

# Latin Loanwords in Greek Documentary Papyri (c. 30 BCE to c. 200 CE)

Giuliano Sidro  
Brasenose College  
University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in  
Classical Languages and Literature  
22 April 2022

Supervisors:  
Amin Benaissa  
Eleanor Dickey



## **Abstract**

Ancient Greek hosted hundreds of Latin loanwords (e.g. κεντυρίων ‘centurion’) as a result of contact between Greeks and Romans. Because previous studies of Latin loanwords have mostly concentrated on chronology, morphology, and lexicon, there has been no systematic investigation of their introduction and spread in specific contexts and the motives behind their choice or avoidance. This thesis is the first work to address such questions. It uses a large corpus of Greek texts, the papyri of early Roman Egypt (c. 30 BCE to c. 200 CE), a place that did not have much prior exposure to Latin, as they present numerous first attestations of loans with a high density and frequency and are generally closer to everyday language than literature.

The dissertation includes an introduction laying the linguistic and methodological groundwork and four chapters. The first two focus on a military-influenced setting, the Eastern Desert of Egypt with forts (Didymoi and Krokodilo) and quarries (Mons Claudianus), and the other two on an urban setting in the Nile valley, the city of Oxyrhynchus. Being at the opposite ends of a scale of Romanness and military influence, the two settings might have presented diametrically opposed linguistic outcomes. In fact, most findings are valid for both. Only the players and a few tendencies differ: if in the Desert loanwords spread from within the community, from the higher ranks and the military administration, in Oxyrhynchus loanwords at first enter the community mainly from outside, reaching it from a larger centre, Alexandria. But general trends are observable in both settings. Documents show that military loanwords are usually the first large group of loans to enter military and civilian settings alike. Loanwords are by and large introduced by a select and generally bilingual minority and spread through society mainly through a top-down process. This process is faster in smaller societies and slower in larger ones. The introduction and choice of loanwords is not usually the consequence of a deliberate policy, and loans are deliberately chosen, preferred, or avoided in specific cases only. This analysis deepens our knowledge of Latin influence on Greek in a newly conquered, Greek-speaking region like Egypt and furthers our understanding of Latin-Greek language contact and its consequences.

**Word count: 99,125**



## Acknowledgments

Having had the good fortune to be offered a fully funded DPhil position, I wish to express my gratitude to the bodies that made this possible: the Clarendon Fund and Brasenose College. Both Brasenose and Clarendon have not just allowed me to take up this fantastic opportunity but also made me meet my Oxford best friends. The Faculty of Classics, the Craven Fund, and again Brasenose College provided additional support during my studies, and to all I am particularly thankful. Many thanks should go to Daniela Colomo, Wolfgang de Melo, Dirk Obbink, and Lucia Prauscello, who had to read parts of the thesis at the ‘transfer’ and ‘confirmation’ examinations and offered useful feedback, and Juliane Kerkhecker too, who trained and trusted me as a teacher for the Classics Faculty. But above all, I feel the deepest sense of gratitude to my supervisors, Amin Benaissa and Eleanor Dickey. I cannot possibly explain how much I learned from them and how much I profited from their scholarship, support, patience, and good cheer. They have always been there, even when I was not, so that I am starting to fear becoming an ‘orphan’ at the end of this degree... Lastly, I would like to thank all the numerous persons who over the years taught me, helped me, encouraged me, asked questions, or answered my silly questions. None mentioned, none forgotten. You all know how much I am grateful.

Over a college dinner, at the start of my second year as a DPhil student, a professor asked me why I had decided to work on Latin loanwords in Greek. I went on explaining that, at the end of my bachelor’s degree, I wanted to have a look at the Bologna papyri, after I had first met with real papyri in Oslo, during an Erasmus exchange. I had just approached the discipline and in Oslo I had worked on a Christian amulet, so when I got back to Bologna I wanted to have a look at another amulet, *P.Bon.* 9. I started reading the text and looking at Orsolina Montevicchi’s edition: I was quite sure that she had gotten the beginning of the text wrong, but my reading did not make any sense, as I had never heard the word that I read and could not find it in LSJ. When I discussed this with Anastasia Maravela back in Oslo, she pointed out that my reading was good and I just needed to look at another lexicon, one for Latin loanwords in Greek. In short, I started working on Latin loanwords because I did not understand them, in fact I barely knew they existed, but this

had intrigued me. Back at that dinner, this professor commented that it is very common for scholars to become interested in topics that they do not fully understand, so that so-called ‘experts’ on a certain topic are not normally so expert after all! These comments sounded so funny but at the same time so true (at least in my situation). Now, I do not think that this DPhil has made me an expert on everything concerning Latin loanwords, so my conclusions are all the more open to debate, but if I managed to add some new material and perspectives to an ongoing scholarly debate, I reckon this would be a good result.

When I started this DPhil, I thought I might work on Latin loanwords from a purely papyrological perspective, perhaps editing and commenting new texts. This has not been the case, but I am now happy to have taken the path that I took, although I hope to be able to also edit papyri again in the future. Working at a crossroads of disciplines, it has been very enjoyable to interact with so many different people. I do hope that this work will prove interesting to at least some ancient historians, classicists, papyrologists, and philologists, and that they will not consider it a poor hybrid.

To conclude, I send a huge *grazie* to all my friends in the UK, Norway, Italy, and the rest of the world, and in particular *grazie mille* to my Oxford pals Felix, Giacomo, Marcella, and Riccardo for being the wonderful persons you are. I would not have made it without my family, my siblings Giovanni, Mariasole, and Roberto, my parents Alfonso and Vanessa, and grandparents Giuliano, Luisa, Roberto, and Rosanna; I am very sad that not all of you will see this. A last and special *grazie di cuore* goes to Cecilia for her unwavering encouragement and love.

## Abbreviations and the presentation of papyrological texts

Editions of papyri and ostraca are abbreviated in accordance with the online *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*: <papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

Editions of Greek inscriptions are abbreviated in accordance with the *Liste des abréviations des éditions et ouvrages de référence pour l'épigraphie grecque alphabétique* (GrEpiAbbr): <aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>. The abbreviations for literary authors and works follow those of S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (edd.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 2012), for which see <oxfordre.com/classics/page/ocdabbreviations>. Authors and/or works not included in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* are unabbreviated. In the bibliography, journal abbreviations follow those of *L'Année philologique* at: <about.brepolis.net/aph-abbreviations>.

Papyrological texts adhere to the Leiden system of punctuation, for which see B.A. Van Groningen, 'Projet d'unification des systèmes de signes critiques', *CE* 7 (1932) 262–269 and the following notes:

αβγ	Doubtful letters, either damaged or difficult to read
...	Three unread letters
[αβγ]	Three lost letters restored from parallels or by conjecture
( )	Round brackets denote the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol
[[αβγ]]	Letters deleted in the papyrus
`αβγ´	Letters added above the line
<αβγ>	Letters added by the editor
{αβγ}	Letters regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

When only part of a papyrus text is quoted, an ellipsis ... signals the missing portions.



## Table of contents

1.	Introduction .....	1
1.1	Overview .....	1
1.2	The bases of this study .....	3
1.2.1	Loanwords and codeswitches in general .....	3
1.2.2	Latin loanwords, codeswitches, and influence in Greek .....	12
1.2.3	Early Roman Egypt and papyri: document choice and the nature of the evidence .....	18
1.2.4	The social, cultural, and historical context of the evidence .....	24
1.3	The parameters of this study .....	27
1.3.1	The policies followed in this study.....	28
1.3.2	Inclusion and exclusion: non-transmitted and transmitted loanwords .	29
2.	The Eastern-Desert setting: Didymoi and Krokodilo.....	35
2.1	Context: the <i>praesidia</i> of the desert.....	35
2.1.1	The people .....	38
2.1.2	Languages and culture.....	40
2.2	The loanwords of the desert and their semantic categories.....	42
2.3	Some core borrowings and who introduces them .....	43
2.3.1	κουστωδία.....	44
2.3.2	τάβλα .....	45
2.3.3	κατήνα .....	47
2.3.4	Some conclusions .....	49
2.4	Military vocabulary .....	50
2.4.1	οὔεστιγάτου, a Greek supine? .....	51
2.4.2	Ranks and equivalents: δεκουρίων / δεκαδάρχης, κεντουρίων / ἐκατοντάρχης .....	53

2.5	The civilians and Latin loanwords .....	56
2.5.1	μίλιον .....	56
2.5.2	Other examples .....	59
2.6	Military supplies and Latin loanwords: κιβάριον, τρούλλα, and λῶδιξ .....	63
2.7	Soldiers and Latin loanwords .....	66
2.8	Contractors and Latin loanwords: μισθωτής / κονδούκτωρ .....	71
2.9	Conclusions .....	75
3.	The Eastern-Desert setting: Mons Claudianus .....	77
3.1	The stone of Mons Claudianus and its use .....	79
3.2	The people and their documents .....	80
3.2.1	<i>Pagani</i> .....	81
3.2.2	<i>Familia</i> .....	82
3.2.3	Soldiers .....	83
3.2.4	Civilians, women, officials, <i>caesariani</i> .....	84
3.3	Writing in Greek or Latin at Mons Claudianus .....	86
3.4	Latin loanwords and the duties of <i>familia</i> and <i>pagani</i> .....	87
3.4.1	The <i>familia</i> 's advances on salary and Latin influence .....	89
3.4.2	The <i>familia</i> 's <i>aegri</i> : a 'Latin' illness .....	91
3.5	The calendar at Mons Claudianus .....	94
3.5.1	Two systems, two languages .....	94
3.5.2	The Roman calendar in Greek: Καλάνδαι .....	98
3.5.3	Some conclusions .....	103
3.6	Documents in between groups and levels: patterns of introduction of loanwords .....	103
3.6.1	Lower to higher levels .....	104
3.6.2	Higher to lower levels .....	108
3.6.3	Some conclusions .....	111

3.7	Latin loanwords and Greek speakers .....	111
3.8	Latin vocabulary in the school exercises of Mons Claudianus .....	114
3.9	Conclusions .....	115
4.	The Nile-valley setting: Oxyrhynchus in the first century CE.....	119
4.1	Oxyrhynchus and its characteristics .....	119
4.2	The first loanwords in Oxyrhynchus (I BCE and CE) .....	123
4.3	First loanwords in Oxyrhynchus: where do they come from? .....	125
4.4	Legal and administrative loanwords .....	126
4.4.1	ἄκτα .....	127
4.4.2	Other legal loanwords .....	130
4.4.3	Administrative loanwords .....	134
4.5	Military loanwords and military presence: are they linked? .....	137
4.5.1	Soldiers on duty in Oxyrhynchus? Military texts and the shipment of wheat to Alexandria.....	139
4.5.2	Α κάμπος and κάστρον in Oxyrhynchus? .....	141
4.6	Military loans in Oxyrhynchus: their choice and their use .....	146
4.6.1	The pair ἄλη / ἴλη .....	147
4.6.2	The pair κεντουρία / ἑκατονταρχία .....	147
4.6.3	The pair κεντουρίων / ἑκατοντάρχης .....	152
4.6.4	Other military vocabulary .....	156
4.7	The interesting travel of a loanword: κάγκελλος .....	158
4.8	Textiles and other everyday-life vocabulary .....	162
4.8.1	ἀβόλλης and λῶδιξ .....	165
4.8.2	πάλλιον .....	166
4.8.3	πανάριον .....	167
4.9	Conclusions .....	168

5.	The Nile-valley setting: Oxyrhynchus in the second century CE .....	171
5.1	Military loanwords .....	173
5.1.1	Military loanwords, soldiers, and Alexandria .....	175
5.1.2	New veterans in Oxyrhynchus .....	180
5.1.3	Other military loanwords: duties and ranks .....	194
5.1.4	The military and textiles.....	198
5.2	Legal and administrative loanwords .....	199
5.2.1	The administration and its documents.....	200
5.2.2	Courts and the choice of Latin over Greek: φύσκος .....	208
5.2.3	The administration, lawyers, and private citizens .....	211
5.2.4	The influence of Roman citizens: γέμελλος.....	219
5.3	Architecture, culture, trade, and commerce .....	222
5.3.1	A Romanised Oxyrhynchus? The case of ἄτριον.....	222
5.3.2	Equivalents, coexistence and replacement: κέλλα .....	226
5.3.3	Old and new professions: μολίων .....	228
5.3.4	μάγιστρος.....	231
5.3.5	νοτάριος and κομμεντάριον.....	235
5.3.6	πωμαρίτης, πωμάριον, and πάλμη.....	238
5.4	Implements and textiles.....	244
5.4.1	Implements .....	245
5.4.2	Textiles and footwear .....	247
5.5	Conclusions .....	251
6.	Conclusions .....	255
	Bibliography .....	263

## List of figures

Figure 1. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from the Eastern Desert (III BCE to II CE) .....	24
Figure 2. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from Oxyrhynchus (III BCE to II CE)...	24
Figure 3. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from Egypt (III BCE to II CE).....	24
Figure 4. Early Roman Egypt. From Brun (2018) .....	37
Figure 5. The Eastern Desert of Egypt in Roman times. From Brun (2018) .....	38
Figure 6. Semantic categories of loanwords of Didymoi and Krokodilo (55 loanwords) .....	43
Figure 7. The Eastern Desert of Egypt in Roman times. From Brun (2018) .....	79
Figure 8. ‘Latticed’ grain measure, inscribed D · D · P · P   HERC, from Herculaneum in the MANN museum of Naples (§6331, height 16.5 cm, diam. at top 17.5 cm). From Haverfield (1916: 91).....	160



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Overview

Probably the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 155 CE was a Saturday like several others for the highest Roman official of Egypt, the prefect Marcus Sempronius Liberalis: no weekend having been invented yet, he had once more to preside over his tribunal in the *Atrium Magnum* of Alexandria. As reported by *SB XIV 12139.i* (II–III CE, Oxyrhynchite nome), one of the cases brought to his attention involved a group of Libyans represented by a certain Achanis, also known as Apollonius. On their behalf Achanis petitioned the prefect as follows (ll. 5–9):

τῶν εἰς τὸν φύσκον ἀναλημφθέντων ὑπαρχόντων κοινῶν πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀξιουμέν  
μήτε ὄνας ἐπιζητεῖσθαι μήτε τὴν μερίδα ἣτις οὐκ ἀνελήμφθη ἐν ἀπράτοις  
τάσσεσθαι.

We request that purchases of properties held in common with others and confiscated to the *fiscus* not be solicited, and that the portion which was not confiscated not be assigned to the category of unsold holdings.

To which the prefect answered (ll. 10–14):

ἐὰν φανερὸν γένηται ὅτι ὁ ἀναλημπτὸς μόνος εἶχει (*l. εἶχε*) τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος αὐτὸ  
καθ' (*l. κατ'*) αὐτὸ πραθήσεται ἐὰν γε εὐδιάρετον ᾖν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κοινωνὸς  
ἀγορασάτω τὸ τοῦ ταμείου (*l. ταμείου*) μέρος.

If it becomes evident that the person whose property has been confiscated was sole possessor of the half share, it shall be sold as it stands, provided it is easily divided off (from the whole); otherwise, let the partner buy the share that goes to the *fiscus*.

The legal technicalities of Achanis' request and Liberalis' ruling do not interest us as much as two words, φύσκος in the request and ταμείον in the ruling. Both refer to the same administrative department, the 'Treasury', here confiscating and selling properties, but the former is a loanword

from Latin *fiscus*, while the latter is a Greek word. *Why this word choice*, one could ask, along with various other questions. Why is the prefect not using Latin vocabulary? And why is Achanis using it? How common is φύσκος to refer to the Treasury, and how common is ταμειῶν? Did one of the two words survive better than the other? Who introduces the loanword φύσκος in Greek? Why do they introduce it and prefer it over ταμειῶν? Does the prefect have the same motives as they did? Can similar word choices have consequences for the use of other words, both Greek and Latin?<sup>1</sup>

These are all reasonable questions to ask of a Latin loanword or of a Greek word replacing a loanword. Scholars have already followed similar lines of enquiry: for instance, Dubuisson (1985) and Langslow (2012a) did so with Polybius' loanwords, and Mason (1974) with those relating to Roman institutions, both from literary and documentary sources. However, nobody has yet concentrated on documentary evidence and tried to tackle the following three problems in a comprehensive and systematic way. First, which people and environments are mainly responsible for the introduction of Latin loanwords to Greek in specific contexts like a Roman military fort (§2 and §3) or an Egyptian city (§4 and §5) at an early stage. Second, how such an introduction of foreign vocabulary works in practice and, third, what precise reasons – if any – can underlie the introduction and use of Latin loanwords.

Even though the influence of Latin on Greek is well-trodden ground, scholarship has yet to answer these questions, for which the choice of documentary sources from early Roman Egypt may be particularly apt. For in similar documents the purism that often affects literature (e.g. Mason 1970) does not usually operate, and these texts may be able to provide us with reliable answers on language use. After all, modern Linguistic studies on contemporary corpora, for instance Clyne (2003) or Poplack (2018), also raise similar questions, which nonetheless remain unanswered for antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, by raising such questions, it will also emerge more clearly

---

<sup>1</sup> All these questions will find an answer; see §5.2.2 and §5.3.2.

<sup>2</sup> According to the uniformitarian principle, contemporary linguistic phenomena can explain past ones, but see e.g. Trudgill (2020: 7–16) for caveats.

how Latin-Greek bilingualism<sup>3</sup> operated in Egypt and how widespread it was at an early stage; whether reasons of ‘prestige’ affected the use of Latin vocabulary; and finally, whether such vocabulary was mainly adopted or rather imposed (i.e. are Greek speakers adopting new Latin vocabulary from Latin or Latin speakers deliberately imposing/retaining Latin vocabulary?).<sup>4</sup> The answers to these questions will complement recent research on Latin loanwords, especially Dickey’s *Lexicon and Analysis* (2024), from which this work profited enormously, but also works that focussed on loanwords and other problems, like morphology, in Filos (2008) and (2010), or chronology, in Dickey (2003), which are two topics not dealt with in any detail here.

By filling a scholarly gap and answering some fundamental questions on the introduction of Latin loanwords to recently-annexed areas of the Roman world, this work may also be helpful – I hope – in asking new questions on the introduction of loanwords in the contemporary world, where contacts, influences, and annexations, both virtual and real, provide daily changes to our vocabularies.

## **1.2 The bases of this study**

This thesis examines Latin loanwords that appear in Greek papyri written in a choice of Egyptian contexts, from the beginning of Roman rule in 30 BCE to the end of the second century CE.<sup>5</sup> This introduction serves as a groundwork for loanwords and their linguistic understanding but also for early Roman Egypt and the evidence that it can offer.

### **1.2.1 Loanwords and codeswitches in general**

---

<sup>3</sup> Here and elsewhere, ‘bilingualism’ is used following the definition of e.g. J.N. Adams (2003: 8), which includes not only proficient bilinguals but also ‘those whose second language is far from perfect’.

<sup>4</sup> For prestige and convenience, adoption and imposition, see Haspelmath (2009) and e.g. §2.7, §5.3.2. For an example of Latin loanwords used for prestige reasons, see F. Millar (2006: 166-68) and e.g. §2.7, §4.6.2, §5.3.1, §5.4.2.

<sup>5</sup> Here and elsewhere in this work, the term ‘papyri’ includes the ostraca (potsherds) and tablets written in Egypt, even though these are materially different from a papyrus sheet.

Loanwords, also known as lexical borrowings, are part of a broader phenomenon, linguistic borrowing, which consists of ‘linguistic forms taken over by one language or dialect from another’.<sup>6</sup> In turn, linguistic borrowing is part of a broader field of enquiry within linguistics, the study of language contact, which focusses on the linguistic outcomes – the appearance of loanwords is only one among many others – that follow the encounter of different language communities.<sup>7</sup>

The pioneering work on linguistic borrowing was conducted in the fifties by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), who established many of the various categories (e.g. loanwords, loanblends, calques, etc.) that are still current today in the field. Regrettably, Haugen himself changed part of his categories in later work (1953), and several linguists after him either introduced new categories or used old ones with slightly different meanings, thus complicating the theoretical framework. Rather than drawing up a history of such innovations and changes to choose what might seem best, this study follows the categories and definitions employed by Dickey (2024) and Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009a). Dickey’s lexicon and analysis of Latin loanwords in Greek is highly informed by recent linguistics literature and employs a framework comparable to that of most – but not all – contemporary linguists.<sup>8</sup> Haspelmath and Tadmor’s cross-linguistic handbook is the most comprehensive work on loanwords to date, the result of the collaborative Loanword Typology project (2004–2008). These authors and their team looked at loanwords in 395 different languages, assembled papers on 41 of these, and offered their data on a freely-accessible online database.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Crystal (2008: 58, *s.v.* borrowing).

<sup>7</sup> Such outcomes may be minimal (e.g. the addition of some new words) or maximal (e.g. the death of one of the languages involved). On language contact, see e.g. Hickey (2020) and (2010); Grant (2020); Darquennes, Salmons, and Vandenbussche (2019); Thomason (2001); Clyne (2003); Winford (2003); Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

<sup>8</sup> For a different approach, see e.g. Poplack (2018).

<sup>9</sup> See <<https://wold.clld.org>>. Since other researchers usually focus on a couple of languages only, the typological approach of Haspelmath and Tadmor may be better suited to identify a general working framework. Poplack (2018), which summarizes the results of the author’s several decades of work, is another far-reaching work, but the author’s categories, e.g. that of nonce borrowing, are not always accepted by other linguists. For a short and simplified summary of Poplack’s framework, see Grosjean (2021: 51–55).

But what is a loanword? Similarly to its parent linguistic borrowing, a loanword consists of a linguistic form borrowed (or transferred, or copied) from a language or dialect by another, the form being a lexical item, that is a word. For loanwords to appear in a language, that language needs to be in contact with another language or dialect and to include a certain number of bilinguals.<sup>10</sup> Of these requirements, language contact consists in ‘a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity’ where languages or dialects can influence one another.<sup>11</sup> And bilinguals are people who can use or mix two or more languages, to various degrees of proficiency.<sup>12</sup> Prolonged language contact and substantial numbers of proficient bilinguals can produce several effects on any given language, even the death of the language itself, but the appearance of new vocabulary – loanwords, calques, semantic extensions, and loanblends – is typically the first outcome.<sup>13</sup> Focussing on the early contact between Rome and the Greek speakers of Egypt, after the conquest of the Ptolemaic Kingdom in 30 BCE, this study concentrates on loanwords because these represent one of the early consequences of such contact, thus offering a glimpse into the broader impact that a Roman presence had on the Greek language.

After loanwords or lexical borrowing, a situation of language contact may bring about morphological borrowing, syntactical borrowing, and many other effects in a crescendo of influence. On this basis, over the years linguists have tried to produce different outcome-predicting scales, which suggest the effects of different situations of contact.<sup>14</sup> Such scales of borrowability differentiate between different types of borrowing but also include subdivisions

---

<sup>10</sup> For cases in which loanwords appear even when contact and bilingualism are at a bare minimum, see Thomason (2001: 72).

<sup>11</sup> See Crystal (2008: 107–108, *s.v.* contact). As an ancient example, Trudgill (2020: 89–101) sees Koine Greek as a case of simplification that took place through contact.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Treffers-Daller (2018), Matras (2020: 116–117), Grosjean (1982: 230–236), and Romaine (1995: 1–22). For the Graeco-Roman world, see e.g. J.N. Adams (2003: 3–8) and Mullen (2012).

<sup>13</sup> If vocabulary is first, morphology and syntax follow; see e.g. Field (2002: 34–40), Thomason (2001: 69), Romaine (1995: 64–67), Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 20–21). Note that there are bilingual communities in which borrowing does not affect vocabulary; see e.g. Trudgill (2011: 42–43), who refers to the Vaupés Amazonian Indians described by Jackson (1974). On the differences between loanwords, calques, semantic extensions, and loanblends, see below.

<sup>14</sup> The best-known scale is that of Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74–78), revised in Thomason (2001: 70–71). See also Matras (2020: 165–178) and (2007), Poplack (2018: 48–50); add Curnow (2001: 434) for criticism.

within a single phenomenon, like lexical borrowing. Thus, we discover that it is typologically more likely for the majority of loanwords to be nouns, rather than verbs, and for words defining new items or concepts (cultural vocabulary) to be borrowed at an earlier stage, more frequently, and more easily than words duplicating native words with the same meaning (core vocabulary).<sup>15</sup> This does not mean that loanwords cannot consist of verbs or core vocabulary but only that verbs and core vocabulary are borrowed less frequently and further along the process, usually in the presence of a more intense situation of language contact. Therefore, the presence or absence of relevant numbers of borrowed verbs and core vocabulary can help us in understanding the nature of different contact situations and, in this study, the level of contact that took place between Latin and Greek in different settings of early Roman Egypt. To give some straightforward examples from our everyday experience of English, Italian *pasta* or Japanese *sushi* are cultural loanwords for culturally new items, but the noun *beef* and the personal pronoun *they* are not.<sup>16</sup> English already knew oxen, bulls, cows, and their meat before it borrowed Old French *boef*, and it also had a third person plural pronoun – the now-defunct *hi* – before it borrowed *they* from Old Norse, thus suggesting – even if on the basis of a single example – that the recent contact between English and Japanese is rather different from the one that took place between English and Old Norse.<sup>17</sup> To give some more detail, both *beef* and *they* are loanwords that duplicate or replace native English words (core vocabulary), but many linguists would likely categorise *they* as basic rather than core vocabulary. Typologically, basic vocabulary is even more resistant (but not immune) to borrowing than core vocabulary, and it includes high-frequency words expected to exist in every language, like pronouns, body parts, or kinship terms.<sup>18</sup> Latin loanwords appearing in early

---

<sup>15</sup> On cultural and core vocabulary, see e.g. Haspelmath (2009: 46–49), Poplack (2018: 58–60), Myers-Scotton (2002: 41, 239) and (2006: §8.3), Thomason (2001: 71–72).

<sup>16</sup> The first two dated examples of *pasta* and *sushi* recorded by the *OED s.vv.* (1820 and 1830, and 1893 and 1910 respectively) are marked as foreign and may be regarded as codeswitches (see below for codeswitches).

<sup>17</sup> On *beef*, see Kornexl and Lenker (2011) and Durkin (2014: 423). On *they*, see Durkin (2014: 175–179) and Trudgill (2011: 50–55), both with further bibliography

<sup>18</sup> See R.M. Millar (2015: 21), Durkin (2009: 157–161), Tadmor (2009: 65–74), Swadesh (1952) and (1955). On the borrowing of pronouns see Matras (2007: 53–54) and Nichols and Peterson (1996: 337–338) with (1998: 610), where the authors state that it ‘points to unusually close contact’. But note that plural

Roman Egypt comprise both cultural and core vocabulary, including what may seem an example of basic vocabulary.<sup>19</sup> Their careful analysis will determine how profound the effects of Latin contact really were in Egypt.

Often similar to loanwords but at the same time much different, codeswitches are a bilingual's switch from one language to another, be it for a portion of a word, a single word or fixed expression, or longer portions of speech.<sup>20</sup> The following example is taken from my interaction with a friend who wanted to visit Rome and Florence:

If you want to visit both cities, I recommend flying to Rome and then taking a *Frecciarossa* to Florence and back: this train takes only one hour and a half to link the two cities.

In this sentence, *Frecciarossa* is pronounced according to Italian phonology, is not an English word, nor is it a loanword added to English vocabulary and as such normally understood or used by English monolinguals. *Frecciarossa* is the name of one of the high-speed train services linking major Italian cities, and as such does not have a direct translation into English, for even the expression 'high-speed train' would not point to the exact service among others, thus being vague. This study includes single-word codeswitches to Latin on the assumption that codeswitches and loanwords form a continuum – any codeswitch produced today being in theory able to become the loanword of tomorrow – and on the basis that codeswitches often cannot be reliably separated from loanwords in papyrological data.<sup>21</sup> For instance, *Frecciarossa* trains are now being introduced to France, and it is likely that in due course the word will become an Italian loanword

---

personal pronouns do not appear in Tadmor's list of basic vocabulary (the so-called 'Leipzig-Jakarta list'; Tadmor (2009: 69–71)), which includes 100 words.

<sup>19</sup> For the possible example of basic vocabulary, see below §5.2.4.

<sup>20</sup> On codeswitches in general, see e.g. Matras (2020: 107–157); Backus (2020); Gardner-Chloros (2020), (2010), and (2009); Stell (2019); Haspelmath (2009: 40–42); Clyne (2003: 70–76); Thomason (2001: 131–136); Heller and Pfaff (1996).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Matras (2020: 115–119); Backus (2020); Myers-Scotton (2006: 253–260), (1993: 163–207), and (1992); Thomason (2001: 133) and (2003: 696); Auer (1999). Note that Poplack (2018) does not consider codeswitching and borrowing related or as following on a continuum, but this is due to her use of a third category, that of 'nonce borrowings' (i.e. words that are not frequent but morphologically and syntactically integrated). Longer codeswitches (e.g. between sentences) are excluded from this study.

in French. It may also become a loanword in English, if enough English-speaking vacationers coming back from Italy started using it and adapted its pronunciation to English phonology. But given my Italian pronunciation of the word and the general absence of *Frecciarossa* from English discourse, the word can be categorized as a codeswitch, at least in the example above.

An example of both a loanword and a codeswitch may involve the word ‘breccia’. In English, *breccia* is a loanword from Italian and the name of a type of rock,<sup>22</sup> but *breccia* may also be used as a codeswitch to Italian, where *breccia* means breach:

If you pass by the city walls near *Porta Pia* in Rome, you will see a monument where once stood the *breccia* through which Italian soldiers entered the city in 1870, eventually deposing the pope. Italians refer to this event as *la breccia di Porta Pia*.

But how can English *breccia* and Italian *breccia* be differentiated, if not by their context of use? Even though not all linguists would agree on how to differentiate between single-word codeswitches and loanwords, a set of features may help us to do so. The first one is frequency, which is a continuum with no clear demarcation points.<sup>23</sup> The second one is integration (or adaptation, or nativization), in its several forms: among others, morphological (how a word is inflected), phonological (how a word is pronounced), prosodic (how a word is accented), and semantic integration (how a word may change its meaning when borrowed). For instance, *breccia* is not phonologically integrated in English, but *breccia* is, for it is pronounced with a postalveolar approximant rather than an alveolar trill. Regrettably, not all integration features are always easily identifiable, relevant, or applicable. For instance, in the case of Italian *test*, from English *test*, morphological, prosodic, and semantic integration are not helpful. And in the case of ancient Greek, morphological integration is barely usable, phonological integration is mostly inaccessible, prosodic can be problematic, and semantic is only rarely present.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, to

---

<sup>22</sup> See the *OED s.v.*, whose first dated example of the loanword is from 1774.

<sup>23</sup> Frequency can often be a good indicator of loanword status (Myers-Scotton (1992: 35–36) and Dickey (2024: §2.2.4) use at least three good examples), but lack of it cannot always be a sure indicator of codeswitch status; see e.g. §2.4.1 below.

<sup>24</sup> On these points, see Dickey (2024: §2.2.2).

complement frequency and integration linguists employ three other criteria: the diachronic stability of use of a word, its use by monolingual speakers, or the fact that a word is explained, recognised, or marked as foreign.<sup>25</sup>

The relationship between codeswitches and loanwords along a continuum can make it difficult to distinguish between these two phenomena. In papyri, clear-cut examples of bilinguals using single-word or fixed-expression codeswitches rather than loanwords are rare, for one thing because the linguistic background of people remains often unknown, but also because we usually have only a very limited access to the written production of any single person or community. But these drawbacks are exactly why possible codeswitches must not be excluded, lest one risk jeopardise the analysis by using uncertain criteria to exclude relevant parts of the data. In the following chapters, possible codeswitches will be evaluated against the features discussed in the previous paragraph, with the caveat that hardly any single example can be judged a codeswitch to Latin beyond any reasonable doubt.

Assessing the linguistic background of many an author of documentary texts on papyrus is problematic. But trying to do so is not unwarranted, at least by trying to look at the context and background in which they work and write. For the identity of the people who employ codeswitches and borrow new loanwords is not irrelevant. For instance, Latin speakers who inserted several Latin words in their Greek would be effectively retaining parts of their language – be it out of ignorance, easiness, or deliberate choice – while Greek speakers who learnt Latin and brought back new lexical items to their native language would be adopting new vocabulary. In the first case, linguists would talk of ‘imposition’ or ‘retention’ and in the latter of ‘adoption’.<sup>26</sup> The situation of England after the Norman conquest of 1066 is a well-known example of imposition or retention: the French-speaking conquerors and their descendants gradually shifted

---

<sup>25</sup> On frequency, the various forms of integration, and generally on how to distinguish between loanwords and codeswitches, see e.g. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009b: 15), Haspelmath (2009: 40–43), Clyne (2003: 142–146), Winford (2003: 46–51, 107–110), Myers-Scotton (2006: 219–231) and (1993: 191–204), Muysken (1995: 190–191) and (2000: 73), Thomason (2001: 134–135, 154), Haugen (1958: 777). See also Dickey (2024: §2.2) on Latin loanwords in Greek and Langslow (2012b) on two examples of Greek loanwords in Latin.

<sup>26</sup> See Haspelmath (2009: 50–51), Van Coetsem (2000) and (1988), Winford (2005), Thomason (2003: 691–693), Guy (1990), and Ross (1991).

to English, and in doing so they enriched the English language with several French loanwords, which were mostly retained from their original language.<sup>27</sup> The categories of adoption and imposition will appear in the following chapters, especially when the analysis will try to identify the first users of certain Latin loanwords appearing in the texts: is it mainly Latin speakers who also know Greek? Is it mainly Greek speakers who also know Latin? Do situations, places, type of vocabulary influence these questions? Each chapter will try to provide answers for its setting.

The effects of linguistic borrowing on vocabulary do not end with loanwords and codeswitches but include five other phenomena. Of these, this study excludes calques (or loan translations) and semantic extensions (sometimes called loanshifts), while it includes loanblends (sometimes considered together with loanwords), derivatives, and compounds (the last two are sometimes called creations or neologisms). Calques are translations of foreign words like English *almighty* for Latin *omnipotens*, Italian *ferrovia* for German *Eisenbahn*, or Greek *δυάνδρες* for Latin *duumviri*.<sup>28</sup> Semantic extensions are the result of a process by which a foreign word influences a native word so that the latter extends its meaning. The word couple may already have similar forms and meanings, similar forms but not meanings, or similar meanings but not forms, like Latin *ratio*, originally ‘count’, and Greek *λόγος*, which covers ‘count’ together with other meanings – for instance ‘reasoning’ – that later influenced *ratio*.<sup>29</sup> Following other scholars working on loanwords, this study excludes both calques and semantic extension on the basis that they do not consist in the addition of words with a foreign origin (loanwords) to a language but rather show various degrees of influence on the use of native material.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> In similar cases of language shift, the addition (imposition or retention) of new vocabulary by the shifting group is not usually the first and main effect (the retention of phonology and syntax is). The case of the French-speaking Norman conquerors is an exception, because the Normans who shifted to English were a socioeconomically dominant group; see Thomason (2001: 75) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 306–315).

<sup>28</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2.3), Durkin (2009: 135–136) and (2014: 3–4, 164–165), Haspelmath (2009: 38–39), Brixhe (2010: 248), and Rochette (2010: 291–292).

<sup>29</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2.3), Epps and Law (2019), Durkin (2009: 136–137) and (2014: 8–9), Haspelmath (2009: 38–39), Haugen (1950: 219–220). Semantic extensions are sometimes called loanshifts, but Haugen (1950) used the term loanshift to cover both semantic extensions and calques.

<sup>30</sup> Haspelmath (2009: 38–40), Poplack (2018: 41), and Dickey (2024: §2.3) all exclude calques and semantic extensions.

On the other hand, loanblends, derivatives, and compounds are much more closely related to loanwords. Loanblends are sometimes considered a subcategory of loanwords and involve the borrowing of a complex word, a part of which is substituted with one or more native forms, like Pennsylvania German *blaumepie*, from English *plum pie*, where English *plum* has been substituted with German *Pflaume*, or Greek διπλοκάριος, a variant of the loanword δουπλικάριος, from Latin *duplicarius*, where Latin *duplus* was substituted with Greek διπλός, likely under the influence of folk etymology.<sup>31</sup> Derivatives and compounds are born within the borrowing language, which can use loanwords or codeswitches to create derivatives by affixation or suffixation and compounds by compounding loanwords with other words.<sup>32</sup> Examples include the English derivative *inquisitorship*, formed with *inquisitor*, a loanword from Old French *inquisiteur*, and the English suffix *-ship*, and the compound *tablecloth*, formed with *table* – partly a borrowing from Latin *tabula* and partly a borrowing from Anglo-Norman *tabul*, *tabull*, Anglo-Norman and Old French *table* – and the native *cloth*.<sup>33</sup> Of these three phenomena, loanblends are included because they can be seen as a type of loanword, a modified loanword where part of the borrowed word is modified to be better fitted to the borrowing language.<sup>34</sup> Compounds and derivatives are also included because they help us to measure the overall impact of Latin on the Greek vocabulary of early Roman Egypt, especially in some semantic fields where loanwords were very productive.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, it can sometimes be uncertain whether a derivative or compound was formed from an already established loanword or directly on newly-borrowed material;<sup>36</sup> therefore, if one excluded all compounds and derivatives, they would risk jeopardising the reliability of part

---

<sup>31</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2.3, §4.4), Durkin (2009: 137–139) and (2014: 9), Haspelmath (2009: 38–39), Haugen (1950: 218–219).

<sup>32</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2.4, §4.3, §4.5, §4.6), Durkin (2009: 101–111) and (2014: 121–123), Haugen (1950: 220–222).

<sup>33</sup> On *inquisitorship* and *inquisitor*, see the *OED s. vv.*; on *tablecloth* and *table* see the *OED s. vv.* and Durkin (2014: 119).

<sup>34</sup> Loanblends are rare in my data, but see e.g. §2.7 below with an example of διπλοκάριος.

<sup>35</sup> For instance, Latin loanwords for textiles, where one finds πάλλιον ‘mantle’ with its derivatives (e.g. παλλιόλιον) and compounds (e.g. σουβρικοπάλλιον). See e.g. §5.4.2 below.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. §5.2.1 below for συγκολλήγας, either from σύν and *collega* or perhaps an already borrowed κολλήγας.

of the data. Thus, this study will include both derivatives and compounds, even though they were often formed within the borrowing language, using already-borrowed material.<sup>37</sup>

### 1.2.2 Latin loanwords, codeswitches, and influence in Greek

Over the past century, the study of Latin loanwords and codeswitches in Greek has been taken up by several different scholars, often as part of a larger enquiry into Latin influence on Greek. Many of these scholars agreed that loanwords, being one of the many effects of language contact, can help us to assess the degree and quality of Latin influence on Greek.<sup>38</sup> And several of these authors focussed on documentary papyri as a source that is usually free from puristic and Atticizing influences and thus a good witness to the use, change, and evolution of Koine Greek.<sup>39</sup> A problem common to much of this literature is that loanwords and codeswitches have not always been properly differentiated from one another, resulting in studies that often overestimated the effective and durable imprint of Latin vocabulary on ancient Greek.<sup>40</sup> This problem gave rise to a second one, which in fact is a question that still divides scholars: was the overall degree of influence that Latin exerted on Greek and its vocabulary strong or weak?<sup>41</sup> Scholars seldom agreed on this point, as they often used different sources to support their claims – be it literature, inscriptions, papyri, or a mixture thereof – and chose different time frames and criteria for the inclusion of evidence.<sup>42</sup> Finally, most scholars have concentrated on lexicography, morphology, and phonology, only to a lesser extent on the chronological or geographical distribution of loans, on their integration or

---

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009b: 13, 15), who include only a subset of these. Dickey (2024: §2.4) too includes both derivatives and compounds.

<sup>38</sup> See the following three nn.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Wessely (1902a: 99) and Meinersmann (1927: 2).

<sup>40</sup> On this problem, see Dickey (2012). But different early studies recognised the difference between the two phenomena; see e.g. Zilliaccus (1937: 308–309).

<sup>41</sup> Large, see e.g. Hilhorst (1976: 45) on Hermas' *Shepherd*, which was likely written in Rome; Kahane and Kahane for the Byzantine period (1982: 129); and Browning (1983: 40–41), generally on Latin loanwords in Koine Greek. Small, see e.g. Thumb (1901: 152–161), Chantraine (1937), Viscidi (1944: 58), Daris (1991a: 17), Coleman (2007: 799), Kaczko (2016: 393). Generally on Latinisms in Koine Greek, see Horrocks (2010: 127–132).

<sup>42</sup> On this point, see Dickey (2024: §2 with n. 1).

accentuation, or on their semantic categories, and basically very little if at all on the contexts, communities, and persons involved in the use and introduction of new loanwords. These issues have now been addressed by Dickey's new *Lexicon and Analysis* of Latin loanwords (2024), which accurately differentiates codeswitches from loanwords, updates older lexica, and carefully addresses accentuation, chronology, integration, morphology, phonology, the distribution of loans across authors and places, and their semantic fields. However, space prevented it from looking in detail at individual papyrological texts, archives, and contexts, tackling the problem of who introduced these loanwords, how they were used or for what reason. This will be the primarily object of this study, which will hopefully fill this gap in the available scholarly work on Latin loanwords and Latin influence on Greek.<sup>43</sup>

If Dickey's new *Lexicon* (2024) is a milestone that will guide any future work on the matter, the study of Latin loanwords and Latin influence on Greek started well before the twenty-first century, dating back to the nineteenth. The first step was probably taken in 1846, when Wannowski published his *Antiquitates Romanas e Graecis fontibus explicatas*, of which a first part is devoted to phonology and a second to Greek terms for Roman institutions, be it loanwords or native words, from literary sources.<sup>44</sup> In 1872, Dittenberger first focused on inscriptions and literature and looked at Roman personal names in Greek.<sup>45</sup> In 1888 appeared Viereck's *Sermo Graecus*, which first analysed the Greek of the senate and of Roman magistrates' public inscriptional documents to the time of Tiberius, noting their general avoidance of loanwords (p. 70).<sup>46</sup> Another early study, published in 1892 by Eckinger, investigated the phonology of Latin

---

<sup>43</sup> To collect data on all loanwords attested in papyri from 30 BCE to c. 200 CE, I have used Dickey (2024) as a lexicographic basis; I subsequently searched all examples of any loanword through papyri.info and the *Wörterlisten* (papyri.uni-koeln.de/papyri-woerterlisten).

<sup>44</sup> Earlier but hardly useful is Weber's *Dissertatio de Latine scriptis quae Graeci ueteres in suam linguam transtulerunt* (1835–1852).

<sup>45</sup> Studies of Latin loanwords usually exclude personal names; see Dickey (2024: §12.2.2). Dittenberger (1872: 142) mentions some loanwords too, e.g. λεγεών.

<sup>46</sup> On this topic, see also Mentz's 1894 *De magistratuum Romanorum Graecis appellationibus*, which focusses on literary sources but does not use Viereck's results.

words in Greek inscriptions.<sup>47</sup> A few years later, in 1895 Meyer published a collection of the Latin loanwords part of the (then) contemporary Greek speech in the third volume of his *Neugriechische Studien*. Following Meyer's study, the survival of an ancient loanword into modern Greek has often been claimed to be a measure of that word's vital status in antiquity, a loanword rather than a codeswitch.<sup>48</sup> Yet this criterion is not universally valid, for an ancient loanword may have not survived into modern Greek, and a Latin loanword in modern Greek may have not existed in antiquity or existed only as a codeswitch.<sup>49</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century, Wessely (1902a) published the first study that concentrated on papyri as witnesses to Latin influence on the vocabulary of both institutions and daily life. Wessely's list of loanwords made use of several unpublished papyri identified by cryptic abbreviations that made subsequent scholars use his work as an unverifiable primary source.<sup>50</sup> Wessely's 1902 study was followed by a second part, published in 1903, that concentrated on phonology and morphology. Papyri hardly played any role in previous literature but were now brought to the attention of scholars. Wessely has the merit to have first highlighted the usefulness of papyri for tracking the entry of Roman elements in the Greek vocabulary from below, through the everyday life of a province rather than literature.<sup>51</sup> A few years later, Magie (1905) re-examined Greek terms for Roman institutions, whether loanwords (what he called *transcriptiones*), calques (*translationes*), or semantic extensions (*comparationes*).<sup>52</sup> Compared to that of Wannowski, Magie's corpus now added papyri and inscriptions to literary texts. In 1920,

---

<sup>47</sup> A few years later, a few remarks on the morphology and phonology of Latin loanwords appeared in Dieterich (1898: 38–40, 73–74, 122–123, etc.). On inscriptions, note that volumes I (p. 680ff.) and III (p. 688ff.) of *IGR* contain an index of *voces latinae (praeter nomina propria)* in Greek.

<sup>48</sup> See Meyer (1895), Viscidi (1944: 58), Katsanis (2007), Coleman (2007: 795–796), and Filos (2010: 245–247).

<sup>49</sup> See Dickey (2024: §8.2.3) and (2012: 63–64).

<sup>50</sup> An explanation of Wessely's abbreviations is in Wessely (1902b: 1), but this is of little use, because he must have used now-superseded inventories. For instance, Wessely identified Vienna papyri by an R and number, but such numbers do not match current ones, for which visit <[www.onb.ac.at](http://www.onb.ac.at)> or <[www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)>. See e.g. Wessely (1902a: 131), where κελλάριος is said to appear in papyrus R 1554 (II CE), but such papyrus does not appear in the current Vienna catalogue.

<sup>51</sup> See Wessely (1902a: 99–100).

<sup>52</sup> On *transcriptio*, *translatio*, and *comparatio* see also Mason (1974: ix), Dubuisson (1992: 102), and Famerie (1999: 218–225).

with his dissertation Döttling concentrated on the morphology of loanwords appearing in both papyri and inscriptions, while in 1927 Meinersmann published a new list of the loanwords of papyri, which also included a short analysis of their phonology and morphology.<sup>53</sup> In 1931 Cameron made a new list of loanwords by concentrating on the inscriptions of Asia Minor, and in 1937 Chantraine wrote a short note on Latin loanwords in Greek, considered as a phenomenon isolated to few semantic areas. In 1944, Viscidi published a broad analysis of Latin loanwords in Greek from antiquity to 1100 CE.<sup>54</sup> Palmer's 1945 *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* too includes many a reference to the morphology of Latin loanwords.<sup>55</sup> The first half of the century also saw the appearance of a few major works on the relationship between Latin and Greek in the East. In 1906, Hahn published his influential *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache*, which stops at the death of Hadrian, in 138 CE.<sup>56</sup> Hahn's book is important also because it covers the presence, absence, and form of Latin influence in several Greek authors.<sup>57</sup> *Rom und Romanismus* was followed in 1907 by a very short sequel, which covered the following centuries to the time of Justinian.<sup>58</sup> A few years later, in 1935, appeared Zilliacus' *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich*, which was devoted to Latin influence on the language of the Eastern Roman Empire. The book also provided a list of legal and military loanwords appearing in Late Antique papyri and literary sources.<sup>59</sup> Two years later, Zilliacus (1937) also published an analysis of the Latin loanwords of Greek hagiography.

---

<sup>53</sup> See also the slightly later Grohman (1932), which considers Greek and Latin administrative loanwords in the Arabic of papyri from early-Arab Egypt.

<sup>54</sup> Viscidi (1944: 2) claimed to have compiled a list of circa 2,900 loanwords but never published his data.

<sup>55</sup> See Palmer (1945: e.g. 7–8, 13–18, 47–49, etc.).

<sup>56</sup> The study is divided into five chronological sections and mainly focusses on the lexical, syntactic, and morphological influence of Latin on Greek (literature, inscriptions, and papyri). On Latin loanwords in Greek, see e.g. Hahn (1906: 83–88, 114–136, 223–268).

<sup>57</sup> Dionysius (pp. 123–128), Diodorus (130–131), New Testament (257–268), the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (255–257), Josephus (236–239), Plutarch (239–255), Strabo (131–134), Epictetus (235–236). On Procopius, see also Freeman (1882: 381–385), and on Dionysius, see also Nordström (1890) and Marin (1969).

<sup>58</sup> On loanwords, see Hahn (1907: 705–714).

<sup>59</sup> For the list, see Zilliacus (1935: 171–239).

After World War II, the interest in Latin loanwords and Latin influence on Greek did not abate. In 1951 and 1952 Cavenaile published two articles: the first updated Wessely and Meinersmann's lists of Latin loanwords in papyri and offered some remarks on morphology, while the second concentrated on morphology only.<sup>60</sup> The post-war studies usually show a fresh approach to the topic: for if many pre-war works concentrated on a so-called 'struggle' or *Kampf* between Latin and Greek, now this relationship is seen under a more positive light, as a process of 'enrichment'.<sup>61</sup> Cavenaile's work on the loanwords of papyri was continued by Daris, who published three updated lists in the following decades: one in 1960, another in 1971, and the last in 1991. Daris' 1991 list is still the latest and most complete lexicon of loanwords in papyri, to be superseded only by Dickey's forthcoming book (2024). Daris' first list also contained a short analysis of the phenomenon (pp. 300–314), which was updated a few decades later (1991b). The work on terms for Roman institutions – whether loanwords or not – was continued by Mason, whose lexicon and analysis was published in 1974 and is still the reference work on the topic.<sup>62</sup> The work on the Latin influence – including loanwords – on Greek inscriptions was later continued by García Domingo, who published his lengthy *Latinismos en la Koiné* in 1979; the book is devoted to morphology, phonology, syntax and contains a number of lexica (Greek to Latin, Latin to Greek, personal names, etc.).<sup>63</sup> Gignac's *Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods* (1976 and 1981) contains a large number of remarks on the phonology and morphology of Latin loans.<sup>64</sup> Towards the end of the century, Hofmann and Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser continued the lexicographical work on Latin loans. In 1989, Hofmann completed a PhD thesis – never actually published but xeroxed and available in several libraries – consisting of a new lexicon that covers loanwords from inscriptions, papyri, and literature to

---

<sup>60</sup> Both are later versions of portions of Cavenaile's doctoral thesis (1948), which is available online at <[web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/corpus-papyrorum-latinarum-anglais/](http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/corpus-papyrorum-latinarum-anglais/)>.

<sup>61</sup> For the older perspective, see e.g. Lafoscade (1892), Hahn (1906) and (1907), R.J. Bonner (1930), and also Meillet (1930: 304–305). For the new one, see e.g. Cavenaile (1951: 394) and (1952: 201). On this point, see also Rochette (1997: 29–30).

<sup>62</sup> See also Mason (1970).

<sup>63</sup> On inscriptions, see also Kearsley and Evans (2001) and Biville, Decourt, and Rougemont (2008).

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Gignac (1976: 102–107, 217–226, 246–247, etc.) and (1981: 23–27, 48–49, etc.).

the year 600 CE. And a few years later, Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser (with Diethart's cooperation) started a new lexicon of loanwords from papyri. She completed only two volumes, one in 1996 (alpha) and another in 2000 (beta to delta), but her work completely superseded Daris' 1991 lexicon for words from alpha to delta and also considered Latin loanwords in Coptic sources for the first time.<sup>65</sup> This half a century also saw the appearance of other studies, whether books or articles, devoted to the relationship between Latin and Greek in general or to smaller aspects, loanwords included, of such relationship: the most influential – but by no means the only ones – are likely to be Kaimio's 1979 *The Romans and the Greek Language* and Rochette's 1997 *Le latin dans le monde grec*.<sup>66</sup>

Quite some time after Hahn's first notes in his 1906 *Rom und Romanismus*, the second half of the twentieth century gave birth to a renewed attention to the language of Greek literary texts displaying Latin influence.<sup>67</sup> On Polybius, the point of reference is Dubuisson's 1985 *Le latin de Polybe*.<sup>68</sup> On the New Testament and especially on Acts, one may refer to a 1993 article by Marucci.<sup>69</sup> On Plutarch, Strobach's 1997 *Plutarch und die Sprachen*.<sup>70</sup> On Appian, Famerie's 1998 *Le latin et le grec d'Appien*.<sup>71</sup> And on Dio Cassius, Freyburger-Galland's 1997 *Aspects du vocabulaire politique et institutionnel de Dion Cassius*.<sup>72</sup>

At the beginning of the new century, in 2000 Binder published a book on Latin loanwords as sources for the history of Latin and especially Vulgar Latin by investigating many an issue of

---

<sup>65</sup> See also Ehrenstrasser (1994). Given that Latin loanwords usually reach Coptic through Greek, Dickey (2024) does not make use of Coptic sources; see Dickey (2024: §2.1). On Greek influence on Coptic in general, see Grossman *et al.* (2017).

<sup>66</sup> But see also the following: e.g. Nencioni (1941); Turner (1961a); Cadell (1974); Orioles (1974); Wouters (1976); Kaimio (1979b); Shipp (1979); Zgusta (1980); Campanile (1971), (1989), and (1991); García Domingo (1983); Ghiretti (1996); Rochette (1996), (1998), and (2010); Kramer (2011), which collects earlier articles, many of which discuss Latin loanwords.

<sup>67</sup> For an overview, see now Dickey (2024: §9.3–6), but also Mason (1974: 15–16).

<sup>68</sup> On Polybius, see now also Langslow (2012a). On Polybius' loanwords, calques, and semantic extensions, see esp. Dubuisson (1985: 18–59).

<sup>69</sup> See also Hahn (1906: 257–268), Maryks (2000), Bruce (1990) and (1993) on the Acts of the Apostles, Cardoso (1959–1960: 150–151), and Chantraine (1937: 89) with a few remarks. Bartalucci (1995) focusses on Latin loanwords in the Acts of the Martyrs.

<sup>70</sup> See also De Rosalia (1991), Setaioli (2007), Dubuisson (1979: 95–97), and Rochette (2010: 291–292).

<sup>71</sup> See also Hering (1935). On loanwords, see esp. Famerie (1998: 208–210).

<sup>72</sup> Now, see also Coudry (2016). Add also Freyburger-Galland (1998), (1992), and (1984).

morphology.<sup>73</sup> In 2003, Dickey was the first who rigorously approached the chronology of the loanwords appearing in papyri.<sup>74</sup> J.N. Adams' 2003 milestone, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, excluded loanwords at the outset but offers many insights on texts or archives that contain them.<sup>75</sup> In recent years, a few more articles have been devoted to the Latinisms of Greek authors.<sup>76</sup> In Christidis' 2007 *A History of Ancient Greek* one can find a few short articles on the relationship between Greek and Latin, mostly offering the then-common view of scholarship on such issues.<sup>77</sup> In 2008, Filos completed a two-volume DPhil thesis on the morphology of the Latin loanwords of papyri; unfortunately, only part of his results later appeared in a few articles.<sup>78</sup> Dickey's work on Latin loanwords continued with a preliminary report in 2012 and with a 2018 article on the integration of Latin loanwords in Greek.<sup>79</sup> Among the latest works on Latin loanwords in Greek one finds Zervan's 2019 book on their presence in the vocabulary of late Byzantine historiographical literature. This book is part of a larger field of enquiry that over the years has looked at the presence of Latin elements, loanwords included, in Byzantine Greek.<sup>80</sup>

### 1.2.3 Early Roman Egypt and papyri: document choice and the nature of the evidence

Why does this study focus on papyri if Latin loanwords pervade Ancient Greek? As we have seen through the works of previous scholars, after Rome and Greece had come into contact Latin

---

<sup>73</sup> But see already Campanile (1971: 48–64).

<sup>74</sup> See now Dickey (2024: §8). Already Wessely (1902a: 119–123) and Viscidi (1944: 57) had some remarks, now superseded, on the chronological distribution of loanwords.

<sup>75</sup> See J.N. Adams (2003: 29 and e.g. 446–447). On ancient bilingualism, see also J.N. Adams, Janse, and Swain (2002), Dickey (2003b), Rochette (2010), and Mullen and James (2012).

<sup>76</sup> See Ward (2007) and Sievers (2013) on Josephus, Wilson (2006) on Aelian, and Langslow (2012a) on Polybius.

<sup>77</sup> See Brixhe (2007), Coleman (2007), and Katsanis (2007).

<sup>78</sup> See Filos (2006), (2010), (2014), and (2019). On morphology and phonology, see now Dickey (2024: §4 and §6) but cf. also Gignac (1976) and (1981), Binder (2000), and Schirru (2013).

<sup>79</sup> Dickey (2012) is now superseded by Dickey (2024), while Dickey (2024: §9) is a later version of Dickey (2018).

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. Triandaphyllidis (1909), Kahane and Kahane (1972–1976) and (1982), Mihăescu (1993), and Diethart (2008). For an overview with further bibliography, see now Dickey (2024: §8.2.2).

loanwords started to emerge in virtually any type of Greek text, whether documentary or literary, private or public. Because of this abundance, one might suppose that other text types or a mix of text types would have been more suitable than papyri. But that would be wrong, because a set of different reasons make papyri the best evidence to answer our questions.

First of all, this study will focus on papyri and more specifically on papyri from early Roman Egypt for only in this period and only from papyri can we access the first appearances of a large number of loanwords in a place that had just come into direct contact with the Romans. Who was involved in the very beginning of this process? Was it mainly the Roman newcomers or the local populace? And how did this work? Papyri will enable us to address such questions.

Second, starting from the first century CE new loans predominantly appear in papyri first, and papyri thus are an excellent source to investigate the introduction of Latin loanwords under the Early Roman Empire.<sup>81</sup> And in fact the authors of papyri introduced new loanwords almost thirteen times more frequently than those of literature, meaning that they were readier to use such new vocabulary in their texts.<sup>82</sup> We know this thanks to Dickey's new *Lexicon and Analysis* (2024: §9), with which we can now track with unprecedented detail the chronology of appearance, adjusted by text type, of new Latin loans in Greek. Before the first century CE, new loans appeared primarily in inscriptions, to a smaller degree in literature, and only rarely in papyri.<sup>83</sup> The dramatic change that took place at the turn of the era is largely due to the changed political landscape, for in 30 BCE Egypt had ceased to be the only major territory of the Eastern Mediterranean free from Roman rule. Therefore if we want to get as close as possible to the actual introduction of loanwords into Greek, Greek papyri are the best available text type at our disposal.

---

<sup>81</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1, fig. 9, and §12.1): overall, 413 loans first appeared in papyri, 352 in literature, and 239 in inscriptions. In absolute numbers, throughout antiquity literature records an overall number of loanwords (670) larger than that of papyri (596) and inscriptions (443) but also presents a word count ten times longer than that of papyri.

<sup>82</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1, fig. 10, and n. 6), who calculates a rate of c. 90 new loanwords per million words used in papyri and of c. 7 new loanwords per million words used in literature.

<sup>83</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1), who adopts the following definitions: 'documents (including documentary papyri, ostraca, and tablets), inscriptions (including graffiti, dipinti, mosaics, and inscribed objects), and literature (including the dictionaries, commentaries, etc. often referred to as 'para-literary texts').'

Third, papyri generally present a greater loanword density than any other text type.<sup>84</sup> A rough estimate suggests that we can find a Latin loanword every ten papyri in the first century CE and one every seven in the second.<sup>85</sup> But these are averages; in fact even smaller fragments can contain more than one loanword, meaning that it will be more rewarding for the present research to choose the papyrological corpus rather than the inscriptional one or a choice of literary works. Methodologically, this means that I will choose a few places of early Roman Egypt, where loanwords were being first introduced, and read carefully through all the documents surviving from that time and place. Because of the higher loanword density of papyri, this careful reading will be more rewarding than that of a literary work – say Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* or *Learned Banquetters* (c. 200 CE), which also presents Latin loanwords<sup>86</sup> – and will allow one to describe exactly both the situations in which loanwords were used and those in which they were not. All in all, papyri are ideally suited for a study based on the careful reading and analysis of texts as they are a more concentrated type of evidence for the introduction of Latin loanwords.

Fourth, papyri are by and large more reliably dated than inscriptions and as a rule more easily locatable in space than most literary works.<sup>87</sup> Both characteristics make papyri better suited for studying Latin loanwords and their appearance in set periods and geographical contexts. And lastly, papyri are an excellent source because through them we can access how loanwords were introduced and employed in a language that is the closest we can get to the Greek of everyday life, that is a language generally far less formulaic than that of inscriptions and usually less conservative than that of literature.<sup>88</sup> This is made possible because papyri are the best preserved

---

<sup>84</sup> For instance, the density of loanwords in Polybius, an author who used several loans, compares poorly with that of inscriptions recording Greek versions of second-century BCE decrees of the senate; see Dickey (2024: §8.1.4).

<sup>85</sup> See Dickey (2003: fig. 10), who excludes the words αὔγουστος, δηνάριον, ἰνδικτίων, and οὐγκία.

<sup>86</sup> See Athenaeus 3.98c, 3.121e–122a, 8.362a–b, and 9.376d; Dickey (2024: §1); and Paolucci (2004).

<sup>87</sup> For instance, *IGR* III 1264.1 is the only inscriptional attestation of ἀκομενταρήσιος, from a *commentarius* ‘official in charge of records’, but this text was not dated when edited and now is only loosely dated to the second or third century CE (see Schallmayer *et al.* 1990: §730). On the place where literature works are set or written and on the influence of such places (if known), see e.g. Dickey (2024: § 9.3) on the Acts of the Apostles.

<sup>88</sup> The conservative character of literature may partly explain why loanwords first appearing in documentary texts show a greater time lag to also appear in literature than those of literature to later appear in documentary texts; see Dickey (2024: §9.1).

and most abundant example of everyday writing from the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>89</sup> And in fact papyri offer a corpus that is mostly concentrated in a few corners of Egypt and usually vast enough to be variegated by genre. This also means that through papyri we are able to access the language uses of precise settings – be it a fort, a city, or a village – but also those of the various people that lived in such settings – be it soldiers, bureaucrats, slaves, merchants, pimps, or women – along with the various text types that they produced – private letters, official orders, contracts, etc.<sup>90</sup> All these reasons mean that through the papyri of early Roman Egypt we can access a corpus that is securely dated, originates from precise geographical settings, and presents a density of loans that is large enough to let us study in detail the fluctuating vocabulary of various social players in that crucial period when the Romans annexed Egypt and a large number of Latin loanwords first appear in our record.

But the papyrological corpus is too vast and originates from far too many localities to be studied with the level of detailed scrutiny that our research questions require. For instance, in the Early-Roman period we have large sets of papyri from the city of Oxyrhynchus, seat of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and from a few villages of the Arsinoite nome, equivalent to the Fayum oasis. In the same period, large sets of ostraca originate from the Roman forts and quarries of the Eastern Desert, including the city of Berenike on the Red Sea; from the region around Thebes, in Upper Egypt; and from those around Edfou and Elephantine, also in Upper Egypt, towards the Southern edge of the country, where the Roman army patrolled the border. This research will concentrate on three settings of the Eastern Desert and on the city of Oxyrhynchus. In particular, one chapter will be devoted to the forts of Didymoi and Krokodilo and another to the quarry of Mons Claudianus, all located in the military-influenced Eastern Desert, and another two chapters

---

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. Bagnall (2011).

<sup>90</sup> Of course, it is often difficult to identify the writers of documents with their notional authors because professional scribes or other third parties often served as intermediaries. On this point, see e.g. §4.6.2, where the authorship and word-choices of some contracts are discussed.

will be on Oxyrhynchus, a regional seat that linked its surrounding district to the higher chains of government in Alexandria.<sup>91</sup>

A few factors governed this choice. First, the Eastern Desert presents us with extremely varied ranges of texts on ostraca, which is something that makes them comparable to papyri, while the ostraca originating from other localities of Egypt mostly preserve lists or tax returns. Moreover, the recent appearance of these ostraca has opened unprecedented avenues for research into the presence of Rome in Egypt and particularly in its desert.<sup>92</sup> Second, the papyri of Oxyrhynchus let us access the life of a city and its diverse inhabitants, and in particular the life of a city that stood in between a rural hinterland and the central government of Alexandria and ultimately Rome. Third, the Oxyrhynchus texts edited in the *P.Oxy.* series and those from the Eastern Desert edited by H. Cuvigny and her team have been exceptionally well edited through the years, meaning that this work is based on reliable texts whose readings and editorial quality generally exceeds that of other papyrological editions. And lastly, we may say that Oxyrhynchus and the militarily-influenced Eastern Desert complement each other because they are placed at opposite ends of an ideal spectrum of Romanness. The former lacked a permanent military presence or a high number of veteran settlers for much of the Early-Roman period, while the latter existed as a community exactly because of a Roman military presence in the area.<sup>93</sup> The presence or absence of the Roman army could be pivotal in assessing the role played by the army when it comes to Latin loans in Greek, for it has long been hypothesised that the army played a central role in the process of introducing the Latin language and Latin vocabulary.<sup>94</sup> Was this really the case? Did the army deliberately choose Latin in some cases? Chapters two and three will assess

---

<sup>91</sup> In general, papyri did not survive in Alexandria, but we have papyri that were written in Alexandria and then brought to the *chora*. Part of the chapters on Oxyrhynchus will be devoted to this relationship with the capital; see e.g. §4.3 and 4.4.

<sup>92</sup> See now Cuvigny (2021).

<sup>93</sup> The Arsinoite villages from which we have so many papyri in this period would have fallen perhaps in the middle of the spectrum, because they show a greater number of veteran settlers among their inhabitants. See e.g. Alston (1995: 117–142) on veterans in the Arsinoite village of Karanis.

<sup>94</sup> See e.g. Zilliacus (1935: 170), Costas (1936: 50), Chantraine (1937: 88), Reichmann (1943: 2), Brixhe (1987: 107), Daris (1991b), Biville (1992: 234), Ghiretti (1996), Katzoff (1996: 608), Kaczko (2016: 393), Garcea (2019: 69). But see now J.N. Adams (2003: esp. 599–623) and especially Dickey (2024: §10.2.3) for loanwords.

these questions among others. And did Latin influence on vocabulary work any differently in Oxyrhynchus? What players used and introduced Latin when the Roman army are not settled in a city? Is Latin vocabulary mainly adopted or imposed on the citizens? Chapters four and five will tackle these and other questions.

Different as they are, these sites have preserved different types of texts but most importantly present different chronological distributions. The fact that we still have thousands of unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus and ostraca from the Eastern Desert may slightly skew the data, but the published material is large enough to show some tendencies. In particular, the Eastern Desert of Egypt – of which Didymoi, Krokodilo, and Mons Claudianus are only three settings – returns only a few texts through the first century CE, mainly because the forts and quarries were first established in this period, but sees a spike in the number of texts towards the end of the first century CE and then at the beginning of the second, under the reign of Trajan. There is a second high point in the second third of the second century, while again we have only a few documents from the end of the century (see fig. 1). Oxyrhynchus has preserved but a few papyri from the Ptolemaic period, because these were in lower and damper levels of terrain.<sup>95</sup> But the city shows a steadily growing number of papyri in the first and second centuries CE (see fig. 2). Egypt as a whole shows different tendencies (see fig. 3), with a high point around the mid third century BCE, a lower number of texts from the second century BCE, and even less from the first BCE.<sup>96</sup> The trend is reversed during the early Roman period, when Egypt returns an increasing number of documents, thus matching quite closely the distribution of Oxyrhynchus.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> See §4.1.

<sup>96</sup> The high point of the third century BCE is almost entirely due to the vast archive of Zenon (TM Arch ID 256); on this fact and its possible implications see Bagnall (2011: 35–39 and 54–61).

<sup>97</sup> Because Oxyrhynchus papyri make up a large portion of the overall number of early Roman papyri, figures 2 and 3 match quite closely in the early Roman period.

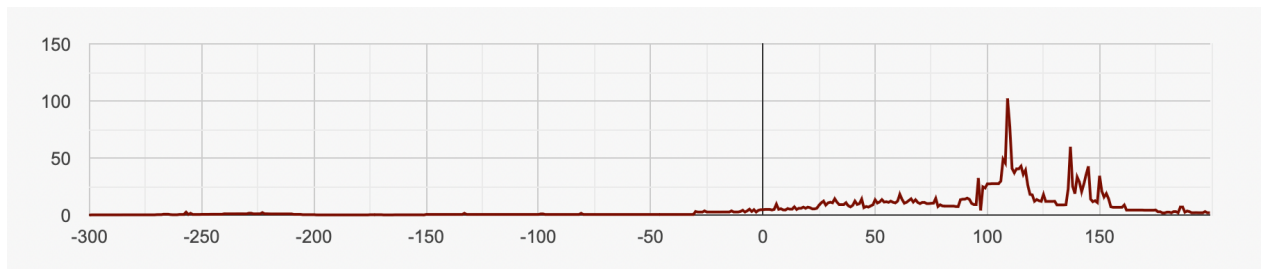


Figure 1. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from the Eastern Desert (III BCE to II CE).<sup>98</sup>

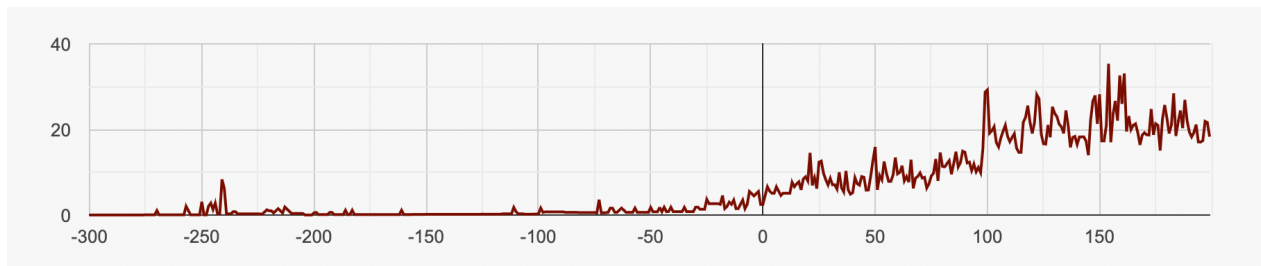


Figure 2. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from Oxyrhynchus (III BCE to II CE).

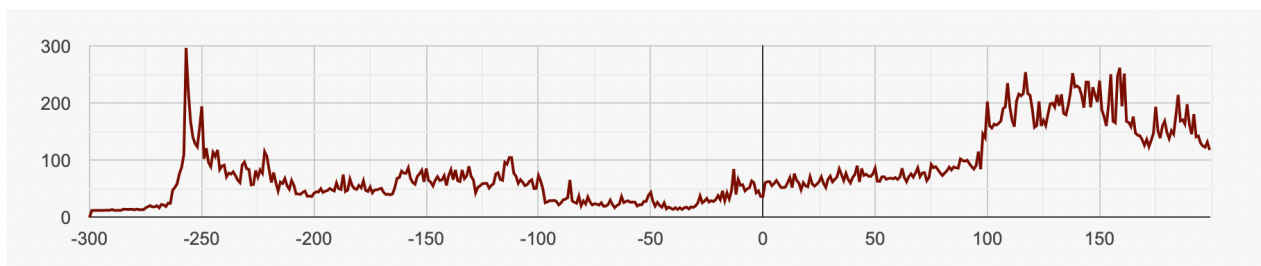


Figure 3. Chronological distribution of Greek texts from Egypt (III BCE to II CE).

#### 1.2.4 The social, cultural, and historical context of the evidence

As we have seen, the introduction and use of Latin loanwords in Egypt correlates with the actual presence of Roman people and institutions in the country, for it is only with the conquest that we see a growing number of loanwords in papyri. Of course Egypt and Rome had been in close contact long before 30 BCE, but papyri do not let us access such relationship in much detail. For instance, we know that Rome and Egypt had some sort of friendly relationship as early as 273

<sup>98</sup> This and the following charts were produced using Trismegistos ([www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)) on 12 February 2022 by selecting strict dating ranges, provenances, and the Greek language. These are weight-date graphs, i.e. graphs in which texts dated to a precise year assign a full weight (1) to that year, while texts dated to a range of years assign a portion of their weight to each possible year (e.g. a text dated to 100–103 CE will assign a weight of 0.25 to each of those years). For the methodology, see Van Beek and Depauw (2013).

BCE<sup>99</sup> and that at the end of the third century BCE a Roman mercenary was at the head of a Ptolemaic garrison in Crete,<sup>100</sup> but the first Romans to visit Egypt and reach its southern border appear in two inscriptions from 116 and 115 BCE (*I.Thèbes Syène* 321 and 322), while the first Roman, a senator, attested in the Egyptian *chora* through a papyrus appears only in 112 BCE (*P.Tebt.* I 33).<sup>101</sup> Over this time Rome and Egypt developed so close a relationship that in the mid second century BCE Rome saved the very existence of the Ptolemaic kingdom and by the mid first century BCE was already planning to take hold of the country.<sup>102</sup> Roman merchants may have played some role in Ptolemaic Egypt over this period, but we know so little about their presence that it has been hypothesised that there were but few of them in the country if at all.<sup>103</sup> The first known Roman settlers of Egypt were the soldiers of Aulus Gabinius, the proconsular governor of Syria, who in 55 BCE invaded Egypt to reinstate Ptolemy XII and later left some 2,500 of his soldiers in Alexandria.<sup>104</sup> A few years later, in 48 BCE Caesar left three legions in Alexandria, while the following relationship of Cleopatra VII with Mark Antony meant that portions of the Roman army were often present in the country.<sup>105</sup> For this later period, we are also better informed on the Roman influence on the country and its economy: the Roman banker Rabirius Postumus acted as Ptolemy XII's chief of the Treasury,<sup>106</sup> the senator Quintus Ovinius

---

<sup>99</sup> See Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 20.14.1–2; Eutr. 2.15; Val. Max. 4.3.9; Just., *Epit.* 18.2.9; Dio Cass. fr. 41 = Zonar. 8.6; Neatby (1950); Peremans and van't Dack (1972); Gruen (1984: 62–63); and Eckstein (2008: 201–206). Ptolemy II had a pact of *amicitia* with Carthage too; see App., *Mac.* 1.

<sup>100</sup> See *I.Cret.* III.iv 18 (217–209 BCE) with Bagnall (1976: 121–123).

<sup>101</sup> On *I.Thèbes Syène* 321 and 322, see e.g. Beness and Hillard (2003). *P.Tebt.* I 33 records the trip of Lucius Memmius, perhaps a relative of the destroyer of Corinth L. Mummius, from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome; see also Rutherford (2012).

<sup>102</sup> In 168 BCE Rome's envoy Gaius Popilius Laenas saved Egypt from Antiochus IV in the Sixth Syrian war; see Polyb. 29.27.11–2. Already in 65 BCE Marcus Licinius Crassus had proposed to take hold of Egypt; see Plut., *Crass.* 13.1 and Cic., *Leg. agr.* 1.1.

<sup>103</sup> See e.g. Hatzfeld (1919: 50–51, 143–147, 176–177).

<sup>104</sup> See Josep., *AJ* 14.98–99 and *BJ* 1.175. These soldiers, the Gabiniani, mixed with the locals, married, and had children in Alexandria, thus creating a Roman ethnic element in the city; see Caes., *BCiv.* 3.110.2

<sup>105</sup> Cleopatra VII had a son with Julius Caesar, Ptolemy XV Caesar; the Latin signature '*regina et | rex iusser(un)l*' of the Greek royal edict protecting a synagogue *I.Ptolemaic* 125.11–12 (47–31 BCE, Leontopolis?) may have been aimed at Latin-speaking soldiers then present in the Egyptian Delta but may have also signalled the affinity of Cleopatra VII and her son with Rome.

<sup>106</sup> See Cic., *Rab. Post.* He was made chief of the Treasury (διοικητής) so that he could recover what he had lent Ptolemy XII, but he drained Egypt so thoroughly that he had to flee the country; see also Suet., *Iul.* 54.3 and Dio Cass. 39.12.1.

was at the head of Cleopatra's VII weaving industries,<sup>107</sup> and a Roman investor – Quintus Cascellius – could have been close enough to the queen to be granted numerous tax breaks on his international trades with Egypt.<sup>108</sup>

All this means that when Octavian conquered the country in 30 BCE, Egypt was not at all an independent region far from Roman influence. But actual administrative changes came only with the conquest of 30 BCE.<sup>109</sup> For example, among other such changes, we see the installation of an equestrian prefect overseeing the province; the appointment of Romans to some of the old governmental departments in Alexandria like the ἴδιος λόγος (literally 'private account'), which oversaw the selling of confiscated lands;<sup>110</sup> the creation of imperial estates with the requisitioned plots of Ptolemaic royal land;<sup>111</sup> and the installation of Roman camps, both permanent and not, in strategic places around the country, for instance outside Alexandria with the camp of Nicopolis, in Babylon (modern Cairo) at the head of the Delta region, or in Primis (Qasr Ibrim, Lower Nubia) during an early expedition beyond the Southern border.<sup>112</sup> A new legal code, the so-called γνῶμων τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου or 'schedule of regulations of the *idios logos*', was enacted which regulated fiscal and social matters with different rules for Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, while justice was now administered both in Alexandria as before but also through an itinerant court, the *conventus*, which took place around the province in set places and times of year.<sup>113</sup> The Ptolemaic local bureaucracy remained largely unchanged, mostly manned by local elites, with στρατηγοί at the

---

<sup>107</sup> See Oros. 6.19.20, and §4.8, §5.4.2 below.

<sup>108</sup> See *P.Bingen* 45 (33 BCE, unknown prov.) with the corrections in Van Minnen (2000), (2001), (2018), and especially Zimmermann (2002). A translation is in Bagnall and Derow (2004: §63). For the vast bibliography on this papyrus, see <<https://berlpap.smb.museum/05150/>>. See also §5.3.6.

<sup>109</sup> For all that follows, see e.g. Bagnall (2021: 46–120), Capponi (2005) and (2011), Bowman and Rathbone (1992), Cockle (1984).

<sup>110</sup> See e.g. §5.1.2.

<sup>111</sup> See e.g. §4.4.3.

<sup>112</sup> The papyrus containing Cornelius Gallus' (the first prefect of Egypt) elegies was found here; see Anderson, Parsons, and Nisbet (1979). Oxyrhynchus likely had a small military base at the very beginning of Roman rule only; see §4.5.2.

<sup>113</sup> Most recently on the γνῶμων, see Dolganov (2022). See also Eich (2003: 388–389), Rathbone (1993), Montevecchi (1988: 432–435), and Swarney (1970). The text of the γνῶμων is preserved mainly through *BGUV* 1210 and *P.Oxy.* XLI 3014; see also §4.4.3, §5.2.1, and Dolganov (2020). On the *conventus*, see also §5.1.3.

head of the administrative divisions or *nomes* (νομοί), βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς assisting and deputizing for the στρατηγοί, and lower officials for portions of the *nomes* (τοπογραμματεῖς) and for the villages (κωμογραμματεῖς). Unlike the local one, the central bureaucracy of Alexandria did involve Roman citizens and at least a few bilinguals who could interact with the local echelons of government in Greek and the higher ones in Latin or Greek. Unfortunately, we have but little access to these environments but can try to take a peek at them through the papyri of Alexandria that reached the *chora* and through the papyri documenting the work of the Roman administration in the *chora*, for instance in the management of imperial estates, sometimes through slaves.<sup>114</sup>

This is the historical background to early Roman Egypt, that is a place that had just come into direct contact with the Roman administration, offers an unusual number of texts open to study, and whose conquest coincides with the appearance and introduction of a growing number of Latin loanwords in Greek texts. Does the Roman presence correlate with the introduction of the first loans? What is the role of the Roman administration and army and what is that of the local populace? The chapters will address all such questions.

### 1.3 The parameters of this study

A study of Latin loanwords may be differently shaped on account of several factors. For instance, a basic problem is the choice of words to be studied: should this work include all loanwords appearing in the chosen papyri or not? And why, if not? Some of the choices taken in the following chapters have already been presented, like that of the time frame and places, but others have not.<sup>115</sup> These are the policies followed as to the spelling of Latin loans, their accentuation, but also their semantic subdivision. Over the years, scholars have shown so little agreement on all such matters that a clarification on these points is in order.<sup>116</sup> One final section (§1.3.2) will explain how and why some loanwords will be excluded from the outset.

---

<sup>114</sup> See e.g. §4.4 and §4.7.

<sup>115</sup> See §1.2.3.

<sup>116</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2, §4, §5, §10.2).

### 1.3.1 The policies followed in this study

Spelling, inflection, accentuation, and the semantic divisions of Latin loans have divided and continue to divide scholars. Each and every one of these issues may be and has been studied to great detail and depths, so that this work will not address any of the technicalities involved. Rather, it will mostly adhere to the policies of Dickey's new *Lexicon and Analysis*, which both reviews previous scholarly work and addresses these issues with a fresh approach.

More in detail, the morphology of Latin loanwords has now been comprehensively reassessed by Dickey (2024: §4). In the present study, the spelling and inflection of Latin loanwords follows Dickey's new lexicon, where each entry presents all possible forms in which a loanword appears in Greek texts – e.g. κεντ(ο)υρίων, κεντορίων, κεντηρίων, κεντοιρίων, κεντηριον, κυντυρίων (-ωνος/- ονος, ὀ) – by choosing the first form and eliminating brackets. Thus, in the case of 'centurion' the discussion will employ the word κεντουρίων only.<sup>117</sup>

The accentuation of Latin loanwords in Greek is another well-trodden ground where several scholars have taken different paths.<sup>118</sup> Dickey (2024: §5) is the latest work on the matter and, given the many difficulties of the issue, likely will not be the last. In the present work, the accentuation of loanwords will follow that presented in Dickey's new lexicon. However, should Dickey's accentuation and that of an already-edited Greek text under discussion diverge, the Greek text will not be amended to make it match Dickey's choices.<sup>119</sup>

Dickey's analysis (2024: §10.2) goes into quite a high degree of detail in addressing the semantic divisions of Latin loanwords, which she presents also in typological comparison with the results of Haspelmath and Tadmor's collaborative Loanword Typology project (2004–

---

<sup>117</sup> This means that, from time to time, the discussion will employ one spelling, while the documents discussed will show another one. For instance, in papyri κεντουρίων appears consistently as κεντυρίων and κοόρτη as χόρτη, but Dickey's lexicon provides κεντυρίων under κεντουρίων and χόρτη under κοόρτη.

<sup>118</sup> See Wackernagel (1926: 56–58), Schwyzler (1939: 395), Mihăescu (1993: 344–348), Clarysse (1997), Radt (1998) and (1999), Kramer (1998) and (2001), Probert (2006: 132–136), Filos (2014: 322).

<sup>119</sup> See e.g. §5.2.4, where the editors of the texts discussed accent γεμέλλος, Γεμέλλος, and Γεμέλλα rather than γέμελλος, Γέμελλος, and Γέμελλα.

2008).<sup>120</sup> This comparison indicates that Latin loanwords include more loans relating to social and political relations, warfare, food, technology, and language than those analysed in Haspelmath and Tadmor's project. But they also show that Latin loans of religion, agriculture, the house, and law are underrepresented. Not only did Dickey compare her results with those of Haspelmath and Tadmor, but she also regrouped Latin loans according to semantic categories more meaningful for the Greek language. For instance, she eliminated the 'animals' category employed by Haspelmath and Tadmor and divided the few Latin loans for animals between two more suitable semantic categories: 'means of transportation' (e.g. μούλος 'male mule' from *mulus*) and 'food' (e.g. πουλλίον 'chicken' from *pullus*).<sup>121</sup> This regrouping also served to answer one central question: are most Latin loanwords military, legal, and administrative loanwords? More than a few studies had answered positively such question, usually implying a major role for Roman power in the process, but Dickey was able to finally prove them wrong.<sup>122</sup> In her data, military, legal, and administrative loanwords make up just 40% of all loanwords, while other loans mostly refer to that semantic area covered by the general term 'daily life'. The present work will by and large follow Dickey's semantic subdivision of loanwords but with a few adjustments: for instance, an architectural term like κέλλα that appears in a military context will be treated as a military (architectural) term rather than as a simple architectural term.<sup>123</sup> The use of semantic subdivisions will also prove useful to address more than a few questions, like the proportion of loanwords linked to Roman power at the very outset of the Roman conquest or in military contexts: will the texts confirm the 40% percentage or not? And to which semantic fields do the first loanwords entering the newly-conquered Egypt belong?<sup>124</sup>

### 1.3.2 Inclusion and exclusion: non-transmitted and transmitted loanwords

---

<sup>120</sup> See §1.2.1

<sup>121</sup> See Dickey (2024: §10.2.2).

<sup>122</sup> See Dickey (2024: §10.2.3).

<sup>123</sup> See e.g. §2.1 and §5.3.2.

<sup>124</sup> See e.g. §2.2, §2.4, and §4.2.

Focussing on the introduction and early use of loanwords, this work needs to exclude from the outset those loanwords that were not borrowed in Egypt but later transmitted to it through Greek speakers or texts. For such transmitted loans cannot tell us much about the people, places, and processes by which they entered Greek and thus cannot be studied together with the other loans. A good example of a loan transmitted to Egypt is the derivative Ῥωμαῖος, from Ῥώμη and -αῖος, perhaps influenced by *Romanus*. First appearing in papyri in *P.Lond.* VII 1986.12 from 252 BCE,<sup>125</sup> this word cannot have been derived in Egypt, because coins and literature present several examples of it earlier than the 252 BCE London papyrus.<sup>126</sup> And Ῥωμαῖος is not an isolated example, for other Latin loanwords appear in Ptolemaic Egypt and may have been transmitted to it rather than borrowed in it. For instance, we find διάριον ‘daily wage’ in *SB XVI* 12375.54 from 180 BCE, γαῖσος ‘javelin’ in *P.Tebt.* I 230.12 from the late second century BCE, and πωμάριον ‘orchard’ in *SB XVI* 12569.20 from the later first half of the first century BCE.<sup>127</sup>

But how do we recognise loans that were certainly transmitted to Egypt? The general rule is to look for earlier and contemporary attestations of a loan in different places and text types. Today, we can also use Dickey’s new *Lexicon and Analysis* (2024: §9) to look at such trends of transmission. For Dickey tracked the first appearances of loanwords through different text types (documents, inscriptions, and literature) and revealed that if a loanword first appears in one text type only, it usually takes time to spread to another one, and that this time lag is generally longer for loanwords to appear in literature than papyri after their first borrowing.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, among Latin loans first used from the third to the sixth century, 48% of those appearing in literature had already appeared in earlier inscriptions or papyri, while 35% of those appearing in papyri had

---

<sup>125</sup> See also *P.Tebt.* I 33.3 from 112 BCE.

<sup>126</sup> See Dickey (2024: *s.v.* Ῥωμαῖος); for coins, see e.g. Crawford (1974: 131 no. 1).

<sup>127</sup> On such early loans, see Dickey (2024: §8.1.4). On πωμάριον, see also §5.3.6.

<sup>128</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1); overall, only 36% of all loanwords eventually spread to all three text types, while 27% remained in one text type only.

already appeared in earlier inscriptions or literary works.<sup>129</sup> These data indicate that most loans were likely introduced in a particular time and place and then took time to spread from one region and text type to another.<sup>130</sup> They also suggest that the Greek speaking world consisted of connected communities that could influence one another by sharing new vocabulary. But they also indicate that up to half of the loanwords appearing in literature and up to a third of those appearing in papyri are transmitted loans. In general terms, this may warrant the exclusion from this study of roughly a third of the Latin loanwords appearing in papyri, but loanwords will not be excluded simply because they appear in other sources in a contemporary or earlier time frame. And in fact, if ῥωμαῖος is a clear-cut example of a transmitted loanword, the situation of several other loans is not as straightforward. For instance, how should one treat a loanword appearing in different regions and or text types but in a similar time frame?

Again thanks to Dickey, we now know that 19% of loanwords appear in two text types in their first century and that 2% of loans appear in three.<sup>131</sup> This could mean different things: that a few loanwords had a rapid spread (within a century) from one text type to another, that a few loans were borrowed before they enter our record, when they appear simultaneously in different text types, but also that some loanwords could be independently borrowed in more than one place, in different text types but similar time frames. All three hypotheses are possible and do not exclude each other; for instance, the first one may be true for loanwords whose use in the periphery spread and was likely mandated from the centre,<sup>132</sup> but in what follows I would like to stress the third possibility. For while it is true that the Greek speaking world was a well-connected community where speakers influenced one another and loanwords expanded from one place to another, it is at the same time true that Koine Greek did not lack regional variation. And this

---

<sup>129</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1), who chose these centuries on account of their number of loanwords; the second century CE presents more new loanwords than the five preceding ones combined but also more Greek texts than the three preceding ones combined. Earlier centuries would have returned smaller percentages. See also Dickey (2024: §8.1.1 and §12.1)

<sup>130</sup> See Dickey (2024: §2.2.1).

<sup>131</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.1).

<sup>132</sup> For instance administrative loans whose introduction arrived together with an administrative innovation; see e.g. the case of the derivative *παράρχης* (from *pagus* ‘district’ via *πάγος* and *-άρχης*), first appearing in fourth century papyri.

allowed the existence of local and regional loanwords, that is loanwords limited to smaller localities and regions and due to the specific situation of language contact of those places.<sup>133</sup> In fact, probably many loanwords that later expanded through different regions and text types may have started their travel as regional loanwords.<sup>134</sup> Accordingly, it is possible that at least some loans were locally borrowed in more than one place and then spread from those places rather than from just one. This is only natural to assume, given the far-ranging list of places where Greek and Latin were in contact across the Mediterranean and is also more economical than to always hypothesise one single borrowing taking place at a precise place and time that later spread across the entire Greek-speaking world from that place only. Unfortunately, we do not have the same variety and number of sources from different times and places, meaning that it is difficult to clearly identify two independent borrowings taking place at the same time but in different places.<sup>135</sup> Nonetheless this hypothesis can explain the rapid spread of at least some loanwords together with the (roughly) contemporary appearance of one loanword in different regions and text types.

In fact, if one looks closer at Dickey's data on the time lag of appearance in different sources, one finds out that only 17% of the loans of papyri had already appeared in some other source more than one century earlier, meaning that the remaining 18% appeared in papyri just a century later than someplace else.<sup>136</sup> Now, a time lag of more than a century may be enough to consider a loan as likely transmitted, but a time lag of a century or less advises against an automatic choice for transmission. Some of these loans may have been transmitted, some may have been borrowed centrally and then rapidly spread through official channels, but some others may have been independently borrowed in Egypt and elsewhere in only slightly different time frames. In particular, this may be the case of at least a few military loans, which could have been

---

<sup>133</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.2).

<sup>134</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.2).

<sup>135</sup> But see §2.3.1 and especially §4.4.2 on *κουστωδία*. For this loan, we may be able to identify independent borrowings taking place in different places and slightly different time frames, each carrying with itself a different usage for the loan.

<sup>136</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.2).

borrowed in Egypt but also in other provinces, in the same period or in slightly different time frames, when the Roman army settled in such places.

For all these reasons, this study will exclude from the outset: those loanwords that appeared in papyri more than one century after having appeared in some other source and those loanwords whose introduction certainly took place at the centre, in Rome, rather than at the periphery, in Egypt or elsewhere, no matter the time lag for their spread to Egypt. Examples are *Λατῖνος*, *οὐγγία*, *πάτρων*, *Ῥωμαῖος*, and *Ῥώμη*, all appearing in Greek more than a century before their first papyrological attestation.<sup>137</sup> Roman month names like *Ἰανουάριος*, *Μάρτιος*, *Ἀπρίλιος*, *Ἰούνιος*, or *Ὀκτώβριος*, honorific month names like *Γερμανίκειος* or *Καيسάρειος*, currency units like *δηνάριον*, *νοῦμμος*, or *σηστέριος*, and imperial titulatures like *Αὔγουστος* and *Καίσαρ* are all examples of loanwords likely first borrowed at the centre, in Rome, rather than at the periphery, be it Egypt or elsewhere.<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, this study will include: all those loanwords that appear only in papyri, and specifically in the papyri that are the object of this study, those that first appear in papyri and later in other sources, those that appear in the same century in both papyri and some other source, those that appear in papyri just a century after having appeared elsewhere, and those that appear in papyri more than a century after having appeared elsewhere if those first appearances are marked as codeswitches or are isolated examples that do not illuminate the introduction history of those loans. Loans that appear in papyri only include words

---

<sup>137</sup> For *Λατῖνος*, see e.g. Theophr., *Hist. pl.* 5.8.1 (IV–III BCE) and *SEG* III 378.B6 (II–I BCE); the word first appears in second century CE papyri (e.g. *BGUV* 1210.66). For *οὐγγία*, see e.g. Sophron frag. 148 Kassel–Austin (V BCE) and *SEG* XLV 1423 (V–IV BCE); the word first appears in second century CE papyri (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2679.8). For *πάτρων*, see e.g. *I.Thrake Aeg.* E5.23 (166–160 BCE) and *Diod. Sic.* 29.27.1 (I BCE); the first papyrological attestation of the word is likely *BGUV* 1155.13 and 23 (11–10 BCE). See also §5.3.1. For *Ῥωμαῖος*, see e.g. perhaps Hellenicus, no. 4 frag. 31 Jacoby (V BCE) and Theophr., *Hist. pl.* 5.8.2 (IV–III BCE); the first papyrological attestation of the word is *P.Lond.* VII 1986.12 (252 BCE). For *Ῥώμη*, see e.g. perhaps Hellenicus, no. 4 frag. 84 Jacoby (V BCE); *Scylax*, 5.2 (V–IV BCE); *Arist. (?)*, *De plantis* 821b7 (IV BCE?); the first papyrological attestation of the word is likely *P.Polit.Iud.* 9.11 (132 BCE).

<sup>138</sup> Like other Roman month names, *Ἰανουάριος* appears in literature and inscriptions more than a century before appearing in papyri, where its first examples usually consist of double datings (Roman and Egyptian); see Dickey (2024: §9.2) and also §3.5. The honorific month names appearing in Egypt can be considered regional loanwords because they apply to the Egyptian calendar and correspond to Egyptian months but as Latin loans in Greek they were likely borrowed in Rome, where the figures that they honoured resided; the fact that their use in Egypt was likely encouraged by the provincial government does not prove that the words were actually first borrowed in Alexandria or Egypt for the first time. See also Dickey (2024: §9.2). On the exclusion of *δηνάριον*, see also Dickey (2003).

like γέμελλος ‘twin’, ἀκίσκλος ‘adze’, and ὄκρεας ‘shin-guard’.<sup>139</sup> Those that first appear in papyri and later in other sources include among others κονδούκτωρ ‘contractor’, μουλίων ‘muleteer’, and πατριμόνιον ‘(imperial) estate’.<sup>140</sup> Loans that appear simultaneously in papyri and other sources or in papyri in the century after their first appearance elsewhere comprise for instance κάμπος ‘field’ or ‘camping place’, κουστωδία ‘prisoner’, ‘prison’, or ‘guard’, and λεγεών ‘legion’.<sup>141</sup> And finally words whose first appearances are marked as codeswitches or whose introduction history is unclear and could be influenced by independent borrowing include δεκουρίων ‘decurion’, κεντουρίων ‘centurion’, and κολωνία ‘colony’.<sup>142</sup> The inclusion of words like κολωνία, whose first appearances predate papyri by roughly two centuries, is due to the possibility that similar words may have been independently borrowed in different regions and different time frames along with the introduction of the related Roman institution. For this reason, only month names and imperial titulatures have been excluded from this study as a rule, while in all other cases the loans appearing in the texts under study are usually included and their introduction history is discussed on a case by case basis.

---

<sup>139</sup> On γέμελλος, see §5.2.4; on ἀκίσκλος and ὄκρεας, see §3.6.1.

<sup>140</sup> On κονδούκτωρ, see §2.8; on μουλίων, see §5.3.3; and on πατριμόνιον, see §4.4.3.

<sup>141</sup> On κάμπος, see §4.5.2; on κουστωδία, see §2.3.1 and §4.4.2; and on λεγεών, see §4.6. The loan κάμπος first appears in literature in the first century BCE (e.g. Diod. Sic. 37.29.1) and then in first century CE papyri (e.g. *P.Oxy.* II 247.22; see §4.5.2). The loan κουστωδία appears simultaneously in first century CE literature (NT, Matthew 27:65 etc.) and papyri (*O.Did.* 357.3 and *P.Oxy.* II 294.20). And the loan λεγεών first appears in first century BCE papyri (e.g. *SB* VI 9223.3 and 4; see §4.5.2 and §4.6.2), inscriptions (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 705a.3), and literature (e.g. Diod. Sic. 26.5.1).

<sup>142</sup> On δεκουρίων, see §2.4.2; on κεντουρίων, see §2.4.2 and §4.6.3; on κολωνία, see §5.1.2. The loan δεκουρίων first appears in second and first century BCE literature as a marked codeswitch (see Polyb. 6.25.2 and Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.7.4) and then in first century CE papyri (e.g. *SB* XVI 13012.1) and second century inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* XXXVIII 633). The loan κεντουρίων first appears in second century BCE literature as a marked codeswitch (see Polyb. 6.24.6) and then in first century BCE inscriptions (e.g. *I.Philae* 63.9) and papyri (e.g. *P.Oslo* II 26.23). The loan κολωνία first appears in first century BCE inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* XXXI 952.17), then in first century CE literature (e.g. NT Acts 16:12), and finally in second century CE papyri (e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 653).

## 2. The Eastern-Desert setting: Didymoi and Krokodilo

This chapter focuses on Latin loanwords appearing in the ostraca from the Roman forts of Krokodilo and Didymoi, both located in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, at the very head of its two major roads.<sup>1</sup> All such texts share a common chronology and provenance and a similar context. They involve different types of people and activities but are all ultimately linked to the presence of the Roman military in this area.<sup>2</sup> In such a setting, which people are introducing Latin vocabulary in the Greek documents of the forts? Is it mainly Latin speakers using Greek or Greek speakers who also know Latin? The answer to this question may also help to assess why this Latin vocabulary is carried over to Greek. For instance, it could be a natural strategy of second language acquisition by Greek speakers, an official policy of the army, or the result of some Latin speakers' poor competence in Greek.<sup>3</sup> What follows evaluates for the first time how the borrowing of Latin vocabulary worked in this military context, suggesting that Latin vocabulary was mainly introduced into Greek by Latin speakers and not by Greek-speaking recruits or civilians learning Latin.

### 2.1 Context: the *praesidia* of the desert

The ostraca under review were excavated in the forts – referred to as *praesidia* – of Didymoi and Krokodilo.<sup>4</sup> Excavations in the Eastern Desert were carried out from 1994 to 2013 under the IFAO (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale) project '*Praesidia* du désert Oriental' led by H. Cuvigny. During almost two decades, the team inventoried more than 5,000 ostraca from 11

---

<sup>1</sup> The texts have been published in three volumes mainly: *O.Did.*, *O.Krok.* I, and *O.Krok.* II.

<sup>2</sup> Broadly on the texts, see Cuvigny (2013). See also §1.2.3.

<sup>3</sup> On different strategies of borrowing, see e.g. Thomason (2003) and §1.2.1. I talk of Greek speakers broadly: Greek was not necessarily the native language of the Egyptian recruits.

<sup>4</sup> Other forts have been excavated, but their texts are yet to be published (e.g. Maximianon; see Cuvigny (2006b)).

*praesidia*.<sup>5</sup> In the forthcoming years, several of these documents will continue to appear in new volumes devoted to these forts.

The network of forts of which Didymoi and Krokodilo are part was progressively established from the year 76/77 CE in the territory comprised between the Porphyrites to the north and the city of Berenice to the south, along two different roads.<sup>6</sup> Both connected the Nile valley to the Red Sea: the former linked Coptos to Myos Hormos (West-East, ὁδὸς Μυσορμυτική), the latter Coptos to Berenice (North-South, ὁδὸς Βερενίκης). Both routes shared a common path from Coptos to the *praesidium* of Phoinikon, where they parted. The first *praesidium* along the road leading to Myos Hormos was Krokodilo, and the first one for Berenice was Didymoi. The units manning the forts were under the control of a Roman prefect of equestrian rank who acted both as a civil administrator and a military commander, the prefect *Montis Berenicidis*.<sup>7</sup> As desert-raiding Bedouins undermined the safety of these areas and, consequently, of the international merchants that travelled through them to the Red Sea, the Roman *praesidia* granted protection by keeping the desert routes safe.<sup>8</sup> All forts shared a similar structure; they usually comprised a well, a shrine, and lodgings (κέλλα or κοντουβέρνιον, from Latin *cella* and *contubernium*), and housed a *curator praesidii* together with a few other soldiers. In 109 CE, for instance, Krokodilo accommodated only 12 to 16 soldiers: the *curator*, three to five cavalymen, and eight to ten infantrymen.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> See Cuvigny (2006a), (2013: 441–442), and (2014b).

<sup>6</sup> See Bagnall, Bülow-Jacobsen, and Cuvigny (2001), Brun (2002) and (2006: 187–205). Before the establishment of forts, the road was first equipped with wells (ὕδρευματα) – see Plin., *HN* 6.102–103 – and later equipped with cisterns (λάκκοι) – see *ILS* 2483 (= *I.Portes du désert* 56) and Cuvigny (2006b: 267–273).

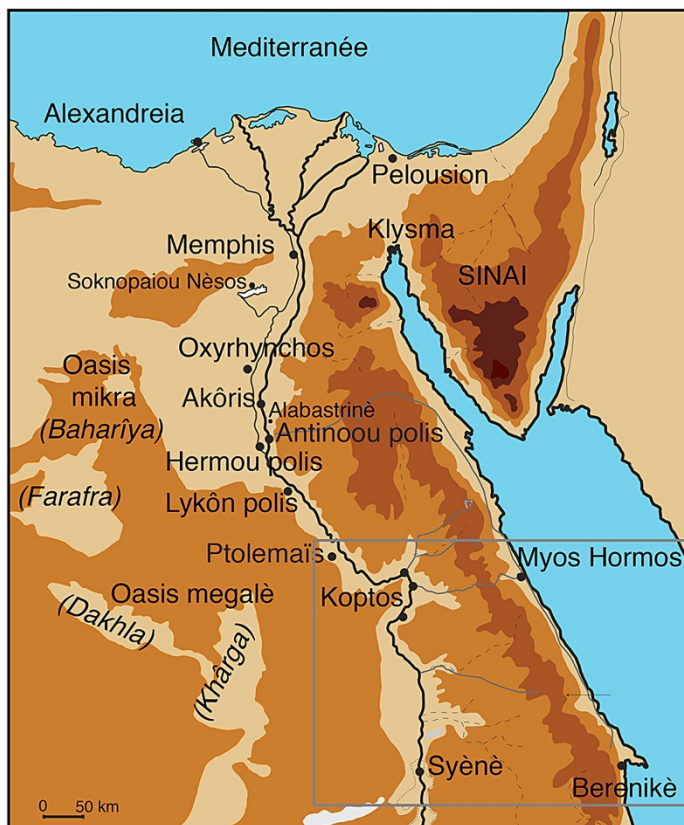
<sup>7</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny (2007).

<sup>8</sup> The ostraca do not disclose anything on international commerce, see *O.Krok* I, intr. (but cf. the graffito §12 from the *praesidium* of Dios, written by a ναύκληρος, ‘ship’s manager’; the text is edited in Cuvigny (2010b)). On the commerce with the East, see e.g. the famous inscriptions, found in this area, of Lysas, slave of Annius Plocamus; the texts are edited in Meredith (1953). For the scale of such commerce, see e.g. Rathbone (2000).

<sup>9</sup> See *O.Krok* I, p. 3. The data are derived from *O.Krok* I 41 and 117 (a collection of official letters and a table of duty). For more information on the number of people that inhabited the *praesidia*, see Cuvigny (2006c: 307–312).

These data are retrieved from the texts, which all originate from the dump-deposits of the *praesidia*. These deposits disclosed numerous ostraca but no papyri.<sup>10</sup> Generally, ostraca preserve many ephemeral documents relating to military duties or daily life but sometimes include some official circulars or letters on official matters. All documents offer an interesting overview of the military and civilian life of the desert. Indeed, in addition to the soldiers and international merchants, many ordinary men and women lived in and moved across the desert. Mainly, these civilians are pimps, their families and their prostitutes, who all are likely to be Greek-speaking Egyptians who do not know Latin.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the circles of pimps, who often sell food to the soldiers, the contractors (κονδούκτορες, from Latin *conductor*) of the tax on prostitution (κουιντάνα, probably from Latin *quintana*) – which likely encompassed other commercial transactions too – also lived and moved across the desert forts.

Figure 4. Early Roman Egypt. From Brun (2018).



<sup>10</sup> This does not entail that papyrus was not used in the desert; see Cuvigny (2006b: 265–267).

<sup>11</sup> On prostitutes and pimps in the desert, see Cuvigny (2006d: 374–394), (2010a), (2013: 431–435); *O.Did.*, intr.; and *P. Worp.* 51 (II CE, *praesidium* of Dios), whose edition is reprinted and translated in Cuvigny (2021: 261–266).

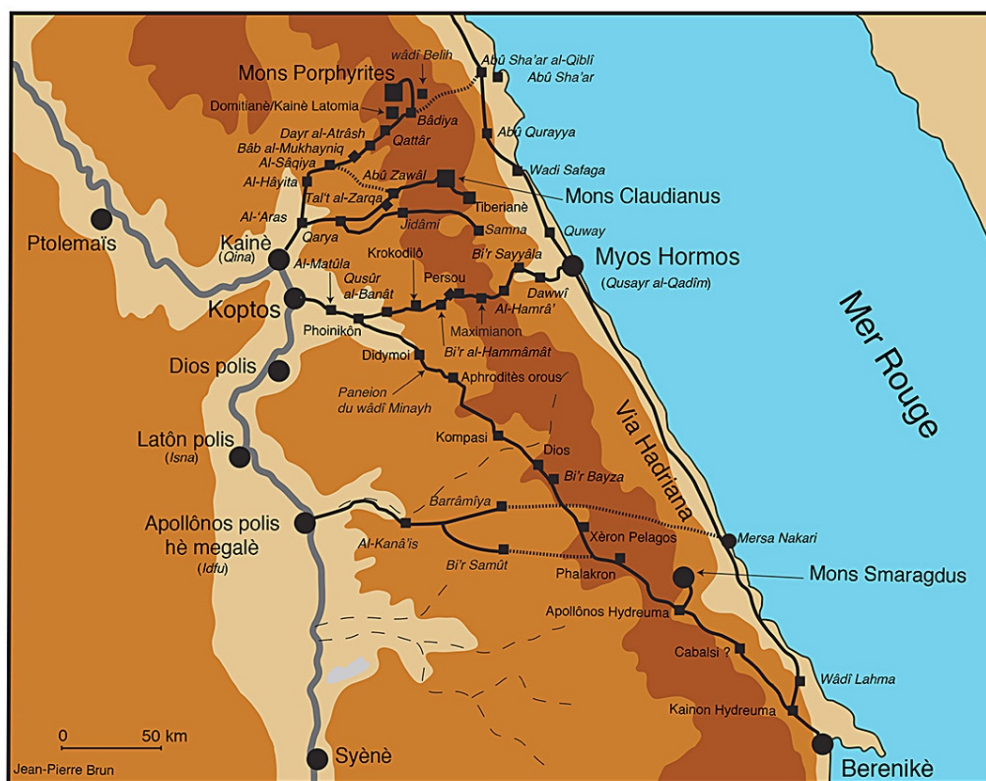


Figure 5. The Eastern Desert of Egypt in Roman times. From Brun (2018).

### 2.1.1 The people

Each *praesidium* reveals a different story, and so do Didymoi and Krokodilo.<sup>12</sup> The former was occupied for two different periods, from 76/77 CE to circa 150 CE and then from 176/77 CE to circa 270 CE, when the Palmyrenians occupied Egypt.<sup>13</sup> It preserved an important amount of private correspondence, specifically for its first period of occupation. The subsequent decrease may be linked to a decrease in food trade and in commerce more generally, with which many private letters are concerned. Some letters of the first period are related to the circle of Philokles, a pimp and victualler whose activity left a noteworthy quantity of information. Krokodilo was also founded in 76/77, but it was later abandoned in circa 118 CE, the second year of Hadrian. Unfortunately, documents from its earliest period of occupation did not survive, as floods

<sup>12</sup> On the progressive construction and abandonment of *praesidia* along the route to Myos Hormos, see Brun (2002) and (2018) and Reddé (2018).

<sup>13</sup> See Cuvigny (2021: 429–431) and Brun (2018: §31 and n. 62).

probably carried them away. In all likelihood, such frequent floods caused the abandonment of Krokodilo in the early second century. The volume *O.Krok. I* comprises the documents concerning the military life of the *praesidium*. Many of these documents relate to the functioning of the official post-service and record incoming and outgoing missives. For instance, *O.Krok. I 1* is a log recording the post received from or forwarded to the neighbouring *praesidia*. *O.Krok. II* contains private letters not linked to military service. It mainly comprises the documents of three groups of people: the circle of the pimp Philokles, the circle of the civilian Ischyras, and that of the soldier Apollos.

Philokles is certainly the most important figure of all. His numerous documents, easily recognisable by a peculiar handwriting, are scattered between Didymoi and Krokodilo and are often posted from the *praesidium* of Phoinikon, where the two desert routes divided and where he probably lived for most of the time. The texts give us much information on his private relations and public affairs, always inextricably intertwined. He is the master of a prostitution network but also grows vegetables and breeds pigs for sale. The most important figures appearing in his documents are his two wives, Sknips and Hegemonis, and two pairs of friends and business partners, Menandros with Demetrous and Kapparis with Didyme.<sup>14</sup> Ischyras and his associates, who are often involved with Philokles' affairs, left a smaller number of documents.<sup>15</sup> His documents mainly involve his partner Zosime, her brother Parabolos, members of Philokles' circle like Kapparis and Didyme, and some soldiers. Ischyras appears as a stonemason in a group of texts (*O.Krok. II 302–308*), but the most interesting documents of his archive attest to friendship, love and particularly his relations with Philokles' circle (*O.Krok. II 281–301*).<sup>16</sup> The last dossier comprises the soldier Apollos' letters to his comrades Priscus I and Apollinaris I. In

---

<sup>14</sup> On Philokles' circle, see Cuvigny (2006d: 376–383); *O.Did.* 376 to 399, together with pp. 295–298; and *O.Krok. II* 152 to 235, together with pp. 33–41.

<sup>15</sup> On Ischyras' circle, see *O.Krok. II* 281 to 334, together with pp. 196–202.

<sup>16</sup> In *O.Krok. II* 293, for instance, Ischyras wants Didyme to condone Kapparis' betrayal because, he argues, she is old and 'mummified' (he uses the term *σαπρία*, usually 'putrefaction', here probably 'decay'). He also mentions that his own partner, Zosime, is not as strict with him as Didyme is with Kapparis.

fact, these letters are only a smaller part of his dossier. Apollos' literacy allows him to act as a scribe for many other soldiers, on whose behalf he often writes.<sup>17</sup>

### 2.1.2 Languages and culture

The languages and cultures of the *praesidia* have already been the object of a detailed study by Fournet (2006).<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, Greek and Latin are not the only languages attested, since a few Demotic and Nabatean texts, testifying to a multilingual community, have also been found.<sup>19</sup> With regard to the use of Greek and Latin in private letters, Fournet offers these proportions:<sup>20</sup>

	O.Krokodilo inv.	O.Maximianon inv.
Latin	15 (3.2%)	30 (4.1%)
Greek	457 (96.8%)	705 (95.9%)

Greek predominates, while Latin represents only a tiny minority. The use of private correspondence can prove useful for assessing the presence and amount of proficient Latin speakers in the *praesidia*, whether native or not.<sup>21</sup> Since some of these letters – for instance, those of the officials – originate from a level in which literacy was higher than usual, the actual percentage of Latin speakers present in the *praesidia* must have been even lower than the 3 or 4% figure offered by the table.<sup>22</sup> As different texts prove, officials made use of both papyrus and ostraca as writing materials, preferring the latter for ephemeral documents. At least some of these lost papyri may have been written in Latin, and this could alter the percentages that have been put

<sup>17</sup> On Apollos' dossier, see *O.Krok.* II 236 to 280, together with pp. 129–136.

<sup>18</sup> Fournet's study focusses on the ostraca inventoried at Krokodilo (see now *O.Krok.* I and II) and Maximianon (largely still unpublished) but does not consider those of Didymoi.

<sup>19</sup> For the Nabatean (a Semitic language) texts, see Toll (1994); for Nabateans in the Eastern Desert, see Durand (2012). For Demotic, see e.g. *SB* XXVIII 17108 (150–175 CE, *praesidium* of Maximianon), which is a most interesting correspondence of Roman and Egyptian numbers, spelled in Latin. Cf. Fournet (2006: 429–430). For the multilingual context of the *praesidia*, see also Leiwo (2018).

<sup>20</sup> Latin is also used for names on containers (*dipinti*, etc.), name-lists, and a few literary/para-literary texts.

<sup>21</sup> On private correspondence as a benchmark, see Fournet (2009a: 423–424).

<sup>22</sup> See Fournet (2006: 432–433), where he discusses the numbers of Latin speakers.

forward. However, almost no papyri were found in the excavations, especially because official correspondence and archives were not discarded in the desert but probably brought back to the main camps.<sup>23</sup>

Among the authors of Latin letters that Fournet lists, one may note that they all have Latin names, and that one in four also receives or sends Greek documents, thus proving bilingual Latin-Greek ability.<sup>24</sup> By adding the ostraca of Didymoi to those analysed by Fournet, one can find examples of people with non-Latin names sending Latin letters, but these are very few, and their proficiency in the language is generally worse.<sup>25</sup> Whether the Latin names of the authors of Latin documents indicate real native speakers of Latin is yet to be determined; Fournet defines these people as the *cercle latin*, but most of the documents are still unpublished. From the published documents, one may note that the people who most struggle with Latin may be non-native speakers of Latin,<sup>26</sup> while supposedly native speakers of Latin usually have a good control of Greek.<sup>27</sup> Even if the linguistic background of a person is not always clear, documents do show that the case of people with a Roman name (either native speakers of Latin or not) using Greek to a good degree is much more widespread than the case of people with a non-Roman name using Latin, to whatever degree. Therefore, even if the linguistic background of a person is not always clear, documents do show that people with non-Roman names using Latin represent a minority.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> On the use of papyrus in the Eastern Desert, sometimes even by the lowest-ranking sets of its inhabitants, see Cuvigny (2006b: 265–267). Here, Cuvigny and Brun note that in a desertic context, where combustible materials are rare, old and discarded papyri could be used for fire.

<sup>24</sup> See the table in Fournet (2006: 433–434): five persons out of a total of 21 receive or send Greek correspondence too.

<sup>25</sup> See *O.Did.* 334, 335 (both written by the Thracian Cutus; on Cutus and his texts see now Ast and Adams (2021)), and 417 with their commentaries. *O.Did.* 417 demonstrates the struggle of the soldier Numosis (an Egyptian name or a form of Numisius, for which see Schulze (1904: 198–200)), who uses Latin because of a preference of his addressee, Claudius. Numosis also helps the Greek-speaking woman Demetrous (we know she knows Greek from *O.Did.* 418) to send a message to Claudius in the first lines of *O.Did.* 417. On this document, see also M.A. Speidel (2018: 186–189).

<sup>26</sup> People with a Roman name may either be native or non-native speakers of Latin who took up a Roman name upon entering the army. But Latin speakers with a non-Roman name should be identified as non-native speakers more easily. The names of these writers (Thracian, Cutus; Egyptian, Demetrous; one Latin?, Numosis or perhaps Numisius) seem to suggest, at least in the first two cases, that these people were not native speakers of Latin.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. *O.Krok.* 5 to 23, which make up the dossier of the *curator praesidii* Capito.

<sup>28</sup> See Fournet (2006: 446).

These premises could directly influence the outcome of the language-contact situation of the *praesidia*. Here, Latin remains the language of certain small groups of soldiers and officials, who normally prove to know Greek too. Since loanwords are first introduced through bilingual ability mainly,<sup>29</sup> it follows that the less numerous Greek or, more generally, non-Roman bilinguals had less chances of introducing loans into Greek. This premise will be checked against the available evidence, for we still need to determine who prevailed in the borrowing process that took place in the Desert.

## 2.2 The loanwords of the Desert and their semantic categories

Among the loanwords appearing in the Eastern Desert, some are first appearances in Greek.<sup>30</sup> As such, they bear testimony to the vibrant situation of language contact that must have taken place in the Desert forts, where people of many different backgrounds could meet and interact. Some of these loanwords may have started their life as codeswitches, but it is often difficult to recognise single-word switches in the texts.<sup>31</sup> More easily, we can see whether these words are already integrated and frequently used or first appearances of words that only later become more common.

With regard to the semantic categories of loanwords, military vocabulary predominates.<sup>32</sup> More than two loanwords out of three originate from it, being mainly words for titles and ranks such as *κουράτωρ*, from *curator* ‘overseer’ of the fort. These military words can be entirely ascribed to the category of ‘cultural borrowings’, that is loanwords for new items or ideas imported from the ‘donor’ language, in this case Latin. Here, they refer to concepts for which Greek did not have a readily available corresponding word. The opposite category comprises so-called ‘core borrowings’, that is loanwords indicating items for which the borrowing language,

---

<sup>29</sup> See §1.2.1 and e.g. Matras (2020: 158–161).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *κιβάριον* ‘ration’, *μίλιον* ‘mile’ or ‘milestone’, *σιλίγιον* ‘white bread’, *στάβλον* ‘stable’. Among these, *κιβάριον* and *στάβλον* enter Greek referring to military objects but can later refer to non-military equivalents; see e.g. §2.6.1 below.

<sup>31</sup> See above §1.2.1.

<sup>32</sup> See also §2.4 below.

here Greek, already had a word.<sup>33</sup> Core borrowings – which are not usually borrowed first – are analysed at the outset.

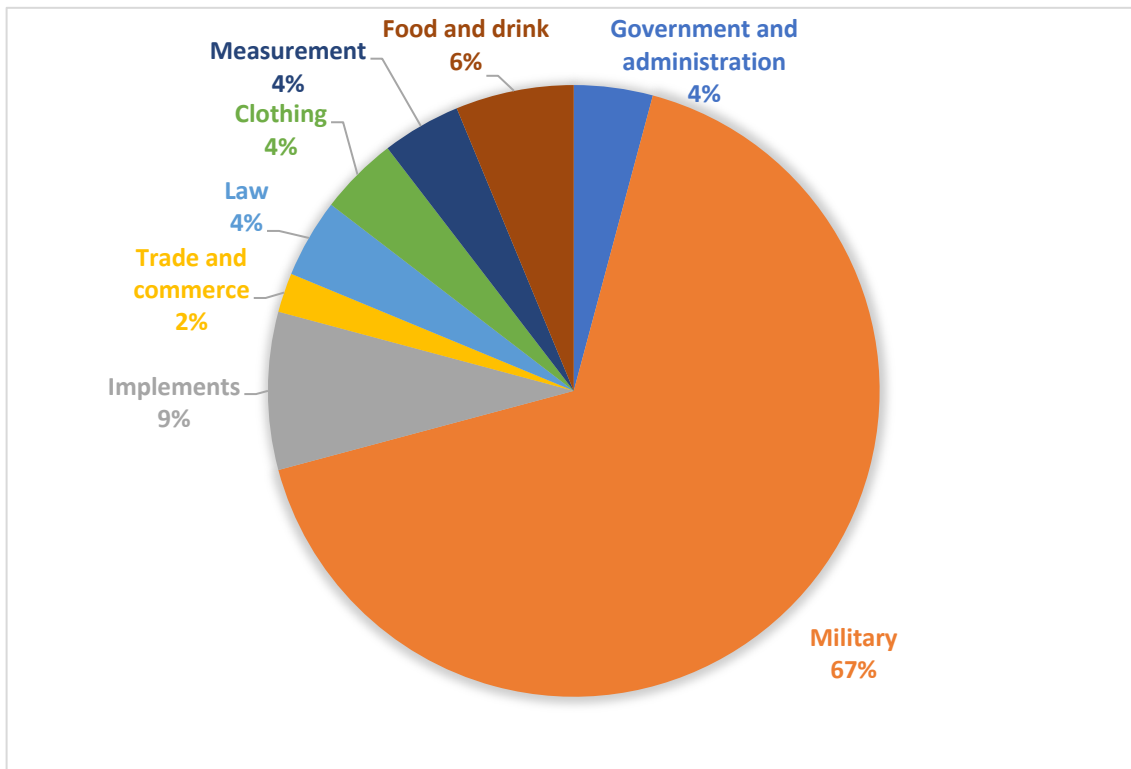


Figure 6. Semantic categories of loanwords of *Didymoi* and *Krokodilo* (55 loanwords).

### 2.3 Some core borrowings and who introduces them

Among the borrowed vocabulary appearing in the ostraca, at least three words seem to duplicate already existing Greek ones, thus qualifying as ‘core borrowings’.<sup>34</sup> These are: *κατήνα* ‘chain’ used instead of *δεσμός*, *κουστωδία* ‘prisoner’ instead of the usual *ὁ δεδεμένος*,<sup>35</sup> and *τάβλα* ‘tablet’ instead of *δέλτος*.<sup>36</sup> One may wonder whether these words represent simple codeswitches

<sup>33</sup> On ‘cultural’ vs. ‘core’ borrowings, see §1.2.1.

<sup>34</sup> It is often difficult to determine whether a loanword simply duplicates a Greek word – as the ones analysed in this section seem to do – or has been introduced with a slightly different meaning or for a slightly different use from that of an already existing Greek word. Other possible examples of core borrowing will be considered in the following sections too; see e.g. §2.8 on *κονδούκτωρ* ‘contractor’.

<sup>35</sup> The word *δεσμώτης* appears only in Ptolemaic papyri, while *αἰχμάλωτος* is used only in the Ptolemaic and – after a period of long silence – in the late Byzantine / early Arab period. I checked occurrences through *papyri.info*.

<sup>36</sup> The loanword *τάβλα* is found in the lacunose *O.Did.* 441.10 (120–125 CE), where it lacks context.

to Latin or not. In these examples, the words are not glossed or recognised as foreign, but codeswitches between bilinguals can often be unmarked. In later periods, all these terms become widespread loanwords: *κουστωδία* starts being attested more frequently in the second century, as does *τάβλα*, and *κατήνα* is well attested in literature starting from the fourth century while remaining rare in papyri.<sup>37</sup> On the whole, this fact and the manner in which they are used in the texts advise against considering these words as simple code-switches to Latin. More likely, these three words are early examples of loanwords that were just starting to spread.

### 2.3.1 *κουστωδία*

From Latin *custodia* ‘custody’, ‘guard’, or ‘prisoner’, *κουστωδία* appears in *O.Krok.* I 65.5–6 (117–125 CE), an order to the *curator praesidii* from the office of the prefect of the desert:

1      ἐξ ἐγκελεύσεως Κασίου Ταυ-  
           ρίνου {νου} ἐπάρχου *vac.* Με-  
           νίκης Μάρκελλος Οὐ<α>λερίῳ κου-  
           ράτωρι πρα<ι>σιδίου Κορκοδιλῶ χαίρειν.  
 5      καλῶς ποιήσεις παραδ[ο]ῦς μίαν **κουσ-**  
           **{σ}τωδίαν** ...

1 *I.* ἐγκελεύσεως 2 *ep vac.* αρχου 3-4 *I.* κου|ράτωρι 4 *I.* Κορκοδιλώ 5 *I.* ποιήσεις

At the behest of Cassius Taurinus, prefect. Minicius Marcellus to Valerius, *curator* of the *praesidium* of Krokodilo, greetings. Please bring one **prisoner** ...

<sup>37</sup> See Dickey (2024: *s.vv.*). Note, however, that *κουστωδία* usually does not have the meaning ‘prisoner’ in later sources; as such, our term and its meaning could qualify as a loan linked to the military milieu. On *κουστωδία*, see also §4.4.2.

Here, the meaning of *κουστωδία* as ‘prisoner’ is required by *παραδίδωμι* ‘bring’, ‘present’, which is the technical verb used for the delivery of prisoners or suspects.<sup>38</sup> Latin attests the metonymy through which *custodia* can mean also ‘prison’ or ‘prisoner’.<sup>39</sup> However, papyri normally use the participle *ὁ δεδεμένος* or the noun *δεσμώτης* for referring to a prisoner.<sup>40</sup> The office of the prefect from which *O.Krok.* I 65 emanates and the bureaucrat Minicius Marcellus who sends the ostrakon may explain the use of such a Latin word. Latin and Roman law must have been used to a significant extent, at least in the office of Marcellus, thus prompting the carryover of Latin vocabulary in orders with a legal content like *O.Krok.* I 65. One cannot be absolutely sure about the language proficiency of Marcellus, but he did work in an office where Latin must have been present. It is likely that *κουστωδία* as ‘prisoner’ was introduced in Greek by Latin-speaking bureaucrats such as Marcellus, who used it as a legal technicality. As a technical term, the word must have been frequent and understandable quite soon in the military jargon of the *praesidia*, where it probably replaced *ὁ δεδεμένος* or similar Greek words.<sup>41</sup>

### 2.3.2 *τάβλα*

The loanword *τάβλα* is from Latin *tabula* ‘tablet’, ‘dice-board’, or ‘mummy label’. It appears in *O.Did.* 441.10 (120–25 CE), a private letter sent from a certain Terentius to a certain Domitius.

<sup>38</sup> See Preisigke *et al.* (1925–2000: s. v. 3).

<sup>39</sup> See the *TLL* s. v. 3.A.2 and e.g. Sen., *Ep.* 5.7.

<sup>40</sup> For *ὁ δεδεμένος*, see e.g. *SB* XIV 12144.17 (198–199 CE, unknown prov.). For *δεσμώτης*, see e.g. *P.Graux* III 30.vii.16 (155 CE, Theadelphia – Arsinoite nome). A third word for prisoner, *αἰχμάλωτος*, is not attested in papyri dated to this period, but see e.g. *SB* XXVIII 16855.17, 22 (167 BCE, Heracleopolite nome) and *SB* XIV 11844.4 (VII CE, Apollonopolis). Overall, there are not many early-Roman papyri referring to prisoners, but in the Ptolemaic papyri there are a few papyri attesting each of the three words listed, *ὁ δεδεμένος*, *δεσμώτης*, and *αἰχμάλωτος*.

<sup>41</sup> See also *O.Did.* 357 (77–97 CE). *ὁ δεδεμένος* ‘prisoner’ is not attested in the Eastern Desert, but the participle *δεδεμένος* is used once, in *O.Krok.* I 40.5, referring to letters, *ἐπιστολὰς β δεδειμένας* (*l. δεδεμένας*) ‘two letters tied together’.

Unfortunately, the context is not clear, but I would favour the meanings ‘writing tablet’, especially used for official documents, or ‘dice board’.<sup>42</sup>

1 Τερέντιος Δομιτίω  
χαίρειν·  
ἔπεμψές μοι λοίκιθον  
ἐλαίου. ἀπὸ Κομπασι  
5 ἀπέσταλκέ μοι τὸ λοί-  
κιθον Λονζίνος.  
ἂν καταβῆ Ἐπίκτη-  
τος πέμψω σοι δι’ αὐ-  
τοῦ τὸ λοικίθιν  
10 καὶ **τάβλαν**  
[κ]αὶ ...

---

3 *l.* ἔπεμψας *l.* λήκυθον 5-6 *l.* λή|κυθον Λογγίνος 9 *l.* ληκύθιον

Terentius to Domittius, greetings. You sent me a bottle of oil. Longinus sent me the bottle from Kompasi. If Epictetus goes down, I will send you through him the bottle and a *tabula* and ...

The handwriting of *O.Did.* 441 is clearly influenced by a Latin cursive: the letter μ, for instance, is clearly based on Latin *m*. Interesting, at line 6, is the spelling Λονζίνος for Λογγίνος. Probably, this is an attempt to render a phenomenon of Latin phonetics: the pronunciation must have already been palatalized, as it is nowadays in Italian, /gi/ > /dʒi/.<sup>43</sup> This variation, the handwriting, and

---

<sup>42</sup> Most frequently, the term refers to an official document pertaining to Roman law (e.g. *tabulae nuptiales* etc.). See e.g. *Chrest. Wilck.* 460.15–16 (182–183 CE, Arsinoite nome). Note, in addition, that tablets become common in Egypt only after the Roman conquest; see Fournet and Worp (2013: 47–48 with n. 32).

<sup>43</sup> See Väänänen (1981: 54–55), who presents examples from a later period.

the personal name are all hints that point to a Latin-speaking person, who is here writing in Greek but using τάβλα instead of the Greek δέλτος or the Greek ἄβαξ, had he referred to a ‘dice-board’.<sup>44</sup>

### 2.3.3 κατήνα

From Latin *catena*, κατήνα is used just once in *O.Krok.* I 100.6 (98–138 CE), a private letter on military matters:

- 1 Πλώτις Ἀπολλιναρίωι χαίρειν.  
γινώσκειν σε θέλω περὶ Μαρτια-  
λίου ὅτι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Διδύμους  
διὰ α<ύ>τοῦ καὶ συνεζήτησεν ἐκεῖ  
5 πρὸς τινα ὅστε αὐτὸν δεθῆναι  
β̄ κατήναις καὶ κατήνεκε α-  
ὐτὸν <ὁ> ἔπαρχος ...

---

2 *l.* γινώσκειν 6 *corr.* ex κατενεκε, *l.* κατήνεγκε

Plotius to Apollinarius, greetings. I wish you to know about Martialis that he took off to Didymoi on his own accord and quarrelled there with someone, so that he was tied up with two **chains** and the prefect took him down [towards the valley] ...

This is the first occurrence of the word in papyri. The others are *PSI* VIII 959 (382–383 CE, Hermopolite nome), also related to the military; *O.Trim.* II 531.6 (IV CE, mentioning also a κανδήλα, from *candela* ‘candle’), and the Coptic *SBI* 5949, 10 (VIII CE, unknown prov.).<sup>45</sup> At a

---

<sup>44</sup> However, the meaning ‘dice-board’ for ἄβαξ is attested only in Carystius Historicus 3 (II BCE). The meaning ‘mummy etiquette’ for τάβλα is attested in *Chrest. Wilck.* 499.5–6 (II CE, unknown prov.).

<sup>45</sup> In *BGU* XX 2872.22–23 (II–III CE, unknown prov.), κατήνα is either an unattested personal name (Catena is nowadays a personal name in Sicily) or stands for καθ’ ἕνα.

first glance, the use of κατήνα instead of the Greek δεσμός appears difficult to explain. The loanword is not glossed, thus suggesting that its meaning was understandable and its use at least somewhat common in the military jargon of the forts. The presence of two chains may suggest that κατήναι were used in pairs or, more likely, that Martianus was a particularly recalcitrant soldier.

The letter does not directly reveal the language proficiency or origin of the people behind it. The text is written in fluent and correct Greek, there are few phonetic slips, and the writer even corrects himself in line 6. The persons involved are a Plotius, an Apollinarius, and a Martialis. The first is a Roman name, rarely attested in Egypt, the second is a Greek name with a Latin suffix, and the third is another Roman name.<sup>46</sup> Names are not reliable indicators of identity or language proficiency, but they may be useful in certain circumstances. Egyptian recruits, for instance, seem to constitute a numerous group whose ethnicity is often disguised by new Roman names, which are taken up upon enlistment. Different documents offer examples of new recruits who start using – at least unofficially – a Roman name. Usually, foreign recruits who enlist in auxiliary units receive the *tria nomina* and citizenship upon discharge, but ‘Romanization’ starts well before that.<sup>47</sup> Interestingly enough, the use of a Roman name appears to be a free choice of the individual, since the many Dacian and Thracian cavalymen of the *praesidia* do not appear to be changing their names. The supposedly Egyptian infantrymen, on the other hand, use especially common Roman names such as Antonius, Longinus, or Maximus.<sup>48</sup>

Plotius does not appear among such common Roman names, neither in the Eastern Desert nor in Egypt more broadly. Perhaps the writer of *O.Krok. I 100* may have had his Latin name since his birth. However, it is not possible to assert beyond any doubt that he was a Roman citizen

---

<sup>46</sup> On Plotius, see Schulze (1904: 211); it is TM Nam 11696. Apollinarius is TM Nam 2125. Martialis is TM Nam 10536; see also Schulze (1904: 486–487).

<sup>47</sup> See the well-known *Chrest. Wilck.* 480 (sent from Misenum in Italy and found in Philadelphia, a village of the Arsinoite nome, II CE), in which Apion tells his parents that his new name is Antonius Maximus. Cf. Lesquier (1918: 220–223), Guéraud (1942: 147), Alston (1995: 65), and Fournet (2006: 429–430). Things are different in legions: non-citizens could not normally join one, but if they managed, they usually received citizenship upon enlistment; see e.g. the list of legionaries from Qasr Ibrim (TM 851433) edited in Derda, Łajtar, and Płóciennik (2015: 52–55 no. 3).

<sup>48</sup> See *O.Krok. I*, p. 4.

or knew any Latin. At least in this case the situation remains open. Plotius may or may not be Roman and may or may not know Latin. He could be using this vocabulary under the influence of Latin as his mother tongue or under that of Latin as a second language. Otherwise, he may not know Latin at all. In this case, he would be using a technical loanword that is likely common in the Greek jargon of the forts. As such, κατήνα could refer to a specific kind of chain, perhaps linked to a particular kind of punishment, which could have prompted the introduction and use of a specific Latin term.<sup>49</sup>

#### 2.3.4 Some conclusions

Within this small group of possible core borrowings, the introduction of κουστωδία and τάβλα appears to take place in the Roman/Latin sphere of the army, where bilingual bureaucrats and soldiers operated. The case of κατήνα is not as straightforward, but the word can represent another technicality of Latinate officialese, thus comparable to κουστωδία. Such technical terms may have been needed in Greek for preciseness, in which case they would not really duplicate existing Greek vocabulary, thus classifying as core vocabulary. The role of bilingual Latin speakers behind the carryover of these words seems to be quite prominent, while that played by Greek speakers who learned Latin appears rather secondary. With regard to motive, at the outset it was hypothesized that some Latin speakers may have had a poor competence in Greek and thus used Latin vocabulary. At least in these cases, the texts seem to exclude poor competence in Greek; rather, the use of this vocabulary seems to have been a choice on their part, exactly when they could have chosen Greek.<sup>50</sup> In some instances, the use of Latin may be explained as a spur-of-the-moment lapse, but in these texts the choice seems deliberate, because the forgetfulness of the right Greek word may have been accompanied by an explanation of the Latin word chosen instead.

---

<sup>49</sup> On the consequences of Martianus' behaviour and the link to Roman law, see the commentary on the text.

<sup>50</sup> This carryover of Latin vocabulary to Greek would constitute a strategy of 'second language acquisition' (see e.g. Thomason (2003: 700–701)) in which Greek is the second language. However, these terms are not used as a way of filling in the gaps of an imperfect knowledge of Greek.

This is the case in *O.Krok.* I 14.14, where the use of Latin is followed by a Greek explanation: ὁ ἀκίσκ[λ]ο[ς ἦ]τοι μύλου τὸ σιδήρειν, ‘the *acisculus*, that is the iron part of the mill’.<sup>51</sup> In fact, in these three examples there are no explanations, and the Greek synonyms available likely did not seem apt replacements for the original, technical Latin terms.

## 2.4 Military vocabulary

Examples from this overwhelmingly represented semantic area include unit names, building names, and especially titles or ranks. The loans for units are ἄλη from *ala* ‘squadron of cavalry’, κλάσσα from *classis* ‘fleet’, λεγεών from *legio* ‘legion’, νούμερος from *numerus* ‘corps’, and τούρμα from *turma* ‘squadron of 30 cavalrymen’. Building names include κέλλα from *cella* ‘room’, κοντουβέρνιον from *contubernium* ‘shared lodging’, πραισίδιον from *praesidium* ‘garrison’, πριγκίπια from *principia* ‘headquarters’ (here a shrine), στάβλον from *stabulum* ‘stable’, and στατίων from *statio* ‘military station’. Loans for titles and ranks are ἀκτουάριος from *actuarius* ‘keeper of records’, βενεφικιάριος from *beneficiarius* ‘attendant’, βηξιλλάριος from *vexillarius* ‘standard-bearer’, δεκουρίων from *decurio* ‘decurion’, δουλικάριος from *duplicarius* ‘soldier receiving double pay’ (here appearing in its variant διπλοκάριος), ἱμαγίνιφερ from *imaginifer* ‘standard-bearer of the emperor’s image’, κεντουρίων from *centurio* ‘centurion’, κορνικουλάριος from *cornicularius* ‘adjutant’, κουράτωρ from *curator* ‘curator’, οὔεστιγάτωρ from *vestigator* ‘scout’, οὔετερανός from *veteranus* ‘veteran’, προκουράτωρ from *procurator* ‘administrator’, σησκουπλικάριος from *sesquiplicarius* ‘soldier who receives 1.5 times the normal pay’, σουκκέσσωρ from *successor* ‘relief’, τεσσαράριος from *tesserarius* ‘soldier in charge of the watchword’, and τίρων from *tiro* ‘recruit’. Finally, a few remaining loans may enter the military category too; these are κομιᾶτον from *commeatus* ‘leave of absence’, οὔεστιγατίων from *vestigatio* ‘patrol’, οὔεστιγάτου likely from *vestigatum* ‘on patrol’, πούβλικος from *publicus*

---

<sup>51</sup> For the nature of this part of the mill, see Elmaghrabi (2012: 143). For this use of ἦτοι, see Sijpesteijn (1992: 242, §B.3.a). For another use of the loan ἀκίσκος at Mons Claudianus, see below §3.6.1.

‘public’ (here a type of payment), σίγνον from *signum* ‘sign’, and συγκελλάριος likely from σύν and *cella* ‘room’ plus -άριος, ‘comrade’ (equivalent of *contubernalis* ‘tent-mate’).

Half of all military loanwords are titles or ranks (16 out of 33), which in turn are the most frequently used Latin loans of these texts.<sup>52</sup> The military setting from which the texts originate makes such a predominance expected. However, if one looks at all Latin loanwords borrowed in Antiquity, synchronic data show that only one word out of ten originates from the military vocabulary.<sup>53</sup> This changes diachronically: in the first century CE, for instance, circa one loanword out of three is related to the military.<sup>54</sup> At least at the beginning of the contact process that led to the introduction of new Latin vocabulary, the Roman military clearly played an important role (relative to the amount of loans introduced), and did so even more in its own camps.

How this vocabulary is used and how it is introduced is open to discussion. Recruits, for instance, must receive their ranks upon enlistment or promotion. Unfortunately, among these texts we do not have any direct evidence for enlistments or promotions; thus, it is not possible to say with certainty whether the people conferring such ranks know Latin at all. Moreover, the enlistment of Greek-speaking recruits started well before the dates of our texts, thus making it difficult to trace back the beginning of the phenomenon. There are hints, however, as to who must have been behind the process, and the following sections will try to set a more precise context of enquiry into the introduction of military vocabulary.

#### 2.4.1 οὔεστιγάτου, a Greek supine?

An otherwise unattested duty appears in the texts of Krokodilo, namely οὔεστιγάτωρ from Latin *vestigator* ‘scout’, ‘tracker’, ‘patroller’. The texts attest also οὔεστιγατίων from *vestigatio* ‘patrol’

---

<sup>52</sup> I include under ‘titles and ranks’ also paygrades like δουπλικάριος and duties like οὔεστιγάτωρ.

<sup>53</sup> See Dickey (2024: §10.2.2.C).

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

and the interesting οὐεσιγάτου, that is the supine *vestigatum* ‘to patrol’.<sup>55</sup> Let us look at *O.Krok.*

I 74 (117–125 CE):

1 Γερμανὸς κουράτωρ πρεσι-  
δίου Πέρσου Σιλβανῶ κου-  
ράτορει πρεσιδίου Κορκοδιλὸ  
χαίριν. ἔπεμψα Λογγεῖ-  
5 νον Ἀπολλινάρε[ι]ν τύρμησ  
Σευήρου οὐεσιγάτου τῆ κθ  
μηνὸς τοῦ Θωθ.

---

1 *I.* κουράτωρ 1-2. *I.* πραισιδίου 2-3. *I.* κου|ράτορι πραισιδίου Κορκοδιλῶ 4. *I.* χαίρειν  
4-5. *I.* Λογγίνον 5. *I.* Ἀπολλινάρην 6. *I.* οὐεσιγάτου 7. *I.* τοῦ Θωθ μηνός

Germanus *curator* of the *praesidium* of Persou to Silvanus *curator* of the *praesidium* of Krokodilo, greetings. I sent Longinus Apollinaris of the *turma* of Severus **on patrol**. The 29<sup>th</sup> of Thoth.<sup>56</sup>

Both οὐεσιγάτωρ and οὐεσιγατίων as well as οὐεσιγάτου are linked to the same activity and the same soldiers who perform it. Even if they are not attested outside the Eastern Desert, these words must have been integrated in the usage of the *praesidia*, thus qualifying as regional loans.<sup>57</sup> Even if *O.Krok.* I 74 might not be the first instance ever in which *vestigatum* was used in Greek, its use hints at something. The plain use of a verb of movement, here πέμπω, with a Latin supine,

---

<sup>55</sup> Other texts attesting these terms are *O.Krok.* I 75 and 76.

<sup>56</sup> Or: ‘... on patrol on Thoth 29<sup>th</sup>.’ With this translation Germanus is likely to be talking about something that happened in the past; i.e. he is writing after the 29<sup>th</sup>. With the translation given above, Cuvigny argues that Longinus is the very same person delivering the ostrakon to Silvanus. Silvanus can now check whether Longinus lingered through the desert or not.

<sup>57</sup> See Dickey (2024: §9.2, §9.3). οὐεσιγάτωρ is attested also in *SB XXII* 15516 (216 CE, Omboi), which comes from a Roman encampment in Upper Egypt, and in the unprovenanced – but likely from the Eastern Desert – *SB VI* 9272 (I–II CE).

οὔεστιγάτου, is not otherwise attested in Greek papyri and must constitute a codeswitch. Still, we cannot assume beyond any reasonable doubt that Germanus knew any Latin, for it can easily be that such an expression – πέμπω οὔεστιγάτου ‘I send on patrol’ – was frequent in the Greek military jargon of the camps. As to the question of who introduced it in the first place, such a codeswitch must have been first produced by an official responsible for giving similar orders. The use of a Latin supine in Greek is, to the best of my knowledge, unparalleled and must have been the output of a person who had a higher-than-normal command of Latin, perhaps a native speaker of the language.<sup>58</sup> Possibly, also a non-native Latin speaker with native-level command of the language may have been responsible for this, but this seems less likely, as no similar figure is easily identified among the writers.<sup>59</sup>

#### 2.4.2 Ranks and equivalents: δεκουρίων / δεκαδάρχης, κεντουρίων / ἑκατοντάρχης

Even if it is not possible to look at the actual carrying over of the rest of this vocabulary, the usages of such loanwords can be closely investigated. Interestingly, certain ranks share both a Latin and a Greek variant (e.g. δεκουρίων / δεκαδάρχης) or present a Greek one only (e.g. σημειοφόρος, while the corresponding *signifer* is unattested). Among the pairs of competing Greek-Latin rank names are δεκαδάρχης vs. δεκουρίων from Latin *decurio* and ἑκατοντάρχης vs. κεντουρίων from *centurio*.<sup>60</sup> Most often, these terms are abbreviated as  $\overset{\times}{\iota}$  ( $\iota = 10$ ) and  $\overset{\times}{\rho}$  ( $\rho = 100$ ), where the use of  $\chi$  advises against the resolution of the abbreviation with the Latin δεκουρίων and κεντουρίων.<sup>61</sup> When unabbreviated, δεκαδάρχης and δεκουρίων are attested almost evenly in the

---

<sup>58</sup> On codeswitches as something that discloses a higher than usual bilingual proficiency, see e.g. J.N. Adams (2003: 25–28).

<sup>59</sup> But one may identify possible cases of the opposite, i.e. Latin speakers with a very good command of Greek. Cf. for instance the case of the *curator* Capito. His Greek handwriting is influenced by Latin, which is likely to be his first language; see *O.Krok.* I, p. 33ff.

<sup>60</sup> Both δεκαδάρχης and ἑκατοντάρχης were commonly used before the Roman arrival to the Greek East: δεκαδάρχης appears e.g. in Hdt. 7.81, *SEG* XXIV 156.9 (III BCE, Eleusis), etc.; and ἑκατοντάρχης e.g. in Hdt. 7.81 and Xen., *Cyr.* 8.1.14, etc. Cf. Mason (1974: 5–6, 163–164).

<sup>61</sup> On  $\overset{\times}{\rho}$  see also §4.6.2 and §4.6.3.

military texts, demonstrating no preference for one or the other.<sup>62</sup> In *O.Did.* 406 the loan *δεκουρίων* is used by a person whose primary written language is Greek, thus ruling out preference for such a Latin term under the influence of Latin as a native language.<sup>63</sup> The case of *ἑκατοντάρχης* vs. *κεντουρίων* is slightly different, since only *κεντουρίων* is attested unabbreviated, again used by Latin and Greek speakers alike.<sup>64</sup>

The abbreviated forms  $\overset{x}{\iota}$  and  $\overset{x}{\rho}$ , on the other hand, appear in several copies of circulars (e.g. *O.Krok.* I 87) that were carried from one *praesidium* to the next and copied at each station.<sup>65</sup> The question arises whether abbreviations were used in the originals as well and, if not, what variant was preferred. In *O.Krok.* I 47.36 etc., another copy of a circular, abbreviations are not used and the Latin loanword *δεκουρίων* is preferred over the Greek *δεκαδάρχης*. If this can be taken to apply also to the exemplar of this copy, one may infer that the higher levels of the military administration, from which circulars emanated, preferred Latin terms over Greek ones. Such a preference, however, is contradicted by other examples. For instance, in *O.Krok.* I 51.31 and *O.Krok.* I 62.30 – other copies of circulars – the Greek *δεκαδάρχης* is preferred to the loanword. In fact, no clear-cut differentiation appears in the documents of the *praesidia*, where the terms are used evenly in official and private texts alike.<sup>66</sup>

A preference between the Greek and the Latin equivalents is to be found only in documents written along the Nile valley, outside military settings. There, only the Greek *δεκαδάρχης* is attested but not *δεκουρίων*.<sup>67</sup> There, *ἑκατοντάρχης* and *κεντουρίων* are both

---

<sup>62</sup> In official, military correspondence, the loanword *δεκουρίων* is attested two times (*O.Krok.* I 1 and 47) and *δεκαδάρχης* three times (*O.Krok.* I 51, 62 and *O.Did.* 29). In the private documents, all relating to civilians living in the desert, only *δεκουρίων* is attested, in three examples: *O.Krok.* II 200, 218, and *O.Did.* 406. More broadly on *δεκουρίων* in Greek, see Robert (1960: 276–285).

<sup>63</sup> The sender's name is partially in lacuna, but likely to be Πανισνεύς (an Egyptian name, with Greek ending); see the commentary on the text.

<sup>64</sup> The loan *κεντουρίων* is attested three times unabbreviated: *O.Did.* 353, 406, and possibly *O.Krok.* I 30.

<sup>65</sup> See *O.Krok.* I, p. 7 and, more broadly on the practice, Thomas (1999: 186).

<sup>66</sup> For a private example, see again *O.Did.* 406.

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. *P.Hamb.* I 10 (II CE, Theadelphia).

attested, but Graeco-Egyptians clearly prefer the Greek equivalent over the Latin loan.<sup>68</sup> These data indicate two facts. First, that some Latin vocabulary can alternate with Greek even in military camps, where one would expect Latin loanwords to be the norm. Second, that when the army and its apparatus are lacking, so are many Latin loanwords that could be substituted with Greek equivalents. That is, where the Romanizing/Latinizing element disappears, so do some of its effects. In the military forts both Graeco-Egyptian recruits and civilians use Latin or Greek rank names indifferently, while in the broader Egyptian society the Greek equivalents predominate, when available. If the recruits themselves had introduced this vocabulary in Greek, through a supposed bilingual ability, they would be using it also outside of the camps. They could have presented themselves with the Latin name of their position when in service along the Nile valley or could have inserted Latin loans or even codeswitches in their correspondence with friends or families. However, this does not appear to be the case. The documents analysed in the preceding pages suggest that the use of such Latin vocabulary as the military one is strictly linked to the presence of the Roman institutions, units, and hierarchies, which are ultimately responsible for its introduction. An ordinary Egyptian woman, on the contrary, when filing a petition for an armed robbery in her house (*P.Hamb.* I 10, II CE, Theadelphia – Arsinoite nome), resorts to a δεκαδάρχης, not to a δεκουρίων.<sup>69</sup> This official can be called in two ways, but when operating in the civil society he only appears as δεκαδάρχης.

These documents show how Latin loanwords and Greek equivalents could alternate in the military camps, while the corresponding Greek terms prevailed in the civil society; however, a Greek term could prevail even in the military camps of the desert, as the case of *signifer* ‘standard bearer’ attests. Neither the loanword σίγνυφερ nor the Latin *signifer* are attested in the Eastern Desert, where only the Greek equivalent σημειοφόρος is used, appearing also in Latin documents (as *semiaphorus* in *O.Did.* 334.4, 88–96 CE). The Greek σημειοφόρος had already been used in

---

<sup>68</sup> In the first two centuries CE the proportion is four to one. The unabbreviated ἑκατοντάρχης is attested 29 times, while κεντουρίων seven times. Lack of bilingual ability in these texts must be generally assumed.

<sup>69</sup> *P.Hamb.* I 10 is particularly interesting because, even if Herais resorts to a δεκαδάρχης, the list of stolen items contains a few other Latin loanwords: e.g. πάλλιον, ἀβόλλη, φαινόλη, etc. On Latin loans for clothing items, see e.g. §4.8 and §5.4.2.

previous times for a long period, as it appears in Polybius (6.24.6, II BCE) and Ptolemaic documents (e.g. *SB* I 599, II BCE, Hermopolis). The loanword *σίγνιφερ* eventually starts being used and replaces *σημειοφόρος*, but does so only at the beginning of the fourth century CE, when it is first attested in *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.190 (300 CE). The preference given to the Greek calque in our period must be linked to its prolonged use in the Ptolemaic period, which made unnecessary the introduction of a new Latin word.

As these examples suggest, Graeco-Egyptian soldiers and recruits are not responsible for the introduction of specific military vocabulary in Greek. Even when operating in the civil society, they probably present themselves and are addressed with Greek equivalents, when possible. Specifically, when a duty is well known by a Greek name, a Latin loanword is probably not even introduced in this period, as is the case for the unattested *σίγνιφερ*. Latin equivalents, on the contrary, are preferred or even solely attested in the military camps, but even here they can alternate with Greek equivalents. Although the documents do not link Greek-speaking soldiers and recruits to the introduction of this vocabulary, they can sometimes hint at the people probably behind this process; most likely, Latin-speaking or bilingual members of the military apparatus, as the example of *πέμπω οὐεστιγάτου* seems to suggest.

## 2.5 The civilians and Latin loanwords

If Greek recruits are not responsible for the carryover of Latin vocabulary – an output of their supposed learning and using Latin – one expects also the Graeco-Egyptian civilians living in the *praesidia* not to be. In all likelihood, these civilians mostly originate from the Nile valley and relocated to the desert for commercial purposes. They write in Greek and are unlikely to have known any Latin. One would expect them not to be using much Latin vocabulary, especially rarer vocabulary, which is not expected to be frequent in their speech. But in fact, civilians do appear to use Latin vocabulary and even much rarer words.

### 2.5.1 *μίλιον*

This is the case of μίλιον from Latin *mille* ‘thousand’ via *milia passuum* ‘thousands of paces’ indicating the measure of length ‘mile’.<sup>70</sup> This loanword is previously attested in Polybius (34.12 etc., II BCE) Strabo (e.g. 5.1.11, I BCE/CE) and the New Testament (Matthew 5:41, c. 80–90 CE), but it appears in Egypt only very rarely and in later centuries (e.g. *P.Stras.* I 57.6, 207 CE, Theadelphia; *O.Did.* 44.17, beginning III CE). It is possible to make the case that, at this time, μίλιον was not well integrated in the Greek of Egypt for a set of different reasons. One may note, for instance, the paucity of milestones in Egypt, and their absence from the Eastern Desert. Moreover, the people who inhabited the Egyptian *chora* were not accustomed to a local Roman road, because the Nile constituted their main way of communication. Thus, it is interesting that in Egypt μίλιον first appears in the speech of Graeco-Egyptians. *O.Did.* 400 (120–125 CE) demonstrates how fast the word had become integrated in the jargon of the *praesidia*, even in the speech of non-Latin speakers. Two women are concerned; the first, Nemesous, escorted the other, a prostitute, and is now complaining to her bosses, the pimps. Among other things, the text draws attention because it discloses what problems the prostitutes of the desert could easily undergo:<sup>71</sup>

1      Νεμεσοῦς Εἶγνατ[ίω καὶ]  
          Ποταμίῳνι τοῖς κυ[ρίοις]  
          πλῆστα χαίρειν· γινώ[σκειν]  
          σε θέλω ὅτι τὸ κοράσιγ [. . . .]  
 5      οὐκ εὐτόνηκε περιπατῖ[ν]

<sup>70</sup> Or ‘milestone’, but in this period milestones are rare in Egypt; see C. Adams (2007: 22), who mentions only three examples from Roman Egypt: one from the time of Trajan in Nubia (*CIL* III Suppl. 2 14148<sup>2</sup>), one from that of the tetrarchs in Nubia (*CIL* III Suppl. 2 14148<sup>3</sup>), and one from that of Constantine on the road connecting Babylon to Clysma (*CIL* III 6633). For the Roman period, one may add the bilingual commemorative column *I.Alexandrie imp.* 3.3–4 (10–11 CE, Alexandria), which in its Latin portion mentions a 25<sup>th</sup> mile stone: *a milliario | XXV*; the bilingual milestone *CIL* III Suppl. 2 14148<sup>2</sup> (103–107 CE, found 67 km south of Philae, on the Western bank of the Nile); the Greek milestones *SEG* XLVII 2132 and 2133 (232–233CE, Northern Sinai); the Latin milestone *CIL* III Suppl. 2 14148<sup>3</sup> (293–305 CE, Talmis – Dodekaschoinos); the bilingual milestone *I.Delta* p. 420–421 no. 16 (IV CE, Schedia – El-Giza); and perhaps *CIL* III Suppl. 2 13585<sup>4</sup> (Roman period, South of Abu Simbel).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also *O.Did.* 406, *O.Krok.* II 214, 218, 267, and *O.Claud.* II 386.

δύο βήματα. ἐγὼ περιπε[πά-]  
 τηκα ἑπτὰ μίλια ὡσαύ[τως]  
 περιπατῖ δύο μίλια καὶ  
 ἔστακε ὁ ὄνηλάτης λυ-  
 10 πούμενος τὸν ὄνον καὶ  
 ἀνέβαλέ με. καὶ πάλι ἀπε-  
 λθοῦσα ἄλλω ὄνηλάτη  
 ἔστακε. ...

1 *l.* Ἰγνατίῳ 3 *l.* πλείστα 4 *l.* κοράσιον | e.g. [σοῦ], [ύμων], or [χθές] 5 *l.* περιπατεῖν 8  
*l.* περιπατεῖ 13-14 *l.* ἐ|μαντῆς

Nemesous to Ignatius and Potamion, her masters, many greetings. I wish you to know that the prostitute [...] did not make the effort to walk two steps. But I have walked for seven **miles** and she in the same way for two. And the donkey-driver stopped, grieving about the donkey, and delayed me.<sup>72</sup> And after I had again set off with another donkey-driver, he stopped. ...

In the close-knit society of the Eastern Desert, a rarer loanword like μίλιον becomes readily available to ‘desert-civilians’ like Nemesous, an Egyptian woman who almost certainly does not know any Latin. Evidence does not support the possibility that desert civilians – mainly Egyptians – could speak Latin; in fact, it can show their problems mastering Greek (e.g. *O.Krok.* I 73). In this case, the use of μίλιον did not require any knowledge of Latin so as to enter the speech of these people, demonstrating how easily loanwords could spread in the Desert community, even in the absence of bilingual ability (in this case, Greek-Latin).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The editor, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, translates ‘and made me dismount’. But ἀναβάλλω means the opposite, ‘to mount’, which here does not work with what follows. When meaning ‘to delay’, ἀναβάλλω is generally in the middle voice, but see e.g. Dem. 8.52.

<sup>73</sup> For loanwords entering a language in the absence or with low levels of bilingualism, see e.g. Thomason (2001: 72).

### 2.5.2 Other examples

Other interesting Latin loanwords appearing in the speech of the desert's civilians are *πάλλιον* 'mantle' and *φουρνακοναῖον* 'bakery'. The first appears in three private letters from Didymoi, two of which are linked to Philokles' circle, and in one from Krokodilo, again linked to Philokles.<sup>74</sup> The mantle indicated by *πάλλιον* – *pallium* was worn over the tunic, *χιτόν*, and it must have been circulating very broadly, as the word appears frequently also along the Nile valley.<sup>75</sup> The documents from the Eastern Desert cannot help to determine how the word was first used and how it came into Greek, but one may hypothesise that commerce played a role in the import of new items of clothing. It is interesting to note that some modern scholars equate the Roman *πάλλιον* – *pallium* with the Greek *ἱμάτιον*, as if they referred to the very same item.<sup>76</sup> However, papyri suggest that there was at least some difference between a *πάλλιον*-mantle and a *ἱμάτιον*-mantle. The two words must indicate different – at least slightly – objects, because they appear as different entries in inventories and lists (e.g. *P. Tebt.* II 331, 126–132 CE).

The word *φουρνακοναῖον* attracts attention because it is a hapax, attested only in *O.Krok.* II 333.8 (beginning of II CE):

...  
6 ἐνανκαῖον ἡγησά-  
μεν ἀπελθῖν εἰς τὸ  
φουρνακοναῖον κα[ῖ]  
μαθῖν ἐπιμελῶς [.]

---

<sup>74</sup> The documents are: *O.Did.* 380.6, from Philokles to Kapparis about deliveries, *O.Did.* 383.10, from Philokles to Sknips and Kapparis, *O.Did.* 454.4, a fragmentary letter, and *O.Krok.* II 221.18, letter to Ptolema about the renting of Prokla, a prostitute (here *παλλίοιον* appears).

<sup>75</sup> The loan appears in eight documents from the Nile valley dated to the first century CE. See also §4.8.2 and §5.4.2.

<sup>76</sup> See e.g. the archaeological survey from Didymoi: Cardon, Granger-Taylor, and Nowik (2011: 308–319).

...

---

6. *Ι. ἀναγκαῖον* 7 *Ι. ἀπελθεῖν* 8 *Ι. φουρνακονεῖον?*<sup>77</sup> 9 *Ι. μαθεῖν*

... I believed it necessary to go to the bakery (?) and find out exactly ...

The meaning of this word is not straightforward, and the editor puts forward at least two options: a link to the Greek word πορνοβοσκεῖον ‘brothel’ or to the Latin one *furnus* ‘oven’, suggesting a meaning like that of Greek ἀρτοκοπεῖον ‘bakery’.<sup>78</sup> Because the prostitutes of the Eastern Desert did not work in permanent brothels but travelled from place to place,<sup>79</sup> the second option is preferable. However, rather than from Latin *furnus*, φουρνακοναῖον derives more likely from Latin *forax*, also ‘oven’, with the Greek suffix for places -εῖον. If so, it may be that φουρνακοναῖον was formed directly on the Latin word, to which a Greek suffix was added, or that *forax* had already been borrowed in Greek. In fact, the loanword φούρναξ appears in Greek only much later,<sup>80</sup> but it may have been used much earlier in the Eastern Desert.

In this text, Philokles – recognised by his hand<sup>81</sup> – writes on Parabolos’ behalf, and Parabolos tells Ischyras – who is the partner of his sister Zosime – that he went to the φουρνακοναῖον to learn something. Unfortunately, the continuation of the letter is damaged, but we know from *O.Krok.* II 309 and 331 that the oven of Persou was broken and that people asked for bread to be shipped from Krokodilo during this period. If Parabolos is in Krokodilo and this ostrakon was never sent or is a draft, the editor suggests that he may have gone to the bakery to see how they were managing the production of additional bread for the *praesidium* of Persou. In all likelihood, a person like Parabolos does not know Latin, but such an ignorance did not prevent

---

<sup>77</sup> On the variation αι / ε and ε / ει, see Gignac (1976: 192–193, 257–259).

<sup>78</sup> The loanword φούρνος is attested in literature (e.g. Ath. 3.113c, c. 200 CE) and in Edict.Diocl. 14.12 (301 CE). It may have been in use in the Eastern Desert.

<sup>79</sup> See Cuvigny (2010a).

<sup>80</sup> For φούρναξ, see Epiph., *Adv. haeres.* 1.347.29 and 348.21 (IV CE, marked as regional vocabulary) and *P.Rein.* II 108.4 (VI CE).

<sup>81</sup> On Philokles’ language and hand, see Bülow-Jacobsen (2001) and *O.Krok.* II, pp. 34–37.

him from using what is – for us – the only attestation of a Latin loanword and proving – once more – that new Latin vocabulary spread fast in the tightly knit communities of the Desert.

One last rare loanword appears in another document catalogued as pertaining to the circles of civilians living alongside the soldiers, *μισκελλάνιος* ‘mixture’ or ‘hotchpotch’, from Latin *miscellaneus*. The loanword is used as an adjective with *κρέας*, thus meaning ‘mixture of meat’, in two lines of *O.Krok.* II 235.<sup>82</sup> According to the editor, this account is Philokles’ because he is mentioned in the text, which gives the impression that the accountant kept this record for him:<sup>83</sup>

Col. I

---  
 1    Θώ[θ  
       Θώθ [  
       κ̄ς ἰς δελφάκηγ κρέας  
       κ̄ζ ἰς **μισκελλανειγ** κρέας  
 5    κ̄θ ἰς **μισκιλλανειγ** κρέας  
 -----  
 ...  
 -----  
       ἀνήλωμα κεραμίων    κ̄ε  
       οἱ ἰππεῖς                    ἦ  
       Φιλοκλής                    ῥ  
 15    αὐτῶ                            β̄  
 ...  
 -----

<sup>82</sup> The Latin substantive *miscellanea*, ‘mixture of meat’, is linked by Juv. 11.20 to the gladiators’ meat as opposed to a more refined kind of meat. The following scholium to Juvenal (*Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora*, ed. Wessner), quoted by the editor in the commentary, gives more details on *miscellanea*: *genus miserabile ferculi. Miscellanea ludi: ‘miscellanea’ cibus gladiatorum [...], ideo miscellanea, quia omnia, quae apponuntur eis, miscent et sic manducant.*

<sup>83</sup> See the commentary to *O.Krok.* II 235.15.

3. *Ι. εἰς δελφάκειον* 4. & 5. *Ι. εἰς μισκελλάνιον*

Tho[th ...] Thoth [...], (spent on the) 26<sup>th</sup> for pork meat, (spent on the) 27<sup>th</sup> for a **mixture** of meat, (spent on the) 29<sup>th</sup> for a **mixture** of meat. ... Expenditure of 25 amphoras: the horsemen (had) 8, Philokles (had) 6, for himself (he had) 2, [...]

The editor, Bülow-Jacobsen, decided to print αὐτῷ with a rough breathing (also in ll. 21 and 23), as a reflexive, saying that this ‘probably refers back to Philokles for whom the account was kept’. However, one should not overlook the peculiar handwriting of the document.<sup>84</sup> One may notice, apart from the overall aspect, the angular alpha, often penned in the exact same way as a majuscule lambda, and the very similar mu, penned as two angular lambdas in succession; both features are clear marks of Latin influence on palaeography.<sup>85</sup> The same ostrakon preserves a few lines of a mostly lost second column, in which a different and much more Greek-like hand penned a continuation for the month Phaophi. Since a similar Latin-influenced handwriting does not appear in other texts related to Philokles, it is doubtful that this account was his. One may tentatively put forward the hypothesis that *O.Krok.* II 235 was the output of a military bookkeeper, which is something that would account for the handwriting.<sup>86</sup> We know that soldiers had plenty of relations with Philokles’ circle, both regarding prostitutes and victuals. The fact that Philokles represented the major economic counterpart in the transactions of these groups of soldiers may very well explain his appearance in the document. The Latin influence on the palaeography of this text does not directly prove that this scribe’s first language was Latin but certainly suggests that he could write in both Latin and Greek. If one holds true that *O.Krok.* II 235 is not an account of Philokles but that of a unit of soldiers, the use of the loanword μισκελλάνιος may show how rarer loanwords are often used by the bilingual apparatus of the army only, and in this case by a scribe or bookkeeper of a *praesidium*. The use of a loanword so precise as μισκελλάνιος suggests that the

---

<sup>84</sup> The edition does not mention these peculiarities. For Philokles’ own hand, see *O.Krok.* II, pp. 34–37.

<sup>85</sup> On such influences, see Fournet (2006: 443). The overall appearance of *O.Krok.* II 235 is unmistakably ‘Latin-like’.

<sup>86</sup> A military bookkeeper, ἀκτουάριος from Latin *actuarius*, is attested in *O.Did.* 465.5. Cf. *O.Claud.* II 235.11. In this hypothesis, the rough breathings of αὐτός are probably unnecessary.



5 / Ποτάμονος ἐξηγητοῦ οἴνου διπ(λᾶ) β', ὕδατα διπ(λᾶ) γ

καὶ πλευρὸν α<sup>-</sup>

/ Σύρος τοῦ βιζ(ιλλαρίου) ἡμίπλευρον καὶ σάκον κιβαρίου

...

18 τῶν ἐσχηκότεων τὰ κιβάρια [καὶ τὰ]

Κάστωρ β(ενεφικιάριος) καὶ Σαραπίων ταβουλ(άριος)

...

2. *l. πορείας ἀναβάσεως τῶν ἐσχηκ(ότων) or τῶν ἀσχολο( )?* 5. *l. ἐξηγητοῦ*

Copy (?). Account of the caravan – of the trip of those who received (?) (their provisions?). / A *pleuron diploun* for the prefect and four *silignia* of master type. / Potamon, *exegetes*: two *dipla* of wine, three *dipla* and one *pleuron* of water. / Syros, slave of the *vexillarius*: half a *pleuron* and a sack of *cibarium*. [...] (On behalf of) those who received their *cibaria* and—the, Kastor *beneficiarius* and Sarapion *tabularius*.

This text dates from a slightly later period than the usual one of our documents, but it has several points of interest. First, it attests to different uses of the loanword κιβάριον as singular or plural. In line 6, the slave of a *vexillarius*, Syrus, receives a bag of *cibarium*, which must consist of a dry item that can be stored in a bag. In line 18, on the other hand, the plural *cibaria* is likely to refer to every kind of food-supply – whether dry or liquid – that was received through the prefect's caravan. The term can function like an umbrella in several instances, but it refers to specific goods in others; at Mons Claudianus, for instance, it always refers to the oil and lentils that one group of workers, the *familia*, received.<sup>90</sup> Accordingly, what makes some food a κιβάριον must be its provenance from the military supply-chain rather than its exact physical nature. The use of such a Latin term is then comparable to the use of μισκελλάνιος in *O.Krok.* II 235, as both designate

<sup>90</sup> For the different foods that κιβάριον can cover in the Eastern Desert, see *O.Did.* 84, intr. For κιβάριον at Mons Claudianus, see §3.4.1.

items that are under the sole control of the military supply-chain. In the subsequent centuries the use of κιβάριον spreads outside the military jargon and in the fourth century, for instance, it appears in the records of Theophanes' journey, where it covers the rations of the slaves: τμηῆς κιβάριου τοῖς παιδίοις in *P.Ryl.* IV 629.10–11 etc. (317–323 CE, Hermopolis).<sup>91</sup> Another interesting item mentioned by the account *O.Did.* 84 is the bread σιλίγνιον, probably from Latin (*panis*) *siligineus*, indicating a bread made with *siligo*, which was the whitest and finest flour.<sup>92</sup> In the account *O.Did.* 80.2 (120–125 CE), this bread is reserved for a centurion, while here it is the prerogative of the prefect, as the adjective κυριακός indicates.<sup>93</sup> It is doubtful whether the *siligo* wheat was cultivated in Egypt in this period, and it is possible that it was imported from Italy and Gaul.<sup>94</sup> As a luxury product reserved for higher ranking figures, the loanword did not compete with the common bread and the words referring to it (ἄρτος, ψωμίον, καθάριον, etc.).<sup>95</sup>

From Latin *trulla*, τρούλλα too may be linked to the supply-chain of the military. The word indicates a kind of vessel that could have been used in a kitchen.<sup>96</sup> It is attested in a fragmentary document of the *curator* Capito, *O.Krok.* I 17.7 (108–109 CE), and in a letter from Ischyrras to Parabolos, *O.Krok.* II 321.6 (98–117 CE). In the very same period, it also appears in a list of a cook's instruments: *P.Sijp.* 54.5 (II CE, unknown prov.). Sadly, we do not have much information on the introduction of τρούλλα, but its use in contexts different from the military one may suggest that this item and the Latin loan were first brought to Egypt not only by the military alone but perhaps by merchants too.

Finally, we may include under this heading the loanword λῶδιξ, from *lodix* 'blanket'. Even though the loan does not appear among the documents of Didymoi and Krokodilo, it appears

<sup>91</sup> In the same accounts, the adjective κιβάριος, -α, -ov designates products of poor quality. Theophanes was a high-ranking civil servant working for Egypt's prefect. His archive attests to his journey from Egypt to Syria and back. For *cibaria* in Theophanes' journey, see Matthews (2006: 9 and 152–154).

<sup>92</sup> Flour of *siligo* was obtained from the wheat scientifically identified as *Triticum aestivum* L. or *Triticum vulgare* Vill. See Battaglia (1989: 93) and *O.Did.*, p. 30.

<sup>93</sup> The use of κυριακός 'imperial' or 'of the master' can be opposed to the mention of other bread as ζεύ(η) φαμ(ύλιαρικά) 'ordinary pairs (of bread)' in l. 8.

<sup>94</sup> See the introduction to *O.Did.* 84.

<sup>95</sup> In the third century, it appears also in civilian contexts; cf. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1655.8 and 9 (baker's account).

<sup>96</sup> See Hilgers (1969: 291–293).

in one text from Mons Claudianus and may have been introduced in a similar way. The text is the letter between soldiers *O.Claud.* I 177 (early II CE), where a certain Lucas sends to the cavalryman Valerius Herianus a λῶδιξ, a χιτόν, and a πάλλιον (cf. §2.5.2). We know from other documents that the military ordered λῶδικες in bulk and then delivered them to the soldiers, suggesting that the supply chain of the army played a major role in vocabulary choices of a soldier's wardrobe.<sup>97</sup>

## 2.7 Soldiers and Latin loanwords

Among the private documents found at Krokodilo that have been edited in *O.Krok.* II, one finds not only the letters written by Egyptian pimps like Philokles and his associates or by prostitutes like Nemesous, but also the private correspondence of several soldiers. Among these, one figure stands out: Apollos. He writes 39 letters in total, 11 as the actual sender and the rest as the scribe other people resort to.<sup>98</sup> The literacy of this soldier makes him, together with Philokles, one of the most prolific writers of this part of the Eastern Desert. But if Philokles produces a great deal of documentation because of the economic interests of a defined circle of relatives and friends, Apollos most often writes to probable strangers on behalf of others. The addressees of his personal letters are only two: the soldiers Priscus I and Apollinaris I, who receive in Krokodilo the letters that Apollos writes from Persou, where he lives.<sup>99</sup> In the letters written by Apollos loanwords are somewhat more numerous than among the letters written by civilians, where the occasional presence of loanwords other than the frequent πραισίδιον or κουράτωρ draws attention. In particular, one finds only in Apollos' dossier the loanword τίρων 'recruit', from Latin *tiro*, which is used in several letters for distinguishing Maximus the recruit from another

---

<sup>97</sup> See §5.1.1.

<sup>98</sup> The dossier of Apollos has been edited in *O.Krok.* II 236 to 280. Five letters are written by people connected to Apollos that resorted to another scribe in these instances.

<sup>99</sup> See the prosopography of Apollos' dossier in *O.Krok.* II, pp. 132-36. Apollos also mentions and greets other people in his letters; see e.g. *O.Krok.* II 240, 242, and possibly 243, in which Domitius is mentioned.

person of the same name.<sup>100</sup> Other loanwords appearing in these documents but more rarely overall are ἄλη ‘wing of cavalry’ and δουπλικάριος ‘double-paid soldier’. The word κοντουβέρνιον ‘habitation – shared lodging’ is worth a special mention because in this period it appears only in one of these letters.<sup>101</sup> Both ἄλη and δουπλικάριος appear in the same letter, *O.Krok.* II 272, written by Apollos for another soldier whose name is in lacuna. These are the final lines of the text:

... ἄσπασον τὴν ἀδελ-  
 15 [φὴν σο]υ πολλὰ καὶ Ἀπολιναρίω  
 [τὸν] **τιπλοκάριν**· τάχα μετα-  
 [βαίν]ομεν καὶ ὑμῖς ἰς τὴν ἄ-  
**λαν** αὐτοῦ.

---

15. *l.* Ἀπολιναρίον 16 *l.* διπλοκάριον 17. *l.* ἡμεῖς εἰς

... do greet your sister and Apollinaris the *duplicarius*, we ourselves will soon change our posting to that of his *ala*.

The spelling *τιπλοκάριν* is worth a pause. First, we may note that this word is not the usual loanword *δουπλικάριος* from Latin *duplicarius* but its variant *διπλοκάριος*, in which Latin *duplus* was substituted with Greek *διπλός*, probably under the influence of folk etymology, thus creating a so-called loanblend (§1.2.1). But apart from this and from the syncope of omicron in the ending, a common feature of popular speech,<sup>102</sup> the interchange δ – τ is what should draw our attention. This spelling variation appears relatively often in Apollos’ texts, even for everyday

---

<sup>100</sup> E.g. *O.Krok.* II 237, 240, 242.

<sup>101</sup> Latin *contubernium* is attested in the second message recorded on the Latin ostrakon *O.Did.* 417 (120–125 CE), sent by Numosis (Numisius?) to Claudius, both soldiers. In this period, the word appears also in an ostrakon from the fort of Maximianon, *SB XXVIII* 17086.4–5 and Polyaeus, *Excerpta* 7.1.4 (II CE); later on, it becomes common only in the Byzantine period.

<sup>102</sup> See Horrocks (2010: 175–176) and Gignac (1981: 28–29).

words that surely could not strike him as a Latin novelty.<sup>103</sup> More importantly, this variation is often found in the documents of Egyptians, who could experience difficulties in distinguishing the Greek γ and δ from κ and τ because they did not have similar voiced stops in their mother tongue.<sup>104</sup>

Found in *O.Krok.* II 275, another text written by Apollos, κοντουβέρνηιον presents a similar case: the word is once spelled as κοντουβέρνηιον, in line 6, and once as κονδυβέρνηιον, in line 11. This text is a letter from the soldier Priscus II to his comrade Maximus I, in which the former reassures the latter that he left the wooden ceiling of the habitation as it was, later asking him about the condition of this lodging (ll. 4–12):

... τὰ λεπτὰ  
5 ξυλάριν τὰ ἐπάνου τοῦ  
κοντουβερνίω, ἀφίωκα  
αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν· ἐκομισάμην  
τὸ ἥμισου τοῦ ἱμιατίου  
φονίκια· γράψον μοι τὴν  
10 ἀντιφώνησιν τί καί τί  
εὔρηκες ἰς τὸ κονδυβέρ-  
νιον ...

---

5. *l.* ξυλαρίων ?<sup>105</sup> 5–6. *l.* ἐπάνου τοῦ κοντουβερνίου 7. *l.* ἐκομισάμην 8. *l.* ἥμισυ τοῦ ἱμιατίου 9. *l.* φοινικίων 11. *l.* εὔρηκας εἰς τὸ κοντουβέρνηιον

---

<sup>103</sup> Among many examples, one may mention the spelling ἐκώ for ἐγώ in *O.Krok.* II 237.4.

<sup>104</sup> See Gignac (1976: 85–86).

<sup>105</sup> The editor corrects ξυλάριν into ξυλαρίων, but the ending -ιν usually results from -ιον; see e.g. Horrocks (2010: 175–176). τὰ λεπτὰ ξυλάριον could be a partitive apposition, but in these cases quantities are usually used; see e.g. *O.Florida* 1.1–2, ἔχεις δέκα ἡμέρας κομμιάτεν (*l.* -ον) and J.N. Adams (2006).

... I left the small twigs that were above the *contubernium* as they were. I received the half of a half *mation* of dates. Write me a reply on such and such things you have found in the *contubernium*. ...

The use of military terms such as ἄλλη, δουπλικάριος (here in its variant διπλοκάριος), and κοντουβέρνιον by soldiers like Apollos and his comrades is not surprising. However, Apollos could have changed ἄλλη to the classical Greek ἵλη ‘band / troop of men’, which in this period started being a synonym of the more specialised Latin loanword for a ‘wing of cavalry’.<sup>106</sup> This development was probably facilitated by the phonological similarity of the two words. As regards spelling variations, Apollos’ confusion between voiced and unvoiced stops suggests that his mother tongue was Egyptian; on top of it, he knew and wrote Greek to a rather good degree, but probably did not know any Latin. His handwriting is practiced and does not show any Latin influence on letterforms, perhaps because he likely learned writing before his conscription in the army. So, why is he using Latin terminology when he could have used the Greek ἵλη? One may suppose that the term ἵλη was not already widely accepted in the sense of ἄλλη in the speech community of the Eastern Desert, but other documents (*O.Krok.* I 6, 47, 87, *O.Did.* 38, *I.Did.* 3, 4, 9) show that it was. Consequently, two different situations may explain Apollos’ choice. In the first one, both ἵλη and ἄλλη are widespread terms in Greek, whose synonymity is widely known. In this case, the loanword ἄλλη is well integrated and not recognisable as a foreign element. Apollos’ use of ἄλλη instead of ἵλη does not carry a specific value but attests to the competition between the two words. In the second case, ἄλλη is already a loanword, and as such it can be used by people who do not know Latin, but it still remains recognisable as a word with a foreign origin. If so, Apollos is deliberately choosing to use it, be it for reasons of prestige or preciseness. Even if he probably does not know any Latin, he is able to recognize such foreign material and to use it in particular situations. The second case seems most likely, as ἄλλη and ἵλη seem to be chosen according to a pattern. The Greek ἵλη is preferred in official documents such as the translation

---

<sup>106</sup> Cf. e.g. Joseph., *AJ* 17.10.9: ἵλας ἰπέων τέσσαρας. On the *alae* mentioned in documents from the Eastern Desert, see Cuvigny (2006c: 334–336).

from Latin of *P.Bagnall* 8 or the ostrakon recording desert raids *O.Krok.* I 87, where ἄλη is not.<sup>107</sup> One gets the impression that people who know Latin, as the authors of official documents often are, seem to prefer the Greek word, if available, while common soldiers prefer the Latin one, if available. In such a situation, the different usages may have a different value. In the mouth or pen of a person who does not know Latin, like Apollos, the loanword might be a symbol of prestige, by which one tries to assimilate oneself to the Latin-speaking hierarchies.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, the very same hierarchies do not impose the choice of vocabulary straightforwardly; whenever possible, they prefer Greek words, by which they may facilitate comprehension.

The case of κοντουβέρνιον is particularly informative on how loanwords could enter the speech of Graeco-Egyptian soldiers. *O.Krok.* II 275 is, together with another ostrakon from the fort of Maximianon (*SB* XXVIII 17086), the only attestation of κοντουβέρνιον in Egypt and more broadly in this period; the word must not have been common among the Graeco-Egyptian population of Egypt, nor in the Greek-speaking world more broadly. If so, one may assume that Apollos first encountered it when he entered the Roman army. He could not know the meaning of κοντουβέρνιον before conscription, but in *O.Krok.* II 275 he used it as a plain loanword that did not need any further explanation. Even if this loanword had been already common in the desert community, he must have learned it only upon arrival. In this case, which must not have been isolated, a rare Latin loanword entered the vocabulary of a person who had no knowledge of Latin through the mediation of other speakers. As the case of οὐεστιγᾶτου has already suggested, at the beginning of such a process there must have been a Latin speaker, be it a member of the hierarchies or of the administration.

The use of Latin loanwords by the Graeco-Egyptian civilians that lived in the desert alongside the soldiers is likely to often be the result of a similar trajectory. Graeco-Egyptian recruits and civilians did not know any Latin but lived one alongside the other, in a close-knit

---

<sup>107</sup> This suggests that the choice of one or the other might have had a value. If ἄλη was already felt completely Greek one would expect an initial free alternation of the two (no pattern of choice), usually leading to a semantic differentiation of the two terms. Cf. the example of *deer* and *animal* in English and see e.g. Matras (2020: 162) and Thomason (2003: 690–691). On *P.Bagnall* 8, see §3.6.2.

<sup>108</sup> On the use of Latin loanwords as a possible means of assimilation, see also §5.3.1.

society where they actively interacted. After all, *O.Krok.* II 272 – in which ἄλλη and δουπλικάριος are used – is written by Apollos on behalf of a comrade of his but is addressed to Iulius Maximus, a member of Philokles’ circle of civilians, possibly his son.<sup>109</sup> The free use of Latin loanwords by groups of soldiers in their exchanges with the civilians is very likely to be vital in the transmission of such vocabulary to the civilians of the desert.<sup>110</sup>

## 2.8 Contractors and Latin loanwords: the case of μισθωτής – κονδούκτωρ

Certain loanwords, like κονδούκτωρ from Latin *conductor*, require an individual treatment.<sup>111</sup> This term has been difficult to interpret in the context of the Eastern Desert because of the various activities that a κονδούκτωρ performs. In the collective volume *La route de Myos Hormos*, Bülow-Jacobsen (2006) first explained the meaning of κονδούκτωρ as ‘driver’, because such a figure often appears to be moving between *praesidia*, escorting people, and delivering goods from one place to another.<sup>112</sup> As soon as new texts were excavated in the following years, Cuvigny reworked this interpretation in the introduction to *O.Did.* and in the edition of *P.Bagnall* 11 and 12.<sup>113</sup> While a κονδούκτωρ of the Eastern Desert does act as a ‘driver’, his title is more likely linked to the Latin contract of *locatio conductio* (leasing or hiring), by which our *conductor* is a contractor receiving from the State the faculty to farm certain taxes. The tax concerned here is the κουνιτάνα, probably from Latin (*via*) *quintana*, also called τὸ τοῦ κονδούκτορος (*O.Did.* 390 and 430), which concerns prostitution but possibly entails any commercial transaction happening in military settings.<sup>114</sup> Apart from tax-farming, in *P.Bagnall* 12 the κονδούκτωρ appears as the

---

<sup>109</sup> See the prosopography in *O.Krok.* II, pp. 39 and 134.

<sup>110</sup> See also §2.5 above.

<sup>111</sup> A complete bibliography on this figure comprises: Lesquier (1918: 229–230), MacMullen (1963: 9, 11), Whittaker (1994: 108–119); Bülow-Jacobsen (2006: 410–412); *O.Did.*, pp. 27-8; and *P.Bagnall* 11 and 12.

<sup>112</sup> The meaning ‘driver’ is similar to what *conductor* means in Latin sources from the Middle Ages and to what *conducteur* in French or *conducente* in Italian mean today, see Bülow-Jacobsen (2006: 410–412).

<sup>113</sup> The edition of *P.Bagnall* 11 and 12 is reprinted and translated in Cuvigny (2021: 367–374).

<sup>114</sup> On the κουνιτάνα, see Cuvigny (2006e: 689–693) and (2010a: 163–166); *O.Berenike* I, p. 12; and *O.Berenike* II, p. 51. In *Ch.L.A.* III 200, the κουνιτάνα refers to the sale of a slave between two soldiers of the fleet, in Syria.

provider of additional food provisions to the forts, and in *P.Bagnall* 11 and *O.Did.* 54 he is linked to one precise location, as if his lease concerned only certain locations. All in all, a κονδούκτωρ is a complex figure: he certainly farms the κοιιντάνα (*O.Did.* 430), often sells additional supplies to the forts (*O.Did.* 373, *P.Bagnall* 12), distributes food for the donkey- and camel-drivers (*O.Did.* 54), and can live in the desert with his family (*O.Did.* 355). On the other hand, we do not know if a κονδούκτωρ was responsible for the supplies carried by the caravans (πορείαι), whether every single κονδούκτωρ concluded different contracts with the State, and whether such contracts concerned smaller or larger portions of the desert.<sup>115</sup>

Most importantly for our perspective, why do these contractors carry the Latin name κονδούκτωρ? Similar figures are well represented in the Greek legal sphere by the words μισθωτής, ἐξειληφός, ἐκλήμπτωρ, ἀσχολούμενος, and τελώνης among others.<sup>116</sup> The use of a Latin loanword does not appear necessary when a handful of Greek words could have easily replaced it, and this fact would make κονδούκτωρ another possible example of a core borrowing. The equivalence between the Latin loan κονδούκτωρ and, for instance, the Greek word μισθωτής is confirmed by *P.Bagnall* 11.1–2, whose addressee is the μισθωτής Ξηροῦ Πελάγους, certainly the κονδούκτωρ of Xeron Pelagos, a *praesidium* on the road to Berenice. So, why do speakers generally accord a preference to the Latin loanword in this case? Cuvigny gives the probable answer in the introduction to *O.Did.* She argues that in the contract of *locatio conductio* between the state and a κονδούκτωρ, the former ‘devait être représenté par des militaires ou des employés romanisés de la préfecture de Bérénice.’<sup>117</sup> This fact may very well explain the use of a Latin loanword: as the contractor of an official public lease, a κονδούκτωρ receives such a title from the Roman administration, in which Greek-Latin bilingualism was certainly present. The use of this term is not a choice of the κονδούκτωρ himself but of the person that assigns him the

---

<sup>115</sup> Since many κονδούκτορες work in connection with a particular location and appear to be living in it, one may suppose that they were subcontractors, in charge of tax-farming portions of the desert. See Cuvigny’s remarks in *O.Did.*, pp. 27–28 and Cuvigny (2010a: 166).

<sup>116</sup> See *O.Did.*, p. 28. For an example of the use of ἐκλήμπτωρ, see §5.4.2 below on *P.Oxy.* XVII 2128.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

position.<sup>118</sup> The nature of the contract, concluded between the Roman administration and a private person, facilitated the choice and use of a specific Roman terminology.

Yet, such a choice did not represent a final hindrance to the use of μισθωτής, which appears in *P.Bagnall* 11 (*praesidium* of Xeron Pelagos) or at Mons Claudianus for the *conductor metallorum* Epaphroditos Sigerianus, who is referred to as μισθωτής τῶν μετάλλων ‘contractor of the quarries’ in *I.Pan du désert* 42 (118 CE).<sup>119</sup> The first text represents an isolated case, in which μισθωτής replaces κονδούκτωρ for no apparent reason, but it demonstrates that the equivalence between the two terms was known. In the other case, Epaphroditos Sigerianus is designated as μισθωτής τῶν μετάλλων in the dedication of the small temple to Serapis at Mons Claudianus. These different texts may very well explain different situations. *P.Bagnall* 11 – sent by a certain Panechates – simply demonstrates that desert dwellers clearly understood the equivalence between a μισθωτής and a κονδούκτωρ, thus allowing for variation. But the choice of μισθωτής in *I.Pan du désert* 42 may have another motive. The person who prepared the text of this official dedication may have deliberately chosen to avoid any Latin terminology while preferring Greek. Someone must have pondered this inscriptional text before it was put up, and this process resulted in a coherent preference for Greek over Latin terminology.<sup>120</sup>

A last interesting fact about the loanword κονδούκτωρ concerns its gender, as the feminines ἡ κονδούκτωρ, κονδούκτρια, and κονδοῦκτριξ are all attested in the documents (*O.Did.* 401.7, *O.Krok.* II 184.11, *O.Krok.* inv. 270). Their role is difficult to establish, but Bülow-Jacobsen put forward an interesting proposal. He links the word to mediaeval Latin sources, in

---

<sup>118</sup> κονδούκτορες always have either a Latin or Greek name, suggesting that they may have been Latin speakers in some instances but certainly not always. Thus, the preference of the term must not be linked to their background. For the names of the κονδούκτορες, see *P.Bagnall*, p. 68 with n. 7. Latin names: Arianus, Cassius, Maximus, Saturninus, and perhaps Domitius Longinus; Greek names: Diodotos, Herakleides; Graeco-Egyptian: Ammonios.

<sup>119</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 14–21; §3.2.4; and §3.6.1.

<sup>120</sup> See above §2.7 on ὕλη. *I.Pan du désert* 42.6 mentions Avitus, *centurio* of a *cohors equitata*, as a (ἑκατοντά)ρχ(ος) σπείρης ἵππικῆς and not as a κεντυρίων χώρτης ἵππικῆς. We do not have enough documentation to know whether Epaphroditos was referred to as a κονδούκτωρ in other contexts. For the avoidance of Latin loanwords in official inscriptions, see also *I.Pan du désert* 80 (= *OGIS* 701; 137 CE, Antinoupolis), recording the foundation of the *via nova Hadriana* (linking Antinoupolis with Berenike) with ὑδρέυματα ‘wells’, σταθμοί ‘lodgings’, and φρουρία ‘forts’, which certainly correspond to the πραισιδία of the ostraca; cf. Cuvigny (2006c: 353–357).

which both *conductor* and *conductrix* can refer to brothel-keepers.<sup>121</sup> However, this hypothesis is not final. The documents concerning prostitution in the Eastern Desert attest to a system in which pimps and κονδούκτορες are different persons attending to different duties. More likely, one may think that a κονδοῦκτριξ was the wife of a κονδούκτωρ or that she represented the interests of a κονδούκτωρ in a certain place.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, the documents themselves shed little light on the matter. In *O.Krok.* II 184 the editor simply proposes to amend the feminine of the text into a masculine, while *O.Did.* 401 does not provide enough context for us to understand the role of the κονδοῦκτριξ, here calling a prostitute from the place in which she was.<sup>123</sup>

The loanword *κουιντάνα* is likely the output of a situation similar to that of *κονδούκτωρ*. The right to farm this tax must have been an essential part of the legal contract between the state and the *κονδούκτωρ*; just as the bureaucrats representing the state decided not to translate the technical term *κονδούκτωρ*, so they must have deemed the Latin name for the tax unsuitable for translation. Unfortunately, the complexity of this tax and its peculiarities are only hinted at by the documents of the Eastern Desert, to which one should add the ostraca from Berenike.<sup>124</sup> As regards the origin of the loanword, two possibilities remain open. A link to Latin *quinta (pars)* ‘fifth part’ may indicate the value of the tax. Alternatively, a link to *via quintana*, where the marketplace of a military camp took place, would explain its applicability on all transactions between soldiers.<sup>125</sup> The second option is usually preferred, because the *κουιντάνα* is levied on a time rather than value basis in documents of Berenike.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> See Du Cange (1883–7: s.v. 2): *qui et quae agit lenocinium*.

<sup>122</sup> For the first option, see the commentary to *O.Did.* 401.7. For the second, see Cuvigny’s remarks in *O.Did.*, p. 28.

<sup>123</sup> *O.Did.* 401.4–7: εἰσπορεύομ[αι] | εἰς τὸ πρα<ν>σίδιν καὶ εὔρηκα | αὐτὴν φωνουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς | κονδοῦκτριάς, ‘I entered the *praesidium* and I found her (i.e. the prostitute), who had been called by the *conductrix*.’

<sup>124</sup> See Cuvigny (2010a: 166); *O.Berenike* I, p. 12; and *O.Berenike* II, p. 51.

<sup>125</sup> See *O.Berenike* I, p. 12, and II, p. 6. But note that the *κουιντάνα* appears to be worth one fifth of the amount of the transaction in Krokodilo; see Cuvigny (2010a: 166).

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. *O.Berenike* II 136.2 (I BCE–I CE): κοι(ντάναν) τοῦ λ (ἔτους), ‘for the *quintana* of the 30th year’.

## 2.9 Conclusions

This analysis of Latin loanwords in the Roman *praesidia* of Didymoi and Krokodilo first concentrated on core borrowings (§2.3) and words for military ranks (§2.4) and then shifted to the documents of certain groups of people, civilians and soldiers (§2.5, §2.7). Some particular cases related to the supply-chain of the army (§2.6) or to the work of certain contractors (§2.8) were singled out and analysed in detail. A few conclusions follow from this survey. First, the Latin-speaking sphere of the army – that is higher officials, bureaucrats, etc. – seems to be responsible for the introduction of most loanwords, much more than other groups (§2.3, §2.4). Among other military examples, the form οὐεστιγάτου, a Latin supine, hints at the presence of Latin speakers behind the introduction of such vocabulary (§2.4.1). In contrast, Graeco-Egyptian speakers do not seem to be learning Latin to an extent that would allow them to introduce much Latin vocabulary in Greek documents. Second, the documents show how Graeco-Egyptian civilians living in the desert tend to use quite a few Latin loanwords, including rarer words like μύλιον, previously unattested in Egypt, or the difficult φουρνακοναῖον (§2.5.). This suggests a fast integration and spread of the newly introduced Latin vocabulary in the jargon of the forts. At the same time, however, these speakers do not appear to be bringing such loanwords to the wider Egyptian society. If they themselves had introduced this vocabulary, they would more easily be using and introducing it also in the Egyptian *chora*, but this does not happen. Along the Nile valley, many of these words are not attested, or Greek equivalents are preferred if available (§2.4.2). Third, the analysis of terms and documents related to the supply-chain of the army (e.g. μισκελλάνιος or κιβάριον) or to the appointment of contractors (κονδούκτορες) by the Roman administration seemed to confirm that Latin loanwords are mainly passed down by the bilingual levels of the military administration, many of whose practices must have been set more centrally than the Eastern Desert or even Egypt itself (§2.6, §2.8). Lastly, some of the documents that soldiers penned seem to indicate that – at least in some cases – Latin loanwords could be preferred over a Greek equivalent (ἄλη vs. ἕλη, §2.7); but official documents emanating from the military or the bureaucratic administration seem to avoid the very same loanwords (e.g. *O.Krok.* I 87 and

*P.Bagnall* 8). Similar documents suggest that the very same bilingual levels that were responsible for the introduction of many of the Latin loanwords used in the ephemeral texts of our ostraca deliberately chose to avoid the same loanwords when a different register was required, as certain inscriptions seem to display too (e.g. *I.Pan du désert* 42, where *κονδούκτωρ* is replaced by *μισθωτής*, §2.8).<sup>127</sup> This point will need more scrutiny in the subsequent chapters, but it may hint at a significant conclusion. That is, the carryover of these words was not prompted by ignorance of Greek by the Latin-speaking spheres of the army, nor was it a deliberate strategy. It was a choice, prompted by a need for preciseness, or a by more careless word-choice operating in ephemeral documents like ostraca. But if a higher register was required, loanwords could be avoided, and Greek could be used consistently. On the part of the soldiers, such a vocabulary became quickly integrated and, to a certain extent, preferred, perhaps for reasons of prestige, perhaps for a desire to use a more Romanized Greek. Nonetheless, one should not forget where this process originated. It certainly did not originate in the speech of some Greek-speaking soldiers who wanted to learn Latin. All of these speakers, soldiers or civilians, do not appear to bring many loanwords – ranks included – to the wider Egyptian society: where the Latinizing element is lacking – that is the army, its administration and higher echelons – so is much of this Latin vocabulary.

---

<sup>127</sup> This tendency will be scrutinised once more in the context of *Mons Claudianus*; see §3.6.2, where *P.Bagnall* 8 is discussed.

### 3. The Eastern-Desert setting: Mons Claudianus

The ostraca found in the dump-deposits of Mons Claudianus, mainly dating to the second century CE, form the corpus that will be analysed in this chapter.<sup>1</sup> Located in Egypt's Eastern Desert, Mons Claudianus (Gebel Fatireh) was a quarry site north of the road that linked Coptos to Myos Hormos. Another important quarry, Porphyrites (Gebel Dokhan), operated some 50 km to the north of Mons Claudianus.<sup>2</sup> The latter was exploited for its red and black porphyry, and Mons Claudianus for its black-speckled grey granodiorite, known as *granito del foro*.<sup>3</sup> Another set of minor quarries were located around these two major sites and along the roads that linked them to Kainè (Qena) in the Nile valley.<sup>4</sup> Together with the *praesidia* and small quarries of the roads linking Coptos (slightly south of Kainè) to Myos Hormos and Berenike, the quarries and outposts of this portion of the desert complete the picture of Roman presence in this inhospitable but pivotal part of the Egyptian province.

The texts – rescued by an international archaeological mission led by the IFAO (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale) in the late 80s and early 90s – amount to some 9,100.<sup>5</sup> All are linked to everyday life in the quarries and in the military camp that guarded them. To date, 896 ostraca have been published in the *O.Claud.* series and some others in additional publications, but more are due to appear in the future; they will prove most welcome, as these texts represent an invaluable corpus for both historical and linguistical research.<sup>6</sup> They attest to the life of a civil and military community at the fringe of the Roman world and to its language uses. Among the

---

<sup>1</sup> The earliest document dates to 68 CE, inv. 8828 (TM 700855), and is still unpublished. The last evidence for operations at Mons Claudianus dates to the reign of Severus Alexander (222–235 CE), inv. 7363 (TM 388522). However, most documents date to the second century. The main fort is not earlier than Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> Usually called 'Mons Porphyrites', but Cuvigny (2018b: §19–24) demonstrated that this name is a modern construct.

<sup>3</sup> See Peacock, Thorpe, *et al.* (1994).

<sup>4</sup> The ὁδὸς Κλαυδιανοῦ or Κλαυδιανή and the ὁδὸς Πορφυρίτου. See Cuvigny (2018b) for a complete catalogue of all the quarrying sites.

<sup>5</sup> See Cuvigny (1996a: 140).

<sup>6</sup> See Cuvigny (2018a) on the use of ostraca for historical research. So as to establish the linguistic policy of the army in Egypt, J.N. Adams (2003) made extensive use of the ostraca of Mons Claudianus.

texts published to date, 4% are written in Latin or partly so, and the rest are in Greek. But this Greek, often displaying Latin loanwords, presents a particular Latin flavour.<sup>7</sup>

The next pages will first introduce the world of these quarries and the uses of Greek and Latin at Mons Claudianus and then discuss particular examples of loanwords. Who used Greek and who used Latin? Why do several loanwords appear in the Greek documents? Are Latin loanwords evenly spread in the documentation or do they affect different groups of texts differently? The analysis of the texts will suggest that certain groups seem to be primarily responsible for the introduction of Latin vocabulary in the Greek documents. This is particularly clear when certain types of documents are analysed: the closer they are to the (bilingual) higher levels of the quarry, the more Latin influence they display. Since the bilingual levels of the quarries often handled both Latin and Greek documentation, the change between Latin and Greek documents may have carried with itself the retention of several Latin features: palaeography, punctuation, code-switches, and loanwords. Is this a conscious or an unintentional process? And more importantly, does it carry with itself any symbolic value? These pivotal questions will also be addressed.

---

<sup>7</sup> On the Latin of Mons Claudianus and briefly on its Latin loanwords, see Flobert (2005), who covers the documents published in the first two volumes of ostraca.

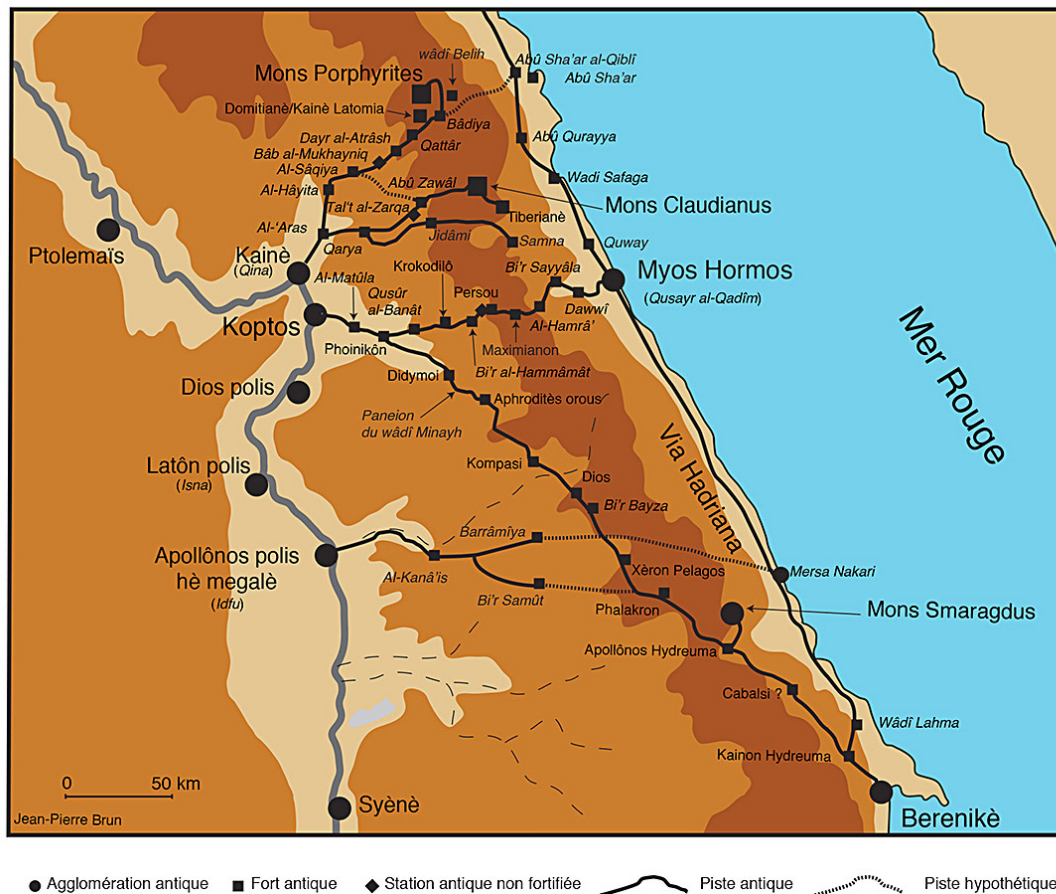


Figure 7. The Eastern Desert of Egypt in Roman times. From Brun (2018).

### 3.1 The stone of Mons Claudianus and its use

The presence of Roman outposts along the roads to Myos Hormos and Berenikè had a tight link to the international commerce with the East.<sup>8</sup> The construction of water-tanks (λάκκοι) and then of *praesidia* along such roads, the growth of these structures, and their successive abandonment are tightly linked to the growth or decrease of the international commerce with the Indies that passed along these routes.<sup>9</sup> The quarries and military outposts like Mons Claudianus, on the other hand, had a *raison d'être* of their own.

<sup>8</sup> On such commerce, see Rathbone (2002), and the intr. to *O.Did.* A few quarries were located also along these roads; see Maxfield (2001: 148) and Reddé and Brun (2006: 95–99) on wādī al-Hammāmāt and bi'r Umm Fawākhir. See also §2.1.

<sup>9</sup> See Cuvigny (2006c: 295–353), Reddé (2002: 392–393), and Kruse (2018: 379).

Mons Claudianus in particular is a peculiar quarry site. Up until the 1990s, it was commonly believed that its granodiorite had a pan-Mediterranean distribution, and the extensive quarrying-evidence found by the archaeological missions seemed to support this view. However, a comparison of the *marmi del foro* scattered across the Mediterranean to those found in Rome has proved beyond any doubt that the Mons Claudianus variety of granodiorite was used only for the imperial buildings of Rome.<sup>10</sup> This archaeological point hints at the importance of the site. Mons Claudianus is not a commercial enterprise, extracting for the marble and decorative-stone market; in fact, it is a ‘truly imperial enterprise’, working for and answering only to the central imperial administration.<sup>11</sup> The stone of Mons Claudianus was special because of its provenance and the difficulties entailed in its excavation and shipment. Mons Claudianus itself has been defined not as a ‘commercial venture, but a symbol – a symbol of the power of the emperor over his empire’.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2 The people and their documents

Located more than 500 km south of Cairo, at an altitude of circa 700 m, Mons Claudianus is right in the middle of the Eastern Desert’s mountains. After excavation, its granodiorite had to reach the nearest place along the Nile, Kainè, some 120 km to the west. Thence, barges carried it to Alexandria, 800 km to the north, where the *lapidariae naves* were to deliver it to Rome.<sup>13</sup>

Like most stone quarries of the Eastern Desert, Mons Claudianus was opened in the Roman period.<sup>14</sup> Earlier on, the domestic market was amply satisfied by more easily reached

---

<sup>10</sup> See Peacock, Thorpe, *et al.* (1994) and Peacock (1992: 20–28).

<sup>11</sup> This is Maxfield’s (2001: 166) definition. Peacock (1992: 25–28) compares Mons Claudianus to the royal manufactures of Louis XIV. See Maxfield (2001: 156) for a list of buildings for which the Mons Claudianus granodiorite was used; see also Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 723).

<sup>12</sup> See Peacock (1992: 28).

<sup>13</sup> See Peacock (1992: 5) and Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 721).

<sup>14</sup> Wadi Hammamat is one of the exceptions; see e.g. Maxfield (2001: 146) and Harrell (2002). Roman mines and quarries must have been active as early as 11 CE; see *I.Pan du désert* 51 and Plin., *HN* 36.55.

quarries, which continued to operate during the Roman period.<sup>15</sup> Even though we do not know precisely when quarrying commenced at Mons Claudianus, it is probable that operations began under Claudius, hence the name. The use of its granodiorite is first attested in Rome under Nero, but its exploitation became most extensive only later, under Trajan and Hadrian.<sup>16</sup> Work at Mons Claudianus must have halted from time to time, like during the Jewish revolt of 115–117 CE, or in between specific orders. The documents do show that the occupation was not continuous and that the presence of workers and soldiers could in fact sharply decrease or increase.<sup>17</sup>

Everybody had to reach Mons Claudianus from Kainè, in the Nile Valley. The inhospitality of this mountainous desert – οὕτως διὰ παντὸς ὁ χῶρος ἀμμώδης ἐστὶ καὶ διψῆ in the words of Aelius Aristides (349.23 Jebb) – also meant that everything had to be carried here on purpose: men, animals, tools, clothing, and food. Fish reached Mons Claudianus from the Red Sea, while water was the only resource available on site through wells.<sup>18</sup> It was a precious and scarce one, as displayed by the system put in place for its distribution through the ἀκουάριοι, from Latin *aquarius* ‘water carrier’.<sup>19</sup> Together with other categories of personnel, the water carriers belong to the imperial *familia*, whose members often carry out unskilled tasks that can have Latin names. Most other workers are catalogued as *pagani*. Because *pagani* and *familia* are the workforce employed at Mons Claudianus, most ostraca relate to these groups.

### 3.2.1 *Pagani*

---

<sup>15</sup> See Maxfield (2001: 147) and Bülow-Jacobsen (1996).

<sup>16</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 723).

<sup>17</sup> See Cuvigny (2005): on a given day of Trajan’s reign some 917 people are recorded, and *O.Claud.* IV, appendix 2, pp. 263–266, where a total of 286 is calculated for a given day around or just after 140 CE. One should also take into account that documents attesting other periods may have been lost due to floods or may simply be among the non-dated ostraca; see also Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 725).

<sup>18</sup> On fish consumption at Mons Claudianus, see *O.Claud.* II 241 with its commentary.

<sup>19</sup> See Cuvigny (2005), which is TM 700801.

The *pagani* were free and skilled local workers originating from Syene, Alexandria, and the Theban region mainly.<sup>20</sup> They received a monetary wage (ὀψώνιον), one artaba of wheat, and a wine-ration. On top of this, they had to procure themselves oil, lentils, onions, and any other sorts of food. A particular type of document is linked to the wage and provisions paid to the *pagani*, the so-called ἐντολαί.<sup>21</sup> These ‘instructions’ were sent monthly by the *pagani* to their quartermaster (κιβαριάτης) so that he may procure them the sorts of food not included in their rations. These documents always record the wage, usually totalling 47 drachmas per month, from which there are deductions for the other requested goods. Compared to the normal wages of mainland Egypt, the *pagani* were paid rather handsomely. Higher wages are likely to be justified by the working conditions of the desert and the cost of skilled, professional work.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2.2 *Familia*

Members of the *familia* constitute the other group of workers. They are mostly unskilled, when compared to the *pagani*, their tasks can have Latin names (e.g. ἀκισκλάριοι and ἀκούριοι), and their personal names are clearly foreign to those attested in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Among others, there are Latin names and Greek ones that can be linked to Asia Minor.<sup>23</sup> Like the *pagani*, they received a monetary wage (ὀψώνιον) and, on top of it, one artaba of wheat, lentils, oil, and a yearly set of clothes.<sup>24</sup> The *familia* had to rely on these provisions and did not ask for additional ones through their κιβαριάτης. Rather, they often resorted to him for advances on salary, a type of document that has been edited by Cuvigny in *O.Claud.* III. In these texts, members of the *familia* acknowledge to have received an advance that will be deducted from their next wage,

---

<sup>20</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 22–23, Cuvigny (2005: 327–331), and (1996a). On smiths, who were *pagani*, and their origin, see also Bülow-Jacobsen (1997).

<sup>21</sup> At Mons Claudianus, the ἐντολαί are one of the best represented types of documents, totalling more than 1,200 examples; see Cuvigny (1996a: 140 with n. 4).

<sup>22</sup> See Cuvigny (1996a: 140–141).

<sup>23</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 30–33.

<sup>24</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 43–46 and Cuvigny (1996a). The ἱματισμόν is known only through *O.Claud.* III 432.

whose total is unfortunately never recorded.<sup>25</sup> The status of the members of the *familia* is unclear. It is very much likely that they pertain to a *familia Caesaris* of workers.<sup>26</sup> The use of the adjective κυριακός in relation to them does in fact link this group to the emperor but cannot suggest their status. Other *familiae Caesaris* of salaried workers are known in Rome, thus preventing the possibility to equate these workers to simple imperial slaves, which is a problematic and unlikely hypothesis.<sup>27</sup> Other possibilities are: i) free and non-skilled workforce, recruited for a poor salary; ii) non-military employees of the army; iii) convicts; or iv) people conscripted for forced labour.<sup>28</sup> Most likely, they are non-military imperial employees.<sup>29</sup> They mainly attended to logistics: among other things, water carrying or, possibly, the transportation – as draft ‘animals’ – of the gigantic columns that did not fit on wagons.<sup>30</sup> While a precise identification of the members of the *familia* remains difficult, it may be useful to think of them – as H. Cuvigny does – as ‘imperial workers’ opposed to the ‘civilian’ ones represented by the *pagani*.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, the organization of the *familia* into *numeri* (νοῦμεροι) and ἀριθμοί helps us in identifying different people as members of this group.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2.3 Soldiers

<sup>25</sup> This is the basic form of an advance. Note that there are triangular operations too (e.g. I received from X and you, Y, will deduct from my pay this sum and give it to X). Instead of a κίβηριότης, one could resort also to private figures (e.g. a soldier) for a loan.

<sup>26</sup> For the use – ancient and modern – of the expression *familia Caesaris*, see *O.Claud.* III, pp. 24–25.

<sup>27</sup> In *O.Claud.* III, p. 24, Cuvigny refers to the *familia Caesaris* working, together with a *familia publica*, at the aqueducts of Rome (see Frontin., *Aq.*) See also P.R.C. Weaver (1972: 299).

<sup>28</sup> For these options, see *O.Claud.* III, pp. 33–36. I omitted options 2 and 3 put forward by Cuvigny because they relate to slaves, which have already been mentioned. For examples of people condemned to forced labour in the quarries, see e.g. Bastianini (1988).

<sup>29</sup> See Cuvigny (2005: 331).

<sup>30</sup> See *O.Claud.* IV intr. and appendix 3, p. 269. The use of men as a draft-animal is Peacock’s idea; see Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 729–730).

<sup>31</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 11–14 and 51–53. However, note that the translation of *paganus* as civilian does not account for everything that the word entails, that is the ideas of ‘free,’ ‘lay,’ and ‘local’; see Cuvigny (2005: 327).

<sup>32</sup> For νοῦμεροι, from Latin *numeri*, and ἀριθμοί, used here for the first time with different meanings, see *O.Claud.* III, pp. 36–37. They are the subdivisions of the *familia* and have a toponymic reference. The usual phrasing is: νοῦμερος Πορφυρίτου, ἀριθμός Κλαυδιανῶν (Πορφυρίτης is a broader geographical area comprising the quarries of Porphyrites, Mons Claudianus, and others; Κλαυδιανόν is the actual quarrying area of Mons Claudianus). The lists of vol. IV usually catalogue either *pagani* or *familia*.

The Roman army constitutes the third group who lived in Mons Claudianus, though its comparison to the numbers of *pagani* and *familia* makes its presence rather meagre. On one day in the Trajanic period, O.Claud. inv. 1538 (= TM 700801) records 60 soldiers out of a grand total of 917 persons, that is to say only 6.5% of the total. The paucity of soldiers is relevant when one considers the military presence in the *praesidia* of the road Coptos to Myos Hormos. These forts did not house more than a dozen soldiers each, but these men were statistically more relevant in such smaller communities.<sup>33</sup> At Mons Claudianus, the military was represented on a smaller scale and did not participate in the quarrying; it likely provided security but was a mark of Roman presence too.<sup>34</sup> Officers oversaw logistics (water transportation), assigned escorts, or resolved acts of disobedience.<sup>35</sup> The highest-ranking officers attested are a *centurio* and *decurio* in the Trajanic period, but later on, when the exploitation of the quarry decreases under Antoninus Pius, only a *curator* is in place.<sup>36</sup> Among the centurions attested, one is detached from a legion not based in Egypt at the time.<sup>37</sup> The soldiers are part of auxiliary units of different origin.<sup>38</sup>

### 3.2.4 The others: civilians, women, officials, *caesariani*

Other occupants of the forts are not strictly catalogued as soldiers, civilian or imperial workers. Among these, the water-distribution ostrakon (Cuvigny 2005) catalogues the architect Herakleides, a person in charge of measuring marbles, two doctors, two cobblers, one barber, one

---

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Cuvigny (2006d).

<sup>34</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen (1996: 726).

<sup>35</sup> See Cuvigny (2005: 335).

<sup>36</sup> See Cuvigny (2005: 334 with n. 59) and (2002), in which *SB XXVIII 16941* is edited. On *curatores* and their rank, see Cuvigny (2006c: 313–320).

<sup>37</sup> This is the *centurio* Annius Rufus of the *legio XV Apollinaris* (stationed in Cappadocia at the time); see the Latin *I.Pan du désert* 39. According to Maxfield (2001: 151), such an appointment points ‘to the hand of the emperor at work’, as Rufus’ unit was outside the reach of the prefect of Egypt. See Maxfield (2001: 150) for a list of officials named on inscriptions at Mons Claudianus and Porphyrites.

<sup>38</sup> For a list of the military units attested in the Eastern Desert, see Maxfield (2001: 152). See also Cuvigny (2002a: 241) for the units attested at Mons Claudianus in the post-Trajanic period. For the route Coptos – Myos Hormos, see Cuvigny (2006c: 334–338).

overseer of the Paneion, two porters, two cooks, and a veterinarian.<sup>39</sup> To this list, one may add women; they were certainly present, mostly as prostitutes, but did not receive water through the official distribution system.<sup>40</sup> Another addition may be represented by high-ranking figures that are clearly attested at Mons Claudianus or, more broadly, in the Eastern Desert, but that do not always reside in the same location. For instance, the *procurator metallorum* Enkolpios, who is responsible for the mines and quarries under Trajan (*I.Pan du désert* 38), the *procurator* Marcus Ulpus Chresimos, who is the imperial freedman responsible under Hadrian (*I.Pan du désert* 21 and 42), and the *conductor metallorum* Epaphroditos Sigerianus, attested in the same documents as an imperial slave under the direction of Chresimos.<sup>41</sup> Directly linked to these figures, there is their entourage, of which at least one clear example survives. This is Successus Epaphroditis, attested at Mons Claudianus in a number of ostraca, both Latin and Greek (I 124–136, c. 107–108 CE). He seems to oversee the shipment of materials to and from Mons Claudianus and the quarries. This duty may be linked to his relation to the *conductor* Epaphroditus.<sup>42</sup> Successus is likely a *caesarianus*, that is an imperial slave or freedman representing a level in between the ordinary workers and the *conductor* or *procurator*. Other *caesariani* are attested in different periods at Mons Claudianus, especially as people whose wealth allows them to act as creditors in the advances on salary.<sup>43</sup> Juridically, they may have been part of the *familia*, but they are not clearly associated with it. Others had particular duties and hence other definitions: for instance, *tesserarius* and *subtesserarius* (military ranks, but with a non-military function at Mons Claudianus)<sup>44</sup> or *galearius* (a soldier's valet, appearing only once in III 627).

---

<sup>39</sup> The total of this diverse group is of 35 in this ostrakon; see the table in Cuvigny (2005: 334).

<sup>40</sup> See Cuvigny (2005: 345). On prostitutes in the desert, see also Cuvigny (2010a) and (2013: 431–435).

<sup>41</sup> *O.Claud.* III, pp. 14–21.

<sup>42</sup> See *O.Claud.* I, pp. 111–121; *O.Claud.* III, p. 16; Bingen and Jensen (1994: 66); and *O.Claud.* IV 708, commentary on l. 23.

<sup>43</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 60–62. There are no *caesariani* mentioned in the water-distribution ostrakon edited by Cuvigny (2005), but there are in other lists: e.g. the hitherto unpublished ostrakon inv. 1999; see *O.Claud.* IV 708, commentary on l. 23.

<sup>44</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 64–66. In the water-distribution ostrakon, l. 8 (= Cuvigny 2005), the *tesserarius* receives less water than the soldiers. These *tesserarii* appear to act as a transmission channel between e.g. a *tabularius*, head of the administration, and the lower figures in charge of executing his orders. They are also in charge of overseeing the execution of such orders.

### 3.3 Writing in Greek or Latin at Mons Claudianus

Among the 896 ostraca that have been published to date, 37 are in Latin or contain Latin and Greek portions, representing just 4% of the total. As Latin texts are often published faster than others, due to the interest that they can arouse, this percentage could decrease in the future. Latin documents comprise: a letter between soldiers concerning water (I 2); two letters addressed to Successus (I 131, 135); another letter exchanged between soldiers (II 367); four rosters (II 304, 305, 306 and 308); 24 lists of *vigiles* ‘sentinels’, which most of the time contain both Greek and Latin portions (e.g. II 309: Latin numerals with names written in Greek); four accounts / lists of stones (IV 843, 845, 846, 847); and a list of tools (IV 788).

Among these documents, the letter I 2 from the *decurio* Flaccus, the letter II 367 from the *curator* Teres to the *duplicarius* Annus, the tables of military service, and the many lists of *vigiles* are linked to the military element stationed at Mons Claudianus. All other documents are linked to the imperial administration. Among these, we find the archive of the *caesarianus* Successus and the catalogues of stones edited in volume IV, which are likely to have been used in the administrative offices of the quarries. The use of Latin by these groups suggests their knowledge of Latin and indicates the presence of Greek-Latin bilingualism. This is the case for Successus, who receives letters in both languages.

Others, such as the doctors, may have written in and known Latin. Little if anything has been left by these figures, but there are a couple of examples. *O.Claud.* I 120 is an interesting letter, in which the anonymous sender asks for a medical tool. The sender may be a doctor and might know Latin. The text shows clear marks of Latin influence, for instance in the shape of the letters  $\delta$  and  $\eta$ , and makes uses of interpuncts separating sense units.<sup>45</sup> Another ostrakon, *O.Claud.* II 408, shows that Latin vocabulary made its way in the medical terminology used at Mons Claudianus: when the soldier Askalaphonas sends a medicine to Alexas, probably a doctor, this

---

<sup>45</sup> For this use of interpuncts, but in Latin texts, see J.N. Adams (1996).

is referred to as ἀειουτόρειν, from Latin *adiutorium* ‘medicine’. Since the people mentioned in this text are soldiers, Alexas may be a doctor attached to a military unit.

These data are noteworthy, as the written documentation dumped at Mons Claudianus shows only few offices and categories of people handling Latin.<sup>46</sup> The higher-ranking soldiers, such as centurions, decurions, and so on; the administrative offices of the military, in which rosters or tables of service are drawn up; the members of the imperial administration, such as Successus; and the offices of such administration, in which the accounts of stones were probably drawn up, all wrote and handled Latin documents to a certain extent. On the other hand, the documents written by or for the *pagani* and *familia* are in Greek, and so are most of the documents concerning soldiers, rather than officials. The levels in which Latin and bilingualism are certainly attested could have been responsible for much of the Latin influence appearing in several Greek documents. But how was Latin vocabulary introduced? Moreover, can the documents suggest that the workers too learnt Latin and were inserting Latin in their speech? The presence of Latin words in the various documents of Mons Claudianus must be investigated in a way that allows us to discern who actually lies behind most of these documents and is responsible for their word-choices. For instance, why is Latin generally used for the names of the tasks of the *familia* but not for those of the *pagani*? And are the members of the *familia* responsible for the documents that concern them or not?

### 3.4 Latin loanwords and the duties of *familia* and *pagani*

Even if the precise status of the members of the *familia* remains particularly difficult to establish, their duties – which are less specialised than those of the *pagani* – are known thanks to the lists of personnel that have survived. In fact, members of the *familia* and *pagani* are often listed

---

<sup>46</sup> It is possible that many more Latin documents were written at Mons Claudianus; they may have not been dumped there but taken with the archives of the army or administration because of their administrative value. Even if this were the case – but this is not the place to discuss this possibility – the very same people would have been handling them: higher-ranking soldiers and members of the military or civil administrative offices. Thus, the circles handling Latin documents would not probably be different, even if a greater number of Latin documents had been preserved.

separately in the lists of personnel published in *O.Claud.* IV. Among other things, members of the *familia* appear as ἀκισκλάριοι, literally ‘operators of the adze’, ἀκούριοι ‘water carriers’, maybe σφυροκόποι ‘hammer-men’, φαρμαζάριοι ‘temperers’, and φυσηταί ‘bellows-men.’ *Pagani*, on the other hand, occupy specialised positions mainly as σκληρουργοί ‘stone masons’ and χαλκεῖς ‘smiths’.<sup>47</sup> Among these duties, ἀκισκλάριος from *aciscularius* and ἀκούριος from *aquarius* are Latin loans, and φαρμαζάριος from φαρμάσσω ‘treat’ (of metals) + -αριος is a new formation, attested only at Mons Claudianus. These words seem to be the product of ongoing Latin influence, as they are attested only in this area of the Greek-speaking world and only in this period. Even more interestingly, all such words refer to members of the *familia*. The unskilled nature of the *familia* suggests that its members were randomly assigned their duties by the administration of the quarries or by the higher levels of the military, which controlled the water-distribution system. The *pagani*, on the other hand, are established professionals that relocated to the desert in exchange for a higher salary. There is little doubt that they continued to practice in the desert their previous profession, thus continuing to be referred to by a Greek word.

The differences detectable in the duties-vocabulary of these groups are not simply a veneer of Latin but the sign of a major difference. The less qualified members of the *familia* were more reliant on the duties that the administration or the military gave them. The assignment of these duties derives from the levels where Latin was to a certain extent known, resulting in the use of Latin terminology to a certain extent. The more independent *pagani*, on the other hand, are not subject to Latin terminology, just as their work duties are not subject to a possibly random allocation by the administration. The closer the relation and dependence of a group on the levels in which Latin is handled, the higher the possibility of Latin vocabulary being used in relation to this group. As we do not have letters or documents directly written by members of the *familia*, it is difficult to ascertain their word-choices, but the documents do indicate that much more Latin vocabulary was used in relation to the *familia* than to the *pagani*. The inspection of the *familia*’s advances on salary will prove useful to confirm this use and identify who is responsible for it.

---

<sup>47</sup> For a list of workers, see *O.Claud.* IV, pp. 11–12 and *O.Claud.* III, pp. 29–30. In smithies worked three people: a *paganus* and two *familia* helpers, see *O.Claud.* IV, p. 12.

### 3.4.1 The *familia*'s advances on salary and Latin influence

The *familia*'s advances on salary, all edited in *O.Claud.* III, are tightly linked to the work of their quartermaster, that is their κιβαριάτης, which is a loanword from Latin *cibaria* 'rations', to which the suffix -της was added.<sup>48</sup> Each month, *pagani* and *familia* received their wage and rations through their κιβαριάτης, who once a month travelled to Kainè to receive the money and supplies for his group of workers. While a *paganus* was working in the desert, his family would relocate to Kainè, where wives and children baked bread and prepared all sorts of supplies for their loved one.<sup>49</sup> Members of the *familia*, on the other hand, do not appear to have had a family, but their bread was also delivered from the valley.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, the κιβαριάτης is chosen among the members of the group for which he works.<sup>51</sup> Possibly literate, he would be able to cover the bureaucracy and liaise with the administration or the military. Most likely, the system that a κιβαριάτης administered had been put in place by the Roman administration of the quarries, modelling it on a military one, which could explain the use of the loan κιβαριάτης.<sup>52</sup>

Latin texts and Latin loanwords – apart mainly from the expected κιβαριάτης, κιβάριον, and φαμιλία – are not present among the *familia*'s advances. However, many of these documents do show traits of Latin influence as regards palaeography, word-division, and formulas.<sup>53</sup> The advances are usually granted by a κιβαριάτης, but a person in need of money, food, or both could

---

<sup>48</sup> The form κιβαριάτης is typical of Mons Claudianus, as the ostraca from Pselkis (= *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 78) consistently have κιβαριάτωρ; see *O.Claud.* III, pp. 58–59 with further bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> See Cuvigny (2005: 331 with n. 49). Some of the ostraca that clearly show this are presented in Cuvigny (1998). Unfortunately, most documents pertaining to the *pagani* are still unpublished.

<sup>50</sup> See Cuvigny (1996a), (1998), and (2005: 331–332). But texts do show that in certain cases the wheat could be ground and the bread baked in the desert; see e.g. *O.Claud.* II 287 and 288 and Cuvigny (2005: 344–345).

<sup>51</sup> *Pagani* are allocated the duty of κιβαριάτης on a monthly basis and are relieved after the end of each term. This does not apply to the κιβαριάται of the *familia*; see *O.Claud.* III p. 59.

<sup>52</sup> See Cuvigny (1992: 85 with n. 31).

<sup>53</sup> Palaeography: III 504, 507, 539, 551, 570, 577, 591, 612. Presence of interpuncts: 481, 595, 600. Latin influence on formulas: 580.7–8, where [ἄνευ] ... | [καὶ δόλ]ου πονηροῦ corresponds to the Latin *sine dolo malo*. Latin-driven mistakes: e.g. φορφυρίτου in 516, 531, 553. See also *O.Claud.* III, pp. 95–106, where single hands and their idiosyncrasies are discussed; see e.g. hand 3, 'of Iulianus'.

also resort to a *paganus*, a soldier, or a *caesarianus* and then instruct the κίβαριάρτης to pay off the debt with a deduction from his next wage or rations. The textual formulas used in these debt-acknowledgements, studied in detail by Cuvigny, are mostly fixed, and changes of structure usually depend on the person one resorts to for the advance.<sup>54</sup> At the end of the document, many advances preserve a first-person acknowledgment of debt (usually the name and ἀπέχ(ω)), which acts as a modern signature. However, it is often clear that a scribe compiled both the body and signature of these documents.<sup>55</sup> All these points suggest that individual imperial workers did not usually have anything to do with the composition of their advances, thus excluding the possibility to attribute the Latin flavour of the advances to the members of the *familia* themselves. Were they all illiterate? We do not know, as two documents only record their illiteracy.<sup>56</sup>

The κίβαριάρται too are unlikely to be responsible for the Latin influence of the texts, because we can find individual hands drafting documents for more than one creditor (a κίβαριάρτης, a soldier, etc.).<sup>57</sup> On the opposite, palaeography, interpunction, and formulas are all to be linked to the uses of individual and (at least sometimes) bilingual scribes,<sup>58</sup> who may have been members of the administration with which the κίβαριάρται liaised or members of the military.<sup>59</sup> This would explain much of the Latin influence, because both these levels are to a certain extent bilingual and certainly handled both Latin and Greek documents in their daily routine.

---

<sup>54</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 79–94, and e.g. *O.Claud.* III 492.

<sup>55</sup> One may think that in these cases we have copies of the original, but no double documents (original with signature (two hands) and copy (one hand)) have been found. See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 93–94. Sometimes the scribe fakes the signature of the debtor, e.g. III 606.

<sup>56</sup> *O.Claud.* III 577 and 614.

<sup>57</sup> This is the case, for instance, of hand 3; see *O.Claud.* III, p. 97.

<sup>58</sup> Among the documents of vol. III, Cuvigny has recognised at least 25 hands. Hand 3, ‘of Iulianus’, shows several traits of Latin influence and seems to be that of a person that knew Latin. Errors of dittography suggest that scribes copied basic formulas from exemplars. See *O.Claud.* III 515, 533, 555.13, 579. In 546 and 542 there are also examples of inversion, in which ἀριθμός precedes νοῦμερος, while the ἀριθμός is a subcategory of the νοῦμερος.

<sup>59</sup> Scribes linked to the administration or figures like the *caesariani* seem more likely. The Latin military documents usually involve the higher ranks only; see e.g. *O.Claud.* I 2, a letter sent by the decurion Antistius Flaccus, or *I.Pan du désert* 39, a dedication by the centurion Annius Rufus.

Some textual elements show that some of these scribes were true bilinguals, sometimes even first-language Latin speakers. A good example of the latter case may lie behind one of the customary spelling variations committed by hand 3 of volume III; that is, the steady confusion between  $\phi$  and  $\pi$ , which hints at a person who has difficulties using the Greek phoneme /p<sup>h</sup>/.<sup>60</sup> Even though papyri present the interchange between  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  also in previous periods, it is only from the first century CE that this type of spelling variation becomes more frequent.<sup>61</sup> As regards its presence in the hand 3 of *O.Claud.* III, this fact and the Latin appearance of the palaeography do seem to suggest that this scribe was a Latin speaker, a person experiencing much more difficulties than a Greek or Graeco-Egyptian in treating the sound /p<sup>h</sup>/.

Even if one cannot exclude that most of the scribes responsible for these features were not bilinguals, it is probable that at least some of them were. The fact that the *familia* depended more heavily on the administration to which these scribes are linked played a role in the presence of Latin influence in the advances, whereas a similar effect is absent from the ἐντολαί of the *pagani* that have been published to date.<sup>62</sup> Exactly from this administrative and, to a certain extent, bilingual level emanate also the ostraca recording ill people, in which Latin loanwords and influence are present once more.

### 3.4.2 A ‘Latin’ illness: the *aegri* from the *familia*

A few documents record the names of ill people on a given date (I 83–118, II 191–211), death (II 211), or the medical conditions of individual men (II 212–19).<sup>63</sup> Also the general lists of personnel edited in volume IV – which record the duties of *pagani*, *familia*, or both – sometimes record the

---

<sup>60</sup> See *O.Claud.* III, pp. 96–97.

<sup>61</sup> I checked frequencies through TM text irregularities, <[www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities](http://www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities)>. Note that the documents from the Ptolemaic period usually present  $\pi$  instead of  $\phi$  in front of a rough breathing. These variations – rather than expressing a difficulty in the handling of the phoneme /p<sup>h</sup>/ – testify to the already ongoing loss of aspiration; see Gignac (1976: 133–138) and Allen (1968: 50–51).

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Cuvigny (1996a) and the commentary to *O.Claud.* III 492.

<sup>63</sup> See the chapters *La mort et la maladie* by H. Cuvigny in *O.Claud.* I, pp. 75–109 (*O.Claud.* I 83 to 123), and II, pp. 19–223 (*O.Claud.* II 191 to 223).

totals of ill people on a given date, thus being useful for comparison. Some of the former documents show Latin influence in their palaeography (II 193–210), while others, more interestingly, use the rare loanword αἴγροι from Latin *aegri* ‘ill’ (191, 192), which appears only at Mons Claudianus. These are the opening lines of *O.Claud.* II 192, which records the names of ill members of the *familia* on Hathyr 30<sup>th</sup> (that is the 27<sup>th</sup> November):

1      [αἴ]γροι Ἄθῶρ λ̄  
          [Τροκ]ουνδας  
          [Ἄφ]ροδείσις  
          ...

These lists of ill people on a given day have been compared to similar Latin records of military strength found in the military camps of Vindolanda in England (*T.Vindol.* II 154.22)<sup>64</sup> and Bu Njem in Libya (*O.BuNjem passim*).<sup>65</sup> At Mons Claudianus, however, these documents do not ever seem to record military strength but rather members of the *familia*.<sup>66</sup> Once more, these texts show how a Roman military model was applied to the workers of Mons Claudianus and in particular to the *familia*. In fact, this system recording the names of ill people on a given date does not seem to have included the *pagani*, who were more autonomous in their organization.

As regards word choice, the lists of ill people use the following words: αἴγροι, ἄρρωστοι, and ἀσθενοῦντες (only twice, in I 118 and 122), all expressing the same concept.<sup>67</sup> The choice between αἴγροι or ἄρρωστοι seems to have been influenced by the time frame, as the records from the Trajanic period all have ἄρρωστοι, while those from a generation later can use αἴγροι.

---

<sup>64</sup> See also Bowman and Thomas (1991).

<sup>65</sup> There are several examples; see the index of the volume *s.vv. eger, egri* and *O.BuNjem.*, pp. 84–88.

<sup>66</sup> In *O.Claud.* I., p. 80, Cuvigny asks herself whether some of these people may in fact be soldiers, but her remarks in vol. II, pp. 19–21, and vol. III, pp. 30–33, make it clear that the people involved are *familia*.

<sup>67</sup> In *O.Claud.* II 212 other expressions are also used, but these usually refer to precise clinical conditions: e.g. πυρεκτικός ‘feverish’ or σκορπιόπληκτος ‘bitten by a scorpion’. In the same list, καυσάριος from Latin *causarius* refers to someone ‘unfit for service’ or generally ‘sick’. For the use of the loanword καυσάριος in a non-clinical context, see below §3.6.1.

However, αἴγροι is used in another documentary type of the Trajanic period, the general lists of personnel in which various duties are recorded together with the total number of ill persons on a given date (IV 697, 698, 699, 721, all *familia*). Thus, it is not the time frame which primarily influences word choices, but rather the preferences of different scribes and offices. As the loanword can be used also in documents that do not present features of Latin influence on palaeography, one does not need to necessarily hypothesise that only bilingual scribes could be responsible for such a use. In these instances, it may very well be that an exemplar or model, comprising αἴγροι or not, was given to the scribes, who whether bilinguals or not would then copy it. This could be what happens in I 191 and 192, in which the palaeography does not present any Latin feature but the loanword αἴγροι is used. Rather than a particular scribe's preference, the use of αἴγροι could have been preferred by the office in which a scribe operated at that particular moment.

The presence of the term *aegri* in the Latin *comparanda* from Britain and Libya suggests that the world of Mons Claudianus is widely modelled on Roman-Latin systems while most of the time functioning in Greek. According to J.N. Adams (2003: 607), the rather common presence of scribes presenting Latin features in their palaeography suggests that they could have written these documents in Latin (e.g. *O.Claud.* II 193–210), thus showing that Greek was widely accepted in the Roman military, in Early-Roman Egypt. However, as regards language choice in the lists, it must be remembered that these do not comprise soldiers but members of the *familia* only and, as such, they are not straightforward military documents. On the other hand, the dependency of the *familia* on the administration and military of Mons Claudianus could allow us to consider this group as a 'para-military' one.

The 'para-military' nature of the *familia* is of some relevance. The Trajanic personnel-lists of volume IV sometimes comprise both *pagani* and *familia*, but in these cases they systematically use ἄρρωστοί instead of αἴγροι (708.27, 714.19, 717.8). It may be perilous to deduce anything from this fact, but the 'military' loanword αἴγροι seems to be usable only when the 'para-military' *familia* is concerned. Perhaps, the scribes working for the military oversaw the keeping of records also for the *familia* but not for the *pagani*. Alternatively, the use of such a word

as αἴγροι was felt appropriate only for a group so dependent on the military and the administration as the *familia* was. If new documents relating to the *pagani* will contain αἴγροι these hypotheses could lose some of their force, but as of now the documents show that the higher vicinity of the *familia* to the military and administration certainly made its documents more exposed to the use of Latin features and loanwords. This Latin influence cannot be attributed to individual members of the *familia* but to the various scribes who wrote their documents or to the administrative choices taken in the scribes' offices. Affecting the various occupations of the members of the *familia* and their advances on salary, the influence of Latin did not exclude their deathbeds.

### 3.5 The calendar at Mons Claudianus

As in the cases just scrutinised, also the Egyptian calendar in use at Mons Claudianus seems to have been subject to a certain amount of Roman and Latin influence. These cases, however, are usually isolated and will need a detailed assessment, because the Egyptian system appears consistently in the Greek documents and the Roman in the Latin ones. This general rule appears to be valid throughout Egypt up until the third century CE,<sup>68</sup> and this is what we can see, for instance, in the military rosters *O.Claud.* 304, written in Latin, and *O.Amst.* 8 (now *SB XX* 14180), in Greek.<sup>69</sup>

#### 3.5.1 Two systems, two languages

Both *O.Claud.* 304 and *O.Amst.* 8 record the deployment of soldiers in various locations, shifts, and dates. Together with the other military-related ostraca of Amsterdam, *O.Amst.* 8 was once

---

<sup>68</sup> See Sijpesteijn (1979: 228–230). *SB VI* 9290 (mid. II CE, unknown prov.) does not contrast with this principle. The body of the document, in which a centurion summons a person, is in Greek, whereas the date is added in l. 12, by a second hand, in Latin: *pr(idie) non(as) iun(ias)*. However, this document probably had an archival purpose and was not actually sent to its addressee. The Latin dating was probably added by the office of the centurion Domitius Iulianus, where this sheet was probably archived.

<sup>69</sup> On *O.Claud.* II 304 see also Brun, Cuvigny, and Reddé (2006, 218). The reedition of *O.Amst.* 8 includes additions and corrections. For images, see Clarysse and Sijpesteijn (1988) and Gallazzi (1989). See also *O.Claud.* II, pp. 144–145; Cuvigny (2006b: 266–267); and Bagnall (2007b: 170).

believed to originate from Upper Egypt; its origins are still debated and uncertain, with different scholars supporting Upper Egypt, the region around Thebes, or the Eastern Desert (perhaps the fort of Maximianon on the road Coptos – Myos Hormos).<sup>70</sup> Even if we leave the provenance of this ostrakon aside, its similarity to *O.Claud.* 304 allows us to compare the two documents. Here are two small excerpts from these two rosters.

*O.Amst.* 8.iv.63–67:

...

(m2) [σ]τατίονος ἰς

[Ἀ]λεις πρίμα

65 [Ἀπό]νεις σεκόνδα

[Ψαε]ῖς τερτία

[Ὀρο]νόφεις κόρτα

...

---

63 ἰ στατίονες

[Dispatched to the] outposts. On the 16<sup>th</sup>. Aelius; the first. Aponeus; the second. Psaeis; the third. Oronopheis; the fourth.

*O.Claud.* II 304.i.40–44:

...

40 V Kal(endas) scop(el )

Iul(ius) Anub( )

---

<sup>70</sup> See Nachtergaeel, *P.Hombert* II, p. 12, for Upper Egypt (Laton polis or Contrapollonos polis); Bagnall and Cribiore (2010: 221–223), for Maximianon; Clarysse and Sijpestijn (1988: 89–92) for Thebes; and Cuvigny (1994), who is more cautious and leaves the issue open. The same provenance problem applies to the Florida ostraca (*O.Florida*), published in 1976 by Bagnall, which are likely part of the same dossier as the Amsterdam ones.

Ger(manus) Orio( )

Iul(ius) Ptol(emaesus)

Ama( ) Uileç( )

...

---

44. *ve/Uilç*

On the 5th day before the calends. [Dispatched to] the *skopeloi*. Iulius Anub( ),  
Germanus Orio( ), Iulius Ptolemaeus, Ama( ) Uile( ).

The dimensions of these ostraca are one of their most interesting features. They were both written on presumably intact amphoras, whose recomposed fragments now measure 40.6 cm in height for *O.Amst.* 8 and 41.5 cm in height for *O.Claud.* II 304. These are exceptional ostraca, probably containing drafts of documents that were later archived more properly on papyrus or that had to be placed in a public space, so as to be read by the soldiers.<sup>71</sup> Another point of interest is the presence in *O.Claud.* II 304 of codeswitches such as *πρίμα, σεκόνδα, τερτία*, which have been analysed in detail by Adams.<sup>72</sup> As customary, the Greek *O.Amst.* 8 makes use of the Egyptian calendar and the Latin *O.Claud.* II 304 of the Roman one. One of the first clear examples for the use of the Roman calendar in a Greek document is Hadrian's letter to the prefect Rammius on the legitimacy of soldiers' children, *BGU* I 140 (= *Chrest.Mitt.* 373), dated to 119 CE.<sup>73</sup> This document is the Greek translation, *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν* (l. 2), of a Latin letter. Its dating regards the day in which the text was exposed in the *principia* of the encampment (l. 8): *πρίδιε νό[ν]ας*

---

<sup>71</sup> The second possibility – the text publicly displayed in the camp, so that each soldier could control his duties on a given day – is what Clarysse and Sijpesteijn (1988: 81) envisage for the Greek *O.Amst.* 8. See also Bagnall (2007b: 170), who also asks himself whether these rarer large-format texts 'were smashed deliberately before being thrown onto the dumps'. The only other large-format ostraca are *O.Krok.* 87, the so-called 'amphora of the barbarians' recording attacks of the Bedouins, 55 cm in height and 122 lines of text surviving, and the postal diary *O.Krok.* I 1, 40.5 cm in height and 53 lines of text. On 'barbarians' in the Eastern Desert, see Cuvigny (2014a).

<sup>72</sup> See J.N. Adams (2003: 395): they probably symbolise 'the fact that this was the Roman army and that Latin was the language of Rome, however liberal might have been the linguistic attitudes generally prevailing in the remote outposts of Egypt'.

<sup>73</sup> See Phang (2001: 38–40), with further bibliography on this papyrus.

Ἄουγο[ύσ]τας, ὃ ἔστιν Μεσορῆ ια, ‘on the fourth of August, that is Mesore 11<sup>th</sup>.’ In this Greek document, it is likely that the Roman date had an official, archival value, while the Egyptian one was intended for the readership of the document. In Latin documents on the other hand, the Roman calendar is often paired – but never substituted in this period – with the Egyptian one. *C.Pap.Lat.* 104, also known as the *Edictum Domitiani de privilegiis veteranorum*, dated to 94 CE, may be an example, as the dating of the document in the heading reports: *vi Non(as) Iulias anno xiii Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Aug(usti) Germanici mense Epi die viii Alex(andriae) ad Aegyptum*, that is ‘on the sixth day preceding the Nones of July, in the 13th year of the emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus [that is] on the 8th day in the month of Epeiph, in Alexandria by Egypt.’<sup>74</sup> Once again, the Latin document is first dated by the Roman system, probably because of its official nature, and then by the Egyptian one, probably because this was the only system readily understandable to the intended recipients of the document.

This appears to be true also at Mons Claudianus, where the Egyptian calendar seems to have been the main system of reference, being consistently used in different types of documents. The Greek account *O.Claud.* IV 833 is particularly interesting as it suggests that Egyptian festivities were respected. This list records the names of the workers that had received hardened points for their tools on three days of work: the 29<sup>th</sup> of Pharmouthi and the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of Pachon. Since it is unlikely for the list to just skip the 30<sup>th</sup> of Pharmouthi and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of Pachon, it seems that work did not take place at all on those days, most likely because of Sarapis’ feast, celebrated on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Pharmouthi, which allowed the workers to enjoy three full days of vacation.<sup>75</sup> The use of the Egyptian calendar is ubiquitous not only when the workforce is concerned, as in IV 833, but also when the soldiers are. One may recall, among many other examples, the several Greek laissez-passers edited in chapter V of *O.Claud.* I or the soldiers’ Greek correspondence, like II 363, a letter sent from the *decurio* Marcus Caninius to the *curator* of Raima Apolinaris, or II 360, a letter from the same Papirius Apolinaris *curator* of Raima to the

---

<sup>74</sup> For *ad Aegyptum*, meaning ‘by’ and not ‘in’ Egypt, see Bell (1946).

<sup>75</sup> For Sarapis’ feast, see Perpillou-Thomas (1993: 48, 133–136).

*centurio* of Claudianus Caecilius Vindex. These letters involve the highest-ranking soldiers of the quarry, the *centurio* and *decurio*, and all make use of the Egyptian calendar. There is only one attestation of the Roman calendar in a private document; this is the Latin letter *O.Claud.* I 2, sent from Raima by the *decurio* Antistius Flaccus to a certain Calinius, probably the same *decurio* Caninius of II 360. The letter is dated *III Idus Iunias*, ‘the third day before the ides of June’, that is the 11<sup>th</sup> of June. This use may be explained by the fact that a *decurio* would of course have had access to documents dated by the Roman system, such as official documents in Latin. Flaccus felt its use to be natural for a Latin text and preferred it. In this respect, *O.Claud.* I 2 does not cast serious doubts on the natural use of the Egyptian calendar, even by *decuriones* and *centuriones*.

### 3.5.2 The Roman calendar in Greek: Καλάνδαι

Possibly contrasting to this general picture, in which the two systems do not really seem to interoperate, is the use of the loanword Καλάνδαι, from *Kalendae* ‘first day of the month’, in some Greek documents. Usually, the use of Καλάνδαι without reference to a precise month is assumed to designate the Roman festival for the new year, happening on the first of January.<sup>76</sup> However, this does not appear to be the case at Mons Claudianus, where the loanword Καλάνδαι is probably used for the first day of any month.<sup>77</sup> This is certainly the case for the advances of salary of vol. III, in which Καλάνδαι appears in the ostraca 466, 611, and 625.<sup>78</sup> Let us look at one of these examples, *O.Claud.* III 611 (ll. 1–6):

---

<sup>76</sup> See Rea (1988).

<sup>77</sup> Rea (1988) records five texts: *P.Wisc.* II 72 (II CE); *P.Oxy.* XII 1475 (266 CE); *Chrest. Wilck.* 483 (end of III CE); *P.Oxy.* LV 3812 (end of III CE) and *CPR* VIII 52 (IV–V CE). However, the appearance of Καλάνδαι in *P.Wisc.* II 72.16 does not necessarily have to refer to the new years’ festival. The sender of this letter, Caecilius Gemellus, is a soldier and the letter dates after the 20th Pharmouthi = 15 April; see l. 10. It cannot be excluded that Cecilius is using Καλάνδαι in a sense like that it has at Mons Claudianus, as ‘first day of (any) month’ and here possibly as the first day of Pharmouthi. This text presents morphology errors common in the Eastern Desert and a certain Latin influence on its palaeography: note in particular the shapes of μ, ν, and sometimes α. All other examples collected by Rea usually present references to the festival itself (ἑορτή, etc.) and are less ambiguous. Another example may be *P.Oxy.* IV 747 (II–III CE), but its second line – τῆς ἑξῆς Καλάνδαις – may be understood either as ‘on the sixth (of the present Egyptian month, that is to say) on the calends’ or as ‘on the sixth day (preceding) the calends.’

<sup>78</sup> See also *O.Claud.* III, intr. pp. 88–89.

1 Ζωτικὸς Ἀριστοκλέους [ὄμο-]  
 λογῶ Πουωρ ἐξ ἀριθμ[οῦ Κλαυ-]  
 διανοῦ εἰληφέναι με [ . . . . . ]  
 σείτου μάτια τρία [ 6–7 Πα-]  
 5 χων ἃ καὶ ἀποδώσ[ω σοι (?) τῷ αὐ-]  
 τῷ μηνὶ **καλάνδα[ις]** . . .

3. [παρ' αὐτοῦ] ? 5. εἰς τὸν Πα- *vel* ὑπὲρ Πα-

I, Zotikos son of Aristokles, agree to Pouor, of the *arithmos* of Claudianus, that I have received [from him] three *matia* of wheat for / up until Pachon, which I will give you / him back in the same month, at the **calends**. . . .

In this text, the calends cannot refer to the first of January but must be either the first day of Pachon, that is the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, or the actual Roman calends of May, that is Pachon 6<sup>th</sup>. There is not a big interval between the two dates, but these texts cannot allow for any ambiguity; they are all concerning debts that need to be repaid. Since all other advances use the Egyptian calendar, the calends mentioned in 611 are likely to refer to the Egyptian month of Pachon, rather than to a Roman month. Moreover, the only unambiguous temporal reference of the text is precisely the Egyptian Pachon. The use of a Roman referent out of its context must be the output of a scribe who also had access to or composed Latin documents, which followed the other system. Particularly interesting in this document is also the use of the third person: ‘I confirm / agree to Pouor to have received [from him]’, instead of the more usual ‘I have received from you’, ὁμολογῶ κεχρηῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ. As noted by Cuvigny (*O.Claud.* III, p. 80, and Cuvigny (2016)), the use of a third person formula is common in similar Latin contracts, once more suggesting that the *familia*’s advances can be the output of scribes who wrote and handled Latin texts too. The use of Καλάνδαι as a Roman referent in an otherwise Egyptian system is once more likely to be the product of the change from Latin to Greek and from the Roman to the Graeco-Egyptian

system. The advances have shown how this process of change from one language to the other can affect palaeography, format, and formulas; the use of Καλάνδαι suggests that loanwords are not excluded but just another Latin feature that can happen to be retained. This use becomes even more relevant when one considers that Greek had in fact a word for the first day of the month, νομηνία, which does not appear in the documents of Mons Claudianus edited up until now.<sup>79</sup> Quite likely, the currency of *Kalendae* in the Latin documents of the administration was so preponderant that Καλάνδαι could easily be transferred to the Egyptian ones.

Only in *O.Claud.* IV 885, dated to c. 150–154, the loanword Καλάνδαι is used in reference to the Roman calendar (ll. 1–8):

1 Ἀθηνόδωρος Σωκράτη τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ  
*vac.* χείρειν.  
οἶμαι μὲν τὸν κύριον μ[ . . . ] ἐπίτροπον  
καὶ σοὶ ἀπεσταλκένας περὶ τοῦ δηλω-  
5 θῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀποκειμένους  
ἐν τῷ μετάλλῳ λίθους τῆς αὐτοῦ  
κοπῆς εἰς πρὸ μίαν **Καλανδῶν**  
Ἰανουαρίων. . . .  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. μ[ου τὸν] ? 7. *l.* μᾶς

Athenodoros to Socrates the most honoured, greetings. I think that my lord, the *procurator*,<sup>80</sup> has sent messages also to you about informing him about the stones of

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *O.Florida* 6.4 (II CE, perhaps from the Eastern Desert) and *O.Did.* 34.6 (beginning of III CE). νομηνία appears in 50 different documents dating to the second century CE, e.g. *P.Oxy.* IV 725.8, *P.Kron.* 39.4 (Tebtunis), *BGU* III 985.15 (Karanis), etc.

<sup>80</sup> On Greek ἐπίτροπος and Latin *procurator*, see Mason (1974: 142–144).

his *caesura*<sup>81</sup> lying in the quarry as of the day before the **calends** of January (= the 31<sup>st</sup> of December). ...

This ostrakon is part of group of texts relating to Athenodoros, *O.Claud.* IV 875–896. Athenodoros is known as a βοηθός in inv. 7272 and later on as a ταβελλάριος – which here is a variant of ταβουλάριος from *tabularius* ‘secretary’ – of the *procurator metallorum* / ἐπίτροπος Ulpius Himeros, the imperial freedman at the head of the quarry in this period.<sup>82</sup> Athenodoros lives at Mons Claudianus, where he receives his mail mainly from the *curator* of Tiberiane, Nepheros; a *tesserarius* working for him (a sort of clerk), Kallistratos; and a foreman / ἐργοδότης, Socrates.<sup>83</sup> As noted by Bülow-Jacobsen in the edition of these texts, Athenodoros must ‘for a period have been the highest-ranking bureaucrat at Mons Claudianus responsible for book-keeping and accountability of all resources and stores.’ Athenodoros’ role and his connection with Ulpius Himeros are extremely relevant to assess the present use of Καλάνδαι, which remains unparalleled in the corpus. Athenodoros’ position surely entailed a liaison with both the lower sets of the administration, as in IV 885, and the higher ones. Unfortunately, we do not have examples of the latter type of liaison, most probably because these archives were not discarded in the desert; however, some fragments may shed further light on this point. The ostraca published as IV 841–847 are accounts for stone and are likely to represent what is requested from Socrates in IV 885.4–6.<sup>84</sup> Only three of these documents are in Greek – 841, 842, and 844 – the others being in Latin. It is likely that Athenodoros received these accounts mainly in Greek, while his office could register and archive the data either in Greek or Latin – 841 and 847 being possible examples of this practice. These accounts may have been useful for the *procurator* and his office,

---

<sup>81</sup> For κοπή = *caesura*, an accounting unit for stones, see *O.Claud.* IV 841, intr.

<sup>82</sup> See Cuvigny (1996b: 92). The loan ταβελλάριος is from *tabellarius* ‘courier’. See also §5.2 n. 77 and §5.2.3.

<sup>83</sup> Some of these documents have not been published yet; see *O.Claud.* III, p. 65 and *O.Claud.* IV, pp. 209–210. In *O.Claud.* III, pp. 64–66 the nature of the *tesserarii* is discussed. These are not soldiers, even if they enjoy a military title, and work for the administration of the quarries. This is another example of a military model applied to the administration of the quarries. Cf. above §3.4.2.

<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, only *O.Claud.* IV 841 is of a certain length and well preserved. The other texts of these group are quite fragmentary.

for instance to assess the production capacity and report – in Latin or in Greek – on the advancement of the orders that had to be shipped. *O.Claud.* IV 845.1 – *III K(alendas) Febr(uarias) perfēci* [– indicates that this archival work could follow the Roman calendar, thus the reference to the calends of January made by Athenodoros in IV 885. From another perspective, 885 may cast doubts on the sole use of the Egyptian calendar by the workers of Mons Claudianus, as the text assumes the addressee’s, Socrates, knowledge of the calends of January. However, it may very well be that this holiday was observed and hence known among the workers of Mons Claudianus or that Athenodoros was using the calendar system to which he was accustomed, forgetting that his addressee might not have understood him.

Another similar example is represented by the Greek letter *SB XXVIII 16941* (189 CE), in which the deputy *curator* (ἀντικουράτωρ) Rufus is writing to the military prefect Uibius Alexandros:

1 Οὐιβίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπάρχῳ παρὰ Ῥούφου  
 Ἀριστοτέλους ἀντικουράτορος μετάλλου  
 Κλαυδιανοῦ. φανερόν σοι ποιῶ, κύριε,  
 δεδηλωκός σοι τὸ βήξιλλον περὶ ἐπιχρείας  
 5 τοῦ μετάλλου καὶ σείτου **πραιτερίτου**  
 μηνὸς Φαμενω<θ> ...

5. *I.* σίτου

To Uibius Alexandros, prefect, from Rufus son of Aristoteles, deputy *curator* of the quarry of Claudianus. I bring to your attention, lord, that the *vexillatio*<sup>85</sup> made clear to you about the equipment of the quarry and about the **delayed** wheat of the month Phamenoth ...

<sup>85</sup> The loan βήξιλλον is from *vexillum*, that is ‘military standard’ but also ‘detachment of troops’, thus a synonym of *vexillatio*; see also Cuvigny (2002a: 246).

The use of *πραιτέριτος*, from *praeteritus* ‘past’, refers here to the wheat, thus meaning ‘delayed’, ‘in arrears’.<sup>86</sup> Once more the use of *praeteritus* is likely to stem from the administration that took care of tools and rations. It is a technicality, presumably used in the Latin documents, which could have found its way into Greek just as *Καλάνδαι* did. To date, this is the only document in which this loanword is used at Mons Claudianus.

### 3.5.3 Some conclusions

The discussion of the calendar in use at Mons Claudianus bolsters the understanding of how Latin could influence Greek in this context. Normally, a Roman system is consistently used in the Latin documents as the Egyptian one is in the Greek ones. The presence of Roman referents – here *Καλάνδαι* – in otherwise Greek documents stems from scribes and offices that show a connection with the Latin documentation that was produced at Mons Claudianus. This is the case in the *familia*’s advances, but also in Athenodoros’ letter, IV 885. Once more, the handling and writing of both Latin and Greek documents in these bilingual centres allows for the retention of some characteristics from the documents drawn in one language to those written in the other. These retentions can entail formulas, letter forms, interpunction, but loanwords like *Καλάνδαι* or *πραιτέριτος* too.

### 3.6 Documents in between groups and levels: patterns of introduction of loanwords

The documents presented up to this point all stem from the higher and sometimes bilingual levels of the administration and military of Mons Claudianus. Even when these documents relate to other groups, like the *familia*’s advances on salary, members of the *familia* probably had nothing to do with their composition. Thus, individual members of the *familia* cannot be held accountable

---

<sup>86</sup> For the edition of the text, see Cuvigny (2002a: 242–248). On *praeteritus* and *πραιτέριτος*, see also Cuvigny (2016), containing the edition of O.Claud. inv. 7235 and the re-edition of *Ch.L.A.* XVIII 662. In later documents, *πραιτέριτος* can be used for soldiers who undergo delays; see e.g. *Chrest. Wilck.* 424.i.8–10 (360 CE, Hermopolis).

for the Latin characteristics of their advances, which do not disclose their real language or word choices. Nonetheless, the dumps of Mons Claudianus did preserve some documents that truly travelled in between the different groups and hierarchical levels of the quarry. For instance, there are documents stemming from the higher levels that were meant to be read by the workers (the *pagani*, in this case), or documents written by *pagani* that had to reach the administrators. This is the case also for the military, as we have at least one text stemming from the higher levels and intended to reach every single one of the soldiers stationed in the fort (*P.Bagnall* 8).

These texts are particularly interesting, as they can show how the use and adoption of loanwords functioned in different groups and the choices that these groups made when interacting with others. For instance, it could be that the loans reached the lower levels (*pagani* or simple soldiers) mainly from the higher ones and this was how this vocabulary was introduced in their Greek. Otherwise, it may be that the *pagani* and soldiers were inserting new loanwords in their Greek of their own accord, probably as a consequence of their learning Latin. As regards the reasons leading to this introduction, an intentional choice may have been behind it. On the part of the higher levels, it could have been a show-off of ‘Romanness’ and thus an intentional act. On the part of the *pagani* and the soldiers, on the other hand, it could have been an acquisition driven by reasons of prestige. Alternatively, such an introduction could simply have facilitated the practical carrying out of daily tasks with precision, without a political or cultural meaning attached to the word-choices. One may try to answer some of these questions by looking more closely at the documents that really cross the borders of the groups working in or running Mons Claudianus. Their answers will prove useful to conclude the assessment of the processes through which Latin loanwords were introduced and used in the Greek of this quarry.

### 3.6.1 Lower to higher levels

The first example involves the *pagani* and the *procurator metallorum* Probus, who is the administrative head of the quarry. Among similar examples (IV 848–863), *O.Claud.* IV 854 is a letter sent to the higher levels of the administration by a group of *pagani* led by their foremen. In

this text it is possible to observe how the use of Latin vocabulary, here a rare loanword with an even rarer use, could be used by a group of Graeco-Egyptian workers. The loanword is *καυσάριος*, from Latin *causarius* ‘sick’, ‘invalid’ and here probably ‘broken’ referred to stones.<sup>87</sup>

The letter dates from 186–187 CE:

1 Πρόβ(ω) ἐπιτρόπ(ω) [το]ῦ κυρίου Καίσαρο[ς]  
παρὰ ἐργοδοτ(ῶν) κ[αὶ] σ]κληρουργ(ῶν) ἐργαζομέ[νων]  
ἐν μετάλλ(ω) Πορφ[υ]ρίτ(ου) τῷ κυρίῳ χαίριν·  
ἐλάβαμεν σοῦ γράμματα, κύριε, ἐν ἧ μέμφη  
5 οἰμᾶς περὶ τῶν **καυσαρίων** ὅτι συνορίσιμα  
αὐτ(ᾶ) ἐποιήσαμ(εν). ἡμεῖς μὲν μαθέντες διὰ τῶν  
σῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι σίδηρος ἐν τῇ ἀποθήκῃ  
...

---

3. *l. χαίρειν* 5. *l. ὑμᾶς* for ἡμᾶς

To Probus, *procurator* of the lord Caesar, from the foremen and stonemasons working in the quarry of Porphyrites, lord, greetings. We received your letter, lord, in which you rebuke us as regards the *causaria* (broken stone, probably) because we made them stay together. But as we have learned from your letter that there was iron in the storehouse ...

The mention of the quarry of Porphyrites in line 3 should be regarded as a mistake for Mons Claudianus. The editor, Bülow-Jacobsen, suggests that these civilian workers were detached from Porphyrites to Claudianus, hence the wrong reference. With regards to *καυσάριος*, it seems highly

---

<sup>87</sup> The attestation of the word in *P.Stras.* VII 618.19 (310–320 CE, Hermopolis) is doubtful; that of *SB VI* 9230.15 (III CE) is not, but the text is mutilated, and it is not possible to clearly understand whether the loanword refers to men or stones. The latter text originates from the quarries of Syene, which are comparable to Mons Claudianus, and in which there was a presence of the Roman army; see Hirt (2010: 178, 221).

likely that this technicism was used by the *pagani* because this is how the *procurator* himself defined the broken stones in his previous message: σοῦ γράμματα ... ἐν ᾗ μέμφη ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν καυσαρίων, ‘your letter, in which you rebuke us as regards the *causaria*’. The stonemasons tried to repair these broken pieces, probably with iron clamps, thus making them stay together.<sup>88</sup> The only other attestation of the word at Mons Claudianus is in the list of ill personnel II 212.15 (137–145 CE),<sup>89</sup> where καυσάριος has the more typical value of ‘ill’ or ‘unfit for service’. Its appearance in this text is comparable to that of αἴγροι in similar ones; these couple of words were used in Latin military documents and can be a leftover of the change from Latin to Greek in the world of Mons Claudianus, where the documentation can be modelled on Latin but is actually realised in Greek.<sup>90</sup>

*O.Claud.* IV 824 offers a similar example. This is a letter from Leontas, probably a foreman, to Epaphroditos, the *conductor metallorum* under Trajan and the superior of Successus Epaphroditi. We have another couple of letters by Leontas, I 128 and 129, which are addressed to Successus. In all texts, Leontas asks for tools:

1      Λεοντάς Ἐπαφροδείτῳ χαίρειν.  
καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψας μοι ἀκείσκλους  
ἕξ, ἵνα ἔχω διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀκείσκλων,  
ἐπὶ χαλκῆαν οὐκ ἔχω, καὶ σιδήρια  
5      λαξικὰ β, καὶ ἀσκὸν παλαι<ὸ>ν  
ἰς ὄκρεας τοῖς ἀκείσκλαρίοις.  
  
vac.  
vac.      ἔρρωσο

<sup>88</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen’s comment on l. 5. The word συνορίσιμα is an *addendum lexicis*; it should be linked to συνορίζω ‘bring together’ and σύνορος ‘conterminous’.

<sup>89</sup> See above §3.4.2.

<sup>90</sup> In Latin, *causarius* has an eminently military use; see the *TLL* s.v. III 702.6–28 and cf. *aegrus*, which has already been described (§3.4.2). Note that the use of καυσάριος applied to stones is not recorded in Latin sources.

---

1. *Ι. Ἐπαφροδίτῳ* 2., 3. and 6. *Ι. ἀκίσκλ-* 4. *Ι. ἐπεὶ | χαλκία* 6. *Ι. εἰς*

Leontas to Epaphroditos, greetings. Please send me six *acisculi*, in order that I have a replacement of the *acisculi*, since I do not have a smith here, and two stonemason's chisels and an old water skin to serve as **shin-guard** for the *aciscularii*. Farewell.

The letter presents three Latin loanwords: ἀκίσκλος from *acisculus* 'adze', ἀκίσκλάριος from *aciscularius* 'operator of the adze', and ὀκρεας from *ocrea* 'shin-guard.' The latter occurs only at Mons Claudianus and only in this document, but it is possible that the word had wide currency in the quarry. These words may represent cultural vocabulary; that is, words referring to objects for which there was not a readily available word in Greek. However, it is often difficult to exactly identify the precise referents of such words and Greek may have had a counterpart of its own for some of the many loanwords referring to tools. Alternatively, Greek – like any other language – could have created neologisms or devised new usages, instead of introducing these loanwords.<sup>91</sup> Why then is Latin vocabulary so preponderant in this department? The answer may become clear if one considers who is responsible for the sourcing, distribution, and guardianship of such tools. These people are the highest-ranking administrators of the quarry: the imperial freedman Epaphroditos and the *caesarianus* Successus, who handled both documents in Greek and Latin. People like Epaphroditos and Successus distributed these very tools and in doing so passed down their Latin names. They themselves probably received such objects from other departments of the Roman administration, where other bilinguals are likely to have been active. Why did these people not use more Greek vocabulary (either Greek equivalents or neologism) when it came to such objects? Perhaps these Roman bureaucrats did not have the means – not just as much as a Greek speaker – to create a neologism or a new usage in Greek, or simply did not have access to the Greek translation of the word, due to a limited vocabulary, or perhaps deliberately chose not to translate similar terms, thus being able to use the same word in both languages, which is a

---

<sup>91</sup> See Haspelmath (2009: 48).

much more economical way of treating specialised vocabulary. In these cases, the workers cannot be considered responsible for the introduction of these words: they were being given the tools, and the documents do show this process, through which the administrators held a tight control over such costly implements.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.6.2 Higher to lower levels

Now, one may wonder whether these word choices carried with themselves any political value and were intentional on the part of the ruling groups, the higher levels of the administration and army where bilinguals usually operated. That is to say, is it possible to hypothesise that these loanwords were intentionally used, even when the writers had access to a Greek equivalent? Can these loanwords be treated as a marker of ‘Romanness’ and, hence, of the Roman rule over the quarry and its people? As the Latin language can be a language of power, can loanwords share this mark?<sup>93</sup> So as to further assess these problems, it might be helpful to look at the text of *P.Bagnall* 8 (186–187 CE). This remarkable ostrakon, published by Bülow-Jacobsen, preserves the Greek translation of a Latin letter addressed to the *procurator* Probus by the prefect of Egypt himself, Pomponius Faustinus.<sup>94</sup> The translation is said to contain a letter and the judgment of a criminal trial. However, our text is only partial, as the ostrakon contains the translation of the accompanying letter, the judgment probably being translated on another ostrakon or on a papyrus now lost.<sup>95</sup> This text had a public value, as the prefect’s decision had to be brought to the attention of every single soldier of the fort because the trial concerned two comrades; thus, the text was first translated and then exposed in the *principia*, as happened for (the original copy of) *BGUI* 140 (= *Chrest.Mitt.* 373, 119 CE) and is likely to have happened for the Greek roster *O.Amst.* 8

---

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. *O.Claud.* IV 788–819.

<sup>93</sup> See J.N. Adams (2003: 608–617).

<sup>94</sup> On the prefect Pomponius Faustinus (186–187 CE), see Faoro (2016: 125–126).

<sup>95</sup> The editor argues that the text was probably translated from Latin at Mons Claudianus and not in the Nile Valley, where Probus resided for most of the time.

(§3.5.1). The retention of Latin vocabulary and the presence of Latin loanwords in such a text could be explained by one of the following two scenarios. In the first, the scribe in charge of the translation had a limited command of Greek and was thus bound to retain some Latin vocabulary. In the second, the use of Latin vocabulary could represent an intentional decision, symbolising the Roman power overseeing criminal justice in the person of the prefect himself. The absence of Latin loanwords, on the contrary, would first suggest that bilingual scribes with a rather good command of both vocabularies were at hand, and – second – it would not support the hypothesis that the Roman administration intentionally introduced and used Latin loanwords as a symbol of Roman power.

*P.Bagnall* 8 is remarkable in this respect as it does not present Latin loanwords (apart from the ubiquitous *πραισίδιον* and the transmitted loan Ῥωμαϊκός), even when a loanword was indeed available, as is the case for *κοόρτη*, from *cohors*, equivalent to Greek *σπεῖρα*, which appears in lines 4 and 5. Apart from the use of *πραισίδιον* and Ῥωμαϊκός, several common spelling-variations and some problems with Greek syntax (see n. 96), the text of this translation completely achieves its aim: being Greek.

- 1 ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ ἀποφάσεως  
 μεθερμημ<sup>θ</sup>( ) κατὰ δυνατόν. Πω[[π]]μπώνιος Φαυστιαν<δ>ς  
 Πρώβ<ω>ι τῷ ἰδίῳ χαίρειν. <έ>πέστησα κατὰ Ἰουλίου Σερήνου
- 4a \α .ο . . . .ου/  
 στρατιώτου σπέρης τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Κρεπερηίου Δον<ά>του
- 5 στρατιώτου σπέρης τῆς αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ ἐγκαταλελοιπ-  
 ἔναι αὐτοὺς τοὺς συνστρατιώτα {ι}ς, αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους τε  
 βαρβάρους ἀδυνάμους καὶ ἀνόπλους ὑποτα-  
 γῆναι· διὰ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἀποφάσει μου ἐκέλευ-  
 σα ὧν ἀντιγραφαῖναι ἐν τοῖς πραισιδίοις
- 10 τῶν μετάλλων προτηθέναι ἵνα τοῖς λοι-  
 ποῖς <σ>υνστρατιώταις ἢ ὑπομνηστέον.

{σε} ἡγη<σ>άμεν τοῦτό σε ποιήσ<αι>.

---

2. *l.* μεθερμην(ευθείσης) *vel* μεθηρμην(ευμένης) 4.-5. *l.* σπείρης 6. *l.* συστρατιώτας 7.  
*l.* ὑποτα|γῆναι 8. *l.* τῆ 9. *vel l.* οὖν ? | *l.* ἀντιγραφῆναι 10. *l.* προτιθέναι 11. *l.*  
<σ>υστρατιώταις 12. *l.* ἡγη<σ>άμην

Copy of a Latin letter and decision translated according to what is possible. Pomponius Faustinus to his dear<sup>96</sup> Probus, greetings. I have given my judgment on Iulius Serenus, soldier of the same cohort, and on Crepereius Donatus, soldier of the same cohort, because they had left behind their fellow soldiers, those themselves, and a few, weak, and unarmed barbarians, so as to be overpowered.<sup>97</sup> Thus, together with my decision, I ordered to make copies of these [or ‘so’ instead ‘of these’] and to display them in the *praesidia* of the quarries, in order that it be reminded to the rest of the soldiers. I order you to do this.

At least in this translation, the avoidance of Latin loanwords casts doubts on the possible use of Latin loanwords with a precise political meaning, as a symbol of Roman power. Unfortunately, this text does not have *comparanda* from Mons Claudianus. If this makes this example more relevant when assessing the value of loanwords in this community, it also does not definitely prove that loanwords could not ever be used as a symbol. This text will need to be compared to similar translations found in different contexts (§5.2.3 and *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857). Certainly, if *P.Bagnall* 8 had made more use of Latin, this could have been seen as proof that a Latin lexical veneer could enhance the power of an order coming from the highest-ranking Roman official of the province, here deciding on the consequences of some comrades’ wrongdoings.

---

<sup>96</sup> On the use of ἴδιος under the influence of Latin *suus* in Greek papyri, see Cuvigny (2002b).

<sup>97</sup> This is a literal translation of the Greek text. The editor of the document, Bülow-Jacobsen, has ‘... fellow soldiers (so that?) they (i.e. the fellow soldiers) were subjected by some weak and unarmed barbarians.’ On the accusative ὀλίγους τε βαρβάρους ἀδυνάμους καὶ ἀνόπλους, he remarks: ‘[it] must be a malformed agens, presumably the Latin original had *per* with the accusative.’

### 3.6.3 Some conclusions

All in all, the documents that reached the lower levels of Mons Claudianus, considered together with those that from the lower levels reached the highest one, do support the possibility for the loans to be mainly introduced by the higher and bilingual levels of the quarry, rather than by workers themselves (at least the *pagani*). So very often, the use of Latin loanwords by the workers is clearly a consequence of the administration that directed them. One cannot exclude absolutely that some of these workers knew or even learned Latin while being at Mons Claudianus, but we do not have any clear document supporting this possibility and, hence, the possibility for Latin vocabulary to be directly borrowed by these workers. As regards the role of these loanwords, it does not seem that they carried any symbolical value, at least in the eyes of the people responsible for their introduction. Had this been the case, the translator of *P.Bagnall 8* could have decided to use much more Latin in his translation, because Latin loanwords as a symbol of Roman power would have been particularly welcome, especially in a judicial matter.<sup>98</sup> In fact, the use of loanwords increases exactly in the ephemeral documents, like those regarding tools, rather than in the official *P.Bagnall 8*. As noted, *P.Bagnall 8* is unfortunately a *unicum*, since the official records and archival documents of Mons Claudianus were not dumped in its deposits. The rather diffuse and seemingly free use of loanwords in the ephemeral documents, on the other hand, may suggest that one paid less attention to word choices in these unofficial documents, thus allowing for so many words to enter Greek. In an official translation, on the other hand, the scribe of *P.Bagnall 8* certainly did his best to literally translate everything he could.

### 3.7 Latin loanwords and Greek speakers

---

<sup>98</sup> For a Latin loan that may have been used in a judicial context as a symbol of power, see below §4.4.2 on *φραγέλλη*. Note however that the text discussed there does not contain actual proceedings but rather an impression of them (*Acta Alexandrinorum*).

As suggested in the previous paragraphs, the civilian workers (*pagani*) of Mons Claudianus do not appear to be responsible for the introduction of Latin vocabulary in their Greek. This has appeared particularly clear in the letter sent by a group of *pagani* to the *procurator* Probus, in which the word-choice entailing a Latin loanword can be ascribed to Probus himself.<sup>99</sup> However, there are other examples where Latin vocabulary is being used by these workers and it is not as clear as in *O.Claud.* IV 854 that someone else is responsible for it.

Unfortunately, most of the documents pertaining to the *pagani* are hitherto unpublished, thus leaving us with fewer texts to consider. One of these is *O.Claud.* IV 862 (c. 137 CE), where a group of σκληρουργοί ‘stone masons,’ ask for a leave of absence or κομμεάτος, from Latin *commeatus*:

1 τῷ κυρίῳ Σατορνίλ(ῳ) [οἱ σκλη-]  
 ρουργ(οἱ) σε ἀσπάζονται [[?]] κύ[ριε]  
 ἐρωτῶμέν σε τὸν ἡ[μ]έτερον [κύριον (?)]  
 μελησάτω σοι γράψαι περὶ ἡ[μῶν]  
 5 ὅπως **κομμεάτω** ἔλθωμ[εν]  
 ἢ ὡς ἂν θέλῃς ...

To the lord Saturnilos, the stonemasons greet you. Lord, we ask you, our lord, take care of writing about us, so that we can go on **leave** or as you wish ...

It is noteworthy that these workers used a Latin loanword for referring to their leave of absence. Most probably, they used the military definition that was used by the administration. The identity of Saturnilos is not certain, but he was likely a soldier. The use of the typically military salutation προκόπτων ‘good luck’ at the end of the letter in line 12 may indicate that either this group of people wanted to use military vocabulary when addressing a soldier or, more probably, that the

<sup>99</sup> See §3.6.1.

person who wrote this text was accustomed to the language of the military and administration. We know that the leaves were recorded, and this is the precise term that the administration of Mons Claudianus was using (at least in referring to the *familia*), as one can see in the list of personnel *O.Claud.* IV 721. The use of this precise loanword must have stemmed from this very administration, in charge of granting and recording the leaves.

A similar example may be represented by *O.Claud. inv.* 8208, which is only partly published.<sup>100</sup> In this text, Tertius – possibly a soldier – asks his addressee to deliver some things to Kainè:

... εἶνα (*l. ἴνα*) ἀποδοῖς εἰς Καινήν Ἡρακλοῦτι πρὸς τὸ κουρίω ἰς (*l. εἰς*) τὴν  
συνοικίαν ἐχόνομα τῆς φόσσης ...

... so that you may deliver [these things] in Kainè to Heraklous, near the barber's  
shop, in the building next to the **canal** ...

This is the only instance in which the loanword φόσσα – from Latin *fossa* ‘ditch’, ‘canal’ – appears in a document from Egypt. The possibility that Tertius was a soldier is noteworthy, as he may have known some Latin. Whether he did know it or not, this loanword clearly applies to a military object. The term is likely to refer to the trench of a military encampment at Kainè, possibly even a moat, because Kainè lies on the riverside of the Nile. A similar but much later loanword is Φοσσάτον, from Latin *fossatum* ‘moat’. This word refers to the Roman fortress of ancient Cairo, which was surrounded by a moat. However, this term starts appearing in papyri only after the Arab conquest, when it influences the first Arab name of Egypt's capital, al-Fusṭāṭ.<sup>101</sup> As the Roman fortress of Cairo – in the II CE known as Babylon – influenced the very name of the city, so the probable presence of a Roman encampment at Kainè led to the introduction and use of φόσση. If so, knowledge of Latin on Tertius' part is not completely

---

<sup>100</sup> See Cuvigny (1998). The text does not have a TM number yet and has not been entered in papyri.info.

<sup>101</sup> On the early development of the Arab capital of Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries, see now Bruning (2018).

necessary, as it may have been customary to refer to the trench of a Roman encampment with this term, which is likely to have stemmed from the military administration.

### 3.8 Latin vocabulary in the school exercises of Mons Claudianus

In both volume one and two of the *O.Claud.* series appear a few literary ostraca together with texts classified as school exercises. Some noteworthy literary texts stand out: among others, the group of ostraca recording a fragment of Menander, I 184–187; the *incipit* of the *Aeneid* coupled with another unidentified Latin text, I 190; the lyric verses of II 409; or the Aesopic fable of II 413.<sup>102</sup> Among the school texts, one does not find the most elementary types of exercises typical of someone who is just starting to learn letters and syllables. Palaeography is a difficult indicator, but the proficiency of the hands suggests that children were not probably part of this education system. As seen, the members of the *familia* did not have a family while the *pagani* had theirs in Kainè. Thus, the people schooled at Mons Claudianus probably were adults: soldiers, *pagani* or, less likely, members of the *familia*.<sup>103</sup> The school texts do not usually comprise Latin loanwords, but one of them does.

This is *O.Claud.* II 415 (late Hadrianic or Antonine period), which is a list of disyllabic word beginning with π. Similar lists of monosyllabic and disyllabic words are common among school texts.<sup>104</sup> They do not represent glossaries explaining meanings but are primarily meant to train the division in syllables and the writing of these nouns. The loanwords or codeswitches appearing in this text are: πῖλα from Latin *pila* in col. II 13; πέρνα from Latin *perna* in col. IV 2; perhaps πρῖμος in col. IV 6 from Latin *primus*,<sup>105</sup> and the codeswitch πᾶκις from Latin *pacis* in

---

<sup>102</sup> Menander's fragments all record *Kitharistes*, fr. 10 Sandb.

<sup>103</sup> Since we do not have any written documentation that can be certainly ascribed to members of the *familia*, it is less likely that they undertook any schooling.

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. the so-called *Livre d'écolier* (= *Publ.Soc.Fouad* II), ll. 27–37; *P.Bour.* 1, p. 1 recto; and *P.Genova* II 53, cols. I–III. On lists of words, see Criboire (1996: 42–43).

<sup>105</sup> As the editor – W.E.H. Cockle – points out, this is not the only option. One may also supplement as πριμ[άς] 'young tunny fish,' as there are other fishes in the list, or as the personal name Πριμᾶς; cf. *P.Haw.* 399.10 (III CE).

col. VI 13. The list comprises different types of nouns; mainly, there are names of mythical figures such as Πηλεΰς or Περσεύς; several Latin names such as Παῦλος or Πρεῖσκος; names of objects such as πίναξ ‘writing tablet’ or πίθος ‘wine jar’; and rarer words, mainly found in plays, such as πηρός ‘maimed’ or πνίγη ‘chocking’. All in all, two main principles underlie the word choices of this school text: first, everyday words, common in the world of a soldier of Mons Claudianus and, second, rare words, maybe to be found in literary works that were being studied by these students. In the former group one may include the codeswitch πᾶκις, that is the genitive singular of Latin *pax* ‘peace’, also attested as a password (σίγνον from Latin *signum*) in the lists of *vigiles* (see II 328.13); πῖλα from Latin *pila* ‘mortar’ but more likely the plural of *pilum* and thus meaning ‘javelin’ in this context; and πέρνα, ‘ham’.<sup>106</sup> This Latin vocabulary is highly unlikely to first enter Greek through these very exercises. Rather, the exercises seem to make use of loanwords that a soldier or worker could have readily understood, as they must have been widespread in the world of Mons Claudianus. In fact, these exercises train writing and in all likelihood were not devised to teach the students some new everyday vocabulary.

### 3.9 Conclusions

The discussion of the loanwords appearing in the Greek of Mons Claudianus has showcased several points of interest. A first important step consisted in determining how the various groups of people present at Mons Claudianus are represented by the documents (§3.2). For instance, it has clearly appeared that the *familia*’s advances cannot let us access the language and word-choices operated by the members of this group. Rather, the Latin influence of these documents originates from the scribes and offices that were responsible for them (§3.4). That is, in a bilingual layer of the administration, where people like Successus Epaphroditus worked.

As regards the *paganī*, their documents seem to hint at a process in which the bilingual levels ‘feed’ the Latin loanwords to these civilian workers. The loanwords appear to be introduced

---

<sup>106</sup> Or (less likely) a shellfish. See the detailed commentary of the edition and Plin., *NH*32.154, who states that this type of shellfish is common in the Pontine Islands.

as part of a top-down process, in which the bilingual levels of the administration are consistently present (§3.6). This involves the names of the tools, for instance, or the letters through which the administration grants a leave, κομμεάτος (§3.7), or complains about broken stones, καυσάρια (§3.6.1).

The introduction of Latin vocabulary appears substantial in the documents that can be related to these bilingual levels and the appearance of some of these loans in the documents of the Graeco-Egyptian *pagani* hints at such a top-down process. The handling of both Latin and Greek documentation in these offices must have facilitated the introduction and use of many of these loans (§3.5). This appears to be the case when one looks at the calendar, since Latin elements – certainly used in the Latin documents – appear to be retained in the Greek documents drafted by these very offices (IV 885).

As regards the possible symbolic value of the loans, it has been suggested that there was not any ‘Romanness’ or any high-power value attached to their use, as the analysis of *P.Bagnall* 8 seems to suggest (§3.6.2). On the contrary, it is quite likely that the choice of a Latin loanword must have often been made from ignorance of a Greek equivalent or to refer more clearly and simply, by the use of just one word in both languages, to a single object like a tool (§3.6.1). Finally, the analysis of the only school exercise containing loanwords cannot suggest that the school was the place in which loanwords were taught as a way of expanding one’s vocabulary, as the Latin words attested are ones that must have been quite common in the world of Mons Claudianus (§3.8).

All in all, the loanwords of Mons Claudianus seem to come primarily from the bilingual levels of the quarries’ military and administrative personnel. From the top, they reach the civilian workers (*pagani*) or the documents involving the imperial workers (members of the *familia*). As the latter are more tightly linked to the upper levels and do not write their own documents, their texts present a much more noticeable Latin veneer. The presence of schooling opportunities in the desert does not seem to have had any major role in the introduction of new loans, just as the documents cannot suggest the possibility that the workers were actually learning Latin and acting as the primary borrowers of the words they use. A top-down process involving the bilingual

military and administrative personnel was probably in place. Was there a political value attached to this process? The documents cannot support such a hypothesis, because loanwords can be actively avoided when this is deemed necessary – as in a translation, even if they could have been a symbol of Roman criminal justice. When they are not avoided, two reasons may have been mainly responsible for their choice: either the person responsible for this word-choice did not have a Greek equivalent in his mental vocabulary or he proactively chose to use Latin so as to refer to one single idea or object by only one word, as he was probably handling documents in more than one language but on the very same topics.



#### 4. The Nile-valley setting: Oxyrhynchus in the first century CE

The papyri of ancient Oxyrhynchus (literally, the ‘city of the sharp-nosed fish’), modern Bahnasa in Middle Egypt, are the largest corpus of Greek documentary texts found in a single place in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, tens of thousands of Oxyrhynchus’ texts are housed in Oxford, where Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur Surridge Hunt – who first excavated in the city – brought their finds, but several others are scattered among other collections, for other scholars too either excavated the same areas years later or bought their papyri on the then-legal antiquities market.<sup>2</sup> Since the first volume of the *P.Oxy.* series appeared in 1898, these texts have continuously advanced our knowledge of Greek literature and proved essential for writing Roman history.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of Latin loanwords in these texts will be useful to understand how, at an early stage, Latin vocabulary entered the documents of a Hellenised city of the Egyptian *chora*. Which vocabulary spread at first and who used it? And particularly, how did this vocabulary start being used in Oxyrhynchus? For instance, it may be that some Latin speakers settled and introduced new vocabulary, or that Latin vocabulary mainly arrived from outside the city through travellers or visitors. This chapter will analyse the evidence and try to answer these questions.

##### 4.1 Oxyrhynchus and its characteristics

Oxyrhynchus is located on the Bahr Yusuf or ‘Joseph’s canal’, which links the Nile with the Arsinoite nome, where it forms the lake Moeris. Since pharaonic times, the city was the capital of the Egyptian 19th administrative division (nome), but we know very little of the Egyptian and

---

<sup>1</sup> On Oxyrhynchus and its papyri in general, see Parsons (2007), the articles of the collective volume Bowman *et al.* (2007), and therein Coles (2007) as a general introduction. Grenfell and Hunt excavated in Oxyrhynchus in 1896/7 and from 1902 to 1907.

<sup>2</sup> The Florence collections acquired their Oxyrhynchus papyri from the Italian excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1910–1914 and 1927–1934), while other collections bought their Oxyrhynchus papyri on the antiquities market. On the Italian excavations, see Pintaudi (2007); on the antiquities market of papyri, see e.g. Keenan (2009: 66) and Martin (2007). For a history of papyrological excavations, see Cuvigny (2009).

<sup>3</sup> See Turner (1952) and (1975). On papyri and ancient history, see the general introduction by Bagnall (2020).

later Ptolemaic Oxyrhynchus. Papyri illuminate the life of this city and its hinterland only from the end of the Ptolemaic period to the Arab conquest, when Oxyrhynchus might have been destroyed; documents earlier than the Roman conquest were located at a lower level in the dumps and there they perished because of damp. The dumps from which the papyri were recovered lay on the outskirts of the Roman city, where private citizens or public offices used to discard their wastepaper, forming mounds over the years and centuries, nowadays called *kiman* in Arabic. The nature of the Oxyrhynchus papyri is directly linked to this characteristic: while the papyri of some Arsinoite villages like Karanis were predominantly excavated from public buildings or private houses, Oxyrhynchus papyri do not come from domestic settings but represent what its people decided to discard at a certain point in time. Consequently, we do not have in this city family archives found in the houses where they were kept, nor what people deemed necessary to preserve at all costs, but rather what – at a certain point in time – was deemed unnecessary.

But which people discarded these papyri? And which documents did they discard? One may think that papyri give an unparalleled access to the houses of people from all walks of life, or that private letters on papyrus illuminate the life of the standard ancient household. Things are usually more complicated. The poorest strata of society played a minor role in the production of written documents such as letters, which often come from the wealthiest. Additionally, since the Oxyrhynchus papyri were intentionally discarded, texts produced in greater number – that is official documents – had a greater chance of survival.<sup>4</sup> Editorial preference in choosing the texts to be published may skew these facts, but some general principles remain valid: Oxyrhynchus papyri often come from offices, which were in charge of drawing up a great amount of official documents or legal contracts (e.g. those drawn up by the *agoranomus*, a public notary on the High Street, ἐν ἀγορῇ), and usually portray the life of the wealthiest and urban part of society.<sup>5</sup> In fact,

---

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Bagnall (2007a: 183).

<sup>5</sup> The *agoranomus* was a liturgic official who, up to the end of the third century CE, handled public and private documents. He started being a liturgic official from the middle of the first century CE. See e.g. H.J. Wolff (1978: 9–18) and Lewis (1997: 11). On state archives and public offices in Egypt, see a general picture in Cockle (1984). On the administration of cities in early Roman Egypt, see Bowman and Rathbone (1992).

Oxyrhynchus' hinterland, the Oxyrhynchite nome, is known only through the documents found and mainly written in the capital, which can distort our understanding of the rural population, its characteristics and wealth, while we are better informed about the metropolis and its citizens.<sup>6</sup>

Oxyrhynchus as a metropolis was certainly not 'merely a provincial rural backwater', but an active centre full of wealth and culture.<sup>7</sup> The city enjoyed a large theatre, baths, temples, colonnades, games, and anything that could make a provincial city a Roman city. The urban population ranged between 15,000 and 30,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the second century CE and was divided by membership of different groups.<sup>8</sup> The largest was that of metropolitan citizens, who were entitled to a lower poll-tax rate. Membership of the 'Greek' gymnasium was not as widespread and likely established a cultural mark too.<sup>9</sup> Above these groups, a person could be citizen of Alexandria, a Roman citizen, or both. These two classes usually encompassed only the wealthiest persons, often non-resident landowners, and granted other benefits such as a complete exemption from the poll-tax in the case of Roman citizenship.<sup>10</sup>

The Alexandrian citizens appearing in Oxyrhynchus' texts are one of the testimonies to a steady link between Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria. This connection is particularly important for a number of reasons. First, Alexandria was the seat of the Roman provincial government, where the prefect administered justice throughout the year.<sup>11</sup> Roman citizens living in the countryside had to travel to Alexandria to register the birth of their children.<sup>12</sup> The local public granaries sent their tax wheat to Alexandria, whence it was forwarded to Rome.<sup>13</sup> But Alexandria was more than the centre of the Roman bureaucracy; it was a cultural capital too. Oxyrhynchus papyri inform us

---

<sup>6</sup> See Rowlandson (2007) and (1996).

<sup>7</sup> The quote is from Bowman (2007: 171).

<sup>8</sup> For estimates of the population, see Bowman (2000) for the higher one and Alston (2002: 331–334) for the lower.

<sup>9</sup> See, in general, Nelson (1979).

<sup>10</sup> On Roman citizens, soldiers, and veterans in Oxyrhynchus, see Thomas (2007), Whitehorne (1990), and Biezuńska-Małowist (1975).

<sup>11</sup> Once a year, the prefect administered justice also in certain places of the countryside (*conventus*); see e.g. Capponi (2010: 261–265) with further bibliography.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. the declaration of birth *P.Mich.* III 169 (145 CE, Karanis) = Rowlandson (1998, § 71).

<sup>13</sup> According to Joseph., *BJ*2.386, Rome survived on Egyptian wheat for four months every year.

also about the sending and receiving of books from the capital, about the search for a better education in the big city, about the names of several contemporary Alexandrian scholars, about legal business happening in the capital, and about Alexandrian families with interests and possessions in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>14</sup>

All such characteristics influence the type of documents that will be available for our analysis. This chapter will often use documents that have been written in a public office, rather than a private house, and by a clerk, rather than a typical citizen. They will often involve the wealthy stratum of society, be it landowners, entrepreneurs, soldiers, veterans, lawyers, citizens of Alexandria, of Rome, or of both. Slaves are part of this picture too, because the imperial administration used them and the wealthiest fifth of society regularly owned them; revealingly, the earliest Latin papyrus of Oxyrhynchus, the letter *C.Ep.Lat.* 10 (= *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3208, 25 BCE–25 CE), is not between soldiers, lawyers, or entrepreneurs but is addressed to the imperial slave Chius by a certain Syneros, probably another slave.<sup>15</sup> The political, legal, economic, and cultural link between Oxyrhynchus and the provincial capital Alexandria will appear frequently in texts containing Latin loanwords; this may suggest a special route through which Latin words entered the Greek of Oxyrhynchus, and particular attention will be devoted to this point.

The analysis of Oxyrhynchus will consist of two chapters which effectively divide the evidence in two chronological sections. Not only the number of texts but also the loanwords themselves warrant this choice, because the types of Latin loanwords appearing in the texts of Oxyrhynchus significantly change over time. This chapter, the first, focuses on the very earliest loanwords, appearing in the late first century BCE and in the first century CE, and the following on the loanwords appearing in the second century CE. The discussion will subsequently divide loanwords into different semantic categories, such as the military, administrative, or legal ones.

---

<sup>14</sup> On books from Alexandria, see e.g. *P.Oxy* VIII 1153 (I CE) and *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 11 (100–150 CE, Oxyrhynchus); cf. Turner (1952: 91–92). On the search for a professor in the capital, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2190 (100 CE, revised by Rea (1993), = *SB* XXII 15708); cf. Cribiore (2007: 291–292). On the names of Alexandrian scholars turning up in Oxyrhynchus, see Turner (1975: 4–5) and *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5202. On legal affairs in Alexandria, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* II 294 (22 CE). On important Alexandrian families with interests in Oxyrhynchus (e.g. the Theones), see Bowman (2007: 177–179).

<sup>15</sup> On the proportions of slaves, see Bagnall (2007a: 188) and (1993: 5). On *C.Ep.Lat.* 10, see also Dickey (2009: 164–166).

#### 4.2 The first loanwords in Oxyrhynchus (I BCE and CE)

The first loanword appearing in Oxyrhynchus' texts is probably Καῖσαρ, from *Caesar*, referring directly to Augustus in the fixed formularies of datings.<sup>16</sup> In the first century BCE alone, it appears 28 times in the city's papyri, making it the most important loanword from a quantitative point of view. However, Καῖσαρ is a transmitted loan, whose arrival in Egypt and Oxyrhynchus followed Greek routes which cannot help to assess how loanwords were borrowed in Egypt.<sup>17</sup> Similarly to Καῖσαρ, different honorific month names show a high frequency of use at an early stage. These are, for instance, the honorific month names Γερμανίκειος and Καισάρειος, which start appearing in Caligula's reign.<sup>18</sup> But these month names too should be considered transmitted loanwords. Because only non-transmitted loanwords can help to assess how Latin was actually borrowed, the following paragraphs will concentrate on words that stand some chance of having been borrowed in Egypt.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, when transmitted loanwords like Καῖσαρ, Γερμανίκειος, or Ῥωμαῖος are excluded from the outset, up to the year 100 CE Oxyrhynchus papyri preserve 23 Latin loanwords, which appear in 30 texts for a total of 36 times. Of these 30 documents with Latin loanwords, four date to the first century BCE and 26 to the first century CE.<sup>20</sup> The earliest four record five military words – κεντουρία from *centuria* 'century', λεγεών from *legio* 'legion', λωρῖκα from *lorica* 'corselet', λωρικάριος from *loricarius* 'corselet maker', and κεντουρίων from *centurio* 'centurion'

---

<sup>16</sup> Καῖσαρ is the only loanword appearing in Augustus' and Tiberius' titulatures; see Bureth (1964).

<sup>17</sup> On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

<sup>18</sup> Γερμανίκειος appears 15 times in Oxyrhynchus in the first century CE, and Καισάρειος 33 in the same place and time frame. On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

<sup>19</sup> However, when transmitted loans appear in texts with actual borrowings their presence is duly recognised.

<sup>20</sup> The loanwords appearing in documents dated I – II CE are discussed in the section devoted to the later of the centuries to which they may belong. This allows the discussion to focus on words that definitely date to the first century CE. The ambiguously dated (I – II CE) documents that have been excluded are: *SB XVI* 12764 (recording μουλίων, from *mulio* 'muleteer'; see §5.3.3), *P.Oxy.* VIII 1144 (recording κέλλα, from *cella* 'room'; see §5.3.2), and *PSI VI* 687 (recording κεντουρίων, from *centurio* 'centurion'; see §5.1).

– and the administrative term πατριμόνιον from *patrimonium*, here ‘imperial estate’.<sup>21</sup> Military vocabulary remains frequent in the first century CE too, when 12 texts out of the remaining 26 record military words. Overall, military vocabulary accounts for a total of 11 loanwords in the period first century BCE and CE. By looking at a fictional lexicon of Latin loanwords in papyri, indexing it by provenance with Oxyrhynchus and selecting the first centuries BCE and CE, the user would certainly hypothesise that the Roman army had a very strong presence in and impact on the city. However, things are more complicated because a military presence is not surely attested in Oxyrhynchus for most of the first century CE. Moreover, many soldiers appearing in the texts are not residents of the city nor are they on duty there but often happen to be in Oxyrhynchus for business only.<sup>22</sup>

In fact, this wealth of military words does not appear in private letters between soldiers or circulars emanating from the military bureaucracy, as is often the case in the Eastern Desert, where the Latin influence on vocabulary is mainly internal to the military world.<sup>23</sup> Rather, the military loanwords of Oxyrhynchus appear almost entirely in documents external to the military camps, where soldiers are taking care of their legal interests. This interaction between the military world and the civil society is relevant because it may be one of the main means through which loanwords enter the documents of Oxyrhynchus. Soldiers appear on active service in Oxyrhynchus only in one type of text: the receipts issued to the heads of the public granaries, or *sitologi*, for the shipment of wheat to Alexandria under the surveillance of a legionary soldier.<sup>24</sup> A link with Alexandria appears also in other documents, such as private letters or legal

---

<sup>21</sup> For κεντουρία and λεγεών, see *SB* VI 9223 (2 BCE); for κεντουρίων, see *P.Oslo* II 26 (5–4 BCE); for λωρίκα and λωρικάριος, see *P.Oxy.* IV 812 (6 BCE); and for πατριμόνιον, see *P.Amst.* I 28 (3 BCE). Note that the reading of λωρικάριος in *P.Oxy.* IV 812.6 is not certain because partly in lacuna ([λω]ρικάριος); see below §4.5.1 and Daris (1962) on this text. On the early introduction of military loans, see also §2.4.

<sup>22</sup> The *Cohors III Ituraerorum* may have been garrisoned in the city in the early second century CE, but there is no rock-solid evidence for this. See *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (103 CE) and *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 (143 CE), with §5.1.2 n. 27 below.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. §2.9 and §3.9.

<sup>24</sup> This military duty is peculiar to the first century CE, when soldiers had to supervise such shipments from the countryside to Alexandria, while in later centuries the task became a liturgy. See Lewis (1997, *s.v.* ἐπίπλοος) and §4.5.1.

proceedings, and this point too may be important when assessing the introduction of new Latin loanwords to Oxyrhynchus.

#### 4.3 First loanwords in Oxyrhynchus: where do they come from?

To return to the main questions of this chapter, that is how and from where Latin vocabulary entered the documents of a Hellenised city of the Egyptian *chora* at an early stage, one working hypothesis is that these Latin words may have mainly reached Oxyrhynchus from Alexandria.

The texts preserving the earliest Latin loanwords favour this hypothesis, because they frequently attest to contacts with the capital and its administration, to visits of Alexandrian or Roman citizens with local interests, and to the passage of Roman soldiers (sometimes landed Alexandrians) through Oxyrhynchus. Private letters also attest to the opposite process, that is citizens of Oxyrhynchus travelling back and forth to Alexandria for different reasons. Places other than Alexandria are all less likely to represent the main source of loanwords because they appear less frequently in texts with loanwords. Even military loanwords may point to Alexandria, from which soldiers often arrive, while they do not establish a clear link with a local military camp. The possible presence of a Roman encampment in or nearby Oxyrhynchus at an early stage is discussed in one of the following sections (§4.5.2); however, even if one were to accept the possibility of such an early encampment, the texts would not establish a clear link between this presence and the use of most early loans. This picture does not change when one adds the presence of a surely attested military camp outside but not far from the hinterland of Oxyrhynchus: the quarries of Akoris. These worked under the supervision of the army some 40 km south of Oxyrhynchus, but this presence too does not seem to have had a strong link with the city.<sup>25</sup> Akoris is mentioned only once in an early Oxyrhynchus text: the letter *SB III 7258.4* (88–96 CE), in which hieroglyph carvers discuss whether they should travel to Akoris and work for the local

---

<sup>25</sup> On Akoris, see *I.Akoris* (which collects its inscriptions), Lesquier (1918: 240–241, 407), and Alston (1995: 35). On *SB III 7258*, see §4.6.3. On commercial networks and communications within Egypt, its cities, Alexandria, and beyond, see e.g. Alston (1998).

centurion. All in all, the opposite movements of people and soldiers from the capital to Oxyrhynchus and from Oxyrhynchus to the capital that often appear in the earliest texts with loanwords may represent two sides of a single process, through which loanwords flowed from a superior administrative and economic centre into the subordinate one in the countryside, Oxyrhynchus.

This process is perhaps best exemplified by the legal and administrative loanwords, which often disclose a strong link to Alexandria and to the Roman administration of Egypt more broadly. Given their importance, they will be presented first in the discussion, while the necessarily detailed discussion of the early military loanwords will follow thereafter.

#### 4.4 Legal and administrative loanwords

Even if military vocabulary constitutes the vast majority of Oxyrhynchus' early loanwords, it does not follow that other areas of the vocabulary are underrepresented. Particularly, legal and administrative loans appear in a few first century CE documents often linked to Alexandria. On the one hand, these loanwords may corroborate the hypothesis that loans mainly reach Oxyrhynchus from the capital, Alexandria, and on the other they suggest that the Roman legal science and administrative apparatus had a certain early linguistic impact on a newly conquered region like Egypt.<sup>26</sup>

Such a legal link with the capital often appears together with these five words: ἄκτα, judiciary or administrative records; ἀρχιστάτωρ, an attendant appearing in Alexandria's courts; κουστωδία, custody or a prison;<sup>27</sup> ταβέλλα, a writing tablet usually containing some legal text; and φραγέλλη, a whip appearing in a legal context. The Roman administration on the other hand

---

<sup>26</sup> The documents of the archive of Babatha (TM Arch ID 41) from early Roman Arabia are an example of the swift impact of Roman law and administration on the Greek of a recently annexed province. See *P.Babatha* I, pp. 16–19 and more recently Czajkowski (2017). During her short life, perhaps no more than 30 years, Babatha was widowed twice and became embroiled in two major legal battles, one against the guardians of her son from her first marriage and another against the heirs of her second husband; her papyri mainly attest to these events.

<sup>27</sup> In the Eastern Desert, κουστωδία can mean 'prisoner'; see §2.3.1.

appears through two loanwords: the military loanword βενεφικιάριος, ‘attendant’, and πατριμόνιον, ‘imperial property’ or ‘estate’. One may also remember here that the loanword Ῥωμαῖος appears consistently in census returns, which follow a fixed administrative formulary.<sup>28</sup> However, this is a certainly transmitted loan (for which see §1.3.2).

#### 4.4.1 ἄκτα

The loanword ἄκτα, from *acta*, appears in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2725.21 (71 CE), which is a private letter sent from a major centre, almost certainly Alexandria, to Oxyrhynchus by an unknown writer. The addressees are a certain Adrastus, referred to as son, and a certain Spartacus, referred to as brother. Even though most lines are mutilated, the general sense of the letter is clear: the text opens with private affairs, discussing the local price of some product and a loan; then the sender goes on to mention a pending affair (μετέωρος), a petition (ἀναφόριον), a legal assistant that is going to be found within two days (παράκλητος), other private transactions, and a particularly interesting event in the section before the farewell and dating (lines 18–22):

... ὁ δὲ κύριος  
 Καῖ[σα]ρ εἰσήλθεν τῆ λ [ῶ]ρας β̄ πρότον ἐν παρεμβολῆ  
 20 ε.ε[ . . . . . ] .ταν εἰς Σαραπίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαραπίου εἰς τ[ὸ] ἵπι-  
 κὸ[ν . . . . .] .ν τὰ δὲ ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν γνώση ἀν ἀναπλευ-  
 σο[ . . . . .] . . .μαι ὑμᾶς πάντας. (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος  
 [-c.-?] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μη(νὸς) Γερμανικῆου δ̄.

<sup>28</sup> Ῥωμαῖος appears in a section of the returns in which the declarant asserts that his household does not include any Roman citizens. The texts are: *P.Oxy.* II 255.21 (48 CE), LXXIV 4980.9 (34 CE), LXXIV 4981.10 (34 CE), and *P.Oxy.Hels.* 10.20 (34 CE). On the census in Roman Egypt, see Bagnall and Frier (1994).

19. *Ι. πρῶτον* 20. ἔπε[ιτ' ἀπα]γντᾶν (*Ι. ἀπαντῶν*) (?) | *Ι. Σαραπεῖον* | *Ι. Σαραπέου* 21. *Ι. ἀπῆλθ]εν* 21.-22. *Ι. ἀναπλεύ|σω* 22. [ἐπισκο]ποῦμαι (?)<sup>29</sup> 23. *Ι. Γερμανικείου*

... The lord Caesar<sup>30</sup> entered on the 30th at the second hour, first in the camp, then he moved to the Serapeum, (and) from the Serapeum he went to the Hippodrome. You will learn about the **proceedings** in his honour when I come upriver. I send regards to you all. Third year of the emperor Caesar ... Vespasianus Augustus, month *Germaniceus* 4<sup>th</sup>.

As one may have noticed, the text also includes two transmitted loanwords: Καῖσαρ (lines 19 and 22) and Γερμανίκειος (line 23).<sup>31</sup> The first loan, from *Caesar*, refers to Titus in line 19 and to Vespasian in line 22.<sup>32</sup> The second loan, Γερμανίκειος, is the Roman honorific month name honouring Caligula's father. Precisely this dating in the third year of Vespasian at the end of the letter allows us to infer that the main event mentioned here is – to a great degree of likelihood – Titus' entrance to Alexandria, after the end of the Jewish war and before his embarkation for Rome.<sup>33</sup> Even though members of the imperial family and emperors had visited Alexandria and Egypt before Titus and would do so later on, this event must have had an impact on the people present, especially those who came to the big city from the *chora*. This is probably why this letter, otherwise interested only in practical things, turns to discussing news.

The precise meaning of the ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν, here translated 'proceedings in his honour' following the edition, is not perfectly clear. Usually, in Greek ἄκτα retains its specific meaning of official administrative or judicial 'proceedings' or 'records' – see e.g. *P.Babatha* I 12.1 (Petra (Arabia), 124 CE), ἀπὸ ἄκτων βουλῆς Πετραίων 'from the official records of the Petreans'

---

<sup>29</sup> The reading proposals of the apparatus are due to Youtie; see Parson's commentary to this text in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV.

<sup>30</sup> Here and in line 22 of the first edition, Καῖσαρ is not capitalized, but this must be a typographical mistake because the word is capitalized in the index of *P.Oxy.* XXXIV.

<sup>31</sup> On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

<sup>32</sup> Titus had assumed the name Caesar in July or August 69 CE; see Kienast, Eck, and Heil (2017: 105).

<sup>33</sup> See Joseph., *BJ* 7.5.3 and Suet., *Tit.* 5. This papyrus helps to determine when, exactly, the emperor entered the city: very likely towards 7am, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 71 CE.

assembly'.<sup>34</sup> In this case, the editor – P.J. Parsons – suggests that the closest Latin parallel may be that of the *acta triumphorum*, an official and monumental inscription recording those honoured with a triumph in Rome. One may think that a similar account of victorious kings and emperors existed as an inscription in Alexandria too, and that the writer promises his addressees to let them know about what has just been engraved on it. Otherwise, one may also suggest a link with Rome's *acta diurna*, the city's daily record of official news, which too was presented publicly. It may be that Alexandria also had a similar way of making official news public. In fact, we know that in the Egyptian capital – perhaps in the *Atrium Magnum* of the prefect's *praetorium*<sup>35</sup> – there was an *album* where official notices or declarations, like those regarding the birth of Roman citizens, were affixed. One may be not too far off to think that this *album* itself or a similar equivalent may have functioned also as a sort of 'gazette' for important public events like an emperor's visit. After all, the preciseness with which our author records the day, hour, and route of the emperor suggests that he had come to know this information from a written source, rather than from personal experience. The precise account of the honours reserved to the emperor may have been too long for our letter, and so our writer promises to recount it in person in the near future. Also, one may hypothesise that our writer was trying to get hold of these ἄκτα, which he may have just read for the time being, so as to bring them to Oxyrhynchus, for we know for instance from Cicero that Rome's *acta* were often requested and sent through private correspondence.<sup>36</sup>

Different interesting points emerge from this text. First, it is sent from the capital, Alexandria, to Oxyrhynchus. Second, it involves a citizen of the small city who witnesses history. Third, this person refers to this event by using Latin vocabulary that has no parallels in the documents of Oxyrhynchus. The unmarked use of the expression ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν suggests that the writer expects the addressees to readily understand him. On the other hand, even if they did

---

<sup>34</sup> On ἄκτα, see also Mason (1974: 5, 8, 20, 141). *P.Babatha* I 12 is believed to be the Greek translation of a Latin original; see *P.Babatha* I, p. 17 and J.N. Adams (2003: 267–268).

<sup>35</sup> On the prefect's quarters, the *praetorium*, see Rostovtzeff (1952: 87–89), Martin (1989), and below §5.2.1 nn. 99 and 100.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. Cic., *Att.* 3.8.3, 6.2.6, etc.

not know the precise sense of ἄκτα they would have certainly seen that these ἄκτα are connected to the Roman emperor himself and to his entrance to the big city.

#### 4.4.2 Other legal loanwords

The words ἀρχιστάτωρ and κουστωδία both appear in *P.Oxy.* II 294 (22 CE). Strictly speaking, the first one is a compound, because it is formed on the already borrowed στάτωρ, from *stator*.<sup>37</sup> Its appearance here is relevant because the word appears only in Egyptian sources, and such a figure was present only in Alexandria. And only here a citizen of Oxyrynchus could encounter it. *P.Oxy.* II 294 is another private letter sent from the capital, Alexandria, to Oxyrhynchus. In it, Sarapion – who finds himself in the big city for a trial – asks his brother Dorion about the search that, as he heard, has been conducted in his house and that of another back at home. Perhaps, this may have had a link with the case that Sarapion had to deal with in Alexandria, where some friends of his urge him (probably wanting to help him for the trial?) to get familiar (οἰκιακός) with the chief usher or ἀρχιστάτωρ of the prefect’s court and to arrive at the trial with him.<sup>38</sup> Sarapion then informs his brother that the marshal and sword-bearer of the strategus (of the Oxyrhynchite nome?) are currently in prison or κουστωδία by order of the prefect (lines 16–24):

... ἐγὼ δὲ βιάζο-  
μαι ὑπὸ φίλω[ν] γενέσθαι οἰκιακὸς τοῦ ἀρχι-  
στάτορος Ἀπολλωνίου εἶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ δι-

<sup>37</sup> On compounds, see also §1.2.1. On the use of ἀρχι- in compounds, see Mason (1974: 113–115) and Dickey (2024: §4.5, §4.6.2). On στάτορες and the ἀρχιστάτωρ, see also §5.2.1, Mason (1974: 4, 6), Gilliam (1961), Nelis-Clément (2000: 77), Kayser (1990), and Pflaum (1959), who argues that Lucian may have been ἀρχιστάτωρ in Egypt (cf. *Apol.* 12). Gilliam (1961: 103) does not agree with Pflaum, but his suggestion that Lucian was a ὑπομνηματογράφος instead should be discarded, because older literature misunderstood the duties of such an official. Cf. the prefect’s edict *I.Egypte prose* 53.23 (48–49 CE, Hibis – Western desert, Oasis Magna), where στάτορες appear taking advantage of local inhabitants, e.g. through requisitions, and the bilingual dedication *I.Alexandrie imp.* 28 (14–37 CE, Nicopolis), where a Lucius Publilius Labeo appears as *viator* / οὐιάτωρ (*l. βιάτωρ*) ‘messenger’ and *praefectus statorum*. The Greek translation of the second title has not survived but may have been ἀρχιστάτωρ.

<sup>38</sup> On οἰκιακός as *amicus* (usually *Caesaris*), see e.g. Mason (1974: 14, 70).

αλογισμὸν ἔλ[θ]ω. [ὁ] μὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρα-  
 20 [τ]ηγοῦ κ[αὶ Ἰοῦ]στος ὁ μαχαιροφόρος ἐν **κουσ-**  
**τωδε[ία εἰσί]**, ὡς ἐπέταξεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν, ἕως  
 ἐπὶ διαλ[ογισ]μός, ἐὰν μὴ τι πείσωσι τὸν **ἀρχι-**  
**στάτορα** δο[ῦν]αι εἰκανὸν ἕως ἐπὶ διαλο-  
 γισμόν. ...

18. *l. ἴνα* 22. *l. διαλ[ογισ]μόν | l. πείσωσι* 23. *l. ἰκανόν*

... I am being forcefully urged by friends to get familiar with the *archistator* Apollonius, so that I come to the trial in his company. The marshal of the strategus and the sword-bearer Iustus are in **prison** until the trial, as the prefect ordered, unless they somehow persuade the *archistator* to give them bail until the trial. ...

Once more, this text attests to a citizen of Oxyrhynchus who had to go to the capital for some legal affairs. There, he follows the guidance of some friends who recommend him to approach an influent person in the prefect's court, the ἀρχιστάτωρ. We know from the inscription *Année Épigraphique* (1958) no. 156 (Mauretania, II CE) that an ἀρχιστάτωρ became such after a military career. Other papyri, like *BGU XVI* 2618 (7 BCE, Heracleopolite nome) or the inscription *OGIS* II 665 (48 CE, Great Oasis, Egypt) show that simple στάτορες operated at an early date in the countryside of Egypt as some sort of military police. On this basis, Gilliam (1961) thinks that the ἀρχιστάτωρ may have been the head of the military police of the province, and not simply a head-attendant in the prefect's court. The other Latin loanword of this text, *κουστωδία*, here meaning 'custody', 'prison', has just this one attestation in Oxyrhynchus, while it otherwise appears in texts involving the army, like those of the Eastern Desert (§2.3.1). Even though its use in a private letter is unique, the writer uses it naturally and does not gloss it. This may not be final proof that the word was current in Oxyrhynchus, but it was probably understandable at least to those who had to do with trials in Alexandria. Here, once again, is an important aspect of the text: it originates from the capital, and the writer uses these loanwords because he had to deal with the

ἀρχιστάτωρ and likely heard there of the κουστωδία where two persons are detained. These words could have already spread to Oxyrhynchus by the time this text was written, but it is in Alexandria that they are actually attested. Some decades later than *P.Oxy.* II 294, κουστωδία appears also in Matthew’s gospel. Here, Pontius Pilate uses it when he assigns a ‘group of guards’ to watch Jesus’ tomb.<sup>39</sup> The meaning ‘group of guards’ does not appear in any Egyptian papyrus, perhaps suggesting that independent borrowings of the same term may have brought with them slightly different uses of the original Latin word.<sup>40</sup>

The loanword ταβέλλα, ‘writing tablet’ from Latin *tabella*, appears in *P.Oxy.* II 273.7 (95 CE), in which a certain Iulia Heracla who, having a tutor (κύριος)<sup>41</sup> according to Roman law and also being an Alexandrian citizen, cedes to her daughter Gaia also known as Sarapias some land. The text also includes the common transmitted loanword Ῥωμαῖος<sup>42</sup> (ll. 4–7): μ[ε]τὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδ[ομ]ένου | αὐτῆ κατὰ τὰ [Ῥω]μαίων ἔ[θ]η ὑπὸ Γαίου Σε[πτι]μ[ι]ῶ[ν] | Ο[ὐ]εγέ[τ]ου τοῦ [ἡ]γεμονεύσαντος ἀκ[ολο]ύθως | τῆ γεν[ο]μέ[ν]η ταβέλλη ‘with a guardian given to her in accordance with Roman custom by Gaius Septimius Vegetus, the late prefect, in accordance with the **tablet** provided’. Like τάβλα, from Latin *tabula*, ταβέλλα indicates a writing tablet, that is an instrument for which there existed a Greek name, δέλτος. Both in this case and in that of τάβλα the use of the Latin loan is often linked to the legal content of the tablet. While a δέλτος may be any sort of tablet, a τάβλα or a ταβέλλα usually contains texts with a legal value, sometimes linked to Roman law as here. This may be the reason that prompts the use of these loanwords, even when a Greek word could be used for the same physical object. As seen in the previous examples, law is often linked to the capital, and in this case this tablet has been provided by the prefect of the province, likely in Alexandria itself.

<sup>39</sup> See NT, Matthew 27:65 (c. 80–90 CE), ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ἔχετε κουστωδία· ὑπάγετε ἀσφαλίσασθε ὡς οἴδατε, ‘Pilate said to them, “You have a group of guards; go, make it as secure as you know how.”’

<sup>40</sup> For the meaning ‘group of guards’ in Latin, see *OLD s.v.* 5. For independent borrowings in more than one place, here perhaps signalled by different meanings, see §1.3.2.

<sup>41</sup> In Greek law, women could not legally act independently – but they could in Egyptian law – and had to resort to their closest male relative; see e.g. *P.Dryton* 19 (127 BCE, Pathyris) with Keenan *et al.* (2014: §3.1.1). On τάβλα, see §2.3.2.

<sup>42</sup> On Ῥωμαῖος and transmitted loans more broadly, see §1.3.2.

The last loanword included under the legal heading is φραγέλλη, from Latin *flagellum* ‘whip’, appearing in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2339.10 (26–75 CE). Even though this is an implement, rather than a legal term, the context of this text allows for it to be included in the present analysis. This text – which is the only papyrus recording the loanword<sup>43</sup> – preserves a lacunose report of legal proceedings: the trial is set before a Roman authority, the judge orders the flagellation of a person, the probably four defendants (one of which is a woman) may suffer crucifixion and there is reference to a war and to Alexandria’s citadel. Since most of these particulars are not common in similar reports, the editor suspects that the document may be an example of *Acta Alexandrinorum*, which are literary creations in the form of court or legion reports documenting the historically real frictions between Alexandrians and Rome.<sup>44</sup> Whatever the real nature of the text, the use of the Latin loanword φραγέλλη may be linked to a single fact: the use of Latin terms in a court where Roman rule asserts itself. Be it a real report of proceedings or its literary imitation, a Latin term used by the judge ordering a flogging is an implicit link to the power of the rulers and to their vocabulary (ll. i.10–11):

...  
 10 καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν φραγέλλας μαστιγω-  
 θῆναι. ἔμελλον μαστιγοῦσθα<ι> ὁ Πετείριος

...  
 ... and he ordered him to be flogged with whips. Peteirios and ... were about to be flogged ...

These six loanwords with legal links naturally appear in proper legal documents but, more interestingly, in private letters too. This may hint at that they were more or less current and

---

<sup>43</sup> Note however that φραγέλλιον appears in *P.Lond.* II 191.11 (II CE); NT, John 2:15 (c. 90–110 CE); and *I.Chr. Asie Mineure* I 290.4 (388–392 CE, Andriake – Lycia), where it refers to metal scrapers very likely used for levelling grain measures (see Cuvigny (2017) and cf. §4.7). Moreover, φλάγελλον appears in Edict.Diocl. 10.3 (301 CE), while φραγέλλη reappears only in a scholion to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 724.

<sup>44</sup> But the editor (C.H. Roberts) underlines that ‘the documentary appearance of the text’ may speak against this possibility. On this text, see also Harker (2008: 80–81, 201).

understandable, even if they do not appear very frequently. At least, one may think that the people who had to face a trial or travel to the capital for legal affairs knew them or came to know them. Three and possibly four of the five texts examined show links with the capital, where the prefect's court was permanently based – but the prefect also travelled through the country so as to administer justice – and where Roman citizens had to travel too for some of their legal interests.<sup>45</sup> Some of these terms were already common when used in these texts, and the others may also have been; thus, the texts showing a link with Alexandria do not directly prove that through them this vocabulary is being first introduced in Oxyrhynchus. However, they prove that Latin loanwords may often have a link with the judicial and administrative world of the capital. Even if these words were already current in the *chora*, they continued to show links to the place from which they came and in which they first and foremost were linked to Roman law, a Roman court, or a Roman official act.

#### 4.4.3 Administrative loanwords

Administrative loanwords resemble legal ones insofar as both categories show a link to the Roman apparatus, be it a legal court or an administrative office. Only two appear in early Oxyrhynchus: βενεφικιάριος, from Latin *beneficiarius* ‘attendant’ (of an officer or a magistrate), and πατριμόνιον, from Latin *patrimonium* ‘(imperial) property / estate’. The first is attested in *P.Oxy.Hels.* 11 (41–42 CE), a declaration of a *beneficiarius* – likely a public servant – attendant on the ἐπίτροπος (which translates the Latin word *procurator*) or head of the ἴδιος λόγος, which was the office in charge of selling all land confiscated by the state (e.g. abandoned land).<sup>46</sup> Similar to the case of legal documents in which soldiers identify themselves with their titles or membership to a unit, this public servant is here identified with the proper title of his position within a branch of the Roman provincial administration. The text is not otherwise in good shape,

---

<sup>45</sup> For instance, a Roman citizen had to declare new births in Alexandria; see above §4.1 n. 12.

<sup>46</sup> For the equivalence ἐπίτροπος – *procurator*, see Mason (1974: 48–49 and 142–143).

and we cannot know the precise circumstances in which it was written, but it is very likely that this attendant of the ἐπίτροπος of the ἴδιος λόγος had a strong link with the seat of the ἴδιος λόγος itself, Alexandria. For the administration of this department comprised a number of imperial freedmen, slaves, and οἰκονόμοι who, based in Alexandria, had to travel through the province, leaving traces in several different documents like the present one.<sup>47</sup>

The other administrative loanword, πατριμόνιον, appears in *P.Amst.* I 28 (3 BCE) and may be linked to a figure comparable to that of a βενεφικιάριος of the ἴδιος λόγος who travels through the province on account of the central administration. In this case, the text is a declaration in which a certain Phatres states under oath by the emperor that the above-mentioned (and now lost) list of all *patrimonia* that he has submitted is truthful. But what are these *patrimonia*? The editors rightly associate the loan πατριμόνιον with the imperial possessions or estates – normally referred to as οὐσίαι in Greek papyri – of which Phatres had compiled a list now being submitted to some office.<sup>48</sup> Phatres' status is not clear, but he may have worked in the imperial administration overseeing the estates as a clerk, and it is not impossible that he was an imperial slave. Slaves working on imperial estates (or estates of members of the imperial family) are known also from other papyri, one of which is particularly interesting because it originates from Oxyrhynchus, is dated shortly after *P.Amst.* I 28, and contains a Latin signature. This is *Ch.L.A.* III 206 (= *P.Oxy.* II 244, 23 CE), in which a certain Cerinthus, slave of Antonia Minor, wife of the elder Drusus, signs in Latin but with Greek code-switches a notification to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome.<sup>49</sup> The opening lines of text (1–14) contain a Greek notification addressed to Chaereas, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, on the transfer of cattle (sheep and goats) to the Cynopolite nome, and requesting another notification to be sent to the strategus of the latter nome.

---

<sup>47</sup> On the ἴδιος λόγος see also §1.2.4 n. 113.

<sup>48</sup> For the meaning 'imperial possession / estate' of *patrimonium*, see *TLL s.v.* I.C, with examples as early as the first emperors. It may be possible that Phatres' list included all imperial possessions of a nome, like the Oxyrhynchite. For the correspondence *patrimonium* – οὐσία, which Mason (1974) does not record, see Goetz (1888–1923: II 143, 447).

<sup>49</sup> The Oxyrhynchite nome included estates of: Antonia Minor (*P.Oxy.* II 244, 23 CE), Claudius (*P.Oxy.* 2837, 50 CE), Seneca (*P.Oxy.* 2873, 62 CE; *SB XVI* 12383, 55–56 CE; and *P.Lips.* I 115, 133 CE) and of a certain Anthos (*P.Oxy.* XLIV 3170.251), for whose identity see Parássoglou (1978: 18–19 with n. 24).

A second part (lines 15–17) comprises Cerinthus’ signature, while the third and last part of text is the beginning of Chaereas’ letter to his fellow strategus. Likely, this document or a copy of it was later released to Cerinthus, who had to present it to the strategus of the Cynopolite nome. Cerinthus’ Latin signature runs as follows (lines 15–17):

15     Ceri[nthus] Antoniae · Drusi · ser(uus)  
           epid[e]doca · anno · viiii · Tib(eri)  
           Caesaris Aug(usti) · Mechir · d̄īe · ̄ōc̄t̄(auo)

---

16. = ἐπιδέδωκα   17. = Μεχείρ

I, Cerinthus, slave of Antonia, Drusus’ wife, have submitted this in the ninth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, on the eighth day of Mecheir.

If Cerinthus, as it is probable, worked as some sort of supervisor in Antonia’s Oxyrynchite and Cynopolite nome estates, it is possible that other estates too had some bilingual personnel, and some of these may have been sent from Italy too.<sup>50</sup> In Cerinthus’ case, it is probably easier to think that he was a Greek speaker who also knew some Latin: for when he wanted to sign in Latin he resorted to Greek both for the technical verb of the document, ἐπιδέδωκα ‘I have submitted’, and for the dating. As J.N. Adams suggests (2003: 306–307), in this case ‘the direction of the interference (Greek influences Latin) points unmistakably to the primacy of Greek’. Thus, even if Cerinthus may not be seen as a Latin-speaking slave sent directly from Italy, it remains noticeable that estates comprised imperfect bilinguals who may have learnt Latin exactly because they worked in an imperial estate. To this end, it may be worth noting that Egyptian imperial estates were usually composed of several and dispersed allotments of land rented out to Egyptian tenants. In fact, they were not administered like the classical *villae rusticae* and *latifundia* that one may imagine. Supervisors like Cerinthus and like the author of *P.Amst.* I 28 probably looked after

---

<sup>50</sup> See Kehoe (1992: 20 n. 11). On the general administration of these estates, see Parássoglou (1978: 50–64) and Kehoe (1992: 18–29).

the general administration of the lands and cattle. And in such a chain of command, they may have reported back to some superiors who may have had a direct link with the Italian owners.<sup>51</sup>

In such a context, the use of a technical term like *πατριμόνιον* probably depends on the nature of a document like *P.Amst.* I 28; for this document is, to a great degree of likelihood, linked to the supervision of imperial lands. Interestingly, this text is the earliest attestation of the loanword *πατριμόνιον* in papyri, where the word becomes more and more common only from the fourth century onwards. The unmarked use of this loan in this text does not suggest that Phatres knew any Latin and was mixing Greek and Latin vocabulary. Rather, the loanword must have already been frequent at an early stage in the context in which Phatres worked, that of the administrative branch supervising imperial possessions; and in this respect Phatres may have been travelling through the *chora* like the *βενεφικιάρης* of *P.Oxy.Hels.* 11. Unfortunately, documents related to the direct administration or supervision of such possessions are not frequent, and it is unwarranted to infer any general tendencies of loanword use from such scanty texts; however, this occurrence is not irrelevant, and it may hint at the presence of some early islands in which Latin vocabulary spread easily – be it the administrative office of the *ἴδιος λόγος* or those supervising imperial possessions – at an early stage. The other side of this coin is that, in this very period, the same loanword, *πατριμόνιον*, could have been strange or even incomprehensible to those who did not work for the Roman administration or did not oversee an estate, like Phatres.

#### **4.5 Military loanwords and military presence: are they linked?**

As seen in the sections devoted to the Eastern Desert or Mons Claudianus, where the military – and especially the military administration – is present, loanwords usually follow. Just as an administrative or judiciary office may be seen as an island in which Latin influence is particularly detectable, so military camps too are a favourable place for loanwords. In this scenario, the substantial presence of military loanwords among the very early loanwords appearing in

---

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. Sen., *Ep.* 77.3, in which Seneca is expecting news from his Egyptian possessions.

Oxyrhynchus might suggest the actual presence of a camp in the city. But were soldiers on active service in the city and thus roaming its streets, or were they mainly occasional visitors? And were there many veterans in Oxyrhynchus? Before turning to the analysis of the majority of the military loans, it will be useful to scrutinise the actual relationship of the Roman army and soldiers with the city of Oxyrhynchus.

A stable military presence of the army in the city is not normally considered likely in the first centuries BCE and CE. Only from the beginning of the second century CE there appear some military documents related to the *Cohors III Ituraeorum*, which might have been garrisoned in the city for some of this period.<sup>52</sup> An early military presence is usually excluded not only because documents internal to a military camp such as letters between soldiers or records of military strength are generally lacking, but also on the grounds that external references to a military presence are absent too. If the first fact may be simply due to chance, e.g. the military documents of a hypothetical camp may have been discarded in an area that was later destroyed or not excavated, the second point is a telling silence. For military camps did not constitute an island with no contacts with the outside world, and the presence of a camp in Oxyrhynchus would have left at least some traces of interaction with the locals in letters, contracts, etc. In fact, a few texts present some hints. Among early documents, there are at least two Oxyrhynchus papyri tightly connected with the Roman military; there are references to a former encampment, called παρεμβολή or κάμπος from Latin *campus* ‘field’; there is a reference to this camp in a private account full of Roman names; and there is a document attesting the loanword κάστρον, from *castrum* ‘encampment’, in an unfortunately lacunose document.

Are these texts enough to state beyond any doubt that the Roman military was garrisoned in Oxyrhynchus before the second century CE? Probably they are not but taken together they prevent us from excluding the possibility *a priori*. What is more important, however, will be to see if such a possible presence may be linked to the use of many Latin loanwords. Let us look at the evidence.

---

<sup>52</sup> But there is no rock-solid evidence for this; see §4.2. n. 22 above and §5.1.2 n. 27 below.

#### 4.5.1 Soldiers on duty in Oxyrhynchus? Military texts and the shipment of wheat to Alexandria

At least two early papyri are tightly linked to the life of a military camp; these are *P.Oxy.* IV 812 (6 BCE) and the Latin papyrus *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4955 (late I– early II CE). The first one is a scanty letter attesting the loanwords *λωρίκα*, from Latin *lorica* ‘corselet’, and *λωρικάριος*, from Latin *loricarius* ‘corselet maker’; it is the only letter between soldiers from early Roman Oxyrhynchus.

Fr. A

1 . [ - - - ]  
κα . [ - - - ]  
ἔρω[σο]

Fr. B

1 [ . . . ] . [ . ] . ς τὴν μ . . [ - - - ]  
*vac.*  
εἶπον δὲ Ἀρίστωνα . [ - - - ]  
πεπίασται Λοκρίων [ - - - ὀ λω- ]  
ρικάρις ὑπὸ Λουκίου ἤκουσα γὰρ ὄ[τ]ι [ - - - ]  
5 τὴν *λωρίκαν* αὐτοῦ [ - - - ]  
(ἔτους) κε Καισάρου Ἀθ[ύρ - - - ]

---

4. *λωρικάριος* 6. *καισαροῦ* pap.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> The genitive is usually *Καίσαρος*, from *Καίσαρ*. The only other examples of *Καισάρου* are *O.Bodl.* II 1644.6 (106 CE, Thebes) and *P.Oxy.* II 380.1 (79 CE), where the scribe later corrected himself.

Fr. A ... Farewell.            Fr. B ... I said that Ariston ... Locrion has been distressed  
... the *loricarius* by Lucius. For I heard that ... his *lorica* ... Year 25th of Caesar,  
Athur ...

Even though the position of the fragments is not certain, nor the link between them, fragment B certainly originates from a setting comprising some international soldiers, for the name Locrion is never again attested in Egypt.<sup>54</sup> The *lorica* was the typical metal cuirass of a Roman soldier, while the *loricarius* likely attested here is probably in charge of the maintenance, rather than the actual production, of these pieces of equipment in a military camp.<sup>55</sup> Now, the early date of this text may suggest the presence of an early encampment in the city. However, a simple visit may also have caused the discarding of the letter, or the addressee (in Oxyrhynchus either on duty or for retirement) may have simply brought it to the city.

The other text, *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4955 (late I – early II CE), is a Latin papyrus certainly linked to the military administration, but its dating cannot substantiate the presence of a Roman garrison in Oxyrhynchus at the very beginning of Roman rule. The remains of a first column of text suggest that this papyrus may have been part of a *tomos synkollesimos*, that is a roll made up of several single texts pasted together for archival purposes. What remains of the second column is a beautifully written military roster, in which a specific duty (e.g. guarding the amphitheatre or the water-pipes) is followed by the identification of the soldiers assigned to it. For instance, in lines 26 to 27 the soldier Gaius Iulius Longus (or Longinus) from the century of Tiberius Iulius is assigned to an alabaster quarry for a watch shift, *alabastrona | c(enturia) Ti(beri) Iuli vac. C(aius) Iulius Lon[un]g[un]---*]. Of all lines these are particularly interesting, because there is no known alabaster quarry in the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchus. Moreover, Oxyrhynchus boasted a theatre, not an amphitheatre. Consequently, one must assume that this text arrived in the city only

---

<sup>54</sup> See TM Nam. The *LGPV* indicates that, in this period, Locrion is attested especially in Thrace; see e.g. *SEGLV* 745 (II/I BCE–I CE).

<sup>55</sup> The only other attestation of the loanword in Greek is in *P.Wash.Univ. inv.* 255.2 (V/VI CE, Oxyrhynchus); see Ruben Quintana (2020). For the reading, see Daris (1962: 136–137). The word *loricarius* does not appear very frequently in Latin either; see e.g. *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucia* III 17 (150–250 CE).

after having served its purpose someplace else. The editor advances two possibilities: Antinoopolis or Alexandria. Because Antinoopolis was founded in 130 CE and the palaeography of the papyrus favours a dating within the first decades of the second century, Alexandria is the likely option. The provincial capital is also the only place of Egypt where an amphitheatre is securely attested, even though we do not know of alabaster quarries just outside the capital.<sup>56</sup> In this case, *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4955 likely reached Oxyrhynchus fortuitously, during the visit of an army unit with its archives, or with a military clerk or higher-ranking soldier who retired in the city, where he brought a roll of military administrative documents.

Now, if these texts do not definitely prove the presence of soldiers on duty in Oxyrhynchus, others do. These are *SB* VI 9223 (Oxyrhynchus, 2 BCE), *P.Oxy.* II 276 (77 CE), and *P.Oxy.Hels.* 14 (I CE), which involve soldiers supervising the shipment of wheat from the *chora* to Alexandria, where it would have been forwarded to Rome. Involving a soldier as *ἐπίπλοος* or ‘supervisor’ of the cargo, these documents usually present the loanword *λεγεών* and the Greek equivalent of *κεντουρία*, *ἐκατονταρχία* (see §4.6.2). These papyri are usually authored either by the heads of the granaries (*sitologi*) or by the skippers of the boats and simply mention the presence of a legionary soldier from Alexandria. Quite clearly, the movement of wheat from the countryside to Alexandria and of legionary soldiers from Alexandria to the countryside brought with itself some new vocabulary, but the actual presence in Oxyrhynchus of the soldiers and skippers involved and their interaction with the locals must have been somewhat short overall.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.5.2 Α κάμπος and κάστρον in Oxyrhynchus?

---

<sup>56</sup> But see *P.Sakaon* 25.3 (327 CE, Theadelphia – Arsinoite nome): ἐν ἀλαβαστρίῳ Ἀλεξανδρίας and *SBI* 4639.3–4 (209 CE, Theadelphia?), perhaps both referring to the same alabaster quarry but likely in the Arsinoite nome (TM Geo ID 3376). One may suppose the presence of unattested alabaster quarries also outside Oxyrhynchus, just like Alexandria. However, while we have several papyri with information on Oxyrhynchus’ hinterland (for a quarry, see *P.Oxy.* III 498), papyri do not give us just as much on the hinterland of Alexandria. More importantly, the mention of an amphitheatre excludes Oxyrhynchus and probably Antinoopolis. In the vicinity of the latter was located Alabastron Polis / Alabastrine (TM Geo ID 2684). See also *O.Claud.* III, pp. 37–38 on the *numerus* of Alabastron, a subgroup of the workers part of the *familia*, for which see §3.2.2.

<sup>57</sup> On this point, see also the analysis of the loanword *κάγκελλος* ‘latticed grain measure’ in §4.7.

In fact, the soldiers appearing in Oxyrhynchus' early texts are not there mainly on duty, like those looking after wheat, but for economic interests documented in several legal contracts. These texts, which will constitute the bulk of the next section (§4.6), present several military loanwords, mainly used to identify the soldiers concerned. Two military loanwords appearing in legal contracts, however, do not identify any soldier; these are κάμπος from Latin *campus* 'camping place / open field' and κάστρον from Latin *castrum* 'army camp', both referring to a physical place, probably a military camp.

The first loan, κάμπος, does not appear here for the first time in Greek, being attested already in the first century BCE in Diodorus Siculus as a place for physical exercise.<sup>58</sup> Later, the word reappears in Strabo (I BCE–CE), as a place name, and Plutarch (I–II CE), as a marked place name.<sup>59</sup> These few attestations and the lack of other testimonies allow us to think that κάμπος had not already become integrated in Greek. In fact, as may often be the case for military loans, κάμπος may have been independently borrowed in more than one place where military units travelled.<sup>60</sup> In Oxyrhynchus, the word appears as an unmarked place name in *P.Mich.* III 171.15–6 (58 CE), *P.Mich.* III 179.13 (64 CE), and *P.Oxy.* II 247.22 (90 CE). In all these documents, the term refers to an actual quarter of the city, which is more often identified by a Greek name only, that is 'Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς ἄμφοδον 'quarter of the cavalrymen's encampment'.<sup>61</sup> It may be worth noticing that at this time Oxyrhynchus had two quarters named after a military camp: one in the eastern part of the city, which is usually referred to as the 'quarter of the Lycians' encampment' ἄμφοδον Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς, and the other in the north-western part of the city near the Serapeum, which is the cavalrymen's 'Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς ἄμφοδον.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See Diod. Sic. 37.29.1: ὅτι ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸν κάμπον καθ' ἡμέραν βαδίζων ἐγυμνάζετο πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας.

<sup>59</sup> See Strabo 5.1.11 and Plut., *Brut.* 38.4–5: τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων πεδία Ῥωμαῖοι κάμπους Φιλίππους καλοῦσι.

<sup>60</sup> For independent borrowings in more than one place, see §1.3.2.

<sup>61</sup> The 'camp quarter' of Oxyrhynchus is TM Geo ID 4764 = 4641.

<sup>62</sup> See Rink (1924: 39–42), Krüger (1990: 84 (§ 14), 85–86 (§ 24)), and Daris (2000c: 217). According to Krüger (1990), the Lycians' encampment was probably a Ptolemaic encampment later abandoned.

The first text, *P.Mich.* III 171, is the registration of the orphan Amoitias as an apprentice weaver by his aunt, Helen, who is acting with her guardian and husband Epinikos. Her declaration runs as follows (lines 5–18, extracts): βουλομέ|νη ἐγδόσθαι ... Ἀμοιτᾶν ... ὅστε μαθεῖν | τὴν γερδιακὴν τέχνην ... διδес|κάλου (*l.* διδασκάλω) Πausίρει Ἀμμωνίου λαύ|ρας Ἰππέων Κάμπου· διὸ ἀξιῶ | ἀναγράψασθαι τὸν Ἀμοιτᾶν | ἐν τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους μαθηταῖς, ‘since I want to apprentice Amoitias, in order that he may learn the art of weaving, to the master Pausiris, son of Ammonios, of the Cavalry Camp Quarter, I therefore request Amoitias to be registered among the apprentices of the same year’.<sup>63</sup> It may be worth noting that the texts edited just before and after this in the Michigan series, *P.Mich.* III 170 (49 CE) and *P.Mich.* III 172 (62 CE), are both authored by the same master weaver Pausiris, son of Ammonios, who declares to be living in the λαύρα Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς, showing that κάμπος and παρεμβολή could be used interchangeably. The second text, *P.Mich.* III 179, is a declaration of property, in which a certain Tauris, acting with her guardian Heroides, declares to own a house with an open court ‘near the Serapeum at the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the quarter of the former cavalry camp’, (lines 10–14) τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι | ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει | Σαραπείου ἐν τῷ πρότερον | τῶν Ἰππέων Κάμπωι οἰκίαν | ἐν ἧ αἴθριον. The third text, *P.Oxy.* II 247.22, is a registration of property in the ‘camp quarter’ of the city directed to the *bybliophylaces* or heads of the real estate registry. In it, a certain Panechotes declares that his underage brother owns part of a house (lines 9–23, extracts): ἀπογράφομ[αι ... ] ... τὸ ὑπάρ|χον αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἐνεσ|τῶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τοῦ | πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(ει) |<sup>20</sup> Σαραπίου ἐπ’ ἀμφοδου | Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς | [ἐ]ν τῷ Κάμπω τρίτον | [μέ]ρος οἰκίας, ‘I register ... his, at the present day, third part of a house near the Serapeum at the city of the Oxyrhynchi, near the quarter of the horsemen’s encampment, (that is) in the *campus*’.

The second of these loanwords, κάστρον ‘army camp’, appears without context in a very lacunose marriage contract, *SB XXVIII* 16996.6 (I CE).<sup>64</sup> To the discussion of these documents,

<sup>63</sup> This document is part of the archive of Pausiris son of Pausiris the weaver (i.e. the son of the present Pausiris); see TM Arch ID 176.

<sup>64</sup> In this case, one may wonder whether the reading is reliable (I do not have access to an image) or why an encampment should be mentioned in a marriage. Was the groom a soldier or veteran? But if the groom was an active soldier, the marriage would have been legally void; see e.g. Phang (2001).

one may add the private account *P.Oxy.* IV 736 (c. 1 CE), which presents an unusual number of Roman names for an early text from Oxyrhynchus. For instance, the text records payments for the entertainment of a certain Gemellus' wife, Antonia, and Caecilius' daughter Taptollous. Other names include Primus and Secunda, who may have been slaves, but also Greek or Egyptian ones like Theodoros or Pnasis, whose daughter's mummy is recorded with regard to perfume expenses. Also interestingly, at lines 33–34 the author records the cost of grinding some wheat 'in the camp through Theodoros', ἐν παρεμβολῇ διὰ Θεοδώρου | ἄλεσ[τρα] ἄρ[τ]ω(v). The frequent presence of Latin names may suggest that this is an actual encampment, rather than the encampment quarter of the city.<sup>65</sup>

Now, a few considerations on this camp quarter and on the use of κάμπος are in order. First, one may notice that the name of the quarter is accompanied by the adverb πρότερον 'former' in *P.Mich.* III 179.13 (64 CE).<sup>66</sup> The use of 'former' suggests that, in the sixties of the first century CE, this place was not in current use as a cavalry camp, that it had been before, and that it kept its original name even when the cavalymen vacated the place. In fact, the name of this quarter is attested well into the fifth century CE (e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4693 (466 CE)), and it is highly unlikely that a camp of cavalymen existed without interruption in Oxyrhynchus for this entire time span. One may even hypothesise that a παρεμβολή was established in the Ptolemaic period, and that it was later reused intermittently by a Roman unit which brought with it the name κάμπος.<sup>67</sup> The Latin term itself, *campus*, does not properly indicate a permanent military building but usually an open field for public use, for example for the *comitia*, or for military exercise, training, or temporary encampment.<sup>68</sup>

Even though a Roman use of this camp likely brought to Oxyrhynchus the name κάμπος, this name – appearing only in the three documents presented – never superseded the Greek

---

<sup>65</sup> Whitehorne (1990: 553) goes as far as hypothesising that the author of this text, perhaps a woman, may have been a 'local woman perhaps living in a de facto relationship with a member of the local garrison.'

<sup>66</sup> This adverb occurs also in *P.Oxy.* I 104.12–3 (96 CE), where the quarter is indicated by its Greek name only.

<sup>67</sup> For instance, the word παρεμβολή indicates a Ptolemaic military camp in *UPZ* II 204.3 (134 BCE, Thebes).

<sup>68</sup> See *TLL* s.v. I.A.3–4 and B.1.

παρεμβολή. When one combines the fact that the three texts using κάμπος are all dated to the second half of the first century, when the κάμπος was already a former one, with the fact that its Latin name κάμπος did not survive much longer, one may suggest that there actually was a Roman camp in Oxyrhynchus at the beginning of Roman rule, be it the last decades of the first century BCE or the first half of the first century CE. As a consequence, one cannot exclude altogether the possibility that, during such a military visit (or more than one visit), military documents like *P.Oxy. IV 812* (6 BCE) found their way to the local dumps, even when they had been actually written someplace else.

This analysis suggests that only few documents and few loanwords may be linked to an actual presence of an early military camp in the city. More often, soldiers come and go from Oxyrhynchus, either on duty or for business. Mainly, the military loanwords are linked to soldiers who are in the city for business; if they are legionary soldiers, they are stationed in Alexandria, of which some were citizens (e.g. *P.Oxy. XXII 2349*). Veterans too settled in Oxyrhynchus, but far fewer than in other areas of Egypt like certain villages of the Arsinoite nome.<sup>69</sup> Certainly these retired soldiers played a role in the life of the city: they were on the make and had just obtained a small fortune (their *honesta missio* ‘pension’) together with Roman citizenship. These soldiers often came from auxiliary units, may have known some Latin, and may have spread it in the city. However, Latin influence is usually absent from the documents that concern them.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps, whatever vocabulary they knew was not suitable for their everyday life and did not play a vital role in bringing Latin influence to the city. Ultimately, it is not in the few documents linked to a possible Roman camp of Oxyrhynchus that we must look if we want to analyse the early use of Latin loanwords in the city, because these texts do not suggest a noticeable influence on the city’s vocabulary.

---

<sup>69</sup> See Thomas (2007), Whitehorne (1990), and Biežuńska-Małowist (1975).

<sup>70</sup> Though not many if compared to places like Karanis, veterans appear also in early Oxyrhynchus texts. See, e.g., *P. Yale 60* (6–5 BCE), in which a discharged cavalryman loans 102 drachmas, or *P.Fouad 37* (48 CE), in which the discharged Pompeius Niger apprentices his son as weaver. Many other documents display different Latin names (e.g. in *P.Oxy. IV*), but we may not be certain that all these names refer to Roman citizens or discharged soldiers. On Pompeius Niger, see below 4.6.4 n. 97.

#### 4.6 Military loans in Oxyrhynchus: their choice and their use

Even though an early κάμπος or κάστρον in Oxyrhynchus does not explain the many military loanwords, the remaining military words may offer some better suggestions. In total, military loanwords attested in the first centuries BCE and CE at Oxyrhynchus are eleven: ἄλη from *ala* ‘squadron of cavalry’, κάμπος from *campus* ‘camping place’ (§4.5.2), the adjective καστρήσιος from Latin *castrensis* ‘of the camp’, κάστρον from *castrum* ‘army camp’ (§4.5.2), κεντουρία from *centuria* ‘century’, κεντουρίων from *centurio* ‘centurion’, λεγεών from *legio* ‘legion’, λωρίκα from *lorica* ‘corselet’, λωρικάριος from *loricarius* ‘corselet maker’ (§4.5.1), τοῦρμα from *turma* ‘squadron of cavalry’ (subdivision of an *ala*), and φρουμεντάριος from *frumentarius* ‘official supervising the victualling’. Among these loanwords, three have Greek equivalents: ἄλη corresponds to Greek ἴλη (often spelled εἴλη) ‘band of men’, κεντουρία to ἑκατονταρχία, and κεντουρίων to ἑκατοντάρχης.<sup>71</sup> To first analyse the patterns of choice between such words may help to assess how Latin words are introduced and who is responsible for their preference over Greek equivalents.

The personal details of the soldiers involved in the texts may help to frame the discussion. When the provenance of a soldier is specified, the texts usually attest to soldiers from either the *legio III Cyrenaica* or the *XXII Deiotariana*. Both of these were stationed outside Alexandria, with some detachments in the countryside, but none in Oxyrhynchus or nearby.<sup>72</sup> A more precise link with Alexandria appears also in other texts analysed on the following pages: *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349 involves a soldier of the XXII legion who is an Alexandrian citizen with Roman citizenship, *P.Oxy.* XII 1471 and *P.Fouad* 44 are two *synchoreseis*, that is a particular type of legal agreement which involves Alexandrians, and the documents involving the shipment of wheat under the

---

<sup>71</sup> Or ἑκατόνταρχος; both forms exist, but it is often difficult to distinguish between them. Among first-century CE documents from Oxyrhynchus, ἑκατοντάρχης appears in *PSIXIII* 1356 (I CE) and *P.Oxy.* XIX 2234 (31 CE), while *P.Oxy.* XLV 3250 (63 CE) preserves a genitive, which may be from either form.

<sup>72</sup> See Alston (1995: 163–191), C. Wolff (2000), Daris (2000b), Lesquier (1918: 40–63). The cavalrymen who may have been garrisoned in Oxyrhynchus’ κάμπος were not legionary soldiers, but auxiliary ones.

supervision of a soldier – *P.Oxy.* II 276, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 14, *SB* VI 9223 (§4.5.1) – all involve Alexandria as the point from which the soldier comes and to which he will return.

#### 4.6.1 The pair ἄλη / ἕλη

In this period, the Greek ἕλη does not compete with ἄλη in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>73</sup> In fact, ἕλη is much rarer than its Latin counterpart, and it first appears in Oxyrhynchus only in the second century CE in *PSIV* 447.11 (166–167 CE), which is a document of *epikrisis*, that is a determination of status. Also in other areas of Egypt, ἕλη is less frequent than ἄλη, and in the first century CE it appears only in the account *P.Daris* 23 (I CE, perhaps Alabanthis – Arsinoite nome).<sup>74</sup> The use of ἕλη as the equivalent of Latin ἄλη becomes common only in the second century CE, probably after some time in which its use became more and more identical to that of Latin ἄλη. On the other hand, both κεντουρία and κεντουρίων already alternate with ἑκατονταρχία and ἑκατοντάρχης in this period.

#### 4.6.2 The pair κεντουρία / ἑκατονταρχία

With regard to the pair κεντουρία / ἑκατονταρχία, the Latin κεντουρία appears in three legal contracts and in a document linked to the shipment of state wheat to Alexandria, while the Greek ἑκατονταρχία appears only once in Oxyrhynchus, in another document related to wheat shipments.<sup>75</sup> The contracts presenting κεντουρία see a soldier as the active party of a deed. For contracts using the verb ὁμολογέω ‘to agree’ usually follow two schemes: either an objective one in which two parties, both in the third person, agree about something (A and B agree that A will do so and so) or a subjective one in which an active party agrees with the other party about

---

<sup>73</sup> On ἄλη and ἕλη, see also Mason (1974: 5, 20, 56, 164–165) and §2.7.

<sup>74</sup> The frequency of Greek ἕλη (εἕλη) vs. ἄλη have been compared using TM Words and the papyrological navigator. Already in e.g. Hdt. 1.73, ἕλη appears as a military term, ‘band of men’.

<sup>75</sup> On κεντουρία and ἑκατονταρχία, see also Mason (1974: 163–165) and §2.4.2.

something (A (nominative) agrees with B (dative) etc.). Being the active party of a contract may have some linguistic implications for the choice of vocabulary identifying said party, which ought to be scrutinised.

The three contracts using *κεντουρία* attest to a settlement of rent in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349 (70 CE), the appointment of a representative in *SB XX* 14071 (= *P.Oxy.* II 376, 77 CE), and the restitution of a loan in *SBXX* 15028 (14–37 CE).<sup>76</sup> Membership of a specific *κεντουρία* identifies soldiers, like the rich Alexandrian and Roman citizen Gaius Iulius Saturnilus in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349 (lines 2–6, extracts):<sup>77</sup>

... ὁμολογεῖ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σατορνεῖλος στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστῆς **κεντέρας** Βίου Σεουήρου ὡς (ἐτῶν) εἴκοσι ὀκτῶ ... | ... διὰ τοῦ συνεσταμένου ... | ... | ... ἀπλευθερωμέν[ο]ν ὑπ' [αὐ]τοῦ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας τότε χρηματίζοντος Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου Φυλαξιθαλάσσιος' | ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὺς Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοπόμπο[υ] Ἡρακλείδῃ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Ἡρώδου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως ἐν ἀγυῖᾳ ...

2. *I.* κεντουρίας 5. *I.* χρηματίζων 6. *I.* Ἀλθαιεύς

Gaius Iulius Saturnilus, soldier of the twenty-second legion, **century** of Bius Severus, aged twenty-eight, ... acting through ... Dionysius also known as Theopompus, whom he set free before his enlistment, when he (i.e. Gaius Iulius Saturnilus) was styled Ptolemy son of Ptolemy of the Phylaxithalassian tribe and

<sup>76</sup> The name of the soldier in nominative is clearly preserved in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349. In *SB XX* 14071, the name of the soldier in nominative is preserved but not that of the other party, while in *SB XX* 15028 the name of the other party is partly preserved in dative at line 4 ([ - - - ]λυλει, perhaps Κολύλει). Note that in *SB XX* 15028 *κεντουρία* does not appear in the opening lines identifying the soldier, where it may be in lacuna, but at the end of the text.

<sup>77</sup> This text presents also the transmitted loanword *πάτρων*, from *patronus* (line 10): τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοπόμπον ἀπεσχηκότος εἰς τὸν τοῦ πάτρωνος λόγον, 'Dionysius also known as Theopompus has received on his patron's account.' On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2; on *πάτρων* see also below §5.3.1 n. 147.

Althean deme, agrees with Heracleides son of Apion son of Herodes of the city of Oxyrhynchus in the street ...

*SB VI 9223* (2 BCE) is the fourth document attesting *κεντουρία*. This text is an inscribed clay pot containing a wheat sample (*δείγμα*).<sup>78</sup> Here, two soldiers do not appear as active subjects of a contract, but as the on-board supervisors for the safe shipment of state wheat to Alexandria (ll. 2–3): δι' ἐπιπλόου Λουκίου Οὐκλατίου στρατιώτου | λεγεῶνος κ̄β̄ σπείρης β̄ κεντερωνας (*Ι. κεντουρίας*)<sup>79</sup> Μαξίμου Στολτίου, 'through the on-board soldier Lucius Oclatius, soldier of the twenty-second legion, second *cohors*, century of Maximus Stoltius'. The pilots of the two boats shipping the wheat authored the text and mentioned the two soldiers (l. 10): Ἐρμίας καὶ Ἀμώνις ἐσφραγίσμα (*Ι. ἐσφραγίσμ<εθ>α*) τὰ δίγματα (*Ι. δείγματα*).

In this period, the Greek equivalent *ἐκατονταρχία* appears only in *P.Oxy. II 276* (77 CE). This text testifies to a shipment of wheat similar to that of *SB VI 9223*, but *P.Oxy. II 276* is a receipt issued to the *sitologi* or heads of the public granaries by the pilots who took in charge the wheat-freight. These pilots acknowledge to have received a certain amount of wheat which will be transported under the protection of a soldier (ll. 8–10): δι' ἐπιπλόου Κλαυδίου Κέλερος | στρατιώτου λεγεῶνος δευτέρας ἐκατονταρχίας Βραβιρίου, 'through the soldier on board Claudius Celer, soldier of the second legion, century of Brabirius'.<sup>80</sup>

Contemporary documents from other parts of Egypt display similarities to those of Oxyrhynchus. Excluding military documents from the desert or abbreviations, *κεντουρία* appears twice and *ἐκατονταρχία* only once, but always in contracts. *BGU II 455* (I CE, unknown prov.) is the copy of a sale contract which the soldier of the twenty-second legion Marcus Lucretius Pudens sends to the Alexandrian *archidicastes*, and in it he appears as member of a *κεντουρία*.<sup>81</sup> *P.Mich.*

---

<sup>78</sup> On this unusual find, see Guéraud (1950).

<sup>79</sup> One may suppose that *κεντερωνας*, for which the editor does not give an accent, had been formed on *κεντουρίων + -ια*, which would result in the hapax *κεντουριωνία = κεντουρία* 'century'.

<sup>80</sup> No second legion is known in Egypt before the creation of the II *Traiana Fortis* in the second century; see Lesquier (1918: 64–71). Either this is a mistake for *δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστής* or a unit from another second legion was in Alexandria under Vespasian.

<sup>81</sup> See ll. 4–6: π[α]ρὰ Μάρκου Λ[ο]υκρητίου Πούδεντος στρατιώτου λεγιῶνος δευτέρας καὶ ἰκοστής (*Ι. εἰκοστής*) κεντουρίας (*Ι. κεντουρίας*) Κοκκηίου | Πούδεντος.

IX 571 (96–98 CE, Karanis) preserves both words. It comprises a contract between soldiers, both identified by membership to a *κεντουρία*, for the deposit of 740 drachmas and a receipt for withdrawal of 580 drachmas, together with instructions on the remaining 160, which was drawn up at a later date. The third soldier authoring this second text, who may be the executor of the depositor's will on behalf of the heirs, identifies himself by using the abbreviation for *ἐκατονταρχία*, which is realized by superimposing a rho (= 100) on a chi,  $\rho\chi$ . The use of this abbreviation is ubiquitous in documents from military settings, where it is used for *ἐκατοντάρχη* too, and this may explain its appearance here.<sup>82</sup> This third soldier is not part of a contract; he simply identifies himself in the fastest way possible, that is through an abbreviation. Interestingly, in this century this is the only document from the *chora* in which the abbreviation for *ἐκατονταρχία* appears, but this text may have been brought to Karanis only after it had been drawn up someplace else, perhaps in a military camp.

In this period, *ἐκατονταρχία* appears in full only in *P.Mich.* IX 568–569 (92 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis, Arsinoite nome), which are duplicate copies of the same contract. In this contract, Taeuemeris daughter of Marcus promises Marcus Anthestius Gemellus that she will repay a loan contracted with Gemellus' mother within five days. Interestingly enough, Taeuemeris' father has a Latin name, Marcus, but she, her husband and her son, both Sarapion, go by a Graeco-Egyptian name. In this text, Taeuemeris is the active party of the acknowledgment and promises to repay Gemellus, whom she identifies by membership of the *σπείρης τρίτης Ἰτου[ραίων ἐκατ]ονταρχίας Τιτίου* or 'third Ituraean cohort, century of Titius' (l. 6). The soldier Gemellus appears here as the member of a *ἐκατονταρχία* rather than of a *κεντουρία*, but it is the debtor and active party of the text, Taeuemeris, who identifies him with this term.

The texts show that in this period *κεντουρία* appears more often than its Greek equivalent *ἐκατονταρχία* (four examples vs. one in Oxyrhynchus, six vs. two overall). If abbreviated, *ἐκατονταρχία* is more common overall, but only in military documents from the desert. Even though the data are not copious, they may be enough to notice a trend, for *κεντουρία* appears

---

<sup>82</sup> Cf. §2.4.2.

consistently only when a soldier is the active subject of a deed. While when someone else identifies a soldier, there is variation: he may either be part of a κεντουρία (as in the shipment of wheat *SB VI* 9223) or of a ἑκατονταρχία (like in the other shipment of wheat *P.Oxy.* II 276 or in the contract *P.Mich.* IX 568 – 569). To put it in other words, being the active party of a legal deed does show some linguistic implications, for when a soldier is such, Latin vocabulary seems to follow. This trend poses another and perhaps more important question: is the soldier himself really responsible for this choice or is it someone else? Probably he is.

The alternative solution is to think that the scribes drafting the contracts are responsible. For just like today, legal texts were not drawn up directly by the transacting parties, and ancient private citizens in need of a sale, loan, or registration of property resorted to a scribe or office.<sup>83</sup> All the above mentioned contracts attesting κεντουρία – the settlement of rent *P.Oxy.* 2349, the receipt for restitution of a loan *SB XX* 15028 and the appointment of a representative *SB XX* 14071 (all three also attesting λεγεών) – were drawn up in the office of Oxyrhynchus' *agoranomus*, that is the public notary of a nome capital.<sup>84</sup> In this office, a scribe would use a more or less fixed template to be filled in with dates, names, and details. For instance, the already mentioned settlement of rent *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349 lacks the day of the month in line 1, where a space of 3.5 cm is still blank.<sup>85</sup> The scribe must have prepared this document beforehand (to be completed at a later moment that may have never come). If so, one may hypothesise that the notarial offices drawing up these documents were responsible for choosing Latin and preferring it over Greek. Against this view, one may refer to *P.Mich.* IX 568 – 569. These duplicates show that a contract can identify a soldier through the Greek ἑκατονταρχία when the soldier is not the active party. However, these texts were not written in Oxyrhynchus.

One may think that only Oxyrhynchus' scribes preferred Latin over the Greek option. In this case, these scribes would be consistently changing Greek into Latin loanwords, even when a

---

<sup>83</sup> On the use of scribes for e.g. private letters and on their influence (mainly just orthographical and phonological) on the final text, see Halla-aho (2018).

<sup>84</sup> This can be inferred from the fact that the parties are agreeing ἐν ἀγυίᾳ 'in the (High) street', which in Oxyrhynchus is synonymous for this office. On the *agoranomus*, see above §4.1 n. 5.

<sup>85</sup> See Sijpesteijn (1978: 243).

soldier in need of a contract presented himself with a Greek term. This would require both the knowledge of a correspondence and the deliberate choice to prefer Latin. However, there are at least two objections to this scenario. First, the consistent use of *σπεῖρα*, corresponding to Latin *cohors* ‘company of soldiers’, in legal contracts suggests that scribes accepted the use of Greek military terms over Latin.<sup>86</sup> In this period, the corresponding Latin loanword *κοόρτη* occurs only once in papyri, in the letter between soldiers *O.Did.* 350.5 (77–92 CE, Didymoi). Most likely, this loanword was not yet current outside military camps, and a soldier who entered a scribe’s office in this period had to use *σπεῖρα* to be understood. Second, Latin loanwords are not preferred in petitions sent to the centurion. Petitions are formally sent from private citizens to the authority, but they are the output of some professional scribe private citizens resorted to. Even though these texts do not use the pair *κεντουρία* / *ἑκατονταρχία*, one may notice that they all prefer the Greek *ἑκατοντάρχης* over the Latin *κεντουρίων* (see §4.6.3). On the one hand, this flags how scribes can use Greek vocabulary over Latin, and on the other it may suggest that the Greek *ἑκατοντάρχης* was actually more current among private citizens and scribes.

All in all, these texts suggest that Latin appears consistently only when a soldier enters the scribe’s office in need for a contract. The following section will suggest that people could choose freely between *κεντουρίων* and *ἑκατοντάρχης* in their letters or petitions, contrasting with what happens in the soldiers’ legal contracts. Most likely, the choice between two equivalents had more value for the soldiers concerned, who did choose Greek in some instances (see *SB XVIII* 13235, below §4.6.3) but not in legal contracts.

#### 4.6.3 The pair *κεντουρίων* / *ἑκατοντάρχης*

Both *κεντουρίων* and *ἑκατοντάρχης* are attested more than once in this period: in Oxyrhynchus the Latin *κεντουρίων* appears twice and the Greek *ἑκατοντάρχης* thrice. Before turning to the

---

<sup>86</sup> *σπεῖρα* appears in the receipt for the transportation of wheat *SB VI* 9223.3.4 (2 BCE), the receipt for restitution of loan *SBXX* 15028.3 (14–37 CE) and the receipt for transportation of wheat *P.Oxy.Hels.* 14.9 (I CE).

examples, it may be worth recalling that in the second century BCE κεντουρίων had appeared in Polybius as a marked loan.<sup>87</sup> However, it did not show up again in any source until the first century BCE, when it turns up in the Egyptian inscription *I.Philae* 63 (32 or 25 BCE) and in the papyrus *P.Oslo* II 26.21–25 (5–4 BCE, Oxyrhynchus). As for many other military terms, one may hypothesise that the word was independently borrowed more than once in the Greek-speaking areas that one after the other came into contact with the Roman army.<sup>88</sup>

In Oxyrhynchus, the loanword appears in *P.Oslo* II 26.21–25 (5–4 BCE) and in *SB* III 7258.4 (88–96 CE). The first text is a letter sent from the farmer of public land Leon son of Herakleides to Onnophris, scribe of the western district (*toparchia*), complaining that the seeds he was given have been eaten by worms. The writer details the borders of one of his allotments of land as follows: βορρᾶ | χέρσος, νότου Θεώνος τοῦ Σα[ρα]|πίωνος, λιβδὸς Οὐίβιου κεντουρί[[ωνος] (*I. κεντουρί[[ωνος]*), [ἀπηλιώ]του Βερενίκη[ς] | τῆς Ἡρακ[λείδου], ‘to the north with uncultivated land, to the south with that of Theon son of Sarapion, to the west with that of Vibius the **centurion**, to the east with that of Berenike daughter of Herakleides.’ *SB* III 7258 is private letter in which the hieroglyph carver Theon writes to his father Onnophris (likely a different one from that of *P.Oslo* II 26) because he has heard that the centurion of Akoris, south of Oxyrhynchus, has sent for some carvers, and he wants to know whether he should go there or not (ll. 1–7):<sup>89</sup>

Τεῶς Ὀννώφρι τῷ πατρὶ  
 πλεῖστα χαίρειν.  
 μετέλαβον φάσιν, ὅτι ὁ ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀκώρι [κ]εντουρίων ἀπέσταλκεν  
 5 ἐπὶ τοῦ[ς] ἱερογλύφους, ἐὰν οὖν εἰδῆς,

<sup>87</sup> See Polyb. 6.24.5–6: τοὺς δ’ ἡγεμόνας (ἐκάλεσαν) κεντουρίωνας καὶ ταξίαρχους. Cf. Mason (1974: 5, 163–164). See also §2.4.2.

<sup>88</sup> For independent borrowings in more than one place, see §1.3.2.

<sup>89</sup> For the edition of this papyrus, see Edgar (1926: 203–205). For hieroglyph carvers in Oxyrhynchus, see *P.Oxy.* VII 1029 (107 CE), which is a complete list of the five active carvers of the city. For the centurion of Akoris’ quarries, see *I.Akoris* 3 (82–83 CE).

[ὅτι] ἀληθές ἐστίν, πέμψον μοι φάσιν,

[εἰ ἢ] μείζ ἀναβῶμεν ἢ μείνωμεν.

...

---

#### 4. *Ι. κεντουρίων*

Teos to his father Onnophris many greetings. I received word that the **centurion** in Akoris has sent for the hieroglyphic carvers. So if you know that it is true, send me word if we are to go upriver or remain here. ...

The Greek equivalent ἑκατοντάρχης appears in different types of texts. *PSI*XIII 1356 (I CE) and *P.Oxy.* XIX 2234 (31 CE) are petitions directed to the centurion, who in the *chora* often acts as a first port of call for crimes and injustices.<sup>90</sup> In the first petition the body of the text is unfortunately lacking, while in the second one a certain Hermon son of Demetrius complains against a rather large group of fishermen who, joined by the soldier Titius, entered his property and stole a talent's worth of fish from a cistern.<sup>91</sup> The third example is *P.Oxy.* XLV 3250 (63 CE), which is a contract drawn up at Oxyrhynchus concerning shipment of wheat from Hermopolis to Oxyrhynchus. The skipper Anoubas concludes this contract of transportation with Polytimus, slave of Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaeus, mentioning that his boat is the property of the ἑκατοντάρχης M. Cornelius Torullus.

Contemporary documents from other parts of Egypt show that the Greek equivalent outnumbered κεντουρίων.<sup>92</sup> In military settings such as the Eastern Desert, the vast majority of times ἑκατοντάρχης occurs abbreviated by the usual  $\overset{\rho}{\chi}$  ( $\rho = 100$ ). Elsewhere, it is commonly written in full, and it appears in 13 texts; these all come from the Arsinoite nome and are mostly

---

<sup>90</sup> See Alston (1995: 86–96) and Peachin's discussion in the edition of *P.Sijp.* 15.

<sup>91</sup> This text exemplifies how a Roman soldier, here allied with a group of locals, could take advantage of a private citizen; see Whitehorne (1990: 554).

<sup>92</sup> Note that a military commander called ἑκατοντάρχης appears in papyri already during the Ptolemaic period; see *P.Dion.*, pp. 34–35 and e.g. *P.Dion.* 19.11 (105 BCE, Akoris – Hermopolite nome).

petitions to the centurion or letters mentioning a centurion.<sup>93</sup> Only one of these documents is directly written by a centurion: *SB XVIII* 13235 (69–78 CE, Hawara). This is a letter in which the centurion Marcus Sempronius, identified by the Greek ἑκατοντάρχης, writes to the former heads of the *gymnasium* and current *bybliophylaces* or heads of the real estate registry with regard to a sale of land. He identifies himself with the Greek equivalent, but this text is not an actual contract and is addressed to two Greek officials. One may hypothesise that a centurion preferred the Greek title when he interacted with Greek officials. Outside Oxyrhynchus, the Latin κεντουρίων appears only twice. These examples are: *P.Pintaudi* 52 (27 CE, unknown prov.), which mentions a κεντουρίων as an important local officer who employs several scribes, and *SB V* 7600 (16 CE, unknown prov.), but this is a letter written by a soldier. Even though its provenance is unknown, it is likely linked to a military camp similar to those of the Eastern Desert.<sup>94</sup>

All these texts draw a different picture from that of κεντουρία / ἑκατονταρχία. First of all, these centurions do not appear as the active party of legal contracts. For instance, the contract *P.Oxy.* XLV 3250 attests ἑκατοντάρχης, but the centurion M. Cornelius Torullus is not party to the deed. Second, the texts attesting κεντουρίων or ἑκατοντάρχης display a variation for which there is not a clear pattern of choice. Since the Greek ἑκατοντάρχης is ubiquitous in petitions sent to centurions, one may think that the Greek is used and thus preferred for the day-to-day interactions with the population, and the example of *SB XVIII* 13235 may support this hypothesis, but the population knows and uses the Latin κεντουρίων too (see e.g. *SB III* 7258). The people

---

<sup>93</sup> The 13 texts in which ἑκατοντάρχης appears in full in this time frame are: *P.Oslo* II 30 (20 BCE, Sentrempaei – Arsinoite nome); *P.Lond.* II 276 (duplicate of *SB I* 5954; 15 CE, Soknopaiu Nesos); *SB I* 5239 (15 CE, Soknopaiu Nesos); *SB X* 10308 (15 CE, Soknopaiu Nesos); *P.Graux* II 9 (33 CE, Philadelphia); *P.Ryl.* II 141 (37 CE, Euhemeria); *P.Thomas* 5 (46 CE, Philadelphia); *P.Mich.* X 582 (50 CE, Philadelphia); *P.Sjpp.* 15 (50–51 CE, Philadelphia); *SB XVIII* 13235 (69–78 CE, Aueris – Arsinoite nome); *P.Oslo* II 21 (71 CE, Karanis); *SB XXII* 15346 (88–89 CE, Karanis); *BGU* II 436 (duplicate of *Chrest.Mitt.* 125; 98–117 CE, Soknopaiu Nesos). In *SBI* 5238.1 (14 CE, Soknopaiu Nesos) the word is in lacuna, but this petition is addressed to the same ἑκατοντάρχης of *P.Lond.* II 276.

In this period, the abbreviation appears only once in civil documents from the *chora*; see *BGU* III 802 (42 CE, Arsinoite nome), which is a register of daily transports drawn up by *sitologi*. On these abbreviations, see also above §2.4.2 and Mason (1974: 9).

<sup>94</sup> The author of this text has been newly appointed *curator turmae*, and his many spelling variations closely resemble those common in the Desert.

can choose freely between the options, and so κεντουρίων appears in the letter that the public farmer Leon sends to an official scribe, or the hieroglyph carver Teos privately sends to his father. Most likely, in legal contracts κεντουρίων and ἑκατοντάρχης may have followed a pattern of choice similar to that of κεντουρία and ἑκατονταρχία, but these other documents show us that a greater variety of choice was current both among the civilians and the centurions themselves.

#### 4.6.4 Other military vocabulary

The other military loanwords attested in this period in Oxyrhynchus do not have Greek equivalents, and they too appear in legal documents that were drawn up by a professional scribe or a notarial office.<sup>95</sup> For instance, the office of Oxyrhynchus' *agoranomus* is involved in the sale of land *P.Hamb.* III 217 (first half I CE), attesting a cavalryman of an *ala Augusta* and the loanwords Αὔγουστος 'imperial' (a transmitted loan, here referring to the name of the unit),<sup>96</sup> ἄλη, and τούρμα, and the loan between a soldier and an Egyptian *P.Michael* 9 (92 CE), attesting the loanword φρουμεντάριος – probably the soldier? – in a scanty and unplaced fragment of the document. In both cases the soldier is the active party of the contract, identified in the nominative, buying a property or lending the money. In addition to these, *P.Fouad* 44 (44 CE) and *P.Oxy.* XII 1471 (81 CE) are two *synchoreseis*, that is a particular type of contract usable for various transactions, by which the transacting parties send their agreement to the Alexandrian *archidicastes*.<sup>97</sup> These contracts usually involve Alexandrian citizens and are linked to Alexandria also when found in the Egyptian *chora*. Without delving into the details of these texts, suffice it to say that both *P.Oxy.* XII 1471 and *P.Fouad* 44 concern loans; the first involves a certain Marcus

---

<sup>95</sup> The loanwords λωρῖκα and λωρικάριος (*P.Oxy.* IV 812) are the only military ones that do not appear in a legal document like a contract. For *P.Oxy.* IV 812, see above §4.5.1.

<sup>96</sup> The transmitted loanword Αὔγουστος appears in lacuna in this text, but the supplement is rather secure (cf. *P.Hamb.* I 1.8–9, 57 CE, Alexandria). On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

<sup>97</sup> On *synchoreseis*, see H.J. Wolff (1978: 91–95).

Longinus *castrensis* or ‘of the camp’, who is the lender, and attests the loanword *καστήσιος*,<sup>98</sup> while the second concerns Lucius Pompeius Niger, former soldier of the twenty-second legion, who is the borrower, and attests the loanword *λεγεών*.<sup>99</sup> Lastly, there are the already mentioned *SB VI 16996* (I CE), which is a marriage contract presenting the loanword *κάστρον* ‘camp’, unfortunately without context, and the texts (*P.Mich.* III 171 and 179, and *P.Oxy.* II 247) attesting the ‘camp quarter’ of the city or *κάμπος*, from Latin *campus* ‘field, encampment place’ (see § 1.3.2).

Following the pattern detectable in the documents where a Latin loanword is preferred over its Greek equivalent, it is highly likely that most of these other loans too were first introduced in the documents through the soldiers that instructed the notarial office to use them. That is, the notarial offices used them because a soldier needed a legal document with certain specific terminology, be it *ἄλλη*, *καστήσιος*, *λεγεών*, *τούρμα*, or *φρουμεντάριος*. For all these serve to identify a soldier by role or membership to a unit or to a camp. In this way, that is through a soldier who arrived at or passed by Oxyrhynchus, all these words became more and more current, but the relatively high degree of spelling variations detectable may suggest that some of these words may have been somewhat unfamiliar to certain scribes. And this is probably the case of *κεντέρα* for *κεντουρίας* in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349.2 (70 CE). Only a few loanwords may not be part of such a process; these are *κάμπος*, *κάστρον*, *λωρίκα*, and *λωρικόριος*, which do not serve to identify a soldier. But these loans have already been discussed: *λωρίκα* and *λωρικόριος* (§4.5.1) appear in a private letter between soldiers, while *κάμπος* and *κάστρον* (§4.5.2) refer to a physical place, a military camp, whose existence is somewhat probable but whose mark on Oxyrhynchus seems to be rather slight. These last four loanwords pose a different question: if there was a camp in Oxyrhynchus, was it mainly from this base that the loanwords flowed into the city? Perhaps

---

<sup>98</sup> The first editors considered this to be a *cognomen*, but the interpretation of *castrensis* as ‘of the camp’ is much more probable on the basis of similar later examples; on this point, see Cuvigny’s commentary on *O.Douch.* 21 (Kysis – Douch, 385–420 CE).

<sup>99</sup> On Lucius Pompeius Niger and his archive (TM Arch ID 195), see e.g. Smolders (2015), with references to previous studies, Mangerud (2019), and Maravela and Mangerud (2019). The lender of *P.Fouad* 44, Didyme, is likely Lucius Pompeius Niger’s wife; see Mangerud (2019). In *P.Fouad* 44 he is recorded as an *ἀπολελυμένος στρατιώτης* ‘discharged soldier’, rather than as a *οὔτετανός*; cf. §5.1.2.

not, because the great majority of the early military loanwords may not be linked to such a military setting, but mainly to soldiers who come and go from the city.

#### 4.7 The interesting travel of a loanword: κάγκελλος

The process through which the visits of persons or soldiers from Alexandria brought with it new Latin vocabulary may be best exemplified by a single loanword showing a strong link to Alexandria and to the Roman administration of Egypt. This word is κάγκελλος, from Latin *cancellus*, meaning literally ‘latticed barrier’ or ‘gate’. It appears in *P.Oxy.* XII 1447.4 (44 CE), XLIV 3163.9 (71 CE), and XXXVIII 2841.8 (85 CE), where it is used adjectivally to qualify a type of measure rather than an actual gate. Let us look at one of these texts; in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2841 for instance, the *sitologi* deliver a receipt for wheat paid by a certain Aline through her farmer (ll. 3–9):<sup>100</sup>

... μέμ(ε)τρηται)  
εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) γενήμ(ατος) το(ῦ) α (ἔτους) διὰ Ἡράτος  
5 καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολόγ(ων) Λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας) Σενοκώμε-  
ως παρὰ Ἀλίνης<ς> Κόμωνος διὰ Κο-  
μοᾶπι<ο>ς γεωργοῦ Σύρων κώμης  
(πυροῦ) (τριμήνου) σύνπ(αντα) δη(μοσίῳ) μέ(τρῳ) ξ(υστῶ) **κανκ(έλλῳ)** ἀρτάβας  
ἐννέα (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) θ ...

8. 1. *καγκ(έλλῳ)*

<sup>100</sup> The text is part of the archive of Komon (TM Arch ID 123). See also *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2841 (85 CE), which is another *sitologus* receipt issued to Aline, but by another granary; this text does not include the loanword κάγκελλος.

... There has been measured into the public treasury from the crop of the first year through Heras and his partners, *sitologi* of the western toparchy, village of Senokomis, by Aline daughter of Komon through Komoapis, farmer, village of Syron, of three-month wheat in all, measured by public levelled *cancellus* measure, nine *artabae* of wheat, total 9 *artabae* ...

Unfortunately, the text does not directly explain what a public levelled *cancellus* actually is, but the use of the abbreviated  $\kappa\alpha\kappa(\ )$  implies that the word was familiar enough to allow writer and readers to expand it.<sup>101</sup> The Latin *cancellus* suggests a measuring tool presenting a lattice pattern. In the commentary to *P.Oxy.* LV 3804.141–142 (566 CE), Rea proposes a very likely identification of this tool, that is a cylindrical grain measure with three arms radiating from the centre to the rim of the top of the bucket; such arms likely constitute the ‘lattice’ or  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  of a  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$ . ‘Latticed’ grain measures appear among archaeological finds from other parts of the Roman empire (e.g. Haverfield, 1916), and the arms on their top are said to be ‘added so that the grain in the vessel could be levelled across the top correctly. ... The arms prevented the man who struck the balance from pressing too hard or too lightly, and thus from cheating, while he levelled the tops; they also served to lift the measure.’<sup>102</sup> Such arms, which created a ‘latticed frame’, would have especially helped in using the scraper employed during the levelling operations described above. Even if this procedure may appear simple and insignificant to modern eyes, it was one of the best ways – among others – to cheat at the measuring operations.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> *SB* XIV 12169 (96 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis – Arsinoite nome) presents the same wording as *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2841 but without abbreviations.

<sup>102</sup> The quote is from Haverfield (1916: 92). For a much more ancient but similar ‘latticed’ grain measure from the north slope of Athens’ acropolis (V BCE), see Broneer (1938: 222–224). On the  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  *artaba* see also Mayerson (2003).

<sup>103</sup> See also Cuvigny (2017), discussing the very likely use of metal scrapers (called  $\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha$ , from Latin *flagellum*) for this operation in *I.Chr. Asie Mineure* I 290.4 (388–392 CE, Andriake – Lycia).

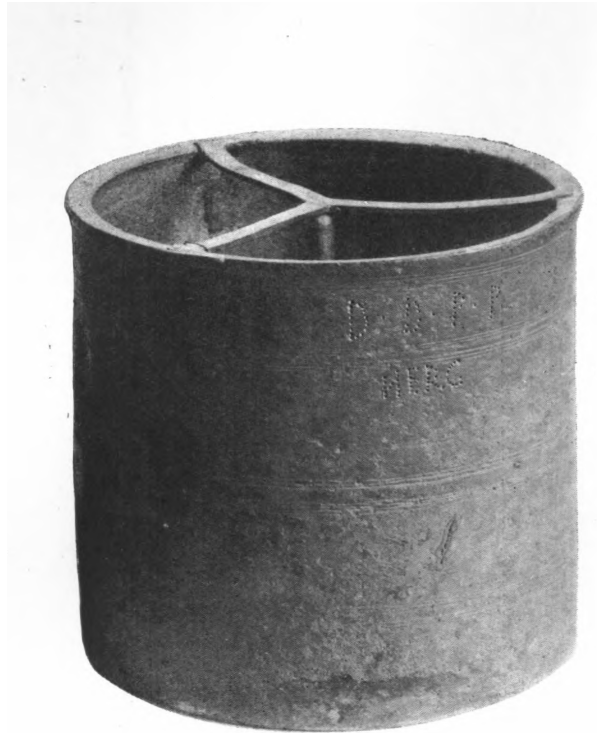


Figure 8. ‘Latticed’ grain measure, inscribed  $D \cdot D \cdot P \cdot P / HERC$ , from Herculaneum in the MANN museum of Naples (§6331, height 16.5 cm, diam. at top 17.5 cm). From Haverfield (1916: 91).

Although it would be impossible to find archaeological proof that similar grain measures did not exist in Egypt before the Romans’ arrival, the use of the term κάγκελλος represents at least a linguistical novelty. Certainly, the process through which this Roman measure and the term κάγκελλος reached the public granaries of the countryside is relevant to our discussion, even if similarly fitted measures had existed in Egypt before the Romans’ rule. *Chrest. Wilck.* 443 (29 CE, Arsinoite nome) does not originate from Oxyrhynchus or its hinterland, but it well exemplifies such a process. This text is a receipt issued to the *sitologus* Akousilaos by the skipper of a public boat for the transportation of wheat to Alexandria:<sup>104</sup>

6 ... ὄμ[ολ]ογῶ ἐνβεβλήσ[θ]αι παρά σου ...

...

<sup>104</sup> The archive of Akousilaos *sitologus* of Lysimachis in the Arsinoite nome is TM Arch ID 263.

10 ... πυροῦ πρώτου [Σ]υ[ρ]ι-  
 [ακοῦ] καθαλοῦ ἀδ[ό]λου ἀκρίθου κεκ[ο]σκ[ι]νευμένου μέ-  
 [τρῳ δημο]σίῳ **καγκελλωτῷ** τῷ ἀνενηνεγμένῳ ὑπ' [ἐ-]  
 [μοῦ ἀ]πὸ Ἀλε[ξ]ανδρέας πρώτου Συριακοῦ ἀρτάβ[ας]  
 [χιλία]ς ἑπτακοσ[ία]ς δέκα ὀκτὼ ἥμισον ...

---

11. *Ι. καθαροῦ* 12. *Ι. καγκελλωτῷ* 14. *Ι. ἥμισυ*

I acknowledge to have loaded from you ... of first-quality Syrian-type wheat, winnowed, genuine, not mixed with barley, sifted, and measured with the public ‘**latticed**’ measure which I brought from Alexandria, of first-quality Syrian-type wheat one thousand seven hundred eighteen and a half *artabae* ...

In this text, the loanword is the derivative *καγκελλωτός*, formed from the already-borrowed loanword *κάγκελλος* and the suffix *-ωτός* and meaning ‘latticed’ or ‘with a latticed pattern’, very likely indicating a measure fitted similarly to that of the previous text. But more interestingly, *Chrest. Wilck.* 443 tells us that this tool comes directly from Alexandria through the skipper of the boat, who handed it to the *sitologi*. We do not know whether the skipper imposed on the local granary the use of this measure, but it is probable that he did – just as it is probable that the Alexandrian administration, which oversaw the collection of State wheat, provided the skipper with such a measure. This is because the wheat that was collected in the Egyptian countryside and reached Alexandria through this process was eventually destined to feed Rome, and it is thus likely that the Alexandrian administration in charge of this may have wanted the sampling procedures happening all over the country to become more uniform by using a common standard like a *κάγκελλος*.<sup>105</sup> Though not frequent, in the same period *κάγκελλος* appears also in *P.Ifao* I 8 (64 CE, Theadelphia – Arsinoite nome) and in *SB* XIV 12169 (96 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis –

---

<sup>105</sup> On Egypt as the main producer of wheat destined to feed the city of Rome, see above §4.1 n. 13.

Arsinoite nome).<sup>106</sup> The former is a loan of wheat to a private person, while the latter is a receipt released from a deputy to an imperial steward or οἰκονόμος to the *sitologus* of Magdola concerning barley destined to soldiers of the Thebaid and quarrymen of the Red Sea region. In both cases the grain is not private, but comes from the public administration, δημόσιος χειρισμός, signalling in both cases that the use of a κάγκελλος measure is related to the collection, measurement, and payment of public rather than private grain.

The example of κάγκελλος is emblematic for the introduction of new Latin vocabulary and tools from the outside and specifically from Alexandria and from Alexandria's administration. In this case, κάγκελλος reached different areas of the Egyptian countryside through this process (at least Oxyrhynchus and the Arsinoite nome, as *Chrest. Wilck.* 443 shows), but a similar process and similar contacts with Alexandria certainly brought other Latin vocabulary to Oxyrhynchus, as the previous sections have shown.

#### 4.8 Textiles and other everyday-life vocabulary

This last section comprises textile vocabulary and some other loanwords linked to everyday life objects. The textile loanwords are: ἀβόλλης from *abolla* 'cloak', λῶδιξ from *lodix* 'blanket', and πάλλιον from *pallium* 'mantle'. The other loanword included in this section is πανάριον, from Latin *panarium*, literally 'bread-box' but also a simple 'box'.

The three textile loanwords appear in two private letters: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1153 (I CE) with ἀβόλλης and λῶδιξ, and *P.Oxy.Hels.* 45 (I CE) with πάλλιον. Clothing and textile items with a Latin name can be very common in papyri, being the third most represented semantic category among all Latin loanwords overall, but they are not yet very frequent in the documents of first century Oxyrhynchus.<sup>107</sup> This is the case also more broadly, because clothing and textile loanwords appear more frequently in Greek only from the second century CE onwards.<sup>108</sup> Among

---

<sup>106</sup> In *SB XIV* 12169.4 appears also the loan βικάριος, for which see §5.2.1.

<sup>107</sup> See Dickey (2024: §10.2.2.H).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

early documents, there is at least one early link between the Roman newcomers and the Egyptian weaving tradition. This is *Ch.L.A.* V 308 (= *P.Oxy.* IV 737, 31–8 BCE), which is one of the earliest Latin papyri from Oxyrhynchus together with the private letter *C.Ep.Lat.* 10 already mentioned (§4.1). This text is an account recording payment in asses made to weavers. Besides the fact that it is one of the very few early Latin papyri from the city, the use of Roman coinage is particularly interesting, because Egypt maintained the Ptolemaic system of coinage up until 296 CE, when Diocletian reformed the system and put an end to the closed monetary circulation of the province. The text is organised by daily wages, as lines 9–12 illustrate:

	[VI]	Iđus [te]xtor(es)	II	a(sses) VII
10		co[n]ductei	II	a(sses) VIII
	V	Iđus t̄extor(es) ·	III	a(sses) X s(emis)
		m̄agister ·		a(sses) VI

---

10. *I. conducti*

... On the sixth day before the Ides. Weavers: 2, 7 asses. Hired (weavers / workers?)  
 2: 8 asses. On the fifth day before the Ides. Weavers: 3, 10 asses and a half. Master:  
 6 asses.<sup>109</sup>

Daily wages per person amount to 3.5, 4 and 6 asses, which equal 3.5, 4 and 6 oboloi.<sup>110</sup> Given that the use of asses in Egypt is rare, one may wonder whether the text was actually written in this province or rather brought to it after it had served its purpose someplace else. However, the daily wages recorded are in line with the attested median Egyptian wages, while they do not align with

---

<sup>109</sup> Wipszycka (1965: 88) doubts this *magister* was the head-weaver or foreman of an actual atelier; he may have been the head of an estate owned by some Roman where weavers and hired persons worked, but in this case his occupation might have been differentiated from that of the weavers. Whitehorne (1990: 553) links this Latin text to the Roman military presence, but nothing may warrant it. For what is likely a different type of μάγιστρος, see §5.3.4.

<sup>110</sup> The first edition (*P.Oxy.* IV 737) proposed the less likely equivalence of 5 oboloi and 2 chalkoi, 6 oboloi (1 drachma) and 9 oboloi (1.5 drachmas); see the introduction to *Ch.L.A.* V 308.

the usually much higher wages of places like Rome.<sup>111</sup> But if it is sensible to attribute these wages to Egyptian workers, the use of Latin and Roman coinage still calls for an explanation. To a great degree of likelihood, the workers involved were paid with Egyptian coinage, and the use of the Roman one in the text represents a bookkeeping necessity. One may even hypothesise that the author of this text had a double accounting system, by which the expenses were first recorded in Egyptian coinage, very likely using Greek, and then re-accounted for in Roman coinage, using Latin. Be that as it may, the main question under scrutiny is who in Egypt needed to keep his books in Latin and according to Roman coinage. The straightforward answer is a Roman merchant, entrepreneur, or landowner with Latin books.<sup>112</sup> Even if lately there has been some discussion on the actual organisation of the Egyptian weaving production, particularly regarding the possible involvement of merchants or entrepreneurs in a putting-out system where workers are not independent, work from home, and receive the materials from a merchant responsible for the final distribution, it remains very likely that at least some merchants were involved in the clothing and textiles market.<sup>113</sup> In this context, *Ch.L.A.* V 308 may suggest that Roman merchants or wealthy land-owners were too part of it, straight from the beginning of Roman rule over Egypt. Now, this document does not have parallels, and it may be dangerous to use it to infer the presence of Roman influence over the Egyptian textile production; however, it is evidence of actual Roman involvement at an early stage when Roman clothing and textile loanwords had not already flooded the vocabulary of papyri. The ubiquitous appearance of this vocabulary at a later stage, especially

---

<sup>111</sup> See e.g. the wage of 12 asses per day paid to day workers in Rome half a century before: Cic, *Rosc. Am.* 10.28. For Egyptian wages, see e.g. *P.Lond.* 131 (78 CE, Hermopolite nome), in which farm workers are paid 3 to 5 obols per day. The rate of daily wages remained more or less constant well into the second century, while inflation surged in the third; for precise data see e.g. Scheidel (2002: 104–107).

<sup>112</sup> Note, for instance, that under Cleopatra VII, the senator Quintus Ovinius – later put to death by Octavian – oversaw the queen’s spinning and weaving workshops, *lanificio textrinoque reginae ... praeesse*; see Oros. 6.19.20 (which is drawn from Livy, *Epit.* 133), §1.2.4, §5.4.2, and Capponi (2005: 9 and 147–148).

<sup>113</sup> For a recent view against the putting-out system (*Verlagsystem*), see Droß-Krüpe (2020) with further bibliography. However, note that Droß-Krüpe accepts the interpretation of *SB XX* 15189 (= *P.Haw.* 208, 24–25 CE) as a register of customs duties on clothes (see Van Minnen 1992), which must have involved some cloth merchant. A Jewish cloth merchant may be involved in *P.Oxy.* X 1281 (21 CE), where a (fictive?) loan of 300 drachmas may stand for the purchase of 100 linen cloths with deferred payment; see also Wipszycka (1965: 101–102). For the textile exports of Oxyrhynchus at a later stage (II–III CE), see Van Minnen (1986) and further comments in Bagnall (2020: 68–69). On the Egyptian textile trade, see recently Soto Marín (2018: 160–209), although her focus is on the IV century CE.

in private letters from the second century CE onwards, might have been partly caused by an early Roman involvement like that testified to by *Ch.L.A.* V 308.

#### 4.8.1 ἀβόλλης and λῶδιξ

Unfortunately, in this period the texts where clothing loanwords appear do not disclose details of the possible influence exercised by Roman investors, merchants, landowners, or the army (§5.1.4, §5.4), but they attest to the progressive and constant increase in the use of Latin fashion vocabulary. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1153 (I CE, = Olsson (1925: §74)), attesting ἀβόλλης ‘cloak’ and λῶδιξ ‘blanket’, is a private letter from a certain Apollonios to his son, also named Apollonios, in Alexandria. Most of the letter regards mundane things like the shipment of clothes (even the colour-sample of one which is being woven), oil, or – more excitingly – books. The people involved must have been rather wealthy, as the shipment of books and various clothes, the residence in the capital, and the mention of a credit of 600 drachmas all seem to suggest (ll. 13–27):

...

κ[όμ]ισαι διὰ Ὀριγάτος καρποδέσματα  
ἄμικτὰ δύο, ἓν μὲν σανδύκινον καὶ ἓν πορφυροῦν  
15 ἃ ἐδωρήσατό σοι Πausανίας ὁ ἀδελφός σου  
πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ κατηρ-  
τισμένα, περὶ ὧν [κ]ομισάμενος ἀντίγρα(ψον).  
ἀβόλλην σοι ἐὰν εὕρω ἀγοράσαι ἰδιωτικ(ῶς)  
ἐν τάχει πέμψω, ἐὰν ἄλλῃ μὴ, ἐν οἴκῳ σοι καταρ-  
20 τίσωμαι. αἱ λῶδικες ἐξεταμήθησαν, ὁ δὲ λό-  
γος αὐτῶν, <ὡς> γράφεις, ὑπὸ Διογάτος πεμφθή-  
σεται Νικάνορι δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλάτος. τῆς γινομέ(νης)  
συνθέσεως τὸ πρόσχρωμον ἐνείλικται

τῆδε τῆ ἐπιστολῆ, ὃ δώσεις τῷ Νικάνορι  
25 [κατα]μαθεῖν, ἴν', ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀρέσκη, γράψῃ ἡμ(ῖν)·  
[οὔπ]ου γὰρ ἐξεδόθη. ἐντοπία δὲ πορφύρα  
χρήσασθ(αι) μέλλομεν.

...

---

19-20. *l.* καταρ|τιοῦμαι 26. *l.* οὔπω

... Receive through Origas two variegated wristbands, one scarlet and one purple, which your brother Pausanias some time ago generously had made and presented to you; write back when you receive them. If I find a **cloak** to buy privately, I'll send it straight away; and if not, I'll have it done for you at home. The **blankets** were cut out, and their account, as you write, will be sent by Diogas to Nicanor through Heraklas. A colour sample of the dress being made is enclosed in this letter; you will give it to Nicanor to examine, so that he may write to us whether he likes it, for it has not been delivered yet. We are going to use local purple.<sup>114</sup> ...

The unmarked use of these loanwords suggests that both were already well integrated in the life and common vocabulary of Oxyrhynchus. The people involved in this text are clearly part of the wealthy strata of society, but their possession of an ἀβόλλης and λώδικες cannot directly prove that these were luxury items. Given the great amount of clothes that this letter deals with and also its details like the mention of 'cutting out' and colour samples, one may suppose that Apollonios' family was involved in weaving or selling textiles, suggesting that an ἀβόλλης and λώδικες were already common items among Egyptian producers, sellers, and buyers.

#### 4.8.2 πάλλιον

---

<sup>114</sup> On the various types of purple attested in papyri, see Bogensperger (2017).

The other text, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 45 (I CE) attests what, in later centuries, probably becomes the most frequent clothing loanword, *πάλλιον*, from *pallium* ‘mantle’.<sup>115</sup> *P.Oxy.Hels.* 45 is a private letter sent from a certain Helen to a certain Zoilos; the text is very badly preserved, and it is difficult to understand the precise sense of the letter, in which Helen mainly informs her addressee on various matters, as that someone may pawn some piglets and a *πάλλιον* (l. 4): καὶ ὑποτῆ (*l. ὑποθῆ*) τὰ χιρίδια (*l. χοιρίδια*) καὶ τὸ πάλλιν (*l. πάλλιον*).<sup>116</sup> Like the previous loanwords, *πάλλιον* must have been a common item of everyday life for a family of Oxyrhynchus, who could offer it as a guarantee alongside some piglets.

#### 4.8.3 πανάριον

The last loanword of this section is an implement: *πανάριον*, ‘bread-box’ or simply ‘box’.<sup>117</sup> From Latin *panarium*, the loan *πανάριον* first appears in the private letter *P.Oxy.* II 300.4 (I CE) which a certain Indike sends to a certain Thaisous, perhaps a relative of hers, asking her to confirm that she has received such a box through the camel driver Taurinos.<sup>118</sup> The text addresses Thaisous, but the letter is posted ‘to the gymnasium, to Theon son of Nikoboulos, oil supplier.’ The latter is probably Thaisous’ husband who, as a member of the gymnasium, was a citizen of a higher status. Together with Indike, a certain Longinus sends his regards too; Longinus is a very common name among soldiers, and Indike could have been married to a veteran.<sup>119</sup> Be that as it may, the text only suggests that a *πανάριον* was a common object and word for Indike and perhaps for her addressee. More importantly, we do not know what was inside this box, but it may have been

---

<sup>115</sup> See also §2.5.2.

<sup>116</sup> For this letter, see also Bagnall and Cribiore (2008, B.2.13, §176).

<sup>117</sup> The other implement appearing in the first-century texts, *φραγέλλη* ‘whip’, has been added to the section on legal loanwords; see §4.4.2. On *πανάριον*, see also §5.4.1.

<sup>118</sup> On this text, see also Bagnall and Cribiore (2006: 332–333).

<sup>119</sup> For Longinus as a frequent name among discharged soldiers, see Schulze (1904: 60–61) and Alston (1995: 230, n. 44). See e.g. *Ch.L.A.* XXV 784 = *PSIX* 1026 (150 CE, Caesarea - Palaestina), attesting to the discharge of Gaius Longinus Priscus and Gaius Longinus Maximus from the *legio X Fretensis*, where they were transferred after enlistment in the fleet of Misenum.

something valuable, as in the petition *P.Oxy. X 1272.8* (144 CE, see §5.4.1) a stolen πανάριον was used for golden jewellery.

#### 4.9 Conclusions

This chapter made clear some interesting points on the nature, use, and origin of the first Latin loanwords of Oxyrhynchus. The following details are particularly relevant: the frequent link with Alexandria, in particular the frequent link with Alexandria's administration, and the large number of military loanwords. A few interesting trajectories, through which loanwords probably arrive at Oxyrhynchus, emerge. In the first place, contact with Alexandria's courts and administration had a large influence (§4.3, §4.4, §4.7). When citizens reach a court, they enter a Roman world where loanwords may easily be part of the picture, be it the name of an official like the ἀρχιστάτωρ or specific legal terms like ἄκτα (§4.4.1), ταβέλλα, or κουστωδία (§4.4.2). The administrative branch, on the other hand, is a more closed environment, where influence may have been high, but of which we have only few examples (§4.4.3). The prime example of this phenomenon may be πατριμόνιον; to a great degree of likelihood, this loanword was already common among those who worked in the supervision of imperial estates – some of whom, we know, were bilinguals – but it became current in Greek papyri only in the fourth century CE. Certain branches of the higher administration may have been islands where loanwords spread faster, but we have only hints at this phenomenon, like πατριμόνιον (§4.4.3) or κάγκελλος (§4.7). In the second place, the texts show that military loanwords did make their way at an early stage not only in military settings like the Eastern Desert, but also in a city like Oxyrhynchus (§4.2). The evidence may suggest that there had been a Roman encampment in the city at an early date, but the documents do not allow to link this presence with the large majority of loans appearing in the text (§4.5.2). On the contrary, the appearance of military loans is almost always linked with the presence of a soldier who wants to be styled in a certain way (§4.6). Most often, these soldiers happen to be in Oxyrhynchus on duty, shipping wheat to the capital, or for business, concluding contracts in a notary office (§4.5.1). In the third place, the textile loanwords forming most of the remaining

loans show that these words had already become common and integrated at a very early stage (§4.8). They are not as many or as frequent as they would be from the second century CE (§5.4), but they do leave a mark. In the texts, we see at least one link between the spread of Roman textile loanwords and the early involvement of Latin speakers in the thriving Egyptian weaving tradition. Firmly linking the two phenomena may be stretching the evidence too far, but it is not unwarranted to suppose that Roman merchants or Roman estates played a role in the introduction of Latin words for textiles.

All these points underline how important frequent contacts with larger and more international centres like Alexandria were, as regards the spread of Latin vocabulary, for a city like Oxyrhynchus, where Roman settlers and Latin speakers are not frequently attested at an early stage.



## 5. The Nile-valley setting: Oxyrhynchus in the second century CE

Over the second century CE, Oxyrhynchus shows an increase of both papyri and Latin loanwords. Using Trismegistos ([www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)) to look at raw numbers, a ‘strict’ search for documents found or written in the city during the first century CE returns 734 documents. Among these, 201 are literary and 533 are documentary texts.<sup>1</sup> The same search returns a total of 1942 documents for the second century CE, 958 literary and 984 documentary, which equal a +377% and +85% growth respectively. As to Latin loanwords, Oxyrhynchus yields 23 non-transmitted loanwords in the first century CE and 55 in the second, which is a steeper growth (+139%) than the growth in documentary evidence.<sup>2</sup> This fact may suggest a situation of higher, more intense language contact, and such intense contact, if proven, may have taken place in or outside the city of Oxyrhynchus. In the first century CE, we saw that many new loanwords reached Oxyrhynchus from the outside, mainly from Alexandria. Does this trend continue in the second century as well? Who mainly uses loanwords now? Are there any new players? These are all relevant questions, and this chapter will try to answer them.

The 55 non-transmitted loanwords of second-century Oxyrhynchus appear in 92 texts for a total of 118 times. Among these, we find a relatively small number of loans that had already appeared in first-century documents – eight in total: ἀβόλλης, ἀρχιστάτωρ, κεντουρία, λεγεών, λῶδιξ, πάλλιον, πανάριον, ταβέλλα – and another small fraction of derivatives and compounds – six in total: δελματικομαφόρτιον, λωδίκιον, σουβρικομαφόρτης, σουβρικομαφόρτιον, σουβρικοπάλλιον, συγκολλήγας.<sup>3</sup> When we deduct these two categories, there remain 41 new borrowings, which are not attested outside Egypt in an earlier period. Securely transmitted loans

---

<sup>1</sup> I have used the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) to divide literary from documentary texts. Numbers were last checked on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2022.

<sup>2</sup> On transmitted loanwords, see §1.3.2.

<sup>3</sup> On derivatives and compounds, usually but not always formed on already integrated loanwords, see §1.2.1 and e.g. §5.2.1 below for συγκολλήγας, either from σύν and *collega* or perhaps an already borrowed κολλήγας. Here, the compound ἀρχιστάτωρ is listed under the first-century loans only.

have been excluded from the outset but are duly recorded when appearing in documents that present non-transmitted loans.<sup>4</sup>

The chapter will divide these loans along semantic lines, each section being devoted to a type of vocabulary: military; legal and administrative; architecture, culture, trade, and commerce; implements and textiles. Subsections can sometimes be devoted to single words, subsets of words, or subsets of words appearing in particular types of documents. For instance, documents internal to the administration (§5.2.1) and documents by which the administration interacts with citizens, legal professionals, or both (§5.2.2, §5.2.3) have been divided from one another. Similar divisions are useful for setting different types of text apart, but they are also practical, for instance because people working in the Roman administration can decide to use different vocabulary when interacting with different people (§5.2.2).

Each section will try and identify who is mainly using and choosing to use a Latin loanword. How involved are the citizens of the city and how involved are visitors who come and go? In the first century CE, for instance, soldiers mainly interacted with Oxyrhynchus from the outside, and veterans did not seem to play any major linguistic role. For the beginning of the second century, scholars have hypothesised the presence of a cavalry detachment in Oxyrhynchus, but there is no rock-solid evidence for this.<sup>5</sup> What does increase in this period is the presence of veteran families in the city and their involvement in the use of loanwords. Unfortunately, documents let us see the language proficiency of such veterans in extraordinary cases only, like that of Claudius Terentianus and Claudius Tiberianus from Karanis in the Arsinoite nome.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, we can at least look at these veterans' names, families, occupations, and vocabulary

---

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. §5.3.1 n. 158 and §5.4.2 on *P.Oxy.* XVII 2128.4 (II CE) and the loan Καπιτώλιον. Among transmitted loans, in second-century Oxyrhynchus one finds: calendar vocabulary such as Ἀπρίλιος, Νῶναι, etc.; ethnics such as Λατῖνος, Ῥωμαῖος, etc.; currency vocabulary such as νοῦμμος and σηστέριος; and various other items such as κίτριον 'citron' (possibly first attested in the fourth century BCE) or οὐγγία 'ounce' (first attested in the fifth century BCE). See §1.3.2 above.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible to interpret the recruitment documents of this period (*Cohors III Ituraeorum*) as part of an archive that reached the city after having been written someplace else; see §4.2. n. 22 above, §5.1.2 n. 27 below, and Alston (1995:180).

<sup>6</sup> The archive of Claudius Tiberianus is TM Arch ID 54.

choices. Does their presence have a linguistic impact? This is another relevant question that the chapter will try and answer.

Other sections record the increase of administrative and legal loanwords (§5.2), the appearance of words that testify to an influence on architecture, culture, trade, and commerce (§5.3), and the steep increase of the words for implements and textiles (§5.4). In the first century CE, the administrative and legal milieus, often bilingual, proved to be a fertile ground for new loans; in the second century, they remained such. But how are these loans being used? Is there any governmental policy of imposition or not? A fair amount of attention will be devoted to this question. But Latin loans played a major role also outside administrative offices and courts. Section §5.3 will look at different curious loans for professions or objects that likely had a Greek alternative name. Once again, are we dealing with a situation of more intense language contact or not? Why did citizens start referring to the rooms of their houses as κέλλαι (§5.3.2) and little by little stopped using the very Greek ταμειῶν? The last section, §5.4, will look to the largest group of loanwords of this period, that of implements and textiles. These are ubiquitous, frequently attested words that bear testimony to the penetration and influence of Roman fashions on an Egyptian city. But is this a trend of imposition, of top-down Romanisation or not? Who produced these implements and textiles? Who ordered and bought them? All these questions may help us to understand the sheer increase of this kind of vocabulary.

All in all, each section will try and uncover who is mainly using these loans; where are these users based, be it in Oxyrhynchus or not; why are these people choosing Latin over Greek equivalents, if available; and especially how these loans reach a widespread status in this language community: are we mainly dealing with a trend of imposition or rather of adoption?<sup>7</sup>

## 5.1 Military loanwords

---

<sup>7</sup> On adoption and imposition, see §1.2.1.

As we know from the previous chapter, the possible early presence of a military camp (κάμπος or κάστρον) in Oxyrhynchus does not explain the wealth of military loanwords appearing in the first century BCE and CE.<sup>8</sup> For this large group of early loanwords mainly attests to soldiers travelling back and forth to Oxyrhynchus under official military orders or for private economic interests. While these soldiers likely imported most of the early military vocabulary, the possible camp, its troops, and veterans display a somewhat marginal role in the documents. This picture changes in the second century CE, when both the number of military loanwords and the nature of the texts in which they appear as well as the details of the soldiers differ from earlier texts. These changes may or may not have affected the way in which loans reached the city, and the following sections will try and assess this point too.

Altogether, during the second century CE just eight texts attest a total of five military loanwords: κεντουρία from *centuria* ‘century’, λεγεών from *legio* ‘legion’, ὀπίων from *optio* ‘adjutant’, οὐετρανός from *veteranus* ‘veteran’, and σιγγλάριος from *singularis* ‘officer’s aide’, ‘governor’s guard’.<sup>9</sup> Among these, one may include a sixth loanword, κολωνία from *colonia* ‘colony’, appearing in two texts and always in relation to veteran soldiers.<sup>10</sup> At least numerically, military loanwords do not play a major role any longer. And while in the first century military loanwords repeatedly identified soldiers appearing in a contract, now only *PSI* VI 687 (I–II CE, Oxyrhynchus)<sup>11</sup> records legal transactions. Likely redacted in a notarial office, this text preserves a list of contracts, one of which involves a soldier of the twenty second legion acting through an agent (l. 5): Πο[λυφέννιος Μάκερ, στρατ(ιώτης) λεγ(εώνος) κβ̄ κε[ντυ]ρίας (l. κεντουρίας) Κλαυδ[ίου Κ]υντιανοῦ (l. Κυντιανοῦ), διὰ φροντιστο(ῦ), ‘Polyphennius Macer, soldier of the

---

<sup>8</sup> See §4.5.

<sup>9</sup> Among these, κεντουρία and λεγεών already appear in first-century Oxyrhynchus. See §4.2.

<sup>10</sup> See §5.1.2.

<sup>11</sup> The dating of this text may be narrowed down on palaeographical grounds to the second half of the first century CE by comparison with e.g. *P.Oxy.* 2838 (62 CE) and *PSI* VIII 871 (66 CE). However, the first decades of the second century cannot be excluded; see e.g. *Stud.Pal.* XXII 94 (111 CE). The images of these texts are available online.

22nd legion, century of Claudius Quintianus, through a manager'.<sup>12</sup> The remaining texts either involve soldiers on duty or retired ones identified by a loanword in various types of documents. Some of these texts show a link with Alexandria, the provincial government, or the military bureaucracy. All three proved to be important centres for the diffusion of loanwords to Oxyrhynchus, and their continued importance in second-century documents may confirm such a trend. A somewhat new player may be the few veteran settlers appearing in the texts containing Latin loanwords. Veterans settled in Oxyrhynchus already in the first century, but documents do not usually link them with early loanwords. Now on the contrary, a few documents indicate that they may be playing some role. Not less interestingly, a few documents involving either active or retired soldiers disclose a link with the important weaving tradition of the city; on account of the large number of Latin-sounding textiles that flood into second-century papyri, these texts will need careful scrutiny.

### 5.1.1 Military loanwords, soldiers, and Alexandria

At least two texts involving soldiers and preserving military loanwords show a clear link with Alexandria or the central military bureaucracy: the receipt *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4434 (154 CE) and the petition to the prefect *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 (179–180 CE). Since its author is likely a Latin speaker proficient in Greek, the first document is particularly remarkable. This receipt, attesting the loanwords *λεγεών* and *ὀπίων*, was issued by a certain Claudius Germanus of the *legio III Cyrenaica* to the *κασσοποιόι* of Oxyrhynchus, that is the makers of a type of cloak, for the delivery and payment of 55 large Syrian garments, *συρία*.<sup>13</sup> From a historical point of view, this document is noteworthy also because it represents one of the few early testimonies to the acquisition of

---

<sup>12</sup> For the *nomen* Πολυφέννιος (usually spelled Πολυφέρνιος, Πουλφέννιος, or Πουλφέννιος and appearing in a number of other documents from Oxyrhynchus), see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3924 (223 CE), XLVII 3365 (= *P.Coll. Youtie* I 65, 241 CE), and *SB* XXVIII 17258 (211 CE) together with Ast (2004: 237).

<sup>13</sup> A *συρία* probably is a particular type of κάσσο (κάσσον· ἱμάτιον, παχὺ καὶ τραχὺ περιβόλαιον, 'a mantle, a thick and rugged garment', Hsch. κ 985 L.). There is further discussion in the edition.

military clothing.<sup>14</sup> The text is written against the fibres on what is probably the recto of a papyrus sheet by a proficient but informal hand showing some Latin features:<sup>15</sup>

Κλαύδιος Γερμανός  
**ὀπτίων λεγιῶνος**  
γ̄ Κυρηναϊκῆς κασ-  
σοποιῦς μετροπό-  
5 λεως Ὀχυρυχείτου  
διὰ Θεῶνος Ὀφελί-  
ωνος. παρέλαβον τὰς  
συρίας μεγάλας πεν-  
τήκοντα πέντε ἄς ἐξέ-  
10 δωκα ὑμεῖν ὧν καὶ τὴν  
τειμὴν ὑμεῖν ἐκ πλή-  
ρους ἀπέδωκα. ἔτους  
ιζ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἄντω-  
νίνου τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσορῆ κβ̄.

3-4. *l.* κασσοποιοῖς 4-5. *l.* μητροπόλεως 5. 2nd chi corr. *ex incerto*: *l.* Ὀχυρυχίτου 10.

*l.* ὑμῖν 11. *l.* τιμὴν ὑμῖν

<sup>14</sup> On the clothing acquisitions of the Roman army in Egypt, see Sheridan in *P.Col.* IX, pp. 81–86 and 96–97, Sheridan (1990: 95–107), and Lesquier (1918: 368–369). Clothing items were bought in bulk and not always paid at a fair-market price. *BGUV* VII 1564.5–6 (138 CE, Philadelphia) includes *συρία* among goods to be sent to army units stationed in Cappadocia, and *P.Lips.* 57.29 (261 CE, Hermopolis) lists *συρία* among those for Alexandrian gladiators.

<sup>15</sup> The direction of the writing against the fibres on the recto (*transversa charta*) is not common in this period, but it appears consistently in documents linked to Roman law. See Turner (1978: 42–45) and Gilliam (1971: 67). Paleographically, the presence of small serifs (e.g. in γ, κ, λ, etc.) and the way certain letters are drawn (e.g. γ, λ, etc.) may be due to Latin influence. On Latin influence over Greek palaeography, see e.g. Fournet (2006: 442–446). The letter presents a vertical shape (i.e. breadth shorter than height), which is common in this period but is written *transversa charta*, which is uncommon; see Fournet (2009b).

Claudius Germanus, *optio* of the *legio* III Cyrenaica to the cloak makers of the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, through Theon son of Ophelion. I received the 55 large Syrian garments which I commissioned from you, the price of which I also delivered to you in full. Year 17 of the emperor Antoninus the lord, Mesore 22.

The spelling variation  $\chi$  for  $\xi$  in line 5 – Ὀχυρυχείτου for Ὀξυρυγγίτου – corroborates the hypothesis that we are dealing with a Latin speaker, perhaps Claudius Germanus himself or a scribe working for him, who uses chi for xi because of the similar shape of Latin X and Greek chi.<sup>16</sup> Also the confusion between  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$  in lines 4–5 μετροπόλῃεως may point to Latin, because it is common in Latin transcriptions.<sup>17</sup> The text does not specify the origin and destination of Claudius Germanus with regard to the shipment of these garments, but we know that the third legion was no longer garrisoned in Egypt from at least the year 126 CE, when it first appears in the recently created (106 CE) province of Arabia.<sup>18</sup> Either a detachment remained in or was sent to Egypt for a certain period of time or Claudius Germanus travelled to Egypt, presumably with some other soldiers, collecting garments to be exported.<sup>19</sup> We may not know whether he brought the garments of this and probably other acquisitions directly outside Egypt or passed through the military camps of Nicopolis, outside Alexandria, but in either case the text testifies to a continued relationship of the military with Oxyrhynchus from the outside, for we may be sure that in the city Claudius Germanus and his unit were only passers-by.

*P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 (179–180 CE) is a petition, but it depicts a situation very similar to that of the previous text. In this document, attesting the loanwords λεγεών and λῶδιξ from *lodix*

---

<sup>16</sup> But cf. *P.Sorb.* I 17.2.5 (257 BCE, Heracleopolis): ἐν Μερμέρθοις τοῦ Ὀξυρυγγίτου (corrected from Ὀχυρυγγίτου), where Latin influence cannot explain the spelling variation. TM Text Irregularities lists only four examples of the variation chi instead of xi.

<sup>17</sup> See Gignac (1976: 246–247).

<sup>18</sup> See Lesquier (1918: 56–63), C. Wolff (2000), and Gatier (2000).

<sup>19</sup> For similar exports, see Sheridan in *P.Col.* IX, pp. 83–84, and Jones (1974: 355–357), who underlines the surplus capacity documented by similar texts.

‘blanket’, a Dionysius Amyntianus, retired cavalryman of the *ala Apriana*, is in Alexandria delivering a sizeable 775 blankets to the *legio II Traiana Fortis* (lines 3–10):<sup>20</sup>

... ἐξ ἐν-  
κελεύσεως Πακτουμηΐου Μάγνου τοῦ  
5 ἡγεμονεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ κρατίστου στρα-  
τοπεδάρχου Κομινίου Ἀττικ[ο]ῦ παρε-  
κόμισα ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξ[υρ]υγγίτου  
νομοῦ ἕκ διαπομπῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ[ς] χρεΐας λεγεῶνος δευτέρας  
Τραϊανῆς ἰσχυρᾶς λώδικας ἀριθμῶ  
10 ἐπτὰκ[ο]σμία[ς] ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε.  
...

---

... In compliance with the orders of Pactumeius Magnus, ex-prefect, and his Excellency the *praefectus castrorum*, Cominius Atticus, I transported here from the Oxyrhynchite nome for the uses of the *legio II Traiana Fortis*, **blankets** to the number of 775, sent by the strategus. ....

The order came from the ex-prefect and the *praefectus castrorum* in Alexandria and was delivered to the capital by the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome through our Dionysius, who may have been performing a compulsory public service.<sup>21</sup> Arrived at Alexandria, Dionysius was detained for at least forty days due to an unknown reason and could not transfer the blankets; at this point, he decides to petition the prefect Titus Taus Sanctus because he and his associates need to fulfil

---

<sup>20</sup> On the *ala Apriana*, see Lesquier (1918: 73) and Alston (1995: 165); on the *legio II Traiana Fortis*, see Lesquier (1918: 64–71) and Daris (2000a). The loanword λῶδιξ appears also in the letter between soldiers *O.Claud.* I 177 (early II CE); see §2.6.

<sup>21</sup> See Lewis (1997: 39–40) *s.v.* παραλημπτής. Otherwise, he may have been a cloth dealer (ἱματιέμπορος) involved in the acquisition of military clothes; see e.g. *BGU* VII 1564 (138 CE, Philadelphia). Retired soldiers were usually exempt from similar compulsory services, but such privileges faded in the second century CE; see Lewis (1997: 90, 139–140).

the order and return to Oxyrhynchus for the sowing season.<sup>22</sup> We do not know how the matter was settled, but given that the text was found in Oxyrhynchus Dionysius probably managed to return home with the papers documenting his misadventure, *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 likely being a draft or copy of the petition that he had submitted. This text not only testifies to a veteran who settled in Oxyrhynchus, but to one who had a plot of land and enough money to afford a liturgy for the shipment of these blankets. He might have been a cloth dealer too, were he not performing a liturgy, but this is less likely. Regarding the loanwords of the text, both *λεγεών* and *λωδιξ* appeared in first-century CE Oxyrhynchus already, but *λωδιξ* only once, in a private letter, and nowhere else in Egypt.<sup>23</sup> It is only in the second century that this loanword and its derivative *λωδίκιον* became more and more common in papyri. Besides *λεγεών* and *λωδιξ*, *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 has other points of interest. First, it attests to a somewhat wealthy veteran of Oxyrhynchus, and second, it shows a link between the central administration, one of Alexandria's legions, and Oxyrhynchus' textile production. In the first century, the link with Alexandria, its legions, and the administration for the shipment of wheat proved to be related to the introduction of some loanwords in the *chora*.<sup>24</sup> Now, at least some textile loanwords may have followed a similar route. Some first-century documents also suggested the involvement of Roman citizens in the Egyptian weaving industry at an early stage;<sup>25</sup> now, this and other texts may indicate that the Roman army too played a role in this sector, at least as a purchaser. That some or many textile loanwords reached Oxyrhynchus, and more generally the Egyptian *chora*, through the army is not a given, but the relationship linking the central headquarters with the local producers makes it possible. The army requested different items with detailed specifications, and at least some of these items had a Latin name.<sup>26</sup> The fact that in the present example a retired soldier had to deal with such a

---

<sup>22</sup> Farmers sowed the fields after the Nile had receded, that is in early October in the south and four to six weeks later in the north; see Butzer (1976: 17) and Bonneau (1964: 34–35).

<sup>23</sup> See §4.8.1.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. §4.7.

<sup>25</sup> See §4.8.

<sup>26</sup> See §5.1.4.

matter also indicates the veterans' important social role, which will arise again in a few other documents attesting new loanwords.

### 5.1.2 New veterans in Oxyrhynchus

*P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 is not the only text preserving some loanwords and documenting veterans in second-century Oxyrhynchus. Three to five other documents do so: the lease contract *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 (143 CE), the return of a loan *P.Oxy.* LV 3798 (144 CE), the report concerning a veteran *P.Oxy.* XII 1508 (II CE), perhaps the legal proceedings of *Chrest.Mitt.* 90 (= *P.Oxy.* III 653b, 161 CE), and possibly the *epikrisis* document *PSIV* 447 (166–167 CE, Oxyrhynchus). Together with the Latin letter *C.Epist.Lat.* I 140 (= *P.Oxy.* VII 1022, 103 CE), which records new recruits or *tirones*, the first two documents inform us about some of the family affairs of the soldier Caius Veturius Gemellus, who enlisted in the *Cohors III Ituraerorum* at the age of twenty-one (*C.Epist.Lat.* I 140.11–12): *C(aium) · Veturium Gemellum | annor(um) · XXI · sine i(conismo)*, ‘Caius Veturius Gemellus, 21 years old, with no distinctive signs’. Forty years later, when Gemellus was a veteran, *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 records a lease contract of a weaving implement belonging to his son, another C. Veturius Gemellus, and in the following year *P.Oxy.* LV 3798 records the return of a three hundred drachma loan made by Artemis, the wife of the veteran C. Veturius Gemellus.<sup>27</sup> By 144 CE Artemis had died intestate, and her two children C. Veturius Gemellus and Lucia Veturia alias Thermuthion – the latter acting under the guardianship of her veteran father – appear as heirs and thus receivers of the capital plus interest. This group of three papyri likely constituted a small dossier documenting Gemellus and his family's major affairs. Additionally, the same sheet presenting on the recto the first 15 lines of the lease *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 preserves on the verso the short, nine-line long memorandum *P.Oxy.* VII 1023 (written after 143

---

<sup>27</sup> Both documents preserve the loanword οἰετρανός. See *P.Oxy.* VII 1035.1–3 and *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.1–4. On the *Cohors III Ituraerorum*, see Turner (1952: 79 n. 10), Biežuńska-Małowist (1975: 744–745), Lesquier (1918: 91, 406, 471), and Dabrowa (1986: 229–230). These scholars believed that these documents could prove the presence of the *Cohors III Ituraerorum* in Oxyrhynchus at the beginning of the second century CE, but it is also possible – perhaps even more likely – that these texts reached the city after they had been written somewhere else; see Alston (1995:180).

CE, 150–200 CE ?)<sup>28</sup> on the settlement and status verification (ἐπίκρισις) of the discharged soldier Publius Petronius Celer in the first year of Hadrian (117–118 CE):

Πόπλιος Πετρώνιος  
Κέλερ ἀπολύσιμος  
στρατιώτης, πρώτως  
παρεπιδημήσας, δηλω-  
5 θεις ἐπικεκρίσθαι  
ὑπὸ Κοείντου Ῥαμ-  
μί[ο]υ Μαρτιάλις  
τῷ ᾠ (ἔτει) Ἄδριανοῦ  
τοῦ κυρίου.

---

1. Ἰ. Πούβλιος

Publius Petronius Celer, discharged soldier, newly settled, declared to have had his status verified by Quintus Rammius Martialis in the first year of Hadrian the lord.

This is likely a duplicate of the original memorandum, from which it was copied, perhaps for the census or to prove status.<sup>29</sup> Indicating a link between Gemellus' family and Celer, *P.Oxy.* VII 1023 and 1035 suggest the presence of a small but likely well-connected community of veteran

---

<sup>28</sup> In the edition, Hunt describes *P.Oxy.* VII 1023 as written on the recto and *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 on the verso of the same papyrus sheet. However, the facts that *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 is written along the fibres and *P.Oxy.* VII 1023 across them, that *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 lacks its concluding lines (where the sheet was likely cut) while *P.Oxy.* VII 1023 is complete, that the side of *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 is of higher quality, and that *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 presents large upper and left margins all suggest that the sheet of papyrus was first used to write the lease *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 (143 CE) and only later *P.Oxy.* VII 1023, which was written on the verso and had the sheet cut around it.

<sup>29</sup> As noted by the editor, Hunt, the text presents small blank spaces between words or syllables. This may mean that the text was at times written word by word or even syllable by syllable, suggesting that the author was copying it from an exemplar. The presence of some inconsistent letter forms (e.g. π and ρ modelled on Latin *p* and *r* in line 1, but mostly Greek in the rest of the text) may be due to an original palaeographically influenced by Latin.

families that settled (παρεπιδημέω) in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>30</sup> In the present case, Gemellus' and Celer's families may have been related or simply neighbours who helped each other. But are these soldiers and their families having a linguistic impact too on the city? Is the use and introduction of new loanwords linked with their settlement?

With regard to loanwords, the lease *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 and the loan-return *P.Oxy.* LV 3798 present only οὔετρανός from *veteranus* 'veteran', describing Gemellus' status. In the first century CE this loanword is securely attested in one papyrus only, the tax roll *P.Lond.* II 175.17 (I CE), which originates from an area where many soldiers settled, the Arsinoite nome.<sup>31</sup> In the same period, discharged soldiers usually appear as ἀπολύσιμοι or ἀπολελυμένοι στρατιῶται.<sup>32</sup> Most likely, the use of similar Greek expressions was already current and prevented an early use and then spread of the Latin οὔετρανός. Yet, there are no Ptolemaic examples for ἀπολύσιμοι or ἀπολελυμένοι στρατιῶται, but a turn of phrase appearing in *P.Fay.* 91.10-11 (99 CE, Euhemeria, Arsinoite nome) may confirm that similar expressions were common in Greek: Λουκίῳ Βελλήνῳ (*l.* Βελλήνῳ) | Γεμέλλῳ ἀπολυσ[ί]μοι ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐγ (*l.* ἐκ) λε<γε>ῶνο(ς), 'to Lucius Bellienus Gemellus, discharged from military service, (more specifically) from a legion'.<sup>33</sup> The addition 'from a legion' specifies the type of unit and sounds somewhat redundant but may have underlined Bellienus' extraordinary career. For Bellienus, likely an Egyptian by birth, had managed to be enlisted into a legion, which was uncommon and usually prohibited.<sup>34</sup> In this

---

<sup>30</sup> The verb παρεπιδημέω appears in other texts with regard to privileged categories living among Egyptians; see e.g. *Chrest. Wilck.* 33.2 (= *P.Oxy.* III 473, 138–160 CE, Naukratis (written), Oxyrhynchus (found)) with Lewis (1981: 78–80).

<sup>31</sup> On οὔετρανός, see also Mason (1974: 5–6, 16, 72).

<sup>32</sup> For ἀπολύσιμος, see e.g. *P.Fouad* 28.3 (59 CE, Oxyrhynchus), *P.Hamb.* I 5.2 (89 CE, Philadelphia), *P.Mich.* IX 554.5, 6 (81–94 CE, Karanis), *P.Fay.* 91.11 (99 CE, Euhemeria), etc. For ἀπολελυμένος, see e.g. *P.Yale* I 60.2 (6–5 BCE, Oxyrhynchus), *P.Fouad* 44.6 (44 CE, Oxyrhynchus), *P.Hamb.* I 1.5 (57 CE, Alexandria (written), unknown prov.), etc., and also e.g. Diod. Sic. 36.4.1 (I BCE): τῶν πλείστων στρατιωτῶν ἀπολελυμένων. In papyri, ἀπολύσιμος appears also for the exemption from liturgies; see e.g. *P.Gen.* II 91.14, 17, 23 (50–51 CE, Philadelphia).

<sup>33</sup> The text is part of the archive of Epagathos, Lucius Bellienus Gemellus' estate manager, which is TM Arch ID 134.

<sup>34</sup> He may have received citizenship upon enlistment; see *P.Oxf.*, pp. 40–41 and Hohlwein (1957: 70–72). Generally, Egyptians could not enlist in a legion; see *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §55 (= *BGVV* 1210.142–145), but there must have been exceptions as in the case of Pompeius Niger, for whom see above §4.6.4 n. 97.

document, which is not authored by Gemellus himself, it may underline his Roman-ness: he is not a simple soldier but a soldier who served in a Roman legion. The use of the Latin loanword οὐετρανός may have served a similar purpose, but it did not directly distinguish between auxiliary and legionary veterans. It is possible that the loan οὐετρανός was not yet very current at the end of first century CE, and perhaps Gemellus did not present himself as such. The Latin loanword becomes much more frequent only in the second century CE, when it appears in Veturius Gemellus' documents, almost half a century after Bellienus Gemellus appeared as an ἀπολύσιμος.<sup>35</sup>

*P.Oxy.* XII 1508 (II CE) is the bottom of a column of text with extracts from reports. The specific purpose of the text and its addressee are unknown; the verso of this papyrus (*P.Oxy.* XII 1536) is part of a list of landowners. Lines 2–8 involve a Marcus Iulius Valerianus, veteran of the fleet. Having been discharged by trierarchs, Valerianus is said to have purchased for himself εἰς κολωνείαν some ὑπόλογος γῆ, that is unproductive land usually located at the limits of arable areas, near the Oxyrhynchite village of Senepta.<sup>36</sup> The Roman administration sold this inferior land through the ἴδιος λόγος – that is the provincial office in charge, among other duties, of selling all land confiscated by the state – at a fixed, low price.<sup>37</sup> The sale of this type of land was meant to foster agriculture and extend farmed land through the development of new irrigation, and the purchase of ὑπόλογος γῆ also granted the buyers a three-year tax exemption.<sup>38</sup> *P.Oxy.* XII 1508 not only mentions the purchase of such an allotment but throws light on the use of the loanword κολωνία in Egypt (ll. 5–8):

---

<sup>35</sup> Outside Oxyrhynchus, in the second century οὐετρανός appears more than ninety times in papyri. The rarer μισσίκιος, from *missicius* 'discharged', appears twice in the first century, in the duplicates *P.Fouad* 21.10 and *SB* VIII 9668.3 (63 CE, unknown prov., part of the archive of the soldier Pompeius Niger, TM Arch ID 195), and twice in the second century, in *SB* VI 9636.8, 22 (136 CE, Karanis) and *BGU* V 1210.138, 140 (= *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §53, 54, c. 150 CE, Theadelphia).

<sup>36</sup> On Senepta, see Benaissa (2021: 324–328). On κολωνία and its Greek equivalent ἀποικία, see Mason (1974: 5, 62, 108–110).

<sup>37</sup> See Rowlandson (1996: 30). On the ἴδιος λόγος, see also §1.2.4 n. 113 and §4.4.3.

<sup>38</sup> On ὑπόλογος γῆ, see Wallace (1938: 5), Montevicchi (1988: 433), Rowlandson (1996: 48–53), and Blouin (2012: 24–26). Lesquier (1918: 328–332) hypothesised that ὑπόλογος γῆ allocated as κολωνία granted a life-long tax exemption to veterans; even though a different tax treatment would distinguish a κολωνία from a normal allotment of ὑπόλογος γῆ, no documents have emerged to prove Lesquier's hypothesis.

...  
5 δηλω τὸν Μάρκον Ἰούλιον Οὐαλε[ριανὸν ἐω-]  
νήσθαι ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου εἰς **κολωνείαν** [πε-]  
ρὶ κώμην Σενέπτα ...

---

6. *I.* κολωνίαν

... I report that Marcus Iulius Valerianus has bought (an allotment) from the inferior land allocated for *colonia* near the village of Senepta ...

Among Roman provinces, Egypt is a peculiar case when it comes to colonies, that is the establishment of new veteran settlements on land sequestered for this purpose or the concession of the title of *colonia* to an already existing city, for Egypt does not offer examples of either phenomenon.<sup>39</sup> However, between the second and the beginning of the third century the loanword κολωνία turns up six times in Egypt, twice in Oxyrhynchus and four times elsewhere.<sup>40</sup> Since the dawn of papyrology, scholars have excluded the presence of fully-fledged Roman colonies in Egypt and tried to identify the nature of such κολωνία. For instance, already in 1911 Wilcken wondered whether these κολωνία formed coherent centres or rather looked like Ptolemaic κλήροι, that is the dispersed allotments of land that the Ptolemies assigned to their veterans. Wilcken seemed to prefer the latter option, and so did Lesquier a few years later.<sup>41</sup> More recently, Alston hypothesised the opposite, that an Egyptian κολωνία could constitute a ‘small, concentrated area of marginal land’ with precise topographical boundaries but no legal personality

---

<sup>39</sup> On cities and their administration in early Roman Egypt, see Bowman and Rathbone (1992), Capponi (2005: 65–81), and the recent remarks with more bibliography of Rathbone (2013: 86–87).

<sup>40</sup> Egyptian κολωνία appear in: *SB* VI 9448.5 (103–117 CE, unknown prov.), *P.Giss.* I 60.3.6 (118 CE, Naboo – Apollonopolite nome), *BGU* II 587.7, 8 (141 CE, Arsinoite nome), *P.Oxy.* III 653.8, 9, 22 (161 CE), *P.Oxy.* XII 1508.6 (II CE), and *Chrest. Wilck.* 461.27 (200–203 CE, Kerkesucha – Arsinoite nome).

<sup>41</sup> See Wilcken (1911: 433–434, 1912: 403) and Lesquier (1918: 328–332).

as ‘a self-governing urban settlement’.<sup>42</sup> Lastly, Dietze-Mager looked again into the evidence and drew a conclusion very similar to Lesquier’s: that the κολωνίαι of Egypt did not necessarily form geographically concentrated units, had a legal personality, and mostly involved non-Egyptian soldiers who decided to settle in the province and Egyptians who did not have any landed properties to return to.<sup>43</sup>

It is probably true that Egyptian κολωνίαι formed dispersed allotments. As we can see from *P.Oxy.* XII 1508 among other texts, κολωνίαι were portions of state land destined to veterans; this is what made them a κολωνία, rather than a precise geographical centre.<sup>44</sup> The single allotments did have borders, but we cannot infer that their sum total formed a concentrated veteran settlement, also known as a κολωνία. But Dietze-Mager’s conclusion on the identity of the soldiers who settled in an Egyptian κολωνία needs testing. She explains the paucity of Egyptian κολωνίαι by assuming that most soldiers would have returned to their home, whether in or outside Egypt, and that mainly non-Egyptians who remained in the province or Egyptians who did not own any land before enlistment would apply for an allotment of state land as κολωνία. This may be true only if these categories did represent a minority among discharged soldiers. During active service, soldiers could not buy any real estate, so the prospect of getting a κολωνία upon discharge surely was appealing, but to how many?<sup>45</sup> This was likely a majority, rather than a minority, for most recruits likely were not landed, wealthy citizens who always returned to their properties. If so, following Dietze-Mager’s reasoning we would expect to find way more κολωνίαι in papyri. Rather than linking their paucity to the personal circumstances of soldiers, it may be more sensible

---

<sup>42</sup> See Alston (1995: 48–49). Based on *BGU* II 587 (141, Arsinoite nome), in which a κολωνία is likely described by its geographical boundaries, Alston concludes that a colony can represent a precise topographical reference. However, it is also possible that any land received or bought εἰς κολωνίαν could itself be referred as a κολωνία. In this case, a κολωνία made up of several allotments of land would not need to represent a coherent geographical space. See also *Chrest. Wilck.* 461.27 (200–203 CE, Kerkesoucha – Arsinoite nome), εἰς τὴν κολωνίαν ἐπελθὼν βία πολλῆ, where we are dealing with a single allotment of land, and Lesquier (1918: 332).

<sup>43</sup> See Dietze-Mager (2009: 118–119). Some of Dietze-Mager’s conclusions resemble Lesquier’s (1918: 328–332), but Lesquier does not appear in her bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> In documents referring to fully-fledged Roman colonies, the loanword appears together with the name of the city; see e.g. *SB* XXII 15496.1 (245 CE, Antioch): ἐν Ἀντιοχ(εῖα) κολ(ωνία) μητροπόλει.

<sup>45</sup> On the prohibition to buy real estate, see the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §111 (= *BGUV* 1210.243) and Lewis (1989) with *Chrest. Wilck.* 376 (= *BGU* II 462, 155–156 CE, Kerkesoucha – Arsinoite nome).

to think that most soldiers did not settle in the *chora* and preferred places nearer to their original camps, like those of Nicopolis, located outside Alexandria, or of Babylon, today Coptic Cairo, at the head of the Delta region. This place preference may better explain the relative paucity of κολωνία appearing in our papyri, for the papyri that we have were mainly excavated in different places, and few texts survive from the Delta.<sup>46</sup>

*Chrest.Mitt.* 90 (161 CE) is the other second-century text mentioning a κολωνία that was found in Oxyrhynchus. This is a somewhat long roll, now cut in two pieces, of which the first half (*P.Oxy.* III 653a) is a taxing-list mentioning payments for ἀπόμοιρα or ἐπαρούριον among others, and the second half (*P.Oxy.* III 653b) contains the proceedings of a hearing held before the prefect L. Volusius Maecianus.<sup>47</sup> The context of the trial is somewhat obscure because the papyrus is very much effaced in its upper half, where one can read only some words at the beginning, middle, and end of lines. However, the text clearly deals with two quarrelling Roman citizens, a Sempronius Orestinus son of a Sempronius Tarantinus (an Italian immigrant?), here acting through a rhetor Isidoros, and a Iulius Voltimus from Paraitonion, a city on the Mediterranean coast, circa 290 km west of Alexandria (modern Mersa Matruh).<sup>48</sup> They had already met in court, before a *iudex pedaneus*, the chiliarch (a *tribunus militum*) Sempronius Honoratus, and are now facing another trial before the prefect himself, who may be deciding on the developments of the issue. We know that Orestinus had lent Voltimus a sum of money (δάνειον), while the latter may have put up all his property as collateral for the loan.<sup>49</sup> Voltimus probably missed the repayment,

---

<sup>46</sup> On settlement choices, see also Alston (1995: 50–51). Note that Babylon was close enough to Arsinoite villages like Karanis (c. 66 km), where many veterans settled.

<sup>47</sup> On ἀπόμοιρα and ἐπαρούριον, see Wallace (1938: 53–59). On the prefect L. Volusius Maecianus, see Faoro (2016: 110–113). We know that Maecianus was a jurist (see e.g. *Dig.* 14.2.9 and 46.3.103, the latter concerning the repayment of multiple debts like in *Chrest.Mitt.* 90) and had been head of Antoninus Pius' *a libellis* (i.e. the office responding to petitions sent to the emperor) before becoming prefect of Egypt.

<sup>48</sup> Grenfell and Hunt edited lines 1–2, 9–10, part of 14, and 18–29. The unpublished portions of the papyrus do not yield new continuous text but only fragments: in line 3 we find the opponent (τὸν ἀντίδικον) and probably Voltimus (Ἰουλίῳ); in line 4 Voltimus' properties (τὰ ὑπάρχον[τα]); in lines 5 and 7 a previously unattested word, likely relating to irrigation works (τὴν διαίνωσιν, literally 'wetting', perhaps of unproductive fields through canals?); in line 6 Orestinus' lawyer is reading aloud (ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντο[ς]); line 8 mentions other κολωνία (αἱ ἄλλαι κολωνεῖαι); and lines 10–11 inform us that a ruling follows (probably that of a previous trial held before a chiliarch, ἀπόφρασιν ὡς ὑποτέτακτα[ι]).

<sup>49</sup> In his introduction to *Chrest.Mitt.* 90, Mitteis argues that Voltimus' properties were used as collateral, but we may not be certain about this. For a different hypothesis, see Kniepkamp (1970: 56–59).

and Orestinus took advantage of the circumstance by taking possession of Voltimus' properties through ἐμβαδεΐα (l. 24). However, it soon became clear that Orestinus was not Voltimus' only creditor (l. 22), and so the first judge they had resorted to, Sempronius Honoratus, ordered that Voltimus' properties be sold, probably to repay the various creditors. As it seems, Voltimus' property had not yet been sold by the time he and Orestinus appeared before the prefect, where Voltimus probably asked to get back his properties in exchange for a loan repayment, while Orestinus demanded to receive the loan repayment but also the interest. The prefect Maecianus preferred Voltimus' position because Orestinus had already taken possession of Voltimus' lands and profited from them in the meantime. At this point, Orestinus' lawyer, Isidoros, argued that his client did not really own those lands and did not receive any profits from them; moreover, these lands had to be sold by order of the previous judge. Isidoros' sophistry ended up irritating the prefect, who forcefully ordered Orestinus to accept the loan repayment without interest and return the properties to Voltimus lest he be condemned and flogged (l. 27: ὅπερ ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσης οὐ μόνον κατακριθήσει ἀλλὰ καὶ δαρήσ[ει]). Lastly, the prefect told the parties that he would appoint a new judge who would examine the estate of Canopus, (l. 25: τὴν Κανωπίτιν), near Alexandria, to offset claims and liabilities, thus preventing Orestinus and Voltimus from suffering a loss on the ruling.<sup>50</sup>

The surviving portion of text bears testimony to a complex legal affair that was likely even more intricate; for instance, in line 14 we find a Iulius Fidus, γραμματεὺς, who comes up again when Orestinus' lawyer recalls the presence of other creditors (l. 22). The papyrus also allows us to watch the prefect and known jurist Maecianus in action but just as importantly lets us gain some new information on κολωνίαι. First, in line 8 there are more than one (αἱ ἄλλαι κολωνεΐαι), which ἄλλος likely sets apart from a previously mentioned one (or more). It would be interesting to understand whether the text deals with single veteran estates, each making up a κολωνία, or with groups of veteran estates, each group forming a κολωνία; unfortunately, the

---

<sup>50</sup> The new judge would probably have had to ascertain the profits that Orestinus had already gained through his possession of Voltimus' properties and balance this sum with the loan's interest that Voltimus would not pay.

papyrus is too lacunose to tell. Lines 21–22 do offer a new insight into colonies, for the lawyer Isidoros reminds the prefect that, even though Orestinus took possession of Voltimus’ lands, other creditors (among which there is a κολωνία) turned up, thus pushing the previous judge to rule that the lands be sold: ἀπενεγκάμεθα πάντα τὰ τούτου χωρία· δικαίως τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς (or *l. ὑμᾶς*) λέγεται. ἐντυχόντων δέ τινων | [καὶ λεγ]όντων [καὶ τῆ] κολωνεία ὀφεί[λε]σθαι καὶ Φί[δ]ου [δ]ανιστὰς εἶναι, Ὀνορᾶτος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὰ πραθῆναι, ‘we obtained all his landed properties: this that they say against us is true (or: this is correctly reported to you). However, when some others presented petitions saying that also the colony was owed money and that there were moneylenders to Fidus,<sup>51</sup> then Honoratus ordered that the properties (i.e. Voltimus’ properties) be sold’. Since Voltimus owed money also to a κολωνία, we may infer that a κολωνία could have legal personality, as Lesquier and Dietze-Mager hypothesised, even though it was not a self-governing body; but what is this particular κολωνία? The colonies appearing in papyri are usually linked to a single veteran, which makes it difficult to think of a veteran-owned entity with legal personality. What follows should remain a hypothesis, but it is not impossible to think that several single veteran estates, each a κολωνία, could form an association, also called κολωνία. And the γραμματεὺς Fidus, whose involvement is not clear, may have possibly worked for one such associative κολωνία. However, one need not apply the legal personality of a similar κολωνία to all other κολωνίαι of papyri, which appear as single-veteran estates in the Egyptian *chora*. For one thing, *Chrest.Mitt.* 90 was not written in Oxyrhynchus or in the *chora* but in or near Alexandria; secondly, Iulius Voltimus comes from Paraitonion, on the Mediterranean coast, and his estate is in Canopus, near Alexandria. Since the legions based in Egypt had their main base in Nicopolis, also outside Alexandria, it is possible that relatively more veterans settled there than anywhere else in the province and that these settlers could unite themselves in an association referred to as κολωνία, which fact need not to extend to all other κολωνίαι appearing in papyri. At present, it is difficult to draw a precise conclusion on the matter, but we may be sure that the κολωνίαι of papyri usually represented the estates of single veterans.

---

<sup>51</sup> The involvement of the γραμματεὺς Iulius Fidus, who appears also in l. 14, is not clear. However, the surviving traces of ink are compatible with phi and iota.

Besides legal personality, what interests us most is the use of the Latin loanword κολωνία. Why do we find this Latin loan when this word cannot possibly refer to a real Roman colony? Let us review the evidence. First, when we can ascertain the type of land constituting Egyptian κολωνίαι, this is discovered to be land sold by the State. This is what we saw with the ὑπόλογος γῆ of *P.Oxy.* XII 1508, but further evidence appears in *P.Giss.* I 60.3.6 (118 CE, Naboo – Apollonopolite nome), where Naboo’s κωμογραμματεὺς lists colonial land after – and likely as part of – so-called γῆ ἐωνημένη, ‘bought land’, that is other State-sold, tax-exempt land.<sup>52</sup> A reference to ὀνόμασι and thus perhaps to a κολωνία as γῆ ἐωνημένη appears also in the lacunose *SB* VI 9448.5 (103–117 CE, unknown prov.). Second, all this State-land was sold by the provincial office of the ἴδιος λόγος. This office had been in existence since Ptolemaic times, had its headquarters in Alexandria, by now had a Roman *equus* at its head, and likely some bilingual bureaucrats working in it. Third, even when a veteran does not appear to have bought his κολωνία he received it from the State, likely from the same provincial department requisitioning and selling off unused fields, that is the ἴδιος λόγος. This is what we probably see in *Chrest. Wilck.* 461 (200–203 CE, Kerkesoucha, Arsinoite nome), where the veteran Iulius Valerius declares that he has received a plot of land from the emperors (ll. 15–17): [ἐκ τῆς τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτ]οκρατόρων εὐεργεσίας ἧς ἐχαρί[[σαντο τοῖς ἀπολυθεῖ]σι στρατιώταις ἔσχον καὶ γῆν | [ c. 8 περὶ κόμην] Κερκεσοῦχα, ‘by means of our lords the emperors’ benevolence, which they bestowed on the discharged soldiers, I too received a plot of land ... near the village of Kerkesoucha’.<sup>53</sup> The involvement of the Roman provincial administration and in particular of the office of the ἴδιος λόγος may very well explain the choice to use κολωνία. However, the involvement of the Roman administration does not illuminate the innovative nature of Egyptian κολωνίαι, but Egyptian custom may.

<sup>52</sup> On γῆ ἐωνημένη, see Rowlandson (1996: 48–53).

<sup>53</sup> The loanword κολωνία appears in l. 27. One may supplement the beginning of l. 17 e.g. as follows: γῆν | [εἰς κολωνίαν περὶ κόμην] Κερκεσοῦχα κτλ, ‘a plot of land allocated for *colonia*’.

In the centuries up to the Roman conquest of Egypt, different areas of the country were settled by the Ptolemies with large numbers of soldiers.<sup>54</sup> To put it in a nutshell, the Ptolemaic kingdom provided soldiers with a plot of State land (κληρος), which officially remained crown property; in exchange, soldiers (κληροῦχοι, if Egyptians usually μάχιμοι) would be ordered to mobilise in periods of war or revolts. The new Greek rulers of Egypt did not create new cities or villages for their soldiers, but rather dispersed them among existing centres. In this period, the Arsinoite nome and particularly some of its districts saw the arrival of several κληροῦχοι, mostly because of the reclamation works that expanded the arable land of this nome. Above single κληροῦχοι, who had different plots of land depending on their military position, stood a composite system. This system changed over time and its intricacies are not investigated here, but it may be useful to recall some of its members: προστάται, γραμματεῖς, and from the second century BCE the πρὸς τῇ συντάξει, a high-ranking overseer. The γραμματεῖς in particular ‘checked the individuals who were becoming cleruchs, assigned land, controlled the quality of the *klēros* and handled disputes’ (Fischer-Bovet, 2014: 211). This structure remained in place up until Caesar’s arrival in Egypt (48–47 BCE), a few years after Roman soldiers had started residing permanently in the province, and when the Ptolemaic army may have started being incorporated into Roman units.<sup>55</sup> Now, the Roman and Ptolemaic armies differed sharply from each other, especially in that Roman imperial soldiers were not mobilisable farmers. However, when we compare Egyptian κολωνίαι with Ptolemaic κληροῖ, similarities do appear. They did not form new villages or concentrated plots of land and were made of State-land assigned by some bureaucratic office. A third common feature might be the involvement of γραμματεῖς as overseers of these allotments and communities. In the Roman period, documents do not disclose such a clear system in place, but the involvement of the γραμματεὺς Iulius Fidus of *P.Oxy.* III 653 in what may be the only securely attested κολωνία with legal personality could point in this direction. Lastly, a Ptolemaic

---

<sup>54</sup> See Fischer-Bovet (2014: 199–237).

<sup>55</sup> See Fischer-Bovet (2014: 212), Capponi (2005: 13–23), and §1.2.4 above.

κλήρος assigned to a soldier-farmer could in theory be compared to a Roman κολωνία, which etymologically refers to a farming-linked colonization.<sup>56</sup>

All in all, the introduction of the loan κολωνία in Egypt likely stems from the provincial administration, based in Alexandria, and more specifically from its ἴδιος λόγος branch. The bureaucrats working in this office would have known about the establishment of new veteran settlements as *coloniae* in the rest of the empire and possibly about the etymological meaning of Latin *colonia*; consequently, they may have decided to name κολωνίαι the State-administered settlement of veterans in the countryside. However, the Latin word *colonia* usually carried with itself a baggage of administrative and legal consequences: a city with Roman administration, Roman citizens, Roman law. Why did Egypt not receive any of these? Egyptian custom may help in explaining the characteristics of Egyptian κολωνίαι: it is not inconceivable that the new Roman rulers found the Ptolemaic cleruchic system that assigned soldiers a plot of land with tax benefits and simply followed suit.<sup>57</sup> On the downside of this hypothesis, one may remember that the cleruchic system likely died out with the arrival of the first Roman troops in Egypt, while κολωνίαι appear only at the beginning of the second century CE. However, this is a linguistic problem, because the loanword may have been introduced only in the second century, when Latin borrowings increase sharply, to describe what may have been an already existing phenomenon. If so, the presence of Ptolemaic-like Roman κολωνίαι may be a good example of both continuity and change of administrative practice in early-Roman Egypt. From a linguistic perspective, the innovation that brought the introduction of the loan κολωνία is yet another example of diffusion from the central provincial administration, Alexandria, and its bilingual offices. In Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* XII 1508 illuminates the arrival of one of these veteran farmers in the Oxyrhynchite nome, while *P.Oxy.* III 653 documents veterans with properties on the coast, and we do not know how and why this text arrived to Oxyrhynchus.

---

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. Hyginus Gromaticus (II CE), *Constitutio Limitum* p.140.19–20: *et ab agrorum noua dedicatione culturae colonias appellauerunt.*

<sup>57</sup> On veteran settlers see also Capponi (2005: 9).

Leaving aside the allotment of land to veterans, *PSIV* 447 (166–167 CE) may document yet other links with Alexandria and veterans. This document is a declaration addressed to the strategus Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias by a Lucius Calpurnius Seneca. Following a general official order, the document submitted preserves a copy of the status verification (ἐπίκρισις) of four slaves, two belonging to Seneca himself and one to each of his children, Calpurnius Serenus and Calpurnius Gaianus. The first part of the document (ll. 1–10) describes its occasion. This is followed by an extract from the ἐπίκρισις record of the prefect of Egypt Titus Flavius Titianus (ll. 10–25), where we read that the slaves’ examination was performed by a Marcus Iulius Senecio *tribunus militum*, χιλίαρχος, of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* in the sixth year of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (165–166 CE). Here, the extract refers also to Seneca’s and his children’s own examination (respectively under Trajan and Hadrian). After this section, the document ends with Seneca’s subscription, the signatures of three witnesses, and a dating in the seventh year (ll. 26–37).<sup>58</sup> The text presents the loanword λεγεών, which appeared already in the first centuries BCE and CE. Now common, here the loan qualifies the tribune who performed the *epikrasis*, Marcus Iulius Senecio. But this text also contains some transmitted loanwords: the common Καῖσαρ in the imperial titulatures (ll. 9, 15, 35), but also Καλάνδαι from *Kalendae* and Μάρτιος from *Martius* in a fully Roman dating.<sup>59</sup> This dating appears in the most noteworthy part of the text, that is in the extract from the prefect’s *epikrasis* record (ll. 13–15):

... ἐπεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ ἐπάρχ[ου Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μάρκου  
Ἰουλίου Σενε-]  
 [κίωνος χειλι]άρχου λεγεῶνος β̄ Τραιανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ ἰδ̄ Καλ[α]νδῶν  
Μ[α]ρτίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν Μ[ε]χρ̄ κβ̄, ἄχρι τῆς τῶν Καλανδῶν]  
 15 [Μαρτίων], ἥτις ἐστὶν Φαμενώθ ε̄, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ς (ἔτους) ...

<sup>58</sup> *P.Oxy.* XII 1451 (175 CE) is a very similar declaration. On *PSIV* 447, see also Waebens (2012), who discusses and corrects ll. 11–12.

<sup>59</sup> On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

... their status was examined by Titus Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt, through Marcus Iulius Senecio, tribunos of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* from the 14th day before the **calends** of **March**, that is the 22<sup>nd</sup> of Mecheir, until the **calends** of **March**, that is Phamenoth 5<sup>th</sup>, of the present sixth year ...

The original in which the dating appeared was written and kept in Alexandria, and extracts were given to the interested parties. The nature of the document, an official record kept in the prefect's office, probably imposed the use of the Roman calendar. In early Roman Egypt and throughout the first century CE, lower-ranking branches of the administration used the Egyptian calendar only, but the prefect's offices probably worked by a mixed system because they stood in between the centre and the periphery, Rome and the Egyptian *chora*. The equivalence with the Egyptian calendar may document the double system by which the prefect's office worked, but it was probably used also to help the interested parties understand the dating of the record.

Now, even if *PSIV* 447 does not provide us with a new loanword, it allows us to glimpse at the work of the prefect's office in Alexandria. Roman calendar loanwords like Καλάνδαι and Μάρτιος are transmitted ones because they likely entered Greek before reaching Egypt; in Egypt, up until the end of the second century CE they mainly appear in Alexandria and usually in bilingual settings.<sup>60</sup> By recording these transmitted loans, *PSIV* 447 presents us with additional evidence on the first use and then spread of some new lexical items all over Egypt, in the present case from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus through the Roman citizen Calpurnius Seneca. Unfortunately, since *PSI V* 447 focusses on Seneca's slaves, it does not inform us on how precisely he became a Roman citizen. He may have been a citizen by birth, the freedman of a citizen, or a provincial who served in the army. And if he was a citizen by birth, it remains likely

---

<sup>60</sup> For instance, Καλάνδαι appears in other ἐπίκρισις documents linked with Alexandria (e.g. *BGU* III 780, 155–159 CE, Arsinoite nome); in Roman wills, which needed to be in Latin or at least translated into Latin from Greek (e.g. *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857.31, 134 CE); or in documents involving Roman soldiers or military settings (e.g. *Chrest. Wilck.* 487 (= *P. Oxy.* IV 747), II–III CE, and *O. Claud.* II 239, II CE). For the calendar and the use of Καλάνδαι at Mons Claudianus, see §3.5. When the word is not linked to the Roman calendar itself, it may refer to the New Year's Day festivals; see Rea (1988) and e.g. *P. Wisc.* II 27 (II CE, unknown prov.).

that his family acquired Roman citizenship through service in the army; in which case, we would be dealing with yet another family of somewhat wealthy veterans settling in the city and bringing with themselves some Latin-influenced documents.<sup>61</sup>

### 5.1.3 Other military loanwords: duties and ranks

The remaining military loanwords refer to ranks or duties and appear in only two texts, neither originally written in the city: *P.Oxy.* LV 3810 with *σιγγλάριος* (II–III CE) and *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 (119 CE) with *ὀπτίων*. The first was sent there from Memphis, while the latter was written in Heracleopolis but later brought and eventually found in Oxyrhynchus.

*P.Oxy.* LV 3810 is a private letter sent from Memphis by a certain Callias to a lady Cyrilla, likely in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>62</sup> Callias, who works for a royal scribe, wants to inform his addressee that a group of *strategi*, including the *strategus* of the Lycopolite nome, were released from their service, so that a certain Dioscurides should not worry any longer. Dioscurides likely was a wealthy citizen of Oxyrhynchus, either serving as the *strategus* of the Lycopolite nome, as proposed by the editor, Rea, or more likely working for one of the released *strategi*, as proposed by Kruse.<sup>63</sup> When the letter was written, he was likely reaching home and Cyrilla in Oxyrhynchus, while in Memphis the prefect was still reviewing the tenure of the *strategi*, probably in the course of a *conventus*. A *σιγγλάριος*, that is an (*equus*) *singularis*, later announced the good outcome of the review to the royal scribe for whom Callias worked (ll. 12–17):

... Διοσκουρίδης μὴ

---

<sup>61</sup> Seneca's family might have settled in Egypt from e.g. Italy, but we do not have concrete examples of a similar trend. For instance, J.N. Adams (2003: 593) and (1977) hypothesises on linguistic bases that Claudius Terentianus was the son of a Latin-speaking immigrant. Otherwise, Seneca could have been an Alexandrian citizen who acquired Roman citizenship, but Alexandrians often retained a Greek part in their *tria nomina*; see Whitehorne (1990: 547).

<sup>62</sup> The obeisance (*προσκύνημα*) before the lord Apis in lines 3–5 points to Memphis; see similar obeisances to Apis in e.g. *SB* VIII 9903 (= *P.Oxy.* I 160, 200 CE) and 9930 (III CE) with Geraci (1971: 185–186).

<sup>63</sup> See Kruse (2002: 839–843). The office of *strategus* could not be taken up by a native of the district concerned; on nome *strategi*, see Dirscherl (2002), Whitehorne (2006), and Cockle (1984: 110).

ἀγωνει< > λοιπὸν περὶ μηδενός.  
 οὕτως γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς **σιγγάριος**  
 15 ἔλθων τῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συν-  
 ἀπέλυσεν τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ  
 Λυκοπολείτου καὶ ἄλλους δύο.  
 ...

13. *l.* ἀγωνι<ᾱ> or ἀγωνι<άτω> 17. *l.* Λυκοπολίτου

... Dioscurides should not be anxious any more about anything. For just so a *singularis* came safely to the royal scribe and he himself helped to release the strategus of the Lycopolite nome and two others ...

A *σιγγάριος* was a guard and in this case one of the prefect's guards, here accompanying him through the country and acting as an official messenger between parties of the provincial administration.<sup>64</sup> The governor's *σιγγάριοι* came from auxiliary units and would act as messengers during a temporary assignment. Certainly, to work with the prefect commanded some prestige, and the use of a Latin title may have come with additional prestige for an auxiliary and thus often non-citizen soldier. Even if we suppose that these soldiers had a Greek word equivalent to *σιγγάριος* or could create one, the preference for Latin may have been linked to the prestige of their position.

The other text, *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 (119–124 CE), presents us with the textile loan *λωδιξ* 'blanket' together with the military *ὀπτίων* 'adjutant'. This military title can apply to several duties and ranks, so it is often difficult to pin down the exact role of an *ὀπτίων*, who is often just a soldier 'in charge' of something; in the present case, the *ὀπτίων* Antonius Titan is in charge of

<sup>64</sup> On these soldiers, see e.g. *C.Epist.Lat.* I 140.26 (= *P.Oxy.* VII 1022, 103 CE), *P.Freib.* IV 66 (194 CE, Theadelphia), *Stud.Pal.* XXII 92 (194 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos) with M.P. Speidel (1978: 19–22) and (1981: 405–409), and Alston (1995: 187).

clothing.<sup>65</sup> The document is a declaration addressed to an Apollonius strategus of the Heracleopolite nome; he likely was from Oxyrhynchus, served as strategus in Heracleopolis, and eventually brought back to Oxyrhynchus a dossier relating to his tenure.<sup>66</sup> Similarly to *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4434, which involves another ὀπίων, and *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 (§5.1.1), this is yet another early text concerning military clothing acquisitions. Here, eight cloth-dealers, ἱματιοπῶλαι, declare to the strategus that the 200 λώδικες that they had received an order for were valued at 5,658 silver drachmas (l. 9). At the prefect's behest, the strategus controlled the valuation and payment of the goods, which is the matter under review (ll. 4–7):

... πρὸς τὴν γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ Ἄτερίου Νέπωτος τοῦ [κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος]  
 5 ἐπιστολ(ήν) περὶ τοῦ τὰς διακοσίας λώδικας, ἃς Ἀντώνιος Τιτὰν ὀπίων  
 ἐπ[ιμελητῆς ἱματισμῶν]  
 κατελελοίπει, ὑπὸ σοῦ συντιμηθῆναι καὶ δοθῆναι τῷ [ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ Τιτᾶνο[ς]  
 διαπε[μφθέντι στρατιώτῃ]  
 ἦν ἐὰν ἐρίσης τιμὴν ἐπιζητ[οῦ]ντί σοι, τί ἐπράχθ[ησα]ν, δηλοῦ[μ]εγ ...

7. ἐάν Ι. ἄν | Ι. αἰρήσης

... With regard to the letter that his Excellency the prefect Haterius Nepos sent you to the effect that the 200 **blankets** which Antonius Titan, *optio* in charge of clothing, had left were to be valued by you and whatever price you set to be given to the soldier sent by Titan, following your enquiry (into) what happened to them, we inform you that ...

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. *O. Wilcken* II 1130.2–3 with its following ostraca (= *Rom. Mil. Rec.* 78, 179 or 211 CE, Pselkis): Ἀσκληπιάδη ὀπίων[ι] | παραλέμπτου σίτου. See also M.P. Speidel (1978: 34).

<sup>66</sup> The same strategus appears in *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917 (early II CE, written in Heracleopolis), also containing some loanwords, for which see §5.2.1. See also Whitehorne (2006: 60). On the verso of *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917 one finds some lacunose legal proceedings involving a strategus, a slave, and a purchase, *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 (II CE).

Even though this text does not inform us further on the life of Oxyrhynchus' weavers, it confirms a strong link between the central administration, the military, and the local textile industry. Such link was not peculiar to Oxyrhynchus but likely stretched across the province, or at least throughout places with a strong weaving tradition. Moreover, *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 allows us to look at the relative importance that similar orders may have played for local merchants or producers. The 200 λώδικες were valued at 5,658 silver drachmas, that is a bit more than 28 drachmas each, which is a price comparable to that recorded for λώδικες and similar items (e.g. χιτῶνες) in other second-century papyri.<sup>67</sup> If we consider that the order involved eight cloth-dealers, each one delivering an average of 25 λώδικες, the single merchant's share would have totalled a substantial 707 drachmas 1 obol and 4 chalkoi, which makes similar orders not negligible transactions.<sup>68</sup> *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 also testifies to a payment in two instalments: the dealers first received 4,000 drachmas as a prepayment and only later the remaining 1,658 drachmas, likely upon delivery.<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, we are not aware of the exact production capacity of the local producers these dealers relied upon, nor do we know their balance sheets, but we may not be too far off presuming that similar orders played no secondary role in their business life.<sup>70</sup> Now, the relationship between a customer as powerful as the Roman army and the local producers needs closer inspection, because the Latin influence present in the textile vocabulary of the local producers may be at least a partial result of such a relationship.

---

<sup>67</sup> See Drexhage (1991: 356–360). Consider that a similar λῶδιξ would have been unaffordable for the average rural worker, whose wage in this period ranged between 1.2 and 2 drachmas per day; see Rathbone (2009: 316, table 15.3.4a) and Drexhage (1991: 402–439).

<sup>68</sup> For comparison, the mean price of a 6- to 15-year-old slave in Roman Egypt (70s to 250s CE) was 880 drachmas; see Scheidel (2005). On slave prices see also Straus (2004: 294–300) and Ruffing and Drexhage (2008: 331–333).

<sup>69</sup> *BGU* VII 1564 (138 CE, Philadelphia) records an order with pre-payment. Some time could elapse between the pre-payment and the delivery. The editors of the weavers' petition *BGU* VII 1572 (139 CE, Philadelphia; duplicate of *P.Phil.* 10), n. to ll. 2–3, thought even more than a year, but this is not a given; see *P.Phil.* 10, intr.

<sup>70</sup> *P.Phil.* 10 (139 CE, Philadelphia; duplicate of *BGU* VII 1572) informs us that Philadelphia's weavers are overwhelmed by similar official orders, also because some of them had undertaken a liturgy as ἐπίπλοοι. The ἐπιπλώια required a πόρος (the value of real estate owned) of 800 drachmas, thus indirectly informing us on these weavers' status as small businessmen and real-estate owners; see Lewis (1997: 27, 73–75). On military ἐπίπλοοι in the first century CE, see §4.5.1.

#### 5.1.4 The military and textiles

Between the Roman army and Egyptian weavers, a link has emerged more than once in the previous sections. Sometimes we find a veteran interested in the weaving industry and more frequently the military apparatus ordering textiles from the local producers. Such orders reached the Egyptian weavers with fixed specifications, including precise names for the items. For instance, in the pre-payment order *BGU* VII 1564 (138 CE, Philadelphia) each item comes with a precise description; should the weavers fail to meet it, they will have to pay for the flaws of the inferior items (l. 13, τῶν δ' ἐλάσσῳ (*l. ἐλασσόνων*) τὸ ἀποδέον).<sup>71</sup>

As *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 suggests (§5.1.3), the link between army and weavers likely extended through different parts of the province. And in Oxyrhynchus, three of the documents presenting military loanwords offer material documenting such a relationship: *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4434 (154 CE, §5.1.1), *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760 (179/80 CE, §5.1.1), and *P.Oxy.* VII 1035 (143 CE, §5.1.2). The first two documents display military orders for textiles; the second also shows us a veteran settler who bought some land in Oxyrhynchus but was also active in similar orders either as a liturgist or as merchant; while the last document bears testimony to the fact that veteran settlers could invest in the textile production.<sup>72</sup> These documents alone cannot prove that the great wealth of textile loanwords appearing in second-century papyri all spread following a military channel, but they suggest that at least some of these words may have done so.

Overall, this link is a most noteworthy feature appearing in the second-century documents preserving military loanwords. The possible presence of a military camp in or near Oxyrhynchus in this century does not appear as a relevant factor in the texts, which continue to show military personnel interacting with the city mainly from without, especially from Alexandria. For instance,

---

<sup>71</sup> For the specifications, see e.g. *BGU* VII 1564.7–8 (138 CE, Philadelphia): εἰς δὲ χρείας τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σεβαστῇ παρεμβολῇ(ῃ) ὑγιαστηρίου | λώδικος λευκῆς ἀπλῆς μιᾶς μήκ(ους) πῆχ(εων) ἑ πλάτους πῆχ(εων) δ ὀκ(ῆς) μνῶ(ν) δ ἐπὶ λόγ(ο)υ (δραχμῶν) κη ‘and for the use of the hospital in the Imperial camp, for one simple blanket, 6 cubits long, 4 cubits broad, weighing 4 minae, on account 28 drachmas’.

<sup>72</sup> As additional evidence, in the first century CE the well-known veteran Pompeius Niger apprenticed his son Fuscus as a weaver; see *P.Fouad* 37 (48 CE, Oxyrhynchus?) and above §4.6.4 n. 97.

*PSI* VI 687 (§5.1) attests to yet another soldier concluding a contract in the city but likely not residing there; *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4434 shows us an ὀπίων in the city only for military acquisitions; and *P.Oxy.* LV 3810 (§5.1.3) citing a σιγγάριος of the prefect along with *P.Oxy.* XIX 2230 documenting an ὀπίων from Alexandria were both written outside Oxyrhynchus. In fact, there is no single text written in a purely military context, and the remaining documents – *PSI* V 447, *P.Oxy.* III 653, VII 1035, XII 1508, XXXVI 2760, and LV 3798 (all §5.1.2) – inform us on the life of some veteran settlers. These texts do not have links with the use and introduction of many other loanwords, in this regard being very similar to first-century texts involving veteran settlers.<sup>73</sup>

## 5.2. Legal and administrative loanwords

Legal and administrative loanwords constitute another group of loanwords that, though not sizeable, offer valuable information. These two categories were numerically limited also in the first century but offered examples both of Alexandria as an important centre for loanwords to spread from and of the Roman administration as a fertile ground for loanwords to appear in.<sup>74</sup> Second-century documents confirm these trends and add a new dimension. For in the meantime such loanwords had made their way outside legal courts and administrative offices and reached at least some households of the *chora* (e.g. with the loan ὀφίκιον, ‘official appointment’), which is something undocumented in earlier texts.

Overall, second-century Oxyrhynchus papyri offer nine loans (appearing in eight texts) with administrative links, that is the compound ἀρχιστάτωρ, from ἀρχι- ‘chief’ and *stator* ‘official messenger’, which had already appeared in first-century texts;<sup>75</sup> βικάριος, from *vicarius* ‘deputy’, here linked to a tax payment; γέμελλος, from *gemellus* ‘twin’; ὀφίκιον, from *officium* ‘official

---

<sup>73</sup> See §4.5.2.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. §4.3, §4.4., and §4.7; cf. Mason (1974: 7).

<sup>75</sup> See §4.4.2.

appointment’, ‘duty’; πραιτώριον, from *praetorium* as the ‘official residence of the governor’;<sup>76</sup> σαλάριον, from *salarium* ‘salary’; στάτωρ, from *stator* ‘official messenger’; συγκολληγας, technically a compound made of σύν ‘with’ and *collega* ‘colleague’; ταβουλάριος, from *tabularius* ‘secretary’;<sup>77</sup> and φίσκος, from *fiscus* ‘basket’ or, as here, ‘imperial treasury’. Legal loanwords are fewer in number, totalling three (in three texts): κωδικίλλος from *codicillus* ‘rescript of the emperor’ or, as here, ‘codicil to a will’; προφασσίων from *professio* ‘formal declaration’; and ταβέλλα, from *tabella* ‘tablet’. Documents internal to the administration have been divided from those in which the administration interacts with citizens, legal professionals, or both (e.g. legal proceedings), and from private texts (only one, the private letter *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3312).<sup>78</sup>

### 5.2.1 The administration and its documents

Among administrative loanwords, a few appear only in documents internal to the Roman administration itself. In this subcategory, we find five loanwords (βικάριος, πραιτώριον, σαλάριον, στάτωρ, συγκολληγας) and four documents. One may also add a fifth text here, *P.Oxy.* X 1244v with νομενκλάτωρ, from *nomenclator* ‘name-reminder’ or ‘-announcer’, but the context of this text is unclear.

The loan βικάριος, from *vicarius* ‘deputy’, appears in the account of village-taxes *P.Oxy.* XII 1436 (156–157 CE).<sup>79</sup> This document is drawn up on the verso of *P.Oxy.* XII 1435 (147 CE), which is a tax return concerning two παστοφόροι, that is low-ranking priests, one of whom is from the Oxyrhynchite village of Teis. The document was likely written by tax-farmers and addressed to a strategus.<sup>80</sup> Respectively seven and ten years later, tax collectors or perhaps

<sup>76</sup> On *praetoria* as provincial governor’s palaces, see Martin (1989), §4.4.1 n. 33, and below §5.2.1 nn. 99 and 100.

<sup>77</sup> Sometimes spelled ταβλάριος, in which case a derivation from *tabellarius* ‘courier’ has been preferred; see Beekes (2010: s.v. τάβλα).

<sup>78</sup> On this division, see the introduction to the chapter.

<sup>79</sup> A translation of the text is in Johnson (1936: 584–585, §336).

<sup>80</sup> See *P.Oxy.* XII 1435, intr. and ll. 7–8, and Kruse (2002: 618–620).

someone in the office of the strategus used the verso of the same papyrus to record monthly accounts of village taxes collected by πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν, perhaps in the same village of Teis (l. 35), which was one of the most populated centres of the Oxyrhynchite nome.<sup>81</sup> The surviving part of the account contains four columns: in the first one, only few letters survive; the second and third likely refer to two consecutive months (Tybi and Mecheir or Epeiph and Mesore) of a seventeenth year (153–154 CE); and the fourth, written by a different hand, refers to the first month of Antoninus’ twentieth year (156–157 CE). These monthly accounts record a total of 17 taxes; among these, we find the well-known λαογραφία ‘poll-tax’ and ὑκὴ ‘pig-tax’ but also lesser-known ones like, for instance, dues to the office of the ἐκλογιστής, (l. 23), dues to the office of the ἴδιος λόγος (l. 24), and perhaps other dues to a βικάριος (ll. 3, 21, 40: βικαρίου [(δραχμαὶ) . . .]).<sup>82</sup> The precise position of a single βικάριος is difficult to ascertain, because the word broadly means ‘deputy’; however, in early-Roman Egypt βικάριοι always appear as deputies of an imperial οἰκονόμος, that is the ‘manager’ of a landed estate.<sup>83</sup> The Roman legislation recorded by section 110 of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (= *BGUV* 1210.242) mentions βικάριοι right after Καισαριανοί, that is imperial slaves, and prohibits them from purchasing property and marrying free women. One may not be too far off thinking that βικάριοι too could have been imperial slaves working in the provincial administration, likely in the apparatus overseeing estates and their produce, possibly in bilingual milieus, as is the case of the Graeco-Latin receipt *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 81 (= *P.Oxy.* IV 735, 205 CE), in which the adjutant, *optio*, to a deputy manager, βικάριος οἰκονόμος, compiles a Greek receipt for wheat followed and preceded by Latin lists of soldiers. However, *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 81 and the other papyri mentioning βικάριοι hardly explain the βικάριος levy appearing in *P.Oxy.* XII 1436. Possibly, this tax may have been due for the support of a local

---

<sup>81</sup> The village counted at least a few thousand inhabitants; see *P.Oxy.* XII 1436, intr.

<sup>82</sup> The ἐκλογιστής was the financial officer overseeing the revenues of a single nome; he was based in Alexandria. See *P.Heid.* VII 398.4–5, n. (176–179 CE, Hermopolis) and *P.Bub.* II 5, pp. 5–6, 15–24 (205–206 CE, Bubastos). On the tax vocabulary of Graeco-Roman Egypt, see e.g. Aubert (2007).

<sup>83</sup> Deputies (βικάριοι) of imperial οἰκονόμοι appear also in *SB* XIV 12169 (96 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis – Arsinoite nome, see §4.7), *BGUI* 102 (161, Arsinoite nome), and the bilingual Greek-Latin *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 81 (= *P.Oxy.* IV 735, 205 CE). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1883.2 (504 CE) attests a βικάριος κάστρου but is a much later document. For the meaning of οἰκονόμος, see Rathbone (1991: 62).

βικάριος; in the Roman period, texts document the proliferation of local taxes, the frequent creation of *ad hoc* levies, and a certain degree of linguistic creativity and perhaps confusion when it comes to fiscal matters.<sup>84</sup> Besides the name of the tax, *P.Oxy.* XII 1436 may suggest an even more significant fact: the presence for at least three years of an imperial βικάριος in or near the rural village of Teis, outside Oxyrhynchus. As in the previous century, we do not have many texts documenting from the inside the presence and work of the imperial administration in the *chora*, but we must remember that similar milieus, often bilingual, did exist even outside Alexandria or nome capitals.

Climbing up to the top echelons of the provincial administration, we find the capital, Alexandria, and the highest-ranking officials of the provincial administration. *P.Oxy.* III 474 (184 or 216 CE)<sup>85</sup> allows us to have a look at both. Likely written in Alexandria in the office of a certain Plautius Italus, perhaps the διοικητής or the head of the ἴδιος λόγος, the text is a letter addressed to different nome strategi and their deputies, the royal scribes.<sup>86</sup> In short, Italus wanted to share with such local officials two other letters concerning their salary (σαλάριον); the first one (ll. 10–30), from Plautius Italus to the strategus of the Tanite nome in the Eastern Delta, is somewhat obscure but reprimands the addressee on an expenses-related matter, while the second one (ll. 31–41), addressed to different strategi and their royal scribes, survives entirely. Apparently, some of these local officials had been taking their salaries out of the imperial revenues, and Plautius Italus reminded them that imperial revenues should not be touched, let alone used by local officials for paying themselves (ll. 33–41):

... ἐπιτυχάνων τοῖς ἀργυρικοῖς  
λόγοις κατελαβόμεν ἐνίους τῶν στρατηγῶν  
35 καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων **σαλάρια**

<sup>84</sup> See Aubert (2007).

<sup>85</sup> The editors, Grenfell and Hunt, prefer the earlier date on palaeographical grounds; see *P.Oxy.* III 474, intr.

<sup>86</sup> On Plautius Italus' identity, see Kruse (2002: 54 n. 133). On the Roman administration of Egypt, see above §1.2.4.

χρόνου τινὸς δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀνελομένοις  
ἀβουλίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ τῶν παρηγγελ-  
μένων χρωμένοις ...

---

36. *l.* ἀνελομένους 38. *l.* χρωμένους

... on examining the money-revenue accounts, I discovered that some strategi and royal scribes had paid (themselves) **salaries** for some time by themselves, showing recklessness rather than obedience to the orders ...

Likely these strategi and royal scribe did not embezzle public funds but just took advantage of their position to get hold of their salaries, which may suggest that the Roman administration did not always pay its local officials on time and that local officials did find a way around similar problems.<sup>87</sup> The appearance of σαλάριον is not unexpected in this context, for we are dealing with documents internal to the administration and with salaries paid centrally by the highest quarters of the provincial administration.<sup>88</sup> The loanword appears in earlier documents too, but it does not refer to just any kind of salary; rather, it always involves persons linked to the provincial administration, be it strategi and their offices or lower-ranking secretaries and tax-collectors.<sup>89</sup>

This is probably what we see in *P.NYU* II 30 (II CE, Oxyrhynchus), which is a short list of payments written against the fibres on the verso of *P.NYU* II 29 (early II CE), a contract of loan with collateral.<sup>90</sup> The account is very short, only six lines long, two of which give the heading – [λ]όγ(ος) σαλαρίου {(δραχμὰς)} καὶ | [ὄψ]ων[ι]οῦ ὧν ἔσχομεν·, ‘account of salary, ~~drachmas~~, and/that is wages we have received’ – and the remaining ones a list of instalments (δόσις).

---

<sup>87</sup> See Johnson (1936: 585, §337) and Kruse (2002: 53–56).

<sup>88</sup> On σαλάριον, see also Mason (1974: 8, 83).

<sup>89</sup> See *BGU* III 981.ii.12 (77 CE, Diopolite and Arsinoite nome), *BGU* XV 2465.3 (108 CE, Diopolite nome), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24.ii.43 (124 CE), *P.Mich.* XI 603.24 (134 CE, Ptolemais Euergetis – Arsinoite nome), and *P.Fay.* 35.5 (150–151, Theadelphia, Arsinoite nome).

<sup>90</sup> We cannot know whether the list of payments involves one of the parties appearing in the loan, on the recto.

Interestingly, the scribe first wrote only *σαλάριον*, followed by drachmas, and then cancelled the drachmas sign and added some sort of gloss introduced by *καί*. It is possible that *σαλάριον* alone was not clear enough and that the second line constituted some sort of explanation, because there is no appreciable difference between *σαλάριον* and *ὀψώνιον*, both meaning ‘salary’. The payments that follow are substantial for the second century: 800, 340, 260, and 200 drachmas, totalling 1,600.<sup>91</sup> On this basis, the editors suggest that the instalments were meant to pay a group of persons, but it is also possible that they constituted the pay of a single one; in either case we are probably dealing with officials working for the provincial administration. Here, the use of *καί* with *ὀψώνιον* as a gloss may signal that we are dealing with a very early attestation of the loan *σαλάριον*, possibly still a codeswitch not always considered understandable.

*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917 (100–125 CE) is yet another document internal to the administration. This is a letter elegantly written in a round calligraphic script adorned with small serifs.<sup>92</sup> Interpuncts mark word divisions inconsistently, and initial letters are occasionally enlarged.<sup>93</sup> This type of script has been considered a ‘Chancery style’, and even though palaeographers now indicate a different style by this name it remains likely that such a script emanated from Alexandria’s chanceries, where contact with Latin may account for the use of interpuncts in a Greek text.<sup>94</sup> In this document, the *στάτωρ* Primianus writes to Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, encouraging him to bring the date of a legal hearing forward. Primianus’ influence peddling was probably intended to help a defendant against the plaintiff (ll. 1–9):

1     [ . . . ]ιος Πρειμιανὸς **στάτωρ** Ἀπολλωνίῳ στρα-  
       *vac.*     τηγῶ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου χαίρειν.  
       [παρακε]κλήκαμέν σε ἐν τῷ **πραιτωρίῳ** ἐγὼ

<sup>91</sup> Cf. above §5.1.3 n. 67.

<sup>92</sup> See Cavallo (2008: 91–92, §69).

<sup>93</sup> On interpuncts, see Anderson, Parsons, and Nisbet (1979: 131, n. 43) and J.N. Adams (1996).

<sup>94</sup> On this hand, see Norsa (1933: 24, with plate §XV), discussing the prefect’s edict *PSIV* 446 (133–136 CE, unknown prov.).

[καὶ οἱ **συ**]γκολληγαί ἴνα, εἰάν σοι δόξη, ἀκου-  
 5 [σθῆ . . .] .ιρις, ἐκδίκου Σαραπίωνος, πρὸς  
 Απ[ . . .]ν ἀντίδικον, ἔχοντα ὑπὲρ ὑπο-  
 θήκης ἧς φαύλως ὑπέθετο, καὶ δικα[ι-]  
 οδ[ο]τηθῆ. παρακαλῶ δὲ ταχύτερον αὐτὸ[ν]  
 ἀκοῦσαί. ...

---

...ius Primianus, *stator*, to Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, greetings. My **fellow colleagues** and I have exhorted you in the *praetorium* so that – if it pleases you – ...iris, whose representative is Sarapion, be heard against an adversary, Ap..., who is bringing a case about a mortgage that he pledged lightly, and obtain justice. So, I invite you to give him a hearing more quickly. ...

The letter continues with a subscription in a different hand by a Iulius Eros (another στάτωρ?), who adds his own exhortation to hasten the hearing, and with greetings, a lacunose dating, and two illegible and thinly written lines.<sup>95</sup> In all likelihood, the addressee of this letter, the strategus Apollonius, possibly an Oxyrhynchite citizen, brought it to Oxyrhynchus. The text contains three Latin loans: στάτωρ (l. 1), πραιτώριον (l. 3), and the compound συγκολληγας (l. 4).<sup>96</sup> The first is already an established loanword in papyri and figure in the provincial administration, being attested since the late first century BCE, for instance in *BGU XVI* 2618.11 (7 BCE, Heracleopolite nome), which is a woman's letter to her children.<sup>97</sup> These στάτορες worked for the prefect, were military police, could be letter carriers, but mainly looked after prisoners appearing at trials; their chief, the ἀρχιστάτωρ, was based in Alexandria and could exert a certain degree of

---

<sup>95</sup> The editor, Rea, thinks that these two lines may be in Latin, but although I checked the document, I cannot confirm his hypothesis.

<sup>96</sup> On compounds and derivatives, usually but not always formed on already integrated loanwords, see above §1.2.1.

<sup>97</sup> See Bagnall and Cribiore (2006: 48, 124–125) and (2008: A4.3, §23). The author of this text, Tryphas, is being pestered by two στάτορες about two slaves who are in prison. She likely wrote only the final greetings.

influence on the outcome of trials.<sup>98</sup> The second loanword, *πραιτώριον*, technically the name of a building, indicates the official residence of the prefect, in Alexandria, but also the headquarters of nome capitals, where the prefect would reside when travelling through the *chora* and administering justice during a *conventus*.<sup>99</sup> The word *πραιτώριον* was likely transmitted to Egypt because it appears in literature and inscriptions a few decades before its first papyrological attestations, but one cannot exclude the possibility of it having been independently borrowed, in Egypt and elsewhere, in a slightly different time frame.<sup>100</sup> The third loanword, *συγκολλήγας*, technically a compound from *σύν* ‘with’ and *collega* ‘colleague’, or perhaps via an already borrowed *κολλήγας*, indicates Primianus’ fellow *στάτορες*. Both *κολλήγας* and *συγκολλήγας* start appearing in papyri, and more generally in Greek, in the second century CE; the latter disappears after this example and surfaces again two centuries later.<sup>101</sup> Since both words appear for the first time in the same period, we cannot know whether the compound was formed on an already borrowed *κολλήγας* or directly on Latin. But what interests us most is that in this early period both words appear in administrative or military contexts only, referring to members of the Roman army or administrative apparatus.<sup>102</sup> This fact alone may suggest that *κολλήγας* was not an already

<sup>98</sup> On *στάτορες* and the *ἀρχιστάτωρ*, see §4.4.2 above.

<sup>99</sup> On a provincial governor’s *praetorium*, see Łukaszewicz (2018: 43–49, 143–144), Capponi (2010: 265–269), Alessio (2006), Haensch (1997: 209–212), Martin (1989: 229–240), and Rostovtzeff (1952: 87–89). For Late Antique Constantinople, see Färber (2012: 61–63). The loan *πραιτώριον* appears 9 times in second-century papyri: once it refers to Rome, *P.Hib.* II 215.7–8 (70–130 CE, unknown prov.); twice to a local *praetorium*, e.g. *P.Petaus* 48.2 (185 CE, Arsinoite nome); and six times to that of Alexandria (but Alexandria is never mentioned, so one needs to be cautious), e.g. *O.Bodl.* II 745.3 (139 CE, Thebes).

<sup>100</sup> For earlier attestations, see e.g. NT, Matthew 27:27 (c. 80–90 CE): τότε οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραλαμβάντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον συνήγαγον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν, ‘then the governor’s soldiers took Jesus to the *praetorium* and gathered the whole cohort around him’, and *IGX.2* 2 251.2 (c. 1–50 CE), where the term refers to the praetorian guard (ll. 1–3): Τι(βέριος) · Κλαύδιος Ῥοῦφος, οὐ|ετρανὸς ἐκ πραιτω|ρίου κτλ. Notably, the tax receipt *O.Bodl.* II 745.3–4 (139 CE, Dios Polis – Thebaid) mentions a levy for the construction (possibly a refurbishment or enlargement?) of a *praetorium* and Ἄδριανεῖον, perhaps in Alexandria. On words that may have been independently borrowed in more places and slightly different time frames, see §1.3.2.

<sup>101</sup> See *SBXX* 14379.29 (IV CE) and *P.Col.* VII 188.26, etc. (IV CE).

<sup>102</sup> Military *κολλήγας*: *P.Mich.* VIII 466.46 (107 CE, Bostra – Arabia (written), Karanis (found)), *O.Florida* 3.2 (175–200 CE, not known, perhaps Eastern Desert?), *O.Bodl.* II 2044.i.7 (150–225 CE, Pselchis), perhaps *P.Hamb.* inv. 445.12 (II–III CE, unknown prov., TM 704191), whose edition is in Mitthof and Stauner (2016). Administrative *κολλήγας*: *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917 (100–125 CE). Legal jargon: *P.Babatha* I 14.28 (125 CE, Maoza – Arabia), in which Babatha summoned one of her son’s two tutors calling him a *κολλήγας* of the other; this summons was certainly written for Babatha by a possibly bilingual legal expert, and we do not even know whether Babatha was literate in Greek; see Czajkowski (2017: 49–51) and §4.4 n. 26.

established loanword everywhere, but only in certain social circles.<sup>103</sup> To a great degree of likelihood, both the borrowing of κολλήγας and the creation of συγκολλήγας, be it directly on Latin *collega* or on an already borrowed κολλήγας, took place in these circles, that is in the somewhat Latin-influenced provincial administration and army, and did not exit them until one to two hundred years later.<sup>104</sup>

The verso of *P.Oxy.* X 1244 presents the loanword νομενκλάτωρ, ‘name-announcer’. Unfortunately, this text was not fully published by Grenfell and Hunt, probably because it preserves only the line ends of two columns of text, and its contents and context are not clear.<sup>105</sup> The loanword νομενκλάτωρ appears twice in the plural along with some personal names: Σαραπίων, Ἰκτανιανός,<sup>106</sup> and Ἄγαθος Δαίμων. The presence of νομενκλάτωρ, ‘name-announcer’, does not really help in understanding the context of this text, but it may be that we are dealing with members of the administration or military. According to Latin sources, name-announcers were often slaves or freedmen, and in Rome they could also be part of the administration as *nomenclatores censorii*.<sup>107</sup> Epigraphical sources from the provinces usually record imperial *nomenclatores*, and it may be that ours was yet another imperial slave or freedman.<sup>108</sup> However, the only other appearance of the loan in a papyrus, *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2794.2 (III CE), is a list of supplies delivered to legionaries, a βενεφικιάριος, and a drover; and one cannot exclude that

---

<sup>103</sup> The abbreviation συγκο<sup>λ</sup> appearing in the tax overseers’ report *P.Princ.* III 132.5, 10 (II CE, unknown prov.) likely stands for συγκολλήσιμος (i.e. a type of roll, τόμος, made up of several documents pasted together) and surely has not link to the loan συγκολλήγας.

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. the business letter *P.Worp* 24.10 (III–IV CE, Hermopolis), in which the κολλήγαι mentioned in l. 10 likely are cloth dealers, and the private letter of condolences *P.Oxy.* LV 3819.13 (IV CE). But even in later centuries κολλήγας continues to appear mainly in administrative or military environments; see e.g. the private letter *P.Oxy.* I 123.14 (III–IV CE), perhaps involving fellow ταβουλάριοι, and the court hearing *P.Lips.* I 40 iii.18 (IV–V CE, Hermopolis), in which the *superstationarius* (a soldier or postman?) Senecion refers to his fellow colleague either as ἐταῖρος (ll. 13, 22) or κολλήγας.

<sup>105</sup> The text is now in Brussels, at the Musées Royaux (inv. E 5986). The recto of this papyrus (early II CE, Herodotus 1.105–108) is a fragment from the higher portion of one column of text, with a few letters from the two adjoining ones.

<sup>106</sup> Here one may think of the personal names Ἀ(ν)νιανός (Latin Annianus) or Τιτανιανός (Titanianus); in both cases, one would need to consider the first kappa as misread.

<sup>107</sup> See Bernert (1936: 819–820).

<sup>108</sup> See e.g. *CIL* VIII 24692 (54–96 CE, Carthago), *AE* 1935.56 (Tebessa, Africa proconsularis), *BCTH* 1970.215 (138 CE, Numidia).

*nomenclatores* could work in military camps too. Whatever the context of *P.Oxy.* X 1244, this is probably yet another document internal to the Roman administration or army that displays loanwords to be found only within such environments.

These texts confirm some first-century trends: the Roman administration as a good environment (sometimes bilingual) for borrowing to happen, a continued link with Alexandria, its offices and officials (e.g. *πραιτώριον*, *σαλάριον*, *στάτωρ*), and the presence of loanwords that remain restricted to the administration and its members (e.g. *συγκολλήγας*). But the administration was not only a secluded island of fertile ground for borrowing, because it did interact with citizens, for instance through legal courts, where loanwords are by no means absent.

### 5.2.2 Courts and the choice of Latin over Greek: the case of *φίσκος*

All remaining administrative and legal loanwords appear in documents where private citizens interact with the Roman administration, often through legal experts. In turn, these experts needed to know the specific vocabulary of Roman law theory and practice, which was not at all devoid of loanwords but also not replete with them. Only one of these loanwords, *ὀφφίκιον*, appears also in a private document; striking the reader as unexpected, this occurrence shows how a relatively infrequent loan could make its way into local households. All other examples of Latin loanwords appearing in the Roman courts may be less remarkable, and yet we must remember that Latin had little to no role in the courts of Egypt at this early stage.<sup>109</sup> Reading the documents, one might even conclude that the Roman administration tried to avoid the misuse of Latin terms in Greek texts, and thus the Latin loanwords that do appear in legal texts may allow us to obtain some key information on loanword introduction, use, and choice. *SB* XIV 12139.1.5 (II–III CE, Oxyrhynchite nome), where the loan *φίσκος* ‘imperial treasury’ appears, is one of these cases.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> See J.N. Adams (2003: 634–636), with further bibliography.

<sup>110</sup> Edition and commentary in Youtie (1977). On *φίσκος*, see also Mason (1974: 5, 97).

This text appears on the remains of a long roll (134.5 x 19 cm, cut into five smaller pieces) that lacks at least one column at both left and right sides. On the recto, there are four wide columns of a farming register. On the verso, the first four columns record landholders with plots of land. The remaining columns – the only published portion of the roll – are totally different, containing legal material. Over five columns written by another hand appear three ὑπομνηματισμοί, that is copies of legal hearings and rulings constituting precedents. The first one dates to 155 CE, and the other two to 146 CE, but they were collected together in this papyrus at the end of the second or beginning of the third century CE. All three texts concern the pre-emption rights of partners on undivided, jointly held property for sale. Such ὑπομνηματισμοί had certainly been collected by some lawyers or legal experts who, by presenting them to a judge, intended to obtain a favourable ruling. Given the nature of all texts, it is possible for the roll to come from the archives of an affluent land-owning family, but we may not be too sure about its precise history. The loanword φίσκος appears in the first ὑπομνηματισμός, which covers the entire fifth column of the verso (ll. 1–14):

(ἔτους) ἰϛ̄ Ἀντωνίνου Κα[ί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθὺρ ε̄.  
ἐντυχόντος Ἀχάνιος τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
ὃς ἔλεγεν κεχειροτονήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ  
Λιβύης, μεθ' ἕτερα τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος·  
5 τῶν εἰς τὸν **φίσκον** ἀναλημφθέντων  
ὑπαρχόντων κοινῶν πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀ-  
ξιοῦμεν μήτε ὄνας ἐπιζητεῖσθαι  
μήτε τὴν μερίδα ἥτις οὐκ ἀνελήμ-  
φθη ἐν ἀπράτοις τάσσεσθαι, Λιβελᾶρις  
10 εἶπεν· ἐὰν φανερόν γένηται ὅτι ὁ ἀνα-  
λημπτὸς μόνος εἶχει τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος  
αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ πραθήσεται ἐὰν γε εὐ-  
διαίρετον ᾦν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κοινωνὸς ἀγο-

ρασάτω τὸ τοῦ ταμείου μέρος.

---

4. *corr.* *ex* εἰπόντων 9. *l.* Λιβερῶλις 11. *l.* εἶχε 12. *l.* κατ' 14. *l.* ταμείου

19th year of Antoninus Caesar our lord, Hathyr 5<sup>th</sup>. The petitioner was Achanis alias Apollonius, who declared that he had been appointed by the people from Libya (to represent them), etc. He said: ‘We request that purchases of properties held in common with others and confiscated to the *fiscus* not be solicited, and that the portion which was not confiscated not be assigned to the category of unsold holdings.’ Liberalis said: ‘If it becomes evident that the person whose property has been confiscated was sole possessor of the half share, it shall be sold as it stands, provided it is easily divided off (from the whole); otherwise, let the partner buy the share that goes to the *fiscus*.’ ...

Rather than the technicalities of the prefect Liberalis’ (154–159 CE) ruling or the position of Achanis, probably a lawyer representing a larger group of people, what interests us here is word-choice. Achanis presents a case in which the imperial treasury, the φύσκος, confiscated part of a jointly held property. In his verdict, Liberalis directs that the confiscated part be sold as it is, the exception being when the portion cannot be divided from the whole. In such a case, the other joint holders can buy the confiscated part from the *fiscus*. However, Liberalis refers to the φύσκος by using its Greek name, ταμειῶν. Essentially, both Achanis and the prefect refer to the same administrative department, here confiscating and selling properties, but by different words. The text proves the interchangeability of φύσκος and ταμειῶν, which could function somewhat like κεντουρίων and ἑκατοντάρχης.<sup>111</sup> But this text shows much more than free word-choice; in all likelihood, Achanis deliberately chose to prefer the Latin loanword, for being a lawyer he likely knew that he had a choice. In such a context, his choice likely was a statement of knowledge, in response to the opposite choice made by the highest-ranking Roman official of Egypt. What is more, the prefect’s

---

<sup>111</sup> On κεντουρίων and ἑκατοντάρχης, see also §4.6.3 and §2.4.2. On *fiscus*, *aerarium*, and ταμειῶν (which could cover both), see Delmaire (1989: 11–15) and Mason (1974: 91). See also §5.3.2 below.

answer suggests the absence of a preference for Latin vocabulary on the Roman government's part: these loans were indeed used in the legal and administrative centres, but their choice was not mandatory. And those people who did not need to show off their knowledge could very well avail themselves of the Greek alternatives. Unfortunately, there are not many papyri documenting similar circumstances, from which one may draw clearer conclusions, but a similar freedom of choice and lack of top-down strict imposition does appear in other contexts too.<sup>112</sup>

### 5.2.3 The administration, lawyers, and private citizens

The loanwords ἀρχιστάτωρ ‘chief-usher’, ὀφφίκιον ‘duty’, ταβουλάριος ‘secretary’, κωδικίλλος ‘codicil to a will’, προφασσίων ‘formal declaration’, and ταβέλλα ‘tablet’ all appear in documents in which private citizens or their representatives interact with the administration. But one, ὀφφίκιον, also appears in the final lines of a private letter, *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3312.13 (mid II CE, ll. 10–17):

10     ...                    γίνωσ<κε> οὔ[v]  
           ὅτι Ἑρμῖνος ἀπῆλθεν ἰς Ῥώμ[ην]  
           καὶ ἀπελεύθερος ἐγένετ[ο]  
           Καίσαρος ἵνα **ὀπίκια** λάβ[η.]  
           ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς  
 15     σοὺς κατ’ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ <ἐ>μοὶ  
           πάντες σε ἀσπάζονται.  
           ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.  
           ...

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. §2.4.2 and §4.6.2.

11. *l. εἰς* 13. *l. ὀφφίκτα*<sup>113</sup>

... You should know that Herminus went off to Rome and became a freedman of Caesar so that he could take up **official duties**. Greet all your folks by name, just as all mine greet you. I pray for your health. ...

The opening lines of the letter are lost, but the body of the text is concerned with friends or family members (although it is not clear whether or how the writer and addressee are related), and the pregnancy of a certain Dionysarion.<sup>114</sup> The reference to Herminus comes towards the end, as recent news. The letter may have been written in Alexandria, where Herminus would have started his journey, and from where his friends would have dispersed the news through the *chora*. We may be dealing with a group of people that included Roman citizens – the writer mentions a certain Gaia in line 9 – and possibly with a circle of wealthy citizens linked to both Oxyrhynchus and the capital, as wealthy landowners often were. While male Roman names are no secure sign of citizenship mainly because they could be taken up upon entering the army and before discharge, women's names are probably more reliable indicators. However, the high frequency of the male version of this name, Gaius, invites caution.<sup>115</sup> The fact itself that Herminus took off to Rome to become an imperial freedman and take up official duties caused discussion among historians. The first editor hypothesised that Herminus was a slave who saved enough money to buy his liberty, but one need not refuse to take the text at face value: Herminus could have also been a free person who turned into an imperial freedman, either with or without a simulated passage through slavery.<sup>116</sup> The lack of many suitable comparanda for Herminus' case underlines the importance of this papyrus and of Herminus' social status; if he could aspire to an appointment among the

---

<sup>113</sup> The spelling ὀφφίκτων may signal that the loan had already been phonetically integrated. In l. 6 there is another example of aspirated and voiceless stop interchange, ἀσπαλῶς *l.* ἀσφαλῶς. Both may be due to Egyptian bilingual influence; see Gignac (1976: 95) and cf. §2.7 above.

<sup>114</sup> The writer wants to know how many months pregnant she is. See Montevecchi (1979) and Rowlandson (1998: 284, §219).

<sup>115</sup> More than 300 occurrences in second-century papyri only (checked through papyri.info); see also TM Nam 9067.

<sup>116</sup> See Horsley (1983: 8), Glancy (2002: 85), P. Weaver (2004), Bagnall (2007a: 192–193).

powerful imperial freedmen, he already had very good connections in Egypt, likely in Alexandria. This may explain why the writer, a friend or relative of his, used the loanword ὀφίκιον in a private letter without any gloss.<sup>117</sup> Herminus and his family and friends may all have been wealthy people well connected to the Roman provincial administration, and their knowledge and use of the term may derive from such connections.<sup>118</sup>

The loanword ὀφίκιον appears again in *PSI* IV 281.51 (II CE, Oxyrhynchus). Once again, this roll contains legal material. On the recto, two columns of text involve a certain Epimachos the younger, son of Dionysius, one of the former ἐξηγηταί of Oxyrhynchus; Epimachos' tutor Theon, son of Diogenes, grandson of Dieuches; and Theon's son Dieuches. In the first column, we find a letter regarding a wheat sale; in the second, a petition of Epimachos to the Alexandrian δικαιοδότης (*iuridicus*) against Theon and Dieuches, who allegedly embezzled some of his funds and wheat. In the lower portions of these columns, written in a different hand, there are various ὑπομνηματισμοί. In one of these (l. 39), the prefect Sulpicius Similis (107–112 CE) asks a ταβουλάριος, from *tabularius* 'secretary', who here appears as one of his aides, for some information. On the verso, there are two other columns of text, and it is not completely clear whether they are related to the recto. In the first one, there is a petition to an undetermined official, and in the second some accounts. In the petition, a second hand went through the text cancelling various portions and adding Θέων – perhaps reference to the same Theon appearing in the recto – above the first line (l. 49) and το οφικιο – perhaps το(ῶ) ὀφικί(ο)υ? – above the third (l. 51): ἐπορεύθ(ην) πρὸς τὸν ἀρχέφοδ(ον) | βουλόμενος ἄτο(ῶ) ὀφικί(ο)υ' [[αὐτοῦ]] ἵκανὸν λαβεῖν ἄχρι διαγ(νώσεως) | κτλ., 'I went to the chief of police to get his bail (from the office?) until the judgment'.<sup>119</sup> The use of the loanword is not perfectly clear here, but the context may help. The petition was likely composed and later corrected by an expert, be it a scribe or a more

<sup>117</sup> For powerful imperial freedmen in Alexandria, see e.g. *I.Alexandrie imp.* 21 (160 CE) and 22 (169–174 CE).

<sup>118</sup> The document also shows mobility between Oxyrhynchus, likely Alexandria, and Rome itself; see also *Pap.Choix* 15 (= *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2191, II CE), sent from Puteoli, in Italy, to Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>119</sup> The first editor, G. Vitelli, has already noted that the reading Θέων is not very clear ('se è così!'), but the context supports it.

knowledgeable lawyer, similarly to the ὑπομνηματισμοί of the recto. The use of a technical term like ὀφφίκιον need not surprise, as similar experts needed to be acquainted with Roman law, administration, and its specific terminology, including ὀφφίκιον.

Other legal experts, this time surely bilingual, are involved in *P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857* (134 CE). This is the draft of the Roman will of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, a freedman, and it presents the loanword κωδικίλλος, from *codicillus* ‘codicil to a will’, along with some transmitted loans like Ἰούνιος and Καλάνδαι.<sup>120</sup> The papyrus offers two columns of text: the first, now almost completely lost, is the Latin version of the will, the only one legally binding, and the second its Greek version, which is followed by Alexander’s own subscription. The subscription is particularly relevant, as remarked by different scholars, because it shows that the testator first expressed his last wishes in Greek and then asked to have them translated into Latin (ll. 34–37):

... Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος  
 35 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέγνω μου τὴν διαθήκην πρὸς  
 [ἦν] ἠθέλησα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν μου γ[ρ]αφῆναι·  
 [συμ]φωνῶ μοι [γ]ὰρ πάντα ὡς πρ[ό]κειται.

34. Τιβέριος corr. from Τιβίριος 37. / συμφωνεῖ | / πρόκειται.

... I, Tiberius Claudius Alexander, have read my will, in consonance with which I wished my Roman will to be written. For I agree with it all as set out above. ...

From this request it follows that Alexander preferred Greek for giving his final dispositions, whether or not he knew Latin, and that the Greek version of the will preceded the Latin one ‘in practical terms’ while the Latin one remained the prior and only one ‘in legal terms’.<sup>121</sup> From the

<sup>120</sup> The Latin portion of this text was republished as *Ch.L.A. XLVII 1413*. On this text, see also Keenan *et al.* (2014: 212–213, §4.5.5) and Migliardi Zingale (1982: 114–117), (1992: 105), (1997: 26–29, §4). On transmitted loans and the calendar, see §1.3.2 and §3.5.

<sup>121</sup> See *P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2857*, intr. and Thomas (2007: 237).

point of view of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, it is unquestionably true that Greek preceded Latin, but by reading the Greek document it becomes clear that *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857 is the true translation of a purely Roman legal text. Alexander may have expressed his wishes in Greek first, when he chose his fellow freedwoman Claudia Theanous (or alternatively her son) as sole heir, but the legal expert he had resorted to duly inserted such wishes in a Greek model based on a Latin original. Different portions of text support this point: one may notice the asyndetic formula of obligations *διδόναι ποιεῖν (παρέχειν)* ‘to give, do, (perform)’ (ll. 5, 12, 24–25), corresponding to the Latin *dare facere (praestare oportere)*;<sup>122</sup> the other formula *χωρὶς δόλου πονηροῦ* (ll. 6, 15, 27), corresponding to Latin *sine dolo malo*;<sup>123</sup> the presence of the *mancipatio familiae* (ll. 27–30), which is incomplete either because it was part of the model available but did not interest Alexander or because the *familiae emptor* had not been chosen yet;<sup>124</sup> the *pro forma* mention of Roman coinage, which did not circulate in Egypt, in the *mancipatio familiae* (l. 28); and the use of the Roman calendar (l. 31), while the Greek dating is added at the very end, being the last two words written by the scribe (l. 34).

All these points and especially the use of the mancipatory formulas may have sounded like legal mumbo jumbo to Alexander, but surely not to the expert that he had contacted. This person or at least someone in his office was bilingual, a *Romani iuris peritus*, perhaps the very translator of the Latin model. If so, it is all the more noticeable that this translation contains several Roman technicalisms but only one Latin loanword, *κωδικίλλος* ‘codicil to a will’ (l. 22). When the translator came to *codicillus*, he likely could not find an appropriate Greek equivalent and chose to retain Latin. However, he chose Greek alternatives whenever possible, and in the same passage *tabella* (or *tabula*) and *charta* (itself a Greek loanword in Latin) are translated with *πινακίς* ‘tablet’

---

<sup>122</sup> On obligations, see *Dig.* XLIV 7.3. On asyndeton in Roman law, see J.N. Adams (2021: 233–271), De Meo (2005: 116–119), and Kalb (1888: 37–41).

<sup>123</sup> On *dolus*, see *Dig.* IV 3.1.2.

<sup>124</sup> On the form of a mancipatory will, see Gai., *Inst.* 2.104; Keenan *et al.* (2014: 121–126, §3.3.1, = *BGU* I 326 (Karais, 194 CE)), Frier and McGinn (2004: 344–346), and Berger (1953: 574, *s.v. mancipatio familiae*).

and χάρτης ‘papyrus’.<sup>125</sup> The use of Greek πινακίς is interesting, because Latin *tabella* and *tabula* existed in Greek as τάβλα and ταβέλλα and commonly appeared in Roman legal texts.<sup>126</sup> And yet our translator did translate all that he could, including *tabella* or *tabula*. We may think that the translator wanted to translate all that he could so as to produce an intelligible Greek translation directed at testators who did not know Latin. Our translator succeeded in producing an (almost) entirely Greek translation, but certainly did not produce an intelligible one, for if Alexander understood all the Roman legal technicalities of this text, he did so thanks to an oral explanation rather than the translation itself. Most likely, the only important bit of the text that mattered to him was the indication of his heir. If so, we should not see this translation as a means to make Roman law accessible to citizens, but as the exercise of a professional who could have decided to leave more Latin items in his translation or to translate all that he could. This behaviour suggests once more that the introduction of Latin vocabulary through legal and administrative channels did not constitute a top-down process mandated by the Roman administration or fostered by legal experts. Usually, similar loanwords remained the prerogative of administrative offices and legal experts, who tried and did use Greek whenever possible, especially when interacting with Greek speakers – even though Roman citizens – like Alexander. On the other hand, *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857 also reminds us that Roman law and its formulas were well alive in Oxyrhynchus thanks to the presence of legal experts. Likely bilinguals, some of these figures could have imported a number of loanwords greater than that we actually find in the texts; apparently, they did not do it.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>125</sup> See *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857.21–23, ἐὰν δέ τι μετὰ ταύτην μου | [τῆ]ν διαθήκην πιν[α]κείσι (/. πιν[α]κίσι) κωδικύλοις χάρτη ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ | [ . . ] .ει (probably [γέ]νει, less likely [εἶ]δει) ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένον κτλ., which the editors translated in Latin as *si quid autem post hoc testamentum meum [?nuncupatum] [?tabellis] codicillis charta aliove quo genere a me scriptum*. Keenan *et al.* (2014: 125 n. 48) take πινακίσι κωδικύλοις χάρτη ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ as all ‘the possible physical formats’ of the codicils that may be added to the will. However, it is perhaps more sensible to take the first two as reference to the type of document – πινακίδες as ‘tablets’ of a new will (for this meaning, as *tabulae testamenti*, see *Gnomon Idios Logos* §8, = *BGUV* 1210.35–37) and κωδικύλοι as codicils to the will – and the latter two as references to materials – papyrus or anything else. Cf. *Ch.L.A.* XI 496.9–11 (II CE, unknown prov., = *P.Hamb.* I 72).

<sup>126</sup> See also §2.3.2 and §4.4.2.

<sup>127</sup> On such legal experts or νομικοί, see e.g. Kunkel (1967: 356–359).

All the remaining loanwords appear in texts documenting the interaction between Alexandria, its offices and officials, and the citizens or offices of Oxyrhynchus. *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2754.9–10 (111 CE) preserves ἀρχιστάτωρ, which had already appeared in first-century texts and is not analysed here in detail.<sup>128</sup> This text presents a series of four commands, very likely excerpted from one prefectural edict. Lines 8–10 mention the ἀρχιστάτωρ as φίλος, *amicus*, of the prefect and invite citizens who had previously obtained friends of the prefect as judges to petition him. Some legal experts are likely behind the creation of this document. *PSIV* 293 (175–225 CE, Oxyrhynchus) is also linked to the judiciary. This document preserves some very lacunose legal proceedings of a trial likely held before the Alexandrian δικαιοδότης (l. 34) and preserves the loan ταβέλλα ‘tablet’. The context is not very clear, but the text mentions liturgies (l. 21), landowners (ll. 9, etc.), at least one lawyer (l. 26, Λεωνίδης ῥήτωρ εἶπεν), and at least one person with a Roman name (l. 27, Νεπωτιανό[ς]). Unfortunately out of context, in line 31 someone asks that some tablets be read: καὶ ἀξιώσα[ντος τὰς] ταβέλλας [α]ὐτοῦ ἀναγνωσθῆναι, ‘and asking that his (own?) tablets be read’. The mention of Ῥωμαϊκά in the following line, again in an uncertain context, may possibly mean that such tablets were written in Latin and hence linked to Roman law, as ταβέλλα normally are.<sup>129</sup>

The last legal loanword of this section is προφασσίων, ‘formal declaration’, appearing for the first time in second-century papyri, often with δέλτος ‘tablet’.<sup>130</sup> *P.Oxy.* XII 1451 (175 CE) is a declaration that a Roman woman, E...ia (Herennia?) Trunnia, addresses to an uncertain magistrate. The papyrus lacks all four margins, but the text is clear. In the first lines of text, Trunnia declares that she is enclosing the following: an extract from the official records of the status examination (ἐπίκρισις) of her son L. Trunnus Lucilianus and daughter Trunnia Marcella, the declarations of three witnesses that Trunnus Lucilianus and Trunnia Marcella are siblings, and the status examination of three slaves of hers. This is followed by Trunnia’s oath and by the actual ἐπίκρισις extract. At the very end (ll. 33–34), some badly preserved signatures follow. The

<sup>128</sup> See §4.4.2 and §5.2.1.

<sup>129</sup> See §2.3.2 and §4.4.2.

<sup>130</sup> The loanword προφασσίων appears in papyri only.

term *προφασίων* turns up when the *ἐπίκρισις* account lists the evidence presented by Trunnia (ll. 21–25): for herself, she had a tablet, *δέλτος*, dated to the 15th year of Hadrian (130–131 CE), and for her children two other tablets, Lucilianus’ dated to the 16th year of Antoninus Pius (152–153 CE) and Marcella’s to the fourth of Marcus Aurelius (163–164 CE). All these tablets were drawn up shortly after the birth of the interested parties, when parents with Roman citizenship could decide to reach Alexandria and declare the birth of their children in the *Atrium Magnum*.<sup>131</sup> The choice of the Greek *δέλτος* over the possible loans *τάβλα* and *ταβέλλα* confirms the existence of linguistic free choice, and probably even the administration’s preference of Greek when it came to a *tabella professionis*.<sup>132</sup> Being a general term for any tablet, the Greek *δέλτος* covers also *τάβλα* and *ταβέλλα*; accordingly, experts in Roman law working for the administration could very well choose to use the Latin loans or the Greek *δέλτος*.

Of all three tablets appearing in *P.Oxy.* XII 1451, only Trunnia’s was a *δέλτος προφασσιῶνος* (sic), that is an official document issued by the administration and attesting the Roman status of legitimate children.<sup>133</sup> Accordingly, we can assume that Trunnia was a Roman citizen by birth as the child of Roman parents. On the other hand, Trunnia’s son and daughter were illegitimate children (l. 25). For instance, it may be that Trunnia had them with an Egyptian, in which case they could not obtain citizenship, unless she declared that their father was unknown.<sup>134</sup> In similar cases, a Roman mother could reach Alexandria and declare the birth of illegitimate children through a *professio*, but she was not issued any official *δέλτος προφασσιῶνος* proving the birth, because the Augustan laws Aelia Sentia (4 CE) and Papia Poppaea (9 CE) prohibited it. However, these mothers could draw up a private declaration signed by witnesses

<sup>131</sup> See e.g. *P.Mich.* III 168 (145 CE, unknown prov.).

<sup>132</sup> The loan *προφασσιῶνος* appears in nine papyri, all dated to the second century. In six instances, it appears along with *δέλτος*: *P.Diog.* 6 and 7 (143–161 CE, Arsinoite nome), *SB VI* 9228 (161 CE, Syene), *BGU IV* 1032 (173 CE, Arsinoite nome), *P.Oxy.* XII 1451 (175 CE, Alexandria?), *Chrest. Wilck.* 460 (182–183, Arsinoite nome). In the remaining three it appears alone: *P.Mich.* III 168 (145 CE, unknown prov.), *P.Col.* VIII 225 (176–200 CE, Alexandria), *P.Sipp.* 12a (II CE, Karanis).

<sup>133</sup> The accent *προφασσιῶνος* is due to the editors of the text. On accents of Latin loans, see §1.3.1.

<sup>134</sup> The reference to a *μαρτυροποιήσις* in line 25 makes it clear that we are dealing with illegitimate children; the editors supplied the actual word *σπούριος* ‘illegitimate’ in lacuna (ll. 17, 30, 31). On the status of children with mixed parents, see *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, §39 and §52 (= *BGU V* 1210.111, 137).

and attesting to the birth. These private documents are *testationes*, which in papyri appear as μαρτυροποιήσεις.<sup>135</sup> Unlike legitimate children, the illegitimate ones appearing in these texts could acquire citizenship only at a later point, through ἐπίκρισις, like Trunnia’s son and daughter.<sup>136</sup> We can only guess the reason behind the choice to borrow *professio* as προφεσσίων and translate *testatio* as μαρτυροποιήσις, and one good guess may be that through a προφεσσίων children automatically became Roman citizens, whereas through a μαρτυροποιήσις they did not. Additionally, we may notice that a προφεσσίων was an official document released by the central provincial government, while a μαρτυροποιήσις was a private one. In the present case, the consistent use of the loanword προφεσσίων vs. the translation μαρτυροποιήσις may suggest the presence of a deliberate choice and – for once – preference for a Latin option. And a choice and preference that may have had a powerful meaning, if we consider the status affirmation as a Roman citizen linked to an official προφεσσίων.<sup>137</sup>

#### 5.2.4 The influence of Roman citizens: γέμελλος

We have already noted the likely presence of a greater number of veterans in second century Oxyrhynchus (§5.1.2), which likely goes together with the larger global number of Roman citizens in the local population, if we consider the veterans’ families. Of course, Romans did remain a minority, but a rather wealthier and more powerful one, because they could boast a set of tax privileges and immunities. The appearance in this period of the loanword γέμελλος, from *gemellus* ‘twin’, may be linked to such a presence of citizens.

The borrowing of a kinship term like *gemellus* when Greek had its own δίδυμος is surprising, for the borrowing of similar basic items is usually rare, although attested.<sup>138</sup> Moreover,

---

<sup>135</sup> On *professiones* vs. *testationes*, see now Sánchez-Moreno Ellart (2001), Purpura (2004), and Geraci (2001) with Sánchez-Moreno Ellart (2004). For a μαρτυροποιήσις, cf. *SBI* 5217.18 (148 CE, Theadelphia), *BGU* IV 1032.3–4 (173 CE, Arsinoite nome), *P.Oxy.* XII 1451.22–23 (175 CE, Alexandria?).

<sup>136</sup> See e.g. Marotta (2014: 10–11).

<sup>137</sup> Latin *testatio* never becomes a loanword in Greek.

<sup>138</sup> See Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009b: 48–49), with examples, and Myers-Scotton (2006: 215–216). See also §1.2.1 and cf. §2.3.

the borrowing of words such as ‘mother’, ‘father’, or ‘sister’ would need a background of intense language contact. If so, can the borrowing of a word like γέμελλος imply that language contact in Oxyrhynchus was much higher than what we see in most texts? Just one text cannot prove such a hypothesis, but it would be worth testing it. First, let us look at the text in which it appears; this is the census declaration *SB XXII 15465.5* (156–157 CE, Oxyrhynchus), of which only the lower end survives. Male residents would have been declared in the first, lost portion of text, while females appear in the second, surviving portion, where an oath formula and the beginning of a regnal date follow.<sup>139</sup> The females we encounter are an Alexandra, freedwoman of a certain Heronas, wife of the declarant, and their daughter Dionysia, who is said to be a γέμελλος (ll. 4–6), Διονυσία θυγάτηρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐμοῦ | τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδ(ρας) γεμέλλος (sic) ἄση(μος) | ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὸ θ (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) γ, ‘Dionysia, daughter of both me and Alexandra, a twin, scarless, in the ninth year three years old’.<sup>140</sup> Alexandra’s twin was either deceased and thus missing from this return or a boy and thus appeared in the first and now lost portion of the document. Before delving into a possible explanation of the choice of γέμελλος, it may be worthwhile to discuss the use of the masculine to refer to a little girl, Dionysia. This point remains difficult, for one would expect γέμελλα. I can think of two possible explanations, which may be combined with one another: first, the scribe copied γέμελλος from the section where Dionysia’s brother was declared (if he was not dead) and forgot to change the ending; two, the ending –ος was written under the influence of the neighbouring ἄσημος, which is abbreviated.

But how could γέμελλος become understandable and hence used as a synonym of δίδυμος? As said, one possibility is to hypothesise an influence of Latin on Greek, especially on the administrative language of such declarations, which would not be unwarranted. However, the influence of Latin is more visible in the documents internal to the administration rather than in those where the administration and private citizens interact (§4.4.3, §5.2.1). In the alternative solution, we need to consider the relative spread of the Latin personal names Gemellus and

<sup>139</sup> For the edition of this text, see Bagnall (1994).

<sup>140</sup> The accent is due to the editor of the text. On accents of Latin loans, see §1.3.1.

Gemella, Γέμελλος and Γέμελλα in Greek, which appear in 22 first-century CE papyri and 138 second-century ones. Both at Rome and in Greece, it was normal to name or nickname children and adults alike according to some personal characteristic.<sup>141</sup> In the early Principate for instance, Tiberius' grandson and heir apparent Tiberius Iulius Caesar (Nero?), the son of Drusus the Younger and Livilla, was surnamed Gemellus and known as Tiberius Gemellus for having a twin brother, who died at age four in 23 CE.<sup>142</sup> Of course, it is perfectly possible that the names Gemellus, Gemella, Γέμελλος, and Γέμελλα were not always used for twins, but it is sensible to think that they were used following their etymological meaning in a relevant number of cases.<sup>143</sup> That this use and the meaning 'twin' could become clear to the Greek-speaking population of Egypt too appears through a text like *BGU XI 2020* (124 CE, Arsinoite nome). This is a birth certificate in which appear two twins, a Gemellus and a Gemella (ll. 7–10, 18–19), κ]αὶ διδου[μα]γενεῖς Γεμέλλον (sic) καὶ Γεμέ|[λλαν] (sic) γ[εν]νηθέντας τῷ ς (ἔτει) καὶ ὄντας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ | [ἐ]γεστός ἕνατον ἔτος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ |<sup>10</sup> [κυ]ρίου ἐτῶν τεσσαράων, 'and Gemellus with Gemella, twins, born in the sixth year, and in the current ninth year of Hadrian Caesar the lord four years old.'<sup>144</sup>

The growth of the Roman presence in Egypt may have helped to make the meaning of the personal names Γέμελλος and Γέμελλα readily understandable to Latin and Greek speakers alike, even when the names started being used for a child without a twin sibling. In this context, the use of the very same word, γέμελλος, as an apposition to a personal name becomes understandable, but it remains no less extraordinary. For instance, it is possible that we are dealing with a codeswitch, whether on the part of the scribe or of the declarant, Dionysia's father. The existence of a basic Greek word for the same concept can explain why γέμελλος appears only once and

<sup>141</sup> See e.g. Alonso Déniz (2018) on the use of μωκός 'silent' and related words in Greek onomastics.

<sup>142</sup> See e.g. *CIL V 7598* (19–37 CE, Alba – Piedmont); his tomb inscription *CIL VI 892* (37 CE, Rome); Tac., *Ann.* 2.84; and Joseph., *AJ* 18.206, Τιβέριος ἐπικαλούμενος Γέμελλος.

<sup>143</sup> In papyri, the legionary veteran Lucius Bellienus Gemellus did not have any twin that we know of, but at the same time there is no evidence against the possibility that he did have a twin sibling. The papers of Bellienus Gemellus appear in the archive of his estate manager, Epagathos, which is TM Arch ID 134. See also §5.1.2.

<sup>144</sup> The accent is due to the editor of the text. On accents of Latin loans, see §1.3.1.

never displaced its Greek equivalent. All in all, it is unlikely that the loan γέμελλος entered Greek and its documents through an unusually high level of language contact; rather, here we must better consider the consequences – ephemeral or not – that the growing number of Roman citizens, their children, and especially their twin children had on vocabulary.

### 5.3. Architecture, culture, trade, and commerce

Just a few in number but with many a fascinating background, architecture, culture, trade, education, and commerce-related loanwords offer some valuable insights into the introduction of Latin vocabulary to Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, and the Greek Roman East more broadly. These categories are represented by the following loans: ἄτριον, from Latin *atrium* ‘entrance hall’; κέλλα, from *cella* ‘room’; μάγιστρος, from *magister* ‘master’, ‘teacher’; μουλίων, from *mulio* ‘muleteer’; νοτάριος, from *notarius* ‘shorthand scribe’; πωμάριον, from *pomarium* ‘orchard’; and the derivative πωμαρίτης, from the loan πωμάριον and the suffix -ίτης. The loan κομμεντάριον, here indicating a shorthand handbook, from *commentarium* ‘notes’, and the food loans πάλμη, from *palma* ‘date’ (but also ‘palm of a hand’), and σιλίγιον ‘loaf of *siligo* (soft wheat) bread’, probably from (*panis*) *siligineus* ‘made from *siligo*’, also appear in these texts.

#### 5.3.1 A Romanised Oxyrhynchus? The case of ἄτριον

The first architectural loan in this group, ἄτριον ‘entrance hall’, ‘entrance court’, does not appear very frequently in the sources but had made an early appearance in Greek, almost four centuries before our timeframe, in the inscription *I.Thrake Aeg. E5.26* (c. 166 BCE or late II–I BCE).<sup>145</sup> This is a marble stone recording a decree of the people of Abdera honouring two envoys from Teos who represented Abdera in Rome. The territory of Abdera was being encroached by the neighbouring king Kotys, who had sent among others his own son to the Roman senate claiming

---

<sup>145</sup> The date is disputed, and the later one may be more likely; see Chiranky (1982) and Eilers (2002: 114–19).

this territory.<sup>146</sup> The people of Abdera managed to avert Kotys' claims through the persistence of their envoys, who got the Romans on their side with a daily dose of gentle persuasion (ll. 24–27): τ[ινάς τε<sup>147</sup> προ]νοουμένους τοῦ ἀντιδίκου |<sup>25</sup> ἡμῶν καὶ προστατοῦντα[ς διὰ τῆς τ]ῶν πραγμάτων παραθέσει|ώς τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέρα[ν γενομένης] ἐφοδείας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτρίων ἐφιλοποιοῦντο, 'And when some (i.e. of the Romans) preferred our enemy (Kotys) and became his advocates, through the presentation of the issue and through daily visits at their *atria*,<sup>148</sup> they (i.e. our envoys) won over their friendship'. On the one hand, the loanword is not glossed and appears integrated, but on the other this does not prove that ἄτριον was an already common loan in Greek. The composers of the inscriptions probably considered it understandable to their readers, and one may think that this word (and its meaning) had reached Abdera and Teos through the messages of their diplomatic mission and, more generally, as a consequence of the undergoing Romanisation of this part of the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>149</sup> This borrowing framework may confirm that in the later second or first century BCE ἄτριον was already a current loanword in some Greek cities but is not sufficient to claim that this loanword could already be found across most of the Greek-speaking world. For ἄτριον does not appear elsewhere up until the second half of the first century CE, when the loanword resurfaces in two Greek inscriptions honouring one Tiberius Flavius Menander and his wife Flavia Leontis.<sup>150</sup> Both priests, likely Roman citizens, and wealthy members of the Carian local elite in the province of Asia, Menander and Leontis had built an ἄτριον in the bath of Stratonicea and another one in the upper gymnasium of Lagina.<sup>151</sup> Alexander had also been *archiereus* of the emperors, and his euergetism may have been part of a larger trend

---

<sup>146</sup> Teos was Abdera's metropolis.

<sup>147</sup> Here I follow Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935): 507–513, who proposes τ[ούς τε or τ[ινάς τε, which better differentiate these people from the πάτρωνας of l. 23; *I. Thrake Aeg.* E5 follows some of the previous editors with τ[οὺς δέ.

<sup>148</sup> The first editors (Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault, *BCH* 4 (1880): 47–52) comment: '*Atria domuum Romanorum sunt, quae legati salutandi causa cotidie adierunt*'.

<sup>149</sup> On this point, see also Chiranky (1982: 478–479), discussing the loan πάτρων.

<sup>150</sup> See *I. Stratonikeia* 15.7 (Flavian period; Panamara, Caria) and *I. Stratonikeia* 664.4 (Flavian period; Lagina, Caria). On Menander and Leontis, see Laumonier (1937: 257–258, §64–65).

<sup>151</sup> Lagina and Panamara, where *I. Stratonikeia* 15 was found, depended upon Stratonicea; see Sherk (1992: 236–238).

of provincial Romanisation, which appears to be actively fostered by the local Asian elites, rather than by the Roman rulers.<sup>152</sup>

At this point in time, one may more confidently regard ἄτριον as a loan on its way to becoming an integrated and widespread loanword. Its first appearances in Egypt date to the second century CE, a few decades after these Carian inscriptions, and constitute possible examples of independent borrowings caused by a similar process of provincial Romanisation, rather than by the transmission of vocabulary through Greek sources.<sup>153</sup> All Egyptian examples of ἄτριον usually refer to the *Atrium Magnum* of Alexandria, likely in the prefect's quarters, where the births of Roman citizens had to be declared and where the prefect's βῆμα, that is his podium or tribunal, was.<sup>154</sup> Against such background, the appearance of ἄτριον in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2406 (II CE) may seem extraordinary, for this is the only example of the word referring to a private house, perhaps in Oxyrhynchus itself. This papyrus preserves the ground-plan of a house in which there appear thick walls, coloured in a yellow colour wash, openings for doors, some oriented measurements, and descriptions like θύρα καταγ(αίου), 'door to the cellar'.<sup>155</sup> This was no ordinary, lower-class house, but likely a detached house with a tower entrance leading into a courtyard (πυλών), a central court (ἄτριον) perhaps with an *impluvium* or water tank (ὀβολίσκος), a cellar, another room or a staircase drawn with six parallel lines, and a third court.<sup>156</sup> The measures recorded are

---

<sup>152</sup> In the past few decades, scholars have demolished the concept of Romanisation as a top-down, colonial, self-explanatory process, and if anything they now regard it more as a bottom-up process of adaptation, mimesis, 'acculturation', or 'creolization'; generally, see e.g. Webster (2001), and the collective volume Webster and Cooper (1996), or Woolf (1998: 1–23) for Gaul.

<sup>153</sup> On transmitted loans, see §1.3.2.

<sup>154</sup> See *SB* V 8247.15 (63–64 CE, Alexandria? (written), Arsinoite nome (found)); *P.Fouad* 21.4 (63 CE, Alexandria (written), Arsinoite nome (found)); and the inscriptions *I.Portes du désert* 70.3 (103 CE, Coptos); and *I.Alex.Imp.* 55.4 (180 CE, Alexandria). The only exception is *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2406 (II CE), for which see below. On the *Atrium Magnum* see Capponi (2010: 258–265); it was located in the prefect's *praetorium*, for which see also above §5.2.1 nn. 99 and 100. For the Latin occurrences of Alexandria's *Atrium Magnum*, see *CPL* 150.7 (109 CE, Alexandria (written), Philadelphia (found)); *CPL* 152.7 (144 CE, Alexandria (written), Philadelphia (found)); *CPL* 153.9, 12–13 (145 CE, Alexandria (written), unknown prov.); *CPL* 154.6 (145 CE, Alexandria (written), Philadelphia (found)); *CPL* 156.16 (145 CE, Alexandria (written), Arsinoite nome (found)); *CPL* 157.7 (163 CE, Alexandria (written), Philadelphia (found)).

<sup>155</sup> For similar documents, see Gallazzi (2009: 273–276). For the orientation of private houses, see Daniel (2010: 105–106). On houses in Roman Egypt, see also Alston (1997).

<sup>156</sup> On πυλών, see Husson (1983: 243–246); on ἄτριον, see Husson (1983: 30, 309); on ὀβολίσκος, see Husson (1983: 309–310). Following Maehler (1983: 136–137), Daniel (2010: 132, n. 47, and 123, n. 2)

not easy to understand, partly because they are very small or fractions, and partly because they are not true to the scale of the drawing. On this basis, the editor – Turner – hypothesised the papyrus to be a division of property, possibly recording proportions and fractions allocated to various parties, rather than the work of a professional architect who was planning a building. If so, the words appearing in the text do not necessarily represent the specific language that a construction professional would have used, but rather that of the owners of the building, who could have had their own personal terminology for certain areas of their house.<sup>157</sup> And given that this ground-plan would have served the owners rather than builders, it is possible that the various nomenclatures followed at least some of the owners' preferences.

Consequently, the use of the loanword ἄτριον for the court of a private house of Oxyrhynchus may find a straightforward explanation. This was the courtyard of a private house belonging to some people who had visited or at least knew the existence of the prefect's ἄτριον in Alexandria. If the prefect's *Atrium Magnum* likely was 'a paved hall with a central pool or *impluvium*, which was similar, in turn, to the *atrium* in the domus of wealthy Romans', so our Oxyrhynchus ἄτριον likely was an open courtyard with a central *impluvium* or water tank (ὄβολίσκος).<sup>158</sup> Surely this ἄτριον was not as grand as the prefect's, but the presence of an *impluvium* may have led its owners to associate it with the *Atrium* of Alexandria. Turner had already thought that we may be dealing with a veteran or Roman citizen's villa, and this linguistic analysis may confirm his conclusions.<sup>159</sup> We may think of some veteran who had visited Alexandria and the prefect's quarters, not far from the legionary camps of Nicopolis, or of some Roman citizen who had visited Alexandria's *Atrium Magnum* when his children were born. But the use of ἄτριον may imply more than this, for it may disclose something about the word-choice

---

considers the ἄτριον of *P.Oxy. XXIV 2406* 'a misspelling of αἴθριον', but this is unlikely, for one would have to posit both the spelling interchange of α and αι in initial position, which is not common (see Gignac (1976: 194–197)), and the following de-aspiration of θ, while the rest of the papyrus does not present similar variations.

<sup>157</sup> This fact may well explain the meaning discrepancies of certain words (e.g. ὄβολίσκος), which the first editor discusses in some detail.

<sup>158</sup> See Capponi (2010: 260).

<sup>159</sup> He excluded that this is a public building on the basis that 'there is nothing to connect it with public uses'.

behaviour and goals of some Roman private citizens. The choice to build an actual Roman ἄτριον with *impluvium* or to call by this name a more Egyptian-looking court signals the owners' will to be associated with a certain place. And this would not have been any place but administratively the seat of Roman power over Egypt and socially the place of Roman citizenship recognition. All in all, the loanword ἄτριον may have had some prestige attached to it, and the private citizens who chose it may have wanted to get hold of that prestige through some of their architectural and linguistic choices. More importantly, similar choices may signal a drive for (linguistic and cultural) assimilation that starts from below, bottom up, rather than being imposed on the population from above.<sup>160</sup>

### 5.3.2 Equivalents, coexistence and replacement: κέλλα

From *cella* 'small room', 'storage room', over time the loan κέλλα – broadly referring to any 'closed indoor space' like a 'small room', a 'storage room', but also a 'small building', and from the fourth century CE a 'monastic cell' – became one of the most abundant loanwords in Greek papyri.<sup>161</sup> In Oxyrhynchus, it starts appearing from the end of the first to the beginning of the second century CE, when five documents record it: the temple account *P.Oxy.* VIII 1144 (I–II CE), the survey of land *P.Oxy.* IV 707r (= *CPJ* II 447, 100–125 CE), the lease of a house *P.Oxy.* III 502 (164 CE), the lease of a dining room (σμπόσιον) *P.Oxy.* VIII 1128 (173 CE), and the will of a certain Petosorapis *P.Oxy.* III 495 (181–184 CE). The second of these documents is the most unusual, mentioning ψιλ(οῖ) τόπ(οι) ἐν οἴ[ς] κέλλαι ἐμπ(ρησθεῖσαι) ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, that is

<sup>160</sup> Among its temples, Oxyrhynchus boasted a Καπιτώλιον, from Latin *Capitolium*; see *P.Oxy.* XVII 2128.4 (II CE, §5.4.2) and TM Geo ID 4743. Even though this is a transmitted loanword, it is yet another example of Latin vocabulary signalling the Romanisation of the city. On transmitted vocabulary, see §1.3.2.

<sup>161</sup> See Husson (1983: 136–142). In the Eastern Desert, κέλλα usually refers to the lodgings of the workers (*familia* and *pagani*) and only κοντουβέρνιον ('room', but also referring to the contents of a room) is securely linked to soldiers; see *O.Did.*, pp. 20–23. In the second century alone, when κέλλα first appears in papyri, it counts more than 50 attestations; more than 10 of these appear in texts from Mons Claudianus and the Eastern Desert, which are often loosely dated between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. The early appearance of Greek derivatives like κελλαρίδιον 'little cupboard' (*P.Brook* 84.11 (II–III CE) and κελλίον (κέλλα + -ιον, e.g. *O.Claud.* I 152.4, II CE) also supports an early integration of κέλλα in Greek. In papyri, κέλλα becomes less frequent after the fourth century CE, when κελλίον gains in usage; I checked frequencies through papyri.info.

‘open lots, in which there are small buildings burnt by the Jews’.<sup>162</sup> In *P.Oxy.* VIII 1144, we find expenditures recorded for the κέλλα of a temple (l. 16), δαπάνης κέλλης; whether it be a naos or any other room, we do not know. And in the remaining texts, κέλλα refers to the more usual rooms, either normal rooms or storage rooms: in the contract *P.Oxy.* III 502 the lessor’s guardian – Apion also known as Dionysios, priest of Faustina Augusta (Marcus Aurelius’ late wife) – clarifies that the lease includes the rooms of the court (ll. 54–55), τὰς | ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κέλλας; in the other lease, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1128, the κέλλα is located inside the dining room and likely is a storage room (ll. 14–15), τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς | αὐτοῦ κέλλαν; and in the will *P.Oxy.* III 495 a κέλλα is mentioned as being above the entrance courtyard (l. 8), καὶ κέλλη τῇ ἐπάνω τοῦ πλωῶνος.

At first sight, the introduction of a word like κέλλα in Greek is not easily understandable. Greek had its own word for ‘room’ or ‘storage room’, that is ταμειῖον (also meaning ‘imperial treasury’), and the introduction of κέλλα resulted in a state of coexistence with no straightforward semantic differentiation between the two words. Moreover, at the beginning of the first century CE ταμειῖον had already been commonly used in Greek and in the papyri for a long time and still was. For instance, just some decades before our time frame, it appears consistently in the New Testament, where there is no mention of κέλλα.<sup>163</sup> And so it did in Greek papyri, where storage rooms had always appeared as ταμειῖα.<sup>164</sup> But in the second century CE things changed: κέλλα was borrowed into Greek, at first it appeared in the Latinised contexts of Mons Claudianus and of the Eastern Desert forts, and just a few decades later it reached the Egyptian *chora* and Oxyrhynchus. One may suppose that either contact with these military communities or the discharge of their soldiers quickly brought the new word from the military contexts to the

<sup>162</sup> See also Ben Ze’ev (2005: 50, §33). Grenfell and Hunt had supplied ἐμπ(οιοῦμενα) ‘built’, and ἐμπ(ρησθεῖσαι) ‘burnt’ was put forward by Wilcken; see *CPJ* II 447. Note that we cannot be sure that the text refers to the Oxyrhynchite nome; see Turner (1961b: 226). Unfortunately, this papyrus is likely lost; see the *P.Oxy.* location list, Coles (1974: s.v.), available online: <papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/lists/lists>.

<sup>163</sup> See NT, Matthew 6:6 (c. 80–90 CE), σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμειῖόν σου (*cubiculum tuum* in the Vulgate) καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, ‘but when you pray, go into your room and, with the door locked, pray to your Father, who is hidden’, and 24:26 (*penetralis* in the Vulgate); Luke 12:3 (c. 80–110 CE), καὶ ὃ πρὸς τὸ οὐς ἐλαλήσατε ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις (*cubiculum* in the Vulgate) κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων, ‘and what you have whispered in your rooms will be proclaimed upon the housetops’, and 12:24 (here a storehouse, *cellarium* in the Vulgate).

<sup>164</sup> See Husson (1983: 275–276).

Egyptian *chora*, where κέλλα and ταμειῖον coexisted with one another for the entire second century. However, by the beginning of the third century κέλλα displaced ταμειῖον. More precisely, κέλλα replaced ταμειῖον as the go-to word for ‘storage room’, while ταμειῖον continued to be the go-to word for ‘imperial treasury’.<sup>165</sup>

How did this come to be? First, we should underline that ταμειῖον had a twofold meaning, both a private and a public one – either private ‘room’, ‘storage room’, or public ‘treasury’ – and it had always enjoyed such a quality, which is duly recorded by the glossaries.<sup>166</sup> Now, in the second century two factors disrupted the duality of ταμειῖον: on the one hand the borrowing of Latin *fiscus* as φύσκος, ‘imperial treasury’, and on the other that of Latin *cella* as κέλλα, ‘room’. We have already seen that the loanword φύσκος never became a widespread term for the ‘imperial treasury’ in Egypt, where the Roman administration likely preferred the use of Greek ταμειῖον over the borrowed φύσκος.<sup>167</sup> Such a choice certainly did not help the spread and integration of φύσκος but may have helped that of κέλλα. For when the Roman administration had decided to refer to its own treasury mainly with a Greek word that also had a different meaning, and at the same time another loanword with that exact different meaning had started being used among Greek speakers, it was only a matter of time before that other loanword – κέλλα – replaced ταμειῖον, ended its duality, and equipped Greek speakers with two different words for two different concepts. Had the Roman administration promoted or imposed the use of Latin φύσκος, κέλλα might not have been as well-integrated or as frequent in Greek papyri, but the very lack of a Roman policy of linguistic imposition may have helped the spread of κέλλα to replace the native ταμειῖον.

### 5.3.3 Old and new professions: μουλίων

---

<sup>165</sup> See Husson (1983: 141–142).

<sup>166</sup> See Goetz (1888–1923: II 451): ταμειῖον τὸ τοῦ δημοσίου, hic fiscus aerarium; ταμειῖον τὸ ἰδιωτικόν, cellarium haec cella proma penuarium penum promptuarium. And add *P.Mich.* XI 620.76 (240 CE, Arsinoite nome): α κέλλα, ἕστιν ταμῖον (*l.* ταμειῖον), ‘first *cella*, that is (first) *tamieion*’.

<sup>167</sup> See §5.2.2.

The introduction, integration, and common use of new professional words may signal the introduction of new jobs, changes to old ones, or even the presence of a Latin influence so powerful that it could displace native Greek words for basic professions. Theoretically, no option is less likely than the other, but their ramifications differ significantly, for they may let us indirectly infer the level of language contact that was operating at the time of introduction of these loans, whether it was intense or not and how much so.<sup>168</sup>

From *mulio* ‘muleteer’, a μολίω is a particular type of worker, the muleteer. *SB XVI 12764.3.13* (I–II century CE, Oxyrhynchus), in which the loan makes its earliest appearance in papyri, is an account where a certain Hermas, mule driver, appears among other recipients. Unfortunately, the word does not recur in second-century Oxyrhynchus, and it is not possible to know the origin of this account, be it some estate or wealthy family. The only other second-century attestation of μολίω is the Karanis tax roll *P.Mich. IV 224* (172–173 CE), which records the very same Kiales μολίω in lines 1792 and 4167. Again in the second century, *P.Sijp. 29* (II CE, Arsinoite nome) attests the related words μούλα and μούλος for the first time. This text is an unusually curious account of fodder, which also mentions Asturian horses or ἀστούργονες, from Latin *asturco*. The presence of these horses, which are known for their military use, and the mention of a centurion might suggest that the text emanates from a military background; however, the editor, Cuvigny, is cautious and prefers to think that the account is the output of a large estate rearing horses and mules.<sup>169</sup> In the introduction to this edition, Cuvigny makes some other remarks on the use of Latin μούλη or μούλος and of Greek ἡμίονος in papyri. First, in Egypt the Greek ἡμίονος is abundant only in Zenon’s archive, in the third century BCE, when this Carian newcomer administered the lands of the *dioiketes* or minister of finances Apollonios, who invested greatly in the rural development of his lands. In later texts, all up to the third century CE, mules almost never appear in Greek papyri any longer.<sup>170</sup> To a good degree of likelihood, their

---

<sup>168</sup> See e.g. Thomason (2001: 70–71).

<sup>169</sup> In this case, the centurion involved may have simply received some fodder from the administration of the estate. For similar stable accounts of estates, see e.g. *P.Mich. XI 620* (239–240 CE, Arsinoite nome).

<sup>170</sup> On the frequent presence of mules in Zenon’s archive, see e.g. *P.CairoZen. V 59836.4* (263–229 BCE, Philadelphia), where five mules appear as a means of transport, with *P.Sijp. 29*, intr.

rearing did not make a large breakthrough in Egypt after Zenon's experiments; after all, rearing mules requires expertise, time, money, the availability of horses, and – unlike the rearing of donkeys – it produces infertile animals. Like the Asturian horses mentioned in the same text, mules may have been a rather rare and expensive animal in Egypt; if so, only a large and well-organised estate or the Roman military may have had the economic capacity and specific expertise to deal with mule breeding.<sup>171</sup>

The presence itself of these animals in a document produced by a large estate or the Roman military may partly explain the use of these Latin loanwords, even when there existed a Greek equivalent. In such a scenario, one may hypothesise that mules became more common in Egypt only through some large estates (possibly owned by Roman landowners) or the military, which imported the animals and the expertise to breed them. This may have helped the introduction, use, and spread – likely through some Greek-speaking people like Hermas – of these Latin loans, which in Egypt superseded their Greek equivalents.<sup>172</sup> Coming back to *SB XVI 12764*, the text does not suggest a straightforward explanation for the use of *μουλίων* for the muleteer Hermas. Moreover, we do not know whether Hermas was an employee of an estate or a private driver running some sort of transport business.<sup>173</sup> But we do know the context in which he operated, possibly a somewhat Roman one, for the account mentions: a lawyer (*νομικός*) named Iulianus (l. ii.4), who is being paid for drafting a birth certificate (*ἀπαρχή*, of a Roman child?);<sup>174</sup> a woman named Claudia Artemidora (ll. ii.14, iii.15), likely the wife of the account owner (*τῆς γυναικός σου*); and a certain Marinus (l. ii.35). The mention of a *ταμειῶν* in line iii.11 is unclear but given that the account records the purchase of papyrus for it, it could also be the Roman *fiscus*. Whatever precise background may lurk behind this text, it may be sensible to think that the name

---

<sup>171</sup> In the first century CE, Egypt exported horses and mules to wealthy Arab princes; see *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 24 (c. 40–50 CE). See also Dent (1972: 71–79).

<sup>172</sup> In papyri dated after the Roman conquest, *ἡμίονος* appears only once in the first century (*P.Mich. V* 229.15, 48 CE), and twice at the beginning of the fourth century (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2.302, 300 CE; and *SB XIV 11521.4*, 311–312 CE).

<sup>173</sup> For a driver-entrepreneur, see e.g. the camel driver Nikanor, who shipped goods through the Eastern Desert operating for both private and institutional clients like the army. See Kruse (2018) and §2.6.2.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, §47 (= *BGUV* 1210.130–131).

for the profession reached Egypt alongside the introduction of mule-breeding in large estates or in military compounds. In such a context, even if *μουλίων* predates the loanwords *μούλη* and *μούλος* in papyri, it is highly likely that it reached Egypt alongside them, either through the Roman military or some landed estates.

#### 5.3.4 μάγιστρος

Like that of mules and mule-drivers, the introduction of *μάγιστρος*, from *magister*, in Greek is not immediately clear.<sup>175</sup> First, one should identify the meaning of the word, for in Latin *magister* appears in several contexts but presents only two main meanings: first, that of ‘chief’ or ‘master’, and second, that of ‘teacher’. The meaning ‘teacher’ is usually general, while the meaning ‘chief’ is often specified by other words or by the context, as it happens in *Ch.L.A.* V 308 (= *P.Oxy.* IV 737, 31–8 BCE, §4.8), where we are likely dealing with a ‘chief (weaver)’. One finds *magister* as a military or professional ‘chief’ or ‘head’, for instance a *magister equitum* ‘chief of cavalry’ or a *magister sacrorum* ‘chief priest’; as an administrative ‘master’, for instance a *magister vici* ‘master of the ward’; as a ‘captain’, for instance a *magister navium*; or as a ‘director’, for instance a *magister societatis* ‘director of a company’. These are positions of responsibility and sometimes of power that could command a certain degree of social prestige. In Greek papyri, the loanword *μάγιστρος* usually presents an administrative meaning; for instance, at the end of the third century *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.193, etc. (298 CE, Panopolis) mentions the *μάγιστρος τῆς πριουάτης*, from *magister rei privatae*, that is the ‘head of the emperor’s private account’.<sup>176</sup> However, this administrative use cannot explain the appearance of *μάγιστρος* in the earlier *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 (II–III CE).

---

<sup>175</sup> The Latin loanword presents several different spellings; see Dickey (2024: *s.v.* *μάγιστρος*).

<sup>176</sup> At the end of the third century CE, part of Diocletian’s reforms consisted in the introduction to the new dioceses of the office of a *magister rei privatae* who likely replaced the old procurators of the ἴδιος λόγος and οὐσιακὸς λόγος. See Bowman (2005: 319); Delmaire (1989: 171–205); and Lewis (1965: 157–158).

This papyrus is an account of revenues and expenditures (l. 1), λό(γος) λημ(μάτων) κ(αὶ) ἀναλ(ωμάτων), although only the latter are recorded, written on both recto and verso and running from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup> of Choiak (late November/December) of an unspecified year. Among expenditures for various foods, goods, and one recurring Ὀασίτης, perhaps a worker who originally came from the Small Oasis of the Western Desert, there is mention of some μάγιστροι. They appear on the verso of the document (iii.15), which is unpublished, and are recorded to have received 3 drachmas 3 obols. Given that we are dealing with more than one μάγιστρος, this sum had to be split at least between two or three μάγιστροι, which would result in a pay of 1 drachma 4 obols 4 chalkoi (1.75 dr.) for two or 1 drachma 1 obol (1.17 dr.) for three μάγιστροι.<sup>177</sup> Now, these μάγιστροι are certainly no administrative or military figures, for *P.Oxy. XXIV 2423* is a private account. Are they teachers? The evidence may point in this direction. First, we know that both in Greece and Rome, teachers were paid in arrears, usually once per month or per year, and *P.Oxy. XXIV 2423* records the payment of these μάγιστροι only once over a period of 24 days.<sup>178</sup> Second, the pay rate of these μάγιστροι cannot compare with the pay rates of an administrative or military ‘chief’ but may very well be that of a somewhat badly-faring, second-century teacher.

The salaries of ancient teachers are not very well known in general, but the Edict on Maximum Prices (301 CE) provides us with clear data on a variety of professions, including various types of teachers, rural workers, or craftsmen. In particular, the monthly pay per pupil of an elementary teacher (be it a *ceromatita* ‘coach’ from κηρωματίτης, a *paedagogus* ‘educator’, or a *magister institutor litterarum*, ‘teacher of reading and writing’), is set at 50 denarii per month (7.64–66, Lauffer), while the daily pay of a rural worker (*operarius rusticus*) is set at 25 denarii per day and rations (*pastus*), which can be valued at circa 10 denarii per day, thus totalling 35 denarii per day (7.1a, Lauffer).<sup>179</sup> These data show that the monthly salary per pupil of an elementary teacher was 50% higher than the daily salary of a rural worker (43% higher including

---

<sup>177</sup> *Dig. 12.2.71* (quoting Alfenus Varo, I BCE) offers an example of two teachers who formed a partnership to teach grammar.

<sup>178</sup> On the pay in arrears of ancient teachers, see S.F. Bonner (1977: 146–147).

<sup>179</sup> I follow Rathbone (2009: 316) in valuing the *pastus* at 10 denarii per day.

the *pastus*). This comparison does not intend to assess the overall status of the ancient elementary teacher compared to that of the rural worker, for we lack records on the size of the median ancient classroom, but simply to compare two firm data: a monthly pay per pupil and a daily pay per worker.<sup>180</sup> Now, in the second century CE, the daily salary of an Egyptian rural worker ranged between 1.2 and 2 drachmas.<sup>181</sup> If in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 we are dealing with teachers, a monthly pay per pupil of 1.75 drachmas for two μάγιστροι or of 1.17 drachmas for three would be 9.4% per cent higher or 27% lower than the median daily salary of a second-century rural worker (low of 1.2, high of 2, median of 1.6 dr.).<sup>182</sup> This comparison goes to show that *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 presents some workers that have a monthly salary (per pupil, if teachers) slightly higher or fairly lower than the daily salary of a contemporary rural worker. Similar salaries exclude the possibility of an administrative or military ‘chief’ and may point to elementary teachers, who were the quintessential low earners of antiquity.<sup>183</sup>

All this does not prove beyond any doubt that *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 records actual teachers but indicates that the hypothesis is tenable, likely, and supported by numbers: these μάγιστροι likely are second-century teachers working in Oxyrhynchus on a somewhat low salary. Following the later Edict on Maximum Prices, the comparison of the monthly pay rate of an elementary teacher with the daily pay rate of a rural worker should have presented a larger sum for the teacher; in the present case, *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 offers a sum that is only slightly higher or fairly lower than that of contemporary teachers. These data cannot suggest that the μάγιστροι of *P.Oxy.* XXIV

---

<sup>180</sup> We do not have firm data on the size of ancient classrooms, but likely they did not exceed c. 20 pupils, for elementary ancient teaching required a great deal of individual supervised work, and larger classes would have needed the presence of more than one teacher.

<sup>181</sup> On second-century salaries, see above §5.1.3 n. 67. In the same account, the recurring Ὀασίτης receives only 2 obols per day, which is a strikingly low pay, but he could have been a slave or have provided only a very small amount of work.

<sup>182</sup> Note that, due to the existence of middlemen, teachers did not always receive the entire fee that they charged; see Bonner (1977: 148) with *Juv.* 7.218–219. Moreover, parents could ask for deductions, did not always pay on time or even at all; see Bonner (1977: 146–147) with e.g. *Theophr.*, *Char.* 30.14; *Ov.*, *Fast.* 3.829; *Juv.* 7.158–160 and 203–206; *Lucian*, *Hermot.* 80; *August.*, *Conf.* 5.12. Teachers could receive gratuities, which are difficult to value and include in the calculations; see Bonner (1977: 148–149) and e.g. *P.Giss.Apoll.* 17 (113–120 CE, Hermopolis).

<sup>183</sup> See Criboire (1996: 14–16) and (2001: 59–65), Bonner (1977: 146–172) and (1965), Cameron (1965), Frasca (1999), and Laes (2007).

2423 were worse off than their contemporary rural workers, for we do not know the size of their classes, but it may well be that they were.

But why do these teachers appear as μάγιστροι instead of διδάσκαλοι or the like? In this period, the loanword μάγιστρος is not at all frequent both in Greek generally and papyri specifically, and in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 we may be dealing with one of the following hypotheses: bilingual teachers who present themselves and are known as μάγιστροι; the account of a bilingual household, whereby some Latin words could alternate with their Greek alternatives as codeswitches; localized loanwords; or a combination of these. The presence of other loanwords in the same account – σιλίγνιον ‘loaf of *siligo* (soft wheat) bread’, πάτελλα ‘dish’, and σελλίον ‘stool’<sup>184</sup> – and the fact that one of these (σελλίον) is not otherwise attested in this period may support the hypothesis of a bilingual household, but this is weak evidence.<sup>185</sup> On the other hand, it is also possible and perhaps easier to regard these loans as integrated and common in the speech of the author of this text and possibly in that of his community. In particular, the early example of σελλίον presupposes an earlier borrowing of *sella* as σέλλα, then turned into σελλίον, or the borrowing of *sella* and the addition of the Greek suffix -ιον resulting in σελλίον. In either case, we would not be dealing with the proper codeswitch of a bilingual, but with an integrated loanword. All this could suggest that μάγιστρος too is not a true codeswitch. In this text, we may be dealing with a special kind of teacher, who is a μάγιστρος because some difference sets him apart from a διδάσκαλος. One possibility is that a μάγιστρος was not any general teacher, but an elementary teacher of Latin. In this period, different soldiers, veterans, and members of the Roman administration settled or stopped in Oxyrhynchus for some time. Part of these people must have been native Latin speakers with a family, and it is only natural to think that they may have wanted a Latin education for their children. The μάγιστροι of *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 may have

---

<sup>184</sup> On σιλίγνιον, see also §2.6.1; on πάτελλα and σελλίον, §5.4.1.

<sup>185</sup> In papyri, the loans σελλίον and σέλλα appear only from the fourth century CE onwards; see e.g. *Stud.Pal.* XX 107.6 (IV CE, unknown prov.) for σελλίον and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1146.6 (300–325 CE) for σέλλα.

catered for this need, small as it may have been.<sup>186</sup> They may have been the slaves of a Roman household, and their owner may have accepted some more students for a fee, like that recorded by *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423. Of course, the lack of context calls for caution. This remains a hypothetical explanation, but it is possible that the Latin name μάγιστρος had some connections with the world of elementary Latin teaching that to some extent took place in Egypt and catered for Latin-speaking families.

### 5.3.5 νοτάριος and κομμεντάριον

The appearance of the loan νοτάριος may represent a case similar to that of μάγιστρος.<sup>187</sup> The loan appears in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3197 (111 CE, probably written in Alexandria), which is a division of more than 59 slaves among three members of the well-known family of the Theones, wealthy and powerful Roman and Alexandrian citizens with land in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>188</sup> The document deals with a Tiberius Iulius Theon, former στρατηγός and ἀρχιδικαστής; his brother Tiberius Iulius Sarapion; and their nephew, another Tiberius Iulius Theon, winner at the sacred games. The first two were the children and the third the grandson of yet another Tiberius Iulius Theon, who had been ὑπομνηματογράφος and γυμνασίαρχος. Some of the slaves being divided come with a specific job, such as γραμματεὺς ‘scribe’ (l. 6), προχειροφόρος ‘secretary’ (= *amanuensis*, ll. 7, 10), νοτάριος from *notarius* ‘shorthand writer’ (ll. 8, 11, 12, 13, 15), ἠπητής ‘repairer’ (l. 10), and μάγειρος ‘cook’ (l. 10).<sup>189</sup> The four slave νοτάριοι – Ammonas, Epaphrus, Agathus, Sarapas, and

---

<sup>186</sup> Criboire (1996: 30) notes that Latin school exercises appearing in papyri ‘are all written by experienced hands and show that students at an advanced level studied Latin as a second or third language’. However, even if we do not have elementary exercises in Latin on papyrus, this cannot automatically mean that elementary Latin schooling did not exist at all in Egypt.

<sup>187</sup> The Edict.Diocl. 7.68 (301 CE) sets the pay of teachers of shorthand writing (*notarii*) at 75 denarii per month per pupil.

<sup>188</sup> Their citizenship may be linked to the prefect Tiberius Iulius Alexander (66–69 CE). See *P.Theones*, pp. 1–16; *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536, intr.; Bowman (2007: 178); and Turner (1975: 10).

<sup>189</sup> On προχειροφόρος as a possible translation from Latin, see Goetz (1888–1923: II 15): *amanuensis*, προχειροφόρος προχειράριος. The word προχειροφόρος is not otherwise attested in Greek literature; for papyri, see *Chrest.Mitt.* 100.3–4 (= *BGU* IV 1138, Alexandria, 19 BCE), *O.Krok.* II 308.17–18 (98–117 CE), and *P.Petaus* 34.24 (184 CE, Arsinoite nome). The following is a diplomatic transcription of *O.Krok.* II 308.17–19, τοδεπροχιρω|πορωδιμε|ειται. The editor, Fournet, explains it as τόδε <δὲ> προχειρο|φόρο<ν>

Eukairos – are certainly not public notaries, which is an administrative meaning that the loanword νοτάριος acquires much later, in the fourth century, similarly to μάγιστρος.<sup>190</sup> In this period, we must refer to the basic Latin meanings of the word, that is ‘shorthand writer’, but also ‘clerk’, ‘secretary’.<sup>191</sup> Now, some of the slaves being divided had already been in the possession of the three Theones that signed this agreement, but not the four νοτάριοι. These had all been with the deceased Tiberius Iulius Theon, who as ὑπομνηματογράφος was one the highest-ranking officials residing in Alexandria, the others being the ἑπαρχος or prefect, the ἐξηγητής, and the ἀρχιδικαστής.<sup>192</sup> Because of his occupation, he certainly worked with several clerks and possibly shorthand writers, and it is possible that some of these were his personal property, like the four slaves appearing in our document. As in the case of μάγιστρος, the choice of a Latin loanword like νοτάριος, when a Greek speaker could have chosen either σημειογράφος for a shorthand writer or γραμματεὺς for a simple clerk, needs some explaining. Again, we may be dealing with either a highly bilingual milieu, where the introduction of new loanwords interested any segment of the vocabulary, or with the introduction of a loanword that carried some semantic differentiation from its Greek counterpart, be it σημειογράφος or γραμματεὺς. Since Tiberius Iulius Theon was one of the three most important officials of Alexandria, we may be almost certain that he was close enough to highly bilingual milieus, but this is not enough to definitively explain the introduction and use of νοτάριος in Greek. Perhaps the often-bilingual administrative milieu in which Theon worked facilitated the introduction of the loan, but it remains unlikely that

---

δι’ <ἐ>μὲ | εἶπαι, ‘and to say that this thing would be advantageous for me’ with an unattested meaning of προχειροφόρος. An alternative solution τὸδε <δὲ> προχειρο|φόρῳ δι’ <ἐ>μὲ | εἶπαι ‘and to say myself this thing to a προχειροφόρος (i.e. so that he could write it down?)’ could be simpler.

<sup>190</sup> In the second and third centuries, the loan appears without reference to an administrative role; see *P.Harrauer* 35.17 (250 CE, Hermopolis), *P.Oslo* III 183.8 (225–275 CE, Oxyrhynchite nome?), but cf. the much later *P.Abinn.* 17.3–4 (c. 346 CE, Arsinoite nome, Flavius Abinnaeus’ archive is TM Arch ID 1), where we find a δεσποτικὸς | νοτάριος ‘imperial *notarius*’. Broadly on *notarii* during the Principate, see Teitler (1985: 38–44).

<sup>191</sup> The meaning ‘shorthand writer’ appears in the glossaries and *colloquia*. See Goetz (1888–1923: II 134, 430): *notarius*, σημιογράφος, σημειογράφος *notarius*, *Colloquium Celtis* 18: σημ<ε>ιογράφου, *notarii*, for which see Dickey (2012–2015: II 170, 207); and cf. Isid., *Etyim.* 1.22.2. One should not exclude ‘secretary’; see e.g. Tert., *Ad Scapulam* 4.4–5 (c. 217 CE?), where a *notarius* is the secretary of an *advocatus*, and he may or may not also be a shorthand writer. On the status of shorthand writers in antiquity, see Lewis (2003).

<sup>192</sup> See Whitehorne (1987).

the work of a Latin-sounding νοτάριος had no single difference from that of a Greek σημειογράφος or γραμματεὺς. One possible explanation may be that these four νοτάριοι knew Latin, but in the absence of further evidence this needs to remain a hypothesis.

Another loanword linked to the world of writing and, in particular, of shorthand writing is κομμεντάριον, from *commentarium*, broadly meaning ‘notes’. This appears in *Chrest. Wilck.* 140 (= *P.Oxy.* IV 724.8, 155 CE), which is a contract whereby the former κοσμητής (a wealthy municipal magistrate) Panechotes alias Panares apprentices one of his slaves to a shorthand writer, σημειογράφος, for a two-year period.<sup>193</sup> The slave’s tuition, a substantial 120 drachmas, would be paid in instalments: 40 as a down payment, another 40 as soon as the slave learned the entire κομμεντάριον, and the last 40 when he became able to write and read every type of text. But what is specifically this κομμεντάριον? The interpretation of the word became clear only after the publication of the corpus of *Shorthand Manuals* by Milne in 1934. Among others, in this volume Milne published here two British Library papyrus codices, inventory 2561 and 2562. Both issued from the same scriptorium sometime in the third or fourth centuries CE, these texts contain a list of symbols, each one coupled with a key syllable or phrase and with four or five values: e.g. §56, οι (key syllable), † (shorthand symbol), ἄμεινον, βέλτιον, τοσοῦτον, ἱκανόν (vocabulary linked to the symbol).<sup>194</sup> The text of inventory 2562 breaks off after sign §637, and only inventory 2561 reaches its end, where the scribe records: πεπαρέωται (*l.* πεπεραίωται) τὸ κομμεντάριον (*l.* κομμεντάριον), ‘(here) ends the *commentarium*’.<sup>195</sup> To put it simply, a κομμεντάριον is a ‘manual’ of shorthand symbols and more broadly may indicate a collection of learning materials; these meanings are not a Greek innovation but appear in Latin too.<sup>196</sup> However, the very usage of such a Latin word for a Greek manual does not find a straightforward explanation in the papyri forming our evidence and might be found somewhere else. The birth of shorthand writing in

---

<sup>193</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* XLI 2988 (II CE). For the κοσμητής, see Lewis (1997: 34). On this text, see now Lewis (2003: 20–23).

<sup>194</sup> See *Shorthand Manuals*, pp. 3–5. For a similar manual, which likely shares a common source with *Shorthand Manuals*, see *P.Monts.Roca* I 1, pp. 29–35 (350–400 CE).

<sup>195</sup> On Latin loanwords in shorthand papyri, see Menci (2001: 283–284).

<sup>196</sup> See *TLL s.v. commentarius* I.B.1. On the history of shorthand *commentaria* on papyri, see Menci (1992).

antiquity is debated, but shorthand writing certainly was not a Roman invention.<sup>197</sup> However, the Roman invention of a new method of shorthand writing, the so-called *notae tironianae* by Cicero's slave and later freedman Tiro, had far-reaching consequences. Tiro survived his late owner and died under Augustus in 4 BCE; we know that in this intervening period he edited Cicero's works but also wrote books of his own, likely disseminating a new system of shorthand writing.<sup>198</sup> Could one of these works have included a *commentarium* too, that is a set of symbols and equivalent syllables or words? It is possible, and these *commentaria*, coupled with Tiro's fame as the shorthand-writing guru of his time, may have come to culturally influence even Greek shorthand manuals and specifically their titles, κομμεντάρια. Of course, in the absence of further evidence this remains a speculative explanation, but one that could illuminate the travel of shorthand writing from Greece to Rome and back again.

### 5.3.6 πωμαρίτης, πωμάριον, and πάλμη

Appearing in only one text from second-century Oxyrhynchus, πωμαρίτης 'fruiterer' is yet another professional loanword in need of an explanation. More precisely, this word is a derivative of the loan πωμάριον to which the Greek suffix -ίτης was added. We can be fairly confident that πωμάριον and πωμαρίτης were not introduced in Greek at the same time and that the latter was formed on the former, when already integrated, because the earliest examples of πωμαρίτης appear several decades after those of πωμάριον.<sup>199</sup> Even so, the introduction to Greek of a word meaning 'orchard' and the following creation of another one for its workers may profit from a more detailed analysis. For Egypt obviously did not lack orchards before the Romans' arrival, and Greek papyri did have words for them: the Avestan loanword παράδεισος, mainly used for

---

<sup>197</sup> See Plut., *Cat. Min.* 23.3.

<sup>198</sup> See Gell., *NA* 13.9 and Di Renzo (2000).

<sup>199</sup> The loan πωμάριον first appears in the mid first century BCE; see *SB XVI* 12569.20 (66–58 or 55–51 BCE, Tebtunis) with Shelton (1979).

fruit orchards, or the very Greek κήπος, usually for vegetables and the like.<sup>200</sup> Why did people need a third word? And more importantly, what kind of orchard did πωμάριον refer to? It may or may not have been yet another word broadly encompassing different types of orchards, but the introduction, fast spread, and early integration of a perfect synonym is unlikely.

The texts may provide us with an answer. In second-century Oxyrhynchus, πωμάριον appears in four documents and πωμαρίτης in one, the private letter *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2781.5 (II CE), in which the fruiterer's tasks are not specified. The documents mentioning a πωμάριον are: the lease of vineyards (ἀμπελικὰ κτήματα) and an orchard (πωμάριον) *P.Harr.* I 137.6, 15 (II CE, Oxyrhynchus); the private letter *P.Oxy.* XIV 1673.14 (II CE), in which an ἐπίτροπος 'administrator' (of an estate?) is informed about the condition of some wine, and a wine vat appears to be in an orchard (πωμάριον);<sup>201</sup> the legal proceedings *P.Oxy.* IV 707.19, 26 (101–138 CE), concerning the lease of a vineyard (ἀμπελών) and orchard (πωμάριον); and the private letter *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985.5, 14 (II–III CE), in which there are orders of sale concerning fodder and different types of wine (οἰνάριον, οἶνος) that come from an orchard (πωμάριον). All these texts reveal a close and unexpected connection that links ἀμπελῶνες, vineyards, and πωμάρια, the Latin-sounding orchards, and extends beyond these examples.<sup>202</sup> But this connection is not enough to explain the use of a new word, for the coexistence of a vineyard next to an orchard likely does not warrant the choice to borrow a new word, even if it were proved that the coexistence of orchards and vineyards was a new agricultural practice.

The connection between the two may lie somewhere else, perhaps in the way vine plants were supported in antiquity. Luckily, we are very well informed about ancient practices, of which

---

<sup>200</sup> For παράδεισος, see e.g. *P.Mich.* III 182.16–18 (182 BCE, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome), in which a παράδεισος is said to comprise olive, fig, and pomegranate trees. For κήπος, see e.g. *O.Claud.* II 370 (98–117 CE), in which the *curator* Fabricius informs the centurion Iulius Aquila about the vegetables of his garden.

<sup>201</sup> I do not have access to a photo, but it would make sense to supplement ll. 13–14 as follows: καὶ τῆς | γ ἐν τῷ πωμαρίῳ | τῆς γ λη(νοῦ) ὁμοί(ως), 'and of the third one, that in the orchard, the third vat likewise etc.'.

<sup>202</sup> See *P.Ryl.* II 157.3–5 (135 CE, Hermopolite nome). The other second century example is *SB VI* 9105.16 (198 CE, Arsinoite nome), the petition of a Roman woman in which πωμάριον appears with no reference to a vineyard.

there were three main types: 1) the support of the vine through forked sticks, or vertical individual stakes (*pedamenta*, *χάρακες*), or vertically and horizontally on yokes (*iuga*); 2) the absence of supports, whereby the vines grow low to the ground; 3) or the use of trees onto which the vines are trained (*arbustum*, *ἀναδενδρά*, *vite maritata* ‘married’ in Italian).<sup>203</sup> The third practice is what interests us; it may look unusual to modern eyes accustomed to monocultures, but this has been a very common practice until the recent past. The type of tree onto which the vines were trained changed from region to region; Columella records elms, poplars, ashes, and small trees in general (*Rust.* 5.6–7), but fruit trees like those producing olives or figs have been employed since antiquity. In Italy, it is generally thought that the Romans inherited the practice of training vines onto trees from the Etruscans, while the western Greeks of southern Italy preferred to attach their vines to stakes and yokes.<sup>204</sup> I have not been able to find serious research on this point, but the practice of training vines onto trees must have been more widespread than generally thought, given that the training of vines on fig trees is likely mentioned in a Mycenaean tablet and frequently in the Old Testament.<sup>205</sup> The custom of training vines onto trees is attested in Ptolemaic papyri too, but we do not know which type of trees the texts deal with.<sup>206</sup> We should remember that Egypt did produce wine before Alexander’s arrival – even though Herodotus had it otherwise – but that the Egyptian wine production was indeed a niche, when compared to beer.<sup>207</sup> For instance, the production of wine in the Fayum oasis (later the Arsinoite nome) was greatly due to the

---

<sup>203</sup> For the first type, see Varro, *Rust.* 1.8.6 (forked sticks), 1.8.4 (stakes and yokes); for the second, see Varro, *Rust.* 1.8.5 (common in Spain, Asia, and Israel); for the third, see Cato, *Agr.* 1.7, 7.1, and Columella, *Rust.* 4.32, 5.6–7. See also Kloppenborg (2006: 420–421 and 577 *s.v.* vine supports).

<sup>204</sup> See e.g. <<http://www.guadoalmelo.it/il-vino-e-gli-etruschi-ii-la-vite-maritata-tremila-e-piu-anni-di-viticultura-ed-arte/>>.

<sup>205</sup> See KN Gv 863, which mentions 420 vines along 109 fig trees; cf. Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 273, §164). Vines and fig trees are a frequent collocation in the Old Testament; and even though the texts do not make their relationship clear, it is likely that one was trained onto the other. See OT Kings 1:2:46g (LXX), Psalms 104:33 (LXX), Isaiah 36:16 (LXX), Jeremiah 5:17 (LXX), etc. The Septuagint also mentions tree-climbing vines (*ἀναδενδράδες*) more clearly; see e.g. Ezekiel 17:6 (LXX) and Psalms 79:11 (LXX).

<sup>206</sup> See *P.Petr.* I 29.7 (III BCE, Arsinoite nome), *P.Lond.* VII 2071.3 (263–229 BCE, Philadelphia?, Zenon’s archive: TM Arch ID 256), and *CPS* 203 (257 BCE, Philadelphia, Zenon’s archive: TM Arch ID 256), *BGU VI* 1279.2 (III BCE, unknown prov.), and *P.Leid.Inst.* 21.4 (78 BCE, Arsinoite nome).

<sup>207</sup> See Hdt. 2.77.4, who may have travelled through parts of Egypt that did not present vines; Murray, Boulton, and Heron (2000) for a detailed account of wine production in Pharaonic Egypt; Eyre (1994: 71), who mentions wine-producing settlements in the Delta during Pharaonic times; Tchernia and Brun (1990: 83–84); and Huetz de Lempis (2001: 281–288).

Ptolemies' investments.<sup>208</sup> Here, even part of the vines of Ptolemy's II ministry of finances, the διοικητής Apollonius, were trained onto trees, but after the third century BCE the mention of trained vines almost disappears; this silence is likely due to chance, but we cannot exclude the abandonment of the practice.<sup>209</sup>

Against such a context, it is not impossible that one of the following lies behind the Egyptian *πωμάρια*: 1) after a first period in which vines were trained to trees (perhaps not fruit trees?), the practice was later neglected; with the Romans' arrival to Egypt, the practice was revived, this time using fruit trees, which constituted the orchard part, *πωμάριον*, of a vineyard, *ἀμπελών*. 2) The practice had never been neglected, but the vines were mainly trained on normal trees rather than fruit ones; later on, Roman investors fostered the creation of mixed fruit- and vine-yards, whose fruit-producing portion was a *πωμάριον*. Or 3) the practice of training vines on fruit trees in a systematic, intensive way was brought to the Eastern Mediterranean by land-acquiring Roman investors; their practices are responsible for the introduction of the loanword *πωμάριον* into Greek somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, probably in the first century BCE, after which point the practice and name reached Egypt through Greek routes. In the third case, *πωμάριον* would be a transmitted loan, but because the loan is not attested anywhere else before it is attested in Egypt, we cannot favour this option. On the other hand, if we accept the first or second options, we must assume that the Romans started to buy Egyptian land and influence its agricultural vocabulary well before their conquest of the country. This is not unwarranted, for Roman influence over Egypt is well-documented for the last decades of Ptolemaic rule, even though we lack smoking-gun evidence for Romans' involvement in viticulture in this period.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> See Vandorpe and Clarysse (1997) and Thompson (1999: 133–134). Rowlandson (1996: 17) estimates that in the fourth century CE c. 10% of the Oxyrhynchite nome was occupied by vineyards and gardens.

<sup>209</sup> Schnebel (1925: 253–254) refers to *Geoponica* 5.11.1 (X CE) and says that both vegetables and trees could be used as intermediate crops in a vineyard. However, *Geoponica* 5.11.1 refers to vegetables only (beans, vetches, gourds, cucumbers, and cabbage) and advises against the practice of planting such vegetables with vines. Schnebel also notes that papyri often mention vines together with various vegetables (e.g. onions, cucumbers, pumpkins) and trees (e.g. date palms, fig, peach, olive, and lemon trees) but does not acknowledge the possibility that, at least in some cases, we may be dealing with vines trained to trees.

<sup>210</sup> On Roman presence in Egypt during the later part of Ptolemaic rule, see Capponi (2005: 5–23) and §1.2.4 with n. 108, where the so-called 'Cleopatra papyrus', *P.Bingen* 45 (33 BCE, Alexandria?), is

We also lack early documents showcasing the first uses of the loan in practice, so we may not be sure whether the word was introduced by new Roman investors or adopted by Greek farmers who wanted to copy their Roman competitors.

Whichever solution may prove true, they all provide us with an effective explanation for the meaning and use of the loan *πωμάριον*, which at this early stage likely is the ‘orchard’ part of a vineyard. This is not simply an orchard planted next to a vineyard, which had been called and was still called *παράδεισος*, but an orchard symbiotic with its vineyard.<sup>211</sup> Even texts not mentioning orchards may support the hypothesis, or at least the fact that fruit trees were a staple in the vineyards of Roman Egypt.<sup>212</sup> For instance, in the lease *P.Flor.* III 369 (139 or 149 CE, Hermopolis) there is no mention of a *πωμάριον*, but the lessee states that the upper fruits of the trees (*ἀκρόδρυα*) shall be the wage for his work (ll. 9-11): τῶν | ἐν τῷ ἀμπελ(ῶνι) ἀκροδρύων πᾶ[ν]των ὄντων | ἐμοῦ τοῦ μισθουμένου, ‘all the upper fruits (of the trees) in the vineyard shall be mine, that is of the lessee’. And the wine mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985.5, 14 (II–III CE) is said to come from a *πωμάριον*, which here must refer to the entire field made up of vines trained on fruit trees. Beside *πωμάρια*, the Greek words referring to vines trained on trees (*ἀναδενδράς*, *ἀναδενδραδικός*) re-appear in early Roman Egypt; however, in these texts there is no mention of the use that the lessor or lessees could make out of the fruits of these trees.<sup>213</sup> This may suggest that these are not fruit-producing trees, thus providing us with a possibly clear differentiation

---

discussed. Note that viticulture demanded large capitalization and close links with other industries for amphoras, bricks, etc.; see Kloppenborg (2006: 295–303), Rowlandson (1996: 19), Rathbone (1983), and Purcell (1985), who underlines the boom of viticulture under Augustus and in the early Principate. See also *BGU* IV 1122 (13 BCE, Alexandria (written), Busiris (found)), a contract concerning vineyards in which appear a certain Gaius.

<sup>211</sup> In the Ptolemaic period, vineyards and orchards are often mentioned together as *ἀμπελῶν καὶ παράδεισος* (see e.g. *P.Mich.* III 182.11–12, 182 BCE, Krokodilopolis). Probably, their association is not linked to an agricultural choice but to the fact that both paid the *ἀπόμοιρα* tax in money rather than in kind; see *P.Bagnall* 9, n. to ll. 10–11. In the early Roman period, a few documents continue to mention together vineyards and orchards as *ἀμπελῶν καὶ παράδεισος*; given that a *παράδεισος* likely could not be part of a vineyard (e.g. *PSI* VI 697.4–6 (II CE, Theadelphia)), there was a difference between a *παράδεισος* orchard (with no vines) and the new *πωμάριον* one (with vines).

<sup>212</sup> Much later (IV–V CE), Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius’ comment that *pomis eadem convenit terra quae vitibus* (*Febr.* XIX) is a revealing insight into the Romans’ agricultural science.

<sup>213</sup> See e.g. *P.Mich.* V 266 (38 CE, Arsinoite nome), *PSI* VIII 918 (38–39 CE, Tebtunis), *P.Mich.* V 326 (48 CE, Arsinoite nome), *P.Soter.* 1 (69 CE, Theadelphia), *P.Soter.* 2 (71 CE, Theadelphia), etc.

between two types of trained vineyards: one that used fruit trees (ἀμπελῶν καὶ πωμάριον), and one that used normal trees (ἀναδενδράς, ἀμπελῶν ἀναδενδραδικός).

To recapitulate, in the early Ptolemaic period we find vineyards and orchards, ἀμπελῶνες καὶ παράδεισοι, planted next to each other, and vineyards trained on trees, ἀναδενδράς or ἀμπελῶν ἀναδενδραδικός, which almost disappear during the second and first centuries BCE. In the Roman period, we continue to find vineyards and orchards, ἀμπελῶνες καὶ παράδεισοι, we see the reappearance of vineyards trained on trees, ἀναδενδράς or ἀμπελῶν ἀναδενδραδικός, and we discover a new collocation, ἀμπελῶν καὶ πωμάριον, ‘vineyard and orchard’. Now, either we posit a synonymy between this and the older ἀμπελῶν καὶ παράδεισος, which continues to be attested in the early Roman period, or we think of two slightly different types of ‘vineyards and orchards’. Since a παράδεισος likely could not be part of a vineyard, evidence supports the second option,<sup>214</sup> and we may think of an ἀμπελῶν καὶ πωμάριον as a vineyard trained on fruit trees. From the third century CE onwards, we also find stand-alone πωμάρια that are clearly distinguished from vineyards. If πωμάριον may have originally been borrowed to refer to a special type of orchard, it is possible that over time it came to be used for any type of orchard and supplanted παράδεισος, which contrary to πωμάριον almost disappears from papyri after the fourth century CE.<sup>215</sup>

All in all, we may be fairly certain that πωμάριον was borrowed not as yet another synonym for ‘orchard’, but as the specific name of a particular type of orchard. The spread of this loan may have come with the spread of a new agricultural solution, and the Roman name may indicate that the Romans were involved in this innovation. We cannot be sure about where and how the loan was first introduced, whether it was imposed by new Roman landowners or adopted by their Greek competitors, but given that πωμάριον appears early, in the first century BCE, I

---

<sup>214</sup> See above n. 209.

<sup>215</sup> After the year 400 CE, παράδεισος appears in a total of seven papyri, while πωμάριον in a total of 55. I used papyri.info to check frequencies. Examples of a πωμάριον not linked to an ἀμπελῶν: see e.g. *P.Stras.* IX 873 (III, Memphite nome) and *PSI* IV 286.14-15 (III-IV CE, Oxyrhynchus), where orchards and vineyards each have different square extensions, or e.g. *P.Charite* 4.4 (320-350, Hermopolis) and *SB* VIII 9907.13-14 (388 CE, Hermopolis), where orchards appear without any link to viticulture.

would prefer the case of adoption. It is much easier to think of Greek farmers seeing and copying, even lexically, the practices of some Roman newcomers, rather than thinking of a few early Roman newcomers already so powerful and determined to deliberately change the agricultural vocabulary of Egypt or, more generally, of the Greek East.

Also related to the agricultural world, the loanword *πάλμη*, from Latin *palma* ‘palm’, ‘date’, ‘palm of hand’, appears only in *Chrest. Wilck.* 492.18 (= *P.Oxy.* III 519, II CE). This is a municipal account, in which are recorded payments for public games (fr. a), in which performed also a *μίμος* and an *ὄμηριστής*, some receipts (fr. b, ll. 7–9), that the *ἐξεγητής* and *κοσμητής* contributed towards, and finally a list of payments for a religious procession (*κωμασία*) for the Nile (fr. b, ll. 10–22). The loan appears in this last section, as the last item (l. 18): *παλμῶν vac. ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς*. We are dealing with either a food item, dates, or with palm branches for the festival, perhaps for the winner of a contest that took place during the festival.<sup>216</sup> The mention of lunch in the previous line – *παιδίσις ἀρίστου* – suggests the ‘date’ option, but one cannot exclude the possibility of a contest. Why this Latin word was borrowed and by whom is unclear but given that this text was probably written in the administrative offices of some city official, it might be that here Latin was more present than elsewhere. And if these palms were given to the winner of a contest, the choice of a Latin name may have been due to prestige.

#### 5.4 Implements and textiles

This is not a minor group of loanwords, if we consider the number of items that it encompasses: eight words for implements, appearing in nine texts for a total of 14 times, and 17 loans for textiles and footwear, appearing in 22 texts for a total 28 times. All these words are precious testimonies to the material objects present in the daily life of Roman Egypt and can directly show us the relative ease with which new objects and new fashions could impose themselves or old fashions

---

<sup>216</sup> Dates in Greek papyri appear as *φοινικίνου καρποί*; see e.g. *P.Erasm.* I 7.9 (175–126 BCE, Arsinoite nome), *BGU* IV 1120.25 (5 BCE, Alexandria), *BGU* II 591.13 (56–57, Arsinoite nome), *P.Stras.* IX 812.17 (II CE, Arsinoite nome), etc.

and objects could get new, possibly trendier names. Unfortunately, these loanwords usually appear in texts that do not provide much evidence on the possible channels through which these loans reached Greek in general and Egypt in particular. Nevertheless, some of these words and the texts in which they appear present readers with insightful information that at least sometimes may be enough to put forward some hypotheses.

#### 5.4.1 Implements

The nine texts presenting Latin-named implements are: four lists of articles, three private letters, one petition, and one account. Oftentimes, lists of items or accounts of expenditures preserve rarer or even otherwise unattested words, which can be difficult to understand when we cannot explain them etymologically or pair them with archaeological findings. However, these very lists and accounts prove that the everyday oral vocabulary of Roman Egypt must have been much larger than what we appreciate through the majority of administrative or official texts. For lists or accounts can often be good witnesses of the material objects of daily life.<sup>217</sup>

Loanwords play no minor role in similar documents, and it is not surprising that five texts out of the nine with Latin loans for implements are indeed lists and accounts, which record a total of six loans for implements. The remaining four texts, three letters and a petition with four loanwords, let us peek in the private life of some households, whether when they are exchanging items through the mail or reporting a theft. The common thread connecting these four texts is wealth, for we are certainly dealing with the Oxyrhynchite upper class. One may suppose that all written documentation mainly relates to the wealthy, and this is partly true, but on the other hand it is also true that even the poorer strata of society could resort to friends or scribes when needed. However, some of the following texts display unusual affluency.

These latter texts are: the private letter *P.Oxy. LIX 3993* (II–III CE), in which the senders, Coprys and Sinthonis, acknowledge to have received – among other things such as four pairs of

---

<sup>217</sup> The papyrological lexicon of daily life objects is being studied by the *Lex.Pap.Mat.* project, publishing its results in *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»*. See Fournet and Russo (2016).

σόλια sandals from *solea* and -ιον (l. 8) – καὶ ῥάκος ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν πέταλα χρυσᾶ ‘also a cloth in which are golden leaves’ (ll. 10–11). The letter also deals with the recovery of substantial credits (500 drachmas), other shipments, and instructions. Among the items received appears also an ἀμβοῦλλα (*l. ἀμποῦλλα*), which was delivered by an ἐπιστολαφόρος, that is a liturgical public servant, which is extraordinary unless one of the people involved was a member of the administration or close enough to one such member.<sup>218</sup> *P.Oxy.* X 1294.6, 7, 9 (175–225 CE) is another private letter, specifically a letter accompanying the shipment of some items, among which a haversack or traveller’s bag (χείλωμα) containing food, a box (πανάριον, from *panarium*) containing four glass flacons, and three knives (σικάρια, from *sica*).<sup>219</sup> The loan πανάριον appears also in *P.Oxy.* X 1272.8 (144 CE), which is a petition reporting a theft, where the unknown addressee is asked to conduct a search in the house of some neighbouring weavers, the suspects. Diemous, the woman submitting this text, kept a πανάριον box in her house, where she found the staircase door lifted, the box unfastened, and its precious contents – two gold bracelets weighing four minas, a gold figure of the god Bes, and two silver bracelets – stolen. The last letter is *P.Oxy.* LXV 4483 (194 CE), which is an unusual text in which the sender reminds the addressee to buy three plates (σκούτλιον, from *scutula* and -ιον) and advises him to do business with another person when the moon reaches a particular astronomical position.

Unfortunately, lists and accounts do not give us as much information on their owners and background, nor do they always provide us with prices for the items. The four texts are: *P.Oxy.* III 521.13 (II CE), a list of articles, perhaps of a temple, recording an iron shovel, βάδιλλος σιδ[ηροῦς, from *batillum/batillus*; the lists *P.Oxy.* IV 741.12 (II CE) with the derivative κελλάριον, which is a vessel, but also with πάτελλα (l. 17) from *patella* ‘little dish’, σκούτλιον (l. 17), and σόλιον ‘sandal’ (l. 8) from *solea* and -ιον; *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2424.35 (II/III), also with the derivative κελλάριον and with the clothing loans ἀβόλλης from *abolla* ‘cloak’ and κερβικάριον

---

<sup>218</sup> See Lewis (1997: 28).

<sup>219</sup> It was common practice to store glass flasks in wooden boxes; see Harden (1936: 37). On the glass flasks of Roman Karanis (Arsinoite nome), see Harden (1936: 185–264). More broadly on glass production in Egypt, see Nenna *et al.* (2000) and Nicholson and Henderson (2000). On πανάριον see also §4.8.3. On the meaning of χείλωμα, see Cuvigny (2008).

from *cervical* or *cervicarium* ‘pillow’; the account (of a shopkeeper?) *P.Oxy.* XIV 1727.16-17 (175-225 CE) also with κελλάριον; and the already mentioned account *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2423 (II–III CE, see §5.3.4), with πάτελλα, σελλίον from *sella* or an already borrowed σέλλα and -ιον, and μάγιστρος.

All these texts show how common items with Latin names were in the everyday life of a provincial city like Oxyrhynchus. However, there is almost no way for us to be confident on whether we are dealing with new items that carry a new name or rather with an influence so powerful that it replaced Greek vocabulary. The first option may seem more likely, but one ought not to exclude the second in all cases. If Latin loanwords did indeed carry with them some power or the effect of being associated with the ruling class, it may be that at least some of these words found a particularly easy path to becoming integrated, well-known, and widespread loans. Of course, once integrated monolingual speakers would not recognise loans as such, but in the previous steps along the continuum that links codeswitches to loanwords, the will to make use of new vocabulary, that of the rulers, may have helped in transforming new loans into established ones. In the present case, at least some of these implements, perhaps only accessible to wealthy families and individuals, could have been status symbols with the added advantage of a Latin name.

#### 5.4.2 Textiles and footwear

The number of Latin loanwords for textiles and footwear grows considerably in the second century CE, when in Oxyrhynchus alone we find a total of 17 loans, appearing in 22 texts, for a total 28 times. Three of these loans – ἀβόλλης, πάλλιον, and λῶδιξ – had already appeared in the first century CE, while five others are likely to be derivatives, that is Greek creations made with already integrated loans: δελματικομαφόρτιον, from δελματική ‘Dalmatian tunic’ and μαφόρτιον ‘hood’; λωδίκιον, from λῶδιξ and -ιον; σουβρικομαφόρτης, from σουβρίκιον or σουβρικός ‘outer dress’ and μαφόρτιον ‘hood’; σουβρικομαφόρτιον, with the same etymology of the previous; and

σουβρικοπάλλιον, from the loan σουβρίκιον or σουβρικός and πάλλιον ‘mantle’.<sup>220</sup> The remaining nine words are: βῆλον, here likely ‘covering’, ‘awning’, from *velum* ‘sail’, ‘awning’, ‘cloth’; δελματική from *delmatica* ‘Dalmatian tunic’; δίλωρος from *diloris* ‘having two epaulettes’; κερβικάριον from *cervical* or *cervicarium* ‘pillow’; κουκοῦλλος from *cucullus* ‘hood’; λέντιον ‘linen cloth’, ‘napkin’, ‘towel’ from *lintheum* ‘linen cloth’, ‘towel or napkin’; λέντιος from *lintheus* ‘made of linen’; σόλιον from *solea* ‘sandal’ and -ιον; and φακιάλιον ‘face-cloth’, ‘turban’, ‘towel’, from *faciale* ‘face-cloth’.

This sizeable group of words appears in different kinds of texts: eight letters, frequently texts in which items are shipped or requested;<sup>221</sup> three accounts, one of which is that of a weaver and another a municipal one;<sup>222</sup> three lists of items;<sup>223</sup> three petitions, one of which involves a retired soldier;<sup>224</sup> three marriage deeds;<sup>225</sup> one divorce deed;<sup>226</sup> and one official declaration to a strategus.<sup>227</sup> Some of these texts have already been scrutinised in previous sections, for they record other loans too.<sup>228</sup> On the opposite side of the scale, in other types of texts words for textiles or footwear are the only type of loan. This is the case of marriage contracts, which record clothes as

---

<sup>220</sup> On derivatives, see §1.2.1.

<sup>221</sup> See Koroli (2020). See *P.Oxy.* XII 1583.9 (II CE) with δελματική; 1584.18 (II CE) with πάλλιον; XXXI 2593.24 (II CE) with ἀβόλλης; XLII 3060 (II CE) with κουκοῦλλος (l. 5) and λέντιον (l. 7); *SB* XIV 11899.5 (II CE) with πάλλιον; *P.Oxy.* I 114 (II–III CE) with δελματικομαφόρτιον (ll. 5–6), λωδίκιον (l. 9), and φακιάλιον (l. 7); LIX 3993.8 (125–300 CE) with σόλιον; and VI 929.v.10 (180–300 CE) with λέντιον.

<sup>222</sup> See *P.Oxy.* XIV 1737.15 (II–III CE) with δίλωρος; the account of a weaving establishment *SB* XVI 12314.24 (130 CE) with λέντιον; and the municipal account *P.Oxy.* XVII 2128.8 (175–199 CE) with βῆλον.

<sup>223</sup> See *P.Oxy.* X 1269.37 (100–125 CE) with κερβικάριον; IV 741.8 (II CE) with σόλιον; and XXIV 2424 (II–III CE) with ἀβόλλης (l. 40) and κερβικάριον (l. 39).

<sup>224</sup> See *P.Stras.* IV 222 (II CE) with λωδιξ (l. 17), πάλλιον (l. 13), and σουβρικομαφόρτης (l. 14); *PS* IX 1033.11 (166 CE) with σουβρικοπάλλιον; and *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760.9 (179–180 CE) with λωδιξ, for which see also §4.8.1 and §5.1.1.

<sup>225</sup> See Droß-Krüpe (2017). See *P.Oxy.* III 496.4 (125 CE) with πάλλιον; XLIX 3491.7 (157–158 CE) with πάλλιον; and VI 905.7 (170 CE) with σουβρικομαφόρτιον.

<sup>226</sup> See *P.Giss.* 30.5 (140–161 CE) with πάλλιον.

<sup>227</sup> See *P.Princ.* II 27.13 (191–192 CE) with πάλλιον.

<sup>228</sup> See e.g. §5.1.1 for the petition *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2760.

part of dowries, indirectly informing us on the value attached to such items and on the connection between fashion and status.<sup>229</sup>

All these lists, marriages, divorces, and similar record what appear to be integrated and widespread loanwords. However, some of these texts present us with notable contexts or infrequent loans that may be in their early stage of usage and thus help us better understand the introduction of this vocabulary. One of these is the declaration to a strategus *P.Princ.* II 27.13 (191–192 CE), which presents the ubiquitous loan *πάλλιον*. However, this document is particularly noteworthy. The papyrus was written on both recto and verso; on the recto, there is a declaration on oath delivered to a Sarapion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, by some people linked to a Sullius Iulius, *δικαιοδότης* or *iridicus* of Alexandria, who urge the strategus to send a customary shipment, likely of clothing, to the capital. And on the verso there is a letter recording the actual delivery to the same strategus of a shipment of clothing destined to Alexandria by some Oxyrhynchites, likely weavers or cloth-dealers, in accordance with the instructions of Sullius Iulius. It is not clear whether we are dealing with clothing items acquisitioned for the army or, rather, for the gladiatorial school of Alexandria, but once more we see a close link that connects the weavers of the *chora* to the centre, in Alexandria. Here, the provincial administration and the military relied heavily on the productive capacity of these workers, whose surplus could be destined to exportation or military bulk acquisitions.<sup>230</sup> Another insightful document may be *SB* XVI 12314.24 (130 CE), which presents the loan *λέντιον*, ‘linen cloth’.<sup>231</sup> This is an eleven-month long account of some sort of entrepreneurial activity, recording payments for wages and food but also the production of clothing; in all likelihood, we are dealing with a small textile establishment, which may have involved at least one Roman worker, given that a certain Ofellius, *Ὁφέλλιος*, appears repeatedly as a payee. Together with other papyri like the well-known export account

---

<sup>229</sup> Such contracts were not obligatory to conclude a marriage; see e.g. Yiftach-Firanko (2003: 81–84). On the value of clothing, see e.g. the already mentioned (n. 221) *P.Oxy.* X 1269, which records pawned items of clothing.

<sup>230</sup> See §5.1.1 n. 19, §5.1.4, Jones (1974), Van Minnen (1986) and (1987: 80–85). For the involvement of the *iridicus* with the clothing of the gladiatorial school, see *P.Lips.* I 57r (261 CE, Hermopolis).

<sup>231</sup> The edition is in Hanson (1979).

*P.Oxy.Hels.* 40 (mid III CE), all these documents attest to a flourishing weaving sector whose productive capacity fuelled exports and military acquisitions.<sup>232</sup> The Romans certainly did not disdain this sector: first-century texts have already shown an early Roman involvement, while the very first investments must have taken place during the reign of Cleopatra VII.<sup>233</sup>

*P.Oxy.* XVII 2128 (175–199 CE) is another text that stands out from the list. This is a municipal account recording payments for various purposes, to different contractors, and mentioning the temple Καπιτώλιον (l. 4), which is a transmitted loanword, and the less frequent loan βῆλον ‘covering’, from *velum* (ll. 7–8): Καλλινίκῳ Ἐπιμάχου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ | ἐγλήμφορσι (l. ἐκλήμφορσι) οὐήλων (δραχμαὶ) Γφ, ‘To Callinicus son of Epimachus and his associated contractors, for hangings, 3500 drachmas’.<sup>234</sup> Given the official character of this text and the relatively high price paid for the βῆλα, we may think of awnings for the city’s great theatre, which is a meaning attested in the contemporary inscription *TAM* II 408.15–16 (147 CE, Patara, Lycia), καὶ τὰ βῆλα | τοῦ θεάτρου, ‘and the awning of the theatre’. The use of a Latin loanword in this context may resemble that of ἄτριον in the private or public texts discussed in §5.3.1, where Romanisation played a certain role, particularly as a wish to be associated with the Roman rulers and their customs.<sup>235</sup> But given that this loan appears in a municipal account, we cannot exclude also an administrative, top-down channel for the introduction of this loan within the administrative jargon of some municipal office.

Mostly, words for textiles and footwear appear in documents where they are used by the citizens of Oxyrhynchus in the course of their daily interactions, be it a shipment, a request, a letter, a marriage, a theft. The Roman administration and the requisitions of the army may have played a role in the introduction of these loans, but this evidence does not cover most of these loans. For the most part, we see these borrowings as already integrated, well-known by

---

<sup>232</sup> On *P.Oxy.Hels.* 40, see Van Minnen (1986), who estimates an export of 100.000 textile items per year from Oxyrhynchus; for a more cautious view, see Wild (2003). On exports of textiles from Egypt, see also Casson (1989: 292–293) and *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 6, 7, 8, 24, 28, 39, 49, 56 (c. 40–50 CE).

<sup>233</sup> See §4.8 n. 110 (on the senator Quintus Ovinius) and §1.2.4.

<sup>234</sup> On Καπιτώλιον, see §5.3.1 n. 158.

<sup>235</sup> On the great theatre of Oxyrhynchus, see Bailey (2007). The building was erected in the Hadrianic and Antonine years, in early second century CE.

monolinguals, and widespread; and we lack a fair number of documents in which we may be seeing a textile loan being in the early stages of its introduction. We must presume that the borrowing of these loans mainly took place at a stage that was earlier than, but not distant from, that of our texts, and that these loans became integrated fairly quickly, given their huge growth in number from the first to the second century CE. Several non-exclusive explanations for this phenomenon are available. First, the likely early involvement of Roman investors – even before the actual Roman conquest – in the prosperous Egyptian weaving industry.<sup>236</sup> Second, the scale of the Egyptian weaving industry, and the fact that even the poorer strata of society likely bought rather than produced their own clothes.<sup>237</sup> Third, the role played by the Roman army as a large and affluent client of such an industry.<sup>238</sup> Fourth, the relative speed at which fashion, and consequently its vocabulary, can change.<sup>239</sup> Fifth, the prestige that may have been attached to Roman words in general may have helped in moving such new words from one side to the other of the continuum that links code-switches and non-integrated loans to the integrated ones. Of course, integrated loans are usually unrecognisable for a monolingual, but early loans likely are, and the prestige of new, Latin-named items may have played a role, even if we cannot directly see it through our texts. All in all, we may try and locate two forces that may have helped the spread of these loans: on the one side, the top-down role of Roman investors, the administration, the army; on the other, the bottom-up will to acquire the fashions and vocabulary of the Roman rulers.

## 5.5 Conclusions

---

<sup>236</sup> See §4.8 and Capponi (2005: 9).

<sup>237</sup> See Jones (1974).

<sup>238</sup> See §5.1.4.

<sup>239</sup> The change in fashion after a conquest is noted for instance by Tacitus, *Agr. 21: inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga*. This passage, which also mentions culture, architecture, and cuisine, well exemplifies the will to imitate the conquerors, their customs, and traditions; on Romanisation, see §5.3.1 n. 150. Tadmor (2009: 64–65) notes that ‘clothing and grooming’ is among the semantic fields that ‘have typically been most affected by intercultural influences’. Specifically, the ‘clothing and grooming’ semantic category ranks second in the Loanword Typology project, for which see the World Loanword Database, <<https://wold.eild.org>>, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009a), and §1.2.1. See also Haspelmath (2008: 55) and Labov (2001: 360–363).

The analysis of the non-transmitted Latin loanwords of second-century Oxyrhynchus has made clear who appears to be using them, in which environments, and sometimes the very choices that lurk behind the use of a Latin loan or even its preference over a Greek equivalent. For instance, it has become clear that most loanwords were used by normal Oxyrhynchite citizens during their daily interaction and not by a restricted minority. However, citizens happen to be using mostly some subsets of loanwords only: mainly words for textiles, footwear, implements, and professions (§5.3. and §5.4). Other subsets largely remain restricted to the environments where they are likely to enter Greek more easily. This is the case of administrative offices, an often-bilingual environment where loanwords likely found fertile ground to appear and grow (§5.2.1, §5.3.5). The case of legal courts is slightly different, for here we see that the administration likely tried to avoid the imposition of new Latin vocabulary, while local lawyers may have used them to show off their legal knowledge (§5.2.2). Similar choices could have consequences for the fortune of both Greek and Latin vocabulary (§5.3.2) and suggest that the introduction of new loanwords was not mainly the consequence of a deliberate imposition.

Among the normal Oxyrhynchite citizens, bureaucrats, and lawyers, second century CE loanwords also point to a new player, veterans and their families. A larger presence of Roman citizens may have had some linguistic consequences by itself (§5.2.4), but we also see that these veterans were vital part of the socio-economic texture of the city, where they lived, worked, and invested their money (§5.1.2). For instance, some of these retired soldiers were involved in the thriving weaving industry of the city, whose productive capacity fuelled the bulk acquisitions of the army (§5.1.1 and §5.1.4). The relationship that linked the army to the local producers may have been responsible for the introduction of at least some clothing vocabulary, in a top-down way. However, most clothing vocabulary was likely introduced because of fashions and perhaps the will to use Roman garments and call them by their Latin name (§5.4.2). Most important, the will to subsume Roman culture and to pride oneself by using Latin terminology – in short a bottom-up Romanisation – may have been the driver behind the introduction of at least a few new words (§5.2.2, §5.2.3, §5.3.1, §5.3.5).

Once coupled with the relative absence of a top-down process of imposition, the bottom-up process of mimesis, acculturation, or ‘Romanisation’ that we see in several instances is one of the most notable features appearing in these second-century texts. That we clearly find this tendency only in the second century cannot automatically mean that in earlier decades it played no role, but we lack adequate evidence. Surely, it may just tell us something about the context in which people borrowed and used Latin loans in second-century Oxyrhynchus. In this period, the city likely enjoyed a more intense contact with Latin, and this contact both continued to reach the city from the outside but also started being more relevant within it. For it is in the second century CE that in Oxyrhynchus we find more veterans (§5.1.2 and §5.1.3), Roman-law experts (§5.2.3), and perhaps even Latin teachers and Latin students than ever before (§5.3.4).

All this shows the continued influence of prolonged contact with highly bilingual centres like Alexandria or highly bilingual environments like administrative or legal milieus, but it also underlines the role played by new settlers and locals, who increasingly wanted to imitate the ruling class – for instance subsuming Roman fashions and architecture along with their Latin names – and eventually probably dreamed of becoming part of it.



## 6. Conclusions

The goal of this thesis was to use the papyri of early Roman Egypt to answer mainly three questions about Latin loanwords and their introduction and use (§1.1). First, which people introduce new loanwords in specific environments and situations? Second, how does this introduction work, and how do these loanwords spread through the community? And third, what reasons – if any – underlie such an introduction and the choice or avoidance of a loanword? Within this framework, the text analysis carried out in each chapter has addressed subsets of these issues too, such as the semantic categories and numbers of the first loans, the possible cachet some loans may have had, the level of bilingualism of the people who chose and used loanwords, and the very nature of the introductory process: were loans mainly adopted by a local populace learning Latin or rather imposed (or retained) by the Roman newcomers, their military, and their new administrative apparatus? Papyri are the best evidence to answer all such questions because, among other reasons, they let us access the language of a region that had just been annexed by Rome and did not have much prior exposure to Latin (§1.2.3).

The analysis has first focussed on two Eastern Desert settings heavily influenced by the presence of the Roman military – the two forts of Didymoi and Krokodilo (§2) and the quarry of Mons Claudianus (§3) – and then shifted to a city in the Nile Valley, the seat of an administrative division or nome – Oxyrhynchus (§4, §5). The Eastern Desert and Oxyrhynchus are at opposite ends of an ideal scale of Romanness, for Oxyrhynchus hosted neither many veterans nor a military camp for much of the early Roman period. Such differences may have produced fundamentally opposed effects on the type of Latin vocabulary first appearing in the two contexts; however, the evidence has shown that both in the Eastern Desert and in Oxyrhynchus military loanwords usually prevail at first. For instance, at Didymoi and Krokodilo more than two of every three loans are military (§2.2, §2.4). At Oxyrhynchus, in the first century BCE the first four non-transmitted loanwords are all military, and across the first centuries BCE and CE almost one of every two loans remains military, with a military loan in every third text presenting a loanword (§4.2). That the Roman army played a leading role in the early introduction of Latin loans in Greek was

expected but not to such an extent. In fact, military loans account for just 14% of all Latin loans that ever appeared in ancient Greek,<sup>1</sup> but papyri indicate that at an early and local level the Roman army had a major impact.

Does this mean that the army actively imposed Latin vocabulary, fostered its teaching, or mandated its use? The texts suggest quite the opposite. Even in the heavily militarised Eastern Desert, there is no evidence for the teaching of Latin or Latin loans to recruits (§3.8), Latin loanwords often alternate with Greek equivalents, and even the official correspondence of the army shows that Latin loans freely compete with Greek equivalents (§2.4.2). This also means that loanwords can be avoided when Greek already has specific words for specific military duties (e.g. σημειοφόρος for *signifer*, §2.4.2). Loanwords can be preferred by soldiers for their self-identification (§2.7, §4.6.2), while the army ranks and the Roman administration generally avoid them in public or official situations (§2.8, §3.6.2). Such choices have a cascade of possible explanations that do not exclude each other: that higher registers or public texts (e.g. inscriptions or translations) may have warranted the avoidance of loanwords for purist or stylistic reasons, that loanwords were not chosen or avoided because of a precise policy, that the army did not generally prefer loanwords over Greek terms, that sometimes loanwords could be preferred for precision, self-identification, or perhaps ignorance of the corresponding Greek word, and that loanwords may have been seen as a means of assimilation and association to the new Roman rulers and their language.

In military settings, the introduction of most loanwords follows few trajectories and involves two main players only: the often-bilingual higher ranks of the army and the military administration, responsible for instance for the supply chain of the army (§2.4.1, §2.6, §2.8). In all likelihood, most soldiers in Egypt did not know much Latin and probably did not play a major role in the process (§2.1.2, §3.3). As a matter of fact, the closer a group of soldiers, civilians, and workers is to the bilingual spheres of the army the more loanwords they show; this stands out at

---

<sup>1</sup> See Dickey (2024: §10.2.2.C): 114 military loans out of 820 total loans in ancient Greek. This proportion changes diachronically: a fair share (c. 30%) of the early loans is military, but the chapters have presented higher figures; see e.g. §2.4 and §4.2 above.

Mons Claudianus, where the texts linked to the *familia* workers present more loanwords than those of the freer *pagani*, likely because the *familia* is more reliant on the Romans (§3.2.2, §3.4). These higher levels of the army and military administration worked both in Greek and Latin; the two linguistic systems were mostly kept separate, but we can sometimes see how influence of any sort (codeswitches, loanwords, syntax, palaeography, etc.) could spill over from one system to the other (§2.4.1, §2.6, §3.5). As such, the introduction of Latin loanwords in Greek was not a deliberate choice on the part of the Romans. Rather, we can think of bilinguals operating in two systems and retaining elements of one system when using the other (§3.6). Lastly, in these military-influenced settings we also see how civilians could very easily use Latin loanwords, even rarer vocabulary that we do not find again along the Nile valley (§2.5, §3.7). And civilians could use such loanwords not because they knew or learned Latin but rather because in the small communities of the Eastern Desert loanwords spread faster than in any other part of Egypt.

Oxyrhynchus presents a different situation, both quantitatively and qualitatively. For we have many more documents from this urban setting, and we cannot compare the small and tightly knit Desert communities, mostly societies of intimates, with a city like Oxyrhynchus, that is mostly a society of strangers. Similarities do appear, however, and the early preponderance of the military vocabulary is key (§4.2), for it goes to show how the Roman military and its soldiers reached the places where they were not stationed too. Oxyrhynchus also confirms that military loanwords could be used for self-identification over their Greek counterparts (§4.6.2) but mostly alternated with them (§4.6). Interestingly, Oxyrhynchus likely hosted a military camp at the beginning of Roman rule (§4.5.2), but linguistically this presence did not leave a noticeable mark. And neither did the many soldiers who visited the city on duty or on business (§4.5.1). With the military mostly out of the picture, the loanwords of Oxyrhynchus were mainly introduced to the city by some other actor, whether from outside of the city or from within it. Papyri suggest that, at first, loanwords reached early Roman Oxyrhynchus mainly from the outside and that its inhabitants had a marginal role in the process. The texts also suggest that this from-the-outside place may have been Alexandria, the provincial capital, gateway to Rome, and seat of the often-bilingual provincial administration, interaction with which contributed a number of legal and

administrative loanwords to the papyri of Oxyrhynchus (§4.3, §4.4, §4.7). The presence of at least a few bilinguals (sometimes slaves) in the Roman administrative branch eased the introduction and use of a few administrative loans; however, these words generally remained restricted to such administrative settings (§4.4). Roman investors may have been another – and perhaps smaller – early player: their involvement is suggested in relation to the loanwords for textiles, which become frequent and omnipresent only later, during the second century CE (§4.8).

In the second century CE, Oxyrhynchus confirms the continued importance of a link with a larger, ‘international’, and bilingual centre like Alexandria with its courts and administrative offices but also offers many more insights. First, in this period we see an increased number of veterans in Oxyrhynchus (§5.1): they settle in the city or its surroundings and can get involved in its thriving weaving tradition. The bare presence of a higher number of veterans and Romans more generally, no matter their language proficiency in Latin, may have had some consequences on the vocabulary. Examples are limited and generally minor (§5.1.2), but one – the use of γέμελλος ‘twin’ instead of δίδυμος (§5.2.4) – is extraordinary. Second, administrative and legal loanwords continue to play an important role in the life of the city (§5.2): they are mainly linked to the bilinguals who worked in courts or for the Roman administration, but now they appear in private documents too, meaning that these loans could gradually but slowly exit their contexts of origin and spread in more familial settings (§5.2.3). Some of these loans had Greek equivalents, and once again we see that choice was free, not mandated (§5.2.2). In a few cases we discover that a preference for Latin could be linked to higher status and prestige, as in the case of προφεσσίων (§5.2.3). Third, a few other loans referring to architecture, trade, or commerce all confirm that the use of Latin loans was not mandated but mostly a free choice (§5.3). They also suggest that the use of loanwords could be a consequence of a drive for linguistic and cultural assimilation that started from below, a bottom-up Romanization of sorts (§5.3.1). Some of these documents indicate that the lack of a policy of imposition could have surprising results, for at least in one case the Roman administration’s preference for a Greek over a Latin word may have facilitated the spread of another loanword, κέλλα ‘room’ (§5.3.2), and a semantic restriction of Greek ταμείον – originally meaning both ‘room’ and ‘treasury’ – to refer to the treasury only

(*fiscus*). Many other examples confirm the involvement of the Roman administrative apparatus, Roman investors, perhaps even Latin teachers in the introduction of a few loans (§5.3.3, §5.3.4, §5.3.5, §5.3.6). Lastly, in the second century loanwords for textiles become a conspicuous part of the vocabulary (§5.4); their introduction process is not clearly visible, but at least two trajectories may be suggested. The first is top-down and points to the early involvement of Roman investors and the army. The other is bottom-up and points to the prestige that may have been attached to new, fashionable items of textiles with a Roman name.

Let us now reassess the three questions that this work asked of Latin loanwords. Who introduces Latin loans? The answer varies depending on the context under review, but a few elements have now become clear. For instance, we have seen that loanwords are generally introduced by a restricted and usually bilingual minority: the higher-ranking levels of the army, the military administration that manages its supply chain, the Roman provincial administration with its personnel, perhaps some Roman investors and merchants. In no case do we find the majority of the soldiers, army personnel, desert workers, or Oxyrhynchite citizens actually learning Latin and thus adopting Latin vocabulary in the process. Second, how are loanwords introduced and how do they spread? Being introduced mainly by a select minority, most Latin loanwords follow a top-down process through which they reach more and more portions of society only after having been used in the more powerful and affluent ones first; this process is faster in smaller communities and slower in larger ones. In other words, at the introductory stage loanwords are by and large retained by Latin speakers who use them in their Greek interactions rather than adopted by Greek speakers learning Latin and taking back new vocabulary in the process. Of course, after this introductory stage loanwords spread through the community and sometimes such spread may have been facilitated by Greek speakers who used and ‘adopted’ loans to identify themselves with the Romans (§5.3.1). Generally, I talk of ‘retention’ rather than ‘imposition’ – even though the terms can be equated (§1.2.1) – because ‘imposition’ may suggest a deliberate choice when in fact we have seen that no specific player or official policy governed the introduction of Latin loanwords. This point brings us to the third and final question: why are loanwords introduced and chosen or avoided? The documents suggest that in most cases there

was no precise reason. Quite simply, the people responsible for the introduction of most loans often operated in two systems, a Latin and Greek one; in this situation, some vocabulary could simply spill over from one system to the other, perhaps avoiding an uneconomical multiplication of words for single items. The transfer of vocabulary may have been due to ignorance of the corresponding Greek word, precision, and sometimes prestige too. At the opposite end, loanwords can be deliberately avoided when necessary: for instance, they are usually avoided in official translations or inscriptions, where word choices are better pondered. Only in a few cases are loanwords deliberately chosen and sometimes even preferred: mostly when they are associated with status, attainment, and culture, thus being a means of self-identification. In such cases, loanwords can represent a means of cultural assimilation to the new ruling class, thus spreading fast through those classes that aspired to a Roman acculturation. Such a bottom-up trend is residual, grows over time, and is detectable especially in the second century CE. At first Latin loanwords followed the opposite path, that of a top-down retention on the part of the new rulers.

Other papyri of Early-Roman Egypt remain open to scrutiny, especially those of the Fayum villages where so many veterans settled. Among these soldiers, the best-studied is Claudius Terentianus (c. 100–136 CE), who does not use Latin loanwords in his Greek letters, possibly confirming that the role played by veterans, even proficient bilingual ones, in the introduction of loanwords is only marginal.<sup>2</sup> But papyri from other periods may also be analysed: for instance, who introduces and uses loanwords in the fourth century, when Latin loans are most used?<sup>3</sup> And who does so in the following centuries? Many other questions related to the introduction of Latin loanwords in Greek and to the linguistic interaction of Rome with the Greek world remain open to further research. For instance, it may be fruitful to investigate Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, when Rome became involved in the Greek East. Who introduced most loanwords in this period? What is the role played by Greek-speaking Romans and that of Latin-speaking Greeks? What is the ratio between the very first loanwords and calques

---

<sup>2</sup> See J.N. Adams (2003: 446–447). The archive of Claudius Terentianus is TM Arch ID 54.

<sup>3</sup> See Dickey (2003) and (2024: §8.1.1); loanwords are most used but not actually first borrowed in this century.

or semantic extensions? Did Rome make any specific linguistic choice when it started annexing Greek-speaking areas? These and other questions are yet to be answered.



## Bibliography

- Adams, C. (2007), *Land Transport in Roman Egypt. A Study of Economics and Administration in a Roman Province*, Oxford.
- Adams, J.N. (1977), *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus*, Manchester.
- Adams, J.N. (1996), 'Interpuncts as Evidence for the Enclitic Character of Personal Pronouns in Latin', *ZPE* 111: 208–210.
- Adams, J.N. (2003), *Bilingualism and the Latin language*, Cambridge.
- Adams, J.N. (2006), 'Greek Interference in Egyptian Latin', *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics* 11: 1–4.
- Adams, J.N. (2021), *Asyndeton and its Interpretation in Latin Literature: History, Patterns, Textual Criticism*, Cambridge.
- Adams, J.N., M. Janse, and S. Swain (edd.) (2002), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, Oxford.
- Agius, D.A., J.P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (edd.) (2012), *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V. Held at the University of Exeter 16-19 September 2010*, Oxford 2010.
- Alessio, S. (2006), 'Praetorium e palatium come residenze di imperatori e governatori', *Latomus* 65: 679–689.
- Allen, W.S. (1968), *Vox Graeca. A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek*, Cambridge.
- Alonso Déniz, A. (2018), 'À propos de μυκός "muet" dans l'anthroponymie grecque', *GRBS* 58.3: 349–365.
- Alston, R. (1995), *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History*, London and New York.
- Alston, R. (1997), 'Houses and Households in Roman Egypt', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (edd.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, Portsmouth: 25–39.
- Alston, R. (1998), 'Trade and the city in Roman Egypt', in H. Parkins and C. Smith (edd.), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, London and New York: 165–198.
- Alston, R. (2002), *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London.
- Anderson, R.D., P.J. Parsons, and R.G.M. Nisbet (1979), 'Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaşr Ibrîm', *JRS* 69: 125–155.
- Andorlini, I., G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (edd.) (2001), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Firenze 23-29 agosto 1998*, Firenze 2001.
- Ast, R., and J.N. Adams (2021), 'The Latin of the Thracian Soldier Cutus', *ZPE* 218: 243–264.
- Ast, R. (2004), 'Corrections to Papyri in the Jena Collection', *ZPE* 148: 235–238.

- Aubert, J.J. (2007), 'Le vocabulaire de la fiscalité en Égypte gréco-romaine', in J. Andraeu, V. Chankowski (edd.), *Vocabulaire et expression de l'économie dans le monde antique*, Bordeaux: 385-397.
- Auer, P. (1999), 'From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech', *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3.4: 309–332.
- Backus, A. (2020), 'Code-Switching as a Reflection of Contact-Induced Change', in Grant (ed.): 193–214.
- Bagnall, R.S. (1976), *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, Leiden.
- Bagnall, R.S. (1993), *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton.
- Bagnall, R.S. (1994), 'Census Declarations from the British Library', *CE* 69: 109–126.
- Bagnall, R.S. (2007a), 'Family and Society in Roman Oxyrhynchus', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 182–193.
- Bagnall, R.S. (2007b), 'Cuvigny, H. Ostraca de Krokodilô', *BO* 64.1/2: 168–171.
- Bagnall, R.S. (2011), *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman World*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Bagnall, R.S. (2020), *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, 2nd ed., London and New York.
- Bagnall, R.S. (ed.) (1981), *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, Chico, CA.
- Bagnall, R.S. (ed.) (2009), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, New York.
- Bagnall, R.S. (ed.) (2021), *Roman Egypt. A History*, Cambridge.
- Bagnall, R.S., A. Bülow-Jacobsen, and H. Cuvigny (2001), 'Security and water on the Eastern Desert roads: the prefect Iulius Ursus and the construction of praesidia under Vespasian', *JRA* 14: 325–333.
- Bagnall, R.S., and B.W. Frier (1994), *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge.
- Bagnall, R.S., and P. Derow (2004), *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*, 2nd edn., Malden and Oxford.
- Bagnall, R.S., and R. Cribiore (2006), *Women's letters from ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800*, 1st edn., Ann Arbor.
- Bagnall, R.S., and R. Cribiore (2008), *Women's letters from ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800*, 2nd online edn., Ann Arbor. <<https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/79407z10h>>
- Bagnall, R.S., and R. Cribiore (2010), 'O.Florida inv. 21: An Amorous Triangle', *CE* 85: 213–223.
- Bailey, D.M. (2007), 'The Great Theatre', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 70–90.
- Bakker, E.J. (ed.) (2010), *A companion to the ancient Greek language*, Malden.
- Bartalucci, A. (1995), 'Prestiti latini negli originali e nelle recensioni greche degli Atti dei martiri', *Koinonía* 19: 105–124.

- Bastianini, G. (1988), 'Un ordine di scarcerazione: PBerol inv. 8997 (*ChLA* X 421)', in B.G. Mandilaras (ed.) (1988): 351–356.
- Battaglia, E. (1989), *Artos. Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci*, Milano 1989.
- Bauer, R., and U. Krischke (edd.) (2011), *More Than Words: English Lexicography and Lexicology Past and Present: Essays Presented to Hans Sauer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday – Part I*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Baur, P.V.C., M.I. Rostovtzeff, and A.R. Billinger (edd.) (1933), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work*, New Haven.
- Beekes, R.S.P. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden.
- Bell, H.I. (1946), 'Alexandria ad Aegyptum', *JRS* 36: 130–132.
- Ben Ze'ev, M.P. (2005), *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights*, Leuven.
- Benaissa, A. (2021), *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey*, 3rd edn., Leuven. <<https://www.trismegistos.org/top/>>
- Beness, J.L., and T. Hillard (2003), 'The First Romans at Philae ("CIL" 12.2.2937a)', *ZPE* 144: 203–207.
- Berger, A. (1953), *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia.
- Bernert, E. (1936), 'Nomenclator', in G. Wissowa (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart: XVII.1.817–820.
- Biezuńska-Małowist, I. (1975), 'Les citoyens romains à Oxyrhynchos aux deux premiers siècles de l'Empire', in J. Bingen, G. Cambier, and G. Nachtergaele (edd.), *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*: 741–747.
- Binder, V. (2000), *Sprachkontakt und Diglossie: lateinische Wörter im Griechischen als Quellen für die lateinische Sprachgeschichte und das Vulgärlatein*, Hamburg.
- Bingen, J., and S.O. Jensen (1994), 'Mons Claudianus. Rapport préliminaire sur la septième campagne de fouille (1993)', *BIFAO* 93: 53–66.
- Biville, F. (1992), 'Les interférences entre les lexiques grec et latin, et le Dictionnaire Étymologique de P. Chantraine', in F. Létoublon (ed.): 227–240.
- Biville, F., J.-C. Decourt, and G. Rougemont (edd.) (2008), *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie*, Lyon.
- Blouin, K. (2012), 'Between Water and Sand. Agriculture and Husbandry', in C. Riggs (ed.): 22–37.
- Bogensperger, I. (2017), 'Purple and its Various Kinds in Documentary Papyri', in S. Gaspa, C. Michel, and M.-L. Nosch (edd.): 235–249.
- Bonneau, D. (1964), *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av. - 641 ap. J.-C.) d'après les auteurs grecs et latins, et les documents des époques ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine*, Paris.

- Bonner, R.J. (1930), 'The Conflict of Languages in the Roman World', *CJ* 25.8: 579–592.
- Bonner, S.F. (1965), 'The Edict of Gratian on the Remuneration of Teachers', *AJPh* 86.2: 113–137.
- Bonner, S.F. (1977), *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*, London.
- Bowman, A.K. (2000), 'Urbanization in Roman Egypt', in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations and Failures*, Portsmouth: 173–187.
- Bowman, A.K. (2005), 'Egypt from Septimius Severus to the death of Constantine', in A.K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and A. Cameron (edd.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition, Volume XII. The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193–337*, Cambridge: 313–326.
- Bowman, A.K. (2007), 'Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 171–181.
- Bowman, A.K., and D.W. Rathbone (1992), 'Cities and administration in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 82: 107–127.
- Bowman, A.K., and E. Rogan (edd.) (1999), *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times*, Oxford.
- Bowman, A.K., and J.D. Thomas (1991), 'A Military Strength Report from Vindolanda', *JRS* 81: 62–73.
- Bowman, A.K., R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P.J. Parsons (edd.) (2007), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*, London 2007.
- Brixhe, C. (1987), *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère*, 2nd edn., Nancy.
- Brixhe, C. (2007), 'The Greek of the Roman texts', trans. G. Cox, in A.-F. Christidis (ed.): 903–910.
- Brixhe, C. (2010), 'Linguistic Diversity in Asia Minor during the Empire: Koine and Non-Greek Languages', in E.J. Bakker (ed.): 228–252.
- Brixhe, C. (ed.) (1998), *La koiné grecque antique, III : les contacts*, Nancy.
- Broneer, O. (1938), 'Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937', *Hesperia* 7.2:161–263.
- Browning, R. (1983), *Medieval and modern Greek*, 2nd edn., Cambridge.
- Bruce, F.F. (1990), *The Acts of the Apostles: the Greek text with introduction and commentary*, 3rd edn., Grand Rapids.
- Bruce, F.F. (1993), 'Acts of the Apostles', in B.M. Metzger and M.D. Coogan (edd.), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, New York: 6–10.
- Brun, J.P. (2002), '*Hodos Myshormitikè*: l'équipement de la route entre Coptos et la mer Rouge aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine', *Topoi* suppl. 3: 395–414.
- Brun, J.P. (2006), 'Chronologie de l'équipement de la route à l'époque gréco-romaine', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 187–205.

- Brun, J.P. (2018), 'Chronologie des forts des routes de Myos Hormos et de Bérénice durant la période gréco-romaine', in J.P. Brun *et al.* (edd.): 222–262. <<http://books.openedition.org/cdf/5154>>
- Brun, J.P., H. Cuvigny, and M. Reddé (2006), 'Le mystère des tours et la question des *skopeloi*', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 207–234.
- Brun, J.P., T. Faucher, B. Redon, and S. Sidebotham (edd.) (2018), *Le désert oriental d'Égypte durant la période gréco-romaine : bilans archéologiques*, Paris. <<http://books.openedition.org/cdf/5154>>
- Bruning, J. (2018), *The Rise of a Capital. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Its Hinterland: 18/639-132/750*, Leiden and Boston.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (1996), 'Archaeology and Philology on Mons Claudianus 1987–1993', *Topoi* 6.2: 721–730.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (1997), 'On Smiths and Quarries', in B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler, and G. Poethke (edd.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.-19.8. 1995*, Stuttgart and Leipzig: 139–145.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (2001), 'The Pronunciation of Greek in the Ostraca from the Eastern Desert', in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (edd.): 151–162.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (2006), 'The traffic on the road and the provisioning of the stations', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 399–426.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A., and H. Cuvigny (2007), 'Sulpicius Serenus, *procurator* Augusti, et la titulature des préfets de Bérénice', *Chiron* 37: 11–33. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 91–112.
- Bureth, P. (1964), *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. - 284 p.C.)*, Bruxelles.
- Butzer, K. (1976), *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology*, Chicago.
- Cadell, H. (1974) 'Le renouvellement du vocabulaire au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère d'après les papyrus', in E. Kiessling and H.-A. Rupprecht (edd.), *Akten des XIII. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Munich: 61–68
- Cameron, A. (1931), 'Latin words in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor', *AJP* 52: 232–262.
- Cameron, A. (1965), 'Roman School Fees', *CR* 15. 3: 257–258.
- Campanile, E. (1971), 'Due studi sul latino volgare', *L'Italia dialettale* 34: 1–64.
- Campanile, E. (1989), 'Le lingue dell'impero', in E. Gabba and A. Schiavone (edd.), *Storia di Roma IV: Caratteri e morfologie*, Torino: 679–691.
- Campanile, E. (1991), 'Limiti e caratteri del bilinguismo romano', in [no ed.], *Il bilinguismo degli antichi*, Genova: 9–23.
- Capponi, L. (2005), *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province*, New York.

- Capponi, L. (2010), 'Spaces of Justice in Roman Egypt', in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World*, Leiden and Boston: 251–276.
- Capponi, L. (2011), *Roman Egypt*, London.
- Cardon, D., H. Granger-Taylor, and W. Nowik (2011), 'What did they look like? Fragments of clothing found at Didymoi', in H. Cuvigny (ed.), *Didymoi. Une garnison romaine dans le desert Oriental d'Égypte*, vol. I, *Les fouilles et le matériel*, Le Caire.
- Cardoso, A.B. (1959–1960), 'Particularidades do grego do Novo Testamento', *Humanitas* 11–12: 145–155.
- Cassio, A.C. (ed.) (2016), *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*, 2nd edn, Firenze.
- Casson, L. (1989), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton.
- Cavallo, G. (2008), *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*, Pisa and Roma.
- Cavenaile, R. (1948), *Le latin d'Égypte et son influence sur le grec*, dissertation from the Université de Liège.
- Cavenaile, R. (1951), 'Influence latine sur le vocabulaire grec d'Égypte', *CE* 26: 391–404.
- Cavenaile, R. (1952), 'Quelques aspects de l'apport linguistique du grec au latin d'Égypte', *Aegyptus* 32: 191–203.
- Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, I.M. (1996), *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens*, I: A, Vienna.
- Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, I.M. (2000), *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens*, II: B–A, Vienna.
- Chantraine, P. (1937), 'Quelques emprunts du grec au latin', *REL* 15: 88–91.
- Chiranky, G. (1982), 'Rome and Cotys: Two Problems', *Athenaeum* 60: 461–481.
- Christidis, A.-F. (ed.) (2007), *A history of Ancient Greek: from the beginnings to late antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Clarysse, W. (1997), 'Greek accents on Egyptian names', *ZPE* 119: 177–184.
- Clarysse, W., and P.J. Sijpesteijn (1988), 'A military roster on a vase in Amsterdam', *AncSoc* 19: 71–96.
- Clyne, M. (2003), *Dynamics of language contact*, Cambridge.
- Cockle, W.E.H. (1984), 'State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimius Severus', *JEA* 70: 106–122.
- Coleman, R.G.G. (2007), 'Greek and Latin', in A.-F. Christidis (ed.) 792–799.
- Coles, R.A. (1974), *Location-list of the Oxyrhynchus papyri and of other Greek papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society*, London.
- Coles, R.A. (2007), 'Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts', in A.K. Boeman *et al.* (edd.): 3–16.
- Costas, P.S. (1936), *An outline of the history of the Greek language, with particular emphasis on the koine and the subsequent periods*, Chicago.

- Coudry, M. (2016), 'Institutions et procédures politiques de la République romaine: les choix lexicaux de Cassius Dion', in V. Fromentin, E. Bertrand, M. Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. Molin, and G. Urso (edd.), *Cassius Dion: nouvelles lectures*, Bordeaux: II 485–518.
- Crawford, M.H. (1974), *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge.
- Cribiore, R. (1996), *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta.
- Cribiore, R. (2001), *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton and Oxford.
- Cribiore, R. (2007), 'The Schools', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 287–295.
- Crystal, D. (2008), *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th edn., Malden and Oxford.
- Curnow, T. J. (2001), 'What language features can be borrowed?', in A.Y. Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon (edd.), *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: problems in comparative linguistics*, Oxford : 412–436.
- Cuvigny, H. (1992), 'Inscription inédite d'un ἐργοδότης dans une carrière du Mons Claudianus', in C. Décobert (ed.), *Itinéraires d'Égypte. Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin s.j.*, Cairo: 73–88. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 147–163.
- Cuvigny, H. (1994), 'Un ostracon inédit du désert Oriental et la provenance de O.Amst. 9', in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen 1994)*, Copenhagen: 229–230 and pl. 11. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 223–226.
- Cuvigny, H. (1996a), 'The amount of wages paid to the quarry-workers at Mons Claudianus', *JRS* 86: 139–145. Reprinted in H. Cuvigny (2021): 165–173.
- Cuvigny, H. (1996b), 'Ulpus Himerus, procurateur imperial. (*I.Pan.* 53)', *BIFAO* 96: 91–101. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 81–90.
- Cuvigny, H. (1998), 'Kainè, ville nouvelle: une expérience de regroupement familial au IIe s. è.chr.', in O.E. Kaper (ed.): 87–94. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 227–232.
- Cuvigny, H. (2002a), 'Vibius Alexander, *praefectus* et épistratège de l'Heptanomie', *CE* 77: 238–248. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 117–125.
- Cuvigny, H. (2002b), 'Remarques sur l'emploi de ἴδιος dans le praescriptum épistolaire', *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 143–153. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 561–570.
- Cuvigny, H. (2005), 'L'organigramme du personnel d'une carrière impériale d'après un ostracon du Mons Claudianus', *Chiron* 35: 309–353. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 181–212.
- Cuvigny, H. (2006a), 'Introduction', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 1–35.
- Cuvigny, H. (2006b), 'Les documents écrits de la route de Myos Hormos à l'époque gréco-romaine (inscriptions, graffiti, papyrus, ostraca)', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 265–294.
- Cuvigny, H. (2006c), 'Le fonctionnement du réseau', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 295–359.
- Cuvigny, H. (2006d), 'La société civile des *praesidia*', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 361–397.

- Cuvigny, H. (2006e), ‘Corrigenda’, in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 689–694. Partly reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 375–377.
- Cuvigny, H. (2008), ‘Χίλωμα = MUsETTE’, *ZPE* 166: 195–198. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 585–589.
- Cuvigny, H. (2009) ‘The Finds of Papyri: The Archaeology of Papyrology,’ in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, New York: 30–58.
- Cuvigny, H. (2010a), ‘Femmes tournantes: remarques sur la prostitution dans les garnisons romaines du désert de Bérénice’, *ZPE* 172: 159–166. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 379–387.
- Cuvigny, H. (2010b), ‘The shrine in the *praesidium* of Dios (Eastern Desert of Egypt): Graffiti and Oracles in Context’, *Chiron* 40: 245–299. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 479–526.
- Cuvigny, H. (2013), ‘Hommes et dieux en réseau : bilan papyrologique du programme « praesidia du désert oriental égyptien »’, *CRAI*: 405–442. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 299–322.
- Cuvigny, H. (2014a), ‘Papyrological Evidence on “Barbarians” in the Egyptian Eastern Desert’, in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (edd.): 165–198. Reprinted in H. Cuvigny (2021): 415–437.
- Cuvigny, H. (2014b), ‘Le système routier du désert Oriental égyptien sous le Haut-Empire à la lumière des ostraca trouvés en fouille’, in J. France and J. Nelis-Clément (edd.), *La statio. Archéologie d’un lieu de pouvoir dans l’empire romain*, Bordeaux: 247–278. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 233–260.
- Cuvigny, H. (2016), ‘Un type méconnu de document administratif militaire: la demande de versement de *frumentum praeteritum* (O. Claud. inv. 7235 et *Ch.L.A.* XVIII 662)’, in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, and J. Urbanik (edd.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology: Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013*, Warsaw: 931–941. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 355–363.
- Cuvigny, H. (2017), ‘Τρισυγούστιον et φραγέλλιον. Contrôle de qualité et mesurage du grain fiscal au IVe s. apr. J.-C. à la lumière de P.Mich. XX 800 et de l’inscription tardive du grenier d’Andriakè (Grégoire, Recueil 290)’, *Chiron* 47: 95–114.
- Cuvigny, H. (2018a), ‘Les ostraca sont-ils solubles dans l’histoire?’, *Chiron* 48: 193–217. Reprinted and trans. in H. Cuvigny (2021): 597–615.
- Cuvigny, H. (2018b), ‘La toponymie du désert Oriental égyptien sous le Haut-Empire d’après les ostraca et les inscriptions’, in J.P. Brun, T. Faucher, B. Redon, and S. Sidebotham (edd.) (2018): 145–221. <<http://books.openedition.org/cdf/5154>>
- Cuvigny, H. (2021), *Rome in Egypt’s Eastern Desert*, ed. R.S. Bagnall, 2 vols., New York.

- Cuvigny, H. (ed.) (2006), *La route de Myos Hormos : L'armée dans le désert Oriental d'Égypte*, 2nd edn., Cairo.
- Cuvigny, H. (ed.) (2011), *Didymoi. Une garnison romaine dans le desert Oriental d'Égypte*, vol. I, *Les fouilles et le matériel*, Le Caire.
- Czajkowski, K. (2017), *Localized Law: The Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives*, Oxford.
- Dabrowa, E. (1986), 'Cohortes Ituraeorum,' *ZPE* 63: 221–230.
- Daniel, R.W. (2010), *Architectural Orientation in the Papyri*, Paderborn.
- Daris, S. (1960), 'Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto', *Aegyptus* 40: 177–314.
- Daris, S. (1962), 'Varia Selecta. Note a P. Oxy. IV 812, P. Fuad. 85, P. Hamb. I 31, SB IV 7362, W. Chrest. 367.,' *Aegyptus*, 42: 136–140.
- Daris, S. (1971), *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, 1st edn., Barcelona.
- Daris, S. (1991a), *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, 2nd edn., Barcelona.
- Daris, S. (1991b), 'Latino ed Egitto romano', in [no ed.], *Il bilinguismo degli antichi*, Genova: 47–81.
- Daris, S. (2000a), 'Legio II Traiana', in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (edd.): 359–363.
- Daris, S. (2000b), 'Legio XXII Deiotariana', in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (edd.): 365–367.
- Daris, S. (2000c), 'I quartieri di Ossirinco: materiali e note', *ZPE* 132: 211–221.
- Darquennes, J., J.C. Salmons, and W. Vandebussche (edd.) (2019), *Language Contact: An International Handbook I*, Berlin.
- De Meo, C. (2005), *Lingue tecniche del latino*, 3rd edn., Bologna.
- De Rosalia, A. (1991), 'Il latino di Plutarco', in G. D'Ippolito and I. Gallo (edd.), *Strutture formali dei 'Moralia' di Plutarco*, Naples: 445–459.
- Delmaire, R. (1989), *Largesses sacrées et res privata : L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle*, Rome.
- Dent, A.A. (1972), *Donkey: The story of the ass from east to west*, London.
- Depauw, M., and J.V. Stolk (2015), 'Linguistic Variation in Greek Papyri: Towards a New Tool for Quantitative Study', *GRBS* 55: 196–220.
- Derda, T., A. Łajtar, and T. Płóciennik (2015), 'Three Lists of Soldiers on Papyrus Found in Qasr Ibrim', in A. Tomas (ed.), *Ad fines imperii Romani. Studia Thaddaeo Sarnowski septuagenario ab amicis, collegis discipulisque dedicata*, Warszawa: 47–57.
- Di Renzo, A. (2000), 'His Master's Voice: Tiro and the Rise of the Roman Secretarial Classo', *Journal of Technical Writing & Communication* 30.2: 155–168.
- Dickey, E. (2003), 'Latin influence on the Greek of documentary papyri: an analysis of its chronological distribution', *ZPE* 145: 249–257.
- Dickey, E. (2003b), 'Review: Ancient Bilingualism', *JRS* 93: 295–302.
- Dickey, E. (2009), 'The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri,' in R. Bagnall (ed.): 149–169.
- Dickey, E. (2012–2015) *The colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, Cambridge.

- Dickey, E. (2012), 'Latin loanwords in Greek: a preliminary analysis', in M. Leiwo, H. Hallaaho, and M. Vierros (edd.), *Variation and change in Greek and Latin*, Helsinki: 57–70.
- Dickey, E. (2018), 'What is a loanword? The case of Latin borrowings and codeswitches in ancient Greek', *Lingue e Linguaggio* 17: 7–36.
- Dickey, E. (2024), *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek: A Lexicon and Analysis*, Cambridge.
- Dieterich, K. (1898), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache: von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Leipzig.
- Diethart, J. (2008), 'Beobachtungen zu den lateinischen Zeitwörtern im Griechischen', in E. Trapp and S. Schönauer (edd.): 15–36.
- Dietze-Mager, G. (2009), 'Der Begriff κολων(ε)ια in den Ägyptischen Papyri', *AncSoc* 39: 111–120.
- Dijkstra, J.H.F., and G. Fisher (edd.) (2014), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Leuven.
- Dirscherl, H.-C. (2002), *Der Gaustrategie im römischen Ägypten: seine Aufgaben am Beispiel des Archiv-, Finanz- und Bodenwesens und der Liturgien: Entstehung, Konsolidierung, Niedergang? : 30 v. Chr.-300 n. Chr.*, St. Katharinen.
- Dittenberger, W. (1872), 'Römische Namen in griechischen Inschriften und Literaturwerken', *Hermes* 6: 129–55, 281–313.
- Dolganov, A. (2020), 'A new date for the Oxyrhynchite epitome of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos', *Chiron* 50: 167–188.
- Dolganov, A. (2022), 'Imperialism and Social Engineering: Augustan Social Legislation in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos', *Klio* 104: 1–39.
- Döttling, C. (1920), *Die Flexionsformen lateinischer Nomina in den griechischen Papyri und Inschriften*, Lausanne.
- Drexhage, H.-J. (1991), *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, St. Katharinen.
- Droß-Krüpe, K. (2017), 'Χιτών – δαλματική – μαφόρτης – σύνθεσις: Common and Uncommon Garment Terms in Dowry Arrangements from Roman Egypt', in S. Gaspa, C. Michel, and M.-L. Nosch (edd.): 295–300.
- Droß-Krüpe, K. (2020), 'How (not) to organise Roman textile production. Some considerations on merchant-entrepreneurs in Roman Egypt and the ἰστωνάρχης', in M. Mossakowska-Gaubert (ed.): 128–138.
- Du Cange, C.D. (1883–7), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort.
- Dubuisson, M. (1979), 'Le latin des historiens grecs', *Les Études Classiques* 47: 89–106.
- Dubuisson, M. (1985), *Le latin de Polybe : les implications historiques d'un cas de bilinguisme*, Paris.

- Dubuisson, M. (1992), 'Le contact linguistique gréco-latin: problèmes d'interférences et d'emprunts', *Lalies* 10: 91–109.
- Durand, C. (2012), 'Crossing the Red Sea: the Nabataeans in the Egyptian Eastern Desert', in D.A. Agius *et al.* (edd.): 85–90.
- Durkin, P. (2009), *The Oxford guide to etymology*, Oxford.
- Durkin, P. (2014), *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*, Oxford.
- Eckinger, T. (1892), *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften*, München.
- Eckstein, A.M. (2008), *Rome Enters the Greek East. From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230–170 BC*, Malden.
- Edgar, C.C. (1926), 'Fragments of papyri from Oxyrhynchos', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 26: 203–210.
- Ehrenstrasser, I. (1994), 'Schafe in Hosen? Die lateinischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens. Ein Forschungsprojekt', *Biblos* 43.1–2: 103–109.
- Eich, P. (2003), 'Die Administratoren des römischen Ägyptens', in R. Haensch and J. Heinrichs (edd.), *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Köln, Weimar, and Wien: 378–399.
- Eilers, C. (2002), *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford.
- Elmaghrabi, M.G. (2012), 'Two Letters Exchanged between the Roman Forts of Dios and Xeron (Eastern Desert of Egypt) concerning a mulokopion', *BIFAO* 112: 139–146.
- Epps, P., and D. Law (2019), 'Contact-induced semantic change', in J. Darquennes, J.C. Salmons, and W. Vandebussche (edd.): 38–52.
- Evans, T.V., and D.D. Obbink (edd.) (2010), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford.
- Eyre, C.J. (1994), 'The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt', *JEA* 80: 57–80.
- Famerie, É. (1998), *Le latin et le grec d'Appien*, Geneva.
- Famerie, É. (1999), 'La transposition de *quaestor* en grec', *AC* 68: 211–225.
- Faoro, D. (2016), *I prefetti d'Egitto da Augusto a Commodo*, Bologna.
- Färber, R. (2012), 'Die Amtssitze der Stadtpräfekten im spätantiken Rom und Konstantinopel', in F. Arnold, A. Busch, R. Haensch, and U. Wulf-Rheidt (edd.), *Orte der Herrschaft: Charakteristika von antiken Machtzentren, Menschen - Kulturen - Traditionen*, Vol. 3. Rahden.
- Field, F.W. (2002), *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Contexts*, Amsterdam.
- Filos, P. (2006), 'On some Latin univerbations in Greek', *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics*, 11: 43–61.
- Filos, P. (2008), *Studies in the morphology of Latin loanwords into Greek: evidence from the papyri*, dissertation from Oxford University.

- Filos, P. (2010), 'Greek papyri and Graeco–Latin hybrid compounds', in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (edd.), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford: 221–252.
- Filos, P. (2014) 'Latin loanwords in Greek', in G.K. Giannakis (ed.) (2014), *Encyclopedia of ancient Greek language and linguistics*, Leiden: II.320–323.
- Filos, P. (2019) 'Aspects of folk etymology in ancient Greek: insights from common nouns', in G.K. Giannakis, C. Charalambakis, F. Montanari, and A. Rengakos (edd.), *Studies in Greek Lexicography*, Berlin: 159–181.
- Fischer-Bovet, C. (2014), *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge.
- Flaubert, P. (2005), 'Le latin des ostraca du Mons Claudianus', in S. Kiss, L. Mondin, and G. Salvi (edd.), *Latin et langues romanes : études de linguistique offertes à József Herman à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire*, Tübingen: 253–256.
- Fournet, J.-L. (2006), 'Langues, écritures et culture dans les *praesidia*', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 427–500.
- Fournet, J.-L. (2009a), 'The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.): 418–451.
- Fournet, J.-L. (2009b), 'Esquisse d'une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d'après les papyrus', in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier (edd.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international, université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 20-22 novembre 2003*, Lyon: 23–66.
- Fournet, J.-L., and K.A. Worp (2013), 'Nouvelle édition des « Tablettes Batissier ». Un témoignage méconnu des fouilles de Mariette au Sérapéum ?', *BIFAO* 113: 143–156.
- Fournet, J.-L., and S. Russo (2016), 'La culture matérielle dans les papyrus: une nouvelle entreprise lexicographique', in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, and J. Urbanik (edd.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology: Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013*, Warsaw: 1393–1413.
- Frasca, R. (1999), 'Il profilo sociale e professionale del maestro di scuola e del maestro d'arte tra repubblica e alto impero', in G. Firpo and G. Zecchini (edd.), *Magister: aspetti culturali e istituzionali. Atti del Convegno, Chieti, 13–14 novembre 1997*, Alessandria.
- Fraser, P.M. (2009), *Greek Ethnic Terminology*, Oxford.
- Freeman, E.A. (1883), 'Some points in the later history of the Greek language', *JHS* 3: 361–392.
- Freyburger-Galland, M.-L. (1984), 'Quelques exemples de l'emprunt linguistique du grec au latin dans le vocabulaire politique de Dion Cassius', *Ktéma* 9: 329–337.
- Freyburger-Galland, M.-L. (1992), 'Dion Cassius et l'étymologie: auctoritas et Augustus', *REG* 105: 237–246.
- Freyburger-Galland, M.-L. (1997), *Aspects du vocabulaire politique et institutionnel de Dion Cassius*, Paris.

- Freyburger-Galland, M.-L. (1998), 'Dion Cassius: problèmes morphologiques posés par les emprunts du grec au latin', in C. Brixhe (ed.): 137–144.
- Frier, B.W., and T.A.J. McGinn (2004), *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, New York.
- Gallazzi, C. (1989), 'Un nuovo frammento del vaso di Amsterdam *O.Amst.* 8', *AncSoc* 20: 185–192.
- Gallazzi, C. (2009), 'P.Narm. inv. 66.72a verso: frammento di pianta', *APF* 55.2: 271–278.
- Garcea, A. (2019), 'Latin in Byzantium: different forms of linguistic contact', in A. Garcea, M. Rosellini, and L. Silvano (edd.): 43–70.
- Garcea, A., M. Rosellini, and L. Silvano (edd.) (2019), *Latin in Byzantium, I: late antiquity and beyond*, Turnhout.
- García Domingo, E. (1979), *Latinismos en la koiné: en los documentos epigráficos desde el 212 a J.C. hasta el 14 d. J.C.*, Burgos.
- García Domingo, E. (1983) 'La penetración del latín en el griego: panorámica desde el siglo VIII a. J. C. hasta el siglo IV d. J. C.', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* 18: 249–289.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009), *Code-Switching*, Cambridge.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2010), 'Contact and Code-Switching', in Hickey (ed.): 188–207.
- Gardner-Chloros (2020), 'Contact and Code-Switching', in Hickey (ed.): 181–199.
- Gaspa, S., C. Michel, and M.-L. Nosch (edd.) (2017), *Textile terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, Lincoln, Nebraska. <<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/zeabook/56/>>
- Gatier, P.-L. (2000), 'La *legio III Cyrenaica* et l'Arabie', in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (edd.): 340–349.
- Geraci, G (1971), 'Ricerche sul Proskynema', *Aegyptus* 51.1/4: 3–211.
- Geraci, G. (2001), 'Le dichiarazioni di nascita e di morte a Roma e nelle province', *MEFRA* 113: 675–711.
- Geraci, G., and L. Criscuolo (edd.) (1989), *Egitto e storia antica*, Bologna.
- Ghiretti, E. (1996), 'Note sul bilinguismo greco-latino dell'Egitto romano', *Aevum Antiquum* 9: 275–298.
- Giannakis, G.K. (ed.) (2014), *Encyclopedia of ancient Greek language and linguistics*, Leiden.
- Gignac, F.T. (1976), *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, I: Phonology*, Milano.
- Gignac, F.T. (1981), *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, II: Morphology*, Milano.
- Gilliam, J.F. (1961), 'Ala Agrippiana and Archistator', *CPh* 56.2: 100–103.
- Gilliam, J.F. (1971), 'The Sale of a Slave through a Greek Diploma', *JJP* 16/17: 63–70.
- Glancy, J.A. (2002), *Slavery in early Christianity*, Oxford.

- Goebel, H., P. Nelde, Z. Starý & W. Wölck (edd.) (1996), *Kontaktlinguistik / Contact Linguistics / Linguistique de contact I*, Berlin and New York.
- Goetz, G. (1888–1923), *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, Leipzig.
- Grant, A.P. (ed.) (2020), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Contact*, Oxford.
- Grohmann, A. (1932), ‘Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Aegypten’, *CE* 7: 275–284.
- Grosjean, F. (1982), *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Grosjean, F. (2021), *Life as a Bilingual: Knowing and Using Two or More Languages*, Cambridge.
- Grossman, E., P. Dils, T. S. Richter, and W. Schenkel (edd.) (2017), *Greek influence on Egyptian-Coptic: contact-induced change in an ancient African language*, Hamburg.
- Gruen, E.S. (1984), *The Hellenistic world and the coming of Rome*, Berkeley and London.
- Guéraud, O. (1942), ‘Ostraca grecs et latins de l’Wâdi Fawâkhir’, *BIFAO* 41: 141–196.
- Guéraud, O. (1950), ‘Un vase ayant contenu un échantillon de blé (deigma)’, *JJP* 4: 107–115.
- Guy, G. (1990), ‘The sociolinguistic types of language change’, *Diachronica* 7: 47–67.
- Haensch, R. (1997), *Capita Provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Hahn, L. (1906), *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache. Bis auf die Zeit Hadrians*, Leipzig.
- Hahn, L. (1907), ‘Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich bis auf die Zeit Justinians’, *Philologus* suppl. 10: 678–718.
- Halla-aho, H. (2018), ‘Scribes in Private Letter Writing’, in J. Cromwell and E. Grossman (edd.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford.
- Hanson, A.E. (1979), ‘P. Mich. inv. 1933: Accounts of a textile establishment’, *BASP* 16.1/2: 75–83.
- Harden, D.B. (1936), *Roman glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924-29*, Ann Arbor.
- Harker, A. (2008), *Loyalty and dissidence in Roman Egypt. The case of the Acta Alexandrinorum*, Cambridge.
- Harrell, J.A. (2002), ‘Pharaonic Stone Quarries in the Egyptian Deserts’, in R. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert*, London: 232–243.
- Haspelmath, M. (2008), ‘Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability’, in T. Stolz, D. Bakker, and R. Salas Palomo (edd.): 43–62.
- Haspelmath, M. (2009), ‘Lexical borrowing: concepts and issues’, in M. Haspelmath and U. Tadmor (edd.): 35–54.

- Haspelmath, M., and U. Tadmor (2009b), 'The loanword typology project and the world loanword database', in M. Haspelmath and U. Tadmor (edd.): 1–34.
- Haspelmath, M., and U. Tadmor (edd.) (2009a), *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*, Berlin.
- Hatzfeld, J. (1919), *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique*, Paris.
- Haugen, E. (1950), 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', *Language* 26: 210–231.
- Haugen, E. (1953), *The Norwegian language in America*, Philadelphia.
- Haugen, E. (1958), 'Language contact', in E. Siversten (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists*, Oslo: 772–785.
- Haverfield, F. (1916), 'Modius Claytonensis: The Roman Bronze Measure from Carvoran', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3rd ser. 13: 85–102.
- Heller, M., and C.W. Pfaff (1996), 'Code-switching', in H. Goebel, P.H. Nelde, Z. Starý, and W. Wölck (edd.): 594–609.
- Hering, J. (1935), *Lateinisches bei Appian*, dissertation from Universität Leipzig.
- Hickey, R. (ed.) (2010), *The Handbook of Language Contact*, 1st edn., Chichester.
- Hickey, R. (ed.) (2020), *The Handbook of Language Contact*, 2nd edn., Hoboken.
- Hilgers, W. (1969), *Lateinische Gefäßnamen. Bezeichnungen Funktion und Form römischer Gefäße nach den antiken Schriftquellen*, Bonn.
- Hilhorst, A. (1976), *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le pasteur d'Herma*, Nijmegen.
- Hirt, A.M. (2010), *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World*, Oxford.
- Hofmann, H. (1989), *Die lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n. Chr.*, dissertation from Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.
- Hohlwein, N. (1957), 'Le vétérân Lucius Bellienus Gemellus, gentleman-farmer au Fayoum', *Études de papyrologie* 8: 69–91.
- Horrocks, G. (2010), *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers*, 2nd edn, Malden.
- Horsley, G.H.R. (1983), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Vol. 3, North Ryde.
- Huetz de Lemps, A. (2001), *Boissons et civilisations en Afrique*, Bordeaux.
- Husson, G. (1983), *OIKIA : Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris.
- Jackson, J. (1974), 'Language Identity of the Colombian Vaupés Indians', in R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (edd.), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, 2nd edn., Cambridge: 50–64.
- Johnson, A.C. (1936), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Vol. II. Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Baltimore.
- Jones, A.H.M. (1974), *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* edited by P.A. Brunt, Oxford.
- Joseph, B.D., and R.D. Janda (edd.) (2003), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Malden.

- Kaczko, S. (2016), 'La koiné', in A.C. Cassio (ed.): 385–423.
- Kahane, H., and R. Kahane (1972–1976), 'Abendland und Byzanz: Literatur und Sprache. Westliche Einflüsse in Byzanz', in P. Wirth (ed.), *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, Amsterdam: I.V.499–I.VI.639.
- Kahane, H., and R. Kahane (1982), 'The Western impact on Byzantium: the linguistic evidence', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36: 127–153.
- Kaimio, J. (1979a), *The Romans and the Greek language*, Helsinki.
- Kaimio, J. (1979b), 'Latin in Roman Egypt', in *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrology*, Brussels: III 27–33.
- Kalb, W. (1888), *Das Juristenlatein. Versuch einer Charakteristik auf Grundlage der Digesten*, Nürnberg.
- Kaper, O.E. (ed.) (1998), *Life on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and early-Byzantine Periods*, Leiden.
- Katsanis, N. (2007), 'Greek and Latin: evidence from the modern Greek dialects', in A.-F. Christidis (ed.) 800–804.
- Katzoff, R. (1996), 'The Latin texts', in B. Porten (ed.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, Leiden: 608–609.
- Kayser, F. (1990), 'Les "statores" en Égypte', *BIFAO* 90: 241–246.
- Kearsley, R.A., and T.V. Evans (2001), *Greeks and Romans in imperial Asia: mixed language inscriptions and linguistic evidence for cultural interaction until the end of AD III*, Bonn.
- Keenan, J.G. (2009), 'The History of the Discipline', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.): 59–78.
- Keenan, J.G., J.G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (edd.) (2014), *Law and legal practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab conquest: a selection of papyrological sources in translation, with introductions and commentary*, Cambridge.
- Kehoe, D.P. (1992), *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire*, Bonn.
- Kloppenborg, J.S. (2006), *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine*, Tübingen.
- Kniepkamp, R. (1970), 'Ὁ καρπός in den Papyri', dissertation from Universität zu Köln.
- Kolb, A. (ed.) (2018), *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life*, Berlin and Boston.
- Kornexl, L., and U. Lenker (2011), 'Culinary and other pairs: lexical borrowing and conceptual differentiation in early English food terminology', in Bauer and Krischke (edd.): 179–206.
- Koroli, A. (2020), 'Textile production in the papyri: the case of private request letters', in Mossakowska-Gaubert, M. (ed.), *Egyptian Textiles and Their Production: 'Word' and 'Object' (Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods)*, Lincoln, Nebraska: 116–127.

- Kramer, J. (1998) ‘Von der “Lex Wackernagel” zur “Lex Clarysse”’: zur Akzentuierung der Latinismen im Griechischen’, *ZPE* 123: 129–134.
- Kramer, J. (2001), ‘Zur Akzentuierung lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Papyri’, in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (edd.), *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Firenze: II.753–761.
- Kramer, J. (2011), *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, Berlin.
- Krüger, J. (1990), *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Kruse, T. (2002), *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung: Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30. v. Chr.-245 n. Chr.)*, 2 vols., München.
- Kruse, T. (2018), ‘The Transport of Goods through the Eastern Desert of Egypt. The Archive of the “Camel Driver” Nikanor’, in B. Woytek (ed.): 369–380.
- Kunkel, W. (1967), *Herkunft und Soziale Stellung der Römischen Juristen*, Graz, Wien, and Köln.
- Labov, W. (2001), *Principles of Linguistic Change: Volume 2, Social Factors*, Malden and Oxford.
- Laes, C. (2007), ‘School-Teachers in the Roman Empire: A Survey of the Epigraphical Evidence’, *AClass* 50: 109-127.
- Lafoscade, L. (1892), ‘Influence du latin sur le grec’, in J. Psichari (ed.), *Études de philologie néo-grecque : recherches sur le développement historique du grec*, Paris: 83–158.
- Langslow, D.R. (2012a), ‘The language of Polybius since Foucault and Dubuisson’, in C. Smith and L.M. Yarrow (edd.), *Imperialism, cultural politics, and Polybius*, Oxford: 85–110.
- Langslow, D.R. (2012b), ‘Typologies of translation techniques in Greek and Latin: Latin *elticis* : *catelticis* = Greek ἐλτικὴ : κάθεκτικὴ’, in A. Mullen and P. James (edd.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman worlds*, Cambridge: 141–171.
- Lauffer, S. (1971), *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin.
- Laumonier (1937), ‘Recherches sur la chronologie des prêtres de Panamara’ *BCH* 61, 1937, 236-298.
- LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books, <[www.trismegistos.org/ldab](http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab)>
- Le Bohec, Y., and C. Wolff (edd.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris.
- Leiwo, M. (2018), ‘Multilingual Military Forts in Roman Egypt’, *Lingue antiche e moderne* 7: 165–190.
- Leiwo, M., H. Halla-aho, and M. Vierros (edd.) (2012), *Variation and change in Greek and Latin*, Helsinki.
- Lesquier, J. (1918), *L’armée romaine d’Égypte d’Auguste à Dioclétien*, Paris.
- Létoublon, F. (ed.) (1992), *La langue et les textes en grec ancien: actes du colloque Pierre Chantraine*, Amsterdam.

- Lewis, N. (1965), 'A new document on the *magister rei privatae*', *JJP* 15: 157–161.
- Lewis, N. (1981), 'Notationes legentis', *BASP* 18.1/2: 73–81.
- Lewis, N. (1989), 'A Roman Law of Hellenistic Origin?', in F.J. Fernández Nieto (ed.), *Symposion 1982: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Santander, 1.-4. September 1982)*, Köln.
- Lewis, N. (1997), *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, 2nd edition, Firenze.
- Lewis, N. (2003), *Shorthand Writers, Comunicazioni Vitelli* 5: 19–27.
- Łukaszewicz, A. (2018), *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine. Problèmes administratifs et financiers*, 2nd edn., Warsaw.
- MacMullen, R. (1963), *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Maehler, H. (1983), 'Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayûm in der Kaiserzeit', in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions. Trier, 26.-30. September 1978*, Mainz am Rhein: 119–137.
- Magie, D. (1905), *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*, Lipsiae.
- Mandilaras, B.G. (1988), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology: Athens 25-31 May 1986*, 2 vols., Athens.
- Mangerud, J. (2019), 'Who was the wife of Pompeius Niger?', in A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar (edd.), *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology. Barcelona 1–6 August 2016*, Barcelona: 563–570.
- Maravela, A., and J. Mangerud (2019), 'A Point of Contact Between the Archives of Pompeius Niger and of Tryphon the Weaver?', *APF* 65.2: 317–332.
- Marin, D. (1969), 'Dionisio di Alicarnasso e il latino', in J. Bibauw (ed), *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, Bruxelles: 595–607.
- Marotta, V. (2014), 'Egizi e cittadinanza romana', *Cultura giuridica e diritto vivente* 1: 1–21.
- Martin, A. (1989), 'Praetoria as Provincial Governors' Palaces', in M. Piérart and O. Curty (edd.), *Historia Testis: Mélanges d'épigraphie, d'histoire ancienne et de philologie offerts à Tadeusz Zawadzki*, Fribourg: 229–240.
- Martin, A. (2007), 'The Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 40–49.
- Marucci, C. (1993), 'Influssi latini sul greco del nuovo testamento', *Filologia neotestamentaria* 6: 3–30.
- Maryks, R.A. (2000), 'I latinismi del Nuovo Testamento in relazione alla letteratura greca e alle iscrizioni (II sec. a.C.-II sec. d.C.)', *Filologia neotestamentaria* 13: 23–33.
- Mason, H. (1970), 'The Roman government in Greek sources: the effect of literary theory on the translation of official titles', *Phoenix* 24: 150–159.
- Mason, H. (1974), *Greek terms for Roman institutions: a lexicon and analysis*, Toronto.

- Matras, Y. (2007), 'The borrowability of structural categories', in Y. Matras and J. Sakel (edd.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*, Berlin: 31–73.
- Matras, Y. (2020), *Language contact*, 2nd edn., Cambridge.
- Matthews, J. (2006), *The journey of Theophanes: travel, business, and daily life in the Roman east*, New Haven and London.
- Mattingly, D.J., and J. Salmon (edd.) (2001), *Economies Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World*, London and New York.
- Maxfield, V.A. (2001), 'Stone quarrying in the Eastern Desert with particular reference to Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites', in D.J. Mattingly and J. Salmon (edd.): 143–170.
- Maxfield, V.A., and D.P.S. Peacock (edd.) (2006), *Survey and Excavation. Mons Claudianus: Volume III: Ceramic Vessels & Related Objects*, Le Caire.
- Mayerson, P. (2003), 'The κύκελλον Artab Measure Equals Five Modii Xysti?', *BASP* 40: 179–185.
- Meillet, A. (1930), *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, 3rd edn., Paris.
- Meinersmann, B. (1927), *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig.
- Menci, G. (1992), 'Il commentario tachigrafico', in A.H.S. El-Mosalamy (ed.), *Proceedings of The XIX International Congress of Papyrology: Cairo 2 - 9 September 1989*, Cairo: 205–215.
- Menci, G. (2001), 'Latinismi nei papiri tachigrafici', in M. Capasso and S. Pernigotti (edd.), *Studium atque urbanitas: Miscellanea in onore di Sergio Daris*, Lecce: 277–295.
- Mentz, M. (1894), *De magistratuum Romanorum Graecis appellationibus*, Ienae.
- Meredith, D. (1953), 'Annius Plocamus: two inscriptions from the Berenice road', *JRS* 43: 38–40.
- Meyer, G. (1895) 'Neugriechische Studien, III: Die lateinischen Lehnworte im Neugriechischen', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 132: 1–77.
- Migliardi Zingale, L. (1982), 'Note a nuovi documenti testamentari romani', *Anagennesis* 2: 109–129.
- Migliardi Zingale, L. (1992), *Vita privata e vita pubblica nei papiri d'Egitto. Silloge di documenti greci e latini dal I al IV secolo d.C.*, Torino.
- Migliardi Zingale, L. (1997), *I testamenti romani nei papiri e nelle tavolette d'Egitto. Silloge di documenti dal I al IV secolo d.C.*, 3rd edn., Torino.
- Mihăescu, H. (1993), *La romanité dans le sud-est de l'Europe*, trans. C. Grecescu, Bucharest.
- Millar, F. (2006), *Rome, the Greek world, and the East*, III: *the Greek world, the Jews, and the East*, Chapel Hill.

- Millar, R.M. (2015), *Trask's Historical Linguistics*, London and New York, rev. edn. of Trask (1996).
- Milroy, L. and P. Muysken (edd.) (1995), *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*, Cambridge and New York.
- Mitthof, F., and K. Stauner (2016), 'Zwei Kassen in der römischen Armee und die Rolle der *signiferi*. Ein neues Papyruszeugnis: P.Hamb. inv. 445', *Tyche* 31: 205–225.
- Montevecchi, O. (1979), 'Πόσων μηνῶν ἔστιν: P. Oxy. XLVI, 3312', *ZPE* 34: 113–117.
- Montevecchi, O. (1988), 'L'amministrazione dell'Egitto sotto i Giulio-Claudi', *ANRW* II, 10.1: 412–471.
- Mossakowska-Gaubert, M. (ed.) (2020), *Egyptian textiles and their production: 'word' and 'object'*, Lincoln and London.
- Mullen, A. (2012), 'Introduction: Multiple languages, multiple identities', in A. Mullen and P. James (edd.) (2012): 1–35.
- Mullen, A., and P. James (edd.) (2012), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman worlds*, Cambridge.
- Murray, M.A., N. Boulton, and C. Heron (2000), 'Viticulture and wine production', in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (edd.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge: 577–608.
- Muysken, P. (1995), 'Code-switching and grammatical theory', in Milroy and Muysken (edd.): 177–198.
- Muysken, P. (2000), *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*, Cambridge.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1992), 'Comparing codeswitching and borrowing,' *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 13.1–2: 19–39.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993), *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*, Oxford.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2002), *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*, Oxford.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2006), *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Malden.
- Neatby, L.H. (1950), 'Romano-Egyptian Relations during the Third Century B.C.', *TAPhA* 81: 89–98.
- Nelis-Clément, J. (2000), *Les Beneficiarii: Militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (Ier s. a.C.-VIe s. p.C)*, Pessac.
- Nelson, C.A. (1979), *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam.
- Nencioni, G. (1941), 'La lingua latina nell'antico Egitto', in A. Vogliano (ed.), *Egitto moderno e antico*, Roma: 303–329.

- Nenna, M.-D., M. Picon, and M. Vichy (2000), 'Ateliers primaires et secondaires en Égypte à l'époque gréco-romaine', in M.D. Nenna (ed.), *La route du verre. Ateliers primaires et secondaire du second millénaire av. J.-C. au Moyen Âge*, Lyon: 97–112.
- Neumann, G. and J. Untermann (edd.) (1980), *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit*, Cologne.
- Nichols, J., and D.A. Peterson (1996), 'The Amerind Personal Pronouns', *Language* 72. 2: 336–371.
- Nichols, J., and D.A. Peterson (1998), 'Amerind Personal Pronouns: A Reply to Campbell', *Language* 74.3: 605–614.
- Nicholson, P.T., and J Henderson (2000), 'Glass', in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (edd.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge: 195–224.
- Nordström, V. (1890), *De institutorum Romanorum vocabulis Dionysii Halicarnassensis*, Helsingfors.
- Norsa, M. (1933), *Papiri greci delle collezione italiane: scritture documentarie dal III secolo A.C. al secolo VIII D.C. – Fascicolo secondo*, Roma.
- Olsson, B. (1925), *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, Uppsala.
- Orioles, V. (1974) 'Note preliminari ad uno studio sui prestiti latini in greco', *Incontri Linguistici* 1: 109–124.
- Palmer, L.R. (1945), *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I.I, London.
- Paolucci, E. (2004), 'Il 'deipnosofista' Ulpiano in Ateneo', *Eikasmos* 15: 245–259.
- Parássoglou, G.M. (1978), *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam.
- Parsons, P.J. (2007), *The city of the sharp-nosed fish: Greek lives in Roman Egypt*, London.
- Peacock, D.P.S. (1992), *Rome in the Desert: A Symbol of Power*, Southampton.
- Peacock, D.P.S., O.W. Thorpe, R.S. Thorpe, and A.G. Tindle (1994), 'Mons Claudianus and the problem of the 'granito del foro': a geological and geochemical approach', *Antiquity* 68: 209–230.
- Peremans, W., and E. van't Dack (1972), 'Sur les rapports de Rome avec les Lagides', *ANRW* 1.1: 660–667.
- Perpillou-Thomas, F. (1993), *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, Leuven.
- Pflaum, H.-G. (1959), 'Lucien de Samosate, *archistator praefecti aegypti*, d'après une inscription de Césarée de Maurétanie', *MEFRA* 71: 281–286.
- Phang, S.E. (2001), *The Marriage of Roman soldiers (13 B.C. - A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln.
- Pintaudi, R. (2007), 'The Italian Excavations', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 104–108.
- Poplack, S. (2018), *Borrowing: loanwords in the speech community and in the grammar*, Oxford.

- Preisigke, F., *et al.* (1925–2000), *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*, Berlin.
- Probert, P. (2006), *Ancient Greek Accentuation: Synchronic Patterns, Frequency Effects, and Prehistory*, Oxford.
- Purcell, N. (1985), 'Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy', *JRS* 75: 1–19.
- Purpura, G. (2004), 'Le dichiarazioni di nascita nell'Egitto romano', *ASGP* 49: 149–163.
- Radt, S. (1998), 'Zur Akzentuierung lateinischer Namen im Griechischen', *ZPE* 121: 72.
- Radt, S. (1999), 'Noch einmal zur Akzentuierung lateinischer Namen im Griechischen', *ZPE* 126: 98.
- Rathbone, D.W. (1983), 'Italian Wines in Roman Egypt', *Opus* 2: 81–98.
- Rathbone, D.W. (1991), *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century A.D. Egypt: the Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate*, Cambridge.
- Rathbone, D.W. (1993), 'Egypt, Augustus and Roman taxation', *CCG* 4: 81–112.
- Rathbone, D.W. (2000), 'The 'Muziris' papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): financing Roman trade with India', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 46: 39–50.
- Rathbone, D.W. (2002), 'Koptos the *Emporion*. Economy and Society, I–III A.D.', *Topoi* suppl. 3: 179–198.
- Rathbone, D.W. (2009), 'Earnings and Costs: Living Standards and the Roman Economy (First to Third Centuries AD)', in A.K. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Quantifying the Roman Economy. Methods and Problems*, Oxford: 299–326.
- Rathbone, D.W. (2013), 'The Romanity of Roman Egypt: A faltering consensus?', *JJP* 43: 73–91.
- Rea, J.R. (1988), *On the Greek Calends*, in B.G. Mandilaras (ed.) (1988): II 203–208.
- Rea, J.R. (1993), 'A Student's Letter to His Father: P. Oxy. XVIII 2190 Revised', *ZPE* 99: 75–88.
- Reddé, M. (2002), 'La présence militaire romaine dans le désert Oriental', *Topoi* suppl. 3: 385–394.
- Reddé, M. (2004), 'Réflexions critiques sur le chapelles militaires (*aedes principiorum*)', *JRA* 17: 442–462.
- Reddé, M. (2006), 'Les fortins du désert Oriental d'Égypte et l'architecture militaire romaine', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 235–262.
- Reddé, M. (2018), 'Fortins routiers du désert Oriental d'Égypte', in J.P. Brun *et al.* (edd.): 359–408.
- Reddé, M., and J.P. Brun (2006), 'L'architecture des *praesidia* et la genèse des dépotoirs', in H. Cuvigny (ed.): 73–185.

- Reichmann, V. (1943), *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, *Philologus* suppl. 34.3, Leipzig.
- Riggs, C. (ed.) (2012), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford.
- Rink, H. (1924), *Straßen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, dissertation from Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität zu Gießen.
- Robert, L. (1960), ‘Recherches épigraphiques’, *REA* 62: 276–361
- Rochette, B. (1996), ‘Sur le bilinguisme dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine’, *CE* 71: 153–168
- Rochette, B. (1997), *Le latin dans le monde grec*, Brussels.
- Rochette, B. (1998), ‘Le bilinguisme gréco–latin et la question des langues dans le monde gréco-romain: chronique bibliographique’, *RBPh* 76.1: 177–196.
- Rochette, B. (2010) ‘Greek and Latin bilingualism’, in E.J. Bakker (ed.): 281–293.
- Romaine, S. (1995), *Bilingualism*, 2nd edn., Oxford.
- Ross, M. (1991), ‘Refining Guy’s sociolinguistic types of language change’, *Diachronica* 8.1:119–129.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. (1952), ‘Interpretation’, in M.I. Rostovtzeff, A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown, and C.B. Welles (edd.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work 1935–1936. Part III: The Palace of The Dux Ripae and the Dolicheneum*, New Haven: 69–96.
- Rowlandson, J. (1996), *Landowners and tenants in Roman Egypt: The social relations of agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite nome*, Oxford.
- Rowlandson, J. (1998), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt. A Sourcebook*, Cambridge.
- Rowlandson, J. (2007), ‘Oxyrhynchus and its Hinterland’, in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 205–217.
- Ruben Quintana, A. (2020), ‘An order to supply a *Ioricarius* with bread from Oxyrhynchus’, *BASP* 57: 353–362.
- Ruffing, K. and H.-J. Drexhage (2008), ‘Antike Sklavenpreise’, in P. Mauritsch *et al.* (edd.), *Antike Lebenswelten: Konstanz, Wandel, Wirkungskraft. Festschrift Für Ingomar Weiler Zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: 321–351.
- Rutherford, I.C. (2012), ‘Travel and pilgrimage’, in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford: 701–716.
- Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, C. (2001), *Professio liberorum: Las declaraciones y los registros de nacimientos en Derecho Romano, con especial atención a las fuentes papirológicas*, Madrid.
- Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, C. (2004), ‘Notes on some new issues concerning the birth certificates of Roman citizens’, *JJP* 34: 107–119.

- Schallmayer, E., K. Eibl, and J. Ott (1990), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken, I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart.
- Scheidel, W. (2002), 'A model of demographic and economic change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine plague', *JRA* 15: 97–114.
- Scheidel, W. (2005), 'Real Slave Prices and the Relative Cost of Slave Labor in the Greco-Roman World', *AncSoc* 35: 1–17.
- Schirru, G. (2013), 'Latinismi nel greco d'Egitto', in M. Mancini and L. Lorenzetti (edd.), *Le lingue del Mediterraneo antico*, Roma: 301–332.
- Schnebel, M. (1925), *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München.
- Schulze, W. (1904), *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin.
- Schwyzler, E. (1939), *Griechische Grammatik*, I, Munich.
- Setaioli, A. (2007), 'Plutarch's assessment of Latin as a means of expression', *Prometheus: rivista quadrimestrale di studi classici* 33: 156–166.
- Shelton, J. (1979), 'A Ptolemaic Land Lease (P. IFAO III 35)', *ZPE* 33: 217–224.
- Sheridan, J.A. (1990), *Roman Military Clothing Requisitions in Egypt*, New York.
- Sherk, R.K. (1992), 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV, The Register Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor (continued)', *ZPE* 93: 223–272.
- Shipp, G.P. (1979), *Modern Greek evidence for the ancient Greek vocabulary*, Sydney.
- Sievers, J. (2013), 'Josephus' rendering of Latin terminology in Greek', *The Journal of Jewish Studies* 64.1: 1–18.
- Sijpesteijn, P.J. (1978), 'Some Remarks on P. Oxy. XXII 2349', *ZPE* 28: 243–244.
- Sijpesteijn, P.J. (1979), 'Some Remarks on Roman Dates in Greek Papyri', *ZPE* 33: 229–240.
- Sijpesteijn, P.J. (1992), 'The Meanings of ἥτοι in the Papyri', *ZPE* 90: 241–250.
- Smolders, R. (2015), '(Lucius) Pompeius Niger', in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, and H. Verreth (edd.), *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, Leuven: 323–325.
- Soto Marín, I. (2018), *The Economic Integration of a Late Roman Province: Egypt from Diocletian to Anastasius*, dissertation from New York University.
- Speidel, M.A. (2018), 'Soldiers and Documents: Insights from Nubia. The Significance of Written Documents in Roman Soldiers' Everyday Lives', in A. Kolb (ed.): 179–200.
- Speidel, M.P. (1981), 'The prefect's horse-guards and the supply of weapons to the Roman army', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.): 405–409.
- Speidel, M.P. (1978), *Guards of the Roman Army. An Essay on the Singulares of the Provinces*, Bonn.
- Stell, G. (2019), 'Code-switching', in J. Darquennes, J.C. Salmons, and W. Vandebussche (edd.): 159–171.

- Stolz, T., D. Bakker, and R. Salas Palomo (edd.) (2008), *Aspects of language contact: new theoretical, methodological and empirical findings with special focus on Romancisation processes*, Berlin.
- Straus, J.A. (2004), *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine : contribution papyrologique à l'étude de l'esclavage dans une province orientale de l'Empire romain*, München and Leipzig.
- Strobach, A. (1997), *Plutarch und die Sprachen: ein Beitrag zur Fremdsprachenproblematik in der Antike*, Stuttgart.
- Swadesh, M. (1952), 'Lexico-Statistic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts: With Special Reference to North American Indians and Eskimos', *PAPhS* 96.4: 452–463.
- Swadesh, M. (1955), 'Towards Greater Accuracy in Lexicostatistic Dating', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21.2: 121–137.
- Swarney, P.R. (1970), *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, Toronto.
- Tadmor, U. (2009), 'Loanwords in the world's languages: Findings and results', in Haspelmath and Tadmor (edd.): 55–75.
- Tchernia, A., and J.P. Brun (1990), *Le vin romain antique*, Grenoble.
- Teitler, H.C. (1985), *Notarii and Exceptores: an Inquiry into Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire*, Amsterdam.
- Thomas, J.D. (1999), 'Communication between the Prefect of Egypt, the Procurators and the Nome Officials', in W. Eck and E. Müller-Luckner (edd.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, Oldenburg.
- Thomas, J.D. (2007), 'Latin Texts and Roman Citizens', in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (edd.): 231–243.
- Thomason, S.G. (2001), *Language Contact: An Introduction*, Edinburgh.
- Thomason, S.G. (2003), 'Contact as a source of language change', in B.D. Joseph and R.D. Janda (edd.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Malden: 687–712.
- Thomason, S.G., and T. Kaufman (1988), *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*, Los Angeles.
- Thompson, D.J. (1999), 'New and Old in the Ptolemaic Fayyum', in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (edd.): 123–138.
- Thumb, A. (1901), *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg.
- TM = Trismegistos, an interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world, <[www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)>.
- TM Arch = Trismegistos Archives, <[www.trismegistos.org/arch](http://www.trismegistos.org/arch)>.
- TM Geo = Trismegistos Places, <[www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php)>.
- TM Nam = Trismegistos People, <[www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php)>.

- TM Text Irregularities = Trismegistos Text Irregularities, <[www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities](http://www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities)>, for which see Depauw and Stolk (2015).
- TM Words = Trismegistos Words (beta), <[www.trismegistos.org/words](http://www.trismegistos.org/words)>.
- Toll, C. (1994), ‘Two Nabataean Ostraca from Egypt’, *BIFAO* 94: 381–382.
- Trapp, E., and S. Schönauer (edd.) (2008), *Lexicologia Byzantina*, Bonn
- Trask, R.L. (1996), *Historical Linguistics*, London, for the rev. edn. see R.M. Millar (2015).
- Treffers-Daller, J. (2018), ‘The measurement of bilingual abilities: central challenges’, in A. De Houwer and L. Ortega (edd.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*, Cambridge: 289–306.
- Triandaphyllidis, M.A. (1909), *Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur*, Strasbourg.
- Trudgill, P. (2011), *Sociolinguistic Typology: Social Determinants of Linguistic Complexity*, Oxford.
- Trudgill, P. (2020), *Millennia of Language Change: Sociolinguistic Studies in Deep Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge.
- Turner, E.G. (1952), ‘Roman Oxyrhynchus’, *JEA* 38: 78–93. Reprinted in Bowman *et al.* (edd.) (2007): 141–154.
- Turner, E.G. (1961a), ‘Latin versus Greek as a universal language: the attitude of Diocletian’, in [no ed.] *Language and society: essays presented to Arthur M. Jensen*, Copenhagen: 165–168.
- Turner, E.G. (1961b), ‘ΑΝΟΣΙΟΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ’, review of V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, (1960), *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum*, Vol. II, Cambridge, Mass., *CR* 11.3: 225–226.
- Turner, E.G. (1975), ‘Oxyrhynchus and Rome’, *HSCP* 79: 1–24. Reprinted in Bowman *et al.* (edd.) (2007): 155–170.
- Turner, E.G. (1978), *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, Bruxelles.
- Väänänen, V. (1981), *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3rd edn., Paris.
- Van Beek, B., and M. Depauw (2013), ‘Quantifying Imprecisely Dated Sources: A New Inclusive Method for Charting Diachronic Change in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *AncSoc* 43: 101–114.
- Van Coetsem, F. (1988), *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*, Dordrecht.
- Van Coetsem, F. (2000), *A general and unified theory of the transmission process in language contact*, Heidelberg.
- Van Minnen, P. (1986), ‘The Volume of the Oxyrhynchite Textile Trade’, *MBAH* 5.2: 88–95.
- Van Minnen, P. (1987), ‘Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt’, *MBAH* 6.1: 31–88.
- Van Minnen, P. (2000), ‘An official act of Cleopatra (with a subscription in her own hand)’, *AncSoc* 30: 29–34.
- Van Minnen, P. (2001), ‘Further Thoughts in the Cleopatra Papyrus’, *APF* 47.1: 74–80.

- Van Minnen, P. (2018), 'P.Bingen 45 Revisited', *BASP* 55: 292–293.
- Vandorpe, K., and W. Clarysse (1997), 'Viticulture and Wine Consumption in the Arsinoite Nome ("P. Köln" V 221)', *AncSoc* 28: 67–73.
- Ventris, M., and J. Chadwick (1973), *Documents in Mycenaean Greek. Three Hundred Selected Tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae with Commentary and Vocabulary*, 2nd edn., Cambridge.
- Viereck, P. (1888), *Sermo graecus quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem utebantur*, Göttingen.
- Viscidi, F. (1944), *I prestiti latini nel greco antico e bizantino*, Padova.
- Wackernagel, J. (1926), Review of J. P. Postgate, *A short guide to the accentuation of ancient Greek*, in *Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde: Beiblatt zu den indogermanischen Forschungen* 43: 48–59. Reprinted in Wackernagel's *Kleine Schriften*, II.1188–1198.
- Waebens, S. (2012), 'Reflecting the "Change in A.D. 140": The Veteran Categories of the epikrisis Documents Revisited', *ZPE* 180: 267–277.
- Wallace, S.L. (1938), *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton.
- Wannowski, A. (1846), *Antiquitates Romanas e graecis fontibus explicatas*, Regimontii Prussorum.
- Ward, J.S. (2007), 'Roman Greek: Latinisms in the Greek of Flavius Josephus', *CQ* 57: 632–649.
- Weaver, P. (2004), '«P. Oxy.» 3312 and Joining the Household of Caesar', *ZPE* 149: 196–204.
- Weaver, P.R.C. (1972), *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge.
- Weber, C.F. (1835–1852), *Dissertatio de Latine scriptis quae Graeci ueteres in suam linguam transtulerunt*, Cassellis.
- Webster, J. (2001), 'Creolizing the Roman provinces', *AJA* 105: 209–255.
- Webster, J., and N.J. Cooper (edd.) (1996), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester.
- Weinreich, U. (1953), *Languages in contact: findings and problems*, New York.
- Wessely, C. (1902a), 'Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden, I', *Wiener Studien* 24: 99–151.
- Wessely, C. (1902b), *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos, Studien zur Geschichte antiker Cultur- und Personenverhältnisse*, Wien.
- Wessely, C. (1903), 'Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden, II', *Wiener Studien* 25: 40–77.
- Wessner, P. (1931), *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*, Lipsiae.
- Whitehorne, J.E.G. (1987), 'The hypomnematographus in the Roman period', *Aegyptus* 67.1/2: 101–125.

- Whitehorne, J.E.G. (1990), 'Soldiers and Veterans in the Local Economy of First Century Oxyrhynchus', in M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli, and R. Pintaudi (edd.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*: II, 543–557.
- Whitehorne, J.E.G. (2006), *Strategi and royal scribes of Roman Egypt*, 2nd edn., Firenze.
- Whittaker, C.R. (1994), *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study*, Baltimore and London.
- Whittaker, C.R. (2004), *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire*, London and New York.
- Wilcken, U. (1911), 'Referat. Papyrus-Urkunden', *APF* 5.3: 424–452.
- Wilcken, U. (1912), *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, I Band: Historischer Teil, I Hälfte: Grundzüge*, Leipzig and Berlin.
- Wild, J.-P. (2003), 'Facts, Figures and Guesswork in the Roman Textile Industry', in L. Bender Jørgensen, J. Banck-Burgess, and A. Rast-Eicher (edd.), *Textilien aus Archäologie und Geschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Tidow*, Neumünster: 37–45.
- Wilson, N.G. (2006), 'A note on Latinisms in Aelian' in S. Eklund (ed.), *Συγγράματα: studies in honour of Jan Frederik Kindstrand*, Uppsala: 211–216.
- Winford, D. (2003), *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*, Malden.
- Winford, D. (2005), 'Contact-induced changes: Classification and processes', *Diachronica* 22.2:373–427.
- Wipszycka, E. (1965), *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, Wrocław.
- Wolff, C. (2000), 'La *legio III Cyrenaica* au Ier siècle', in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (edd.): 339–340.
- Wolff, H.J. (1978), *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats*, München.
- Woolf, G. (1998), *Becoming Roman: the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, Cambridge.
- Wouters, A. (1976) '“Latijns grieks” en “grieks latijn”': over translitteraties en hun bedoeling', *Hermeneus* 48: 179–191.
- Woytek, B. (ed.) (2018), *Infrastructure and Distribution in Ancient Economies*, Wien.
- Yiftach-Firanko, U. (2003), *Marriage and Marital Arrangements. A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt. 4th century BCE – 4th century CE*, München.
- Youtie, H.C. (1977), 'P. Mich. Inv. 148, Verso: The Rule of Precedent', *ZPE* 27: 124–137.
- Zervan, V. (2019), *Die Lehnwörter im Wortschatz der spätbyzantinischen historiographischen Literatur*, Berlin.
- Zgusta, L. (1980), 'Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich', in G. Neumann and J. Untermann (edd.): 121–145.
- Zilliaceus, H. (1935), *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich*, Helsingfors.

Zilliacus, H. (1937), 'Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie', *ByzZ* 37: 302–344.

Zimmermann, K. (2002), 'P.Bingen 45: Eine Steuerbefreiung für Q. Cascellius, adressiert an Kaiserion', *ZPE* 138: 133–139.