affluence. These individuals are Herakleon from first-century Tebtynis; Platonis and her brother Plato, both from second-century Oxyrhynchus; and Diogenes from third-century Oxyrhynchus. Herakleon, Platonis and Aurelius Diogenes all arrange apprenticeships for an enslaved member of their household to learn the

[28] On the lucrative nature of weaving, see Chapter Four, pages 122–138.
[29] BGU 4 1021. For Sentius being a wealthier individual, see Bergamasco 1995: 113. On the nature of the trade learned by Ptolemy (the trade of the κτενιστής), see footnote 34 on page 126 below.
[30] There has been some debate over the past 15 years regarding precisely what the term 'duplicarius' indicated. The original, and still generally held, position is that it signified a specific rank which came with double-pay either in kind or cash (see Smith 1890 *s.v.* 'duplarii' for an earlier example of this idea and Speidel 2014 for a recent example). Patrick Le Roux recently argued that rather than suggesting being its own rank with double-pay, the term actually indicated a soldier having been given a distinction for bravery and possibly supplementary rations or horses. While, as Michael A. Speidel has pointed out, Le Roux's position helps make sense of a reference to the term in Varro, it ultimately must ignore the other primary evidence for the duplicarius and history of scholarship on Roman military ranks and pay. Le Roux 2012; Speidel 2014.
[31] For Pompeius, see pages 59–68 above, whose total attested πόρος was between 1874 and 2374 drachmas and may have even been as high as 3,000 drachmas. For soldiers normally being financially well off, see Rathbone 2001: 112.

trade of weaving, and Plato serves as the guardian for Platonis so she can arrange her slave's apprenticeship.[32]

The reason for believing these individuals may have been part of the local elite is twofold: they owned slaves and they have Hellenic names. Several scholars have observed the idiosyncratic nature of slavery in Greco-Roman Egypt, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five. For present purposes, it is helpful to note that agriculture-based slavery was uncommon in Egypt due to unique circumstances that made it cheaper to have land worked by poorer, free individuals.[33] Consequently, slaves in Roman Egypt were largely domestic and, as suggested by Micaela Langellotti, part of households of Hellenic backgrounds: '[a]s slavery was essentially a Greek institution, the people who owned slaves usually belonged to the Hellenic or Hellenized strata of the population'.[34] That the three individuals in question came from a Hellenic background and were therefore likely part of the local elite and the gymnasial order is further supported by the fact that all three have Hellenic names. Indeed, it is for these two reasons that Langellotti suggests that Herakleon, one of the individuals under consideration in her analysis, was from just such a background.[35]

It is impossible to know with certainty whether Herakleon, Plato, Platonis and Aurelius Diogenes were from a Hellenic background and of the gymnasial order, but the evidence makes such a categorisation plausible and even likely. Merely owning a slave suggests some wealth since slaves were not cheap. Contemporary contracts of sale for slaves from Tebtynis and Oxyrhynchus attest slave prices between 500 and1300 drachmas.[36] Though these individuals possibly obtained their slaves by taking in foundlings,[37] their Hellenic names support their upper socioeconomic status and inclusion in the local elite.

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[32] P. Mich 5 346a, P. Oxy. 14 1647, P. Oxy. 41 2977.
[33] On this idiosyncratic nature of slavery, see Rostovtzeff 1941: 321–322; Bieżuńska-Małowist 1984: 184; Lewis 1983: 57f; Rowlandson 1998: 179; Gibbs 2012: 43; Straus 2016; Claytor 2024b: 315. See also Chapter Five, pp. 212–220.
[34] Langellotti 2020: 127 fn. 91.
[35] Langellotti 2020: 127 fn. 91.
[36] Straus 2004: 296–297. If owning a slave is to be taken as indicative of being of upper socioeconomic status, up to three further individuals could be added to the list of those forming that contingent. These are Aurelius Zoilos from third-century Oxyrhynchus and Taseus and Satabous from second-century Soknopaiou Nesos (P. Oxy. 86 5562 and P. Grenf. 2 59). There is some ambiguity in the phrasing of the apprenticeship contract arranged by Taseus and Satabous (her κύριος) as to whether the apprentice is actually her slave. I have argued in Chapter One that the pupil likely is enslaved. See page 42f. above.
[37] For an example of this phenomenon, see P. Oxy. 1 37 and 38.

Apollonius, Menodorus and Hermias

In an investigation into the individuals in the corpus for whom there is evidence suggesting they may have been of an upper socioeconomic background, it would be remiss not to include three individuals whose personal circumstances were initially detailed in Chapter Two. These individuals are Apollonius and Menodorus, the two Alexandrian citizens living in Oxyrhynchus speculated to have been brothers, and Hermias of Oxyrhynchus, the son of the *agoranomos*. They were all categorised in Chapter Two as of moderate socioeconomic standing. As was demonstrated, Alexandrian citizens living outside Alexandria tended to be affluent and are documented as executing transactions involving substantial amounts.[38] It cannot be precluded that Apollonius and Menodorus could have been of upper socioeconomic standing. All the other attested members of the Althaean deme in Oxyrhynchus at this time appear to have had a financial standing that placed them either in the upper range of middling socioeconomic standing or within range of upper socioeconomic standing. Consequently, the best description of Apollonius and Menodorus is that they were likely *at least* of moderate socioeconomic standing, though their financial standing could have placed them in the local elite and upper socioeconomic contingent of this corpus.

The fact that Hermias was the son of a former *agoranomos* is definitive evidence that he came from a wealthy background,[39] part of the local elite, though the circumstances of his apprenticeship contract suggest that his financial standing may have been negatively affected for an unknown reason. Were this not the case, it is difficult to imagine why an individual of the bouletic order, from a family with a history of involvement in the magistracies, apprenticed his son employing an unusual arrangement such that his son technically became an indentured servant. Hermias' circumstances are unclear. Further, as is argued in Chapter Five, a detail in the contract suggests that Hermias may have managed to recoup a significant amount of money that his father might have lost.

Apollonius, Menodorus and Hermias are unique in this contingent of upper socioeconomic individuals. Apollonius and Menodorus are uniquely identified as teachers of a trade. Hermias is the only individual who appears arranging an apprenticeship for his son rather than for his slave, though

[38] See Chapter Two, pp. 86–88.
[39] See Chapter Two, pp. 88–90.

notably, his son enters a form of enslavement in this apprenticeship. It is ultimately unclear whether these individuals should be considered part of this chapter's contingent. As stated above, the most judicious description is that they were *at least* of moderate socioeconomic standing, though upper socioeconomic standing cannot be precluded.

CONCLUSION: LOCAL ELITES AND APPRENTICESHIP EDUCATION

Clearly, a contingent of individuals of upper socioeconomic status was involved in apprenticeship education, and these individuals tended to apprentice their slaves rather than their own children. This may not have been a universal approach, given the involvement of Apollonius, Menodorus and Hermias in apprenticeship as parents or teachers, if these three can indeed be described as of upper socioeconomic status. Their involvement in apprenticeship arrangements present the possibility that the involvement of upper socioeconomic individuals may not have solely centred around arranging apprenticeships for slaves. Apollonius and Menodorus both taught a trade and Hermias arranged an apprenticeship for his own son. Whether their involvement is anomalous or not is a topic that future publications of apprenticeship contracts will, with hope, help to clarify.

That wealthy individuals in the διδασκαλικαί corpus arranged apprenticeships for their slaves is not controversial and has been acknowledged by scholars since the discovery of this corpus.[40] Despite this, scholarly discussions on the background and circumstances of those involved in this education have tended to focus on individuals of either the middle or lower socioeconomic status and to neglect upper socioeconomic individuals. This appears to be due to a focus on the apprentice rather than all individuals involved in the apprenticeship arrangement, which, ironically, risks overlooking the circumstances of enslaved apprentices, since the circumstances of the wealthier slaveholders likely influenced that of their slaves. As is demonstrated in Chapter Five, it is not uncommon to find enslaved apprentices learning different trades from their free counterparts, and these 'servile' trades tend to take

[40] Westermann 1914a, 1914b.

place indoors and demand less physically than the trades learned by freeborn pupils. While their circumstances may not have been ideal, such small luxuries were afforded to them through the wealth of their masters.

* * *

This part of the thesis has offered a prosopographical investigation into the individuals attested in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, demonstrating that there is evidence that individuals of lower, middle and upper socioeconomic status were involved in the arranging and undertaking of apprenticeship education. Evidence for the involvement of lower socioeconomic individuals is complicated by a lack of direct evidence for free individuals of lower socioeconomic status; nevertheless, a contingent of lower socioeconomic individuals were clearly involved. There is substantial evidence for the participation of middling socioeconomic individuals in apprenticeship education, reasonably the largest contingent in the corpus. Finally, upper socioeconomic individuals and local elites were clearly involved with notable consequences for their apprenticed slaves.

The nature of these individuals' involvement differs by background. Enslaved individuals only appear as apprentices, though freedmen and women appear as teachers of trades.[41] Lower and middling socioeconomic individuals usually appear in the roles of teachers or of parents giving over their children as apprentices, though individuals in these positions may have sometimes been of upper socioeconomic status. Upper socioeconomic individuals tend to arrange apprenticeships for their slaves. Some of these individuals match Laes' description of the 'slightly better-off people from the so-called "middling classes"'.[42] Some could be best described as Bradley's struggling lower classes who undertook apprenticeship due to lacking a better option. Others were wealthier and were able to arrange apprenticeships for their slaves. There was no single socioeconomic group who exclusively arranged,

[41] See Chapter Five for a more detailed investigation into the relationship between apprenticeship and slaves obtaining their freedom.
[42] Laes 2015: 476.

undertook or taught apprenticeships in Roman Egypt, and consequently there is no single use of this form of education. Involvement was varied and came from all levels of society.

PART II:

Apprenticeship Education as Opportunity

Chapter Four

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INCENTIVES OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Whereas Part I of this thesis demonstrated the diverse backgrounds of those involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, Part II asserts a new interpretation of the role apprenticeship played in that society and explains why individuals of varied circumstances pursued it. This new interpretation is that apprenticeship education held the potential for those who undertook it to achieve meaningful social and economic upward mobility. This claim contradicts two prevailing negative interpretations of apprenticeship in Roman Egypt: first, that it was a route primarily pursued by those with limited prospects for upward mobility, and second, that it routinely worsened the circumstances of its participants.

Chapters Four and Five assess these interpretations in turn, demonstrating (i) the inability of each interpretation to fully account for the evidence attested in the διδασκαλικαί and in broader documentary material relating to artisans and (ii) the ways in which that evidence instead supports the interpretation advanced in this thesis. Whereas the prevailing interpretations are shaped by a framework of historical and economic determinism, emphasising the subjection of apprentices to their circumstances, the new interpretation asserts the opposite: the only framework that accounts for all the evidence is one that emphasises human agency.

The current chapter critically assesses the interpretation of apprenticeship education put forward by Keith Bradley, who asserted that there were no social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship education and that any economic incentives were ultimately negligible. This chapter then analyses the available evidence and demonstrates that there were indeed many social and economic incentives for undertaking apprenticeship and pursuing a career as an artisan in Roman Egypt.[1]

[1] Though undertaking an apprenticeship and pursuing a career or profession as a craftsperson could in some contexts be understood to be two separate processes, in this particular context it is better to understand them as one process. The reason for this is that apprentices in Roman Egypt were acknowledged by the administration to be practising artisans and were consequently understood to be already beginning their career as a craftsperson. This is evidenced by the fact that the apprenticeship contracts, when in the ὁμολογία format, always stipulate how

This chapter is composed of three sections. The first reviews Bradley's interpretation and demonstrates that the evidence presented in Chapter Two renders it untenable. The second and third sections argue that there were economic and social incentives, respectively, for undertaking an apprenticeship and pursuing a profession as a tradesperson in Roman Egypt.[2] These latter two sections demonstrate how these incentives provided opportunities for the willing and capable to improve their life circumstances.

BRADLEY'S INTERPRETATION & THE PROBLEM OF A MIDDLING SOCIOECONOMIC CONTINGENT

One of the most influential interpretations of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt is that advanced by Keith Bradley in the 1980s and 1990s.[3] In a paragraph from his seminal article/chapter, Bradley provides a succinct description of what he believed to be the specific limitations of apprenticeship:

> …slave children and boys of the artisanal class in Egypt could expect to undergo training in a job that would probably occupy them for the rest of their lives. Economic constraints dictated that they should begin to work, at about the age of twelve or so, in trades and even in places not necessarily of their own choosing, and while the skills they acquired may have been economically beneficial, they were not likely to lead to significant social improvement. The pursuit of a craft, which could involve a long working day, may admittedly have given apprentices an advantage over other children in lower-class society who were not considered suitable for or capable of formal apprenticeship. But the process of learning, in the preteen and teenage years, effectively closed off to apprentices other kinds of 'educational' experiences enjoyed by the children of the socially elite.[4]

the pupil's obligation to pay the χειρωνάξιον (the tax in Roman Egypt which one was obliged to pay if practising a craft) is to be handled. Further, as the apprentices were perceived to be practitioners of the trade, the contracts also detail their wages. For more on the χειρωνάξιον, see Dogaer 2023: 170.

[2] Though the term 'trade' also includes merchants, in this chapter it is specifically intended to refer to artisans and craftspeople.

[3] For the influence of Bradley's article, see the Introduction, page 15 above.

[4] Bradley 1991: 111–112.

Thus, Bradley was firm in his notion that apprenticeship education was an unideal route, specifically one which precluded meaningful social advancement. He concedes that there may have been economic advantages, but a later comment suggests he viewed these as ultimately insignificant:

> …if upper-class children had to be prepared for careers in Roman civic life, children elsewhere in society had to be trained in jobs in order to preserve the essential well-being of their families. Child labor was a function of people's basic struggle for survival, a means of acclimatizing children to the common realities of material life around them… Whereas the paradigms for the children of the socially elite were predicated on the continuous enjoyment and exploitation of wealth, those for the children outside the ranks of the elite were governed by the expectation of constant hardship from which there was little respite.[5]

Should this description be accurate, then any economic advantages merely contributed to scraping by, so to speak, rather than to meaningfully improving an individual's socioeconomic circumstances. Apprenticeship, on this interpretation, was a safety net for the already disadvantaged to keep them from destitution.

This interpretation is shaped by a stronger emphasis on the vulnerability of individuals to their circumstances than on individuals' agency. In other words, it is shaped by historical and economic determinism, seen in Bradley's perception of apprenticeship as, using his words, the product of 'economic constraint' and 'of people's basic struggle for survival' which by default sentenced them to a life 'not necessarily of their own choosing', to being 'governed by the expectation of constant hardship' and 'effectively closed off to [them]' the kinds of experiences which might enable them to change their circumstances. Under this interpretation apprentices had very little agency, and their preclusion from upward mobility, or improvement of any kind, was decided by the incidence of their birth into the lower strata of society.

There is nothing wrong *a priori* with historical determinism as an interpretation, provided that it fully accounts for the evidence. Historians in the past century have frequently availed themselves of

[5] Bradley 1991: 118–119.

historical determinism as a methodology, thereby enriching the field.[6] In the case of Bradley's article, this method of interpretation is effective in demonstrating the disparity between elite and non-elite experiences in antiquity, but his deterministic conclusion regarding the limitations on Roman Egypt's apprentices is incompatible with the evidence presented in Chapter Two. Bradley's rationale arises from the apparent absence of individuals of moderate means participating in apprenticeship education. The only two individuals he identifies as of moderate means are Pompeius, the legionary veteran who apprenticed his sons to learn linen-weaving, whom Bradley describes as 'highly unusual', and Hermias, the son of a former magistrate whose presence he also describes as unusual.[7] Though he does not state explicitly why he sees these individuals as unusual in the corpus, such a description makes sense in light of his theory that apprenticeship education 'impeded any possibility of real social advancement'.[8] Yet, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, Pompeius and Hermias were not unusual in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, and a significant number of individuals connected to apprenticeship education, whether as teachers of a craft or parents of a pupil, are most accurately described as of moderate socioeconomic status.

If apprenticeship education was no more than a bleak necessity, then why did so many of moderate means pursue it? If they were already moderately well-off by local standards, why would they have arranged apprenticeships for their children to learn a trade that would ultimately funnel them into economic fragility? Moreover, it should not necessarily be assumed, as Bradley does, that literate education was definitively closed to those of moderate means: in fact, some parents, such as Didyme and Pompeius, Hermias, and Tryphon, clearly possessed the financial means to provide their children with an education in letters (and may have even done so, in the case of Pompeius).[9] Thus, what Bradley

[6] For example, much of the work produced by the so-called Annales school, particularly the study of the Mediterranean by Braudel and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's study of Medieval life in the village of Montaillou, tend towards historical determinism. This is not to say that these studies are without problems, but merely that the studies were valuable contributions to the field of historical inquiry. For a fuller treatment of the Annales school, see Burke 2015.
[7] Bradley 1991: 109–111.
[8] Bradley 1991: 109.
[9] Though there is no direct evidence of these pupils going through a formal education in letters, this cannot be precluded. Menodorus and Apollonius seem to have been moderately literate, being able to sign their own contracts (P. Fouad 1 37 and P. Oslo Inv. 1496, respectively). Pompeius' daughter, Herennia, likewise seems to have been able to write, as attested in her letter to Pompeius where it seems she signed the letter with the usual ἔρρωσ(ο), though the fact that she misspelled the word (ἔρωσ) suggests that she is not used to writing (SB 6 9122).

saw in Pompeius and Hermias as unusual instead appears to be a curious trend in want of an explanation, which Bradley's interpretation seems incapable of providing since his investigative framework does not emphasise human agency. If both literate and trade education were accessible to some of these individuals, any historical inquiry must highlight the agency behind the apparent choice of the latter over the former.

It should be noted that this is not the first attempt at critical engagement with Bradley's claims or the first piece of scholarship to contradict Bradley's interpretation. Most critical engagement with Bradley, however, has pertained to specific claims made in his work rather than the fundamental soundness of his interpretation.[10] The scholars whose publications have outright contradicted the interpretation proposed by Bradley are seemingly unaware of this as they have not explicitly engaged with his work and indicated that they disagree with his interpretation.[11] Though these scholars' publications pose several challenges to the pessimistic view of craftspeople's circumstances, there has yet to be a systematic assessment of the social and economic incentives in place in Roman Egypt that would provide a strong argument against economic determinism and replace it with a framework that allows for human agency. Further, none of these scholars appears to have recognised the implications of their work for Bradley's interpretation of the role of apprenticeship education in antiquity.

What follows in the next two sections is an assessment of the economic and social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship in Roman Egypt. The new interpretation asserted here is that these incentives made apprenticeship an advantageous choice since they provided the opportunity to improve the apprentice's circumstances. It further asserts that the incentives were lucrative and socially significant enough to attract those from moderate socioeconomic backgrounds, not just those from

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It seems likely that these individuals did not proceed beyond the elementary study of letters under a γραμματοδιδάσκαλος.

[10] E.g., Morgan 2015.

[11] In the past 15 years, scholars including Christel Freu, Matt Gibbs and Philip Venticinque have published analyses of evidence related to the artisanal sector (i.e., those whose livelihoods were dependent on their practicing of a specialised craft) of imperial Rome. Their publications argue that these individuals may not have been as economically restricted as Bradley believed. These scholars' attention, however, has not been focused so much on engaging with Bradley and the διδασκαλικαί (though each does reference both in passing) as with the scholar whom Bradley explicitly acknowledges as the primary influence on his own work: Moses Finley.
Freu 2011, 2016; Gibbs 2008/2009: 1 fn. 1, 2011, 2012, 2015; Venticinque 2010, 2016: vii, 19ff. For the influence of Finley on Bradley, see Bradley 1985: 319, 329. For more on Finley's 'primitivist view' vs the 'modernist view', see Tridimas 2019 and OCD[4] *s.v.* 'economy, ancient, approaches to'.

lower ones. This interpretation, unlike Bradley's, makes sense of the prosopographical evidence attested in the personal documents of those who are known to have been involved in apprenticeship education.

THE ECONOMIC INCENTIVES

Even Keith Bradley has acknowledged that undertaking vocational education for the pursuit of a career as an artisan could be economically advantageous.[12] The question is one of extent. For Bradley, the evidence suggests that the advantage was ultimately negligible. Trade apprenticeships may have yielded more income than unskilled labour, but the amount was marginal and did not alleviate economic hardship. This interpretation of economic potential as negligible reveals the extent to which Bradley was, as he acknowledges in his article, influenced by the work of Moses Finley.[13] As such, it is ultimately necessary to engage with Finley's interpretation of the ancient economy.

Finley's interpretation was that the artisanal class was economically constrained since the consumption of goods was primarily local, which limited the scale of production and therefore of wealth accumulation.[14] The enduring influence of Finley's interpretation of the ancient economy throughout the twentieth century is seen in Andrew Wilson's 2001 comment that 'Finley's assertion that urban manufacturing was "essentially petty" seems still to hold the field'.[15] Finley famously declared at the end of the second edition to his seminal book *The Ancient Economy* that his interpretation would 'not be in the least affected or impaired by the discovery of a few more textile workshops in Pompeii or of a few members of the senatorial aristocracy who actively engaged in commerce and manufacture. There can be no dispute over the existence of exceptional men, even of exceptional cities'.[16] He concedes the existence of exceptional men and cities, but what about exceptional regions? What about exceptional

[12] Bradley 1991: 111.
[13] Bradley 1991: 108 fn 26, 118.
[14] Finley 1985: 194. Cf. Wilson 2001: 271–272, 289–291.
[15] Wilson 2001: 272
[16] Finley 1985: 194.

industries? And how many instances of artisans reaping the benefits of an economy not limited to local consumption are needed before their situation ceases to be exceptional?

This section demonstrates the problems of characterising urban manufacturing in Roman Egypt as 'essentially petty' by assessing the economic incentives associated with apprenticeship education and the potential of artisanal professions in the region. Two significant economic incentives are identified. The first is that a career as an artisan had the potential to be lucrative due to the nature of the economy in Roman Egypt. This potential appears to apply to most trades, but in Roman Egypt weaving was more routinely lucrative.[17] The second incentive is that working in certain trades, most notably weaving, or arranging for one's children to learn such trades, provided people with a government-sanctioned route to protect their accumulated wealth from devastation by the financially burdensome liturgies, or compulsory public services, of Roman Egypt.

The Lucrative Potential of Craft Professions

The potential for apprenticeship in Roman Egypt to lead to a lucrative career is evidenced in three ways: (i) the nature of the economy in Roman Egypt and the methods artisans used to compete in it, (ii) the robust nature of the textile industry in Roman Egypt and the preponderance of apprentices attested as learning textile-related trades and (iii) the high incomes attested among artisans. Each of these is explored in turn to demonstrate significant economic incentives for undertaking apprenticeship and pursuing a craft profession.

The Egyptian Economy and Artisans

One would be hard pressed to find a more contentious issue in the history of scholarship of the ancient world than that of the ancient economy. The so-called 'Primitivist' vs. 'Modernist' debate so endemic

[17] Evidence from Pompei and the prominence of textiles in Diocletian's Maximum Price Edict suggest that the textile industry was not only lucrative in Egypt, but also throughout the empire. A fuller study of the empire-wide textile industry is an urgent *desideratum* since such a study has the potential to effectively disprove Finley's thesis. As this thesis is focused specifically on apprentices attested in Roman Egypt, this chapter focuses specifically on demonstrating the lucrative nature of the textile industry there.

to the twentieth century effectively caused a stalemate in scholarly discourse on the subject.[18] Twenty-first century scholarly conversations have sought to move past this stalemate by seeking areas where consensus might be reached and by utilising methodologies employed by both twentieth-century schools of thought.[19] Though the results of this initiative are not entirely conclusive, a few aspects of the ancient economy have gained some degree of consensus and are relevant for understanding the circumstances of craftspeople in Roman Egypt. Firstly, due to the political unity acquired through Roman expansion and conquest, the various provincial economies of the empire were integrated into a single, Roman economy, which grew consistently apart from a brief stall in the aftermath of the Antonine plague (late second century).[20] The extent of this integration is still debated,[21] but that it occurred to some degree is clear.[22] Secondly, this integrated economy thrived during the imperial era with something akin to a free market (a system in which prices are determined by supply and demand as opposed to governmental intervention).[23] Thirdly, the growth and the free-market nature of this economy supplied those lower on the socioeconomic ladder with opportunities to participate via private business, resulting in 'aggregate and per capita growth during the first two centuries'.[24]

The implications of these aspects of the ancient economy are significant for Roman Egypt and the artisans working there. Even scholars who question the extent of the integration of the economy acknowledge that the Egyptian economy was particularly integrated and positively so.[25] This is largely due to Egypt's history of being high in traffic—positioned along high-traffic trade routes (e.g., from

[18] For overviews of this debate and the impact on scholarly discourse, see Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 1–12; Tridimas 2019; OCD[4] *s.v.* 'economy, ancient, approaches to'.
[19] See, for example, the volume *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* which sought to bring together scholars with differing opinions to move past the 20th century debate. Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007.
[20] This is not to say that the Egyptian economy's growth began under Rome or was solely due to integration into the Roman economy. See Nico Dogaer's recent analysis which suggests that the already growing economy of Ptolemaic Egypt was grafted into the Roman economy with only minimal changes to administration as regards craft production and sale. Dogaer 2025. For particularly convincing arguments in favour of the integration being more complete, see Rathbone 1997, 2007: 712ff, 2009; Gibbs 2012. On the Antonine plague and economic hiatus, see Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 11.
[21] For an assertion of it being less total but still meaningfully integrated, see Bransbourg 2012.
[22] For evidence that this theory of economic integration has gained consensus, see Martin Goodman's textbook on the Roman Imperial era, an introductory textbook intended for undergraduates which presents this theory. Goodman 2003: 142–149.
[23] See Rathbone 1997, 2009: 308ff; Gibbs 2012.
[24] Gibbs 2012: 39ff. See also Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 11; Gibbs 2008/2009: 196ff.
[25] Bransbourg 2012; Gibbs 2012.

Arabia and India to Rome via the Red Sea and Nile)—and in craft production.[26] It is due to this economic situation that Matt Gibbs has asserted that 'the *pax Romana* supported a Mediterranean-wide emporium, and created a demand for products that were both manufactured in, and transported through, Roman Egypt'.[27] The beneficiaries of this economic boom were not only Romans but also the inhabitants of Egypt who participated in that market.[28] This thriving free-market economy provided enough demand for artisans to claim relatively large profits, thereby providing them financial incentives.

Success in this economy was largely accomplished through increased production. Those who produced more could, under these conditions, rest assured they would sell and profit more. The apprenticeship contracts themselves evidence artisans in Roman Egypt attempting to increase their production levels.[29] Two methods of increasing production are attested in the διδασκαλικαί: (i) specialisation and (ii) workforce expansion. There are two generally recognised types of specialisation pertaining to craft-based production: the creation of a specific product (e.g., nails) and specialisation in a specific step in the production process (e.g., embroidery, or fabric adornment).[30] It is argued here that the former (i.e., product specialisation) applies more to apprenticeships in a domestic context whereas the latter (i.e., process specialisation) applies more to the industrial context.

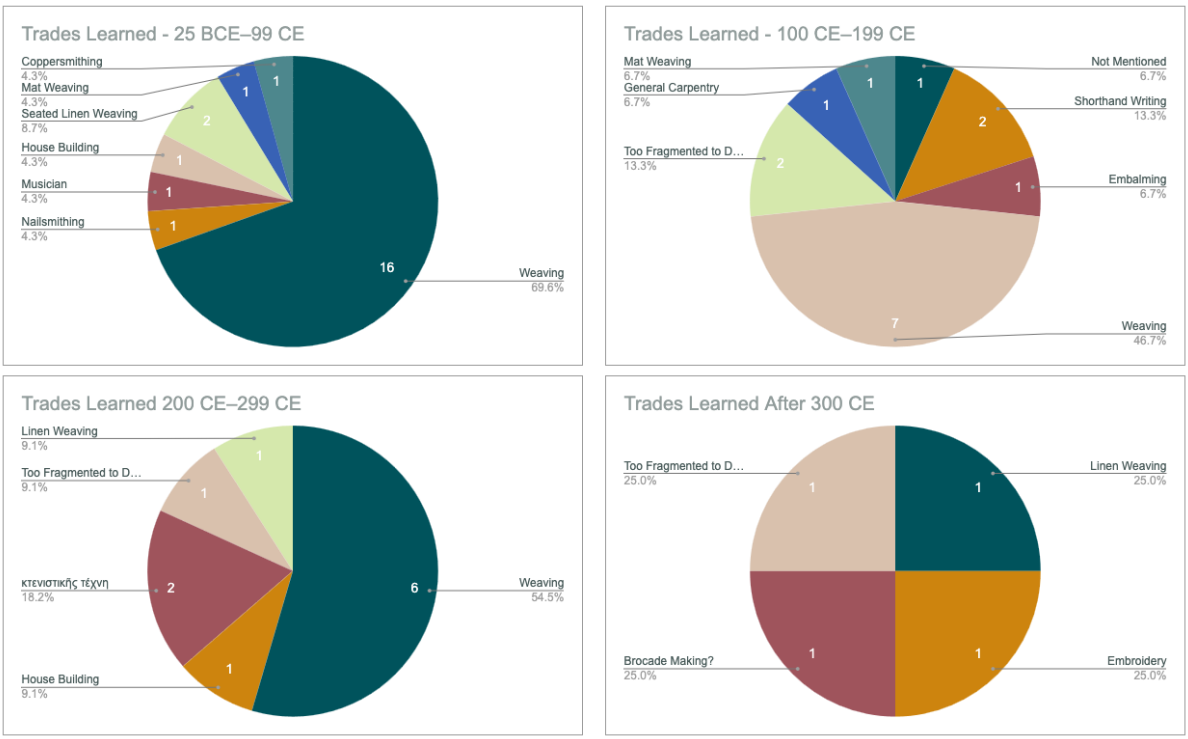
In his seminal article on the διδασκαλικαί, Marco Bergamasco observes 'due differenti realtà artigianali: una domestica, nel I^{p}, l'altra industriale, nel III^{p}' or 'two different artisanal realities: one domestic, in the first century CE, and the other industrial, in the third century'.[31] Bergamasco's observation of a shift from a domestic context to a larger, more industrial context would seem to be supported by known economic growth in Roman Egypt as well as by the development, discussed below,

[26] On Egypt being a region of high traffic for trade, see Sidebotham 1986, 2011; Colin 2007; Gibbs 2012. On Egypt's history of craft production, see the analysis of social prestige gained by pursuing a profession as a craftsperson below.
[27] Gibbs 2012: 49.
[28] Dominic Rathbone, after reviewing both sides of the debate on the integration of the economy, commented 'But both sides probably overestimate the vampiric suction of Rome. Did high yields in Egypt, for instance, mean cheap wheat for Rome rather than more prosperous Egyptians?' Rathbone 2009: 309.
[29] Indeed, it seems entirely plausible that craftspeople utilised apprentices to increase their production. Whether such scenarios constitute exploitation (which undoubtedly occurred) seems to have been determined by the negotiating power of the parent or owner who arranged the apprenticeship. Some apprentices earn very good salaries (placing them well into the middling economic standing threshold; see, for example, P. Oxy. 31 2586) while other earned less than that earned by unskilled labourers.
[30] Van Minnen 1987: 44–48; Gibbs 2009/2009: 146ff; 2012: 44–45.
[31] Bergamasco 1995: 153.

of specific forms of specialisation, workplace hierarchies and specific managerial roles in the third century. Whereas the domestic context sufficed in the first two centuries, the development of an industrial context (i.e., artisanal workshops) towards the end of the second century was necessary to keep production levels high enough to meet demand. This change in contexts reveals a strategic shift by artisans to maintain their competitive edge in the market and acquire a larger share of the profits available from that growing market.

The craft business of the first two centuries of the Common Era was, as Bergamasco observes, largely domestic. Yet, despite the smaller scale, artisans in this context were capable of financial success, as supported by the fact that prosperous individuals are attested as apprenticing their children to learn such trades, as demonstrated in Chapter Two. The strategy that appears to enable success in this context is specialisation in a specific product or material. In Table 8 below, the different trades attested in the apprenticeship contracts are organised by century: while weaving, in general, is the most attested trade learned in each century, beyond that, there is variation across the centuries.

Table 8: Trades Attested in the Διδασκαλικαί by Century



Characteristic of the first two centuries is a diversity of trades that specialise in a specific product or in working a specific material: coppersmithing, mat weaving, seated linen weaving, house building (as

opposed to general building) and nail smithing. In the second century, mat weaving is the only attested specialised trade for a specific product or a specific material.[32] In the third century, linen weaving and house building are the only two trades in which the artisan creates a specific item or works with a specific material. After the third century, linen weaving and possibly brocade-making are the only such trades attested from corpus data. [33] While product and material specialisation certainly continues, these types of specialisation are more characteristic of the first two centuries. Only after the second century do specialists in specific stages of the production process appear in apprenticeship documents (embroidery and potentially the κτενιστικῆς τέχνη, if that term refers to wool carding), which makes more sense in an industrial context like that described by Bergamasco.[34] This shift in type of

[32] Though shorthand writing is technically a specialised trade, it is not included here since this trade appears to have been a more servile trade and prevented one from participating in the free market. For more on this, see 208–211 below.

[33] For brocade making, see SB 14 11982. The trade is not mentioned, but is thought to be related to weaving. This is based on the teacher being a cleric. Paola Pruneti has suggested the trade might have to do with the making of sacred garments since weaving related trades are common in a list of attested trades known to have been practiced by clerics compiled by Eva Wipszycka (Pruneti 1977; Wipszycka 1972: 164–165). Though the majority of the trades are related to weaving, Wipszycka shows that clerics are also attested in a few instances practising other trades, such as pottery and milling.

[34] The ambiguous trade in question is the κτενιστικῆς τέχνη, attested in P. Oxy. 41 2977 and BGU 4 1021. Since the early 20th century, there has been significant scholarly debate over the meaning of this term (see Perdicoyianni-Paleologou 1999: 158–159 for an overview). Scholarly discourse divides into two main interpretations, both of which are based on an understanding that the term derives from the word κτενίζω, or 'to comb' (Ruffing 2008: 612–613). The first, most common interpretation amongst papyrologists and historians of Greco-Roman Egypt in the past 70 years is that the term refers to wool carding, or the combing out of wool in preparation for spinning it into thread (for scholars adopting this interpretation, see Zambon 1935: 38–39; Calderini 1946: 41–42; R. A. Coles in the introduction to P. Oxy. 41 2977; Wipszycka 1965: 34–35; Ruffing 2008: 612–613; Droß-Krüpe 2016: 90, 163–164). The second interpretation, attested in the LSJ and more common in the first half of the 20th century, is that the term refers to hairdressing/cutting (for scholars holding this position, see Westermann 1914a: 296; WP s.v. κτενιστής; Kalleris 1952: 159–160; Forbes 1955: 332–333; Ibrahim 1972: 219–220). The rationale behind the more recent preference for wool carding is the prevalence of the textile industry in Roman Egypt and the appearance of a tool called the ζ̣ε̣ῦγος κτενιστικόν, or 'yoke of the ktenistes' in P. Oxy. 41 2877 (see R. A. Coles in the introduction to P. Oxy. 41 2977 for the argument regarding the ζεῦγος κτενιστικόν; for a survey of the scholars who view the textile industry in Roman Egypt as evidence, see Perdicoyianni-Paleologou 1999: 158). There are, however, several problems with this more recent interpretation. The first problem is the fact that there are no references in the papyrological documentation to a κτενιστής practicing their craft, and thus it is difficult to discern from the documentation the precise nature of the trade. The only document that provides any information beyond the name of this trade is P. Oxy. 41 2977, referenced above, which may attest to a ζ̣ε̣ῦγος κτενιστικόν, or 'yoke of the ktenistes'. This leads to the second problem with this interpretation: namely, that it is not certain that P. Oxy. 41 2977 does, in fact, attest the word ζ̣ε̣ῦγος. As the editors indicate by their use of underdots, the papyrus is significantly faded in the area where this word should appear and, consequently, the first two and fourth letters are not legible (to view the papyrus in question, see https://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/img-DB/orig-digi/1914/1914.21/1914.21.0018.04.jpg). Further, the third letter (i.e., the one the editors suggest is an upsilon) is also not as clear as the editors indicate; though it is clearer than the first, second and fourth letters, it is still quite faded. Though the editors suggest ζ̣ε̣ῦγος, what is actually legible is simply ος (i.e., the masculine nominative noun ending); not a single letter from the stem of the noun is discernible. Consequently, it is not even clear that this document attests to a ζ̣ε̣ῦγος κτενιστικόν. This means that P. Oxy. 41 2977 does almost nothing to aid decipherment of the κτενιστικῆς τέχνη except to inform us that the practitioner of this trade used some utensil made of steel (σιδηροῦν). The third and final problem with the wool

specialisation corresponds to Bergamasco's timeframe for the shift from domestic to industrial apprenticeship settings. Consequently, it is worth exploring how each type of specialisation enabled artisans to increase production levels to demonstrate how artisans at that time used each form of specialisation to increase profits.

Correlation between product specialisation and increased earnings for the apprentices has already been observed by Peter van Minnen and Christel Freu.[35] Van Minnen and Freu attribute this to the tendency of specialised craftspeople to operate in urban areas where there is higher demand for specific products. While this is undoubtedly true, it does not appear to constitute the full picture, and the higher demand of the urban context was not the only aspect that made craft specialisation more

carder interpretation pertains to the length of time, attested in the two apprenticeship contracts for this trade (BGU 4 1021 and P. Oxy. 41 2977), that it took to learn the trade. Clarence Forbes, referencing Angela Zambon's 1935 article on the διδασκαλικαί, sums up the problem succinctly: 'she wonders why an apprentice would need three years to learn wool-carding when apprentice weavers learned their trade in a year or slightly longer' (Forbes 1955: 333). Ewa Wipszycka has responded to this difficulty by simply dismissing the argument: 'La durée de l'apprentissage dont il est question dans ce texte, est bien longue pour un métier, au fond, assez simple; cela a fait naître le soupçon qu'il s'agisse d'un coiffeur. Mais la longue durée de l'apprentissage n'est pas un argument décisif. Elle a pu être déterminée non pas par la difficulté du métier, mais par le désir, de la part de l'artisan, de profiter le plus longtemps possible du travail de son apprenti' (Wipszycka 1965: 35). Two logical fallacies seem to be at play here. Firstly, Wipszycka, and to some extent Zambon, is relying on special pleading to assert that the evidence for a long-term apprenticeship should apply to a relatively simple trade. Secondly, simply asserting that a master wood carder may have wanted to have their apprentice around to work (as opposed to learn the trade, as the contract obligates them to do) constitutes an ad hoc hypothesis, or the application of an unsubstantiated hypothesis to prevent a theory from being falsified. The only scholar to address this issue with reference to all the evidence is Forbes: 'A slave of modest intelligence should learn how to card wool in a couple of weeks without a formal apprenticeship. But hairdressing was an art whose skillful results were highly prized and were indeed beautiful, as is abundantly clear from ancient literature and sculpture.... That ornatrices had to serve a rather long apprenticeship is the implication of a Roman jurist's opinion, to the effect that when a legacy was bequeathed to slave ornatrices, those slaves who had studied under a teacher for only two months could not be legally considered ornatrices and therefore could not receive the legacy. This is definite proof that apprenticeship in hairdressing was regarded as a matter of course, and two months of training were considered only a beginning - not even enough to constitute a legal minimum' (Forbes 1955: 333). Thus, the duration of the apprenticeship creates not only a problem for understanding the κτενιστής as being a wool carder but also provides evidence in support for the older theory that that trade was related to hairdressing. There are, in fact, two other reasons to believe that the trade in question may have been hairdressing. Firstly, the trade appears to be, based on the apprenticeship contracts, a servile one, and there are known slaves who were apprenticed to learn to cut hair, though their contracts are not preserved. See for example P. Oxy. 55. 3809. Secondly, and more tellingly, though there is not a single reference to a κτενιστής practising their craft in the papyri, there is a reference outside the papyri to a κτενιστής in the medical works of Galen (Gal. 13.1038, cf. LSJ s.v. κτενιστής). Galen describes the medical restorative balm (ἄκοπον) of a certain Orion, a κτενιστής. The balm's ingredients contain several different waxes, oils and resins as well as several aromatic ingredients, all of which seem ideally suited to create a pomade. Such a recipe seems perfectly at home in the workplace of a hairstylist (and might even explain why it took so long to learn the trade; the recipe contains 19 separate ingredients and ends with the instruction to 'prepare carefully'). It is difficult to see how such a recipe would be of use to a wool-carder, however. In light of the evidence against the wool-carding interpretation and the evidence in favour of the hairdresser interpretation, the κτενιστής is understood in this thesis to be a hairstylist. However, as there is still some uncertainty and the evidence is still not wholly conclusive, when calculations are made considering the different trades attested in the διδασκαλικαί, two calculations are provided, one identifying the trade as that of a wool-carder and another identifying it as that of a hairdresser.

[35] Van Minnen 1987: 40–48; Freu 2011: 31.

lucrative. The very act of focusing production on a specific item enabled artisans to increase production and therefore profits.

One example from the διδασκαλικαί that demonstrates the economic benefits of product specialisation is the circumstances of the nail smith, Nilos, whose details were outlined in Chapter Two. Nilos is known to have specialised in creating a specific item and appears to have been financially well-off, as supported by the fact that he was entrusted with a loan of 700 drachmas plus interest by a certain Taurinos.[36] As there is no indication that Nilos came from a middling socioeconomic background, it is reasonable to infer that he obtained his financial standing through a successful career in craft. In a recent chapter on the phenomenon of specialisation amongst craftspeople in the ancient world, Kai Ruffing observes that specialisation allowed individuals to increase both the quality and quantity of their products exponentially.[37] Ruffing proceeds to discuss a study undertaken by Adam Smith on nail smiths and their productivity for a chapter in his *Wealth of Nations*:

> According to [Adam Smith], a smith not accustomed to making nails can produce only 200 or 300 pieces a day, whereas a smith frequently making nails can produce between 800 and 1,000 pieces a day. A specialized nail-smith, on the contrary, was able to make more than 2,300 nails a day. In today's research one finds that in the later Middle Ages and in the modern era production of between 800 and 4,000 pieces per day by nailsmiths [sic] was possible. Since the method of producing nails did not change between antiquity and the early modern era, we have every reason to believe that a similar increase of productivity was possible for nailsmiths in the Roman Empire. If this is true, the emerging profession of the nailsmith is at least a hint at the possibility of increasing productivity by specialization.[38]

Nilos' decision to specialise in nail smithing appears, in light of both Smith's and Ruffing's assessments, to be strategic. Rather than invest time and effort to achieve the greater expertise required to produce smaller quantities of jewellery (though higher value), Nilos could focus on producing a substantial quantity of one specific, non-luxury item (nails) and thereby increase his production exponentially.

[36] BGU 4 1124.
[37] Ruffing 2016: 122f.
[38] Ruffing 2016: 123.

Though the price of nails cannot have been substantial, a ten- to twentyfold increase in output likely compensated for the lower profit per item.

Though the exact amount Nilos earned from his nail smithing endeavours cannot be calculated, it is reasonable to infer that this specialisation ultimately proved lucrative and provided him the financial stability to be entrusted with Taurinos' substantial loan. Given the economically rewarding nature of specialisation in a specific product or material, it is unsurprising that Nilos is not the sole individual attested in the διδασκαλικαί corpus to practise a specialised craft. In the domestic artisanal context of Roman Egypt during the first two centuries CE, the method of specialising in a specific product or material appears to have been frequently employed by artisans to increase their production and their profits, thereby providing economic incentives for apprenticeships.

The constantly growing economy appears to have prompted the development of another strategy for obtaining the larger share of the available profits. This is best reflected in what Bergamasco calls the 'industrial reality' of the third century. This industrial reality is well-depicted in the shift of craft production from a room in a home to the ἐργαστήριον, or workshop[39]—the result of a growing economy requiring larger product output—in the uptick of employees these workshops hired, and in hierarchies with those at the top taking supervisorial roles.[40]

These managerial positions do not appear to have required technical proficiency in a craft so much as the supervisorial skills of assessing product quality and managing lower-level workers. Thus, διδάσκαλος, or 'teacher', ceases to be the sole term for the master craftsperson to whom a pupil is entrusted. Introduced in the third century is the term ἐπιστάτης, or 'supervisor', which appears in three contracts.[41] In light of the coextensive development of specialisation in specific stages of production, it seems reasonable to suggest that the appearance of the term ἐπιστάτης, or 'supervisor', in the third

[39] On the appearance of the ἐργαστήρια in the second century, see Freu 2011: 37; Gibbs 2008/2009: 142; 2012: 42–43.
[40] On the size and hierarchy of workshops, see Freu 2011: 36ff., 2016: 189 fn. 31.
[41] P. Oxy. 31 2586, 38 2875, and 41 2977. Bergamasco notes the development of the term ἐπιστάτης but believes it to be unlikely to indicate any social or hierarchical distinction. This, however, seems to be unfounded since the workplaces had expanded significantly by this point, as noted by Bergamasco, and because there are other contemporary references to hierarchical positions within the workplace (e.g., ἱστωνάρχης and ἐργαστηριάρχης). Thus, a shift in terms used to refer to the teacher within a workplace environment at a time when new terms are known to be introduced and a hierarchy developed makes it more likely that this term signifies some distinction as opposed to being meaningless.

century supports Bergamasco's suggestion of the development of a 'industrial reality'. Unfortunately, this claim is complicated by the fact that there are currently no known archaeological discoveries of such workshops specifically for the textile industry (though ship-building workshops are known). Yet, the fact that there is a change in the type of specialisation and terminology used to refer to the instructors of apprentices suggests some change in the workplace environment. Bergamasco's theory of these two workplace 'realities', one domestic and one industrial, is currently the best explanation of this phenomenon. Should Bergamasco's theory that a shift from a domestic to industrial workplace occurred over the first few centuries be true, it would provide yet further evidence that artisans in Roman Egypt were acting as if the economy were growing by seeking out methods to increase production.

Beyond increasing production by the two methods above, artisans also appear in the documentary record to have capitalised on others' desire to compete in the market. In these situations, the artisan appears able to generate income with little to no input of personal time or energy. One such situation has already been discussed in Chapter Two with Thonis, the ἱστωνάρχης. Though the exact role of the ἱστωνάρχης is unclear, individuals attested as holding this position are known to have operated as regional managers in the weaving trade with the power to grant permits for the practice of weaving, from which they received income.[42] Thus, while Thonis received the income from his own labour by running a workshop (as attested by his taking on an apprentice), he also received income from all those in the area who also wished to practice the trade. Though this method of generating extra income was not open to many, those who could secure such a position (likely requiring an upfront payment) were likely to benefit substantially, which is supported by Thonis' ability to loan 400 drachmas to the parent of his pupil.[43]

Another situation whereby one could make money from other individuals interested in working as a craftsperson, one likely open to more than just well-off artisans, was the renting out of one's tools. A lease document from mid-second-century CE Oxyrhynchus documents that a veteran named Gaius Veturius Gemellus rented out his equipment for practicing either wool-carding or hairdressing to a

[42] See Chapter Two, pages 81–83.
[43] On Thonis, see pages 81–83 above.

freedman named Epagathos.[44] A loan contract from the late first-century CE Oxyrhynchus attests to two brothers, Herakles and Ptollas, providing use of their weaver's loom in substitute for the interest on a joint loan.[45] Though this latter contract does not attest to the brothers renting out their loom, it does reveal both their willingness to use their desire to capitalise on their ownership of a loom passively and the fact that there was, in fact, a market for providing the use of looms to those who did not own them.

A third document, dated to the second–third century, also attests to looms being rented, though the best way to interpret this document is unclear.[46] The document was originally interpreted by Grenfell and Hunt to be the personal accounts of a weaver over a five-and-a-half-week period. This interpretation of the document has its advantages (e.g., it explains the many lines containing what appears to be abbreviations of specific textile products with a number before, perhaps indicating quantity, and a number after which seems to indicate the sell price). However, there is also an issue with this interpretation: many of the lines simply provide the word γερδ with a number before and after the abbreviated word and the words with the stem γερδ tend to only refer to the weaver, not the textile product. Though there is at least one attestation of the word γερδίου being used to indicate a textile product,[47] such phrasing does seem odd in light of the fact that textile products usually have specific names which one would expect to be appear in the lines of this document. Thus, several of the lines suggest this document could be a daybook for a weaver while other lines suggest that the document may have been an account for someone managing a textile workshop (and consequently receiving payments from weaver to use looms). Both interpretations of this document suggest that there were trained weavers in Roman Egypt who wanted to participate in the free market, but who did not own a loom outright and consequently were interested in renting one.

Should the daybook interpretation be accurate, it would reveal how a weaver could obtain passive income with little overhead. Under this interpretation, in addition to documenting the various textiles he produced (and the amounts they sold for), the weaver would also have documented that he

[44] P. Oxy. 7 1035. The implement in question is unclear due to the ambiguity of the trade for which the tool is said to be for. The trade is the κτενιστικῆς τέχνη, explored more thoroughly in footnote 34 on page 126.
[45] P. Oxy. 36 2773.
[46] P. Oxy. 14 1737.
[47] See, for example, P. Narm. 2006 8, where there is a reference to a ἱματίων τοῦ γερδίου.

rented out his ἐνοίκιος ἱστός, or 'household loom'. The specific type of loom the term ἐνοίκιος ἱστός refers to is not known, though Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert speculates that it may have been a simpler ground loom originally designed for domestic purposes, as indicated by the term ἐνοίκιος 'of the house'.[48] When one considers the weaver's substantial textile output during this period (as mentioned above, selling textiles almost daily and sometimes several in a single day), it seems plausible that this weaver may have at some point purchased a more advanced, professional loom.[49] Whether he did, in fact, operate a professional loom while renting out his old household loom or simply rented out his single loom on days he did not work, the result is the same. The weaver was able to capitalise on the needs of other weavers who did not own a loom and by so doing secure income for himself that required little to no personal effort. Other contracts attest to different artisans likewise renting out their tools, which suggests that this practice was not uncommon.[50]

Thus, craftspeople were clearly engaged in specific methods of increasing production and income and were persuaded that these actions would be effective. In short, they behaved as if they were part of a growing economy in Roman Egypt. For the first two centuries of the Common Era, when apprenticeship and artisanal business occurred in a domestic context, specialising in a specific item or material appears to have enabled artisans to increase their output. With the constantly growing economy, artisans appear to have expanded their businesses to workshops and hired employees specialised in specific phases of the production process—all to enable financial growth. Additionally, as the economy and the market expanded, some artisans were clever enough to capitalise on other artisans' desire to participate in production, consequently securing income with little or no personal effort.

[48] Mossakowska-Gaubert 2020: 18.
[49] Perhaps the ἱστὸς γερδιακός, or 'weaver's loom'? Mossakowska-Gaubert states that it unclear whether this term refers to a specific type of loom or just looms generally (Mossakowska-Gaubert 2020: 16). Yet, the fact two of the known terms for looms (ἱστὸς γερδιακός and ἐνοίκιος ἱστός) modify the word for loom (i.e., ἱστός) with a reference to the profession of weaving and the household, respectively, suggests a distinction. More specifically, it is reasonable to suggest that one loom was capable of producing the output necessary for a profession as a weaver whereas the other, simpler, loom enabled one to undertake domestic weaving tasks.
[50] P. Oxy. 36 2773 and 7 1035.

The Nature of the Textile Industry

A closer investigation into the textile industry further confirms Roman Egypt's growing economy. Above, it was argued that in the growing economy, craft professions were potentially lucrative; here, it is argued that, among the craft professions, textile work was routinely lucrative.

That the textile industry was especially and routinely financially rewarding is supported by the fact that it constituted the largest artisanal industry in the economy of Roman Egypt. As Hans-Joachim Drexhage has observed, the papyrological evidence clearly shows that, behind agriculture, textile production was the leading industry in the economy of Roman Egypt and the most capable of providing individuals with 'Verdienstmöglichkeiten', or 'earning opportunities'.[51] A combination of factors appear to have contributed to this unique advantage of the textile industry in Egypt. Firstly, the proximity of raw materials such as wool from local shepherds and flax from along the Nile kept the cost of materials comparatively low.[52] Secondly, as Peter van Minnen has noted, transportation costs for textiles were uniquely low, particularly in Egypt.[53] This is due to the lightweight nature of the product (compared to products made from heavy metals or stone) and the fact that 'the Nile afforded a rather cheap means of transport, connecting almost all inhabited areas with each other'.[54] It is due to the ease of transport that Van Minnen rejects Finley's interpretation of a petty economy in which artisans only sold locally.

Both the proximity to and lower cost of raw materials, as well as the ease of transportation of goods, support the argument that the textile industry in Roman Egypt could render significant profits. Two documents from Roman Egypt further support this argument, one of which Van Minnen has used to calculate the total textile export of Oxyrhynchus in the third century and the other of which details the earnings of one weaver in a month.

The first document, which details the textile exports for the city of Oxyrhynchus over a five-day period, gives some sense of the demand for textiles and the extent to which the economy was thriving.[55]

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[51] Drexhage 1991: 351.
[52] On the proximity of raw materials contributing to making a city a hub for production, see Andrew Wilson's analysis of the wool trade in Timgad (Wilson 2001).
[53] Van Minnen 1987: 41–42.
[54] Van Minnen 1987: 42.
[55] P. Oxy. Hels. 40.

The document conveys that, in this five-day period, the total number of textile pieces exported from the city (though possibly from the entire nome) was 1,956. Using this information, Van Minnen has calculated the textile output of Oxyrhynchus (or the Oxyrhynchite nome) in the mid-third century as between 80,000 and 100,000 pieces per year.[56] Van Minnen indicates that this substantial amount ranks third-century Oxyrhynchus among the most productive textile economies in history:

> England exported in the year 1347/48 the grand total of 4.422 pieces of cloth, but that is rather early for England and may well be atypical. Better results can be attained if we take a look at the Low Countries. The city of Ieper (Ypres) produced - not quite the same thing as exported, in Ieper as well as in Oxyrhynchus - 40.000 pieces of cloth in 1313, at a time when Leuven and Mechelen did 25.000 each. Medieval Florence produced 75.000 or 80.000 pieces of cloth every year at the period of its greatest wealth, when it had more than 100.000 inhabitants (but perhaps only 300 workshops of textile manufacture). Leiden, in the second half of the fifteenth century, produced 20.000 pieces of cloth every year, but then it had only some 14.000 inhabitants. Later on, especially in the seventeenth century, when its population rose to about 70.000 inhabitants, Leiden produces 60.000-130.000 pieces every year. At that time Exeter did 119.000.[57]

The production levels of mid-third-century Oxyrhynchus (or the Oxyrhynchite nome), rivaled those in medieval Florence and early modern Leiden and Exeter, some of the most successful economies in European history. These figures indicate a thriving economy, and the economic boom and mass export would have provided serious financial incentives for craftspeople. There was significant demand, and those who could produce more could expect to earn more.

The second document to illustrate the thriving nature of the textile economy from the second to third century CE is the document mentioned above which could contains the personal accounts of a weaver or the records of a textile workshop over five and a half weeks.[58] Under the daybook interpretation, the weaver would have sold textiles almost every day during this period, and often

[56] For a thorough outline of this figure, see Van Minnen 1986; Gibbs 2008/2009: 144 fn 36.
[57] Van Minnen 1986: 92.
[58] P. Oxy. 14 1737. The dates are from 3 Mesore to 6 Thoth (including the 5 intercalary days) which equate roughly to 27 July–3/4 September.

several items a day. The total revenue from the weaver's work, including the profits from renting out his loom (which he claims amounts to 11 drachmas), over this period was 248 drachmas. Even accounting for material costs, this would have rendered far greater profit than that of an unskilled labourer. Should the workshop interpretation be accurate, it would demonstrate that trained weavers wanted to make use of such a workshop and were willing to pay to have access to looms. Such behaviour suggests public confidence in the lucrative nature of working in the textile industry.

Further contributing to the prosperity of Roman Egypt's economy were the profit margins one could obtain in the textile industry based on the cost-price comparison of goods sold. Drexhage has assessed attested costs for textile material and compared them to prices attested for different garments, concluding that, in Egypt, profits after material costs could be astonishingly high (as much as 32 drachmas per item) or very low (as low as 4 drachmas per item), depending on the quality of the garment and the time required to produce it.[59] It is difficult to determine the quality of this weaver's textile products, but they were likely non-luxury items since the list attests at least 53 textile products sold in five and half weeks, which seems too high for luxury textiles. Even assuming Drexhage's lowest profit estimate (4 drachmas), this weaver would have earned 212 drachmas after material costs plus another 11 from renting out the loom. From these 223 drachmas a monthly weaving association fee would have been deducted, likely around 12 drachmas,[60] as well as taxes (such as the poll, weaving, pig and dike taxes, all of which varied across time and place). It is likely that, after all these deductions, the weaver made a profit in the upper 100s or lower 200s in drachmas for his five week stint of work and renting, a wage significantly higher than that of contemporary non-skilled agricultural labourers (either 20–22 drachmas per month or 60–68, depending on whether the document is dated to the second or late-third century).[61]

The substantial export figures from Oxyrhynchus, the low material and transport costs, and the relatively high profit margins support the economic narrative of a flourishing textile industry in Roman

[59] Drexhage 1991: 372ff. Andrew Wilson suggests that textiles in antiquity were priced highly, subsequently providing larger profit margins, and there was significant demand (Wilson 2001: 285). This appears to be based on the types of textile products he assessed which were more luxury items. Drexhage explores non-luxury items as well and shows that profits vary, as one would expect, based on the quality of the item.
[60] P. Mich. 5 243. Cf. Venticinque 2016: 41
[61] See pages 25–33 above.

Egypt. Undoubtedly, this flourishing economy will have influenced those who pursued careers as craftspeople. Most of the apprenticeship contracts in the διδασκαλικαί attest pupils learning a trade related to the textile industry. Thirty-seven of the forty-nine contracts (75.5%) where the trade is known concern a trade related to the textile industry, and if the debated trade of the κτενιστής is that of a wool carder, then that figure rises to thirty-nine (79.5%),[62] making weaving the most attested trade in the apprenticeship contracts and suggesting that most apprentices were entering careers in a lucrative industry.

Evidence from the Lives of Individuals

Further documentary material demonstrates the lucrative potential of craft professions: documents attesting to craftspeople earning substantial income from their work, possessing significant landholdings and living as local elites. Though the διδασκαλικαί documents and the personal archives of those involved in apprenticeship education do not indicate the income apprentices could expect after completing their training,[63] other contemporary documentary material attests to the wages individuals earned for practising their trade. What follows is a brief survey of a few relevant documents attesting to craftspeople from Roman Egypt who earned significant incomes.

Perhaps as a consequence of the unique prominence of the textile industry in Roman Egypt, individuals associated with the weaving trade are somewhat overrepresented among those artisans who are attested as earning significant incomes and living as local elites. One specific example is a certain Isidorus, from late second-century Alexandria, whose circumstances are detailed in greater depth below. Isidorus was the head of a weaving workshop that was apparently so successful that his accumulated wealth qualified him for the magisterial position of *hypostrategos*.[64] To be nominated to such a position, Isidorus would have had to accumulate a not insignificant degree of wealth; indeed, his document describes him as an εὐσχήμων, or 'gentleman'.[65]

[62] For an overview of the debate concerning the κτενιστής, see footnote 34 on page 126 above.
[63] Though they do provide information of the wages of the apprentices, to be discussed below.
[64] P. Oxy. 22 2340. See also Venticinque 2016: 133ff; Delia 1991: 99–100.
[65] On the term εὐσχήμων and it being used as an indicator of wealth, see Lewis 1993· 106.

Several other documents suggest that Isidorus was not alone among weavers in this regard, attesting weavers with substantial πόρος amounts or landholdings. Petechonsis, the weaver from late first-century BCE Thebes whose archive was detailed in Chapter Two, appears to have owned between 10 and 18 arouras of land, based on his tax payments from his agricultural endeavours.[66] As mentioned in Chapter Two, the amount Petechonsis paid in taxes for a single year was enough to qualify an individual for local-level liturgic positions. A document listing landholders in second century CE Arsinoites attests a tailor or mender whose landholdings were 20 arouras.[67] A further document from the early second century, outlining the perquisites of the artisanal profession as regards liturgic obligations (see below), explicitly mentions that weavers are commonly listed among those with a πόρος of a talent (i.e., 6,000 drachmas) or more.[68] These specific examples, alongside the regular inclusion of weavers among those with a πόρος of a talent or more, strongly suggests that an apprentice in weaving could reasonably expect to be entering a lucrative profession.

This may have also been the case outside the textile industry, as suggested by another document submitted to the Oxyrhynchus administration by two builders. These two builders, Menestheus and Nemesianus, submitted a report to the local *prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus in 283 CE which detailed the work they had completed for the local government on the buildings flanking the street of the gymnasium.[69] In their report, they request their payment, which they calculated as 4 talents and 4,000 drachmas, or 28,000 drachmas. Though the extreme inflation of the late-third century was fully in motion by this point, this amount is astonishingly high considering that the monthly wages of an unskilled agricultural labourer from this period were roughly 60–68 drachmas.[70] There is no way to ascertain their actual profits, as building materials and crew wages would likely have been expensive (assuming they were, in fact, supervising a crew and not working as a team of two, which cannot be ruled out). Yet, even if their end profits were not significant, their ability to pay for the material and labour up front and to await their government payment until after the work was completed indicates a strong cash position and

[66] See pages 77–81 and Winkler 2015: 100–101.
[67] P. Bodl. 1 27. See Ruffing 2008: 538–541; Droß-Krüpe 2011: 231; Winkler 2015: 101.
[68] P. Phil. 1.
[69] P. Oxy. 1 55. See Venticinque 2016: 144–147.
[70] See the Introduction of this thesis, pages 25–33.

likely a high degree of wealth. As noted by Venticinque, the amount these builders earned from this single contract would have, without doubt, rendered them eligible for liturgies.[71]

* * *

The above assessment is pertinent to Finley's idea that urban production was petty and granted no measure of affluence to the artisanal sector. The shift in craft production in Roman Egypt from the domestic setting to the industrial setting, or the workshop, not only confirms the narrative above, that a growing economy connected Roman Egypt to the rest of the Mediterranean, but also demonstrates that craftspeople had the opportunity to participate meaningfully in that economic growth. In this context, craftspeople appear to have used strategic methods to increase production and to capitalise on other artisans' desires to participate in the market. The textile industry in particular appears to have benefitted from ease of transport for goods and the proximity of raw materials, providing ideal conditions for artisans to exploit the booming economy. Further confirming the advantage the economy bestowed on the artisanal sector are the records of artisans who were major landholders and were nominated to high magisterial offices, each of which suggests substantial wealth. The behaviour of these artisans would not be expected if production were petty and merely provided for subsistence. Their actions only make sense in the context of a growing economy, integrated into a larger economy (like that of the Mediterranean) that could fully support competition. Inevitably, not all craftspeople managed to achieve economic mobility, and obstacles were certainly present. Nonetheless, this section demonstrates that it was in fact possible and even common for individuals to accumulate wealth from practising a trade.

Craft Profession and Public Utility: A Means of Financial Safeguarding

Wealth accumulation was not the only financial incentive for individuals to pursue careers in craft. Working as a craftsperson, and specifically as a weaver in Roman Egypt, also provided protection for accumulated financial resources in ways that were inaccessible to individuals not practising a craft. This

[71] Venticinque 2016: 147.

protection was accomplished via a certain administrative loophole whereby those who practised certain crafts were granted a government-sanctioned exemption from some or all of the financially demanding liturgies, or compulsory public services. There is reason to believe that individuals with more lucrative business endeavours than craft pursued craft professions to protect their finances through liturgic avoidance.

In 192 CE, Isidorus, the Alexandrian man discussed above, found himself nominated to the position of *hypostrategos*. Recent scholarship has highlighted just how financially demanding such liturgic and magisterial positions could be, with the burden sometimes financially devastating the incumbent.[72] The extent of the burden of compulsory public service can be seen in the fact that two prestigious offices, that of the *agoranomos* (an official in charge of the marketplace) and of the *euthenasiarch* (an official in charge of food supply), fell into disuse in Oxyrhynchus between the 250s and the 280s CE.[73] These offices were apparently discontinued during this time because eligible individuals were reluctant to assume such costly positions.[74] In fact, one Septimios Eudaimon, elected to the position of *euthenasiarch* of Oxyrhynchus in 248 CE, was apparently unable to afford the position. He opted for a *cessio bonorum*, whereby he ceded his positions as *euthenasiarch* and *gymnasiarch*, along with all his personal property, to another, resigning from his position in what appears to be a desperate attempt to avoid bankruptcy.[75] Nomination to a liturgic or magisterial office, then, had the potential to completely destroy the πόρος that initially qualified one for those positions.

Though the position of the *hypostrategos* (which controlled policing in certain regions in Alexandria) was likely less financially demanding than that of the *agoranomos* or *euthenasiarch* of Oxyrhynchus, it seems its burdens were still undesirable since, unhappy with his nomination, Isidorus decided to appeal. The document attesting the judicial proceedings and his appeal details how Isidorus' advocate, Eudaimon, successfully extricated his client: Eudaimon emphasised that Isidorus was a

[72] Tacoma 2006: 265-268.
[73] The offices were reinstituted in the late 280s or early 290s by Valerius Pompeianus. For more on this development, see footnote 73 on page 184 below.
[74] Lewis 1970: 15.
[75] P. Oxy. 38 2854. Cf. Tacoma 2006: 265–268. See, however, the critique by Dominic Rathbone, who suggests that *cessio bonorum* was not permanent and that one could recover from it. Rathbone 2009b: 225. BGU IV 1093, which Rathbone cites as evidence, certainly seems to suggest this. However, the threat of *cessio bonorum* still seems to be a desperate move and consequently demonstrates the financial burden of such offices.

foreman of a linen weaving workshop (ἐργαστηριάρχης λινούφων) and, as such, was exempt from nomination to liturgic offices.[76] This document is among a small number of papyrological documents from Roman Egypt which demonstrate that practitioners of certain professions, though still liable for trade taxes and requisitions, received full exemption from liturgies on account of their profession's utility to the state.[77] In the case of weavers, that utility appears to have been clothing government officials and soldiers in the Roman army.[78] Others receiving full exemption from liturgic positions were Roman citizens, veterans, citizens of a polis in Egypt, athletes, and members of learned professions (e.g., philosophers, rhetors, grammarians and physicians).[79] Beyond these, all individuals working in handicraft trades were granted a more limited exemption from liturgies, namely exemption from the *georgia,* the obligation to cultivate one's own land if that land was worth more than one talent, or 6,000 drachmas.[80] Potters and carpenters were exempt from the trade tax from the time of Constantine.[81] Though weavers appear to have held a privileged position amongst craftspeople as regards their liturgic exemption, they were not alone in receiving such government-sanctioned economic relief. Weavers did see their privileged position challenged early in the second century CE when individuals began listing reasons for their exemption status beyond the simple fact of being a weaver. However, claiming weaving as one's occupation was still a valid excuse in appeals to liturgic nominations into the fourth century.[82]

In light of the potential financial devastation that liturgic positions could wreak, the weaving exemption, and the prevalence of weaving apprenticeships in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, it seems plausible that the individuals of moderate economic standing from Chapter Two who arranged apprenticeships for their children or maintained their profession as weavers may have been incentivised

[76] P. Oxy. 22 2340. Cf. Venticinque 2016: 133ff.
[77] For a fuller treatment of the exemption of weavers and the documents attesting this phenomenon, see Lewis 1997: 143–144.
[78] BGU VII 1564, 1572, 1615; P. Ryl. II 189. Cf. Venticinque 2016: 71–72, 155.
[79] Lewis 1997: 89ff.
[80] P. Phil. 1. Though this document only explicitly names potters, oil maker, fullers, carpenters and goldsmiths, that it applied to all craftspeople is demonstrated by the final line in the list which exempts anyone who paid the χειρωνάξιον, or tax for practicing a handicraft. That craftsmen were known to have had property of such a value (i.e., a talent) is demonstrated by the fact that this document explicitly mentions weavers being common among those with such property qualifications.
[81] *Cod. Theod.* 13.1.10.
[82] PSI 6 685.

in part by liturgic exemption. These individuals may have used weaving to fortify their accumulated wealth against liturgies.

Pompeius, the man from Oxyrhynchus who obtained Roman citizenship for his service as a legionary, accumulated substantial wealth, which would have qualified him for regional-level liturgies. He was, however, exempt due to his status as a Roman citizen and veteran. By arranging weaving apprenticeships for his sons, he would protect their inheritance, as they would be able to claim both their Roman citizenship and their status as weavers against their nomination to such positions. Such evasive behaviour would not seem out of character for someone like Pompeius. When assessing one of Pompeius' census declarations, Dominic Rathbone notes that Pompeius declared the notional value of his shares of his various properties rather than the full value of the properties. According to Rathbone, 'possibly he just made a mistake, or perhaps he deliberately underdeclared his wealth, despite his theoretical veteran's immunity from liturgies'.[83] Should the latter be true, Pompeius may have arranged for his son, Fuscus, to be a ὑπήκοος, a 'listener' or 'auditor', for his linen weaving apprenticeship to gain him exemption without requiring that he practise the trade, being capable of supervising it.

Likewise, Tryphon, the Oxyrhynchite weaver who may have married Pompeius' niece, appears to have made a successful career as a landlord, and his πόρος certainly qualified him for village-level liturgies, if not low-level regional liturgies. Despite this, he maintained his career as a weaver and even actively arranged weaving apprenticeships for at least three of his family members, effectively protecting his entire family's finances from liturgical liabilities. Petechonsis, the weaver from first-century CE Thebes, appears to have earned enough from his farming ventures to qualify for village and low-level regional liturgies, rendering his weaving career financially unnecessary. Yet, maintaining his weaving exempted him from the liturgies that might have devastated that accumulated wealth. Though the full financial background of Thonis and Dioscorus, the two third-century Oxyrhynchite weaving teachers who loaned 400 drachmas to their pupils' parents, is not known, their situation was likely similar.

[83] Rathbone 2001: 113.

There were undoubtedly more incentives than liturgic exemption, and in any case it is not possible to argue motivation with certainty. What is clear, however, is that these men of moderate economic standing began or maintained their involvement in the weaving trade when their financial status might be expected to have rendered it superfluous. It is not unreasonable to suggest that among the incentives for such a decision may have been exemptions from liturgies and magistracies.[84] Being weavers, or any kind of artisan deemed useful by the state, provided these individuals a government-sanctioned route to avoid the otherwise compulsory public services of Roman Egypt and to protect their accumulated wealth from that government.

The other individual attested in Dioscorus' contract might, in fact, furnish an example of someone using the weaving trade for both purposes outlined in this section, namely the creation and the protection of wealth. The man whose son Dioscorus agrees to teach linen weaving is Aurelius Hermias, a figure whose financial circumstances were analysed in Chapters Two and Three.[85] The topics of wealth creation and protection bring his circumstances into fuller view. To review, as this contract is the only document associated with Hermias, it is not currently possible to reconstruct his personal history to the same degree as the other individuals explored above. A small glimpse into his personal history, however, is provided in the opening lines of the contract, where he is identified as the son of a certain Ptolemaeus, a former *agoranomos* of the city of Oxyrhynchus. As the son of an *agoranomos*, one of the municipal magistracies where the incumbent's πόρος normally far exceeded the 'middling income' requirements outlined in the Introduction,[86] Hermias came from a family that had been, at least at some point, part of a privileged social order (i.e., the bouletic class).[87]

Hermias agreed to apprentice his son, who is unnamed in the document, to learn linen weaving. He accepted terms whereby his son would enter a παραμονή arrangement of indentured servitude to

[84] Dominic Rathbone has expressed his growing suspicion that liturgic positions were not compulsory from the first to the mid-second century CE, but were actually paid positions as they had been under the Ptolemies (Rathbone 2013: 84ff.). If such a situation is true, it suggests that liturgic exemption would have been a financial incentive for those undertaking apprenticeship after the point when public services became compulsory. In light of the lack of clarity and consensus on this matter, a systematic study of liturgies and magistracies from the Ptolemies to the Roman era is an urgent desideratum.
[85] P. Oxy. 31 2586. For discussions of Hermias, see pages 88–90 and 111–112 above.
[86] See pages 25–33.
[87] As Hermias is not described in this document as a *bouleutes*, it is reasonable to suspect that his family was no longer considered part of that privileged group.

Dioscorus. Accordingly, Hermias would receive a substantial loan (400 drachmas) from the teacher that was to be repaid before his son's apprenticeship ended. From the dating of this contract, 264 CE, Hermias' father, Ptolemaios, was likely among the last *agoranomoi* before the cessation of the office in the 250s CE, and he therefore would have experienced the economic stress that led to its discontinuation. Ptolemaios would have been a contemporary of the previously mentioned Septimios Eudaimon, who effectively lost all his family's accumulated wealth by opting for the *cessio bonorum*. It is reasonable, then, to conclude that Hermias was affected by the economic and agricultural crises of that time,[88] which likely damaged his economic situation such that he decided to hand over his son into a παραμονή arrangement.

Hermias seems to have strategically mitigated his misfortune, however, by securing an apprenticeship for his son in the linen-weaving trade. Though his son was technically an indentured servant for a total of five years, Hermias managed to secure him wages that would increase each year, with his son working for free for the first six months to cover tuition. Both the daily wages and permitted leave from training are included in the contract. The conditions were not ideal: depending on how the document is interpreted, Hermias' son was only permitted twenty-three days off per year.[89] However, if his son completed the training he was contractually obligated to do, he would have earned a total of 2,565 drachmas at the end of the five years.[90] Subtracting the 400 drachmas owed to Dioscorus, Hermias' son would earn 2,165 drachmas from this endeavour, firmly placing their πόρος well within the range of eligibility for some of the more financially demanding liturgies.

There is no reason to believe that Hermias himself was exempt from liturgies or magistracies, especially as his father was a former magistrate.[91] However, as his son officially became a linen weaver

[88] On which, see Chapter Five, pages 184–187.
[89] For the interpretation of twenty-three days off per year, see Bergamasco 1995: 129–130.
[90] The wages outlined are: no wages for the first six months, then two obols per day for the second six months, then six obols a day for year two, ten obols a day for year three, two drachmas (12 obols) a day for year four and two drachmas 4 obols (16 obols) for year five. The calculations here are based on 342 workdays a year (i.e., 23 days off per year).
[91] *Pace* Venticinque 2016: 153 who claims that Hermias may have had connections to the weaving trade since practising a trade tends to run in the family. While families practising the same trade is certainly a tendency attested in the διδασκαλικαί (e.g., the families of Tryphon and Pausiris Sr), there is no evidence to suggest this was the case with Hermias' family. If the family had prior involvement in weaving, Ptolemaios would not have been nominated to the position of the *agoranomos* since he would have been exempted from such obligations, as demonstrated by the case of Isidorus above.

the moment his apprenticeship began and, per the apprenticeship contracts, was even required to pay the weavers' tax, he was exempt from liturgic obligations, and the 2,165 drachmas earned from the apprenticeship technically belonged to him rather than his father. That money, then, was safe from government liturgic obligations. Whatever happened to Hermias' father, his son would be protected from nominations to devastating liturgies and would begin his adult life with some wealth from the comparatively high wages he earned in his apprenticeship.

* * *

A craft profession in Roman Egypt, particularly in the weaving trade, carried significant economic incentives. Rather than providing the bare minimum for sustenance, a craft profession was potentially lucrative and could provide one with a means to protect their accumulated wealth from the burden of liturgies. Undoubtedly, this required strategy and savviness, and not all craftspeople pursued or succeeded in gaining such advantages. Yet, the evidence is clear that the διδασκαλικαί pupils who undertook apprenticeships were not resigning themselves to lives of financial destitution; they were entering into a world of opportunity which, if they worked hard, could facilitate significant upward economic mobility.

THE SOCIAL INCENTIVES

Whereas Bradley asserted that any financial incentives for undertaking apprenticeship were ultimately negligible, he perceived the social incentives as virtually nonexistent.[92] The evidence in the previous section demonstrates that the economic incentives were sufficient to explain individuals of both lower and middling (and occasionally, upper) socioeconomic strata pursuing a career as craftspeople. There is likewise a similar degree of evidence for social incentives. This topic has been given some attention

[92] Bradley 1991: 112.

by scholars such as Christel Freu, Matt Gibbs and Philip Venticinque as well as Jinyu Liu and Miriam Groen-Vallinga. In her study of apprenticeship in Rome, Freu outlines various social benefits that apprentices obtained (e.g., patronage by one's master and access to the master's social network after his passing).[93] This section builds on Freu's analysis, providing evidence of further social benefits not explored there. Furthermore, it analyses the specific historical context that permitted the accumulation and preservation of such social resources as Freu observed. It argues that, just as there were economic incentives for apprenticeships and careers as craftspeople, so too were there social incentives.

Whereas the financial incentives explored above were easily understood as any outcome that increased or protected income or accumulated wealth, the term 'social incentives' requires a more nuanced definition. Here, a social incentive is defined as any outcome that (i) positively affects the perception of an individual by their community (immediate or broader), (ii) enables an individual to participate in a larger social network, or (iii) increases an individual's personal security, stability or authority as a result of (i) or (ii). It is argued that such social incentives applied to apprenticeship in Roman Egypt.

It should be noted that my definition for social incentive appears to differ from Bradley's. In his assessment, Bradley views apprenticeship as a last resort since it precluded children from the activities and social spheres of Rome's elite: vocational education 'effectively closed off to apprentices other kinds of "educational" experiences enjoyed by the children of the socially elite'.[94] Bradley is correct that drastic upward social mobility to the top stratum of society was rare. Bradley would likely agree that one's local reputation could probably be improved through apprenticeship, but for him, such social improvement had minimal effect. This section disagrees, arguing that it was in fact meaningful. Two social incentives are explored here: (i) social prestige through participation in the textile industry in Egypt and (ii) participation in private associations and informal groups. The former is shown to carry significant social advantages in Egyptian society, and the latter enabled professionals to negotiate their circumstances on a regional and even international level.

[93] Freu 2016: 189ff.
[94] Bradley 1991: 112.

The Social Prestige of Weaving in Egypt

Though it seems clear that the elites in Greco-Roman society perceived working in trade as banausic,[95] in Egypt, weaving may have been perceived more positively and associated with an elevated, though not necessarily elite, social position. An investigation into the history of weaving in Egyptian society shows that the trade had a millennia-long history of social and cultural prestige. This long history helps demonstrate how participating in the textile industry enabled the accumulation of social status.

As early as the First Dynasty in Pharaonic Egypt (approx. the turn of the forth millennium BCE), craftspeople enjoyed considerable patronage by the pharaoh himself.[96] While prior to this point the craftspeople relied on local markets, once under the patronage of the pharaoh, they were able to rely on the consistent pay provided by their royal patronage and the high profit margins earned from selling to the Egyptian elite who wished to aesthetically emulate the royal house.[97] Further, rather than working in cottage industry conditions, craftspeople in this period worked in royal workshops which encouraged specialisation and the production of high-quality luxury goods.[98] The end result of this patronage was a boom in the market for luxury wares which encouraged people to learn crafts for both the economic benefits (high profit margins and royal patronage) and social benefits (connection to the royal house and elite clientele).

Though this boom in craftmanship incentivised the practicing of all crafts (e.g., masonry and pottery),[99] weaving appears to have held a special place in Egyptian culture. The trade maintained its cultural prestige, including its governmental connection and support, throughout the millennia. From the Middle to the New Kingdom (second millennium BCE), there were periods when weaving was dominated by state-run shops and others when private shops were run by 'viziers and nomarchs'.[100] By the Late Period (mid-first millennium BCE) weaving shifted to the purview of the temples, with the

[95] See Anderson 1912 who gives an outline of different writers from the Greco-Roman literary tradition who commented negatively on those practicing a craft.
[96] Trigger 1983: 66–67.
[97] Gibbs 2008/2009: 3–4.
[98] Trigger 1983: 67.
[99] On masonry, see Trigger 1983: 67–68; on pottery, see Emery 1965: 165 which describes the archaeology of distinct and specialised pottery of this time period.
[100] Tata 1986: v, 50–200.

temple elite practising it,[101] especially linen weaving. It was likely this historical backdrop that led Naphtali Lewis to claim, regarding the Roman era, that '[t]he weavers of the much-prized linens were the aristocrats of the craft, which was handed down from one generation to the next, with weavers often co-operating to train one another's children'.[102]

Greek sources also indicate that weaving had a reputation for social distinction in Egypt. Herodotus famously remarked, intending to demonstrate the inverted nature of Egyptian society, on Egyptian women selling wares in the market while the men stayed at home to weave.[103] Though it seemed odd to the Greeks, for whom weaving was a domestic activity for women, Herodotus' comment supports the idea that weaving was both a viable and regular profession for men at that point in Egyptian history.[104] Euripides' *Trojan Women* demonstrates further awareness among the Greeks of Egypt's reputation for weaving: Hecuba, lamenting the arrival of the Greeks on the shores of Troy, describes the ropes of the Greek ships as πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν, or 'that twisted handiwork of Egypt'.[105]

It has already been noted that weaving constituted a significant portion of the Roman Egyptian economy. This historical context suggests that the 75% of apprentices in the διδασκαλικαί corpus who learned weaving may have been influenced by its long tradition and international reputation of cultural prestige in Egypt as well as its economic potential. In short, learning weaving enabled one to not only accumulate economic resources but also to accumulate social reputation by participating in a very traditional and elite activity within that society (see point (i) on the definition above).

Professional Associations and Informal Groups

As noted above, Bradley's notion of upward social mobility is not entirely compatible with the one outlined in this thesis. In his view, social advantages that do not ultimately lead to entry into the leisured classes are not worth discussing. This is because he believed such social advantages would do nothing to relieve the individual's struggle for survival. However, private, and specifically professional,

[101] Tata 1986: v, 239ff.
[102] Lewis 1983: 134. See also Crossan 1993: 19–30.
[103] Hdt. 2.35.
[104] Despite Herodotus' comment, women were also regularly involved in the weaving trade and appear to have even been more involved than men at certain periods. See Stefanović 2022 and Tata 1983: v, 141.
[105] Eur. *Tro.* 128.

associations likely provided access to all three aspects of the definition of social mobility above and even some control over one's economic circumstances as a result. Though they were certainly part of scholarly discussion at the time of Bradley's assessment, they did not quite come to the fore of scholarly attention until a decade after his seminal article was published, which may explain Bradley's neglect of them. Scholarly publications since have argued that such associations played a major role in local society, politics and economy in Egypt. They are therefore essential for understanding the social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship in Roman Egypt.

Private associations were formal groups in which members (usually by a monthly fee) could experience a blend of public, private and religious life, the so-called 'fourth space'.[106] 'Professional associations' is the term modern scholars use to refer to private associations for which membership was conditional on the member's practising a certain trade (e.g., weaving, masonry). Such professional associations were in many ways like, though certainly distinct from, medieval guilds and modern trade unions.[107] Members could enjoy social gatherings and communal meals, secure work contracts, have their taxes managed,[108] receive legal protection and even gain help in the management of the religious and economic logistics of their burial.[109]

The scholarly literature on private associations in the Roman imperial world is vast, and debate is still endemic to scholarly discourse on the topic. However, without too much oversimplification, there are broadly two groups concerning the impetus and nature of such associations under Rome.[110] First are those who view such private associations as part of a top-down process whereby Rome encouraged the local cultures of the newly acquired provinces to assimilate into a similar economic and administrative framework as its own; second are those who view such associations as a bottom-up

[106] On private associations as a fourth space (with the first three being the domestic, the civic and the religious), see Gabrielsen and Thomsen 2010: 16; Eckhardt 2019: 2.
[107] The main distinction is that professional associations never integrated into the government in the same way that Medieval guilds and modern unions did for their society (Verboven 2011: 191ff.). For more on the distinctions, see Lewis 1983: 144f.; Gibbs 2008/2009: 2; Verboven 2011 191ff..
[108] Professional associations usually paid these on behalf of their members. Venticinque 2016: 216ff.
[109] Venticinque 2016: 35–66.
[110] It is important to note that this scholarly conversation pertains specifically to the developments regarding private associations under Rome. Such associations existed before the imperial era (under the Hellenistic kingdoms, Classical Athens and may have even existed in Pharaonic Egypt, see Gibbs 2008/2009: 6).

initiative by the local cultures to restore to themselves some power and control in response to the encroachments of Rome's international politics.[111]

Whether the top-down or bottom-up framework best describes the true impetus and nature of private associations, the power these associations wielded and the role they played in society is clear. In his DPhil thesis, Matt Gibbs demonstrates that professional associations were intentional, substantial economic forces on a local, regional and even international scale.[112] Both Gibbs and Philip Venticinque have demonstrated the extent to which such associations enabled craftspeople to strongly influence, and in some cases dominate, local and regional economies and politics in Roman Egypt, thereby supplying craftspeople and their associations with control over a sizable portion of the international economy.[113] Venticinque even notes that, due to their participation in professional associations, craftspeople often found themselves competing with local elites for privileges granted by the Roman government.[114] Whether associations were a tool Rome used to unify administrative practice throughout the empire (and supply those lower socioeconomic standing with a legitimate route of upward social mobility in return for societal cohesion) or a more 'grass roots' movement, as it were, resisting Roman control and asserting strength against the empire, these private associations gave craftspeople substantial opportunity to gain agency over their circumstances and to obtain real advantages.

That young apprentices likely had the social world of professional associations in mind when planning and undertaking their apprenticeships is implied by the connection between apprenticeship and professional associations. Peter van Minnen has argued that three of the apprenticeship contracts in the διδασκαλικαί attest to 'a guild leader taking an apprentice into his care' on the basis of the teacher being identified as an ἐπιστάτης, a term which is not uncommonly used for the presidents of associations.[115] Freu observes that a papyrus document, from Oxyrhynchus and dated 107 CE,

[111] The primary voice in favour of the former is Benedikt Eckhardt, who identifies a process of 'isomorphism' whereby the regional variations in terms of practice and function of such associations are discouraged (i.e., made illegal) in favour of one which Rome prefers (Eckhardt 2016, 2019, 2021). Supporting the latter are scholars such as Andreas Bendlin and Koenraad Verboven who see private associations as something like a resistance to Romanisation whereby individuals, through group organisation, could assert their control against Rome (Bendlin 2002; Verboven 2007, 2011). For a brief overview of this debate, see Liu 2022. For a stance that manages to blend the two positions, see Venticinque 2016: 199–237.
[112] Gibbs 2008/2009.
[113] Gibbs 2008/2009: 68–103, 137–217; Venticinque 2016: 133–165, 199–237.
[114] Venticinque 2016: 137.
[115] Van Minnen 1987: 70. The three contracts are P. Oxy. 31 2856, 38 2875 and 41 2977.

containing a complete list of the members of an association of hieroglyphic carvers states that the association did not have any apprentices at that point, which suggests that apprentices may have participated in professional associations without yet being full members.[116]

A further document suggests the possibility that at least one professional association was invested, literally, in apprenticeship education. This document is from second-century Tebtynis and appears to be a list of individuals who have paid textile-related taxes.[117] The penultimate line attest to the name of an individual identified as the head of an association of weavers and the final line, fragmented, states: ὑπ(ὲρ) διακρίσεως μαθητῷ(ν) (δραχμὰς) χ, or 'for the examination of students, 600(?) drachmas'. Traditionally, this document has been interpreted as attesting to the president of the association paying for the examination of apprentices.[118] This interpretation is complicated, however, by the fact that there is a *paragraphos* between the penultimate and final line thus suggesting that the two are separate entries. Yet, it is difficult to conceive of who might have paid for such an examination of students other than the head of a weaving association, especially considering the sum (at least 600 drachmas; there is a lacuna after the χ and so the sum could be higher). Ultimately, it is uncertain who paid such a sum for these students to be examined, though an association would seem to be the likely candidate. The current data cannot fully confirm whether the investment by associations in the apprenticeship process was normative.[119] Nevertheless, these documents appear to imply a connection between the two.

As mentioned above, Gibbs has demonstrated the extent to which professional associations were an economic force in society, and Venticinque has demonstrated the tendency of those involved to excel politically. Such evidence shows that apprentices could hope to eventually achieve all three

[116] P. Oxy. 7 1029. Freu 2011: 29.
[117] SB 20 15023. See also, Van Minnen 1987: 70, Bülow-Jacobsen 1989, Gibbs 2008/2009: 73.
[118] Van Minnen 1987: 70–71, Bülow-Jacobsen 1989: 125–126, Gibbs 2008/2009: 73
[119] If the connect between professional associations and apprenticeships was normative, one wonders whether such a connection might be the impetus for those in Egypt beginning to document apprenticeship arrangements in legal form. There has not yet been any attempt to explain why craftspeople began to document apprenticeship arrangements with legally binding documents in the Roman era. It seems clear that apprenticeship education did not, in fact, begin at this point, but were part of a long tradition. If, as Eckhardt claims, insistence (with legal consequences) on a singular form and behaviour of private associations was a tool used by Rome to encourage empire-wide uniformity, then such associations which conformed would have obtained a certain validity and formal recognition within the administration. Following from this, documented evidence of one's education in a certain trade could supply proof of one's right to be part of an institution which Rome had made part of its efforts to assimilate the empire. Eckhardt 2021.

aspects of the definition of upward social mobility above. By (ii) participating in a larger social network (iii) they would increase their agency to shape their economic and political circumstances and (i) consequently improve their reputation within their community. Additionally, establishing a reputation within their trade could gain them a degree of social security and stability (iii). Venticinque has noted that there are several instances in which professional associations took action against individual members behaving in ways that could incur legal repercussions, in order to demonstrate to the public and the government that the individual did not represent the rest of the practitioners of that craft.[120] As the Roman government was particularly wary of private associations, which had a history of instigating insurrection,[121] this kind of reputation management was crucial for craftspeople as it protected them from any liability through association with delinquent peers.

Associations even appear to have taken action to protect the physical well-being of their members. For example, a conflict emerged in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus in which the association of builders attempted to poach a member of the weavers' association by encouraging him to work on a building project.[122] The weavers took the issue to the local administration, protesting that the builders had committed a serious crime by stealing this individual from their association and preventing him from practising a craft that was useful (χρήσιμος) to the state. The association requested, and was granted, for the weaver to receive state protection since the builders tried to break into his house to harm him after he had decided to resume work as a linen weaver.[123] From an apprentice's perspective, they could expect to join associations in which their peers would look after each other's interests, preventing fellow association members from injury by appealing to the government.

Any discussion of social mobility or incentives in Roman Egypt must include the local institutions that granted artisans some power over their circumstances. Bradley's assumption that only one route for social advancement existed, which apprentices forfeited simply due to their reduced

[120] Venticinque 2016: 55ff., 90ff.
[121] Thus Benedikt Eckhardt's view that Rome encouraged a very particular and peaceful version of private associations and outlawed deviations from that version. See Eckhardt 2021: 17–35. For examples of private associations in Roman Egypt, specifically in Alexandria, participating in insurrection, see Arnaoutoglou 2005.
[122] P. Ryl. 4 654. See also, Venticinque 2016: 156f.
[123] Interestingly, the document also attests the governmental decision that Paul should practice the trade which he had learned. Such a decision from the local administration would seem to confirm the point outlined in footnote 1 on page 116 above that changing professions as an artisan was not normative.

circumstances, imposes a theoretical model of upward social mobility onto these individuals that is incompatible with their circumstances. Such a model cannot conceivably provide anything other than a pessimistic conclusion regarding the social circumstances of those fated to be born into common families. Such a model is effectively meaningless in its assessment of the common people of Roman Egypt. More interesting and meaningful is the assessment of the methods these individuals used to increase their social status within their local communities. Though apprentices may have been precluded, as Bradley claims, from participating in the educational activities of the empire's elite, they were not precluded from obtaining significant social advancement via other routes which afforded them more direct control over their immediate circumstances.

Informal Groups: The Community of Oxyrhynchite Weavers

Though, as demonstrated above, documentary evidence reveals that professional associations were involved in apprenticeship, the διδασκαλικαί apprenticeship contracts do not reference professional associations. The apprenticeship contracts themselves are more concerned with the logistics of the apprenticeship arrangement and the legal obligations of each individual than with apprentices' futures post-training.[124]

This lack of overt mention of professional associations does not preclude an assessment of the social world of the διδασκαλικαί. The contracts contain significant prosopographical data that can be used to recreate the social world of those they attest, demonstrating that those involved in vocational education in Roman Egypt were bound together by various social ties (such as marriage and acts of reciprocity). Such informal groups, like the official professional associations, should also be considered

[124] Furthermore, the document mentioned above whereby the leader of an association of weavers paid for an examination of apprentices only attests involvement by the professional association after the completion of the apprenticeship. It is rare for the contracts to contain information regarding an examination (only five contracts: SB 22 15538, P. Mich 5 346a, P. Oslo. Inv. 1496, P. Fouad 37, P. Aberd 59). When the contracts do contain an examination, it is normally more informal and at the request of the parent or owner, thus suggesting it was more to ease any anxiety on the part of the parent or owner. It would seem, then, that the arrangement of an apprenticeship was made by the parents or owner of the pupil. The more formal examination and validation of the pupil's abilities for official purposes came from the professional association after the completion of the apprenticeship.

as social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship, for participation in such groups solidified community recognition and encouraged community assistance.

Since the publication of Bradley's article, Jinyu Liu has taken the first steps toward analysing social interactions between the individuals associated with the διδασκαλικαί. Her 2017 chapter 'Group Membership, Trust Networks, and Social Capital: A Critical Analysis' explores the documented interactions between the master weavers of first-century Oxyrhynchus.[125] Liu notes a similar pattern of professional reciprocity to that which existed elsewhere in the *collegia* of the Roman empire.[126] She concludes that the reciprocal relationships amongst first-century CE Oxyrhynchite weavers, seen in the documents of two weavers who supported each other's businesses through arranging apprenticeships, indicate a kind of in-group membership, formal or informal.[127] Moreover, while no current documentary evidence indicates a formal professional association of weavers in first-century CE Oxyrhynchus, Liu demonstrates the existence of such formal weaving associations elsewhere in Roman Egypt (e.g., Tebtynis) and argues that trade-related in-groups, formal or informal, were likely a common feature of trade education communities.

Liu's analysis is an important development in the scholarship on this corpus, for it identifies a degree of interconnectedness amongst those involved in apprenticeship education through group membership and acts of reciprocity. Further analysis is needed, however, to discern the extent of this interconnectedness, for Liu's chapter focuses only on the interactions between the teachers in the διδασκαλικαί contracts. This limited scope fails to capture the full extent of the networks between those involved in this education system, which includes not only teachers but also students, parents, guardians (κύριοι) of female relatives, etc. As is demonstrated below, a prosopographical investigation of this corpus reveals extensive and intentional interconnectivity amongst this community.

The following section examines the social networks associated with apprenticeship in Oxyrhynchus, utilising the prosopographical data of those involved, arguing that more connections exist amongst the weaving community, with more attestations of reciprocity, than previously thought. This

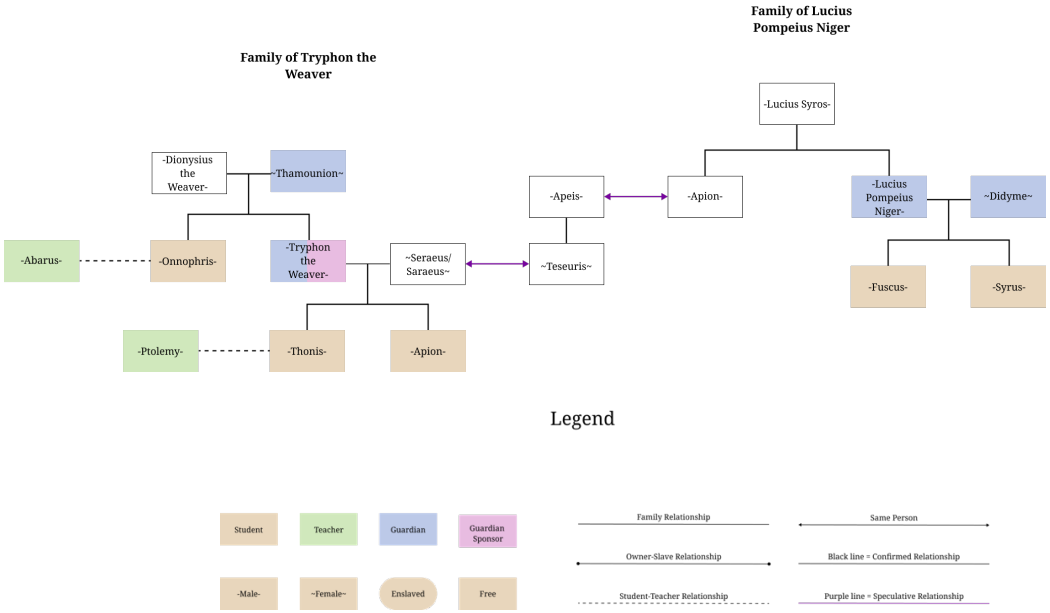
[125] Liu 2017.
[126] Such as the *collegia centonariorum*, or associations of textile merchants, which Liu examined in her 2009 monograph. See Liu 2009.
[127] Liu 2017: 212–224. Cf. Liu 2009.

section also reveals that a significant number of the individuals whose personal histories and financial statuses were discussed in Chapter Two were in fact acquainted, being part of the same social network. As most of the papyrological data comes from the city of Oxyrhynchus in the first century CE, this analysis concentrates on that setting.

The first potential connection in the weaving community of first-century Oxyrhynchus is between Pompeius, the legionary soldier, and Tryphon the weaver.[128] In a recent article, Anastasia Maravela and Jens Mangerud have asserted that there may be a familial link between these two through Tryphon's wife, Seraeous, whom they believe is the fraternal niece of Pompeius (see Table 9).[129] Their main argument for this connection is their identification of Seraeous in one of Pompeius' private letters (SB VI 9121). In this letter, a certain Heraklous writes to Pompeius requesting his help as she faces threats of eviction by a woman named Seraeous, whom they identify with Tryphon's homonymous wife, the former wet-nurse.[130] Their rationale for this identification is that Tryphon's wife was the daughter of a certain Apion, was in a legal dispute with a certain Syros son of Syros and was known from several documents to have been a quarrelsome individual. Pompeius had two brothers, one named Syros (son of Syros) and the other Apion. Pompeius' brother Apion had a daughter named Teseuris, which Maravela and Mangerud speculate may be the same Seraeous, suspecting an etymological connection between the two names.[131] Another document (PSI XI 1183), a census declaration, reveals that Pompeius and Heraklous' son Hatreus owned a house together, which Maravela and Mangerud argue was also co-owned by Pompeius' brother, Apion. As Apion is known to have died before the eviction event, his daughter, Seraeous, may have inherited the share of the property and proceeded to cause trouble for Heraklous. Heraklous, it seems, appealed to Pompeius, the co-owner of the property and uncle of the woman causing her distress.

[128] A more thorough form of the argument for this connection appears in Chapter 2.
[129] Maravela and Mangerud 2019.
[130] Maravela and Mangerud 2019: 320–323.
[131] Maravela and Mangerud 2019: 329 fn. 34.

Table 9: Family Trees of Tryphon the Weaver and Lucius Pompeius Niger



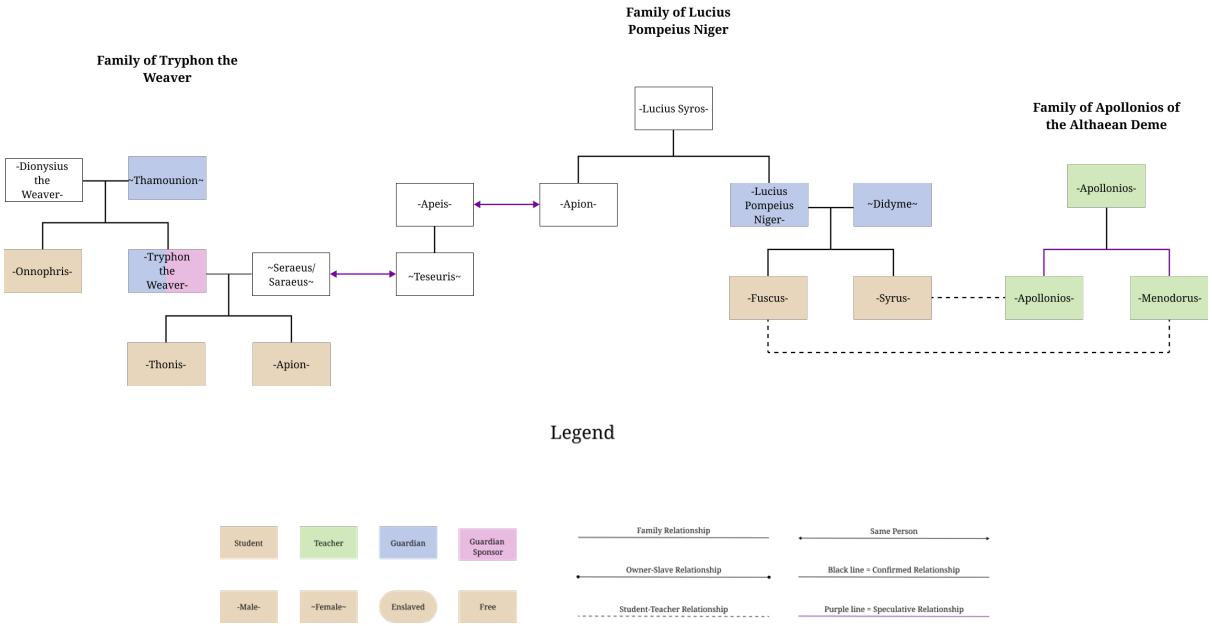
The possible familial connection between Tryphon and Pompeius reveals the first part of a larger social network linking individuals involved in apprenticeship education in first-century Oxyrhynchus. Pompeius is also connected, by professional rather than family ties, to two more of the individuals described above: Apollonius and Menodorus. His elder son was apprenticed to learn a craft (not preserved) under Apollonius, and his younger son, Fuscus, to learn linen-weaving from Menodorus (See Table 10).[132]

That Pompeius apprentices his sons to both Apollonius and Menodorus suggests that all may have been in the same social circle and supports the theory, put forward by Jens Mangerud, that Apollonius and Menodorus may have been related, if not brothers.[133] While the documentary evidence does not explicitly state that they were related, Mangerud suggests as much given several facts from the few διδασκαλικαί contracts associated with them. Both Apollonius and Menodorus were sons of an Apollonius, both were associated with the Althaean deme in Alexandria and both were tradesmen who taught their trade in Oxyrhynchus in the 40s CE. Furthermore, since Fuscus learned the weaving trade, his older brother would likely have learned that trade as well, which would suggest that Apollonius may

[132] P. Oslo Inv. 1496 and P. Fouad 37, respectively.
[133] Mangerud 2019: 565.

also have been a weaver. This argument is not without problems, however: Apollonius is among the more common names in Roman Egypt, making the identification of Apollonius' and Menodorus' fathers as the same person less secure. Nevertheless, the combination of other information—that both held Alexandrian citizenship (even of the same deme, Althaeus), had the same patronymic, worked as tradesmen (likely both weavers) and teachers of their craft for the same individual (Pompeius) and lived in Oxyrhynchus at the same time—strongly suggests at least some relation.

Table 10: Families of Tryphon, Pompeius and the Althaean Brothers



This social network may have extended to include two more weaving families, that of Pausiris Sr and that of Epinikos. This extension, however, is more speculative than the above connections and rests on the identification of Apollonius the Althaean with another Apollonius (hereafter Apollonius 2). Apollonius 2, the son of yet another Apollonius, was a weaving teacher in first-century Oxyrhynchus. He appears in two apprenticeship contracts, in 49 and 53 CE, in which he teaches the trade of weaving to the eldest two sons of Pausiris Sr, Ammonios and Dioskous.[134] Some aspects of his personal history can be ascertained from these contracts, such as his residence in the Cavalry Camp Quarter of

[134] P. Mich. 3 170, P. Wisc. 1 4.

Oxyrhynchus.[135] Beyond this basic information, his personal history is obscure, yet there is reason to believe he may have been the same individual as Apollonius the Althaean.

As mentioned above, the statement identifying the trade of Apollonius the Althaean is not preserved in the contract where Didyme, Pompeius' wife, arranges the apprenticeship for her eldest son. However, since the parents in the families associated with the διδασκαλικαί tended to apprentice their sons in the same trade, it is likely that he was a weaver. Indeed, in both cases currently attested where multiple sons in a family undertake apprenticeships, all the sons learn the same trade.[136] Therefore, should Apollonius and Menodorus be brothers, they would likely be masters of the same trade. Furthermore, not only do both Apollonius the Althaean and Apollonius 2 use the same patronymic in their contracts (Apollonius, son of Apollonius), but both appear to have been active teachers at the same time in Oxyrhynchus. The dating Mangerud provides for the contract between Apollonius the Althaean and Didyme is before 45 CE, though possibly earlier,[137] and the two contracts where Apollonius 2 appears as a teacher are dated to 49 and 53 CE.[138] As mentioned above, identifying these two men as the same individual is complicated by the lack of explicit evidence to confirm this identification and by the prevalence of the name Apollonius in Roman Egypt. Thus, this suggestion must remain conjectural until more concrete evidence is discovered. If Apollonius the Althaean and Apollonius 2 are, in fact, the same, the social network would be extended, through Apollonius, to include the family of Pausiris Sr (see Table 11).

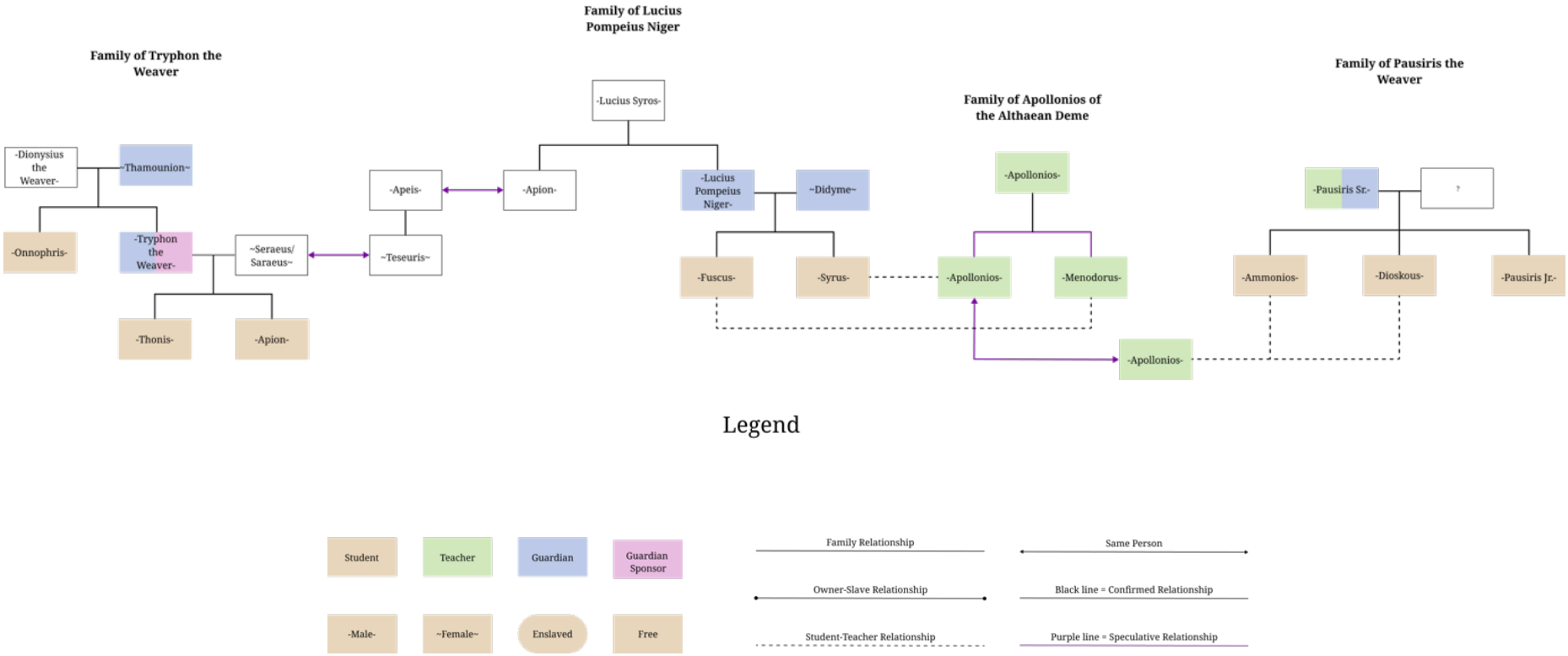
Pausiris Sr, son of Ammonios, introduced in Chapter Two, lived in mid-first-century Oxyrhynchus (attested from 49–62 CE) and was a weaver and a teacher of his trade.[139] A lack of

[135] P. Mich. 3 170.
[136] P. Oxy. 2 275 and P. Oxy. 2 310 for the sons of Tryphon. For the sons of Pausiris Sr, see P. Mich. 3 170, 172 and P. Wisc. 1 4. It is not always the case that every son undertakes an apprenticeship. In these cases, the brother without an apprenticeship is usually listed as 'without a trade'. An example of this is Tryphon the weaver and his brothers. One brother, Onnophris, undertakes an apprenticeship in weaving (in part arranged by Tryphon), while it seems his other brother, Thoonis, becomes a soldier and is later listed as without a trade and being away from Oxyrhynchus. P. Oxy. 33 2669 Cf. Morris 1978: 269. An exception may be when apprenticeships are arranged for both sons and daughters. In second-century CE Ankyropolis, two contracts record a family where the son and daughter both undertake apprenticeships. The son learns embalming whereas the sister's trade is unspecified. P. Heid. Gr. 4 326, 327.
[137] P. Oslo Inv. 1496; cf. Mangerud 2019: 569. This dating is based on the contract's necessarily existing some time before Pompeius retired (45 CE), as he is 'out of town' and appears to still be an active soldier, though not too long before as the younger son, Fuscus, is apprenticed in 48 CE.
[138] P. Mich 3 170, P. Wisc. 1 4.
[139] P. Mich. 3 171.

documentation obscures whether Pausiris Sr, like Tryphon, came from a family of weavers, but after him the family becomes exclusively one of weavers. Pausiris Sr had three sons, Ammonios, Dioskous and Pausiris Jr, for all of whom he arranged apprenticeships in weaving.[140] Between the documents attesting the three apprenticeships he arranged for his sons and the one where he appears as a teacher, Pausiris Sr's archive provides the largest number of apprenticeship documents from any one family in the entire corpus of the διδασκαλικαί. Moreover, his archive supplies another connection between individuals in the weaving community, namely between Pausiris Sr and Apollonius 2, as seen in two documents, the apprenticeship arrangements for Ammonios and Dioskous. It is Apollonius 2 who agrees to teach Pausiris Sr's two eldest sons the trade of weaving.[141]

[140] P. Mich. 3 170, 172 and P. Wisc. 1 4.
[141] P. Mich 3 170, P. Wisc. 1 4.

Table 11: Families of Tryphon, Pompeius, the Althaean Brothers and Pausiris

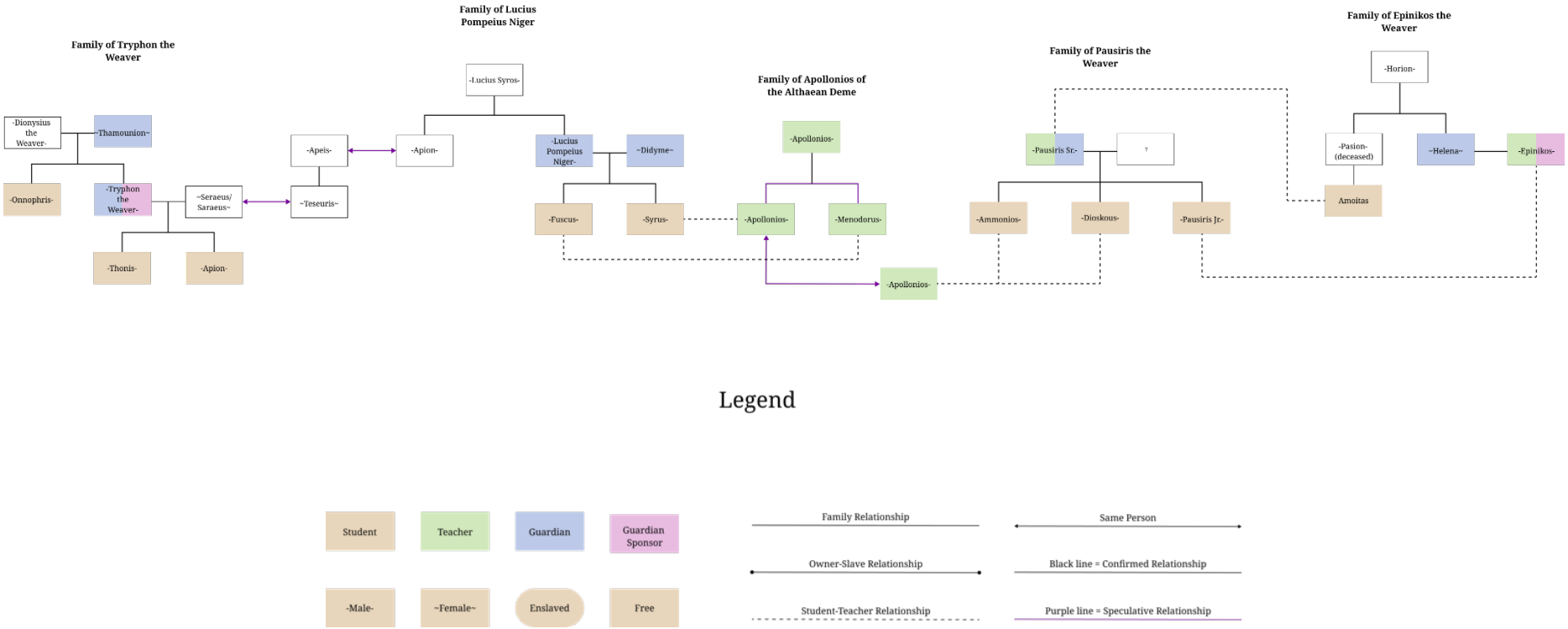


It is through Pausiris Sr that the social network associated with weaving apprenticeship in first-century Oxyrhynchus extends to include the final family of weavers attested in this social network, that of Epinikos and his nephew Amoitas (see Table 12). Little is known about Epinikos beyond the details provided in the two apprenticeship documents in which he appears.[1] He appears first in 58 CE as the κύριος in an apprenticeship arrangement for his orphaned nephew, Amoitas, where Pausiris Sr agrees to teach the boy weaving.[2] Four years later, Epinikos appears again, this time teaching weaving to Pausiris Sr's son, Pausiris Jr.[3]

As indicated by Jinyu Liu, in the exchange between Pausiris Sr and Epinikos in which they teach one another's dependents there lies a valuable aspect of social networks: reciprocity.[4] Epinikos and his wife Helen were experiencing the unexpected financial burden of another dependent after Amoitas' parents died. Amoitas was in a particularly difficult position, no longer able to rely on his parents to guide him in the development of his professional career. The apprenticeship arrangement with Pausiris Sr, then, reflects a harnessing of Epinikos' social network to alleviate the burden (financial and logistical) felt by all enduring the loss. Four years later, Epinikos returned the favour by agreeing to teach Pausiris Jr weaving. Such actions seem to indicate that, to a degree, these individuals could trust in their social network and rely on their community to help them maintain stability. Seen in this light, a similar situation may be happening in the instances of Pausiris Sr giving two of his other sons to the same teacher and in Pompeius giving both of his sons over in apprenticeships to two individuals who seem to have been from the same family. Such repeated efforts to affirm social ties indicate a social investment that could be reciprocated in times of need, as was done for Epinikos.

[1] P. Mich. 3 171 and 172.
[2] P. Mich 3 171.
[3] P. Mich 3 172.
[4] Liu 2017: 220ff; Groen-Vallinga 2017: 123.

Table 12: Families of Tryphon, Pompeius, the Althaean Brothers, Pausiris and Epinikos



It might be possible to extend the connections in this social network one step further, linking Pausiris Sr (and his children) to Tryphon. This connection is not based on documents attesting direct interactions but on those attesting mutual acquaintances between the families. It seems likely that the two families used the same banker, as three documents (two for Dioskous, son of Pausiris Sr, and one for Tryphon) attest individuals in these families as receiving loans at the bank of a certain Ammonios, son of Ammonios, at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus.[1] These families may have also used two of the same *hypographeis*, or undersigners for those who are illiterate, as a certain Stratonikos, son of Apion, served as hypographeus for both Dioskous and Tryphon's lender (Thoonis), and a certain Zoilos, son of Horus, served as hypographeus in two documents in Tryphon's archive (once for Tryphon in an apprenticeship contract and once for a debtor to Tryphon) and in two documents in which Pausiris Jr received separate loans.[2] This is not definitive evidence that the families of Tryphon and Pausiris Sr knew one another, but it suggests that they were part of the same circle of weavers in Oxyrhynchus.

The individuals associated with the weaving trade in first-century Oxyrhynchus thus appear to have been part of a social network, connected to one another by marriage, reciprocity and mutual acquaintances. Of the 13 apprenticeship documents from this time and place, 8 involve the individuals who are part of the social network outlined here. Reason to infer that apprentices could expect to join a community that would serve as a safety net in times of need can be gathered from the example of Pausiris Sr and Epinikos and from the regular interaction between certain families (i.e., Pompeius and the Althaeans and Pausiris Sr and Apollonius 2). Whether these apprentices found themselves part of formal groups (professional associations) or informal groups (such as the community of Oxyrhynchite weavers), they could likely expect to receive protection from threats (as in the case of Paul, the weaver) as well as economic and social support in difficult times (as with Epinikos). While economic considerations were likely motivating factors for arranging apprenticeships for one's children, there were clearly considerable social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship in Roman Egypt as well.

[1] P. Mich. inv. 79 recto, P. Mich. inv. 77, P. Oxy. 2 304. For the former two, see Gagos *et al*. 1992.
[2] For Zoilos' appearance in the Tryphon archive, see P. Oxy. 2 269 and 275; for his appearance in the Pausiris family archive, see P. Mich inv. 84 and 86 in Gagos *et al.* 1992.

The pessimistic view of the prospects for pupils of vocational education in Roman Egypt assumes that the opportunities afforded to craftspeople for economic and social mobility were restricted. History often supports this this theory, being replete with examples of societies in which artisan professions were incapable of providing, or were even antithetical to, upward economic or social mobility.[3] However, the evidence presented here demonstrates that Roman Egypt was not one of these. There were considerable economic and social incentives for undertaking apprenticeship in Roman Egypt.

Working as a craftsperson could be very lucrative. Even if Finley's interpretation of the ancient economy as petty is largely true, if there are any exceptions to this, as he concedes there inevitably must be, Roman Egypt is one. The economy of Roman Egypt appears to have been particularly well suited to supporting significant incomes for artisans, and this is most common in the textile industry. Artisans behaved as if the economy were flourishing and, since they regularly appear among the local elites, appear to have accurately reflected this economic reality. Further, the Roman government provided financial incentives for craftspeople, most of all for weavers, by exempting them from nominations to financially devastating liturgic positions. Such government policies provided a legal route for craftspeople to protect the wealth accumulated through practising their craft, enabling the accumulation and protection of financial resources, which undoubtedly attracted those seeking upward economic mobility.

Regarding social mobility, apprentices of weaving anticipated entering a trade with a long tradition of association with the Egyptian elite and social prestige. Those practising any craft could expect to join professional associations or informal communities, both of which potentially offered financial, social and physical security. Membership in professional associations even gave craftspeople access to the political realm, in which they could participate in shaping and managing the circumstances of their local communities. Private associations thus even provided craftspeople with a meaningful route

[3] Lucie-Smith 1981: 28, 38. Lucie-Smith describes the ways in which an individual's status and prospects suffered in certain societies should they choose to pursue a profession as a craftsperson, for example potters in ancient agricultural Semitic societies and modern-day Mexico and Ethiopia as well as metalworkers in African tribes such as the Masai and, to a lesser extent, the Chagga (or Wachagga).

to participate, indirectly, in the international economy. For those seeking social or political advancement, such a route was far more attainable than the educational activities of the empire's elite.

Bradley's paradigm for understanding apprenticeship education, namely that its sole advantage was to prevent destitution, cannot make sense of the evidence presented in this chapter. The best paradigm for understanding the role of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt is one based on the evidence presented here, in which significant social and economic incentives existed for those considering careers as craftspeople, particularly careers in the textile industry. Far from being barred from opportunities for significant advancement in financial status, apprentices could expect to enter a market that provided opportunities for a significant increase in wealth. Far from being barred from educational activities that could enhance their social prospects, they could regularly expect to become established in a social network and obtain positions that provided them not only security but also a degree of real influence and power over their immediate circumstances. This new interpretation of vocational education in Roman Egypt considers apprenticeship in that time and place as a cultural institution that enabled meaningful advancement. It further shows that those attested in the διδασκαλικαί likely did not engage in apprenticeship education due to negative circumstances that predetermined them to a life of invariable labour; rather, they chose this route, aware of the social and economic potential it could offer.

Chapter Five

SLAVES AS APPRENTICES AND APPRENTICESHIP AS SLAVERY

Among the most persistent topics of scholarly investigation into the διδασκαλικαί since W. L. Westermann published the first focused investigation into these documents in 1914 is the relationship between vocational education and slavery.[1] The impetus for such consistent scholarly interest can be seen in several developments. Slavery in general has been a consistent topic of scholarly inquiry in part due to political developments in the last few centuries proscribing the practice. The enslavement of human beings has transitioned from a socially acceptable practice to a global issue that governments and human rights organisations actively work to eradicate. The increasing general interest in this topic, combined with a significant influx in discovered papyrological and epigraphic material attesting slavery in antiquity, has allowed scholars of antiquity to begin investigating the role slaves played in ancient societies.[2] The διδασκαλικαί in particular have been considered an important corpus regarding ancient slavery since they attest enslaved individuals and regularly use the verb παραμένω, a term associated with slavery in antiquity.

In this context, two separate lines of inquiry have arisen regarding the relationship between apprenticeship and slavery. The first asks whether the contractual arrangements of the διδασκαλικαί functioned as a form of indentured servitude, blurring the line between arranging an apprenticeship for one's child and selling one's child into (usually) temporary slavery. The second line of inquiry asks what the διδασκαλικαί reveal about the education of slaves; more specifically, it asks whether the education system attested in the διδασκαλικαί represents a sphere of society for which there was a parity of access and treatment between enslaved and freeborn individuals. Scholars contributing to these lines of inquiry aim to establish a better understanding of the circumstances of enslaved individuals in this corpus and beyond, yet this scholarship is not without its problems: the misinterpretation of παραμένω,

[1] Westermann 1914a, 1914b.
[2] E.g., Westermann 1955; Finley 1973, 1980; Bradley 1994.

a term regularly found in the διδασκαλικαί, skews the interpretation of how this form of education operated. Furthermore, a tendency towards a binary view of parity and disparity in the experience of apprenticeship for enslaved and free apprentices overlooks the complexity suggested by the evidence.

This chapter offers a new interpretation of the relationship between vocational education and slavery in Roman Egypt, contributing two points to the aforementioned lines of inquiry. The first point, pertaining to whether an inherent relationship exists between apprenticeship and slavery, is that, while a few contracts do utilise indentured servitude arrangements, their circumstances reveal this to be irregular. Thus, there was not an inherent relationship between apprenticeship and slavery; they were distinct in Roman Egypt, and a free pupil entering the former would not have expected to become subject to the latter. The second point pertains to the circumstances of enslaved apprentices: the particulars of the experience itself and the career trajectory after apprenticeship. This chapter argues that, contrary to recent scholarly claims, both parities and disparities existed between slaves and freeborn children regarding access to apprenticeship and treatment within that context. Overall, the trajectory of enslaved apprentices appears similar to that of their freeborn counterparts in that both could expect to experience upward economic and social mobility. Though slaves do appear, based on current data, to have been more likely to undertake apprenticeship, their participation may have helped them eventually escape enslavement (rather than working the other way, as an institution for pulling freeborn children into slavery). The result is that apprenticeship could be for slaves, as for freeborn pupils, an opportunity for upward mobility.

ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΚΑΙ AND ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΙ: TRADE EDUCATION AS INDENTURED SERVITUDE?

Before examining the circumstances of enslaved individuals who undertook apprenticeship in Roman Egypt, it is first necessary to assess whether apprenticeship arrangements regularly resulted in the *de facto* enslavement of free individuals. Such a situation would indicate a correlated and likely causal relationship between vocational education and slavery and would have significant implications for interpreting, for example, Tryphon or Pompeius arranging apprenticeships for their freeborn children.

In the history of scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί, these contracts have regularly been associated with indentured servitude and child slavery.[3] This association is predominantly due to a perceived connection between the διδασκαλικαί contracts and παραμονή ('a remaining' or 'an obligation to remain'), παραμονή being the technical term used in Greco-Roman papyri to label arrangements of indentured servitude.[4] Ville Vuolanto and Christian Laes even view indentured servitude in this context as likely to lead to child slavery.[5] Their rationale is summarised by Vuolanto: 'these kinds of pawning arrangements in which the original debt was never repaid would have led [to] the working contracts going on forever, and thus to *de facto* slavery for children'.[6]

Scholars have noticed three similarities between the διδασκαλικαί contracts and documents associated with the παραμονή form of indentured servitude (hereafter παραμονή), which some have argued indicate a connection between the two. Firstly, the contracts of the διδασκαλικαί and παραμοναί strongly resemble each other in both structure and phraseology, and certain phrases that appear in both seem to indicate labour-related responsibilities. For example, both the διδασκαλικαί and the παραμοναί contracts utilise a phrase (with almost the same words)[7] indicating that the child is required to do everything ordered of him or her. Secondly, 14 of the 54 διδασκαλικαί contracts (11 of which are from Oxyrhynchus) use the verb παραμένω, or 'to remain'. Since the noun παραμονή is used to indicate contracts of indentured servitude, scholars like W. L. Westermann and Ville Vuolanto have understood the verb παραμένω to indicate indentured servitude arrangements in the διδασκαλικαί contracts.[8] Thirdly, another 14 of the 54 διδασκαλικαί record that the guardian will receive money from the teacher rather than the expected inverse. This has led Westermann, Vuolanto and Laes to speculate that the money exchanged in these situations may be a loan, indicating that the guardian has given their child into indentured servitude.[9]

[3] Westermann 1914a: 303ff.; Forbes 1955: 328–334; Vuolanto 2003: 195, 2015: 104; Laes 2015: 479; Claytor, Litinas and Nabney 2016: 89 fn. 34.
[4] Samuel 1965. For examples of scribes using this term to label indentured servitude, see the eiromenon (collection of contract abstracts) P.Mich.2.21v where eleven contracts are listed as ὁμολογία…παραμονῆς.
[5] Vuolanto 2003: 195, 2015: 104; Laes 2015: 479
[6] Vuolanto 2015: 104.
[7] Usually some variation of the words τρεφομένη καὶ ἱματιζομένη, or 'being fed and clothed by…'.
[8] Westermann 1914a, 1948; Vuolanto 2003: 193ff.
[9] Westermann 1914a; 1948; Vuolanto 2003: 193ff; Laes 2015: 479.

Contrary to the previously mentioned scholarship are the often-overlooked works of Alan Samuel and Joachim Hengstl. Both challenge the claim that the διδασκαλικαί are regularly used in conjunction with arrangements of παραμονή by asserting that no connection between the two exists.[10] Samuel and Hengstl saw the two arrangements as functionally and legally distinct. Bergamasco is the only scholar to cite Hengstl and is, consequently, much more cautious about linking the two contract types.[11] Vuolanto cites Samuel, but as is shown below he misinterprets Samuel's claims, asserting a view of παραμονή and διδασκαλική that directly contradicts what Samuel explicitly wrote.[12] Admittedly, since Samuel and Hengstl published more than 50 years ago, they did not include the διδασκαλικαί contracts discovered since, many of which are cited by more recent scholars as evidence for a connection between διδασκαλικαί and παραμοναί. However, unlike the previously mentioned scholars, Samuel and Hengstl spend a significant portion of their investigations on παραμονή, how it functions and how it is established in the contracts. Samuel's ninety-page article, for example, focuses solely on exploring the uses of the terms παραμονή and παραμένω throughout ancient Greek literature, epigraphy and papyri.[13] Thus, despite not having access to the more recently published διδασκαλικαί contracts, Samuel and Hengstl offer an important perspective on the connection (or lack thereof) between the διδασκαλικαί contracts and arrangements of indentured servitude.

The corpus, therefore, must be re-examined for any connection between the two contract arrangements, considering the evidence provided by Samuel and Hengstl. A re-examination is pressing, moreover, as none of the scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί so far has assessed all 54 currently known contracts, particularly for regional or temporal variations that may illuminate when and where there is a demonstrable connection between the παραμοναί and διδασκαλικαί. The current section of this chapter re-examines the case for such a connection by assessing the full corpus with regard to the three similarities mentioned above: the similarity in structure and phraseology of παραμονή contracts, the use

[10] Samuel 1965; Hengstl 1972.
[11] Bergamasco claims, in line with Samuel and Hengstl, that the situations where the verb παραμένω appears do not indicate an indentured servitude (Bergamasco 1995: 127–128). Yet, Bergamasco describes a situation in one contract that appears to be the repayment of a loan as unusual and anomalous, thus hinting that it might be a παραμονή (Bergamasco 1995: 142-143). For Bergamasco citing Hengstl, see Bergamasco 1995: 96 fn. 6.
[12] Vuolanto 2003: 193 fn. 71, 194 fn. 73.
[13] Samuel 1965.

of παραμένω in the διδασκαλικαί and the occurrence of guardians receiving money. Ultimately, this section concludes that there is no reason to assume a regular and inherent connection between the two contract types and that only in a few limited circumstances do the διδασκαλικαί use παραμονή arrangements. This occurrence, however, is rare, being limited to two contracts, and is more reflective of an economic crisis than of an established practice in vocational teaching arrangements in Roman Egypt. This conclusion has important implications, for it demonstrates that, contrary to much of recent scholarship, a free child in Roman Egypt did not typically have to enter a precarious indentured servitude arrangement to obtain their education in a specific trade.

Similarities in Structure and Phrasing between the Διδασκαλικαί and Παραμοναί

The first reason some scholars have claimed a connection between the διδασκαλικαί and the παραμονή arrangements of indentured servitude is their similarity in structure and phrasing. At times, the two types of contracts appear structurally identical and even employ the same phrases to describe the obligations of the parties involved. Despite these similarities, Joachim Hengstl claims in his 1972 PhD thesis that

> Auch die inhaltsgleichen oder -ähnlichen Vereinbarungen begründen keine rechtliche Verwandtschaft. Paramonar und Lehrling leisten beide unselbständige Dienste. Es liegt nahe, daß die Regelung ihrer Pflichten auch bei verschiedenartigen Vertragstypen in gleichem oder ähnlichem Wortlaut erfolgt. Besonderheiten regeln die Beteiligten durch kleine Änderungen, zum Beispiel ist die Dienstpflicht des Lehrlings auf Dienste beschränkt, die mit seinem Lehrberuf zusammenhängen.[14]

Hengstl's corpus of διδασκαλικαί was significantly smaller than today's (27 compared to the current 54). Nevertheless, as will be shown, Hengstl's claim remains true today. Despite their apparent similarities, these two contract types were considered distinct in antiquity, and their similarities result from the use of a common format for drawing up agreements. Moreover, further specification regarding

[14] Hengstl 1972: 97.

the nature of the child's obligations is provided in the διδασκαλικαί to clarify that the students are not undertaking this education as indentured servants.

To illustrate the similarity in structure and phraseology between the types of contracts, a typical διδασκαλική and a typical παραμονή are provided here. The διδασκαλική is from Oxyrhynchus and dates to between 98 and 103 CE:

> The following parties agree (ὁμολογοῦσιν) with one another: Hermas and Papontos, weavers, both sons of Hermas, from Oxyrhynchus. They agree that Hermas has entrusted (ἐκδεδόσθαι) to Papontos his underage son Hermes from today until the 3rd Epagomenon day of the … year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus; Hermes having to serve and to carry out all the tasks that are ordered of him (διακονοῦντα καὶ ποιοῦντα τὰ ἔργα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα αὐτῷ) by Papontos concerning the weaving trade, in which trade he will teach the boy according to how he knows it in the appointed period of time during which Hermas (the father) will feed the boy [and clothe him?], and that Papontos will pay for the boy all the public dues for practising the trade. If the boy, during the school time, is subject to the poll tax, the father will pay it … [x] drachmas. The boy will have five days' leave each year for the festivals, but if he is absent beyond that, his father will put him at the disposal of Papontos for the same number of days as he has been absent, or he shall for each of these pay a silver drachma per day; but for the premature removal of the boy during the apprenticeship one hundred drachmas and the same amount to the state treasury. But if Papontos does not instruct (the boy as agreed), he is obliged to pay the same contractual penalty. The teaching contract ([ἡ δι]δασκαλ<ικ>ή) is legally binding. In the … year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus…[15]

The following παραμονή contract documents one of Tahaunes' indentured servitude arrangements. It comes from Theadelpheia and dates to 10 CE:

> I, Harthotes, son of Marres, Persian of the epigone, acknowledge (ὁμολογῶ) that I have received from Theon, son of Petermouthis, oil maker of the oil mill on the estate of Livia and Germanicus Caesar in Philagris eighty drachmas of minted silver as a capital sum and in return for these I

[15] SB 12 10946. Translation mine.

> shall provide (παρέξομεν) my daughter Tahaunes to remain with Theon for two years and six months from the month of Pachón of the present thirty-ninth year of Caesar, feeding olives at the indicated oil mill as well as staying and doing everything that is ordered (δια|[τρ]ίβουν[σ]ᾳ̣ν̣ καὶ πυοῦσαν̣ τ̣ὰ̣ ἐ̣π̣ιτα[σ]σόμενα πάντα), [not] being absent by night or by day, but following him everywhere throughout the nome, being fed and clothed by Theon. And for [each] day on which she is absent I shall pay one [drachma] and I shall do the other things as aforesaid. Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, was asked and [wrote for him] because he is illiterate.[16]

The similarities in structure and phraseology are clear. Both documents open with a statement of agreement (indicated by the term ὁμολογῶ), and both include a series of similar clauses detailing the conditions of the agreement: the child has been given over; they are to do everything ordered of them; a certain party is responsible for feeding and housing the child; a fine is to be paid when the child is absent.

In his 2003 article, Vuolanto notes the strong structural similarity between διδασκαλικαί and παραμονή contracts, which, he states, is seen in the 'the intermingling of terminology'.[17] He concludes that:

> the apprenticeship contracts [i.e., the διδασκαλικαί] themselves do not constitute a self-evident category of their own… All in all, the pledging of children and different kinds of selling-pledging-leasing combinations appear often in the documentary material, and there were no clear differences between different kinds of contracts.[18]

Vuolanto's conclusion evidently influenced Christian Laes who, in his 2015 chapter on masters and apprentices in antiquity, cites Vuolanto when he claims, 'that apprenticeship was linked with other forms of child labor is clear from the apprenticeship contracts themselves, which do not constitute a self-evident category of their own'.[19]

[16] Harth.4. Translation by Claytor, Litinas, and Nabney 2016: 112-113.
[17] Vuolanto 2003: 192.
[18] Vuolanto 2003: 193-195.
[19] Laes 2015: 479.

The claims by Vuolanto and Laes that the διδασκαλικαί 'do not constitute a self-evident category' prove untrue upon further investigation. Perhaps the most obvious demonstration of the difference between the two contracts is the names by which the ancient scribes referred to them. Although the term διδασκαλική is occasionally used in the contracts themselves,[20] that they were referred to by this term is confirmed by references in catalogues drawn up by scribes to index the various contracts they had written. In one such catalogue from mid-first century CE Tebtynis is the following example of an apprenticeship contract in which a certain Tasooukis, apprentices her son, Orseus, to the weaver, Horos:

> On the 18th (day): Tasooukis, daughter of Theos, Persian (of the epigone?), 49 years old with a scar on the left hand, with her guardian, her son Orseus, son of Onnophris, 27 years old, with a scar on the left arm, has given over to Horos, son of Papontos, 40 years old, with a scar on the left eyebrow, her son Papontos for the weaver's trade for five years from the month Neos Sebastos of the present year. Papontos is to be fed and clothed by Horos who also is to pay the weaver's tax for him, while the poll-tax is to be paid by Tasooukis. Tasoukis has the previously mentioned 40 drachmas. The undersigner is Ptolemaios, son of Chairemon, 75 years old and with a scar above the left elbow. The other (information) is in conformity.[21]

The corresponding index for this contract labels it as a διδασκαλική.[22]

Also listed in the Tebtynis catalogue of contracts are eleven παραμονή contracts. One of these is extant, and its structure and phrasing are strikingly similar to the διδασκαλική arranged by Tasoukis:

> On the 28th. Hermias, son of Cheos, about 40 years old, having as distinguishing marks a mole and a prominent eye on the left side, acknowledges to Soterichos, son of Kronides, about 30 years old, with a scar on his neck to the left, that he has received from him in cash from hand to hand out of the house 100 silver drachmai, and in place of paying the interest and in return for clothing I will present myself daily for one year from the month Sebastos of the 3rd year to

[20] An exception is P. Wisc. 1 4.
[21] P. Mich. 2 121r. Translation mine.
[22] P. Mich. 2 121v.

> render him service and perform all the aforesaid tasks,[23] and Soterichos is to suffer no prejudice therefrom in his right to the capital sum of silver drachmai which I owe him in accordance with a contract of service. Onnophris, son of Pakebkis, about 32 years old, with a scar on the right knee, wrote for him.[24]

The two documents, then, are almost identical in structure and phrasing. Both the διδασκαλική and the παραμονή begin with a statement of agreement (indicated by the verb ὁμολογῶ), identify each party by parentage and unique scars, clarify that an individual is to be handed over, and end with the hypographeus likewise identifying himself. Yet, despite these similarities in structure and phrasing, the contracts are labelled as διδασκαλική and παραμονή respectively. Thus, both the scribe who wrote these contracts and the parties involved clearly thought, unlike Vuolanto and Laes, that the διδασκαλικαί and the παραμοναί did constitute distinct categories.

The reason for such a strong similarity in structure and phrasing is not, as Vuolanto and Laes have claimed, a lack of distinction between the διδασκαλικαί and the παραμοναί but rather the use in both contracts of the συγγραφή, one of the most common contract formats attested in Egyptian papyri from the Ptolemaic period through the reign of Diocletian.[25] That the διδασκαλικαί use the συγγραφή format was noted by Westermann in 1914 and is not disputed.[26] Westermann further observed that the διδασκαλικαί tend to use a sub-format of ὁμολογία (a version of the συγγραφή which uses the verb ὁμολογῶ to indicate the agreement).[27] These συγγραφαί are used for a variety of agreements such as sale contracts, marriage and divorce contracts, loans and leases, receipts for rent and loan repayment, testaments, manumissions and cancellations of agreements.[28] Thus, from the perspective of the scribe and the parties involved, the similarity in phrasing does not indicate that the διδασκαλικαί and παραμοναί were indistinct but simply that they both constituted an agreement between two parties, as

[23] The change to the first-person is present in the Greek.
[24] P. Mich. 2 121.v. Translation from Papyri.info.
[25] Grammateus s.v. 'Syngraphe (συγγραφή)'; Wolff 1978: 83.
[26] Westermann 1914a: 302.
[27] For more on the defining features of the ὁμολογία format used in συγγραφαί, see Grammateus *s.v.* Syngraphe (συγγραφή). Two διδασκαλικαί from Ankyropolis (P. Heid. Gr 4 326 and 327) use συγχώρησις, another sub-format of the συγγραφή that tends to use συγχωρέω rather than ὁμολογέω. The other two common formats found in the apprenticeship contracts are the χειρόγραφον and the registration document. See Grammateus *s.v.* 'Cheirographon' and 'Registration'.
[28] Grammateus s.v. 'Syngraphe (συγγραφή)'.

indicated by the συγγραφή format. As structural similarities exist between a variety of contract types, one cannot claim that a contract's format conveys its purpose. Rather, the details of a contract's content determine whether it bears a meaningful resemblance to any other type of contract. Contracts differentiate themselves by explicitly stating whether the purpose of each arrangement is educational or labour-related.

The διδασκαλικαί regularly specify that the purpose of the arrangements is educational, and this specification confirms that the two types of contracts were treated as distinct arrangements, since it does not appear in the παραμονή contracts. Both types of contracts use similar phrases (often word-for-word) to describe the obligations of the party entering the contract, but in the διδασκαλικαί, further specification is added to indicate that the purpose of these obligations is educational, thereby differentiating this type of contract's obligations from those of the παραμονή contracts of indentured servitude. While these two types of contracts regularly share other phrases (such as the clauses clarifying who is to feed and clothe the child), two similar phrases are singled out here for comparison because they deal with the child's obligations and whether these are educational in nature. The first phrase states that the guardian ἐγδέδοσθαι τὸν παίδα,[29] or 'is to give over the child'; the second, that the child is to be ποιοῦντα πάντα τὰ συντασσόμενα, or 'doing everything which is ordered'.

Common to both types of contract is the phrase, found in the ὁμολογῶ section, stating the guardian's agreement to hand over the child. The appearance of this 'giving over' phrase at this point in the contract is consistent across both types. On occasion, extra details are provided, such as the age of the child or identifiers, such as scars. In παραμοναί contracts, the 'giving over' phrase is normally followed by a list of obligations or a statement specifying that the child is being handed over to work. Thus, in the Harthotes archive παραμονή contracts, the scribe proceeds straight from the statement that Harthotes, Tahaunes' father, will give her over to describing her obligations working in the olive oil mill.[30] In another παραμονή contract from early first century CE Tebtynis, a young boy named Pasion is contracted for παραμονή labour by his brothers who agree that παρε[ξόμεθά σοι τὸν] ἀδελφὸν… ἐργαζ[όμενον κατὰ τὴν] χ̣ε̣ρ̣δ[ιακὴν τέ]χνη̣ν, 'we will give over to you our brother who is working in

[29] The child is variously referred to as παῖς, υἱός, θυγατέρα, or δοῦλος depending on circumstances.
[30] Harth. 3.12ff, 4.7ff.

(i.e., who is trained in) the weaving trade'.[31] The contract, then, indicates that the sole reason the child is being given over is to work. It would seem Pasion already knows the weaving trade to some degree, so he may have previously learned it as an apprentice. His father is likely dead since his brothers are acting as guardians, so it would appear that Pasion's brothers are using his previous education to gain what Keith Bradley describes as quick supplemental income.[32] This reality, observed by Bradley, occurs not in an educational setting but in a παραμονή contract of indentured servitude, and this remains an important distinction.

The 'giving over' phrase in the διδασκαλικαί, by contrast, is consistently followed by an extra specification that indicates that the 'giving over' is for educational purposes. An Oxyrhynchite contract from 53 CE apprenticing Dioskous, the son of Pausiris, to Apollonius perfectly demonstrates this trend. Pausiris agrees to hand over his son to Apollonius ὥστ̣[ε μ]ᾰ̣θ̣εῖ̣ν τὴν γερδιακὴν τ̣έ̣χνην πᾶσ̣[αν αὐτ]ὸ̣ν̣ ὡ[ς] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται, 'in order for him (Dioskous) to learn the entire weaving trade as he (Apollonius) knows it'.[33] No matter the trade or the status of the student, this clarification consistently appears in the διδασκαλικαί following the statement that the child has been given over.[34] Thus, in 155 CE, Panechotes, an ex-kosmetes in Oxyrhynchus, apprentices his child slave πρὸς μάθησιν σημείων ὧν ἐπίσταται ὁ υἱός σου, 'to learn the shorthand writing signs which your son knows'.[35] Likewise, in 66 CE at Oxyrhychus, Petechon is given over by his father ὥστε μαθεῖν τὴν χαλκοτυπικὴν τέχνην διδασκάλῳ Ἡρακλείδηι Πετοσοράπιος χαλκοτύπωι, 'in order to learn the copper smithing trade from the teacher Heracleides, son of Petosorapis, the coppersmith'.[36] Thus, the content of the διδασκαλικαί contracts makes it clear that the reason for handing over the child is educational.

Another similar phrase appearing in both the διδασκαλικαί and the παραμοναί is that the child must do everything commanded of them. The Greek phrasing is ποιοῦντα πάντα τὰ συντασσόμενα,

[31] P. Tebt. 2 384.
[32] Bradley 1991:116.
[33] P. Wisc. 1 4 ll.3-7.
[34] Not all of the διδασκαλικαί documents preserve this section of the contract and it seems to not be a feature of the two contracts written in Demotic (though the educational nature of the contract is still able to be discerned). It is, additionally, absent from the one document attesting a cancellation of an apprenticeship, as is to be expected. Of the 51 remaining documents, the 'giving over' phrase (or the implication of a giving over) is preserved in 21 documents and in all of these contracts there is a clarification that this 'giving over' is for educational purposes.
[35] P. Oxy. 4 724.
[36] PSI 8 871.

'doing everything which is ordered'. This phrase is regularly used in παραμοναί contracts and also occurs in fifteen διδασκαλικαί, though in these it is meant differently than in the παραμοναί. In the two παραμονή contracts from the Harthotes archive, this 'doing everything which is ordered' phrase is followed by the remaining list of rules Tahaunes must follow regarding her living arrangements, such as not being absent by day or night and following her new master around the home if required.[37]

In the διδασκαλικαί contracts, by contrast, the 'doing everything which is ordered' phrase is consistently followed or preceded by extra clarifying information indicating the educational nature of the child's obligations. A contract from Alexandria, dated to 13 BCE, for the apprenticing of a slave boy, Narcissus, to learn several flute instruments demonstrates this trend. Narcissus' master agrees to provide him to the teacher [ποιοῦντα ὡς] μ̣αθητὴν πάντα τὰ συντασσόμενα τῶν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, 'doing, as a student, everything ordered (of him) which pertains to the trade (τέχνη)'.[38] Thus, Narcissus is only contractually obligated to perform the tasks ordered to him that pertain to the trade he is learning, as opposed to Tahaunes, in the Harthotes παραμοναί mentioned above, who is obligated, it would appear, to do anything her new master orders. Furthermore, the phrase [ὡς] μ̣αθητὴν, or 'as a student', confirms that Narcissus' expected role is that of a student.

These 'doing everything which is ordered' phrases occur in fifteen διδασκαλικαί contracts from all over Egypt. In seven of these, a second clause follows which turns the tables, as it were, by immediately highlighting the consequent obligations of the teacher, an element missing entirely from the παραμονή contracts.[39] For example, in a contract in which Thamounion apprentices her son, Onnophris, to learn weaving from Abaros, Onnophris is expected 'to do everything ordered of him by Abaros that pertains to the weaver's trade (κατὰ τὴν γερδιακ[ὴ]ν τέχνην) and consequently, Abaros is to teach the child the weaver's trade as he knows it'.[40] With one exception, every διδασκαλική contract that includes the 'doing everything which is ordered' phrase contains a subsequent clarification clause like the one above. The exception is a contract in which the lines following this phrase are lost, though

[37] Harth. 3.16ff, 4.11ff.
[38] SB 22 15538.
[39] P. Oxy. 2 275, 322, 4 725, 41 2971, 2977; P. Oxy. Hels 29; SB 12 946. This appears to be specific to Oxyrhynchus.
[40] P. Oxy. 2 322.

the contract is confirmed to be a διδασκαλική by its inclusion of an educational clarification clause in the 'handing over the child' phrase.[41]

It can be concluded that the similarity in the structure and phraseology of the διδασκαλικαί and παραμοναί does not indicate that they were indistinct. The contracts demonstrate such strong similarity in content because they utilise the format generally employed in a broad spectrum of legal agreements. The unique details in each contract type demonstrate that the one arrangement was considered distinct from the other.

The Verb Παραμένω and the Διδασκαλικαί

The second reason one might claim that the διδασκαλικαί make use of παραμονή indentured servitude arrangements is that 14 of the 54 διδασκαλικαί contracts use the verb παραμένω. In his 1914 article on the διδασκαλικαί, Westermann notes that six of the nine διδασκαλικαί contracts in his list used the verb παραμένω, or 'to remain'.[42] Since the noun παραμονή, 'a remaining', was used in antiquity for contracts of indentured servitude, Westermann concludes that, as some of the διδασκαλικαί contain παραμονή clauses, they had a dual nature, being both διδασκαλική and παραμονή. Essentially, these few contracts were, for Westermann, a hybrid between the two types of contracts, necessary because certain families needed the loan provided by a παραμονή and sought to improve their situation by arranging for a διδασκαλική apprenticeship to occur while the child worked as an indentured servant.[43]

Modern scholars appear to have been influenced by Westermann's assertion that there was a relationship between the διδασκαλικαί and παραμονή arrangements. Ville Vuolanto, in particular, in his 2003 and 2015 articles, states that many of the agreements (both παραμοναί and διδασκαλικαί) include 'an explicit *paramone* clause, a technical term, by which the person in question is obliged to remain in service for a certain time'.[44] It is unclear what Vuolanto means when he claims that the παραμονή clauses are a technical term, as he does not specify whether the clauses he is referring to

[41] P. Oslo 3 141.11.
[42] P. Tebt. 2 384 is no longer considered a διδασκαλική but is simply a παραμονή and has been excluded from all διδασκαλικαί lists since Westermann's 1914 article. Westermann 1914a: 303-304. Cf. Zambon 1935: 15; Bradley 1991: 107; Bergamasco 1995: 96-98.
[43] Westermann 1914a: 303ff.
[44] Vuolanto 2003: 194.

include the noun παραμονή or the verb παραμένω. While this distinction may not seem meaningful at first glance, since the two terms appear similar (being etymologically connected), their usage differs distinctly between types of legal contracts in Greco-Roman Egypt, with the noun being technical and the verb being more general.[45] Thus, whether Vuolanto is referring to the verb or the noun is crucial for determining whether his conclusions are tenable.

In the footnote attached to his statement about the technical nature of the παραμονή clauses, Vuolanto cites (in both his 2003 and 2015 articles) Alan Samuel's 1965 article 'The Role of Paramone Clauses in Ancient Documents',[46] even though Samuel's article explicitly contradicts Vuolanto's claim. In this article, Samuel extensively documents the usage of the noun παραμονή and the verb παραμένω, from their first appearances through to the Roman era.[47] As many of the διδασκαλικαί contracts contain the verb παραμένω, Samuel's investigation includes the διδασκαλικαί contracts. His conclusion is worth quoting in full:

> In the papyri the verb follows literary usage and never takes on a technical meaning, but there does appear a technical use of the noun very early in the papyri, and there is a differentiation between the non technical verb and the technical noun, with the noun referring to a legal obligation to remain, under surety, under contracts for services, or contracts of loan.[48]

The noun form never appears in any of the διδασκαλικαί contracts. Samuel notes this, too, concluding that the διδασκαλικαί only use the verb form, which does not take the technical sense:

> It is clear then from all this that the verbal use with the dative as found in the testamentary manumissions appears in other contexts, and it is therefore safe to state that this usage stems from the use with the dative which had a long history in literary usage. The best confirmation of this can be found in apprentice contracts [i.e., the διδασκαλικαί], where the verb is found

[45] Samuel 1965: 296.
[46] Vuolanto 2003: 194 fn. 73, 2015: 101 fn. 21.
[47] Samuel 1965.
[48] Samuel 1965: 254.

> sometimes with the dative, and sometimes not, but always expressing the same concept, that of remaining with the teacher.[49]

The contradiction between Samuel's and Vuolanto's conclusions is further demonstrated when, in his footnote citation of Samuel, Vuolanto claims that '*paramone* was not a different type of… contract as such, but it may be applied in a number of different contractual situations (as with manumissions, sureties, service contracts and loans'.[50] Vuolanto implies that these technical παραμονή clauses could be added to διδασκαλικαί to arrange for a child to be both a student and an indentured servant. Samuel agrees that παραμονή was a condition that could be added to different contractual situations. However, Vuolanto apparently misses Samuel's statement that, regarding the παραμονή clauses, 'neither can we find these clauses in the apprentice contracts'.[51]

Thus, Samuel's article does not support Vuolanto's argument that the διδασκαλικαί often include a technical term indicating that a child is both a student and an indentured servant. Based on Samuel's work alone, there is no reason that the appearance of the verb παραμένω in the διδασκαλικαί would indicate that these contracts merge to form a hybrid διδασκαλική plus παραμονή educational debt repayment agreement, as suggested by Westermann.[52] Though new διδασκαλικαί have been discovered since the publication of Samuel's article, his conclusions largely remain true, for none of the extant διδασκαλικαί contracts use the technical noun παραμονή. Furthermore, Samuel's claim that the verb is used in the διδασκαλικαί in a non-technical sense, not indicative of indentured servitude but merely of the child's living arrangements, is confirmed by the usage of the verb παραμένω in all the διδασκαλικαί contracts in which they appear.

As mentioned above, 14 of the 54 διδασκαλικαί contracts use the verb παραμένω. Eleven of these come from Oxyrhynchus, with a date range of 48–264 CE. Two contracts come from the Arsinoite nome, with the first dating to the second half of the second century, and the second coming specifically

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[49] Samuel 1965: 250.
[50] Vuolanto 2003: 194 n 73. This statement is repeated, nearly verbatim, at 2015: 101 fn. 21. Italic in original.
[51] Samuel 1965: 309. Samuel was considering the διδασκαλικαί available to him. Two contracts have since been discovered that demonstrate a functional similarity to παραμονή indentured servitude contracts, but the παραμονή condition in these διδασκαλικαί is not indicated by the verb παραμένω but by the presence of a loan. These contracts are discussed below on pages 181–188.
[52] Westermann 1914a, 1948.

from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos and dating to 150 CE. The final διδασκαλική to use the verb παραμένω is dated to sometime between 118 and 122 CE and is of unknown provenance, though Bergamasco suggests that it may come from Oxyrhynchus due to similarities with Oxyrhynchite διδασκαλικαί.[53] While the number of the Oxyrhynchite διδασκαλικαί contracts using the verb παραμένω is higher than from any other city, this is likely because Oxyrhynchus has yielded more extant contracts than any other city (21, and the village with the next highest number is Tebtynis, with 4). Temporally, the practice of using this verb lasts for 100–150 years, with the earliest use being in 48 CE and the last being sometime in the second half of the third century CE.

The verb παραμένω is used in these 14 contracts in two scenarios, neither of which indicates a παραμονή indentured servitude arrangement. In the first scenario, the verb παραμένω is used within a conditional clause, clarifying that the student is to remain with the teacher either until the teacher fulfils the prescribed obligations to the student or until the student has stayed with the teacher for the agreed-upon duration. This accounts for 10 of the 14 διδασκαλικαί that use the verb παραμένω.[54] An example of this first scenario is a contract from Oxyrhynchus, dated to 175–199 CE, in which a woman named Platonis is apprenticing her slave-girl, Thermouthion, to a weaver named Lucius. Near the end of the contract is the conditional clause containing the verb παραμένω: 'the girl is to be allowed annually eighteen days for holiday on account of festivals. Beyond this, if there are any days on which she does not work or is ill, she is to remain (παραμενεῖ) with her instructor at the end of the determined period for an equal number of days'.[55]

This first scenario cannot indicate a παραμονή agreement since the condition under which the student can leave the teacher is not based on loan repayment. Rather, her leaving is based either on the teacher fulfilling his agreement to teach or on the student compensating days lost due to illness or truancy. Absent from these conditional clauses is any indication that the child will no longer remain

[53] Bergamasco provides no rationale for his suggestion, nor does he state anything about the nature of the similarities, so it seems rather conjectural. Bergamasco 2006: 207.
[54] Seven of these ten come from Oxyrhynchus (P. Wisc. 1 4; SB 12 10946; P. Oxy. 41 2988, 4 724 and 725, 14 1647, 31 2586); two from the Arsinoite nome (PSI 10 1110 and SPP 22 40) and the unprovenanced διδασκαλική that Bergamasco suggests may be from Oxyrhynchus (P. Col inv. 164; see Bergamasco 2006 for the publication of this contract).
[55] P. Oxy. 14 1647.36-43.

with the teacher once the parents repay a loan amount, as is the case in παραμονή contracts. One late first-century Oxyrhynchite διδασκαλική offers the option for the parent to pay a fine of one drachma per day that the student is truant rather than have the student remain with the teacher to make up for their truancy. Clearly, this is not the repayment of a loan and, indeed, no loan or debt is mentioned in the contract.[56] Thus, the use of the verb παραμένω in the διδασκαλικαί contracts in this first scenario does not match Vuolanto's 'technical term' indicating indentured servitude but instead matches Samuel's non-technical definition, simply that the student is supposed to stay with the teacher and do whatever tasks might be relevant to their education. Certainly, there is an expectation that the child will work and be productive, but there is no indication that the expected labour is an indenture of any kind.

The second scenario in which the verb παραμένω appears in the διδασκαλικαί contracts is in clauses that clarify where the child will live under the teaching arrangement.[57] There are five occurrences of the verb παραμένω in the διδασκαλικαί corpus that fit this second scenario, one from the Arsinoite nome and the remaining four from Oxyrhynchus contracts. In all five, the verb is followed by a specification that the 'remaining' is for the purpose of learning the trade, not because the child is an indentured servant.[58] For example, in an Oxyrhynchite διδασκαλική from 48 CE, Lucius Pompeius Niger apprentices his son, Fuscus, to the weaver Menodoros to learn the craft of seated weaving. The contract was drawn up by Menodorus, who says to Lucius, 'the boy is to be cared for and clothed by you, the father, but he shall stay with me, remaining for the purpose of being a learner (παραμένοντα πρὸς [τῇ μ]αθήσει)'.[59]

As in the first scenario, the usage of the verb in this second scenario does not indicate that the child is remaining with the teacher as an indentured servant. Thus, Vuolanto's assertion that the διδασκαλικαί contain technical terms indicating that the children in these contracts were legally considered indentured servants is demonstrably false. Moreover, Samuel's claim, which Vuolanto

[56] SB 12 10946.
[57] Although one of the contracts in this scenario does, in fact, contain a παραμονή loan, it is unrelated to the child's living situation and is consequently unrelated to the verb παραμένω. This contract, P. Oxy 67 4596, mentions the παραμονή loan after the living arrangements of the child have been established (i.e., that the child is to remain, παραμένουσαν, with the teacher). Absent from all the clauses clarifying the living situation of the child is any mention of a loan.
[58] In P. Oxy. 67 4596, the specification comes before the verb παραμένω.
[59] P. Fouad 37.4.

misinterprets, remains true even after several new discoveries of διδασκαλικαί and after more than fifty years since publication: the term παραμένω as it is found in the διδασκαλικαί is non-technical and simply means that the child is to stay with the teacher. Contrary to previous claims, nothing in the διδασκαλικαί suggests that the verb παραμένω should indicate that a child is becoming both a student and an indentured servant.

Guardians Receiving Money in the Διδασκαλικαί

The final similarity between the διδασκαλικαί and παραμοναί arrangements pertains to situations where the guardian, rather than the teacher, receives money. The defining feature of a παραμονή contract is its explicit statement that a loan must be repaid before the servant is released from the contract's conditions. Fourteen διδασκαλικαί document that the guardian, not the teacher, receives money for the apprenticeship, and two of these do, in fact, mention that a loan must be repaid. While this initially appears to support a connection between the two contract types, the two contracts mentioned above constitute the only places in the corpus where such a connection occurs. Moreover, as is shown below, the hybrid nature of these διδασκαλική-παραμονή contracts is due to the unique economic situation at the time rather than the nature of the διδασκαλικαί contracts and their regular intended use.

As stated above, 14 of the διδασκαλικαί document the guardian receiving money from the teacher. In 11 of these 14, the reason for this payment is either to provide the guardian with funds for the upkeep of the pupil (when the pupil is to live at home rather than with the teacher) or to provide an advance payment of wages for the pupil's work.[60] Entirely absent from these contracts is any obligation to repay the said amount. If these payments to the guardian were to indicate a παραμονή agreement, the contracts would have included an expectation of repayment, which is invariably articulated in the παραμοναί contracts, as it is the reason they exist. These 11 contracts do not indicate that the money paid to the guardian is a loan and consequently do not indicate that the child is an indentured servant.

[60] P. Oxy. 2 322 and 275; SB 18 13305; P. Tebt. 2 385; P. Heid. 4 327; P. Oxy. Hels 29; P. Fouad 37; SB 24 16131; P. Oslo inv. 1496; O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 328 (for which, see Winkler 2015). P. Mich. 2 121.r states that the money is 'previously mentioned', indicating that the payment the guardian received is intended to pay the weaver's tax and/or the boy's maintenance. Additionally, when the pupil is a slave, as in SB 18 13305, the wages go to the owner's account.

It is debated whether one of the remaining three contracts is a παραμονή attached to a διδασκαλική.[61] This contract, BGU 4 1124, is the one extant agreement for cancelling a διδασκαλική contract: the guardian must pay 100 drachmas to the teacher plus 'interest', according to the edition published by Wilhelm Schubart in 1912. Bergamasco asserts that this payment of a loan plus interest indicates that this apprenticeship also operated as a παραμονή.[62] However, as he acknowledges, the writing on line 16, where Schubart restored τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ τ̣ό̣κ̣ο̣ν̣, 'interest', is hardly discernible, with most of the letters having been almost completely effaced.[63] The presence of the word 'interest' is conjectural at best. Moreover, 22 of the contracts in the διδασκαλικαί corpus indicate a fee for the cancellation of the contract (see Table 7 on page 98). This amount frequently specifies 100 drachmas to the other party and 100 drachmas to the city treasury.[64] When this contract, in which the guardian cancels an apprenticeship, mentions that the guardian pays to the teacher [τὴν] αὐτὴν συνχώρησιν ἀρ(γυρίου) (δραχμὰς) ρ, or 'the agreed upon 100 drachmas of silver', it clearly does not involve a hybrid διδασκαλική-παραμονή contract. Rather, the guardian is simply paying the cancellation fee.

The two remaining διδασκαλικαί contracts that document the guardian receiving money differ from those previously mentioned by explicitly indicating that the money is a loan which, as in παραμονή contracts, is to be repaid at the end of the agreed term.[65] In the first contract, Hermias, the son of a former *agoranomos* from mid-third century Oxyrhynchus, whose circumstances were discussed in Chapters Two and Three,[66] apprentices his son to learn linen weaving and receives a loan of 400 drachmas to be repaid at the end of the apprenticeship.[67] As mentioned in Chapter Two, it is likely that Hermias, the son of a former *agoranomos*, comes from an elite family.[68] It is therefore curious that he arranges for his son's apprenticeship to involve a loan. In the second contract, Polydeuces, a man from mid-third century Oxyrhynchus, whose circumstances were explored in Chapter One, arranges a

[61] BGU 4 1124.
[62] Bergamasco 1995: 142-143.
[63] BGU 4 1124 line 16. To examine the papyrus document, see https://berlpap.smb.museum/Original/P_13193_R_2_001.jpg
[64] For examples of 100 drachmas being the fine for the guardian cancelling the contract, see P. Oxy. 2 275, P. Wisc. 1 4, P. Oxy. 41 2971, Stud. Pal. 22 40, P. Oxy. 4 725 and elsewhere.
[65] P. Oxy. 31 2586; P. Oxy. 67 4596.
[66] See pages 88–90 and 111–112 above.
[67] P. Oxy. 31 2586.
[68] On the status of the *agoranomos*, see Rahyab 2019.

weaving apprenticeship for his daughter, Aphrodite.[69] Like Hermias, Polydeuces receives a loan of 400 drachmas to be repaid at a set date. Aphrodite's arrangement appears to be comparatively disadvantageous, considering other contracts from this corpus. She is apparently forced to choose between receiving wages and receiving free food and housing, an unprecedented condition in the διδασκαλικαί. As noted by Peter Parsons, it is possible that Polydeuces was desperate for money and was not financially well-off.[70] However, as explored in Chapter One, it is also possible that Polydeuces was simply prudent and made the most of a difficult situation. These two contracts do seem to demonstrate that an apprenticeship arrangement could be made in a παραμονή contract, but this kind of arrangement is exceptional.[71] Further details regarding the contemporary economic circumstances reveal the likely cause for including loans in these arrangements.

Despite the possibility that Hermias and Polydeuces occupied opposite sides of the economic spectrum, these contracts have one crucial aspect in common: both come from Oxyrhynchus, and both date to 264 CE.[72] Therefore, if unique circumstances influenced these exceptional arrangements, those circumstances may well have applied in both cases. A brief investigation into the state of the administration in Oxyrhynchus at this time reveals several factors that may have caused financial difficulties for both men.

Two prestigious offices, that of the *agoranomos* (an official in charge of the marketplace) and of the *euthenasiarch* (an official in charge of food supply), are known to have fallen into disuse between the 250s and the 280s CE.[73] This discontinuation of these offices appears to have occurred because eligible individuals were reluctant to take the office since to do so would cost them dearly.[74] In fact,

[69] P. Oxy. 67 4596. See pages 52–57 above.
[70] Parsons 2007: 117-118.
[71] *Contra* Bergamasco, who thinks Hermias' contract is not a παραμονή, but that the money given over is a guarantee of money his son would earn as salary. This interpretation is unable to explain the explicit requirement stated in the contract that Hermias repay the amount. Bergamasco 1995: 147.
[72] Aphrodite's contract might date to 232 CE, the twelfth year of Severus Alexander, rather than 264 CE, the twelfth year of Gallienus. However, 264 CE is more likely since the contract omits mention of the poll-tax, which was discontinued in the mid-third century, with its last mention in 243 CE. Cf. P. Oxy. 67 4596; Wallace 1938: 134.
[73] The offices were reinstituted in the late 280s or early 290s by Valerius Pompeianus (see P. Oxy. 86 5668). As Naphtali Lewis points out, it is unclear whether their reinstitution was due to the economy's ability to sustain the offices 'the Diocletianic regime's policy of "restoration"'. Lewis 1970: 13–15; Tacoma 2006: 43, 265–268. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt's introduction to P. Oxy. 16 1642 and P. Oxy. 10 1252 verso col. ii.
[74] Lewis 1970: 15.

one man elected to the position of euthenasiarch of Oxyrhynchus in 248 CE, Septimios Eudaimon, was apparently unable to afford the position. He opted for a *cessio bonorum*, whereby he ceded his positions as euthenasiarch and gymnasiarch, along with all of his personal property, to someone else in order to resign from his position in what appears to be a desperate attempt to avoid bankruptcy.[75] Though it is difficult to connect local difficulties to broader political developments, the economic distress affecting these eligible individuals may have occurred, at least in part, because the Imperial Crisis of the third century precipitated reforms to the Egyptian bureaucratic system that shifted the financial burden of maintaining the Egyptian city and economy from the elites onto the citizen population.[76] Moreover, the confusion of a near total administrative overhaul appears to have coincided with an agricultural crisis in Egypt. In March of 246 CE, the government required that all Oxyrhynchites declare their private stocks of wheat within a twenty-four hour timespan 'so that the city [could] have its supplies and also the public necessities fulfilled'.[77] And in 248 CE, confirming the detrimental effects of the agricultural crisis, the mayor of the city of Oxyrhynchus referred to 'the severity of [the city's] current distress' in a statement regarding its sustenance.[78] As the two positions mentioned above were responsible for maintaining the marketplace and city food supply, by contributing their personal finances if necessary, the agricultural crisis likely placed severe economic pressure on individuals holding these specific offices in the mid-third century.

Hermias, who agreed to apprentice his son to learn linen-weaving and accepted terms whereby his son would enter a παραμονή arrangement, was himself the son of a former *agoranomos*. Due to the dating of this contract, 264 CE, Hermias' father, Ptolemaios, was likely among the last *agoranomoi* before the cessation of the office in the 250s and therefore experienced the economic stress that led to the discontinuation of that position. Hermias, then, was almost certainly affected by the economic and agricultural difficulties, which likely impacted his economic situation such that he decided to hand over

[75] P. Oxy. 38 2854. Cf. Tacoma 2006: 265–268.
[76] For a succinct statement on the Imperial Crisis affecting the administration of Oxyrhynchus, see Parsons 2007: 172–173. A decree, recorded on papyri from the late 240s CE (P. Oxy. 33 2664), demonstrates this by reforming certain liturgies to require the non-bouleutic citizens, rather than local elites, to hold a certain number of posts to 'lighten the load of all [the] Egyptians who have been crushed by limitless liturgies'.
[77] P. Oxy. 42 3048 (translation by Parsons 2007: 173).
[78] P. Erl. 18.

his son into a παραμονή arrangement but mitigated the misfortune of the situation by securing an apprenticeship to occur simultaneously.

As discussed in Chapter One, virtually nothing is known about the personal history of Polydeuces, the man who handed over his daughter Aphrodite into an apprenticeship with a παραμονή arrangement, though there is reason to believe he did not come from an elite family like Hermias.[79] Yet Polydeuces was likely similarly affected by the agricultural crisis of the 250s CE, which would not only have affected the officials in charge of maintaining the markets of Oxyrhynchus but also the common people.

Though, as explored in Chapter One, Polydeuces' circumstances may suggest that he was financially stable (that Thonis agrees, as part of this arrangement, to loan Polydeuces 400 drachmas may suggest he was confident that he would receive the sum back), a darker scenario also seems plausible. Should Polydeuces be unable to repay the loan, this contract would be a specific example of the situation Vuolanto and Laes describe, where the line between παραμονή and outright slavery is blurred. Thonis would effectively obtain a slave for 400 drachmas at a time when the attested prices for slaves in Oxyrhynchus ranged from 1,200–7,320 drachmas.[80] Whichever situation was the case for Polydeuces, it does appear that, like Hermias, he was able to mitigate the damage by arranging for his daughter to learn a trade in her indentured servitude.

The fact that no other documents attest either Hermias or Polydeuces complicates the assessment of these two διδασκαλική-παραμονή arrangements. What is clear is that the only two διδασκαλικαί to incorporate a παραμονή agreement come from the same city in the same year and occur during an economic and agricultural crisis that likely affected both individuals arranging these apprenticeship-indentured servitude agreements. Therefore, scholarship on this corpus must acknowledge that arranging apprenticeships in the form of a παραμονή was an exception, a departure from the norm likely due to economically strenuous circumstances.

[79] See pages 52–57 above.
[80] Drexhage 1991: 265–266; P. Oxy. 86: 66–68; Straus 2004: 294–300. After the 270s, the price for slaves increases dramatically (to 4–7 talents) thus suggesting significant inflation.

* * *

Scholars in the past century have frequently claimed that the line between the διδασκαλικαί and παραμονή contracts was blurred and that the two were regularly combined, making the child both student and indentured servant. The influence of this claim beyond the διδασκαλικαί is evident in recent publications of παραμονή contracts that place them into the same legal category as the διδασκαλικαί.[81] By contrast, the mid-twentieth century publications of Alan Samuel and Joachim Hengstl focused on παραμονή contract conditions yet asserted no inherent connection between the two arrangements. However, their scholarship is routinely overlooked, or when cited, in the case of Samuel, is misinterpreted. This is highly problematic given the lack of evidence for the claims that proceed from such misinterpretations. Despite dealing with a far more limited corpus of διδασκαλικαί than scholars today, Samuel and Hengstl's conclusions remain relevant. While Samuel's claim that the διδασκαλικαί do not contain παραμονή conditions is now incorrect due to later discoveries, it is nonetheless clear that these two contracts are not the norm; they are exceptional, potentially the products of an economic crisis. Hengstl's conclusion seems apt: 'Es besteht daher kein Anlaß, aus einem gelegentlichen Kredit auf eine dogmatische Verwandtschaft von Lehrvertrag und 'paramone' zu schließen'.[82]

Thus, the educational arrangement of the διδασκαλικαί was apparently kept separate from arrangements of indentured servitude, and the two arrangement types only merged in exceptional situations. This does not mean that vocational education did not result in indentured servitude or slavery elsewhere in the Roman empire or outside the period of the διδασκαλικαί contracts; however, in the διδασκαλικαί contracts of Roman Egypt, this route appears to have been neither common nor intended. In short, free students undertaking apprenticeships in Roman Egypt did not regularly become indentured servants, and no inherent relationship exists between apprenticeship in Roman Egypt and παραμονή.

[81] Claytor, Litinas, and Nabney 2016:89 fn. 34.
[82] Hengstl 1972: 97.

Though apprenticeship in Roman Egypt did not regularly lead to enslavement, enslaved individuals did regularly become apprentices. Indeed, approximately a quarter of the apprentices attested in the διδασκαλικαί are slaves. The presence of slaves alongside freeborn children in Roman Egypt has led scholars over the past century to consider the treatment of slaves in the apprenticeship context. Such inquiries naturally carry significant implications for our understanding of slavery in antiquity, including the prospects and the daily lives of slaves. Until recently, no research project has centred explicitly on the similarities and dissimilarities between the experiences of free and enslaved apprentices in the διδασκαλικαί, though the topic has been explored cursorily as part of broader, more general investigations into apprenticeship or slavery. As a consequence, much of the scholarly investigation into similarities and dissimilarities has been unsystematic (discussing a few examples instead of a whole corpus), descriptive (rather than analytical), or focused only on data for slaves (precluding comparison between enslaved and free individuals by omitting the latter).[83]

The first steps towards a more thorough investigation appear in three articles by Marco Bergamasco, Harry Morgan and Christel Freu. Bergamasco outlines all the trades (in his list of 42 contracts) that free and enslaved apprentices undertook. He concludes that an individual's legal status did not determine their access to apprenticeship education and that legal status did not determine which craft an apprentice would learn.[84] Bergamasco acknowledges that there are some trades in which only slaves appear, but states that this difference is negligible in light of what he sees as an overwhelming parity in treatment (e.g., working conditions and pay) attested in the conditions of the contracts. He

[83] Examples of the former can be seen in Peter Parsons' comparison of the living arrangements of a few separate apprentices (some free, some enslaved) and Westermann's assessment of a few situations where enslaved apprentices do not receive wages (Parsons 2007: 115–118; Westermann 1914a, 1914b). An example of the latter can be seen in the seminal article published in 1955 by Clarence Forbes on the education of slaves which, though immensely useful even to the modern reader for the vast amount of information compiled, is ultimately more descriptive than analytical (Forbes 1955).

[84] 'Nel loro insieme i due elenchi dei mestieri [i.e., those which enslaved and freeborn pupils undertook] ci inducono a constatare che non doveva essere determinante lo status giuridico di una persona ai fini della sua collocazione come apprendista: il tirocinio riguardava tanto gli schiavi quanto i liberi, a prescindere dalla netta prevalenza di questi ultimi nelle διδασκαλικαί, e nessuna connessione pare intercorresse tra lo status, libero o servile, di una persona e la sua destinazione ad un'arte, generica o specializzata che fosse. Possiamo ritenere che le circostanze del momento costituissero l'único fattore influente nella scelta di avviare ad un mestiere, piuttosto che ad un altro, un familiare o uno schiavo' (Bergamasco 1995: 124–125).

concludes that it was the 'circumstances of the moment' that most influenced the craft an apprentice learned.

An article by Harry Morgan, solely dedicated to arguing parity of access and treatment between free and enslaved individuals, added further support for Bergamasco's conclusion.[85] In this article, Morgan undertakes a basic analysis of the data available in the διδασκαλικαί documents from the first through third centuries CE. To evidence the parity of access between free and enslaved apprentices, Morgan argues firstly that children accessed apprenticeship regardless of sex or legal status and secondly that the number of attested enslaved apprentices reveals enslaved pupils to be more typical of the corpus than previously thought when compared to broader demographic trends. Morgan demonstrates similarities between free and enslaved apprentices in terms of pay, working conditions and legal status in the διδασκαλικαί documents. Though, as is shown below, Morgan was not the first to assert either of these claims (i.e., a parity of access and treatment), he was the first to argue both points simultaneously and to provide evidence in support of each.

The only recent scholar to question the idea of a general parity of treatment between free and enslaved apprentices is Christel Freu. In an article analysing the circumstances of learning and practising a trade in Roman Egypt, she notes that circumstances varied greatly between apprentices. Some were enslaved and some free; some came from rural areas and others from urban. Variety existed even in the relationships between the pupils and those arranging the apprenticeships: some pupils were their slaves, some their sons or daughters, and others an orphaned relation.[86] All these factors significantly influence the circumstances and aims of each apprenticeship. Unlike for Bergamasco and Morgan, in Freu's view, the form of apprenticeship education attested in the διδασκαλικαί can be better defined in terms of disparity than parity.

The current section takes the assessments of Bergamasco, Morgan and Freu as a starting point for a more thorough data analysis and argues for a *via media* between their binary positions, which

[85] Morgan 2015.

[86] '…dans ces groupes d'apprentis... tous n'avaient pas même statut ; car les buts de l'apprentissage étaient différents à la ville et à la campagne, pour les esclaves et pour les libres, pour les fils d'artisans ou pour les jeunes orphelins devant travailler pour vivre. Et l'avenir de ces apprentis n'allait pas être le même selon qu'ils appartenaient à tel ou tel groupe' (Freu 2011: 29).

espouse either parity or disparity in terms of access, treatment and prospects. This section also introduces the notion of parity vs. disparity of participation, which qualifies the findings regarding parity of access. This section argues two points: the first is that the data from the contracts reveal both parities and disparities of access and treatment in the apprenticeship arrangements between slave and freeborn children. The second is that, while the short-term outcomes for slave and freeborn apprentices may have differed, indicating disparity, both kinds of apprentice ultimately appear to benefit from the opportunity for upward social and economic mobility. The major difference is that, for enslaved pupils, this upward mobility ultimately could manifest in obtaining their freedom and an ability to support themselves thereafter. In short, whether a pupil was enslaved or free, the result of their apprenticeship education was commonly an improvement in life circumstances, and apprenticeship education was regularly a means of achieving that upward mobility. I am not arguing for absolute equality of outcome in this respect but simply aim to show that, relative to their starting positions, both slave and free individuals could achieve more advantageous life circumstances as a direct result of apprenticeship.

The Experience of Apprenticeship for Slave and Freeborn Pupils

Scholarly claims regarding parity in slave and freeborn apprenticeship experiences in the διδασκαλικαί generally fall into two categories. The first pertains to a parity of access to apprenticeship education (shown by slave and freeborn representation among attested apprentices and by slave and freeborn representation among various trades learned) and the second to a parity of treatment within the context of apprenticeship education (equal working conditions and pay). This section addresses both claims and provides a new assessment, accounting for all the currently available data from the διδασκαλικαί, of both parity and disparity in the experiences of free and enslaved apprentices. The current evidence does not support assessments that assert only parity in both categories. Such assessments are incomplete, overlooking evidence for disparity within each category and overlooking the crucial factor of parity vs. disparity in *participation* in addition to access.

Slave and Free Access to Vocational Education

Claims regarding a parity of access to apprenticeship education between slave and freeborn children fall into two categories. The first, argued by Morgan, is a parity of general access, or that both slave and free are represented among those who undertake apprenticeship in Roman Egypt.[87] The second is a parity of access regarding trades learned, or that legal status did not predetermine which trade a slave would undertake. This section ultimately confirms the parity of general access Morgan asserts between slave and free apprentices. However, this parity of general access does not indicate a parity in overall experience without the more meaningful measure of parity vs. disparity of participation, shown by the extent to which both slave and free pupils are attested as participating in apprenticeship. This section argues that there is, in fact, disparity of participation on two counts: between slave and free apprentices generally and between slave and freeborn girls. Regarding a parity in trades learned, this section confirms a parity of access to textile-related trades between slave and free apprentices but asserts a disparity in trades learned beyond that particular industry, with free apprentices tending to learn trades related to production and slaves tending to learn personal services.

General Access and Participation

In his article on the apprentices attested in the διδασκαλικαί, Morgan asserts a parity of general access based on two observations. The first is that both free and enslaved girls are attested in the corpus as apprentices.[88] Morgan's argument directly responds to Keith Bradley's claim that freeborn girls did not undertake apprenticeships, suggesting a disparity in that they were excluded (or, under Bradley's paradigm, beneficially exempted) from vocational education.[89] For Bradley, this difference was perhaps the most meaningful distinction within the corpus and was evidence that free and enslaved girls were treated very differently. Morgan, however, observes that two papyri published since Bradley's article

[87] Morgan 2015.
[88] Morgan 2015: 8–9.
[89] See Bradley 1985: 320; 1991: 109.

attest freeborn girls learning trades.[90] Like Morgan, Peter van Minnen has responded to Bradley's claim and has added to his list yet another two contracts attesting freeborn girls learning trades.[91]

Two of these four documents attesting freeborn female pupils are problematic. SB 18 13305, explored in Chapter One (see pages 41–44), is missing the line attesting the apprentice's status, making it unclear whether she is free or enslaved. Van Minnen reconstructs the line to make the pupil free, though, as argued in Chapter One, this is conjectural in the absence of more concrete evidence. P. Oxy. 67 4596, one of the two contracts mentioned by Morgan and published after Van Minnen's article, is also problematic. The pupil is Aphrodite, mentioned above as one of the two known apprentices to have been given over as an indentured servant in a διδασκαλική-παραμονή arrangement. The problem lies in the fact that while she is undoubtedly free before the apprenticeship, she is not entirely free afterward.

These few examples nonetheless provide evidence that freeborn girls were not precluded from apprenticeship even if their participation was rare. Thus, it is reasonable to argue, as Morgan does, for a parity of access between enslaved and freeborn: neither was barred by virtue of their status from undertaking apprenticeships. However, in this case, a parity of access does not indicate a parity in experience, or that freeborn girls normally experienced apprenticeship in the same way as enslaved girls. As argued by Van Minnen, there is reason to believe that the infrequency of freeborn girls in formal apprenticeship arrangements was intentional.

Despite their scarcity in apprenticeship contracts, free women are known to have regularly worked in the textile industry,[92] which implies that while they did learn trades, it was not necessarily through formally arranged apprenticeships. Van Minnen suggests that this may be due to the contractual obligation for apprentices to spend long hours, or even to live, in their teachers' residences.[93] As almost all apprenticeships begin around puberty (12–13 years), the absence of freeborn girls from formal

[90] P. Heid. Gr. 4 326 and P. Oxy. 67 4596.
[91] SB Kopt. 1 045 and SB 18 13305. See Van Minnen 1998. Morgan cites Van Minnen's article, but he did not make use of the additional two documents Van Minnen's article provides which would have further substantiated Morgan's point. Though he does not explain why, it seems likely that he excludes these two additional documents because his study focusses specifically on the first three centuries CE.
[92] See Kelley 2023 for a study of women working as craftspeople in Egypt.
[93] Van Minnen 1998: 201. Van Minnen's point is reiterated by Ville Vuolanto (Vuolanto 2015: 106). Anna Kelley is skeptical of Van Minnen's theory since it does not explain why enslaved girls were not similarly protected, which she points out would not have been economically sensible (Kelley 2018: 147–148). Miriam Groen-Vallinga suggests that the phenomenon is explainable due to human-capital theory where women are not likely to earn as much as men and therefore they were less likely to undertake apprenticeships (Groen-Vallinga 2022: 121).

apprenticeships may reflect a safeguarding measure against sexual harassment. Indeed, in the three apprenticeships Van Minnen discusses including freeborn girls, the girls are, unusually for the corpus, apprenticed either to a female teacher or to a husband and wife. Only Aphrodite's contract (the instance where a freeborn girl becomes an indentured servant upon entering her apprenticeship) attests a freeborn girl apprenticed to a male teacher, in whose home she is to stay day and night and from whom she is to be clothed and fed.[94] In this regard, Aphrodite is like the five attested enslaved female apprentices, all of whom are apprenticed to male teachers.[95]

Though he was ultimately proven incorrect in his assessment that freeborn girls did not appear in the corpus, Bradley's theory that free and enslaved girls of the artisanal sector were treated differently may still stand. Except in one, somewhat inscrutable instance where the girl becomes an indentured servant upon entering her apprenticeship, freeborn girls were given special measures to protect them from sexual harassment. Enslaved girls, it seems, were not afforded that protection. Thus, the parity of access between free and enslaved girls does not equate to a parity in experience.

The second observation Morgan makes to support a parity of general access is that a little more than quarter of the apprentices (approx. 28%) in the corpus are slaves, and their prevalence demonstrates strong representation across both groups. As is demonstrated below, however, this data actually signals a disparity of participation in that slaves are, based on current evidence, overrepresented in the corpus. There seem to be two theories that make sense of the current data, and each carries significant implications for the unanswered question of Chapter One, namely whether free lower socioeconomic individuals routinely participated in apprenticeship education.[96]

In the διδασκαλικαί, enslaved apprentices are overrepresented relative to their presence in the population at large. As Morgan notes, slaves constitute approximately 28% of the apprentices known

[94] This is perhaps the best evidence that Aphrodite's and Polydeuces' circumstances were, indeed, disadvantaged.
[95] SPP 22 40, P Mich 5 346a, PSI 3 241, P. Oxy. 14 1647, P. Oxy. 86 5562. There is one more enslaved female apprentice (SB 24 16320). However, the document is too fragmentary to discern anything regarding the identity of the teacher.
[96] See pages 44–47 and 57–58. It was argued in Chapter One that there is only one individual, Pausiris, son of Panephremmis, who can be identified with certainty as being both free and lower socioeconomic status. Beyond this, the evidence is inconclusive. Thus, the extent to which free individuals of lower socioeconomic status participated in apprenticeship education is unknown.

to him (11 of his 39 contracts contain enslaved apprentices).[97] The corpus has grown yet again since Morgan's (and Bergamasco's) assessment, with at least 12 enslaved apprentices being attested out of 49 contracts where the status of the pupil is known.[98] A further contract might attest an enslaved pupil, but the line identifying the pupil's status is not preserved, and the pupil's status is still debated.[99] Thus, Morgan's figure showing roughly a quarter of attested apprentices to be slaves is still relevant. However, what Morgan either misses or does not emphasize in interpreting this data is that it indicates that slaves are not equally represented in the corpus but instead are overrepresented.

That enslaved apprentices are overrepresented is demonstrated by the comparison of this figure with demographic assessments of Roman Egypt. Several such assessments have been undertaken, resulting in a variety of percentage estimates for the proportion of enslaved individuals ranging from 8% (usually for villages and metropoleis) to 16%.[100] Depending on which demographic estimate is used (8% for the lower estimate and 16% for the upper), this data would suggest that slaves were between 1.5 and 3.25 times more likely to undertake apprenticeship than their freeborn counterparts. Based on this currently available data, there is a significant disparity in participation between enslaved and free apprentices. It is important to note that their overrepresentation does not imply that enslaved pupils outnumber the free; overrepresentation does not equate to a higher percentage. For a parity of participation to exist, the data would need to show that the level of participation in apprenticeship education of both free and enslaved pupils matches the demographics of each group in Roman Egypt.

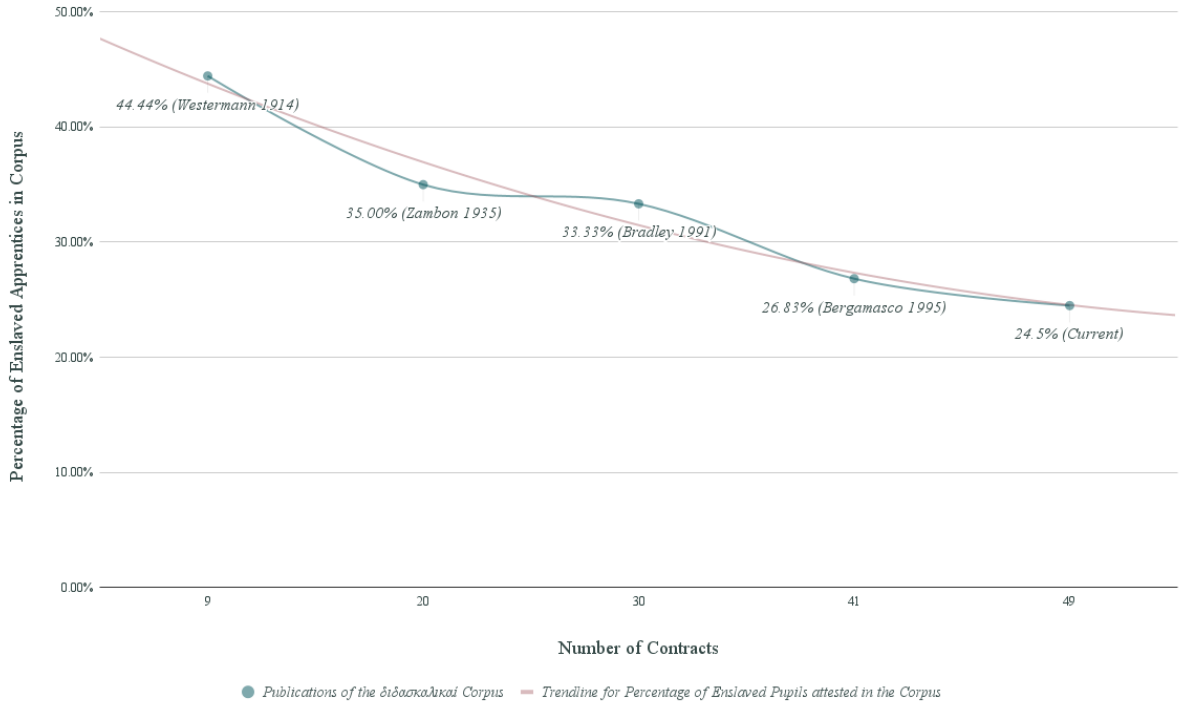
The current data, then, suggests a disparity of participation. The question is whether the current data accurately reflects reality. What follows is an examination of the percentage of the corpus comprising enslaved apprentices at each point in the history of publications on the διδασκαλικαί and a discussion of the different data trajectories that could emerge as more documentary evidence is discovered. It is shown that, based on the current data, two trajectories seem plausible. By one trajectory,

[97] Morgan 2015: 1 fn. 1. Morgan's data is based on a reduced form of Bergamasco's list which contains 39 of Bergamasco's 42 contracts (only those from the Roman period).
[98] In the five remaining contracts (SB 18 13305, P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443-459, P. Mich. Inv. 4238 (i.e., TM 133260), P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V, P. Col. Inv. 164) the status of the pupil is not discernible.
[99] The contract is SB 18 13305. See Chapter One, pages 41–44 for an assessment of this contract the different readings.
[100] Morgan 2015: 2-3. For demographic assessments, see Hombert and Préaux 1952: 13, 170; Biezunska-Malowist 1977: 156–8; Bagnall and Frier 1994: 70–71; Pudsey 2013: 490–493. For surveys outlining the history of such demographic assessments, see Gibbs 2012: 43; Venticinque 2016: 16; Morgan 2015: 3.

the data on enslaved pupils (i.e., their overrepresentation) would appear to be, though not exactly accurate, approaching accuracy since the data may be leveling out. By the second trajectory, the current data suggesting a disparity of participation would appear to be inaccurate since the trajectory would ultimately lead to the percentage of enslaved pupils in the διδασκαλικαί being within the demographic ranges listed above for enslaved individuals in Roman Egypt. This latter scenario would suggest a parity of participation. The two theories mentioned above each rest on how accurate or inaccurate the current data ultimately proves. These theories are detailed below.

Undoubtedly, 54 contracts are not a large enough data sample to permit any certainty regarding the accuracy of the current data, but the point of this assessment is not to claim certainty. Its purpose is to raise awareness of an important aspect of this corpus that could shape how apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt is understood. This important aspect is whether free lower socioeconomic individuals regularly participated in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. Since new papyrological documents are published every year, such an assessment can aid future scholars studying the διδασκαλικαί.

Table 13: Chart showing the percentage of enslaved apprentices attested in each publication of the διδασκαλικαί corpus



When Westermann published the first investigation of the contracts in 1914, four of his nine contracts attested enslaved apprentices (approx. 44%). When Zambon updated the list in 1935, seven of her 20 contracts (of 21 total) including the apprentice's status attested enslaved apprentices (35%). In Bradley's 1991 list, 10 out of 30 attested slaves (approx. 33%). In Bergamasco's list, 11 of the 41 (total 42) with status information attested enslaved apprentices (approx. 27%). A polynomial trendline (to account for data with inconsistent fluctuations) suggests that the data may be leveling out. Further, each new point on the chart (i.e., each new publication that increases the total number of contracts) increases the degree of confidence that the point represents a value closer to the actual percentage of enslaved apprentices because each new point represents yet a greater sample size of all the apprentices who ever undertook an apprenticeship in Roman Egypt. By this trajectory, the percentage of enslaved pupils appears to be levelling out, which would show that enslaved apprentices were in fact overrepresented in the corpus.

However, the current data (five total points on the chart) are hardly sufficient for extrapolating with confidence and, moreover, another trajectory also seems plausible. Until now, the data show two phases of steep decline followed by a plateau in the percentage of enslaved pupils, and the steep declines appear to correspond roughly to doublings of the corpus. The percentage of enslaved apprentices dropped from 44.% in Westermann's corpus where the status of nine apprentices was known, decreasing to 35% in Zambon's corpus of twenty and again to 27% in Bergamasco's corpus of forty-one apprentices. The data point representing the corpus used in this thesis falls at the end of the second plateau. Should the corpus double from Bergamasco's list (i.e., to approximately 80 contracts), we may see yet another steep decline in line with previous trends.

Further, as the first steep decline was a 9% drop and the second roughly an 8% drop, it is also reasonable to suggest that, should another steep decline occur, it would likely constitute a similar amount. Such a trajectory would continue to decrease the discrepancy between the percentage of enslaved individuals in apprenticeship contracts and the percentage of enslaved individuals in society. Should such a drop occur, the data would ultimately suggest that the participation of enslaved apprentices in vocational education in Roman Egypt is in line with current demographic estimates of the percentage of the population of Roman Egypt consisting of enslaved individuals (i.e., 8–16%).

Should the data progress in this way, it would reveal that the current estimate is inaccurate and that slaves were not overrepresented but that there was a parity of participation between enslaved and free apprentices.

Which will prove true of the two theories, mentioned above, for making sense of the current data depends on the trajectory of the data. As described, the first theory rests on the accuracy of the current data (i.e., that a disparity of participation existed). Under that theory, apprenticeships would have been disproportionately arranged by slave owners. As indicated in Chapter Two, a significant number of the apprenticeship contracts contain substantial penalty clauses (usually 200 drachmas) for premature cancellation. Wealthier slave owners and individuals of middling socioeconomic status would likely have viewed such penalty fees as less of a burden. Therefore, a disparity of participation may indicate that the penalty fees posed a financial barrier to entry for free lower socioeconomic individuals. This could explain the dearth of evidence for free individuals of lower socioeconomic standing: rather than being coincidental, the lack of evidence for such individuals would represent the reality (and Pausiris, son of Panephremmis, would truly be unusual). Ultimately, this would mean that apprenticeship education was more accessible to those of some financial standing (i.e., of middling and upper economic standing). Enslaved apprentices would be overrepresented because free individuals of lower economic standing were underrepresented.

In the second theory, the current data ultimately proves inaccurate (i.e., there was in reality a parity of participation between enslaved and free pupils). This theory would require that more freeborn apprentices be added to the corpus (to outweigh the current disparity), among whom may be more individuals who, like Pausiris, were of lower socioeconomic standing. This situation (i.e., a parity of participation and free lower socioeconomic individuals being added to the corpus) would imply that apprenticeship education was equally accessible to all, regardless of their socioeconomic background. As mentioned above, it is impossible to know whether the current data is accurate; the task for future scholars is to observe how the data develops. On this matter, only time will tell.

Parity and Disparity of Access to Trades

Regarding parity of access, the second claim is that no distinction existed between slave and free labour, and consequently an apprentice's status as free or enslaved did not dictate which trade they studied. Many of the major contributors to scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί in the past 40 years have endorsed this claim. In his article on the corpus, Bradley claims that 'the kinds of work performed by attested slave apprentices were not peculiar to their status'.[101] As noted above, Bergamasco assessed the trades learned by all the pupils known to him (42 in total) and concluded that there is no reason to believe there was a disparity of access regarding trades learned.[102] Christian Laes has asserted that '[n]o single trade was specifically connected with free or slave status'.[103] Harry Morgan has concluded that the διδασκαλικαί provide evidence that 'the division of "servile" and "non-servile" occupational status is… rooted in an anachronistic post-industrial view of workplace hierarchies which has little basis in ancient concepts of labour'.[104] This claim, then, is among the few uncontested theories pertaining to the nature of apprenticeship in Roman Egypt attested in the διδασκαλικαί.

As is demonstrated below, the evidence most scholars rely on to address this question does not present the whole picture; some evidence from the contracts would seem to support Freu's argument for a general disparity. The evidence as a whole suggests that some occupations were, in fact, unique

[101] Bradley 1985: 320, 1991: 109. Bradley provided the further nuance that he believed a disparity to exist between freeborn and enslaved girls in that the former did not appear in apprenticeships thereby creating nuanced disparity in terms of access (or, in his perspective, beneficial exemption from) specific trades. This idea was latter disputed convincingly by Morgan. See Morgan 2015: 8–9.

[102] See footnote 84 on page 188. Bergamasco's claim, however, is nuanced by his concession that '[n]ella distribuzione dei mestieri tra i liberi e gli schiavi, fatta eccezione per l'arte dell'accompagnamento con il flauto e la cardatura della lana, osserviamo una maggiore varietà per i liberi, che va ascritta indubbiamente al numero superiore di fonti disponibili al loro riguardo'. Bergamasco 1995: 124–125.

[103] Laes 2008: 261.

[104] Morgan 2015: 15. Though Morgan concedes that there appears to be two different types of trades learned in the corpus (i.e., those centered around production and those around personal services), he ultimately concludes this is negligible as 'the papyri also highlight the overarching homogeneity between apprentices as a collective legal group' (Morgan 2015: 6). Elsewhere he asserts that '[w]hereas modern paradigms of work tend to associate particularly labour-intensive or undesirable occupations with low-status or marginalized social groups, there was no distinction in Roman society between 'servile' and 'non-servile' forms of work, especially in the sphere of trade and commerce where we regularly find slaves and free citizens participating in the same professions.' (Morgan 2015: 10).

to those of enslaved status. This section asserts that both parity and disparity can describe which trades were open to freeborn and enslaved pupils.

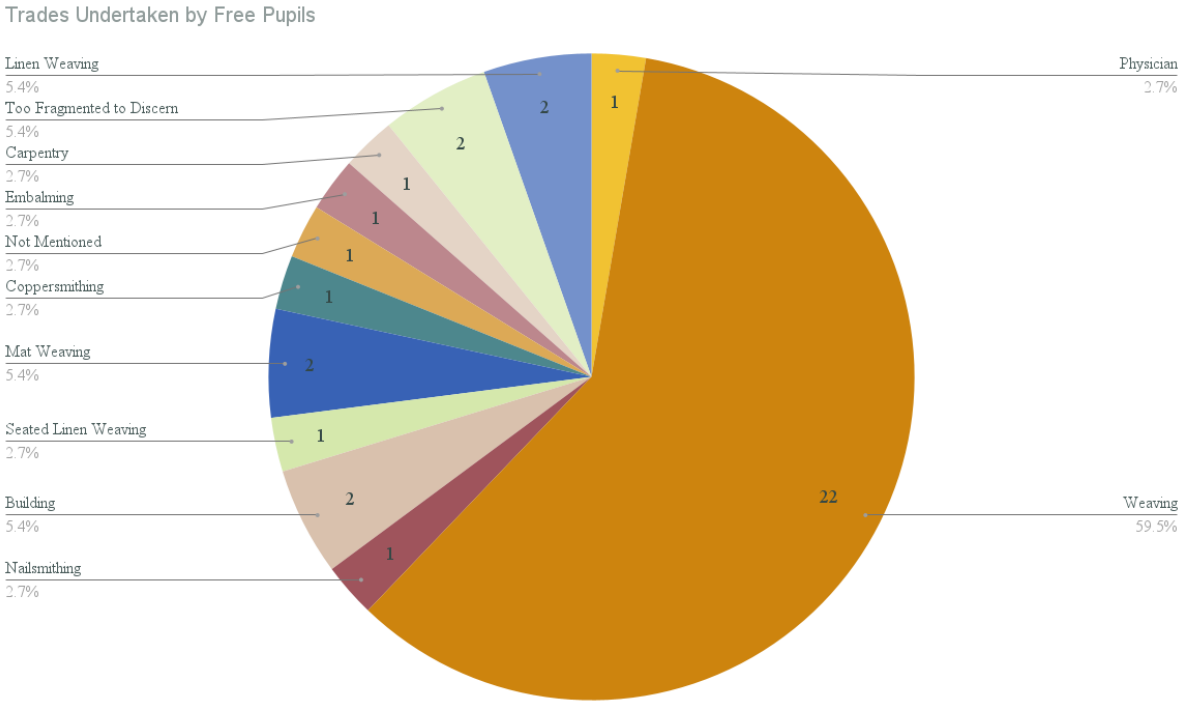
Two arguments have been asserted to support a parity of access to trades learned. The primary argument relies on the incontrovertible evidence that the predominant trade that both slave and free pupils were apprenticed to learn was textile production, either general (i.e., weaving) or specialised (see Table 14 and Table 15 below). The other argument is that there is sufficient diversity in the trades studied by both freeborn and enslaved pupils to suggest that the trade undertaken was determined largely by immediate circumstances rather than status. The former firmly demonstrates at least some parity of access (specifically to the textile industry); the latter argument is not universally defensible since, beyond the textile industry, there appears to be a trend in the trades studied by enslaved pupils on the one hand and free pupils on the other: free apprentices tended to work in trades related to production whereas enslaved apprentices tended to work in trades related to personal services.

The former argument, that most free and enslaved apprentices studied some type of weaving, was originally implied by Bradley, though not explicitly articulated until Morgan.[105] Morgan observed that the percentage of slaves and freeborn children involved in weaving constituted the largest share of trades studied by each. Moreover, it was roughly the same for each group, approximately two-thirds of the attested pupils of each extraction.[106] Though the increase in documents associated with the corpus has altered the data such that Morgan's two-thirds assessment is no longer wholly accurate, it remains true that the percentages of free and enslaved apprentices were similar in trades related to the textile industry. Current data, accounting for weaving and all the specialised forms of textile work, suggest that approximately 73% of free apprentices and either approximately 58% or 75% of enslaved apprentices were involved in textiles (depending on which activity a κτενιστής performed).[107] That somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of both free and enslaved pupils learned a trade related to the textile industry clearly supports parity, specifically regarding access to the most

[105] Bradley 1985: 320–321; Morgan 2015: 10. Bradley implies such an argument by noting the prevalence of weaving among both free and enslaved pupils after claiming there to be no occupation uniquely servile in nature.
[106] Morgan 2015: 10.
[107] The κτενιστής appears to have been either a haircutter and stylist or a wool carder. Though haircutter seems the more likely interpretation, the original Greek is used here to indicate the lack of certainty regarding the meaning. On the rationale for 'haircutter' being the more likely interpretation, see footnote 34 on page 126 above.

commonly attested industry in the corpus and the most prominent industry (apart from agriculture) in Roman Egypt.[108] This does not mean that the prospects of these groups were necessarily the same, nor does it indicate a parity of treatment between free and enslaved textile apprentices. The data does confirm a parity of access to the weaving trade or, to refashion Laes' articulation, the weaving trade was not specifically associated with either free or enslaved status.

Table 14: Trades learned by apprentices whose status is known to have been free

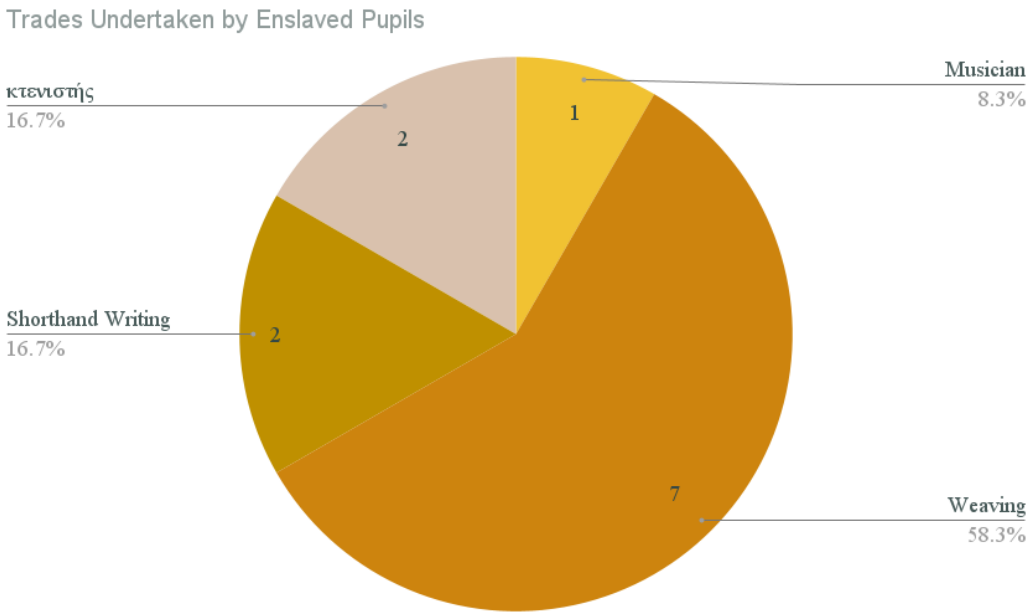


Bergamasco originally claimed that the diversity of trades suggests that the trade an apprentice studied was largely determined by their immediate circumstances, and Bradley at least hints at this idea.[109] Neither of these scholars fully explains the logic (or evidence) behind this assumption, and in any case, the theory is at odds with the current data from the corpus presented in Tables 14 and 15. Although the sample size is not large, beyond weaving, the range of trades learned by enslaved apprentices is not characterised by randomness. On the contrary, based on the data available, the non-textile trades learned

[108] On the textile industry in Roman Egypt, see Chapter Four, pages 133–136.
[109] Bergamasco 1995: 123–125; Bradley 1985: 320–321, 1991: 109–110. After stating that 'the kinds of work performed by attested slave apprentices were not peculiar to their status', Bradley points out the fact that the range of occupations attested among apprentices in general is vast.

by enslaved pupils are all servile in nature, being related to personal services. The non-textile trades learned by free pupils are nearly all production-related, with an emphasis on heavy labour. Additionally, the data reflects no known freeborn apprentices learning these more 'servile' trades. Caution is warranted since the sample size of enslaved apprentices in non-textile-related trades is small (five instances, with other papyri attesting an additional two whose contracts are not preserved); however, even such a small data set reveals trends, and the current data does demonstrate real distinctions between the non-textile trades of free and enslaved apprentices.

Table 15: Trades learned by apprentices whose status is known to have been enslaved



A comparison of the trades studied by freeborn apprentices with those studied by enslaved apprentices demonstrates this point. Per Table 14, beyond weaving, the trades known to have been studied by freeborn pupils are smithing (nail smithing, copper smithing, etc.), construction (building, carpentry), embalming and medicine. These trades are almost exclusively related to production. The exceptions

(embalming and medicine) are not significant, with only one apprentice attested learning each (i.e., constituting only 2 of the 34 freeborn apprentices whose trade is known).[110]

For enslaved pupils, the current data instead suggests a tendency in trades learned beyond the textile industry to be personal services (see Table 15): hairdressing (depending on what is meant by κτενιστής),[111] musical performance and shorthand writing.[112] Though the data on enslaved apprentices is slim, this trend seems to be confirmed by two documents from Roman Egypt external to the διδασκαλικαί corpus that also refer to enslaved individuals undertaking apprenticeship. In one, a slave girl's apprenticeship in musical performance is prematurely terminated due to an injury; in another, a slave boy writes a letter to his former teacher who trained him as a hairdresser.[113] The teacher for the musical performance apprenticeship contract in the διδασκαλικαί is attested as a freedman, as is one of the teachers of trade that corresponds to the κτενιστής (hairdressing?).[114]

This is not to say that freeborn children did not learn some of these more servile trades. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that either individual in the father or son team contracted to teach an

[110] Per footnote 9 on page 4, the contract for an apprenticeship in medicine is likely a scribal exercise. Consequently, this apprenticeship contract does not attest an historical individual who learned that trade, but merely indicates that at least one individual must have been apprenticed to learn that trade since it was apparently necessary for a scribe to learn how to draft such contracts.

[111] See footnote 107 on page 199 above as well as footnote 34 on page 126.

[112] This is not to say that enslaved individuals did not work in production-related trades beyond the textile industry; indeed, there is evidence that they did. For example, in personal letter dated to around the turn of the first century CE, a son suggests that his father should put one household slave to work in construction to generate income for the son while he undertakes his studies in Alexandria (SB 22 15708). However, evidence of individuals working in a trade is not evidence that they undertook an apprenticeship, and trades like construction can be (and often still are) learned on the job. A comparison to the enslaved builder above demonstrates this point: a freeborn apprentice is attested as learning construction with an ἐπιστάτης, or 'supervisor' (P. Oxy. 38 2875), which suggests he was not learning menial construction tasks but the supervisory work normally associated with a foreman. In the letter above, the son says to his father 'at least put him to work with a carpenter. For I hear that a lad can make two drachmas a day. Or put him to some other work from which he will get more money' (SB 22 15708. Translation Rea 1993: 79). This statement implies that the slave's work in construction was not made possible because he had previously undertaken an apprenticeship in construction, of which we are given no indication. In fact, it seems the son only comes to the idea because he had heard that construction could offer decent pay, and he states that if another industry could profit the slave more, then he should be put to work in that industry. It seems that this slave, if he was ultimately put to work in construction, would have performed the sort of menial tasks which the freeborn apprentice likely supervised. This comparison contradicts the assumption that enslaved individuals working in production-related trades necessarily apprenticed in that trade. Though slim, the best evidence for enslaved apprentices is their attestation in apprenticeship contracts and in other documents explicitly referencing their apprenticeship. Though further developments in the data may change these conclusions, the current data suggests that, beyond the textile industry, slaves were apprenticed in trades best described as personal services.

[113] P. Oxy. 50 3555 and P. Oxy. 55. 3809, respectively.

[114] SB 22 15538 and P. Oxy. 41 2977, respectively. One of the shorthand writing contracts (P. Oxy. 41 2988) is too fragmentary to discern anything about the teacher's status. The other (P. Oxy. 4 724) does not imply enslaved or freedman status and neither does the second contract for the trade of the κτενιστής (BGU 4 1021).

enslaved pupil the trade of shorthand writing in P. Oxy. 4 724 was enslaved. Yet, there does seem to have been a tendency for this trade to have been learned by enslaved individuals. After providing a list of major thinkers from antiquity who described shorthand writing as being servile in nature (e.g., Libanius, Seneca, Scaevola), Hans Teitler wrote in his monograph on shorthand writers that 'very often stenography was the work of slaves, or at any rate of *humiliores*'; Teitler ultimately concludes, however, that the evidence of P. Oxy. 4 724 is firm evidence that shorthand writers were not always enslaved.[115] Nevertheless, it does seem that the trade of shorthand writing tended to be undertaken by servants, even if there free individuals did learn it on occasion.

The most pressing question is why enslaved apprentices appear to have had equal access to the textile trade when the other trades they learned appear to have been servile in nature and related to personal services. Why do they not appear in contracts learning, for example, smithing? One possibility is that the demand for textiles was so great that free weavers needed the help of enslaved weavers to meet output requirements. As demonstrated in Chapter Four (see pages 133–136), textile production was the second largest industry in Roman Egypt, whose textile output rivaled the most successful textile economies of medieval and early modern Europe.[116]

Importantly, this parity of access to the textile industry does not indicate a parity in experience. Enslaved weavers were still precluded from joining the professional associations that enabled freeborn artisans to access more lucrative opportunities through the social networks of other artisans (as argued in Chapter Four, pages 147–152). Nonetheless, enslaved weavers could certainly still access the most thriving industry in Roman Egypt.

Treatment in Apprenticeships for Slaves and Free Children

Contractual Obligations and Wages

The second claim made by scholars in favour of a parity in treatment between enslaved and free is that both experienced similar treatment within the apprenticeship arrangement. The two scholars to argue this point are Bergamasco and Morgan. Bergamasco has highlighted the identical obligations of the free

[115] Teitler 1985: 28, 32.
[116] The largest was agriculture. The reason slaves do not appear in agriculture is discussed below.

and enslaved apprentice; Morgan has observed that enslaved and free pupils are attested as receiving similar wages.[117] The evidence supporting both of these claims is greater than either scholar offers in his assessments, yet there is also substantial evidence for a disparity in treatment. Here, I analyse the evidence for both parity and disparity in the treatment of enslaved and free apprentices and conclude that there was a parity of contract obligations and wages but a disparity in working conditions.

In his assessment of enslaved apprentices, Bergamasco claims that, though the trades learned by free and enslaved pupils differ slightly, the difference is ultimately negligible since the contracts contain the same established obligations and conditions for both kinds of apprentice.[118] Bergamasco cites that all pupils must remain with their teacher and do all that is instructed of them; all pupils are granted a certain number of annual days of leave; all pupils are expected to compensate for days not worked (except those on which they have leave) through either payment or labour.[119]

Not only are Bergamasco's observations true, but he even understates his point. The apprenticeship contracts for enslaved and free apprentices do not simply share similar stipulations; they are completely indistinguishable except where the apprentice's status is stated.[120] If one were to redact the reference to the apprentice being enslaved, it would be impossible to discern the apprentice's status since the contracts of both are structured identically.[121] It is for this reason that, despite there being 54 apprenticeship contracts, only 50 of the pupils' status is discernible. Thus, from a legal standpoint, as Bergamasco notes, there is complete parity in treatment in apprenticeship contracts, and any discrepancies in circumstances (e.g., more or fewer days off per year) appear to be the result of the negotiations between the parent/owner and the teacher.

The second area of parity between free and enslaved apprentices, as indicated by Morgan, concerns wages, at least among common professions, and in particular weaving. Morgan concedes that it is difficult to prove this point since comparing wages across time and place is complicated by regional

[117] Bergamasco 1995: 124ff; Morgan 2015: 4.
[118] Bergamasco 1995: 124ff.
[119] Bergamasco 1995: 125–134.
[120] This explicit statement is either in the form of a relational term for free pupils (e.g., υἱός) or with the term δούλος/δούλη or παῖς for enslaved pupils. See P. Oxy. 2 275 for an example of the former and SB 22 15538 and P. Grenf. 2 59 for the latter two.
[121] See, for example, P. Oxy. 4 725 (freeborn) and 14 1647 (enslaved).

price fluctuations and inflation. Nonetheless, the single example he provides does suggest a parity. Two apprenticeship contracts dated to the last quarter of the second century CE, both from Oxyrhynchus and for the trade of weaving, attest wages for a freeborn boy totaling 660 drachmas over a five-year span and wages for an enslaved girl totaling 672 drachmas over a four-year span.[122] This single example would suggest that there was little to no distinction in wages for the same trade between free and slave labour (or between the sexes, for that matter).

Though Morgan is only able to locate one set of contracts from the same time and place for the same trade (one for a freeborn and the other for an enslaved pupil),[123] there is more evidence to support his claim. In his analysis of the διδασκαλικαί, Bergamasco enumerates four modes of wage disbursement in the contracts in which an apprentice receives a salary:[124] graduated monthly or daily wages (increasing each year), fixed monthly or daily wages, full compensation up front and full compensation in predetermined installments. Only the first three modes of wage disbursement are attested in more than one contract.[125] Some parity in treatment is evident in that, in the διδασκαλικαί corpus, slave and freeborn apprentices appear in each of these three categories of wage disbursement, including the most lucrative category, graduated wages.[126] Slaves were not precluded from any mode of remuneration. To apply Bergamasco's terms to the question of wages, wages were more dependent

[122] P. Oxy. 4 725; P. Oxy. 14 1647. See Morgan 2015: 4. Notice here that the slave girl actually earns more both in the total amount and in the annual wages since her apprenticeship lasts only four years compared to the freeborn boy's five.

[123] There are, in fact, two more sets of such contracts that fit these strict conditions. However, these two sets are complicated by the content of the contracts. The first set (P. Mich. 5 346a and P. Mich. 2 121 R 2 8) are both from first-century CE Tebtynis. Both are complicated by being abstracts of contracts drawn up for record-keeping purposes by the Tebtynis scribal office and consequently not providing all the details of the arrangements. While the free pupil of P. Mich. 2 121 R 2 8 is said to receive an up-front payment of 40 drachmas for a five-year apprenticeship, it is not clear whether this payment is a partial amount or the total amount to be paid to the apprentice. The enslaved pupil of P. Mich. 5 346a is said to only receive a tunic worth eight drachmas. This contract is complicated by the fact that there is no indication of how long the apprenticeship is said to last. The second set (P. Oxy. 86 5562 and P. Oxy. 67 4596) both come from mid-third-century CE Oxyrhynchus. In the former, an enslaved pupil receives wages which regularly increase each year whereas in the latter a freeborn girl does not appear to receive wages at all. These contracts are complicated, though, by the fact that the latter contract appears to have been arranged during particularly difficult circumstances. Indeed, the pupil in the latter contract is none other than Aphrodite whose circumstances were explored above.

[124] Bergamasco 1995: 144–149.

[125] The category of predetermined instalments is attested by only one contract, P. Tebt. 2 385, which is for a free pupil.

[126] For graduated wages, see P. Oxy. 14 1647 (enslaved) and SB 20 15162 (free). For fixed wages, see PSI 3 241 (enslaved) and P. Fouad 37 (free). For upfront full compensation, see SB 18 13305 (enslaved?) and P. Heid Gr. 4 327 (free).

on immediate circumstances and on the preferences of those arranging the apprenticeship than on the status of the pupil.

In light of the evidence presented here and that supplied by Bergamasco and Morgan, enslaved and free apprentices appear to have received some degree of parity in treatment, specifically regarding contractual obligations and wages. Legally and economically, the labour of a slave appears to have been indistinguishable from that of a freeborn apprentice for the same trade.

Working Conditions

However, these two aspects (contractual obligations and wages) do not fully encapsulate the treatment an apprenticed individual received, nor are legal and economic considerations alone sufficient for determining whether slave and free labour were largely indistinguishable. What follows is an analysis of the working conditions of the trades both free and enslaved apprentices are attested as learning. This section argues for a disparity in working conditions. On the one hand, there is consistency across the trades learned by freeborn apprentices, for nearly all involve manual labour and would lead to participation in private associations. Yet, when enslaved individuals practised these trades (i.e., in the case of textile-related trades), they were unable to participate in private associations. For enslaved apprentices, the working conditions beyond the textile industry, based on the limited current data could be quite tolerable in terms of the environment and the nature of the activity as they lacked the intense physical exertion required of the trades learned by freeborn pupils. Despite this, those trades beyond the textile industry that enslaved apprentices are attested as learning do not provide access to private associations.

As demonstrated above (see Table 14 on page 200), free pupils are attested as learning a variety of trades: weaving (e.g., general weaving, linen weaving, seated linen weaving and mat weaving), smithing (e.g., nail smithing and copper smithing), construction (e.g., general building and carpentry), embalming and medicine. Except for medicine and perhaps embalming, all these trades can be described as labour-intensive, requiring significant physical effort to achieve the desired product or outcome. Not only smithing or building but also weaving was physically demanding. The three known loom types used in the Mediterranean during the time of the Roman occupation in Egypt—the ground, warp-

weighted and vertical two-beam looms—were all large, manually operated devices requiring considerable labour and time to operate.[127] Thus, aside from the two freeborn apprentices who learned embalming and medicine, most free apprentices learned a trade involving at least moderate manual labour.

Despite the physically demanding nature of such trades, they offered the advantage of professional associations, and freeborn apprentices could expect to one day reap the financial and social benefits they offered (for an overview of such associations, see Chapter Four, pages 147–163). Though enslaved apprentices had access to the textile trades, as outlined above, they are not attested in lists of members of professional associations.[128] Thus, though enslaved weavers undertook the physical labour of weaving, they did not gain access to this particular advantage of practising the trade.

Though enslaved apprentices were regularly trained in the same textile-related trades as freeborn pupils, the list of trades beyond the textile industry that enslaved apprentices learned suggests that slaves may have experienced better working conditions. Unlike the consistency of physically demanding labour typical of the working conditions of freeborn individuals, the working conditions of enslaved individuals could be comparatively physically undemanding.[129] What follows is an analysis of how the three more servile trades (i.e., hairdressing, music and shorthand writing) were comparatively undemanding.

Compared to weaving, smithing and building, hairdressing and music performance were almost certainly easier trades to practise.[130] Though each trade certainly required skill, and music performance in particular could, undoubtedly, be demanding in this respect, they did not require the same level of exertion as did intensive trades such as weaving, smithing or construction. Both the amount of physical

[127] Ciszuk and Hammarlund 2008: 119ff.
[128] Venticinque 2016: 16.
[129] The one exception to high variability in work conditions is work environment. All the trades in which enslaved pupils are attested as learning beyond the textile industry, the workplace environment is domestic. Incidentally, this reveals another area of disparity between more 'servile' trades and those typical of free pupils: whereas the non-textile trades learned by slaves tend to have domestic settings, the work environment for free pupils (again excepting medicine) is likely to be either a workshop or a jobsite. On the workshops or so-called ἐργαστήρια, see BNP *s.v.* 'Ergasterion'; Freu 2016: 189 fn 31.
[130] As detailed in Chapter 4, there is some dispute as to whether the κτενιστής was a wool carder or a hairdresser. Here the trade of the κτενιστής is understood to be that of a hairdresser (and consequently not part of the textile industry) since the trade appears to have been predominantly servile and since there is documentation outside the διδασκαλικαί attesting slaves as being trained to cut hair. For a fuller rationale for interpreting the term κτενιστής as 'haircutter', see footnote 34 on page 126 above.

effort and time required to achieve the desired end would have been comparatively minimal. Though the work of hairdressers and musicians may have been tedious, it is not unreasonable to suggest that their working conditions may have been better than those of free individuals learning smithing or building. If a slave was apprenticed to learn these trades, they would have belonged to a master who was likely quite affluent. A slave learning one of these less physically demanding trades would have practised them in a relatively comfortable environment inhabited by wealthy individuals. I do not suggest that their masters necessarily treated these slaves well, but comment only on the conditions of their environment. As a result of these less physically demanding conditions, these slaves may have led lives that were more pleasant overall than those of their freeborn peers. Thus, it is unsurprising to find slaves who worked in these conditions expressing gratitude for their situation. A letter from an enslaved hairdresser to his former teacher is worth quoting to demonstrate this point:

> Agathangelos to Panares the barber, very many greetings. I greet Heliodora as well. I make obeisance for you both before the gods of this place, and I make obeisance for you every day. The gods willing, I am already cutting the hair of the master, and I am cutting the hair of everyone in the household. Any day that I cut hair, it is my custom to make the obeisance. Give my greetings to all my fellow learners![131]

While it cannot be ruled out that Agathangelos' master required that he send such a letter, and that his gratefulness is feigned, it seems reasonable to assume, based on the letter, that his life was relatively comfortable and that he enjoyed his role. The hairdresser to everyone in a household would have earned the trust of the master, being responsible for safely wielding sharp blades near his and his family's heads. It was a prestigious position, and hairdressing may well have been viewed as a privilege amongst those undertaking apprenticeships.

Likewise, the shorthand writer likely enjoyed a comfortable workplace environment and a certain amount of prestige. Like those owners of enslaved musicians and the hairdressers, the owner who arranged an apprenticeship for one of their slaves to learn shorthand writing was likely affluent.

[131] P. Oxy. 55. 3809; translation from Parsons 2007: 116.

Indeed, the owner of Chaerammon, a certain Panechotes, identifies himself in the letter arranging the apprenticeship as being an ex-kosmetes of Oxyrhynchus.[132] Chaerammon, then, lived in the household of an influential man whose known administrative positions required substantial wealth and consequently benefited from his owner's affluence.

Further, there is evidence from Classical authors suggesting that the shorthand writer was often particularly well-regarded by his or her owner due to the owner's admiration for the shorthand writer's skill.[133] Martial, in an epigram, notes that 'currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis: nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus', or 'though the words speed, the hand is faster than they. The right hand has finished its work, while the tongue has more to do'.[134] The poet Ausonius asks, in a poem about his shorthand writer:

> When I declaim, as now, at greatest speed, talking in circles round my theme, you have the thoughts of my heart already set fast in wax almost before they are uttered. I would my mind had given me power to think as swiftly as you outstrip me when I speak, and as your dashing hand leaves my words behind. Who, prithee, who is he who has betrayed me? Who has already told you what I was but now thinking to say? What thefts are these that your speeding hand perpetrates in the recesses of my mind? How come things in so strange an order that what my tongue has not yet vented comes to your ears?[135]

Beyond this admiration, it is also clear that the owners of the enslaved shorthand writers could become quite close to their scribes. In a letter to Augustine, the bishop Evodius relayed regarding his shorthand writer: *coeperam eum non quasi puerum et notarium habere sed amicum quendam satis neaessarium et suavem*, or 'I had begun to regard him not as a boy and a notary, but as a kind of friend, quite necessary and sweet'.[136] An enslaved shorthand writer, then, likely lived in a better quality home than his or her free peers studying manual labour trades and also likely had the opportunity to obtain some amount of prestige within that household.

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[132] P. Oxy. 4 724.
[133] On the evidence for both male and female shorthand writers, see Teitler 1985: 31–32.
[134] Mart. *Epigram* 14.208. Translation Shackleton Baily 1993: 319.
[135] Aus. *Ephemeris* 7.14–29. Translation Evelyn-White 1919: 25.
[136] Aug. *Ep.* 158.1. Cf. Teitler 1985: 33.

Recent scholarship complicates this picture slightly, however. In a recent analysis of shorthand writing in antiquity, Ella Kirsh has argued that shorthand writing was a psychologically burdensome trade to both learn and practise.[137] According to Kirsh, the process of learning shorthand writing was ultimately dehumanising; to properly learn the craft, a slave had to accept demeaning moral instruction without question and labour to keep apace with their master's thoughts, effacing themselves to better anticipate their master's words. Kirsh argues this on the grounds that the main task in shorthand training was to memorise hundreds of shorthand signs and their corresponding groups of words (normally four- or eight-word moral statements), which could be written quickly with a mark indicating the corresponding word in the moral statement. The 'Commentary', the document known from antiquity to contain these signs and their respective word groups, was, Kirsh claims, 'a deeply ideological document, one which preyed upon the moral impressionability of its readers'.[138]

Some evidence from writers in antiquity would seem to suggest that the trade was, to some extent, psychologically burdensome. The fourth-century bishop, Basil of Ancyra, noted regarding shorthand writers, 'If someone stripped away (a stenographer's) fleshly body, they would see every inch of his soul scrawled over with the Commentary carved into it'.[139] It is reasonable to assume, then, that at least some shorthand writers did experience learning and practising their trade as a psychological burden. However, this does not seem to have been universally the case and Kirsh's claim seems rather extreme, problematically overlooking evidence suggesting other experiences. As Hans Teitler has noted, shorthand writers incurred the jealousy of none other than Libanius, the great fourth-century CE teacher of rhetoric.[140] Teitler summarises Libanius' frustrations thus:

> It also grieved him that parents preferred to send their children to stenographers rather than to teachers of oratory (*Or.* 31.28; 18.160) and that consequently the stenography teachers, not the rhetors, grew rich: "Who could ever have imagined that stenography teachers would live to see

[137] Kirsh 2024.
[138] Kirsh 2024: 4.
[139] Basil *De virg.* 18. Translation Kirsh 2024: 3.
[140] Teitler 1985: 27–29.

> the day that they would earn gold in their profession, indeed that they would be better off than shoemakers and carpenters?" (*Or.* 31. 33).[141]

If teachers of shorthand writers were successful enough to compete with Libanius, the career of a shorthand writer must have been particularly lucrative and/or likely to lead to upward mobility. And indeed, Libanius' critiques often centre around what he perceived to be the undue pride of place of shorthand writers in the imperial administration and even the senate.[142] Such accounts suggest that being a shorthand writer was not universally dehumanising, even if the task was experienced as such by some. On the contrary, shorthand writing appears to have offered the enslaved more opportunities than any other trade attested in these contracts. Even if this occupation was undertaken by the 'vilissimorum mancipiorum', or the 'lowest of the slaves', as Seneca claimed, no other trade appears to have offered the pupil as much financial opportunity and upward mobility as that of shorthand writing.[143] Taken together, these three trades demonstrate that apprenticeships for enslaved individuals differed from those of their freeborn counterparts in that the enslaved pupil had a better chance of better work conditions and, in the case of shorthand writing, future prospects, even if they were barred from private associations.

* * *

Both parity and disparity of access and treatment characterised apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. Both free and enslaved pupils are attested as learning trades associated with the textile industry, and the scant evidence we have regarding wages suggests that enslaved and free labourers may have received similar remuneration. However, enslaved pupils were, based on current evidence, much more likely to undertake apprenticeships than their freeborn peers. It is currently unclear how to interpret this disparity in participation. If the data regarding this disparity ultimately proves accurate, this

[141] Teitler 1985: 27.
[142] Lib. *Or.* 2. 44; 18.158; 42. 25; 62.16; 62. 51; *Ep.* 1224. 6. Cf. Teitler 1985: 27.
[143] Sen. *Ep.* 90.25. Cf. Kirsh 2024: 2.

overrepresentation of slaves in apprenticeships could be indicative of an economic barrier to entry for free, lower socioeconomic individuals, implying that these individuals had more limited access to apprenticeships. If the data ultimately proves inaccurate, then there would be a parity of participation which would support the theory that free individuals of lower socioeconomic status participated regularly in apprenticeship education.

Beyond the textile industry, free pupils tended to enter labour-intensive trades related to production, and the opportunity to join private associations likely gave them an edge in the labour market due to the associated social and economic benefits of these associations.[144] Beyond the textile industry, enslaved pupils tended to learn more servile trades and were precluded from the advantages of professional associations. Working conditions in these servile trades were, it seems, far more pleasant than those of their freeborn peers. The fact that enslaved pupils had access to apprenticeship education and enjoyed a parity of treatment in some respects does not negate the fact that the experience of apprenticeship was shaped by status. Free and slave labour were indistinguishable up to a point: enslaved and free apprentices could both participate in the textile industry, but it seems freeborn apprentices were less likely to learn the more 'servile' trades.

Parity and Disparity in Prospects

As stated at the beginning of this section on slaves as apprentices, Christel Freu has observed that the intended outcomes of apprenticeship would have differed between individuals of different status.[145] Freu's perspective opens a new line of inquiry regarding the opportunities free and enslaved pupils could expect from their apprenticeships. What follows is a brief assessment of the aspects of parity and disparity of outcome apprentices experienced after their training. In some respects, disparity prevailed, with slaves being barred from opportunities enjoyed by their free peers, especially professional associations. In other respects, however, slaves and freeborn apprentices experienced a parity of outcomes, for both benefitted from upward social and economic mobility that they would not have

[144] Freu 2016.
[145] Freu 2011: 29.

experienced had they foregone training. For those slaves whose trade permitted access to the labour market (i.e., all attested trades except shorthand writing), earning their freedom and, by extension, competing in the same economic arena as their free peers was not out of the question.

In her article exploring the experience of learning and practising trades in Roman Egypt, Freu states that pupils were placed into apprenticeships for different reasons and that their futures ultimately depended on their status and situation (i.e., free or enslaved, urban or rural).[146] Learning the same trade (e.g., weaving) did not necessarily represent a parity between slave and free apprentices since their post-apprenticeship prospects were different. This argument generally aligns with the evidence. As already discussed, free and enslaved pupils experienced different working conditions upon entering their trade, especially in that free workers could join private associations, which undoubtedly helped them advance their careers. As was stated in Chapter Four, enslaved individuals are conspicuously absent from the registration lists of private associations despite being overrepresented in apprenticeship contracts and regularly appearing in labour contracts.[147] Thus, enslaved pupils, though regularly trained in the same trade as their free counterparts (i.e., weaving), are not attested as having access to one of the most powerful local institutions for professional development.

Further, documentary evidence shows great disparity in terms of free and enslaved labourers' control over the management of their work and their pay. Slaves appear in labour-related documents as either working to support their master's family or being leased out by their masters to perform labour for someone else. Thus, whereas Tryphon and Pausiris Sr managed their own weaving businesses, Heraclas, an enslaved builder from the late first century CE, was sent with his master's son to Alexandria to support the son, who was undertaking a literary education.[148] Tapontos, an enslaved woman from late-second century CE Oxyrhynchus who had been trained in weaving, was leased out for a year by her master to another man who needed a weaver.[149] The difference is clear, though not surprising: unlike free labourers, slaves did not control their earnings or the nature of their labour. Freu

[146] Freu 2011: 29.
[147] On the absence of slaves in private association lists, see Gibbs 2008/2009: 49–51, 208; Venticinque 2016: 16 and pages 147–152 above.
[148] P. Oxy. 18 2190.
[149] P. Wisc. 1 5. Cf. Claytor 2024b: 308.

is correct to insist that, even in apprenticeships for which there is a parity of access (i.e., the textile industry), disparity exists in terms of the goals of the education and the eventual opportunities.

The one drawback of Freu's argument is that it assumes the permanence of the circumstances that evidence disparity. Those circumstances, outlined above, only account for short-term prospects. There is reason to believe that the long-term narrative is different: enslaved pupils in Roman Egypt, like free labourers, had reason to hope to achieve upward social and economic mobility, and to increase that upward mobility upon earning their freedom and thereby gaining access to the market as free individuals.[150] The evidence suggests that slavery in Roman Egypt was atypical in the Mediterranean at this time, for the freeing of slaves owned by private individuals was relatively common. The claim that slavery in Roman Egypt was atypical for its higher rates of slaves being freed is a bold one, but it has been suggested by many scholars.

Input from papyrologists on the documentation related to slavery in Roman Egypt as well as recent research by Myles Lavan support arguments for the regular freeing of slaves trained in a trade. Jane Rowlandson and Graham Claytor have both observed that, based on census documents, men were freed by the age of 32 and women were freed by some point between their mid-30s and mid-40s.[151] The freeing of females seems to have been withheld until they were no longer able to bear children, whereas the acquisition of freedom for males appears to correlate to their ability to accumulate earnings through labour (more on this below). What data can be collected from papyrological documentation supports these claims. In an appendix to Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier's *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, which lists the ages of all attested slaves in the census records, nearly all the 118 slaves are within the age ranges stated by Rowlandson and Claytor. The only exceptions are two women aged 49 and 68.[152] Likewise in Jean Straus's *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Egypte romaine*, only three men (aged 40, 50 and 51) fall outside the stated range out of 63 attested slaves in contracts of sale.[153] Thus, out of

[150] On apprenticeship enabling free individuals to obtain upward mobility, see Chapter 4.
[151] Rowlandson 1998: 179; Claytor 2024b: 315.
[152] Bagnall and Frier 1994: 356–357
[153] Straus 2004: 263–264.

181 attested slaves in census records and contracts of sale, only three men appear who are above the age of 32 and only three women appear above the age of 45.[154]

Slavery in Roman Egypt appears to be atypical in the Roman empire for its relatively high rates of the freeing of slaves, which may have been due to certain conditions unique to Roman Egypt. Matt Gibbs has investigated enslaved labourers in Roman Egypt and explicitly identifies slavery in Roman Egypt as 'unusual'. Gibbs attributes Roman Egypt's outlier status to its lower percentage of slaves compared to elsewhere:

> The picture concerning slavery in Roman Egypt is rather unusual. Slaves and freedmen were present in startlingly low numbers… The exploitation of the lower classes, through tenancy and renting, gave landowners a much more effective return… The relatively small number of slaves was found mainly in households, where they supplemented the domestic workforce… The small number of slaves meant fewer freedmen, but they do appear as traders as well as manual labourers.[155]

Gibbs attributes the anomaly of Egyptian slavery to the lower numbers of slaves found in demographic records, and he references the fact that Egypt's agricultural needs were met through the mass exploitation of poorer free people rather than through slaves as in other societies.

This point, that Roman Egypt lacked the agricultural slavery of other societies, has been made by several scholars, such as Mikhail Rostovtzeff, Iza Bieżuńska-Małowist, Naphtali Lewis and Jean

[154] Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the frequency of the freeing of slaves in Roman Egypt was presented by Myles Lavan in a 2023 talk for the Roman Society (Lavan 2023). In his talk, Lavan previewed the data he intends to publish in a forthcoming monograph on manumission in the Roman world. Though he did not discuss the data in detail, he explained that the extensive census data and records of slaves being freed from Roman Egypt permit a relatively robust data analysis of the rates of the freeing of slaves there. Lavan claims that, based on his analysis, the rates for the freeing of slaves in Roman Egypt were exceptionally high compared to those in 19th-century Virginia, Barbados and Brazil. According to Lavan's study, in 19th century Brazil, 20% of those who lived to 40 were freed and only one third of those who lived to 60. In Barbados, around 7–8% of those who lived to 40 were freed and 10% of those who lived to 60. In Virginia, around 3–4% of those who lived to 40 were freed and around 5% of those who lived to 60. Compared to the 19th-century slave, the slave in Roman Egypt was much more likely to be freed. More importantly, Lavan connects the freeing of slaves to age and argues that rates of the freeing of slaves cannot be detached from mortality rates, which were exceptionally high in antiquity (50% of children died before age five, and only about a third of people reached age thirty) (Lavan cites Bagnall and Frier 1994: 34). Yet, those who did survive past age 30 were more likely to receive their freedom than in the other societies Lavan analysed. Of those who lived to 40, around one third could expect to receive their freedom; and to 60, two thirds. Clearly, not all slaves in Roman Egypt were freed, but the rate of the freeing of slaves in Roman Egypt may have been high enough to warrant the descriptor 'common'.

[155] Gibbs 2012: 43.

Straus.[156] Egyptian society did not require slave labour for agricultural production because 'the free peasantry, most of whom lived at a level of bare subsistence, offered the farm operator a ready source of seasonal labour that was palpably cheaper than that of slaves, who required both an initial outlay of capital and year-round maintenance'.[157] That slaves were not regularly part of the agricultural industry suggests a fundamental difference between the nature of slavery in Roman Egypt and slavery in other places across the empire such as Italy, Greece and Spain.[158] That there were fewer slaves overall in Egypt and that they tended to work in domestic contexts appears to result from the lack of agricultural slavery in Egypt.

The non-agricultural aspect of slavery helps explain the unusually high rates of the freeing of slaves in Roman Egypt since there is reason to believe that domestic forms of slavery tended to result in higher rates of slaves being freed. In a 2008 chapter, Walter Scheidel introduced a theoretical model, initially articulated by the economist and medievalist historian Stefano Fenoaltea, for understanding different forms of enslavement in antiquity.[159] This model was Fenoaltea's notion of effort-intensive vs. care-intensive forms of enslaved labour. Effort-intensive slave labour refers to slave labour in which the work (i) is difficult, (ii) is undesirable to the point that pain incentives are required for enforcement and (iii) does not require great skill or care.[160] Examples include agriculture, mining and quarrying, lumber acquisition and basic construction. Care-intensive slave labour refers to labour in which some amount of skill and care is required and, consequently, rewards-based incentives are necessary to 'reduce ill-will that fosters carelessness, shirking, and theft' whereas care-intensive labour, requiring skill and attentiveness, tends to be artisanal and involve higher rates of technical education.[161]

[156] Rostovtzeff 1941: 321–322; Bieżuńska-Małowist 1984: 184; Lewis 1983: 57f; Straus 2016.
[157] Lewis 1983: 57f.
[158] Undoubtedly, the empire was not a monolith. But this difference does seem pertinent to other areas such as Italy, Greece and Spain at least. For Italy, see Rathbone's comment that 'the systematic use of trained groups of slaves in agriculture and urban production which was typical of Italy, is not found in Roman Egypt' (Rathbone 2007: 712). For Greece, see Matthew Hewitt's assessment of the records at Delphi attesting to slaves being freed which he speculates likely attest both agricultural slaves as well as domestic slaves with artisanal backgrounds (Hewitt 2023: 169–170). For slavery in Spain, which appears to have consisted of intensive mining operations based on slave labour, see Diod. Sic. 5.36–37; Rickard 1928:
[159] Scheidel 2008. Cf. Fenoaltea 1984.
[160] Scheidel 2008: 107.
[161] Scheidel 2008: 107

The effort-intensive vs. care-intensive slave labour model for Roman Egypt maps very well onto the agricultural vs. domestic slave labour dichotomy observed by Gibbs and Lewis above. Egypt can be described as having an overwhelmingly care-intensive slave culture and a virtually non-existent effort-intensive slave culture. Many other scholars have noticed similar patterns of slavery in Roman Egypt. When describing the nature of care-intensive slavery, Scheidel notes that '[c]are-intensive activities demand better provisioning and general rewards' and that the element of 'better provisioning' was partly fulfilled by the domestic setting in which slavery occurred.[162] Both Gibbs and Lewis observe that slaves in Roman Egypt were overwhelmingly employed in such domestic settings. Moreover, the kind of work undertaken by slaves, attested to in the apprenticeship contracts, was generally artisanal.

Scheidel's (and Fenoaltea's) notion of general rewards carries implications for scholarly conversations on the freeing of slaves in Roman Egypt. Scheidel asserts that the rewards capable of motivating the successful completion of care-intensive work required 'more often than not some realistic prospect of manumission'.[163] After exploring examples of societies that variably exemplify effort-intensive and care-intensive slave cultures, both Scheidel and Fenoaltea conclude that the more care-intensive a society's slave culture is, the higher are the rates of slaves being freed.

Evidence of slave labour outside Roman Egypt also suggests that domestic slave labour was more likely to lead to the slave's freedom than effort-intensive forms. In his DPhil thesis, Matthew Hewitt assesses a corpus of Hellenistic documents from Delphi attesting to slaves obtaining their freedom.[164] Though he cautions against overconfidence regarding the rates of slaves being freed and asserts that he does not believe slaves being freed was the norm, he acknowledges the appearance of slaves whose backgrounds include both agricultural and skilled labour among the documents of slaves obtaining their freedom at Delphi.[165] He argues that slaves working in a domestic context on tasks requiring skilled-labour were more likely to receive their freedom.[166] He bases this claim on a trend

[162] Scheidel 2008: 108ff. Scheidel notes also that the domestic setting can also be a 'mixed blessing' as it places the slave in closer proximity to the master who could, if of a more abusive disposition, make their lives difficult. Scheidel 2008: 110.
[163] Scheidel 2008: 108.
[164] Hewitt 2023.
[165] Hewitt 2023: 170, 279–280.
[166] Hewitt 2023: 279–280.

amongst those freed at Delphi of being skilled craftspeople. Evidence from Roman Spain is an apt example of the likely outcome for those enslaved in an effort-intensive form of slavery. As T. A. Rickard points out, the gold mines of Spain are known from several authors (e.g., Polybius and Strabo) to have been operated by slaves.[167] A sobering illustration of the likely outcome of this form of enslavement is seen in Rickard's description of the finds of archaeological excavation from the area:

> The dust of the barren hills through which the Guadalquivir flows is rich in more than metals; for it is steeped in the life-blood of the countless slaves that have toiled there from time immemorial. In 1845, in a mine named the Potosi, near Guadalcanal, were discovered the skeletons of 17 Celtiberians, together with their stone hatchets, clay utensils and the bones of sheep.[168]

Hewitt's and Rickard's assessments, which support Fenoaltea and Scheidel's theory, contrast the domestic slaves undertaking skilled labour who were more likely to receive freedom with the slaves in effort-intensive occupations who were more likely to meet their end as slaves due to the demands of their circumstances.

If obtaining freedom amongst domestic slaves was a more regular occurrence in Roman Egypt than elsewhere in the Roman empire, the economics of the slave system must have accounted for the expense of obtaining and owning slaves in light of this reality. It appears that slaves effectively replaced themselves, purchasing their freedom for the price of a new slave.[169] By replacing themselves, slaves solved a major economic problem for their masters: slaves can only work so many years before their inevitable physical decline, meaning they ultimately become a net burden on the household's finances. In purchasing their freedom, the slave provides their master with the capital necessary to reinvest in a younger slave who can then be trained to become an active contributor to the household economy.[170] That this was the case in Roman Egypt is supported by the fact that, as noted by Mouritsen, the price

[167] Rickard 1928.
[168] Rickard 1928: 132.
[169] On payment for freedom being a form of replacing the slave financially, see Mouritsen 2011: 166 and Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005: 181–183.
[170] For this observation see Mouritsen 2011: 166 and Hopkins 1978: 134.

of purchasing one's freedom in Egypt was unusually low compared to the rest of the empire and usually corresponded to the price of a new slave.[171]

As demonstrated above, slaves who were skilled in a trade could earn similar wages to their free counterparts. Weaving in particular (the most frequently attested trade amongst slaves) was a lucrative occupation in Egypt, as discussed in Chapter Four. By securing similar wages to their free counterparts, enslaved pupils could have contributed enough to their household to compensate for their upkeep and provide their master with income while also keeping money for themselves, the so-called *peculium*, with which they could later purchase their freedom.[172] That slaves in Roman Egypt were permitted *peculia* is clear from the documents attesting to slaves purchasing their freedom in Roman Egypt, which normally list that the former slave is to keep his or her *peculium*, and from labour contracts, which sometimes permit a slave to keep some of their wages (though this does not occur in the apprenticeship contracts).[173] The phenomenon of slaves in the Roman empire utilising their *peculium* to purchase their freedom is the focus of a recent monograph by Edward Cohen.[174] Cohen observes that the fictive figure of Trimalchio, the freedman of Apuleius' *Satyricon* who accumulates significant wealth through his business as a wine-merchant and ultimately purchases his freedom, likely represents a stereotype drawn more from reality than previously realised. Importantly, those slaves Cohen observes purchasing their freedom are all either merchants or tradespeople (i.e., slaves with access to the market independent of their masters), further supporting the idea that care-intensive slavery led to higher rates of slaves obtaining freedom.

The culture of slavery in Roman Egypt appears to be unusual. While both effort-intensive and care-intensive slavery were prevalent across the Mediterranean, in Roman Egypt care-intensive slavery appears to be the more prevalent form by far. Whereas other regions around the Mediterranean experienced higher rates of slaves being freed compared to modern slave societies in the Americas,

[171] Mouritsen 2011: 169.
[172] On *peculium*, see OCD *s.v.* 'peculium'.
[173] See, for example, P. Kellis 1 48, P. Cair. Masp. 3 67312 and 37313. See also Jane Rowlandson's and Roger Bagnall's comment in the introduction to their sourcebook on slavery in Egypt that 'slaves are also sometimes allowed some working capital and remuneration for their labour, building up a personal fund the Romans called peculium' (Rowlandson and Bagnall 2024: 6).
[174] Cohen 2023.

most scholars do not believe the freeing of slaves in these regions to have been routine.[175] Papyrologists have noted that census records from Roman Egypt, however, do not attest slaves over a certain age, and Myles Lavan suggests that the freeing of slaves was exceptionally common in Roman Egypt. The implications of this for the thesis are that enslaved apprentices could likely hope for their freedom should they survive to a given age. For a slave, then, apprenticeship was significant for more than increasing their value; apprenticeship provided a slave with the means to obtain their freedom and to support themselves afterward. Harry Morgan's cautious assessment is certainly plausible, namely that enslaved pupils undertaking apprenticeship may have dreamed of the day they could, like the freedman Kleimas, arrange apprenticeships for their freeborn children.[176]

Conclusion: The Relationship between Slavery and Apprenticeship

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, there are generally two lines of inquiry into the relationship between apprenticeship education and enslavement, as attested in the διδασκαλικαί. The first pertains to whether apprenticeship education regularly led to *de facto* slavery. This chapter claims, contrary to most of the recent scholarship on the topic, that the answer to this question is categorically 'No'. The two instances of indentured servitude being paired with apprenticeship arrangements cannot be taken to suggest a norm. Further, the specific circumstances of these indentured servitude arrangements were unique and dire. Vocational education was not fundamentally tied to enslavement such that we should question the status of free pupils when they appear in standard apprenticeship contracts. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, their participation in apprenticeship education is more indicative of prospective upward mobility than of downward movement towards enslavement.

The second line of inquiry asks whether there is a parity or disparity of access and treatment between slave and free pupils undertaking apprenticeship education. Scholars have hitherto argued along either side of a binary paradigm in which either a total parity between slave and free existed or

[175] See Hewitt 2023: 279–280.
[176] Morgan 2015: 11.

none at all. This binary paradigm lacks the nuance that the data exhibits: parity and disparity both applied to the experience of apprenticeship education for free and enslaved individuals in Roman Egypt. In many ways, the experience of apprenticeship education for enslaved pupils appears to have been like that of free pupils in terms of access to the textile trade and similarity in wages. Yet, the ways in which they were dissimilar are not insignificant. For those slaves who learned trades like music, hairdressing and shorthand writing, apprenticeship education likely led to more pleasant working conditions than their freeborn peers. Ultimately, the long-term prospects of both free and slave pupils appear to have been similar in that apprenticeship education served both as a means of upward mobility. Whereas free pupils could expect to join private associations and enjoy the benefits thereof, slaves could reasonably hope to obtain their freedom and ultimately access the labour market as free individuals.

At the close of a study investigating the relationship between apprenticeship education and slavery, it seems pertinent to recall what was perhaps the first debate in the history of scholarship on the διδασκαλικαί. This debate appears in Westermann's initial publication of the διδασκαλικαί corpus.[177] In his article, Westermann refutes an idea put forward by Adolf Berger, who had remarked that a particular enslaved pupil learning to play the flute was learning one of the 'studia liberalia', or 'liberal studies'.[178] Westermann's refutation rested on the grounds that the task being undertaken by the pupil was clearly a τέχνη, not the elevated sort of education that the elites of society would have undertaken, which is normally implied by 'studia liberalia'. Westermann is correct. The slave, Narcissus, was not partaking in the same type of education that Marcus Cicero Jr and his peers would have enjoyed. However, if one takes the literal definition of the word 'liberalis', meaning 'related to freedom', perhaps Berger's assessment was not too far from the truth. The relationship between apprenticeship education and slavery was such that, after completing his apprenticeship, Narcissus might reasonably expect to support himself with his flute-playing one day as a free man.

[177] Westermann 1914a.
[178] Westermann 1914a: 298–299.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a prosopographical analysis of the διδασκαλικαί documents from Roman Egypt. This thesis has answered two questions: (i) who are the people attested in the διδασκαλικαί and (ii) what do their personal histories suggest regarding the role of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt? Part I argued that those who were involved in apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt came from diverse backgrounds. Chapter One argued that the lower-socioeconomic contingent in apprenticeship education largely comprised enslaved individuals but included some free individuals as well. Chapter Two analysed the evidence, both documented and circumstantial, for individuals whose financial and social standing suggest at least moderate socioeconomic status and argued that most of the individuals in the corpus were of such standing. Chapter Three analysed the evidence for those who participated in apprenticeship education who can be described as of upper socioeconomic standing or part of the local elites. Overall, Part I challenged the previously held notion that those involved in apprenticeship education were a homogeneous group or primarily of one socioeconomic status. This part of the thesis has demonstrated that the corpus is best characterised as heterogeneous.

Part II asserted a new interpretation of the role of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt. Chapter Four began by arguing that the diverse backgrounds, and specifically the appearance of a substantial contingent of individuals of moderate socioeconomic standing, renders the previous interpretation of the role of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt untenable. This chapter subsequently argued that there were significant social and economic incentives for undertaking apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt, including the opportunity for upward mobility. Chapter Five addressed the question of the relationship between slavery and apprenticeship. This chapter argued, firstly, that apprenticeship was not a 'slippery slope' towards enslavement. Secondly, it argued that both parity and disparity existed between free and enslaved pupils in their experience of apprenticeship. The chapter concluded that the outcome of apprenticeship outlined in Chapter Four (i.e., that it offered the opportunity for upward mobility) was similar for enslaved pupils. Apprenticeship likely enabled them

to eventually acquire their freedom and participate in the market as free individuals; but even for those who never attained this, apprenticeship still offered them a relatively better life than they could have otherwise expected, as with their free counterparts.

LUCIAN'S 'THE DREAM': A SATIRE

The new interpretation of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt warrants an updated reading of what is perhaps the most cited ancient literary text describing apprenticeship education. This text, written by the second-century CE writer Lucian, is entitled 'The Dream', and in it Lucian supposedly records his own autobiography.[1] 'The Dream' has been cited by nearly all scholars of the διδασκαλικαί as evidence for the previous view of apprenticeship education in Roman Egypt as a disadvantageous route. Should scholars continue to interpret Lucian's text as an accurate portrayal of apprenticeship education, this reading would contradict the new view of apprenticeship presented in this thesis and, problematically, would also require that scholars interpret this text as idiosyncratic in Lucian's *oeuvre*. A better reading, presented here, supports the new interpretation of apprenticeship education as a means for upward mobility.

In 'The Dream', Lucian relates an incident that occurred when, as a young boy, he was apprenticed to his uncle to learn the art of sculpture and accidentally broke a block of marble. In a fit of rage, his uncle began to beat him. The young Lucian then ran away, back to his mother and father. That night he was visited in a dream by two women, the personifications of the two kinds of education open to him. The first, Τέχνη, represented the vocational route; the second, Παιδεία, the route of literacy and instruction in the great literature of the Greek tradition. The former, Lucian admits, was practical, though sordid and brutish; the latter was noble and elegant, promising the lowly Lucian fame and praise. Without hesitation, Lucian follows Παιδεία and only turns back to behold the uncouth Τέχνη, enraged and belligerent as his uncle had been, turn to stone like a Medusa whose terrible image had been

[1] Lucian *Somn.*

reflected back upon her by Lucian's rejection. Παιδεία then congratulates the young Lucian for his wise choice and seats him on a chariot of winged horses to fly over the earth and behold the riches he would have lost had he not chosen her. After they survey the kingdoms of the world, Παιδεία returns the young Lucian, now transformed and clothed in elegant garb, to his parents, insinuating that they failed as parents to choose the best path for their son.

How are we to make sense of this story? Lucian's message seems clear: vocational education, while it may have its merits, ultimately devolves into abuse. It is only undertaken by those with no real hope of improving their circumstances and is the province of the incurably inferior. Aspects of this narrative are validated by commentary on vocational education elsewhere in the literary tradition. In a passage in the *Digest,* Ulpian refers to a case mentioned by Julian in which a cobbler, attempting to discipline his apprentice, accidentally takes his eye out.[2] This gives reason to believe that Lucian's depiction of the use of aggressive physical punishment in vocational education may have been accurate.[3]

To scholars investigating the διδασκαλικαί, Lucian's 'The Dream' is counted as a reliable narrative and has indeed been cited by nearly all the scholars who have investigated the corpus. Westermann has said that the story 'throws some light upon apprenticeship in the second century'.[4] Bradley, quoting Barry Baldwin's statement that Lucian is credible and unimportant, states that 'perhaps the remark should be amended to credible and of considerable importance, because the similarity of detail between Lucian's account and the Egyptian documentary record is striking'.[5] Laes, describing the circumstances of children in educational settings, says 'For that matter also freeborn apprentices might meet rough discipline, witness the story of Lucian who takes to his heels after being thrashed by his uncle master'.[6] Vuolanto, after referencing a διδασκαλικαί document, says '[w]e have also comparative evidence on this outside Egypt: when the young Lucian of Samosata was about to

[2] Dig. 9.2.5.3.
[3] Incidentally, such conditions appear to be true of παιδεία as well, if the mimes of Herodas depict reality to any capacity. Herod. *did.*; Cf. Cribiore 2001: 65–73; Laes 2005, 2008: 262.
[4] Westermann 1914a: 312ff.
[5] Bradley 1985: 323–324. See also, Baldwin 1973: 13–14.
[6] Laes 2008: 262

learn a trade he was apprenticed to his uncle to become a stone-cutter'.[7] Freu describes the dream as 'biographical'; Morgan, describing an instance of child abuse attested in the *Digest*, says '[s]imilarly, Lucian recalls as a young apprentice being beaten with a stick by his instructor'.[8] Groen-Vallinga describes Lucian 'recount[ing] his brief experience as an apprentice sculptor'.[9] Though two of these scholars distance Lucian slightly from the text (Groen-Vallinga puts the word 'autobiography' in scare-quotes and Freu suggests that the text is a school exercise rather than autobiography), they all ultimately use 'The Dream' as reliable and uncomplicated evidence for the nature of apprenticeship education.

This interpretation of Lucian's 'The Dream', however, is complicated by the fact that Lucian was a satirist. There is no reason to believe that his account of this episode is anything but fictional and satirical. In his discussion of Lucian, Donald Russell states that

> Lucian, by contrast, gives us a stylized picture which it is foolish to treat as autobiography. We are not bound to believe in the family council that apprenticed him to his sculptor uncle, or his vision of Education (*Paideia*), or his abandonment of Rhetoric for Dialogue at the age of forty. We recall that Socrates too started as a sculptor, and Ovid's vision of Elegy and Tragedy (*Amores* 3.1) is all too similar to Lucian's. A good deal of what Lucian says about himself is no more to be trusted than the voyage to the moon that he recounts so persuasively in the first person in *True Stories*… Lucian's consistent aim is to entertain.[10]

For Russell, Lucian's so-called 'autobiography' is not to be trusted. Russell is not alone among scholars of Lucian in distrusting such biographical sources. Simon Swain likewise doubts 'The Dream', calling it 'a fine but rather apocryphal version of his education';[11] and Daniel Richter, pointing out the 'pride of place' the story has occupied in attempts at biographies of Lucian, is unwilling to comment on the reliability of the text due to there being no conclusive evidence for its veracity.[12]

[7] Vuolanto 2015: 103, see also page 97 fn. 4.
[8] Freu 2016: 194–196; Morgan 2015: 13 fn. 48.
[9] Groen-Vallinga 2022: 109.
[10] Russell 1986: 671.
[11] Swain 1996: 46.
[12] Richter 2017: 334.

In theory, the biographical unreliability of Lucian's 'The Dream' could still permit its use as evidence for apprenticeship education. His story could be fictional and yet still accurately depict the circumstances of apprentices. Yet, this interpretation would require overlooking Lucian's tendency, in virtually all his works, to satirise his subject. It seems no one, however greatly revered, could escape his critique, whether they were a prominent philosopher or even divinity. For example, in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, Lucian presents a series of dialogues with historical individuals set in the underworld. The dialogues are a rollcall of some of the most famous individuals in classical history (e.g., Socrates, Philip II, Alexander the Great), lined up to be ridiculed. Likewise, his *Dialogues of the Gods* mocks Homer and his notions of the gods. Zeus/Jupiter himself is the subject of ridicule in both *Jupiter confutatus* and *Jupiter Tragoedus.* Lucian even takes aim at abstractions: the city of Rome comes under scrutiny in his *Nigrinus*, bad grammar is mocked in *Soloecista*, and rhetoric and oratory are lampooned in *Rhetorum Praeceptor*. When he runs out of real people to mock, he invents fictitious opponents to declaim against in his *Tyrannicida* and *Abdicatus*.

Are we to believe that Lucian's 'The Dream' is any different from his other writings? That this story is a serious account of his own life entirely void of his usual satirical wit? I think the answer is conclusively 'No' and that Lucian's 'The Dream' would be better understood as a satire. Thoroughout his works, Lucian constantly ridicules those who are the product of παιδεία. In *The Eunuch,* he satirises those who seek employment as professors of philosophy; in his *Symposium,* the philosophers end the evening in a drunken brawl rather than in debating philosophy; in his *Philosophies for Sale,* Zeus puts all philosophers up for sale on the slave market; in his *Icaromenippus*, Zeus has apparently had enough of philosophers and simply decides to annihilate them all (although they are granted until spring to live). Consequently, when the protagonist in Lucian's 'The Dream' chooses the literary and elite education of παιδεία over the vocational education of τέχνη, perhaps we are meant to wonder whether this is, in fact, a good decision. Though the protagonist seems to reap glorious benefits for his decision (such as flying over the world in a chariot), perhaps we are supposed to recall Lucian's line from his *True Stories*: '[o]ften, it seems, a change for the better heralds trouble'.[13] Lucian may intend for his readers to recall

[13] Lucian *Ver. hist.* 1. 30. Translation from Russell 1986: 672

his constant references to the frequency with which philosophical education devolves into pederasty and professional intellectuals are obliged to sell themselves to those who are actually wealthy.[14]

A contrasting example that emphasises the satirical nature of Lucian's 'The Dream' is the funerary inscription for a certain Abedrapsas from fourth-century Syria who expresses his gratefulness for having had the opportunity to undertake apprenticeship:

> This is what Abedrapsas says, giving thanks (to the god): when I was young, my ancestral god, god of Arkesilaos, having clearly appeared to me, bestowed upon me many benefits. For at the age of twenty-five, I was committed to learn the craft, and after a short period, I acquired this craft, and thanks to his foresight, I bought myself a small estate, without anybody knowing. And I freed myself from going down to town. And I was right and I was rightly led.[15]

Though separated by as much as two hundred years, both Lucian and Abedrapsas lived in the same area, Syria. Abedrapsas' apprenticeship and subsequent career as a craftsperson were clearly lucrative endeavours which enabled economic mobility, as evidenced by his purchase of a small estate. When Lucian's protagonist turns his back on τέχνη, or vocational education, Lucian frames this as a bad decision. Abedrapsas did the opposite and, as his funerary monument attests, managed to earn a significant amount of money and become self-sufficient.[16] The διδασκαλικαί provide further evidence that common people saw apprenticeship education as a likely path to improved financial and social prospects, to control over their circumstances. One wonders what Lucian's contemporary Syrians thought of 'The Dream'. Did they think it was a reliable account of Lucian's own experience, or did they laugh at the protagonist who thought pursuing παιδεία would realistically gain him financial autonomy and happiness? Did they laugh at the protagonist who turned his back on vocational education? The new interpretation put forward in this thesis accounts for the real experiences of people like Abedrapsas and incorporates Lucian's much-cited story through the appropriate lens, as a satire.

[14] Lucian *Vit. auct.*15 *Ver. hist.* 2.17–19; *Eun.* 6, *Dial. meret.* 7.
[15] IGL Syr 4. 1410. Translation Freu 2016: 195.
[16] IGL Syr 4. 1410. Cf. Freu 2016: 195.

The scope of the present study was intentionally limited, focusing on the best documented occurrence of vocational education in the Greco-Roman world, Roman Egypt, and asserting a new interpretation of apprenticeship in that time and place. This thesis does not project its findings from the διδασκαλικαί onto vocational education across the Mediterranean or throughout Graeco-Roman history but simply provides an updated interpretation of a single corpus and a foundation for future studies on vocational education. The thesis has revealed how much can be discerned from very little evidence, demonstrating the potential for a fuller history of vocational education in the Graeco-Roman world. At the close of the thesis, I outline the implications for such a history and the direction future research might take.

Westermann makes an argument in his two 1914 articles that has not been taken up by subsequent scholars of the διδασκαλικαί corpus: these contracts indicate a 'fully developed system of apprenticeship… for the ancient world.'[17] He argues that there is evidence of apprenticeship from Pharaonic Egypt, ancient Mesopotamia, Classical Greece and Roman Italy.[18] To date, Westermann is the only scholar to discuss the fact that legal contracts of apprenticeship are attested in both Roman Egypt (in Greek on papyri) and in Babylonia (in Akkadian on cuneiform tablets) from the Late Babylonian period (i.e., the later first millennium BCE).[19]

It is curious that in the history of scholarship on education in antiquity, vocational education, and particularly the διδασκαλικαί, is not normally discussed. Instead, scholarship on the history of education in antiquity has tended to focus on παιδεία, as seen in the seminal works of Werner Jaeger and Henri-Irénée Marrou.[20] One possible reason is that early investigations into each form of education depicted them in diametrically opposite terms. For Westermann, the apprenticeship education system attested in the διδασκαλικαί was a non-elite, vocational and cross-cultural phenomenon. For Jaeger and

[17] Westermann 1914a: 307.
[18] Westermann 1914b: 610.
[19] Somewhat surprisingly, Westermann appears to be unaware of the 1912 article by L. F. Anderson which details references from the Classical Greek and Roman writers attesting to the existence of vocational education in those areas, as he does not cite or allude to it. Anderson's arguments would have strongly supported Westermann's claims of a widespread, similarly structured system of apprenticeship. Likewise, Anderson himself appears to have been unaware of the διδασκαλικαί contracts which had only received cursory mention among the German scholars of Roman law at the time when he published his article. Anderson 1912.
[20] See, for example, Jaeger 1939–144; Marrou 1956; Cribiore 1996, 2001; Morgan 1998.

Marrou, παιδεία was elite, non-vocational and culture-specific. Consequently, vocational education has not received the same scholarly treatment as the more elite form of education.

What is needed, then, is a broader history of vocational education in antiquity, both to determine the veracity of Westermann's claim of a Mediterranean-wide apprenticeship system and to incorporate the history of vocational education into the history of παιδεία. This thesis has provided an example of how such a study might be undertaken using a prosopographical approach. What follows is a brief survey of the evidence beyond Egypt demonstrating the potential of such a study. This brief overview shows that the circumstances of the craftsmen in Roman Egypt were likely not unusual for tradespeople throughout the Roman empire.

Several funerary monuments from across the Mediterranean during the imperial era attest craftsmen who appear to have had lucrative careers. A marble slab, likely a statue base for a funerary monument, found in Pisidia in Asia Minor and dated to the imperial period details the life of an ironsmith.[21] The inscription relates how the unnamed (due to fragmentary nature) ironsmith undertook an apprenticeship in Alexandria and subsequently became famous for his craftmanship. This ironsmith's career provided him at least moderate wealth since his son was able to erect a statue in his honour at his death. Recall also Abedrapsas, mentioned above, whose funerary inscription attests to the prosperity apprenticeship education afforded him.

In Tarraco (modern day Tarragona, Spain), another funerary inscription reveals at least two further individuals who prospered on account of their professions as craftspeople. This funerary inscription was erected for a certain Iulius Statutus Carnuntius, a goldsmith, by his former pupil, Secundinius Felicissimus, who expresses his intention to take over the successful workshop.[22] The former pupil describes his teacher as 'plenus omni ope moribus, vita, disciplina beatus', or 'full of all sorts of wealth, blessed in his disposition, life and training'. As evidence, Felicissimus indicates that Statutus enjoyed such comforts as visiting the baths twice a day. That Felicissimus is not exaggerating Statutus' affluence can be seen in another funerary inscription which Statutus erected for his wife.[23]

[21] SEG 31 1284. Cf. Freu 2016: 194.
[22] RIT 447. Lario Devesa 2024: 46; Gorostidi 2014: 217–218.
[23] RIT 646.

This brief inscription identifies his wife as Porcia Corinthidis, whose name has been associated with the ownership of the large and extravagant so-called 'villa dels Antigons' in Reus, Catalonia just outside the provincial capital of Tarraco. Further confirming Statutus' residence at this villa is the archaeological discovery of a forge there, built during the time Statutus is known to have lived.[24] Such evidence would seem to confirm both Felicissimus' description of his master and Abedrapsas' claim that his work as a craftsperson enabled him to purchase a small estate and free himself from reliance on the city.

Perhaps the most conspicuous example of a craftsperson earning a substantial income from their trade is Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces. Though nothing is known about Eurysaces beyond what is attested on his tomb, the monumental nature of the tomb signals wealth, and the depictions on the monument indicate how he gained his wealth.[25] The tomb, located on the Via Labicana in Rome, is 33 feet tall and would have been the largest local monumental structure when it was built in the mid- to late-first century BCE. Covering the monument are elaborate scenes depicting the stages of preparing bread. The only fully extant inscription provides Eurysaces' full name and lists that he was a baker and a contractor. Beyond his extraordinarily successful career as a baker, the only known aspect of his life is that which can be discerned from his name—that he was a freedman.[26] It is a testament to the lucrative potential of craftmanship that Eurysaces began his life as a slave and marked its end with a decadent funerary monument that dwarfed all surrounding buildings. It is not for nothing that Eurysaces has been compared to (and even argued to be the real world counterpart of) the fictive figure of Trimalchio, the excessively wealthy freedman of Petronius' *Satyricon* whose business as a wine trader permitted him to not only purchase his (and his wife's) freedom but live a life of decadence in which he hosted splendid dinner parties where his own extravagant tomb is discussed.

This thesis has demonstrated what is possible when prosopography is applied to one corpus as a methodology for undertaking social history. A broader history of vocational education in antiquity which considers individuals like those described above is an urgent desideratum. Unlike with παιδεία,

[24] Gorostidi 2014: 218.
[25] For a more thorough summary of the monument and Eurysaces, see Petersen 2003.
[26] Petersen 2003: 230.

very few references to vocational education appear in literary texts, and no documentary evidence of writing exercises appears, such as those used to reconstruct παιδεία, or the more elite form of education. What we do have is documentary evidence of individuals, whether on papyri or stone. A prosopographical study of apprenticeship education across antiquity would not only bring the lives of artisans into fuller view but would also afford vocational education the kind of scholarly attention that has traditionally only been given to the elites and their form of education. A major aim of this thesis was to demonstrate how such a study might be undertaken and its value.

Appendix 1: The Διδασκαλικαι Documents

Below is a table of the currently known apprenticeship contracts from Greco-Roman Egypt as well as basic information about each of the individuals attested in the document. Unlike the list of the documents in the Introduction, which ordered the documents based on chronology, the current ordering emphasises provenance. The documents are arranged by a three-tiered ordering principle: firstly, by region/nome, secondly by city and thirdly by date. Ordering in this way facilitates a better understanding of the geographic distribution. Individuals of enslaved status are indicated by 'Sl.' in superscript after their name. Likewise, if an individual was a κύριος or sponsor/guardian for a woman arranging an apprenticeship, this is indicated by the letters 'Sp.' in superscript after their name. If an individual has an archive recognised and studied by the editors of Trismegistos, then their name is followed by an asterisk.

	Document Details						Apprentice Details		Teacher Details		Guardian Details	
#	*Διδασκαλική*	*Language*	*Trade*	*Date*	*Region/Nome*	*City*	*Name*	*# of Documents*[1]	*Name*	*# of Documents*	*Name*	*# of Documents*
1	BGU 4 1124	Greek	Nail smithing	18 BCE	Poleis	Alexandria	Hermaiskos	0	Nilos	0	Herakleides	0
2	SB 22 15538	Greek	Flute-Playing	13 BCE		Alexandria	Narcissus Sl.	0	Gaius Iulius Eros	0	Gaius Iulius Philios	5
3	P. Lond. 5 1706	Greek	Too Fragmentary to Discern	567 CE	Aphroditopolite Nome	Aphrodito	Peter	0	Anonymous 1	0	Anonymous 2	0
4	P. Oslo 3 141	Greek	Weaving	50 CE	Arsinoite Nome	Karanis	Anonymous 3	0	Theabennis	1	Satornilos	0
5	SB 18 13305	Greek	Weaving	271 CE		Karanis	Anonymous 4 Sl.?	0	Aurelia Libouke	0	Ision	0
6	P. Vars. SN7 (8)	Greek	Weaving	169 CE		Ptolemais Drymou	Epimachus	0	Herakleides 3	0	Kleimas	0
7	SPP 22 40	Greek	Weaving	150 CE		Soknopaiou Nesos	Taorsenouphis Sl.	3	Pausiris 3*	7	Segathis* & Stotoetis 2* Sp.	7 & 2

[1] Number of documents excludes the current διδασκαλική document.

8	P. Grenf. 2 59	Greek	Weaving	188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	Stotoetis [Sl.]	0	Paouetis	0	Taseus 2 & Satabous [Sp.]	0 & 0
9	PSI 10 1132	Greek	Mat Weaving	61 CE	Talithis	Onnophris 2	0	Konopis	0	Psekebkis & Thermouthis	0 & 0
10	P. Mich 5 346a	Greek	Weaving	13 CE	Tebtynis	Helene 3 [Sl.]	0	Orsenouphis	0	Herakleon	0
11	P. Mich. 2 121 R 2 8	Greek	Weaving	42 CE	Tebtynis	Papontos	0	Horos	0	Tasoukis & Orseus [Sp.]	0 & 0
12	P. Tebt. 2 442	Greek	Weaving	113 CE	Tebtynis	Harphaesis	0	Heron	1	Protas	0
13	P. Tebt. 2 385	Greek	Weaving	117 CE	Tebtynis	Kronion	0	Heron	1	Tephersais & Herakleos [Sp.]	0 & 0
14	P. Mich. Inv. 4238	Greek	Carpentry	128 CE	Theadelpheia	Anonymous 5	0	Anonymous 6	0	Dida	0
15	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443-459	Greek	Too Fragmentary to Discern	139 CE	Unknown	Anonymous 7	0	Anonymous 8	0	Anonymous 9	0
16	PSI 10 1110, verso 1	Greek	Mat Weaving	150-199 CE	Unknown	Sarapion	0	Herakleides 4	0	Tasoukis 2 & Mareos [Sp.]	0

17	BGU 11 2041	Greek	Weaving	200 CE		Unknown	Herakles	0	Zosimus	0	Isodorus 2	0
18	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326	Greek	Not Mentioned	98 CE	Herakleopolite Nome	Ankyropolis	Suairous	1	Isidorus & Apollonarion	1 & 1	Ischyras	1
19	P. Heid. Gr. 4 327	Greek	Embalming	99 CE		Ankyropolis	Eudaimon	0	Apollonarion	1	Ischyras	1
20	SB 24 16131	Demotic	Weaving	25–1 BCE		Toy	Anonymous 10	0	Anonymous 11	0	N/A	--
21	PSI 3 241	Greek	Weaving	2nd Cent. CE	Hermapolite Nome	Antinoopolis	Nike Sl.	0	Aurelius Antinous	0	Aurelius Silvanus	0
22	SB 24 16320	Greek	Weaving	293-304 CE	Mothite Nome	Kellis	Anonymous 12 Sl.	0	Anonymous 13	0	Athenodora & Aurelius Apollodoros	0 & 1
23	P. Kellis 1 12	Greek	Linen Weaving	300–399 CE		Kellis	Anonymous 14	0	Unknown Monk	0	Samoun	1
24	P. Fouad Inv. 89(a)	Greek	Weaving	20 CE	Oxyrhynchite Nome	Oxyrhynchus	Zoilos	0	Apollonius 4	0	Pasion	0
25	P. Oslo Inv. 1496	Greek	Weaving	31–44 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Syros	0	Apollonius	2?	Didyme	4

26	P. Oxy. 2 322	Greek	Weaving	36 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Onnophris	0	Abaros	0	Thamounion & Tryphon* Sp.	6 & 27
27	P. Fouad 37	Greek	Linen Weaving	48 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Fuscus	0	Menodorus	0	Lucius Pompeius Niger*	17[2]
28	P. Mich. 3 170	Greek	Weaving	49 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Ammonios*	1	Apollonius 2	2?	Pausiris Sr.*	4
29	P. Wisc. 1 4	Greek	Weaving	53 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Dioskous*	8	Apollonius 2	2?	Pausiris Sr.*	4
30	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Greek	Weaving	54 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Agelochos	0	Heras	0	Apollonous & Diogenes	0 & 0
31	P. Mich. 3 171	Greek	Weaving	58 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Amoitas	0	Pausiris Sr.*	4	Helene & Epinikos Sp.	0 & 1
32	P. Mich. 3 172	Greek	Weaving	62 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Pausiris Jr.*	11	Epinikos	0	Pausiris Sr.*	4
33	P. Oxy. 2 275	Greek	Weaving	66 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Thoonis	0	Ptolemy	0	Tryphon*	27
34	PSI 8 871	Greek	Copper smithing	66 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Petechonsis 2	0	Herakleides 2	0	Petoseiris	0

[2] Pompeius' archive has 19 documents, 17 of which are certain.

35	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Greek	Weaving	66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Heraklas	0	Seuthes	0	Taseus & Dionysius 2 Sp.	1 & 1
36	SB 24 16186	Greek	Weaving	70 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Pachois	0	Isas	0	Ophelas	0
37	SB 12 10946	Greek	Weaving	98-103 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Hermes	0	Papontos	0	Hermas	0
38	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Greek	Shorthand Writing	100-199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Anonymous 15 Sl.	0	Anonymous 16	0	Anonymous 17	0
39	P. Oxy 4 724	Greek	Shorthand Writing	155 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Chaerammon Sl.	0	Dionysius & Apollonius 3	0 & 0	Panechotes	0
40	P. Oxy 14 1647	Greek	Weaving	175-199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Thermouthion Sl.	0	Lucius	0	Platonis & Plato Sp.	1 & 0
41	P. Oxy 4 725	Greek	Weaving	183 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Thonis	1	Heraklas 2	0	Ischyrion	0
42	P. Oxy. 38 2875	Greek	Building	200-225 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Aurelius Zoilos	0	Aurelius Apollonius	0	Aurelia Zoilous	0
43	BGU 4 1021	Greek	Hairdressing	200-299 CE	Oxyrhynchus	Ptolemy 2 Sl.	0	Theon	0	Aurelius Sentius	0

44	P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V	Greek	Too Fragmentary to Discern	200–349 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Anonymous 18	0	Anonymous 19	0	Anonymous 20	0
45	P. Oxy. 86 5562	Greek	Weaving	236–238 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Helene 2 Sl.	0	Patermouthis	0	Aurelius Zoilos 2	0
46	P. Oxy. 41 2977	Greek	Hairdressing	239-240 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Didymus Sl.	0	Thonis 2	0	Aurelius Diogenes	0
47	P. Oxy 31 2586	Greek	Linen Weaving	264 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Anonymous 21	0	Aurelius Dioscorus	0	Aurelius Hermias	0
48	P. Oxy. 67 4596	Greek	Weaving	264 CE		Oxyrhynchus	Aurelia Aphrodite	0	Aurelius Thonis	0	Aurelius Polydeuces	0
49	P. Aberd. 59	Greek	Embroidery	475-525 CE	Panopolite Nome	Panopolis?	Anonymous 22	0	Anonymous 23	0	Anonymous 24	0
50	O. Bodl. eg. inscr. 328[3]	Demotic	Weaving	13 BCE	Theban Area	Theban Area	Peteyris	0	Petechonsis	0	Senchonsis	0
51	P. Heid. Gr. 3 226[4]	Greek	Physician	215-213 BCE	Unknown	Unknown	Philon	0	Theiodotos	0	Sosikrates	1

[3] TM 566333. See Winkler 2015.
[4] The individuals in this contract are likely fictional. See footnote 9 on page 4 for further details.

52	P. Col. inv. 164[5]	Greek	Too Fragmentary to Discern	118-122 CE	Unknown	Anonymous 25	0	Anonymous 26	0	Didyme 2	0
53	SB 14 11982	Greek	Brocade Making?	554 CE	Upper Egypt?	Phoibammon	0	Anonymous 27	0	Theodora	0
54	SB Kopt. 1 045	Coptic	Weaving	After 5th century	Unknown	Tapnub	0	Mary	0	Sara	0

[5] See Bergamasco 2006.

Documents Not Included:

1. P. Mich. 5 346b	Though this document has been included in every list of the διδασκαλικαί since its publication (i.e., Bradley and Bergamasco), it is not clear that it should be included. Firstly, the document is very fragmentary and little can be reconstructed from it. Secondly, what little can be discerned suggests that it is actually a labour contract and not an apprenticeship contract. Thus, among the few words that can be discerned are τῆ(ς) ο̣ἰ[κο]δ[ομι]κ(ῆς) ἐργασίας, or 'of/for the work of a house-builder' in line 4 in the place where one would expect a clause indicating that the contract is for the purpose of teaching (see Chapter 5). It seems as though it may have been included in previous lists due to it being on the same piece of papyrus as another apprenticeship contract (P. Mich. 5 346a).
2. P. Mich. Inv. 5196b:	This document does not appear to exist. It is included in Bradley's list and appears to be a misprint. It is not listed by any other scholars, nor in the Michigan (APIS) database or in any other major papyri databases. One potential explanation for this was put forward by Anna Kelley in her 2018 PhD thesis. Kelley (2018: 145 n.161) points out that the listed contract may be a misprint of the unpublished P. Mich. Inv. 436 recto, which has a processing number of 5196. As there is no image available on the APIS database, the document cannot be consulted.

Appendix 2: A Prosopography of the Διδασκαλικαι

The following appendix provides a full encyclopaedic prosopography of the individuals attested in the διδασκαλικαί documents. Only individuals who appear as a parent, owner of an enslaved pupil, guardian (κύριος), teacher or pupil are included in the prosopography. Excluded are scribes, undersigners, officials notified of the apprenticeship, bankers, deceased parents of pupils (when living relatives are arranging the apprenticeship). The biographies are brief and descriptive. Where more detail can be ascertained about the individual, the biography includes references to the page numbers of the thesis where that analysis takes place.

ABAROS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
36 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 322	Teacher of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Abaros, son of Didymus, was a weaver who lived in Oxyrhynchus during the first century CE. In 36 CE, he agreed to teach Onnophris, son of Thamounion and brother of Tryphon the weaving trade for two years. He had a son named Didymus who seems to have received basic training in writing since Didymus signs on behalf of Abaros, who was illiterate. For further discussion of Abaros, see p. 176.

AGELOCHOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
54 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Student of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Agelochos was an apprentice who learned the trade of weaving. He had a double name, though the first name is not preserved due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus. His maternal grandmother, Apollonous, arranged the apprenticeship, which suggests he may have been an orphan. He was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, Heras, for two years.

AMMONIOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
49–79 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 170	Student of Weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Mich. Inv. 94

Biography:

Ammonios was the son (perhaps the eldest?) of Pausiris the weaver. Very little is known of him as he is only mentioned in two documents. The first, an apprenticeship contract, reveals that he was handed over by his father into an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving from Apollonius 2 (49 CE). The document mentions him being a minor at the time, so it seems he was born, at the earliest, in 36 CE. The next document attesting him is not until 30 years later when he appears in a declaration document with his brother Dioskous where both confirm that their brother Pausiris Jr. is living in Alexandria (P. Mich. Inv. 94). For further discussion of Ammonios, see pages 96, 156–158.

AMOITAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
58 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 171	Student of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Amoitas was an apprentice weaver who learned the trade from Pausiris Sr. As his paternal aunt, Helene, arranges the apprenticeship, it is likely that he was an orphan. He is listed as being a minor in the contract, the earliest date for his birth is 45 CE. For more on Amoitas, see page 160.

ANONYMOUS 1

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
567 CE	Aphrodito	P. Lond. 5 1706	Parent of Pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 1 arranges an apprenticeship for their son, Peter, in an unknown trade.

ANONYMOUS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
567 CE	Aphrodito	P. Lond. 5 1706	Teacher of unknown trade

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 2 agrees to apprentice the son of Anonymous 1, Peter. The trade is unknown due to the document being fragmentary.

ANONYMOUS 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
50 CE	Karanis	P. Oslo 3 141	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 3 was apprenticed by his paternal uncle, Satornilos, to Theabennis to learn the trade of weaving. The contract states that Anonymous 3's father is deceased. It is likely that his mother is also deceased since she is not mentioned and he (Anonymous 3) appears to be in the custody of Satornilos.

ANONYMOUS 4

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
271 CE	Karanis	SB 18 13305	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 4 was apprenticed by Ision to learn the weaving trade from Aurelia Libouke. There is some uncertainty over her status (i.e., whether she is enslaved or free). For more on this debate, see 43–44.

ANONYMOUS 5

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
128 CE	Theadelphia	P. Mich. Inv. 4238	Pupil of Carpentry

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 5 was apprenticed by his father, Dida, to learn the trade of carpentry from his cousin, Anonymous 6.

ANONYMOUS 6

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
128 CE	Theadelphia	P. Mich. Inv. 4238	Teacher of Carpentry

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 6 agreed to teach his cousin, Anonymous 5, the trade of carpentry. He is described as having a scar somewhere on the left side of his body (the document is too fragmentary to know exactly where) and being twenty-five years old.

ANONYMOUS 7

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
139 CE	Unknown	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443–459	Pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 7 was apprenticed by Anonymous 9 to Anonymous 8 to learn an unknown trade.

ANONYMOUS 8

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
139 CE	Unknown	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443–459	Teacher

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 8 taught an unknown trade to Anonymous 7.

ANONYMOUS 9

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
139 CE	Unknown	P. Ross. Georg. 2 18. 443–459	Parent

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 9 arranged an apprenticeship for Anonymous 7 to learn an unknown trade from Anonymous 8.

ANONYMOUS 10

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
25–1 BCE	Toy	SB 24 16131	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 10 apprenticed himself to learn the trade of weaving from Anonymous 11. His contract is unusual in the corpus for being written in Demotic.

ANONYMOUS 11

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
25–1 BCE	Toy	SB 24 16131	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 11 agreed to teach the trade of weaving to Anonymous 10. The contract is unusual for being written in Demotic.

ANONYMOUS 12

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
293–304 CE	Kellis	SB 24 16320	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 12 was the slave of Athenodora and was apprenticed to learn the trade of weaving from Anonymous 13. She was the daughter of Athenodora's house-born slave.

ANONYMOUS 13

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
293–304 CE	Kellis	SB 24 16320	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 13 taught Anonymous 12 the trade of weaving.

ANONYMOUS 14

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
300–399 CE	Kellis	P. Kellis 1 12	Pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

An unpublished letter, see footnote 1 below.

Biography:

Anonymous 14 was placed in a monastery by his father, Samoun (son of Tithoes), to learn the trade of linen weaving from an unknown monk. It is likely, though not completely certain, that his name was Tithoes. This is because an unpublished Coptic letter attests a certain Samoun, son of Tithoes and from Kellis, sending his son, named Tithoes, to a monastery.[1]

[1] Worp, Whitehorne and Daniel 1995: 37.

ANONYMOUS 15

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
100–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Pupil of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 15 was the slave of Anonymous 17, who apprenticed him to Anonymous 16 to learn shorthand writing.

ANONYMOUS 16

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
100–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Teacher of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 16 taught Anonymous 15 shorthand writing.

ANONYMOUS 17

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
100–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2988	Owner of pupil of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 17 was the owner of Anonymous 15, whom he apprenticed to learn shorthand writing.

ANONYMOUS 18

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–349 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V	Pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 18 was apprenticed by Anonymous 20 to Anonymous 19 to learn an unknown trade. As only a small section from the final part of the contract is preserved, it is unclear whether he was the son, relative or slave of Anonymous 20.

ANONYMOUS 19

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–349 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V	Teacher

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 19 taught Anonymous 18 an unknown trade.

ANONYMOUS 20

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–349 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Monts. Roca 4 83 R/V	Parent or owner of pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Arranged an apprenticeship for Anonymous 18 to learn an unknown trade from Anonymous 19. As the document contains only the final lines of the contract, it is unclear whether he was the parent or owner of Anonymous 18.

ANONYMOUS 21

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 31 2586	Pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 21 was the son of Aurelius Hermias and the grandson of a former *agoranomos* of Oxyrhynchus. He was apprenticed to learn the trade of linen weaving from Aurelius Dioscorus. His contract is one of two παραμονή arrangements attested in the corpus. He is also the pupil with the highest attested wages in the corpus. For a more detailed analysis of his circumstances, see pages 88–91, 142–144, 182–188.

ANONYMOUS 22

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
475–525 CE	Panopolites?	P. Aberd. 59	Pupil of embroidery

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 22 was apprenticed by Anonymous 24 to learn the trade of embroidery from Anonymous 23. For more on her circumstances, see page 152, footnote 124.

ANONYMOUS 23

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
475–525 CE	Panopolites?	P. Aberd. 59	Teacher of embroidery

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 23 taught Anonymous 22 the trade of embroidery.

ANONYMOUS 24

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
475–525 CE	Panopolites?	P. Aberd. 59	Parent of pupil of embroidery

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 24 arranged an apprenticeship for their child, Anonymous 22, to learn the trade of embroidery from Anonymous 23.

ANONYMOUS 25

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
118–122 CE	Unknown	P. Col. Inv. 164	Pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 25 was apprenticed by Didyme 2 to learn an unknown trade from Anonymous 26.

ANONYMOUS 26

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
118–122 CE	Unknown	P. Col. Inv. 164	Teacher

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 26 was a teacher who agreed with Didyme 2 to teach Anonymous 25 an unknown trade.

ANONYMOUS 27

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
554 CE	Unknown	SB 14 11982	Teacher of brocade making (?)

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Anonymous 27 was a teacher of an unknown trade (possibly brocade making?). He agreed to apprentice Phoibammon from his mother, Theodora, for eight years. The contract describes him as being a 'reverent cleric and barbarian' (εὐλαβεστάτῳ κληρικῷ καὶ βαρβαρικαρίῳ). For a more thorough assessment of the trade Anonymous 27 taught, see page 126 footnote 33.

APOLLONIUS 1

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
31–44 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oslo Inv. 1496[2]	Teacher of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Apollonius 1 appears as the teacher in an apprenticeship contract which was probably written in the early 40s CE (with 45 CE being the *terminus ante quem*). His pupil was, Syros, son of Didyme and Pompeius. He is introduced in this contract as Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἀλθα[ιεύς], or Apollonius, son of Apollonius, of the Althaean deme. For a fuller analysis of Apollonius 1, see pages 61, 86–88, 94–96, 111–112, 155–156. For an analysis of Apollonius 1 potentially being the same individual as Apollonius 2, see pages 156ff.

APOLLONIUS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
49–53 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 170; P. Wisc. 1 4	Teacher of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλικαί

Biography:

Apollonius 2, son of Apollonius, was the weaving teacher to whom Pausiris Sr apprenticed his eldest two sons, Ammonios and Dioskous. In the first contract (P. Mich. 3 170), he is described as living in the Cavalry Camp Quarter of Oxyrhynchus. In the second (P. Wisc. 1 4), he is just listed as Apollonius, son of Apollonius, the weaver. On pages 156ff., it is argued that Apollonius 2 could be the same individual as Apollonius 1. For fuller analysis of Apollonius 2, see pages 1, 156–158, 175.

[2] See Mangerud 2017: 82ff.

APOLLONIUS 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
155 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 724	Father of Teacher of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Apollonius 3 was the father of Dionysius. Both Apollonius 3 and Dionysius were shorthand writers. He appears to manage his son's affairs by arranging the apprenticeship contract on his behalf. Consequently, he is paid for the shorthand training rather than his son.

APOLLONIUS 4

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
20 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Fouad Inv. 89(a)	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Apollonius 4, son of Sarapion, was a weaver who lived in the early first century CE. He is attested as living in the quarter of Onnophris in Oxyrhynchus. He teaches Zoilos, son of Pasion the weaving trade.

APOLLONARION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326, 327	Teacher of two pupils, one for an unknown trade and another for embalming

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλικαί

Biography:

Apollonarion lived in Ankyropolis in the late first and early second century CE. She was the spouse of Isidorus. They are listed as the teachers in the only two διδασκαλικαί documents to come from the city of Ankyropolis. In the first, both agree to take in a young girl named Suairous and teach her an unnamed trade (P. Heid. Gr. 4 326). The other contract of apprenticeship (P. Heid. Gr. 327) is an arrangement for Suairous' brother, Eudaimon, to learn the skill of embalming from Apollonarion. For further analysis of Apollonarion, see pages 52–57, 192.

APOLLONOUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
54 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Grandmother of student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Apollonous, daughter of Sarapion, was the grandmother of Agelochos and arranged for him to undertake an apprenticeship in weaving. The teacher was her son, Heras, who was the uncle of Agelochos.

ATHENODORA

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
293–304 CE	Kellis	SB 24 16320	Owner of slave apprenticed to learn weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Very little is known about Athenodora since the only document attesting her, the apprenticeship contract in which she appears, is fragmented. She apprentices her slave (whose name is lost) to learn weaving and is able to act without a guardian due to having had at least three children (the *ius trium liberorum*).

AURELIA APHRODITE

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 67 4596	Student of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelia Aphrodite was the daughter of Aurelius Polydeuces. She was apprenticed by her father to learn the weaving trade from Aurelius Thonis. The conditions outlined in her contract suggest her family's circumstances were bleak. Her apprenticeship contract is one of two known contracts to include a παραμονή arrangement of indentured servitude. Further, she is attested as receiving room and board in place of wages. For more detailed analysis of her circumstances, see pages 53–57, 81–83, 182–188.

AURELIA LIBOUKE

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
271 CE	Karanis	SB 18 13305	Teacher of Weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelia Libouke was a teacher of weaving from third-century Karanis, born around 213 CE. She taught Anonymous 4, either the daughter or slave girl of Ision, the trade of weaving. She lived in the quarter of the Bithynians in Karanis and was able to act legally without a guardian due to having at least three children (the *ius trium liberorum*). She is described as having a scar on her left shin. For more on Aurelia Libouke, see 41–44, 192.

AURELIA ZOILOUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–225 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 38 2875	Mother and sponsor of student of building

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelia Zoilous, daughter of Ptolemy, was the mother of Aurelius Zoilos, for whom she acted as a guardian when he arranged an apprenticeship for himself with the house builder, Aurelius Apollonius.

AURELIUS ANTINOUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
Third Cent. CE	Antinoopolis	PSI 3 241	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Antinous was a weaver who lived in Antinoopolis sometime during the third century CE. He also goes by the names Apion Augustus and Kaisareios. In the one document attesting to him, he agrees to teach the slave-girl, Nike, of the athlete Aurelius Silvanus the trade of weaving for a single year.

AURELIUS APOLLODOROS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
293–304 CE	Kellis	SB 24 16320	Unknown

Related Papyri:

P. Kellis. 1 19.a

Biography:

Both of the documents associated with Aurelius Apollodoros are very fragmentary. Consequently, little can be discerned about him. The διδασκαλική document mentions that he is a former magistrate of the city of Mothites, however this is all the information that can be gained about him. Indeed, it is even unclear what his role in the contract is as he is listed as simply being present and in agreement with the contract while the woman arranging the contract (Athenodora) is acting without a guardian via the *ius trium liberorum*. It does not seem that he is the teacher, particularly as he is listed as a former magistrate and the trade being taught is weaving. He is mentioned at the bottom of the contract, but the papyrus is too fragmented to discern anything about this mention.

Aurelius Apollonius

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–225 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 38 2875	Teacher of building

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Apollonius, son of Doras and Apollonia, was a house builder who lived in third-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He agreed to teach the trade of house building to Aurelius Zoilos. He is described in the contract as being a supervisor, or ἐπιστάτης.

Aurelius Diogenes

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
239–240 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2977	Owner of student learning hairdressing or wool carding

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Diogenes, son of Heras and Sarapias, was the owner of a slave, Didymus, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of the κτενιστής (either wool carding or hairdressing) from Thonis 2. Based on the naming patterns in his family and the fact that he owned a slave, it seems likely that he came from a Hellenic background and was part of the local elite/gymnasial order. For a more detailed assessment of this, see pages 109–111. For more on the trade of the κτενιστής, footnote 34 on page 126.

Aurelius Dioscorus

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 31 2586	Teacher of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Dioscorus was a linen weaver in mid-third-century Oxyrhynchus. He agreed to teach Anonymous 21, son of Aurelius Hermias, the trade. He is listed as being a supervisor, or ἐπιστάτης. The contract in which he appears is one of two that make use of the παραμονή arrangements of indentured servitude. For more on Dioscorus, see 81–83, 142–143.

Aurelius Hermias

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 31 2586	Parent of pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Hermias, son of Ptolemy, arranged an apprenticeship for his son, Anonymous 21, to learn the linen weaving trade from Aurelius Dioscorus. His father, Ptolemy, was a former *agoranomos* of the city of Oxyrhynchus. For more detailed analysis of Hermias' circumstances, see pages 88–91, 111–112, 142–144, 182–188.

Aurelius Polydeuces

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 67 4596	Father of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Polydeuces apprenticed his daughter, Aurelia Aphrodite, to learn the trade of weaving from Aurelius Thonis. The apprenticeship contract is one of two known contracts to include a παραμονή arrangement of indentured servitude. Due to the conditions of the contract being particularly unadvantageous for Polydeuces and Aphrodite, it is reasonable to assume that their circumstances were not ideal. For more on Polydeuces, see pages 53–57, 81–83, 182–188.

AURELIUS SENTIUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–299 CE	Oxyrhynchus	BGU 4 1021	Owner of pupil learning haircutting or wool carding

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Sentius is introduced in the apprenticeship contract attesting him as a 'veteran of the honorable disbanded troop of duplicares'. As such, he had held a relatively high rank in the military, receiving double pay. He apprenticed his slave, Ptolemy 2, to Theon to learn the trade of the κτενιστής, either wool carding or hairdressing. For more on Sentius, see pages 108–109. For more on the trade of the κτενιστής, footnote 34 on page 126 and pages 207–208.

AURELIUS SILVANUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
Third Cent. CE	Antinoopolis	PSI 3 241	Owner of enslaved pupil learning weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Silvanus, also called Posi, was a professional athlete who lived during the third century CE. He appears as the addressee of a cheirographon written or drawn up in Antinoopolis by the weaver Aurelius Antinous in which Antinous agrees that he has received Silvanus' slave-girl, Nike, and will teach her the trade of weaving for one year. It is not clear which competitions Silvanus competes in as the cheirographon only reveals his profession by the phrase πλειστονίκῃ παραδόξῳ, or 'admirable victor of many contests' (line 3). For more on Silvanus, see pages 108–109.

AURELIUS THONIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
264 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 67 4596	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Thonis was a weaver who taught the weaving trade to Aurelia Aphrodite, daughter of Aurelius Polydeuces. He was an ἱστωνάρχης, a position which appears to have given him substantial power of the weaving industry in the region he worked. The apprenticeship contract he arranges with Aurelius Polydeuces is one of the few attested παραμονή arrangements in the corpus. For more on his life and his position, see 52–57, 81–83, 130, 186–186.

AURELIUS ZOILOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–225 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 38 2875	Student of building

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Zoilos, son of Aurelia Zoilous, learned the trade of house building from Aurelius Apollonius. He is notable for being the only pupil in the διδασκαλικαί corpus who arranges an apprenticeship for himself.

AURELIUS ZOILOS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
236–238 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 86 5562	Owner of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Aurelius Zoilos 2, son of Chosion and Apollonous, arranged an apprenticeship for his slave girl, Helene 2, to learn the trade of weaving from Patermouthis.

CHAERAMMON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
155 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 724	Enslaved pupil of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Chaerammon was the slave of Panechotes and was apprenticed to learn shorthand writing from Dionysius. For more on his circumstances, specifically what shorthand writing involved, see 208–211.

DIDA

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
128 CE	Theadelpheia	P. Mich. Inv. 4238	Uncle of pupil of carpentry

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Dida was the uncle of Anonymous 5 for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of carpentry from Anonymous 6. He was 42 years old at the time he arranged the contract (born around 86 CE) and had a scar somewhere on the left side of his body.

DIDYME

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
20–44 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oslo Inv. 1496	Mother of pupil

Related Papyri:

SB 8 9827b; P. Oxy. 2 293; SB 16 13042; P. Oslo Inv. 1496; P. Fouad 44. She is part of the Lucius Pompeius Niger archive via her marriage to Pompeius. See his archive list of 19 documents here.

Biography:

Didyme, daughter of Dionysius, lived in early to mid-century CE Oxyrhynchus. She appears in a διδασκαλική (P. Oslo Inv. 1496) as the parent arranging the apprenticeship of her son, Syros. She has been identified as the husband of Lucius Pompeius Niger. For more on her life, see pages 59–68.

DIDYME 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
118–122 CE	Unknown	P. Col. Inv. 164	Parent or owner of pupil

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Didyme 2 was either the parent or owner of Anonymous 25, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn an unknown trade from Anonymous 26.

DIDYME 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326	Mother of pupil for unknown trade

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Didyme 3 was the wife of Ischyras and mother of Eudaimon and Suairous. She accompanied Ischyras in the contract where he apprenticed Suairous to Apollonarion and Isidorus. For an analysis of the circumstances of her family, see 52–57.

DIDYMUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
239–240 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2977	Enslaved pupil of hairdressing or wool carding

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Didymus, son of Taiados, was the house-born slave of Aurelius Diogenes. He was apprenticed to learn the trade of the κτενιστής (either wool carding or hairdressing) from Thonis 2. For more on the trade of the κτενιστής, footnote 34 on page 126 and pages 207–208.

DIOGENES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
54 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Sponsor for grandmother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Diogenes, son of Didymus and Apollonous, served as the sponsor (κύριος) for his mother when she arranged an apprenticeship for her grandson, Agelochos (the son of Diogenes' sister), to learn weaving from Diogenes' brother, Heras. Diogenes appears to have received some training in writing since he signs on behalf of his mother, who is listed as being illiterate.

DIONYSIUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
155 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 724	Teacher of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Dionysius, son of Apollonius 3, was a teacher of shorthand writing who taught Chaerammon that trade. He earns 120 drachmas over the course of two years for teaching the trade. For more on shorthand writing, see 208–211.

Dionysius 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66–72 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Sponsor for mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Oxy. 85 5496

Biography:

Dionysius, son of Heraklas, lived in mid-late first century CE Oxyrhynchus. He appears as the sponsor for his sister, Taseus, when she hands over her son, Heraklas, to learn the trade of weaving. Though Dionysius' name is missing in the apprenticeship contract due to the fragmentary nature of the papyrus, that this sponsor was Dionysius is confirmed by his being described as Taseus' full brother, whom a later document (P. Oxy. 85 5496) names as Dionysius.

Dioskous

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
53–79 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Wisc. 1 4	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Mich. 3 191, 192, 194; P. Mich. Inv. 77, 78, 79, 80, 94

Biography:

Dioskous, the second son of Pausiris Sr., was a weaver who lived in Oxyrhynchus in the mid to late-first century CE. He and his brother, Ammonios, learned weaving from Apollonius 2. His first appearance in documentary sources is in 53 CE when his father arranges an apprenticeship for him to learn the trade of weaving. As Dioskous is mentioned as being underage in his apprenticeship contract, he was born no earlier than 40 CE. Like his younger brother, Pausiris Jr., most of his (sub)archive deals with his receiving and repaying loans. Also like his younger brother, he appears to have made use of his wife's dowry, in the form of an open-ended loan, to ensure he paid his creditors.[3] For more on his life, family and circumstances, see pages 92–101, 157f.160

[3] See Gagos, Koenen and McNellen 1992: 187–188.

EPIMACHUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
169 CE	Ptolemais Drymou	P. Vars. SN7 (8)	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Epimachus, son of Kleimas, apprenticed by his father to learn the weaving trade from Herakleides 2.

EPINIKOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Roles in Διδασκαλικαί
58–62 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 171, 172	Teacher of weaving and sponsor of aunt of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλικαί

Biography:

Epinikos, son of Theon, was the husband of Helene, who arranged an apprenticeship in weaving for her orphaned nephew, Amoitas. The person to whom Helene apprenticed Amoitas was Pausiris Sr. Four years later, Epinikos agreed to teach Pausiris Sr.'s son, Pausiris Jr., the weaving trade. On the reciprocity between these two families, see pages 160–163.

EUDAIMON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Roles in Διδασκαλικαί
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 327	Pupil of embalming

Related Papyri:

P. Heid. Gr. 4 326 (his sister's apprenticeship contract)

Biography:

Eudaimon, son of Ischyras, was born in the late first century. He was apprenticed to learn the trade of embalming from Apollonarion. Eudaimon's educational arrangement is also unique in the διδασκαλικαί corpus in that it is the only contract documenting a student learning the trade of embalming, a traditionally Egyptian trade. That his family had a relationship with that of Apollonarion is suggested by the fact that Eudaimon's sister, Suairous, was also apprenticed to Apollonarion's husband, Isidorus. For a more detailed assessment of Eudaimon's family's circumstances, see 52–57.

Fuscus

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Roles in Διδασκαλικαί
48 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Fouad 37	Pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond διδασκαλική

Biography:

Fuscus, son of Lucius Pompeius Niger, was an apprentice linen weaver who learned the trade from Menodorus. For a fuller analysis of his family's circumstances, see pages 59–68, 154–156.

Gaius Iulius Eros

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Roles in Διδασκαλικαί
13 BCE	Alexandria	SB 22 15538	Teacher of flute-playing

Related Papyri:

None beyond διδασκαλική

Biography:

As the only documentary evidence for Gaius Iulius Eros comes from two versions of the same contract for apprenticeship, very little is known about him. However, a few details can be discerned from this contract. Firstly, he is a flute player capable of teaching several different flute instruments. Secondly, based on his name, it seems he is a Roman citizen and probably a freedman.[4]

GAIUS IULIUS PHILIOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Roles in Διδασκαλικαί
16–13 BCE	Alexandria	SB 22 15538	Owner of pupil of flute-playing

Related Papyri:

His archive and documents can be accessed here.

Biography:

Gaius Iulius Philios was a freedman and former slave of Augustus.[5] Of the six papyri documents associated with him, five are contracts of loans where Philios is in the position of the lender. The one contract in his corpus which is not a loan is a contract of apprenticeship whereby Philios apprentices out his slave, named Narcissus, to learn to play several flute instruments from Gaius Iulius Eros. For a fuller assessment of Philios (including the debate regarding whether he is actually the person who arranged this apprenticeship contract), see pages 103–105.

HARPHAESIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Roles in Διδασκαλική
113 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 442	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Harphaesis, son of Protas, learned the weaving trade from Heron. He was born around the year 100 CE in Tebtynis.

[4] See Gaius Iulius Philios above for another example of a freedman having this style of a praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen. Cf. Van Minnen 2016: 145.
[5] Van Minnen 2016: 145.

HELENE

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Roles in Διδασκαλική
58 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich 3 171	Aunt of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Helene, daughter of Horion, was the wife of Epinikos. She arranged an apprenticeship for her nephew, Amoitas (her brother's son), to learn the trade of weaving from Pausiris Sr. The contract states that her brother is deceased. It seems she and Epinikos took their orphaned nephew in. For more on the relationship between Helene's family and that of Pausiris Sr, see pages 160–163

HELENE 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Roles in Διδασκαλική
236–238 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 86 5562	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Helene 2 was the slave of Aurelius Zoilos 2, who arranged an apprenticeship for her to learn the weaving trade from Patermouthis. Her contract is notable for being among those with regularly increasing pay.

HELENE 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Roles in Διδασκαλική
13 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 5 346a	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Helene 3 was the slave of Herakleon, who arranged an apprenticeship for her to learn the weaving trade from Orsenouphis.

HERAKLES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	BGU 11 2041	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Heracles, son of Isidorus 2, was apprenticed by his father for three years to learn the weaving trade from Zosimus.

HERAKLAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Heraklas, son of Apoll[onius?] and Taseus, was apprenticed by his mother and uncle to learn the weaving trade from Seuthes. As his mother arranges the apprenticeship, it is likely that his father was deceased. Unusually, his contract of apprenticeship states that he has the option to choose to live either with his teacher or with his mother. If he chose the latter, Seuthes would compensate his mother for the expense.

HERAKLAS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
183 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 725	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Heraklas 2, son of Sarapion, was a weaver who taught that trade to Thonis. He was also called Leon and was illiterate.

HERAKLEIDES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
18 BCE	Alexandria	BGU 4 1124	Father of pupil of nail smithing

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleides was the father of Hermaiskos and one of the contract arrangers for Hermaiskos' apprenticeship to the nail smith Nilos. Herakleides appears to have had a friend, Taurinos, as a witness and cosigner for the apprenticeship agreement as well as for the cancellation. This is an irregular arrangement in the corpus of διδασκαλικαί since it is normally only women who have a second person present to act as a sponsor. All other men arranging apprenticeships do so alone. It is tempting to see Taurinos as the financial backer of this arrangement since another loan from Taurinos to Nilos is mentioned, but this is currently conjectural. For a more detailed analysis of Herakleides' circumstances, see 83–86.

HERAKLEIDES 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	PSI 8 871	Teacher of copper smithing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleides 2, son of Petosorapis, was a copper smith who lived in first-century Oxyrhynchus. He taught that trade to Petechonsis 2, son of Petoseiris.

HERAKLEIDES 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
169 CE	Ptolemais Drymou	P. Vars. SN7 (8)	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleides 3 was a weaver who taught that trade to Epimachus, son of Kleimas. He was thirty at the time of the contract (born around 139 CE) and had a scar on his forehead.

HERAKLEIDES 4

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–199 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	PSI 10 1110, verso	Teacher of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleides 4, son of Heron, was a mat weaver who lived during the second half of the second century CE. He taught that trade to Sarapion. He is described as having a scar on his right foot and being 43 years old. It is possible that Herakleides is the maternal uncle of Sarapion as the contract identifies both him and Sarapion's mother, Tasoukis 2, as children of Heron.

HERAKLEON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
13 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 5 346a	Owner of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleon, son of Eirenaios, was the owner of Helene 3, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the weaving trade from Orsenouphis.

HERAKLEOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
117 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 385	Sponsor of parent of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Herakleos, son of Herakleos, was the brother of Tephersais, who arranged an apprenticeship for her son, Kronion, to learn the trade of weaving from Heron. He acted as his sister's κύριος, or guardian, when she arranged the apprenticeship. He had a scar somewhere on the right side of his body.

HERAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
54 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. Hels. 29	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Heras, son of Didymus, was a weaver in first-century CE Oxyrhynchus. His mother, Apollonous, arranged an apprenticeship whereby he taught his nephew, Agelochos, the weaving trade.

HERMAISKOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
18 BCE	Alexandria	BGU 4 1124	Pupil of nail smithing

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Hermaiskos, son of Herakleides, was an apprentice nail smith in the first century BCE. As he was still a minor when the apprenticeship was arranged, he was born sometime around 30 BCE. In his apprenticeship contract, his father, Herakleides, arranges for the cancellation of his nail smithing apprenticeship. Herakleides arranges for Hermaiskos to be legally allowed to be apprenticed to another nail smithing teacher thus suggesting that Hermaiskos did not wish to switch trades, but only teachers. The dates listed in the contract detail that his apprenticeship arrangement only lasted 3–4 months before being cancelled. For more on his circumstances, see pages 83–86, 126–129.

HERMAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–103 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 12 10946	Parent of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Hermas, son of Hermas, was the father of Hermes, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving. The teacher of weaving who taught his son was his own brother, Papontos.

HERMES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–103 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 12 10946	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Hermes, son of Hermas, was a weaver who learned the trade from his paternal uncle, Papontos.

HERON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
113–117 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 385 and 442	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλικαί

Biography:

Heron, son of Orseus, was a weaver in early first-century CE Tebtynis. He is only mentioned in two documents, both of which are διδασκαλικαί. He is listed as being 25 years old in 113 CE and 27 years in 117 CE, so was probably born sometime between 88– 90 CE. He is described as having a scar on his head and as being illiterate. He taught the trade of weaving to Harphaesis and Kronion.

HOROS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
42 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 2 121 R 28	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Horos, son of Papontos, was a weaver from first-century CE Tebtynis. He taught the weaving trade to Papontos 2, son of Tasoukis. He was 40 years old (born in 2 CE) and had a scar on his left eyebrow.

ISAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
70 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 24 16186	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Isas, son of Thoteus, was a weaver who taught that trade to Pachois. He lived in the quarter of the Thoeris Square in Oxyrhynchus.

ISCHYRAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326, 327	Father of two pupils

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλικαί

Biography:

Ischyras was the father of only two attested pupils from Ankyropolis, Eudaimon and Sourerous. In the contract for his daughter, Sourerous, he is accompanied by Didyme 3 who is listed as Sourerous' mother. For an assessment of the life and circumstances of their family, see 52–57.

ISCHYRION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
183 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 725	Paternal uncle of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Ischyrion was the uncle of Thonis, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving from Heraklas 2.

ISIDORUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326	Teacher of unknown trade

Related Papyri:

P. Heid. Gr. 4 327 (contract of apprenticeship arranged by Isidorus' wife)

Biography:

Isidorus was the husband of Apollonarion. He lived in Ankyropolis in the late first and early second century CE. They are listed as the teachers in the only two διδασκαλικαί documents to come from the city of Ankyropolis. In the first, they agree to take in a young girl named Suairous. This contract, however, is exceptional among the διδασκαλικαί in that it does not list a trade which Suairous is supposed to learn, but merely that she is to be 'a listener (ὑπήκωον) in the things which are ordered of her regarding the house and other services'. For an assessment of the relationship between Isidorus' family and that of Suairous, see pages 52–57.

ISIDORUS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	BGU 11 2041	Parent of pupil learning weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Isidorus 2 was the father of Herakles, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the weaving trade from Zosimus.

ISION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
271 CE	Karanis	SB 18 13305	Owner of enslaved pupil learning weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond διδασκαλική

Biography:

Ision, son of Nilammon, was a resident of Karanis who gave over Anonymous 4 to learn the trade of weaving from Aurelia Libouke. It is unclear whether Anonymous 4 was his daughter or slave girl.

KLEIMAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
169 CE	Ptolemais Drymou	P. Vars. SN7 (8)	Parent of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Kleimas, son of Areios, was the father of Epimachus, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn weaving from Herakleides 3. He was a freedman. He was 50 years old at the time of arranging the contract (born around 109 CE) and had a scar on his right elbow. For an assessment of freedmen in the corpus, see pages 214–220.

KONOPIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
61 CE	Talithis	PSI 10 1132	Teacher of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Konopis, son of Patynis, was a mat weaver who taught that trade to Onnophris 2, son of Thermouthis. He was 30 years old at the time of arranging the contract (born around 31 CE) and had a scar in the middle of his forehead.

KRONION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
117 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 385	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Kronion, son of Kronion and Tephersais, was a weaver who learned that trade from Heron, son of Orseus.

LUCIUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
175–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy 14 1647	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Lucius, son of Ision and Tisasis, was a weaver who taught that trade to Thermouthion, the slave girl of Platonis. He was from Aphrodisium in the Small Oasis.

LUCIUS POMPEIUS NIGER

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
31–64 CE	Oxyrhynchus, Arsinoite Nome	P. Fouad 37	Father of pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

See archive list of 19 documents here.

Biography:

Lucius Pompeius Niger, also known as Zoilos, was a legionary from Oxyrhynchus who not only managed to obtain Roman citizenship, but also to accumulate a moderate amount of wealth throughout his life. He seems to have become a soldier around 20 CE and retired around 44 CE.[6] Pompeius appears in the διδασκαλική contract P. Fouad 37 where he arranges for his son, Fuscus, to learn the trade of seated weaving. Another of Pompeius' sons, potentially named Syros, was apprenticed as well (in an unknown trade), though this apprenticeship was arranged by Pompeius' wife, Didyme, and not by Pompeius. For a fuller assessment of Pompeius and his family, see pages 59–68, 91–92, 140, 154–155.

MAREOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–199 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	PSI 10 1110, verso	Sponsor for mother of pupil of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Mareos, also called Sansneos, lived in the second half of the second century CE. He is currently attested in one document where he acted as a sponsor (κύριος) for a woman named Tasoukis 2 who arranged an apprenticeship for her son, Sarapion, in which Sarapion learned the trade of mat weaving from Herakleides 4. Mares' relationship

[6] Smolders 2013: 2.

to Tasoukis 2 is not mentioned in the contract, however, due to his role as her κύριος, it seems they were closely related in some way. That Tasoukis 2 arranged the apprenticeship suggests that Sarapion's father was deceased by this point. The contract identifies Mares as a mat weaver as well. That Tasoukis 2 and Herakleides 4 appear to have been siblings (both being children of a certain Heron) and Herakleides 4 and Mares were both mat weavers involved in arranging the training of Tasoukis 2's son to learn that very trade suggests that mat weaving may have been a family trade and that all individuals in the contract were somehow related.

MARY

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
After 5th Century CE	Unknown	SB Kopt. 1 045	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Mary was a weaver who taught that trade to Tapnub, daughter of Sara. She is notable for being among the few female instructors in the corpus and for being the only teacher to appear in an apprenticeship contract written in Coptic.

MENODORUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
48 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Fouad 37	Teacher of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Fouad 37

Biography:

Menodorus, son of Apollonius, of the Althaean deme was a weaver in mid-first century Oxyrhynchus. His association with the Althaean deme indicates that he was from Alexandria. Jens Mangerud has speculated that Menodorus may be related to, potentially even the brother of, Apollonius 1, son of Apollonius of the Althaean deme since both were weavers who taught weaving in Oxyrhynchus in the 40s CE, both are sons of an Apollonius and both are associated with the Althaean deme in Alexandria.[7] Menodorus apprenticed Syros, son of Pompeius

[7] Mangerud 2019: 565.

and Didyme (the trade is unknown due to the fragmentary nature of the document). For more on Menodorus, see pages 61, 86–88, 94–96, 111–112, 155–156.

Narcissus

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
13 CE	Alexandria	SB 22 15538	Enslaved pupil of flute-playing

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Narcissus was the slave-boy of Gaius Iulius Philos whom Philos apprenticed out to learn to play several different flute instruments from Gaius Iulius Eros. His apprenticeship was agreed to last a year and Narcissus was supposed to learn several musical pieces on 9 different types of flute instruments. Additionally, Narcissus was to undertake an examination at the end of his apprenticeship which was to be assessed by 3 separate, fully-trained flute players.

Nike

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
Second cent. CE	Antinoopolis	PSI 3 241	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Nike was a slave girl of Aurelius Silvanus, also called Posis, a professional athlete who lived in Antinoopolis. She was apprenticed to the weaver Aurelius Antinous for one year to learn the trade of weaving. At the time of the contract's writing, Nike was 14 years old. The document is fragmented at the end, but enough is present to reveal that she was to receive a monthly payment from her teacher, Antinous. The amount for the first six months of work is no longer visible, though for the second six months she was to receive a four-obol coin per month.

Nilos

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
18 BCE	Alexandria	BGU 4 1124	Teacher of nail smithing

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

The one document attesting Nilos, son of Nilos, is a cancellation of an apprenticeship contract (the only such cancellation currently known). The cancellation indicates that Nilos taught a boy named Hermaiskos the trade of nail smithing for approx. 3–4 months before the teaching arrangement was cancelled. The cancellation states that the original agreement was made between Herakleides (Hermaiskos' father), a certain Taurinos (who seems to be a friend of Herakleides) and Nilos. The contract also indicates that there is a separate loan made by Taurinos to Nilos which is to be unaffected by the apprenticeship cancellation. This loan was substantial (700 drachmas) and suggests that Nilos may have been of at least moderate socioeconomic standing. For a fuller assessment of his circumstances and how nail smithing may have been lucrative for him, see pages see pages 83–86, 126–129.

ONNOPHRIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
36 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 322	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Onnophris was a weaver in first-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He was the son of Thamounion and the brother of Tryphon the Weaver, both of whom arranged his apprenticeship to learn weaving from Abaros. He was a minor at the time he began his apprenticeship and so was likely born around 22 CE. As his brother and mother arrange his apprenticeship, it is likely that his father was deceased. He came from a family of weavers had practiced that trade for several generations. For more on his family, see Tryphon the Weaver.

ONNOPHRIS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
61 CE	Talithis	PSI 10 1132	Student of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Onnophris 2 was a mat weaver in first-century CE Talithis. He learned the trade from Konopis. As his mother, Thermouthis, and brother, Psenkebkis, arranged the apprenticeship, it is likely that his father was deceased by the time the apprenticeship was arranged.

OPHELAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
70 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 24 16186	Father of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Ophelas, son of Thoonis, was the father of Pachois, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the weaving trade from Isas. He lived in the Teumenouthis Quarter of Oxyrhynchus.

ORSENOUPHIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
13 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 5 346a	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Orsenouphis, also called Psosneus and son of Kalales, was a weaver who taught that trade to Helene 3, the slave girl of Herakleon. Helene 3 was to receive room and board from him and also a new tunic. He was illiterate.

ORSEUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
42 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 2 121 R 28	Guardian of mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Orseus, son of Onnophris and Tasoukis, acted as a sponsor (κύριος) for his mother when she arranged an apprenticeship for Orseus' brother, Papontos 2, to learn weaving from Horos. He was 27 years old at the time the contract was arranged (born around 15 CE) and had a scar on his left arm.

PACHOIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
70 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 24 16186	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Pachois, son of Ophelas, was a weaver who learned that trade from Isas. He and his father lived in the Teumenouthis Quarter of Oxyrhynchus.

PANECHOTES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
155 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 724	Owner of enslaved pupil of shorthand writing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Panechotes, also called Panares, lived in second-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He was a former kosmetes of that city (a magistrate in charge of the ephebate and other local administrative tasks such as managing donations and festivals).[8] He arranged an apprenticeship for his slave, Chaerammon, to learn shorthand writing from Dionysius. For a fuller analysis of his life, see pages 108–109.

PAOUETIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	P. Grenf. 2 59	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Paouetis, son of Paouetis, was a weaver from second-century CE Soknopaiou Nesos. He taught that trade to Stotoetis, the slave of Taseus 2. He is listed as being 80 years old when the apprenticeship was arranged (born around 108 CE).

PAPONTOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–103 CE	Oxyrhynchus	SB 12 10946	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Papontos, son of Hermas, was a weaver who taught that trade to his brother's son, Hermes.

[8] See BNP *s.v.* 'Kosmetes'.

PAPONTOS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
42 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 2 121 R 28	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Papontos 2, son of Tasoukis and Onnophris, was a weaver who learned that trade from Horos. His apprenticeship was arranged by his mother and his brother, Orseus.

PASION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
20 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Fouad Inv. 89(a)	Parent of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Pasion, son of Zoilos, was the father of Zoilos, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn weaving from Apollonius 4. He lived in the Upper Parembole of Oxyrhynchus.

PATERMOUTHIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
236–238 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 86 5562	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Patermouthis, son of Dionysius and Sarapias, was a weaver who lived in third-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He taught that trade to Helene 2, the slave girl of Aurelius Zoilos 2. He agreed to pay Helene 2 wages that incrementally increased each year.

PAUSIRIS SR.

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
49–62 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 170, 171, 172; P. Wisc. 1 4	Parent of pupil and Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

His family's archive can be found here.

Biography:

Pausiris Sr, son of Ammonios, was a weaver who lived from the early to mid-first century CE in Oxyrhynchus. He had three sons, Ammonios, Pausiris Jr. and Dioskous, all of whom received apprenticeship training in weaving. Additionally, Pausiris Sr also taught weaving to an apprentice (Amoitas) on at least one occasion. Of the five documents in his archive, four are διδασκαλικαί (three for his children where he is the guardian and one where he is the teacher). For a fuller assessment of Pausiris Sr and his family, see pages 92–101, 157–160.

PAUSIRIS 2 (PAUSIRIS JR.)

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
62–79 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Mich. 3 172	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

The 23 documents in Pausiris Jr's archive (which contain the subarchives of Pausiris Sr and Dioskous) can be found here.

Biography:

Pausiris Jr, son of Pausiris Sr., was a weaver who lived in mid to late-first century CE Oxyrhynchus. According to a document signed by his two brothers, he had moved to Alexandria by 79 CE (P. Mich. inv. 94). His first appearance in documentary sources is in 62 CE when his father hands him over into an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving and consequently has him registered on the list of apprentice-learners for tax purposes. The document mentions him being a minor at the time so it seems he was born, at the earliest, in 49 CE. He later seems to become the member of the family who holds everyone's documents as his father and brother's archives appear to have been kept by him.[9] Many of Pausiris Jr's own documents provide information on his personal financial situation. He seems to have had financial difficulties in the year 73–74 CE and had several loans due at once which he seems to have been unable to pay. Through a complex system of rescheduling and making use of a loan from his wife (Tauris), he managed to pay off his debts (except to Tauris). For a fuller assessment of his family's circumstances, see 92–101, 157–160.

PAUSIRIS 3

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
128–152 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	SPP 22 40	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

See archive of seven documents here.

Biography:

Pausiris, son of Panephremmis, was born into a family of weavers and lived from the early to the mid-first century CE in Soknopaiou Nesos. Despite having seven documents in his archive, little is known about him other than that he served a five day dike corvée at least twice (in 148 and 150 CE).[10] He appears again in the apprenticeship contract where Segathis, a priestess from Soknopaiou Nesos, hands over her slave girl, Taorsenouphis, to him to learn the trade of weaving.[11] The remaining documents in his archive document his payment of taxes as well as taxes and dike services by his father, Panephremmis, and grandfather, also named Pausiris. For an assessment of his circumstances, see pages 47–48.

PETECHONSIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
19–13 BCE	Theban Area	O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 328	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

[9] Geens 2018: 1.
[10] P. Mich. Inv. 1602e and P. Mich. Inv. 3860b. Cf. Claytor 2018.
[11] Stud. Pal. SPP 22 40.

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Petechonsis, son of Thoteus, was a weaver, agricultural worker and landowner who lived in the Theban area in the first century BCE. He taught the trade of weaving to Peteyris, son of Senchonsis. Based on his tax documents, he was of at least moderate socioeconomic standing. For a fuller assessment of his life and documents, see pages 77–81.

PETECHONSIS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	PSI 8 871	Student of copper smithing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Petechonsis 2, son of Petoseiris, was a copper smith who learned that trade from Herakleides 2. He and his father lived on the Egzoeu street in Oxyrhynchus.

PETER (?)

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
Sixth cent. CE	Aphrodito	P. Lond. 5 1706	Student (?)

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Very little can be discerned about Peter. He appears in a very fragmented apprenticeship contract from Aphrodito in 567 CE. The writer of the contract seems to be his teacher, though the trade is either not specified or is lost due to the fragmentary nature of the document. He received three golden keratia for his wages, though this is different from other wages in the corpus in that (1) he received it through his parents who sent the money to the teacher and (2) there is no specification in the document for how frequently he was to receive this wage (most contracts state that the wage is paid on a monthly basis). The names of his teacher and his guardian/parent are lost due to

the fragmentary nature of the document, though it seems that one came from Aphrodito (where the contract appears to have been written and consequently where the teacher may have been) and one from Lykopolis.

PETEYRIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
13 BCE	Theban Area	O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 328	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Peteyris, son of Senchonsis and Pachrates, was a weaver who learned that trade from Petechonsis. His apprenticeship contract is one of two written in Demotic.

PETOSEIRIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	PSI 8 871	Father of pupil of copper smithing

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Petoseiris, son of Petoseiris, was the father of Petechonsis 2, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of copper smithing from Herakleides 2. He lived on the Egzoeu street in Oxyrhynchus.

PHOIBAMMON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
554 CE	Unknown	SB 14 11982	Pupil of brocade making (?)

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Phoibammon, son of Theodora, was a brocade maker. He learned the trade from Anonymous 27. As his teacher was a cleric, it is not improbable that his apprenticeship took place in a monastic setting, similarly to that of Anonymous 14.

PLATO

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
175–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy 14 1647	Sponsor of owner of enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Plato, son of Horion, was the brother of Platonis, a woman who arranged an apprenticeship for her slave girl, Thermouthion. He acted as Platonis' sponsor (κύριος). For more on Plato, see pages 109–111.

PLATONIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
175–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy 14 1647	Owner of enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Oxy. 14 1721

Biography:

Platonis, also called Ophelia, was the daughter of Horion and lived in Oxyrhynchus in the late-second century CE. Only two documents attest to her, only one of which is securely dateable. The dateable document, P. Oxy 14 1721, is a contract from 187 CE concerning the inheritance of her deceased husband which was to pass on to her two sons. The other document, P. Oxy. 14 1647, is the relevant διδασκαλική where she, with her full-brother Plato as sponsor, arranges for her slave girl, Thermouthion, to undertake an apprenticeship in weaving with the weaver Lucius. For more on Platonis, see pages 109–111.

PROTAS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
113 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 442	Father of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Protas, son of Petesouchos, was the father of Harphaesis, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship in the weaving trade with Heron. He was forty years old when arranging the apprenticeship (born 73 CE) and had a scar on his right wrist.

PSENKEBKIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
61 CE	Talithis	PSI 10 1132	Sponsor of mother of pupil of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Psenkebkis, son of Psenkebkis, was the brother of Onnophris 2. He acted as a sponsor (κύριος) for his mother, Thermouthis, who arranged an apprenticeship in mat weaving for Onnophris 2 with Konopis. He was twenty-two at the time of arranging the contract (born 39 CE) and had a scar on the left side of his neck.

PTOLEMY

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 275	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Ptolemy, son of Pausiris and Ophelia, was a weaver who taught that trade to Thoonis, son of Tryphon the Weaver. He was illiterate.

PTOLEMY 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200 CE	Oxyrhynchus	BGU 4 1021	Enslaved pupil of hairdressing or wool carding

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Ptolemy 2 was the slave of Aurelius Sentius. He learned either the trade of the κτενιστής (either wool carding or hairdressing) from Theon. For more on the trade of the κτενιστής, footnote 34 on page 126 and pages 207–208.

SAMOUN

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
300–399 CE	Kellis	P. Kellis 1 12	Father of pupil of linen weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Kellis 1 11

Biography:

Samoun, son of Tithoes, was the father of Anonymous 14, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship in linen weaving with an Unnamed Monk. He was a carpenter (P. Kellis 1 11).

SARA

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
After 5th cent. CE	Unknown	SB Kopt. 1 045	Parent of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Sara, daughter of Manna, was the mother of Tapnub, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn weaving from Mary. This contract is notable for being the only currently attested apprenticeship contract written in Coptic. For the circumstances of this arrangement (a freeborn girl being apprenticed) see pages 191–193.

SARAPION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–199 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	PSI 10 1110, verso	Pupil of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Sarapion was a boy who lived at some point in the second half of the second century CE. He appears in only one document where an apprenticeship to learn the skill of matt weaving is arranged for him by his mother, Tasoukis 2. There is reason to believe that the teacher for this trade may be his maternal uncle due to his mother and the teacher being listed as daughter and son of Heron respectively. Sarapion's apprenticeship lasted for 3 years. He

received a monthly wage which increased each year from 17 obols to 6 drachmas to 8 drachmas. Every year, on the Amesysia, he also received a mat of rushes and a new pillow.

SATABOUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	P. Grenf. 2 59	Sponsor for mother (or owner?) of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Satabous, son of Stotoetis, served as the sponsor (κύριος) for Taseus 2, a woman who arranged an apprenticeship for her slave, Stotoetis. He was thirty when the apprenticeship was arranged (born around 158 CE).

SATORNILOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
50–99 CE	Karanis	P. Oslo 3 141	Uncle of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond διδασκαλική

Biography:

Satornilos, son of Satornilos, was the paternal uncle of Anonymous 3, for whom he arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving from Theabennis. He is described as the inferior party in the contract (i.e., Persian of the Epigone), though it is not clear what makes his position inferior to that of Theabennis. He was thirty years old when arranging the contract and had custody of his nephew since his brother was deceased. For more on the status of 'Persian of the Epigone', see 48–52.

SEGATHIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–169 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	SPP 22 40	Owner of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

See list of seven (two potentially erroneous) documents in Segathis' archive here.

Biography:

Segathis was a priestess in Soknopaiou Nesos in the early to late-second century CE. She first appears in a διδασκαλική document where she apprentices her slave girl, Taorsenouphis, to learn the trade of weaving, with her son Stotoetis 2 acting as her sponsor. A month after Segathis arranges the apprenticeship, she appears in another document where she receives a loan from her son, Stotoetis, for 840 drachmas in which Stotoetis receives the slave girl, Taorsenouphis, as mortgage.[12] The remaining documents attesting to Segathis are receipts for her repaying this loan to her son. Though the archive has traditionally been associated with her, it is unclear whether she or her son, Stotoetis, was the owner. For a fuller assessment of Segathis' family and their circumstances, see pages 105–108.

SENCHONSIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
13 BCE	Theban Area	O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 328	Mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Senchonsis, daughter of Pikos, was the mother of Peteyris, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn weaving from Petechonsis.

SEUTHES

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Teacher of weaving

[12] BGU XI 2043; cf. Smolders 2013: 1.

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Seuthes, son of Diogenes, was a weaver who apprenticed Heraklas, son of Taseus. As there is no undersigner for his contract, it seems he may have signed on his own behalf, suggesting at least basic training in letters.

SUAIROUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
98–99 CE	Ankyropolis	P. Heid. Gr. 4 326	Pupil of unspecified trade

Related Papyri:

P. Heid. Gr. 4 327 (apprenticeship contract for her brother)

Biography:

Suairous was the daughter of Ischyras and Didyme 3 and brother of Eudaimon. She was apprenticed by her parents to Isidorus and Apollonarion. Her educational arrangement is unique among διδασκαλική contracts in that there is no specified trade which she is supposed to learn, but she is merely to be 'a listener (ὑπήκωον) in the things which are ordered of her regarding the house and other services'.[13] For more on her family's circumstances, see pages 52–57.

STOTOETIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	P. Grenf. 2 59	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

[13] P. Heid. Gr. 4. 326 ll. 17–19.

Stotoetis, also called Myron, was the slave of Taseus 2. He was apprenticed to learn weaving from Paouetis.

STOTOETIS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–169 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	SPP 22 40	Sponsor of owner of enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

See list of seven (two potentially erroneous) documents in his mother's (Segathis) archive here.

Biography:

Stotoetis was a priest and the son of Segathis, a priestess in Soknopaiou Nesos. He is also the son of Stotoetis and grandson of Stotoetis. He first appears as the sponsor for his mother, Segathis, when she hands over her slave-girl, Taorsenouphis, into an apprenticeship to learn the trade of weaving in 150 CE. A month later, he loans 840 drachmas to his mother and receives Taorsenouphis as mortgage on the loan.[14] The remaining documents associated with him with certainty document the payments he receives from his mother in the repayment of this loan. It seems likely that his family was also involved in the breeding of camels. For a fuller analysis of his family's circumstances, see pages 105–108.

SYROS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
31–44 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oslo Inv. 1496	Student of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Syros, son of Lucius Pompeius Niger and Didyme, was apprenticed by his father to learn an unknown trade from Apollonius. He was still a minor at the time when the apprenticeship contract was arranged.

TAORSENOUPHIS

[14] BGU XI 2043.

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–151 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	SPP 22 40	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

BGU 11 2043; Stud. Pal. 22 43; P. Lond. 2 p. 216 no. 360

Biography:

Taorsenouphis was a slave girl who lived in mid-second century CE Soknopaiou Nesos. She was apprenticed to learn the trade of weaving by her then master, Segathis, the priestess of Soknopaiou Nesos.[15] A month after the beginning of her apprenticeship, Taorsenouphis was given over to Segathis' son, Stotoetis 2, as a mortgage on a loan. The remaining documents she appears in list her as the mortgage on this loan.

TAPNUB

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
After 5th cent. CE	Unknown	SB Kopt. 1 045	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Tapnub, daughter of Sara, was a weaver who learned the trade from Mary. Her apprenticeship contract is unique in the corpus for being the only currently attested apprenticeship contract written in Coptic.

TASEUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66–72 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2971	Mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

[15] Stud. Pal. SPP 22 40.

P. Oxy. 85 5496

Biography:

Taseus lived in mid-late first century CE Oxyrhynchus. Only two documents attest to her. The first is a διδασκαλική in which she hands over her son, Heraklas, to learn the trade of weaving from Seuthes. The second document details her ownership of property.

TASEUS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
188 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	P. Grenf. 2 59	Mother or owner of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Taseus 2, daughter of Soteris, arranged an apprenticeship for Stotoetis to learn weaving from Paouetis. It is unclear whether she was the mother or owner of Stotoetis. She was thirty at the time she arranged the apprenticeship (born in 158 CE).

TASOUKIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
42 CE	Tebtynis	P. Mich. 2 121 R 28	Mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Tasoukis, daughter of Theos, was the mother of Papontos 2, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship contract to learn weaving from Horos. She was forty-nine when she arranged the contract (born in 7 BCE) and had a scar on her left hand. She was listed as the inferior party (i.e., Persian of the Epigone). As she arranges the apprenticeship for her son, it is likely that her husband, Onnophris, was deceased. For more on the status of 'Persian of the Epigone', see 48–52.

TASOUKIS 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
150–199 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	PSI 10 1110, verso	Mother of pupil of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Tasoukis, daughter of Heron, lived at some point in the second half of the second century CE. She is attested in one document where she arranges for her son, Sarapion, to undertake an apprenticeship to learn the trade of mat weaving. It is possible that she is the brother of the teacher, Herakleides 4, as they are both described as children of Heron. She is accompanied by her sponsor, Mareos, whose relationship to her is not stated.

TAURINOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
18 BCE	Alexandria	BGU 4 1124	Sponsor of pupil of nail smithing?

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Taurinos, son of Dorion, lived in Alexandria in the first century BCE. He appears as a sponsor for Herakleides, who arranged an apprenticeship for his son, Hermaiskos, to learn nail smithing. It seems Taurinos was moderately well-off, since the apprenticeship contract attests him giving the nail smith teacher, Nilos, a loan of 700 drachmas. For a fuller analysis of Taurinos, see 83–86.

TEPHERSAIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
117 CE	Tebtynis	P. Tebt. 2 385	Mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Tephersais, daughter of Herakleos, was the mother of Kronion, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn weaving from Heron. She is described in the contract as having a scar on the left side of her neck.

THAMOUNION (TAMOUNIS)

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
25–66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 322	Mother of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Oxy. 2 288; P. Oxy. 2 319 (SB 10 10238); P. Oxy. 2 251; P. Oxy. 1 99; P. Oxy. 2 275

Biography:

Thamounion was the mother of Tryphon the Weaver and Onnophris. Her husband, father-in-law, at least two of her sons and at least one grandson are all documented as being weavers. Everything we know about Thamounion comes from the archive left by her son, Tryphon the Weaver. She is first mentioned in a census record, dated between 23–25 CE, for her husband, Dionysius son of Tryphon, where she is listed as the mother of the then 3-year-old Tryphon.[16] She also appears in another διδασκαλική contract from Oxyrhynchus (36 CE) where she, accompanied by her son Tryphon, arranged for her son, Onnophris, to learn the trade of weaving.[17] The next year (37 CE) she appears in a loan contract where her son, Tryphon the Weaver, hands over 16 drachmas to her.[18] She appears again in 44 CE when she requests to have her son, Thoonis, listed as having moved away from her house, presumably so that she would no longer be required to pay his λειτουργία tax.[19] She appears two more times in subsequent contracts, though it is not quite clear if she is still alive, as she is merely referred to as the mother of Tryphon the Weaver. For a fuller analysis of her family's circumstances, see pages 68–77.

THEABENNIS

[16] P. Oxy. 2 288.
[17] P. Oxy. 2 322.
[18] P. Oxy. 2 319.
[19] P. Oxy. 2 251.

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
50–99 CE	Karanis	P. Oslo 3 141	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Oslo 3 124

Biography:

Theabennis, son of (H?)iranoupis, was a weaver from first century Karanis. In 50 CE, he appears in a διδασκαλική contract where he agreed to teach the trade of weaving to Anonymous 3. Theabennis is mentioned in one other document dated from 75–99 CE where he requests to be exempted from the weaver's tax since he no longer practices the trade due to being 80(?) years old and losing his eyesight.[20]

THEODORA

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
554 CE	Unknown	SB 14 11982	Mother of pupil of brocade making

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Theodora, daughter of Aidesia, was the mother of Phoibammon, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn brocade making.

THEON

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200–299 CE	Oxyrhynchus	BGU 4 1021	Teacher of hairdressing or wool carding

Related Papyri:

[20] P. Oslo 3 124.

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Theon, son of Horion and Tausorapis, was a κτενιστής (either a hairdresser or wool carder) from third-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He taught that trade to Ptolemy 2, slave of Aurelius Sentius.

THERMOUTHION

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
175–199 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy 14 1647	Enslaved pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Thermouthion was the slave girl of Platonis. She was apprenticed to learn the trade of weaving from Lucius.

THERMOUTHIS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
61 CE	Talithis	PSI 10 1132	Sponsor of mother of pupil of mat weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Thermouthis, daughter of Marenkaimios, was the mother of Onnophris 2, for whom she arranged an apprenticeship to learn the trade of mat weaving from Konopis. She was forty-two when she arranged the apprenticeship (born in 19 CE) and had a scar on the middle of her chin. She is listed as the inferior party of the contract (i.e., a Persian). For more on the role of Persians in contractual arrangements, see 48–52.

Thonis

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
183–189 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 4 725	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

P. Oxy. 67 4585

Biography:

Thonis was a weaver who lived in late second-century CE Oxyrhynchus. In the earliest document, dated to 183 CE, Thonis' uncle, Ischyrion, arranged an apprenticeship for him to learn the trade of weaving from Heraklas 2. The contract mentions that Thonis' father is deceased and it can reasonably be assumed that his mother was likewise deceased since she does not appear in the contract. Additionally, the contract mentions that Thonis is still a minor (i.e., not yet 14). Consequently, it is likely that he was born no earlier than 170 CE. The later document attesting to Thonis, P. Oxy. 67 4585, is a declaration dated to 189 CE where Thonis registers the son of his deceased friend for an ἐπίκρισις.

Thonis 2

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
239–240 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 41 2977	Teacher of hairdressing or wool carding

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Thonis, also called Herminus, was a freedman and κτενιστής in third-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He taught that trade to Didymus, the house-born slave of Aurelius Diogenes. For more on the trade of the κτενιστής, see footnote 34 on page 126 and pages 207–208.

Thoonis

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 275	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Thoonis, son of Tryphon the Weaver and Seraeous, was a weaver in first-century CE Oxyrhynchus. He learned that trade from Ptolemy. For a fuller analysis of his family's circumstances, see pages 68–77.

TRYPHON THE WEAVER

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλικαί	Role in Διδασκαλικαί
23–66 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Oxy. 2 322; P. Oxy. 2 275	Sponsor for mother of pupil of weaving and father of pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

See archive list of 44 documents here.

Biography:

Tryphon the weaver was born into a family of weavers sometime between 20 and 22 CE. His archive of 44 documents has allowed modern scholars to piece together his life in more detail than many individuals listed in the papyri. He is first mentioned in a census record (for his father Dionysius) in approximately 23–25 CE where he is listed as being 3 years old.[21] He appears in two apprenticeship contracts, one where he was the sponsor (κύριος) for his mother, Thamounion, when she arranged an apprenticeship for his brother, Onnophris, to learn the trade of weaving and the other where he arranged an apprenticeship for his own son, Thoonis, to learn that trade. A fuller analysis of his and his family's circumstances can be found on pages 68–77.

UNNAMED MONK

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
300–399 CE	Kellis	P. Kellis 1 12	Teacher of linen weaving

[21] P. Oxy. 2 288.

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

The Unnamed Monk was a linen weaver from forth-century CE Kellis who taught that trade to Anonymous 14, son of Samoun.

ZOILOS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
20 CE	Oxyrhynchus	P. Fouad Inv. 89(a)	Pupil of weaving

Related Papyri:

None other than διδασκαλική

Biography:

Zoilos, son of Pasion, was a weaver who learned that trade from Apollonius 4. He and his father lived in the Upper Parembole of Oxyrhynchus.

ZOSIMUS

Attested Dates	Residence	Διδασκαλική	Role in Διδασκαλική
200 CE	Unknown (Arsinoite Nome)	BGU 11 2041	Teacher of weaving

Related Papyri:

None beyond the διδασκαλική

Biography:

Zosimus was a weaver who taught that trade to Herakles, son of Isidorus 2.

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