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Dissertation

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LATINA V EGYPTĚ

Latin in Egypt

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I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation independently, using only the mentioned and duly cited sources and literature, and that the work has not been used in another university study programme or to obtain the same or another academic title.

In Prague on 19 September, 2024 Mgr. Jiří Honzl

Abstrakt:

Latina byla v Egyptě a Núbii používána jen okrajově, ale zároveň měla výsadní postavení jako jazyk vládnoucí moci, Římské říše. Tato disertační práce shromažďuje 1289 textových dokladů latiny, které se dochovaly z Egypta a Núbie až do dobytí Egypta Araby v roce 641 n. l. Celý soubor dokladů je podroben standardizované analýze a jeho dílčí části dalším specifičtějším analýzám. Jejich výsledky jsou použity v prvé řadě k vytvoření přehledu dokladů latiny v rámci jednotlivých oblastí Egypta a Núbie, kde byla nejrozšířenější. Jejich nerovnoměrné geografické rozšíření je také zvlášť zhodnoceno. Se zvážením příčin tohoto stavu jsou zmíněny i regiony, z nichž latinské doklady nápadně chybí. Dále jsou textové doklady rozřazeny podle svých funkčních aspektů, v jejichž rámci latina do značné míry naplňovala roli „jazyka moci“. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována osobám, které jsou na textech zainteresovány a které jsou v nich zmiňovány, poměrně častému výskytu bilingvních dokladů a také s tím úzce souvisejícímu fenoménu „střídání kódů“. Potvrzuje se, že latina byla používána především v prostředí římské armády a jejích v Egyptě dislokovaných jednotek. Do menší míry byla rozšířena v oblasti práva a uplatňovala se i při dalších oficiálních příležitostech, v omezené míře konkrétně i v civilní administrativě. Zmíněno je i okrajové užití v rámci římských podnikatelských aktivit a prostředí křesťanských církevních kruhů. Nakonec je zhodnocen diachronní vývoj užití latiny v průběhu římského období. V čase se ukazují jak dynamické změny v intenzitě výskytu latiny v Egyptě, tak v konkrétních funkcích, které plnila.

Klíčová slova:

latina – Egypt – Núbie – římská doba – papyry – ostraka –nápisy – římská armáda – jazyk moci

Abstract:

The use of Latin in Egypt and Nubia was marginal but at the same time it held a privileged position as the language of the ruling power, the Roman Empire. The present thesis collects 1289 pieces of Latin textual evidence preserved from Egypt and Nubia until the Arab Conquest of Egypt in 641 CE. The entire corpus of evidence is analysed in a standardised manner with its segments undergoing other additional targeted analyses. The results are used, firstly, to draw an overview of the evidence across particular regions of Egypt and Nubia in which the occurrence of Latin was strongest. The uneven geographic distribution of the textual evidence is also separately evaluated. The regions conspicuously missing the evidence and the causes of it are examined as well. In the next step, the pieces of textual evidence are classified according to their functional aspects, largely involving the role of Latin as the 'language of power'. Special attention is given to persons involved with and mentioned in the texts, their fairly common bilingualism, and the closely related phenomenon of 'code-switching'. Latin is confirmed to have been used mostly within the milieu of Roman army and its units stationed in Egypt. To a lesser extent it was spread in the field of law and applied on other official occasions, in particular, to a limited extent also in the civil administrative. The specific marginal niches of Roman commercial business and Christian clerical milieu are mentioned as well. Finally, the diachronic developments of the use of Latin are tracked throughout the Roman period. It shows dynamic changes in the intensity of the occurrence of Latin in Egypt and in its functional focuses over time.

Keywords:

Latin – Egypt – Nubia – Roman period – papyri – ostraca – inscriptions – Roman army – language of power

coniugi

et filiis

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List of abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
AfP	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt/ Rise and Decline of the Roman World*
ARYS	*Antigüedad: Religiones y Sociedades*
ASAE	*Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen (staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*
BHC	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BKT	*Berliner Klassikertexte*
BSAA	*Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CEL	*Corpus Epistularum Latinarum: Papyris Tabulis Ostracis Servatarum*
C. Gloss. Biling.	*Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta*
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CLA	*Codices Latini Antiquiores*
CPI	*Corpus of Ptolemaic inscriptions*
CPJ	*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*
CPL	*Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*
CPR	*Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EDCS	*Epigraphische-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby*

EQÄ	*Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie*
FHN	*Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*
FIFAO	*Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*
I. Akoris	*Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akoris*
I. Alex. Imp.	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.)*
I. colosse de Memnon	*Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon*
I. Deir el-Bahari	*Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepshout à Deir el-Bahari*
I. Delta	*Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*
I. Fayoum	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*
I. Philae	*Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae*
I. Syringes	*Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
LÄGG	*Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*
LSA	*Last Statues of Antiquity*
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon* (LIDDEL/SCOTT/JONES)
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*

MittSAG	*Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e. V.*
MMAF	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*
Not. Dig.	*Notitia Dignitatum*
O. Amst.	*Ostraka in Amsterdam collections*
O. Berenike	*Documents from Berenike, Greek Ostraka*
O. Cair.	*Ostraka greci del Museo Egizio del Cairo*
O. Claud.	*Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina*
O. Florida	*The Florida Ostraka: Documents from the Roman Army in Upper Egypt*
O. Petrie	*Ostraca greci e bilingui del Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*
OLA	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige mededе(e)lingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
PAM	*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*
P. Aberd.	*Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen*
P. Amh.	*The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Didlington Hall, Norfolk*
P. Ant.	*The Antinoopolis Papyri*
P. Athen.	*Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis*
Pap. Congr.	*Congresses sponsored by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues*
P. Bagnall	*Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*
P. Berl. Zill.	*Vierzehn Berliner griechische Papyri* (ZILLIACUS)
P. Bodl.	*Papyri Bodleianae*
P. Bon.	*Papyri Bononienses*
P. Brookl.	*Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca, and Wooden Tablets in the Collection of the Brooklyn Museum*

P. Brookl. Dem.	*Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum*
P. Cairo Masp.	*Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*
P. Capasso	*Πολυμάθεια. Studi Classici offerti a Mario Capasso*
P. Col.	*Columbia Papyri*
P. Coles	*Charisterion per Revel A. Coles*
P. Dura	*The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final Report V, Part I, The Parchments and Papyri*
P. Flor.	*Papyri Fiorentini*
P. Fouad	*Les Papyrus Fouad*
P. Freer	*Greek and Coptic Papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art*
P. Freib.	*Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung*
P. Gascou	*Mélanges Jean Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques*
P. Genova	*Papiri dell'Università di Genova*
P. Giss. Lit.	*Die Giessener literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse*
P. Hamb.	*Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*
P. Haun.	*Papyri Graecae Haunienses*
P. Hibeh	*The Hibeh Papyri*
P. Iand.	*Papyri Iandanae*
P. Jördens	*Papyrologische und althistorische Studien zum 65. Geburtstag von Andrea Jördens*
P. Kellis	*Papyri from Kellis*
P. Laur.	*Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*
P. Leid. Inst.	*Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute*
P. Lips.	*Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*
P. Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*
P. Lond. Copt.	*Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum/Library*
P. Lond. Lit.	*Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*

P. Louvre	*Griechische Papyri aus der Sammlung des Louvre*
P. Lund	*Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
P. Marganne	*Le médecin et le livre. Hommages à Marie-Hélène Marganne*
P. Mert.	*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton*
P. Messeri	*e me l'ovrare appaga. Papiri e saggi in onore di Gabriella Messeri*
P. Mich.	*Michigan Papyri*
P. Michael.	*Papyri Michaelidae, being a Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri, Tablets and Ostraca in the Library of Mr G.A. Michailidis of Cairo*
P. Monts. Roca	*Papyri at Montserrat in the Roca Puig Collection*
P. Münch.	*Die Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*
P. Oslo	*Papyri Osloenses*
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
P. Prag.	*Papyri Graecae Wessely Pragenses*
P. Princ.	*Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*
P. Rain. Cent.	*Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*
P. Rain. Unterricht	*Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*
P. Ross. Georg.	*Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*
P. Ryl.	*Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*
P. Scholl	*Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern: Beiträge zum Alltag in Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Δουλικὰ ἔργα zu Ehren von Reinhold Scholl*
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini*
P. Sijp.	*Papyri in Memory of P. J. Sijpesteijn*
P. Sorb.	*Papyrus de la Sorbonne*
P. Stras.	*Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landes-bibliothek zu Strassburg/ Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*
P. Tebt.	*The Tebtunis Papyri*

P. Thead.	*Papyrus de Théadelphie*
P. Thomas	*Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas*
P. Vars.	*Papyri Varsovienses*
P. Wisc.	*The Wisconsin Papyri*
P. Worp	*Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*
P. Yale	*Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RdE	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (PAULY/WISSOWA)
REM	*Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique*
SB	*Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
TM	*Trismegistos Database*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

0. Introduction

0.1. Preface

During the Graeco-Roman period, the societies of Egypt, as well as Nubia, were becoming ever more culturally and, in particular linguistically diverse. Besides various forms of Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, Meroitic and others, Latin occupied only a marginal part of the language landscape. In this, Egypt and Nubia do not in general diverge from the situation typical for the entire eastern part of the Roman Mediterranean. However, as the language of the ruling power, the Roman Empire, it had at the same time a specific, privileged position in society. Due to this, and despite their scarcity, many diverse specimens of texts occurring throughout the roughly 750 years of Roman rule over Egypt have received much attention. They form a small but immensely captivating piece in the elaborate mosaic of that time.

The initial impulse for the research culminating with the present thesis came from Evans's chapter, titled identically as 'Latin in Egypt', published in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* in 2012.[1] For a generation of students by then in the early stages of their Egyptological curriculum, including the author, the fresh and up-to-date volume naturally became the go-to gateway to various aspects of the Egyptian society during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). In the chapter, Evans offered a concise summary of the *status quaestionis* at the time. He pointed out the general scarcity of the evidence, stressed its diversity, and sketched the basic outlines of functional aspects of Latin as the language of Roman power and some of its remarkable linguistic characteristics. He considered the latest in sociolinguistic research of the phenomenon in general as the most desirable and promising directions for further research, to the discussion of which he in fact dedicated a considerable part of the chapter.

This approach may be arguably considered as one which achieved the farthest progress so far, as embodied especially by the extensive chapter, also titled 'Latin in Egypt', in Adams's seminal monograph *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003),[2] which, as acknowledged also by Evans,[3] remains the most comprehensive treatment of the phenomenon. Adams's approach was naturally primarily determined by the overall aims of his study and, through largely focusing on the analysis of selected pieces of evidence, it succeeded in reaching a much deeper understanding of some principal aspects of the phenomenon, and in particular in the functional consideration of Latin in Egypt and Nubia as the 'language of power'.[4]

Despite Adams's achievement as well as illustratively for its limits, and indeed appositely to the actual *status quaestionis*, many of Evans's statements about Latin in Egypt, especially the more general ones, remain unsatisfyingly vague and unspecific. In fact, he himself repeatedly urged caution in drawing generalised statements about Latin in Egypt and he also stressed the absence of any comprehensive listing of the related evidence.[5] While some aspects of the occurrence of Latin in Egypt and Nubia have been dealt with in considerable depth, many

[1] EVANS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[2] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 527–641; see also subchapter 0.1. below.
[3] EVANS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 524.
[4] See also subchapter 2.0. below.
[5] EVANS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 517–518; cf. e.g. also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 543; ROCHETTE, CdÉ 71(141), 167.

other, even fundamental, questions regarding the phenomenon, seem to remain insufficiently examined. This concerns, in particular, an overview where from and when exactly the evidence derives, to what extent it was indeed used in the military milieu, the field of law, and the official sphere in general, how markedly did its functions develop and change over time, and others.[6] In addition, the equal consideration of both papyrological and epigraphic evidence – which was however notably applied by Adams – seems largely lacking. The earlier studies including the one of Adams were also missing the input of the since then published and/or thoroughly re-examined and supplemented sets of evidence, such as markedly the ostraca from the Eastern Desert[7] or the tombstones from Nicopolis near Alexandria.[8] The previous admirable research of the phenomenon could benefit and be further reinforced by additional up to date groundwork, applying also the most recent results, and promoting a wider, besides deeper, understanding of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt and Nubia.

In particular, the present thesis follows up on the previous work of the author. This includes the bachelor thesis in Czech *Latinská návštěvnická graffita z oblasti Théb v kontextu cestovatelství v římském Egyptě* (Latin Visitors' Graffiti from the Theban Region in the Context of Travel in Roman Egypt) supervised by Filip Coppens and defended in 2014 at the Charles University in Prague[9] and the master's thesis in Czech *Latinské nápisy z Egypta mimo Alexandrii* (Latin Inscriptions from Egypt outside Alexandria) supervised by Filip Coppens and defended in 2016 at the Charles University in Prague,[10] which focused on mapping a large portion of the epigraphic part of the presently studied textual record. Parts of the research were conducted within the framework of the grant project 'Continuity, Discontinuity and Change. Adaptation Strategies of Individuals and Communities in Egypt at Times of Internal and External Transformations',[11] resulting in several closely related publications.[12]

0.2. Latin in Egypt – a brief outline of the scholarly work so far

The phenomenon of Latin in Egypt and Nubia is due to its close link as well as scarcity, naturally and understandably, usually treated closely together with the Greek language and its written evidence. In this subchapter, an overview of a selection of works is provided which treat Latin and its textual specimens as the principal or at least major part of their subject matter and which serve as the main basis for the present work. The chronological overview follows on one hand the major primary editions of Latin texts coming from Egypt and Nubia as well as their other analytical collections, and, on the other hand, the synthetic works dealing with the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt in general. Admittedly, the scholarly works to some extent touching on various particular issues of Latin in Egypt and Nubia are much more diverse[13] as

[6] See also subchapter 0.2. below.
[7] Esp. AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III; BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II; CUVIGNY (ed.) Didymoi II; CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I.
[8] Esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt.
[9] HONZL, Latinská návštěvnická graffita z oblasti Théb v kontextu cestovatelství v římském Egyptě.
[10] HONZL, Latinské nápisy z Egypta mimo Alexandrii.
[11] Czech Science Foundation – Grant GA ČR 19-07268S.
[12] HONZL, Annals of the Náprstek Museum 42(2); HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change; HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2).
[13] See Bibliography below.

are short generalising statements about its role(s) in their societies,[14] but many of them are left aside for the moment for the sake of conciseness.

The beginnings of scholarly interest in Latin in Egypt and Nubia may observed since the Middle Ages, as exemplified notably by the case Wilhelm of Boldensele, the German pilgrim to the Holly Land,[15] who in the early 14th century recorded the now lost versed Latin graffito from the pyramids at Giza in his *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra sancta*.[16] It is not surprising to find the early European travellers to be captivated by finding texts in such a familiar language in such, to them, exotic reaches of the world. Similar sentiments are to be recognised also amongst the early pioneers of Egyptology in the 19th century, who also occasionally as well as more systematically documented, edited, and published them. Amongst others,[17] noting also the southernmost Latin inscription from Musawwarat es-Sufra,[18] especially Lepsius' *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849–1859),[19] for its high quality of documentation,[20] and Letronne's dedicated *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte* (1842–1848)[21] ought to be mentioned.

Many Latin papyri were acquired as part of the boom of papyrology taking up the pace around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.[22] The majority of Latin papyri were since then, and mostly during that time and the first half of the 20th century, yielded by various sites in the Fayum[23] and Middle Egypt.[24] These papyri were mostly scattered amongst the Greek and other ones in the respective publications/series,[25] focusing on individual museum collections[26] or

[14] E.g. Bagnall, Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History, 15, 19; Bonati, In die Skriflig / In Luce Verbi 53(2), 3–4; Depauw, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 501; Derda, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 52; Dickey, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 162; Iovine, in Capasso et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 550; Palme, in Bagnall (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, 259; Papaconstantinou (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 5; Porten et al., The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change, 608; Torallas Tovar/Vierros, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 488; Yiftach-Firanko/Vandorpe, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 197–198.

[15] E.g. Graefe, in Hornung (ed.), Zum Bild Ägyptens im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance / Comment se représente-t-on l'Égypte au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance?; Kazhdan (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Byzantium, s.v. *Boldensele, Wilhelm Von*.

[16] Wilhelm von Boldensele, Liber de Quibusdam Ultramarinis Partibus et Praecipue de Terra Sancta 3, 226.

[17] E.g. Belzoni, Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries; Cailliaud, Voyage à l'oasis de Thèbes et dans les déserts situés à l'orient et à l'occident de la Thébaïde; Linant de Bellefonds, Journal d'un voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822.

[18] Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc au-delà de Fazoql, 375; Linant de Bellefonds, Journal d'un voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822, 119, Pl. XXIV; see also Łajtar/Van der Vliet, ZPE 157; also section 1.5.4. below.

[19] Lepsius, Denkmaeler.

[20] Lepsius, Denkmaeler VI, Pl. 76–78, 84, 92, 101.

[21] Letronne, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte.

[22] E.g. Cuvigny, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, esp. 32–38; Keenan, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, *passim*; van Minnen, in Lembke et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, *passim*.

[23] See section 1.2.1. below.

[24] See sections 1.2.2.–1.2.6. below.

[25] In general see Oates et al. (eds.), in Bagnall et al., Papyri.info, https://papyri.info/docs/checklist.

[26] With the notable exceptions of e.g. P. Mich VII.

the sites as such, in particular Karanis (Kom Aushim),[27] Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza),[28] Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit),[29] and Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)[30] in the Fayum, and Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa),[31] Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein),[32] Antoinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada),[33] and Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)[34] in Middle Egypt. The collections of papyri acquired from the excavations at these and other sites are being gradually edited and published until the present day.[35]

Roughly contemporary with the major papyrological finds were the works on the principal Latin epigraphic corpora, namely the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1862–)[36] founded by Mommsen, publishing the first fascicle of its third tome including Latin inscriptions from Egypt in 1873,[37] and Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892–1916).[38] Concurrently the epigraphic monuments from the area of the capital of Alexandria[39] came more into focus, with many of the Latin ones collected especially in the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie: Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1911)[40] by Breccia. These works were followed, mainly during the interwar period, by site/region-specific volumes, in particular the *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes* (1920–1926)[41] by Baillet collecting the visitors' graffiti from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings,[42] and some of the volumes of the *Les temples immergés de la Nubie* series focusing on the endangered heritage of Lower Nubia, especially Gauthier's *Le temple de Kalabchah II* (1911–1914)[43] and Ruppel's *Der Tempel von Dakke III: Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften von Dakke* (1930),[44] dealing with the sets of mainly visitors' graffiti from the sites of Talmis (Kalabsha)[45] and Pselchis (Dakka).[46]

The explosively growing acquisitions and publications of Latin specimens amongst lots of other texts by the early 20th century brought about early syntheses touching on the role of Latin in Egyptian society, for example in particular in the case of the substantial chapter titled '*Der Sprachengebrauch in der Verwaltung Ägyptens*' in Stein's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und*

[27] Esp. BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan; P. Mich VII; P. Mich. VIII.
[28] Esp. BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive; BGU VII.
[29] Esp. PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon; P. Thead.
[30] Esp. P. Tebt. II.
[31] Esp. the various volumes of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri series, see Bibliography below.
[32] Scattered by single or several items across various editions.
[33] Esp. P. Ant I; P. Ant. III.
[34] Esp. P. Cairo Masp. I; P. Cairo Masp. III.
[35] Most recently see e.g. P. Oxy. LXXXVII.
[36] CIL.
[37] CIL III.
[38] ILS.
[39] See subchapter 1.1. below.
[40] BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine.
[41] BAILLET, I. Syringes.
[42] See section 1.3.2. below.
[43] GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II.
[44] RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III.
[45] See section 1.5.2. below.
[46] See section 1.5.2. below.

Verwaltung Aegyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft (1915)[47] and in a wider context in Zilliacus' *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich* (1935).[48] Stein's treatment represents the first major attempt at a comprehensive evaluation of the phenomenon and a starting point for a discussion about it. His conclusion are still partly valid, and were further refined and (indirectly) reproduced by other works that followed[49] including the present thesis.

Since the 50s of the 20th century, the research of Latin papyri is facilitated by two significant compilations, the collection of facsimiles, the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (1956–2019)[50] initiated by Bruckner and Marichal, and Cavenaile's Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum (1956–1958)[51] which, however, especially due to the increasing amount of newly published papyri is now significantly outdated. In the 60s an effort was apparently made by Zawadzki to collect and publish all Latin inscriptions coming from Egypt which regrettably never materialised.[52] However, at the same time and starting with the visitors' graffiti from the Colossi of Memnon,[53] important sets of epigraphic evidence from the Egyptian *chora* started to be (re-)published by the Bernand brothers, with Latin significantly featuring, besides at the abovementioned site, also in volumes dedicated to various stretches of the Eastern Desert,[54] Upper Egypt below the Theban region,[55] the island of Philae,[56] and Middle Egyptian Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel).[57] The concurrently proceeding International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia organised by UNESCO also to some extent contributed to enlarging the Latin textual corpus from Egypt. The deconstruction of the temple complex at Philae brough to light the oldest firmly dated Latin text from Egypt (TM 88950).[58] The excavations started at Qasr Ibrim led to the find of a dump of early Latin papyri including pieces of a Roman soldiers' correspondence and the unique piece with verses of Cornelius Gallus (TM 59474).[59] The set is still awaiting its full publication which should become available in the near future.[60] Several Latin inscriptions were documented at Kalabsha South by the team of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology.[61]

During the second half of the 20th century, Latin evidence coming from Egypt, due to its relative richness, featured significantly, in particular, in two works dealing with the Latin-Greek bilingualism on the empire-wide scale. These were *The Romans and the Greek Language* (1979)[62] of Kaimio and the later *Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la*

[47] Stein, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft, 132–186.
[48] Zilliacus, Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich.
[49] See e.g. esp. Kaimio, in Bingen/Nachtergael (eds.), Pap. Congr. XV, 27.
[50] ChLA.
[51] CPL.
[52] Guey, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 1967, 32.
[53] Bernand/Bernand, I. colosse de Memnon; see section 1.3.1. below.
[54] Bernand, De Koptos à Kosseir; Bernand, Pan du desert; see subchapter 1.4. below.
[55] Bernand, De Thèbes à Syène; see section 1.5.1. below.
[56] Bernand/Bernand, I. Philae II; see section 1.5.1. below.
[57] Bernand, I. Akoris; in general see section 1.2.4. below.
[58] Esp. Roccati, in de Boer/Edridge (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3; see also subchapter 3.1. and section 1.5.1. below.
[59] See esp. Anderson et al., JRS 69; Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62.; see also section 1.5.3. below.
[60] E.g. Derda et al., in Tomas (ed.), Ad fines imperii Romani, 48.
[61] Žába et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, 214–220; see also Speidel, in Temporini (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 790–791.
[62] Kaimio, The Romans and the Greek Language.

langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain (1997)[63] of Rochette, each looking at the issue from the opposite direction. Both authors also published shorter discussions dedicated to the position of Latin in Egyptian society in particular, namely 'Latin in Roman Egypt' (1978) presented by Kaimio at the *XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* in Brussels[64] and Rochette's 'Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine' in *Chronique d'Égypte* 71(141) (1996).[65] Other similarly concise, and thus necessarily to a certain degree superficial, evaluations appeared in the meantime as well, including Cavenaile's 'Quelques aspects de l'apport linguistique du grec au latin d'Egypte' in *Aegyptus* 32 (1952)[66] and Daris' 'Latino ed Egitto romano' in *Il bilinguismo degli antichi: XVIII giornate filologiche Genovesi* (1991).[67] Amongst these, the treatment of Rochette deserves a special mention for its original points, for example relativising the use of Latin in the field of law, and the self-awareness of its own limits.

Roughly the same time also witnessed the publication of various thematically focused textual collections which helped to further classify and analyse the evidence. Amongst others, such compilations included the third tome of the *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* (1943)[68] prepared by Arangio-Ruiz, Fink's *Roman military records on papyrus* (1971),[69] *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (1983–2001)[70] prepared by Kramer, and Cugusi's *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum, papyris tabulis ostracis servatarum* (1992–2002).[71] In the last decades of the 20th century and after the turn of the millennium, the body of Latin evidence came to be gradually enriched by large amounts of newly examined and published texts from the Eastern desert,[72] especially the major recovered sets of ostraca from sites such as amongst others Mons Claudianus,[73] Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh),[74] and Berenike (Ras Banas).[75] Other sets, such as notably from Mons Porphyrites, are still awaiting publication in full.[76] A significant achievement was reached by the new publication of the Roman epigraphic evidence coming from Alexandria prepared by Kayser as the *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non*

[63] ROCHETTE, Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain.
[64] KAIMIO, in BINGEN/NACHTERGAEL (eds.), Pap. Congr. XV.
[65] ROCHETTE, CdÉ 71(141); see also ROCHETTE, Aegyptus 76.
[66] CAVENAILE, Aegyptus 32.
[67] DARIS, in Il bilinguismo degli antichi.
[68] FIRA III.
[69] FINK, Roman military Records.
[70] C. Gloss Biling.
[71] CEL.
[72] See subchapter 1.4. below.
[73] Esp. BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I; BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV; CUVIGNY, O. Claud. III.
[74] Esp. CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II.
[75] Esp. AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III; AST/BAGNALL, Pylon 1, https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/pylon/article/view/89358/84248; BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike I; BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II.
[76] See BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, 528; MATHIEU, BIFAO 103, 558; PEACOCK/MAXFIELD et al., The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998, 407–411; but see also *inter alia* CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5231, § 1; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, *passim*. Esp. Tab. 41.1; REDON (ed.), Desert Networks.

funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.) (1994).[77] His work was later aptly complemented by the *Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt. Tombstones from the Military Necropolis of Nikopolis* (2012),[78] the so far unpublished Ph.D. thesis of Waebens, focusing on the Alexandrian funerary monuments related to the *legio II Traiana*. The more widely focused epigraphic sourcebook by Pfeiffer, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Aegyptus* (2020 – 2nd edition),[79] ought to be mentioned amongst the newer collections as well.

With the new millennium, new online tools offering another significant aid to this and other researches started to spring up. The *Trismegistos Database* and its wider platform[80] ought to be mentioned in the first place as the one the present thesis relies on the most.[81] Amongst other tools, those extensively utilised for the present research include also the *Papyri.info*[82] aggregator, the *Epigraphische-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby*,[83] and *PHI Greek Inscriptions*[84] epigraphic databases.

As mentioned above, Adams's substantial chapter 'Latin in Egypt' in his *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003),[85] arguably represents the most significant contribution so far on the topic of Latin in Egypt and Nubia. While various important issues pertaining to the phenomenon are tackled, oft focusing on individual sites, sets or individual pieces of evidence largely form what is in fact a series of case studies. Through this approach, Adams manages to further significantly the ongoing debate. His perspective of Latin as primarily used as the 'language of power' remains widely accepted, and stands also at the heart of the functional analysis of Latin conducted in the present thesis.[86] However, the aims of the chapter are determined especially by the overall goals of the monograph, while also – which pertains also to the previous synthetic studies – significant parts of Latin textual evidence were left aside by or were not available to the author. He also focused almost exclusively on the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE).

Concurrently, more short overviews dealing with Latin in Egypt started to appear, typically as parts of larger synthetic works or edited volumes. For example, and focusing in particular on the use of Latin in Egypt during late antiquity (284–641 CE), a very condensed discussion on the topic was included in Bagnall's *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993).[87] Within the stated focus on education and the field of law, Latin in Egypt was dealt with by Cribiore in her chapter 'Higher education in early Byzantine Egypt: Rhetoric, Latin and the law' published in *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (2007).[88] An aptly composed and the most comprehensive overview of the

[77] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp.
[78] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt.
[79] PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9.
[80] DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org.
[81] See also esp. section 0.3.2. below.
[82] BAGNALL et al., Papyri.info, https://papyri.info/.
[83] EDCS, https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en.
[84] PHI Greek Inscriptions, https://epigraphy.packhum.org/
[85] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 527–641; see also subchapter 0.1. below.
[86] See chapter 2. Below.
[87] BAGNALL, Egypt in Late Antiquity, 231–232.
[88] CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World.

position of Latin in Egyptian society during late antiquity (284–641 CE) was put together by Fournet as part of his chapter 'The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation' published in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2011).[89] In fact, his may be considered as mutually complementary with Evans's 'Latin in Egypt' published in another near contemporary volume in the *Oxford Handbooks* series,[90] which was thoroughly discussed above.

More scholarly work promising to further the research of Latin in Egypt and Nubia is ongoing at present. In particular, Palme and Dolganov are preparing a comprehensive analytical collection of the extant judicial proceedings titled *Roman Court Proceedings in Papyri*,[91] one of the main types of texts included amongst the Latin evidence from Egypt and Nubia. Perhaps even more importantly a team around Scappaticcio is finishing the work on a major up-to-date collection of Latin papyri. The publication of the first volumes of the *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus* should be imminent. In the meantime the work of the affiliated authors has been already bringing fresh insights on particular issues of Latin in Egypt and Nubia as it appears in the papyrological evidence.[92]

0.3. Aims of the present research and methodological notes

The present thesis strives to tackle some of the persisting blind spots in the scholarly research of the presence of Latin in Egypt and Nubia, as they were well exemplified by the summary of Evans.[93] To do this, it relies on an approach differing from the one prevailing in the previous treatments of the phenomenon, as mastered by Adams.[94] For drawing conclusions about Latin in Egypt and Nubia, he and others relied primarily on a selection and thorough analysis of specific pieces of textual evidence, or their topographically, functionally or otherwise defined sets. The present thesis aims to build on these conclusions, applying them more widely on the entire body of the presently available evidence, view and test them through alternative perspectives, and, if needed, refine and correct them. It focuses mainly on the quantitative evaluation of Latin textual evidence from Egypt, only supplemented with the in-depth analysis of its selected segments. Both papyrological and epigraphic evidence are equally included and evaluated. In particular, the present thesis aims to draw a comprehensive overview of the occurrence of Latin textual evidence in Egypt and Nubia in its context. The particular features addressed include the issues of its spatial distribution, focusing on the description and evaluation of the higher/lower representation of Latin in certain regions and the differences in the typological makeup of the sets of evidence recovered from them. Other issues studied and analysed cover the functional aspects of Latin within the Egyptian and Nubian societies

[89] FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 421–430.
[90] EVANS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[91] PALME/DOLGANOV, Roman Court Proceedings in Papyri; see also 'Roman Court Proceedings', in: Austrian Academy of Sciences, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/classical-studies/history-of-ancient-law-and-papyrology/roman-court-proceedings-in-papyri; so far see e.g. PALME, in GAGARIN/LANNI (eds.), Symposion 2013: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte.
[92] E.g. BERNINI, JJP 48; BERNINI, ZPE 218; IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX; IOVINE, Manuscripta 63(2); IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano; SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti; SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae.
[93] EVANS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[94] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 527–641.

and identification of the particular occasion on which and the niches of the society in which its use was to a certain degree preferred, the selected aspects of the Roman periods' multilingualism involving the Latin textual evidence. Last but not least the research examines the chronological distribution of Latin textual evidence in Egypt and Nubia before and during the Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE) and the diachronic developments of the use of Latin in Egypt and Nubia, and finally to draw the outlines of the 'history of Latin in Egypt'. Other more particular questions mostly springing up from the ongoing research are discussed as well, and are specified further in the corresponding passages of the present thesis. The particular steps taken in course of the research included the compilation of the Latin evidence from Egypt and Nubia (0.3.1.), the analysis of the entire corpus in a standardised manner and through targeted partial analyses (0.3.2.), and the evaluation and discussion of the acquired data in their wider context (0.3.3.).

0.3.1. Definition and compilation of the analysed corpus

The analysed corpus of textual evidence was compiled according to firmly established criteria, designed specifically for the needs of the present thesis, determining the inclusion/exclusion of particular texts. Geographically, the researched set was delimited by the territories of the modern countries of the Arab Republic of Egypt and Republic of the Sudan, thus including namely also the region of Sinai which did not form a part of the Roman Egyptian province(s) and the territories of Meroitic kingdom which were never ruled over by the Roman Empire. While the actual provenance of many textual specimens, in particular borne by easily portable media, may present an issue, it may be often with a high degree of probability deduced for example from the known modern histories of the object and in the particular case of perishable material, such as papyri, from the mere fact that Egypt, with the locally favourable environment for their preservation, remains the main source of their acquisition.

The lower chronological limit for the compilation was not set. Thus, also the scare extant Latin textual evidence predating the establishment of the Roman province of Aegyptus is included. While not excluding, and even presuming, that Latin was used in Egypt before, when needed for practical reasons, the date of 116 BCE is used which marks the occurrence of the oldest preserved firmly dated piece of Latin evidence from Egypt.[95] The upper limit of the period dealt with was set by the event of the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 CE. Regarding the occurrence of Latin in Egypt this date must be considered as largely arbitrary as it by no means marked the complete disappearance of Latin from Egypt. The less precisely dated pieces of evidence are included if the larger part of their estimated dating interval falls before the date.

As in individual texts the boundaries between Latin and Greek, or other Egyptian languages, were often blurred, only such pieces of textual evidence were included in the analysed corpus which contained at least a minimal recognisable passage, typically a word, unambiguously discernible as representing the Latin language, generally at least showing more than one of the features including the Latin script, Latin morphology, and Latin lexicon. Thus, excluded were the occurrences of Latin loanwords in Greek and Coptic,[96] as well as Greek notations

[95] E.g. BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 321; CIL I, no. 2937a; see also subchapter 3.1. and section 1.5.1. below.

[96] E.g. BEAUCAMP, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, *passim*, esp. 279, 282; BÖHLING, Ein Lexikon der griechischen Lehnwörter im Koptischen; Die griechisch-lateinischen Lehnwörter in den koptischen manichäischen

using the Latin script.[97] While formally meeting the criteria, also isolated occurrences of single Latin words, more specifically heavily abbreviated[98] or with non-Latin morphological features,[99] within a longer continuous passage in another language are also excluded.[100] While left out from the analyses, the abovementioned texts are still considered and discussed as part of the wider context of the studied phenomenon.

On functional grounds, several kinds of Lain texts were excluded as well, representing distinctive modes of the utilisation of the language on objects which did not primarily represent writing media, the texts on which did not have to be actually read for them to serve their purpose or both. This included magical items,[101] coins, transport containers with their stamps, seals, and marks,[102] other kinds of tools or implements, including other vessels,[103] clepsydra clocks,[104] gaming pieces,[105] parts of garment,[106] as well as craftsmen's marks, such most notably the large collection of mason's marks from Mons Claudianus numbering several hundred individual specimens.[107]

The textual evidence was collated from various sources. If possible, several principal editions, or alternatively even reproductions, were consulted. With the exceptions in justified cases, the newest editions were generally preferred and considered as most reliable. The so far unedited pieces of Latin evidence were generally left aside. The individual pieces of evidence are in the text referred to by numbers under which they are listed in the Trismegistos Database,[108] in the format with the 'TM' prefix followed by the registration number (e.g. TM 80859 for the trilingual stele of Cornelius Gallus). Such numbering was chosen to facilitate referencing to particular Trismegistos records. The 7 textual specimens not yet included in the Trismegistos database are labelled through the reference to their publication. Overall, 1289 individual pieces of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia were included into the analysed corpus. They are listed in full in the Appendix of the present thesis.[109]

Texten; CAVENAILE, Aegyptus 32; CERVENKA-EHRENSTRASSER, Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens; DICKEY, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 158; FILOS, in EVANS/OBBINK (eds.); RÖMER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 72; cf. also SOPHOCLES, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, *passim*.

[97] Typically, the '*di emu*' notary subscriptions, *inter alia* APOSTOLAKOU, JJP 50; FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, 223–225; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 427; for the phenomenon of transliterating Greek words into the Latin script in general see esp. FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie.

[98] E.g. P. Freer, nos. 3–4.

[99] E.g. P. Cairo Masp. II, no. 67152.

[100] Amongst the bordering specimens included cf. e.g. BATAILLE, I. Deir el-Bahari, no. 126; CPL, nos. 296–297; MATTHA, Demotic Ostraca, no. 247.

[101] E.g. CPL, no. 316; P. Rain. Unterricht, no. 184.

[102] E.g. notably DUNHAM, Royal tombs at Meroë and Barkal, 186, Fig. 122, no. 21-3-375.

[103] E.g. CIL III, no. 14378a.

[104] LODOMEZ, CdÉ 82(163–164), no. H.

[105] E.g. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, Chiron 6, nos. 49, 61, 63; FITTÀ, Spiele und Spielzeug in der Antike, 115, Fig. 196.

[106] E.g. PARLASCA, CdÉ 80(159–160).

[107] BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV; also e.g. COCKLE, in BAILEY (ed.), Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 38–39, Fig. 23.

[108] DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org.

[109] See Appendix below.

0.3.2. Analysis

Of course, this textual collection must be approached not only as incomplete but also as to a large degree essentially unrepresentative and, thus, evaluated and interpreted as whole with due caution. The entire compiled corpus of evidence was analysed in a standardised manner by individual specimens. The following kinds of data, describing both their context and content, were determined for all textual specimens. Amongst the contextual data it was:

1) **Localisation:**[110] This was recorded in two tiers. In the first tier, the regions of discovery of the individual pieces of evidence were determined. Where possible the ancient administrative divisions as represented by nomes in their extent during the Roman period were used.[111] The surrounding, more broadly defined regiones included the western coast, Western Desert, Sinai, Eastern Desert, Dodecaschoenus, (the rest of) Lower Nubia, and the Island of Meroe. Alexandria and surroundings, equal to the modern agglomeration and the Alexandria Governorate, formed a separate region. The provenance of some texts could be determined only more broadly to larger spans of the Nile Valley and beyond. Many pieces of evidence could not be provenanced more precisely than to Egypt as such. In the second tier, if possible, particular sites of discovery within the regions at which the specimens were recovered were also recorded. In cases in which the particular piece was evidently created at a different place than it was recovered, this place of origin was recorded as well. Otherwise, the texts were presumed to have been created at the site of their discovery.
2) **Dating:**[112] This was also recorded in two tiers. In the first tier, if possible depending on the precision of their dating, the pieces of evidence were sorted into seven distinct periods – covering very roughly a century –, including 116–30 BCE, 30 BCE – 96 CE, 96–192 CE, 192–284 CE, 284–395 CE, 395–500 CE, and 500–641 CE. Their design and the reasoning behind it are discussed in detail below.[113] The specimens for which only more broad dating intervals than the abovementioned periods could be established were assigned to two or more of them combined. In the second tier, a particular dating range(s) of the specimen was recorded up to the precision of a particular year. As a supporting data, particular means of dating were recorded as well.[114]
3) **Medium:**[115] The description of the physical characteristics of the objects bearing the texts were recorded. For stone features bearing the epigraphic evidence also the particular form of the object was marked in a brief manner.
4) **State of preservation:** Helping with their evaluation, the extent to which the individual texts were preserved was captured using a four-degree scale. The completely extant or only minimally reconstructed texts were labelled as 'complete'. Texts missing some passages, but whose extent and contents were re-constructable with a high degree of

[110] See esp. chapter 1. below.
[111] Esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue; cf. also Trismegistos Places, in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php.
[112] See esp. chapter 3. below.
[113] See subchapter 3.0. below.
[114] See subchapter 3.0. below.
[115] See esp. section 1.0.1. below.

reliability were considered as 'damaged'. Specimens preserving considerable passages without the possibility to estimate their original length and entire content were labelled as 'partial'. Texts with only isolated (partial) sentences, or less were designated as 'traces'. In the case of literary and subliterary works the evaluation pertained rather to the state of preservation of the extant passages than to the extent of recovery of the entire composition.

The remaining categories focused on analysing the content of the particular pieces of textual evidence. This included the following data:

5) **Typological classification:**[116] This was, once more, recorded in two tiers. It was based on the functional characteristics of the texts. In the first tier, the individual pieces of evidence were assigned to classes, such as 'literary texts', 'letters', or 'visitors' graffiti', representing groupings of functionally close texts. The classification generally follows the conventional distinctions of textual types,[117] with adjustment necessitated by the design of the present analyses and research. Although largely also functional, the distinction between papyrological and epigraphic evidence was intentionally disregarded. A smaller part of the evidence could not be assigned to any of the classes. Many specimens contained texts, or distinct parts, classifiable to two or more classes. More specifics of the first tier of classification are dealt with below.[118] In the second tier, particular textual types, such as 'birth certificate', 'building inscription', or '*feliciter* (visitor's graffito)', represented by the individual pieces were determined. In fact, similarly to classes, these types in many cases also represented a further specifiable range of particular kinds of texts. Such distinctions are dealt with separately in the text. The types are defined on the basis of various criteria, depending largely on each individual class. Specifically, in the case of the closely related classes of literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts, also the particular distinguishable works could be filled in under the heading of the type.
6) **Personnel:**[119] As supporting evidence, basic data was gathered about the persons appearing in the textual evidence. Special attention was given to their relation to the texts and the consequent degree of direct and indirect influence they could have over its contents and in particular the choice of its language. The persons responsible for their creation were labelled as 'originators'. This could include the actual authors and scribes of the pieces, as well as their initiators in a broader sense, including nominal ones. The latter kind of originators were necessarily in need of the assistance of others, who either conveyed the initiative or themselves created the texts. When explicitly mentioned, they are labelled as 'intermediaries'. If mentioned, the persons for whom or to whose benefit or honour the texts were written/inscribed were labelled as 'beneficiaries'. For some classes/types of texts, such as most obviously letters, dedications, and funerary inscriptions, the mention of beneficiaries indeed

[116] See esp. chapter 2. below.
[117] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, *passim*, esp. 358–394; BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy.
[118] See section 2.0.1. below.
[119] See esp. section 2.0.2. below, also *passim* below.

represented an integral feature. While recognising the more subtle differences between the groups, the originators, intermediaries, and beneficiaries were all considered as directly involved with the respective pieces of evidence and influencing their content. This is in distinction from other persons appearing only as part of the conveyed information, labelled as 'mentioned', whose indirect influence is in specific cases not ruled out but necessarily in general significantly less to minimal. In general, the persons mentioned in the texts were, if possible, described also by other characteristics capturing the vocational/social milieu they belonged to. Broader groups summing up their background included the military, the administrative (including everything from the civil provincial apparatus to the municipal honours), the hybrid group military/administrative reserved for governors in the ranks of *praefecti Aegypti*, *duces et augustales* and other specific cases of high officials wielding both military and civil administrative powers,[120] rulers and their houses, and the much less represented groups of slaves and freedmen, craftsmen, priesthood, and other educated (literate) professionals. Within these groups, other details about the persons were recorded as well.

7) **Bilingualism:**[121] In cases in which the particular pieces of textual evidence were not written/inscribed only in Latin, basic characteristics of their bilingualism (or multilingualism) were recorded. Firstly, the other language or languages included by the textual specimen were noted. Secondly, its character was described in the broadest possible terms with the non-Latin text representing either the (approximate) translation of the Latin part of the text, or conveying similar matters expressed by other than roughly equal means or entirely different information. More specific characteristics of bilingual texts are dealt with below.

Beyond the overall analysis, smaller segments of the corpus of evidence were analysed using other kinds of data which were chosen in reaction to more particular research questions, which are discussed in detail in the respective passages below. In a simplified manner, excluding the supporting evidence, the data gained in course of the analysis are included in the Appendix of the present thesis.[122]

0.3.3. Synthesis and structure of the thesis

Following up on the analyses of the corpus of textual evidence and its selected segments, the resulting data and findings are then discussed and evaluated against their wider political, social, cultural, and other context and then further synthesised. The synthesis of the conclusions is done within the framework of three distinct thematic blocks which at the same time represent the three main chapters of the present thesis. The conclusions arrived at in the three separate thematic block are then most comprehensively linked up in the third chapter. The fourth chapter presents conclusions of all three main chapters in a summarised manner.

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[120] E.g. JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 56–57; PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, 248. For most purposes, these officials were counted amongst the members of the administrative, cf. esp. section 2.0.2. and Tab. 2.1. below.

[121] See esp. section 2.0.3. below, also *passim* below.

[122] See Appendix below.

The first chapter titled 'Topographic overview and distribution' (1.) draws a descriptive overview of particular sets of texts as well as their individual specimens within the context of regions and particular sites they came from. It is limited to the five broader regions with by far the highest share from the absolute amount of Latin textual evidence, covering in total nearly three quarters of the entire corpus, namely Alexandria and surroundings (1.1.), the Fayum and Middle Egypt (1.2.), the Theban region (1.3.), the Eastern Desert (1.4.), and the 1st Upper Egyptian nome and Nubia (1.5.). In a minor capacity,[123] the chapter also briefly discusses the media on which the texts were preserved and their specifics. The following discussion focuses on the comparison of the individual regions and addressing the reasons behind the different typological profiles of Latin evidence recovered from them. Additional attention is given also to regions which in deviation from the established patterns yielded only limited amounts of Latin textual evidence.

The second chapter titled 'Typological and functional analysis' focuses on the typological classification[124] and functional characterisation of texts represented in the analysed corpus, and to a lesser degree the questions of the personnel involved[125] in them and their possible bilingualism.[126] In its introduction, the chapter also very concisely discusses Adams's[127] concept of Latin as the 'language of power', which plays pivotal role throughout the chapter. Organised according to individual classes, it covers separately the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts (2.1.), legal texts (2.2.), administrative texts (2.3.), and letters (2.4.). The following three classes comprise mainly epigraphic evidence of dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones (2.5.), visitors' graffiti (2.6.), and funerary inscriptions (2.7.), and individual types of texts breaking down also to their more specific kinds. All of these are discussed within the purview of the chapter and further examined through targeted analyses, often taking into consideration questions regarding the persons involved and aspects of their bilingualism. The overall discussion at the end of the chapter focuses on the discussion of the main niches of the Egyptian and Nubian societies in which Latin significantly appeared and what its actual impact was within them. In the very end, the idea of Latin in Egypt and Nubia as largely resulting from the long-term external inflow of texts and the periodically happening extra-provincial interventions of various kinds is briefly outlined.

The third chapter titled 'The diachronic perspective – the history of Latin in Egypt' contains the chronological overview and analysis of the evidence which are used together with the findings stemming from the previous chapter to address the diachronic developments of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt and Nubia. In the course of the analysis, the principal outlines of the history of Latin in Egypt are formulated. The major distinction between the broader early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) and late antiquity (284–641 CE) is outlined as part of the chapter's introduction. The more subtle changes are discussed within shorter segments of time roughly capturing the subsequent phases in the development of the use of Latin in Egypt

[123] See esp. subchapter 1.6. and section 1.0.1. below.
[124] See also section 2.0.1. below.
[125] See esp. section 2.0.2. below.
[126] See esp. section 2.0.3. below.
[127] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 383–403, 537–541, 545–576; 597–623; 630–637; 757–759.

and Nubia, namely the modest prelude of 116–30 BCE (3.1.), the initial explosion of 30 BCE – 96 CE (3.2.), the standardisation and stagnation of 96–192 CE (3.3.), the early decline of 192–284 CE (3.4.), a limited resurgence and adjustment of 284–395 CE (3.5.), and the final decline of 395–641 CE (3.6.). A very brief epilogue is appended at the very end (3.7.).

The fourth chapter briefly evaluates the objectives of the research and summarises its principal results of the research as well as its main conclusions. It also draws a concise overview of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt. It is again organised according to the sequence of topics as presented in the three main chapters of the present thesis.

1. Topographic overview and distribution

1.0. Introduction

The precision with which it was possible to fix in space the individual pieces of Latin evidence from the territories of the modern Arab republic of Egypt and the Republic of the Sudan considerably varied. It depended amongst others mainly on aspects of their materiality as well as the preservation of their original context and/or existence (or absence) and quality of its documentation. Overall, 966 texts, representing 74.94 % of the entire corpus, could be associated with an individual site or at least a region, considering primarily the actual provenance (the site of discovery), or alternatively also the original provenance (the place of origin). The remaining 323 pieces, representing 25.06 % of the entire corpus, could be stated, without further specification, to come from Egypt in general, or at best associated only with the larger spans of the Nile Valley and beyond (TM 15836, 18058, 61410, 61414, 69865–69866, 69962, 70038, 70041, 70106–70107, 74522–74524, 78802, 389951).[128] The more accurately provenanced text were each assigned to a particular region, if possible, a particular site of discovery, and, if it evidently differed, also the place of origin. For the Egyptian part of the Nile Valley, the regions were based on the historical political/administrative units of nomes[129] in their extent during the Roman period.[130] Other generally accepted subdivisions were adopted for the description of the surrounding regions.

The vast majority of 902 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 69.98 % of the entire corpus, came from several regions only.[131] These regions and the Latin texts they yielded are described in detail below. With some of them grouped into larger logical units, they are Alexandria and surroundings (1.1.), the Fayum and Middle Egypt (1.2.), the Theban region (1.3.), the Eastern Desert (1.4.), and the 1st Upper Egyptian nome and Nubia (1.5.).

1.0.1. Writing media

The texts were borne by various media.[132] Their particular kinds were amongst others distinguished from each other by varying movability, conditions affecting their preservation, as well as their durability in general. Depending on these and other characteristics, such as price or aesthetic value, each medium was also more or less narrowly and exclusively linked to certain textual types. Papyri (613, 47.56 %) were by far the most common, usually in the form of *volumen* and less often in others, such as *rotulus*, single sheet, or codex, widely adopted only during late antiquity (284–641 CE).[133] Given especially the specific conditions needed for their preservation until modern times, they could found extant and recovered *en-masse* only

[128] For the complex issue of the provenance of the 'Florida ostraca' and other related pieces in particular (TM 69865–69866, 74522–74524) see *inter alia* BAGNALL/CRIBIORE, CdÉ 85(169–170), 221–223; see also Tab. 1.1. below.
[129] Esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue; cf. also cf. also Trismegistos Places, in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php.
[130] See *passim* in this chapter below.
[131] See also Tab. 1.1. below.
[132] See also Tab. 1.1. below.
[133] E.g. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 19–25; for the adoption of the form of codex see e.g. MEYER, Chiron 37.

from certain regions of Egypt.[134] Similar to papyrus, both in content and rate of preservation, was parchment (61, 4.73 %), employed especially since late antiquity for codices.[135] More durable than both were wood (39, 3.03 %) and bronze (7, 0.54 %). The former appeared almost exclusively (with the notable exception of TM 786175)[136] in the form of wooden tablets, typically (originally) joint into diptychs,[137] which were used for a limited range of mostly personal legal documents.[138] The latter was (again with the notable exception of TM 102611)[139] used in a similar form as the wooden tablets only for one specific kind of document, the military diploma.[140] Virtually the cheapest and most readily available writing material of antiquity in general, and Egypt in particular, were pottery ostraca (166, 12.88 %). Their use was especially widespread in locations with lower availability of papyrus, such as the Eastern Desert.[141] It is also this region from which most of the Latin-bearing ostraca from Egypt derive. Stone was the second most common medium in the corpus (403, 31.26 %). It appeared in various forms including natural rock, buildings, altars, statue bases, stelae, plaques, and other monuments, and represented in general an expensive, immovable or only hardly movable medium. Unlike the ones described above, it was used mainly for texts intended for display in public, thus, containing a range of almost wholly different textual genres. A single inscription was tessellated as part of a mosaic (TM 106274).[142]

	Overall	Papyrus	Parchment	Wood	Bronze	Pottery ostracon	Stone
Overall	1289	614	61	39	7	166	402
Egypt (unspecified region)	323	283	13	13	1	10	3
Alexandria and surroundings	158	–	–	–	1	–	157
Alexandria	45	–	–	–	1	–	44
Nicopolis	109	–	–	–	–	–	109
18th Lower Egyptian nome	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
14th Lower Egyptian nome	4	–	–	–	–	–	4
13th Lower Egyptian nome	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
8th Lower Egyptian nome	2	–	–	–	–	–	2
7th Lower Egyptian nome	4	–	–	–	–	–	4
5th Lower Egyptian nome	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3th Lower Egyptian nome	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
1th Lower Egyptian nome	8	2	–	3	–	–	3
Fayum	173	128	16	20	2	5	2
Karanis (Kom Aushim)	28	23	–	1	1	3	–

[134] See subchapter 1.2. below

[135] E.g. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 11.

[136] See section 1.2.3. below.

[137] E.g. MEYER, Chiron 37, 308–311; MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, *passim*.

[138] See esp. section 2.2.3. below; See also esp. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 171–175.

[139] See section 1.1.1. below.

[140] E.g. SPEIDEL, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 337–340.

[141] E.g. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 14–17; COWEY, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History.

[142] See section 1.1.2. below.

Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	20	10	–	10	–	–	–
Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	11	11	–	–	–	–	–
Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	11	11	–	–	–	–	–
20th Upper Egyptian nome	6	6	–	–	–	–	–
19th Upper Egyptian nome	122	105	13	2	–	–	2
Oxyrhynchos	119	103	13	2	–	–	1
15th Upper Egyptian nome	60	40	15	1	–	–	4
Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	18	9	9	–	–	–	–
Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	32	25	6	1	–	–	–
13th Upper Egyptian nome	3	2	–	–	–	–	1
10th Upper Egyptian nome	9	9	–	–	–	–	–
Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	9	9	–	–	–	–	–
8th Upper Egyptian nome	7	–	–	–	–	–	7
9th Upper Egyptian nome	4	3	–	–	–	–	1
5th Upper Egyptian nome	11	1	–	–	3	2	5
4th Upper Egyptian nome	111	3	–	–	–	2	106
The Colossi of Memnon	44	–	–	–	–	–	44
Valley of the Kings	34	–	–	–	–	–	34
The Luxor Temple	16	–	–	–	–	–	16
3th Upper Egyptian nome	2	–	1	–	–	–	1
2th Upper Egyptian nome	21	2	–	–	–	18	1
1th Upper Egyptian nome	30	7	–	–	–	1	22
Syene (Aswan)	12	2	–	–	–	1	11
The western coast	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
The Western Desert	4	1	2	–	–	–	1
Sinai	3	1	1	–	–	–	1
The Eastern Desert	173	4	–	–	–	128	41
Mons Claudianus	49	–	–	–	–	43	6
Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	31	–	–	–	–	29	2
Berenike (Ras Banas)	19	1	–	–	–	17	1
Dodecaschoenus	29	–	–	–	–	–	29
Talmis (Kalabsha)	13	–	–	–	–	–	13
Pselchis (Dakka)	10	–	–	–	–	–	10
Lower Nubia	16	16	–	–	–	–	–
Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	16	16	–	–	–	–	–
Island of Meroe	1	–	–	–	–	–	1

Tab. 1.1. The distribution of Latin textual evidence and representation of writing media across the regions and selected sites of Egypt and Nubia. The data in the table are on the 'region of discovery' and 'site of discovery', disregarding the 'place of origin', categories of data.[143]

[143] Cf. Appendix below.

1.1. Alexandria and surroundings

The area defined by the extent of the modern agglomeration and the Alexandria Governorate yielded a large collection of 158 Latin and bilingual inscriptions on stone and one in bronze (TM 102611)[144] and could be (tentatively) ascertained as the place of origin of a further 43 texts on papyri and wooden tablets and a tombstone (TM 102420).

Since the beginning of the Graeco-Roman period, the city of Alexandria posed as a singular entity amongst the other centres of Egypt, defined on the one hand by its status as the cosmopolitan capital and natural centre of the kingdom/province, on the other as a periphery both in literal geographical and political, social, cultural, as well as linguistic sense.[145] During the Roman period Alexandria remained the seat of the top echelons of the Egyptian administrative with its supreme positions newly occupied by external Roman officials.[146] Besides that, at least for the duration of the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), the Alexandrian area also hosted the core of the Roman military garrison of the province, consisting variably of one to two legions, several auxiliary units, and one of the fleets of the Roman navy, the *classis Augusta Alexandrina*.[147]

Given the persisting urban character of the modern Alexandrian landscape, and that a large part of the 158 inscriptions were found against the background of its rapid development at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries, they often lack information on their wider context, if it was properly recorded at all and sometimes the their precise provenance itself could be uncertain or at least partly obscured.[148] Thus, the inscriptions coming from the city proper are discussed together with texts of uncertain provenance within the broader region (1.1.1.). However, special attention and a section is dedicated to Latin evidence which could be associated with the military camp at Nicopolis and its surrounds (1.1.2.), namely its burial ground.[149] Finds from the more distant settlements of Taposiris Parva and Canopus are dealt with separately as well (1.1.3.).[150] Most of the 43 texts on papyri and wooden tablets tracked to Alexandria as their place of origin were recovered from the regions of the Fayum and the 19th Upper Egyptian nome, and, apart from this subchapter, are dealt with also in the context of the other documents they were found with.[151] Altogether, the 158 + 44 texts associated

[144] See also Tab. 1.1. above.

[145] See esp. De Graaf, The Classical Quarterly 72(1); for Alexandra in general see *inter alia* Bagnall (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 71–87, 180–185; Bard (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Alexandria*; Empereur, Alexandria rediscovered; Kayser, I. Alex. Imp.; McKenzie, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt; Tkaczow, The topography of ancient Alexandria; Venit, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt.

[146] In general esp. Jördens, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; Kruse, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt.

[147] *Inter alia* Alston, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 23–28, 36–37, 163–164; Fischer-Bovet/Sänger, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 171–175; Haensch, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.

[148] See e.g. Tkaczow, The topography of ancient Alexandria, 261–274.

[149] Based on the recorded provenance, including *en-bloc* the finds associated with certain modern toponyms (Ramleh, Sidi Gaber, etc.); cf. esp. Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 9–10.

[150] See also Fig. 1.1. below.

[151] See subchapter 1.2. below.

with Alexandria represent 15.67 % of the entire corpus, as noted above, dominated by inscriptions on stone (77.28 %).

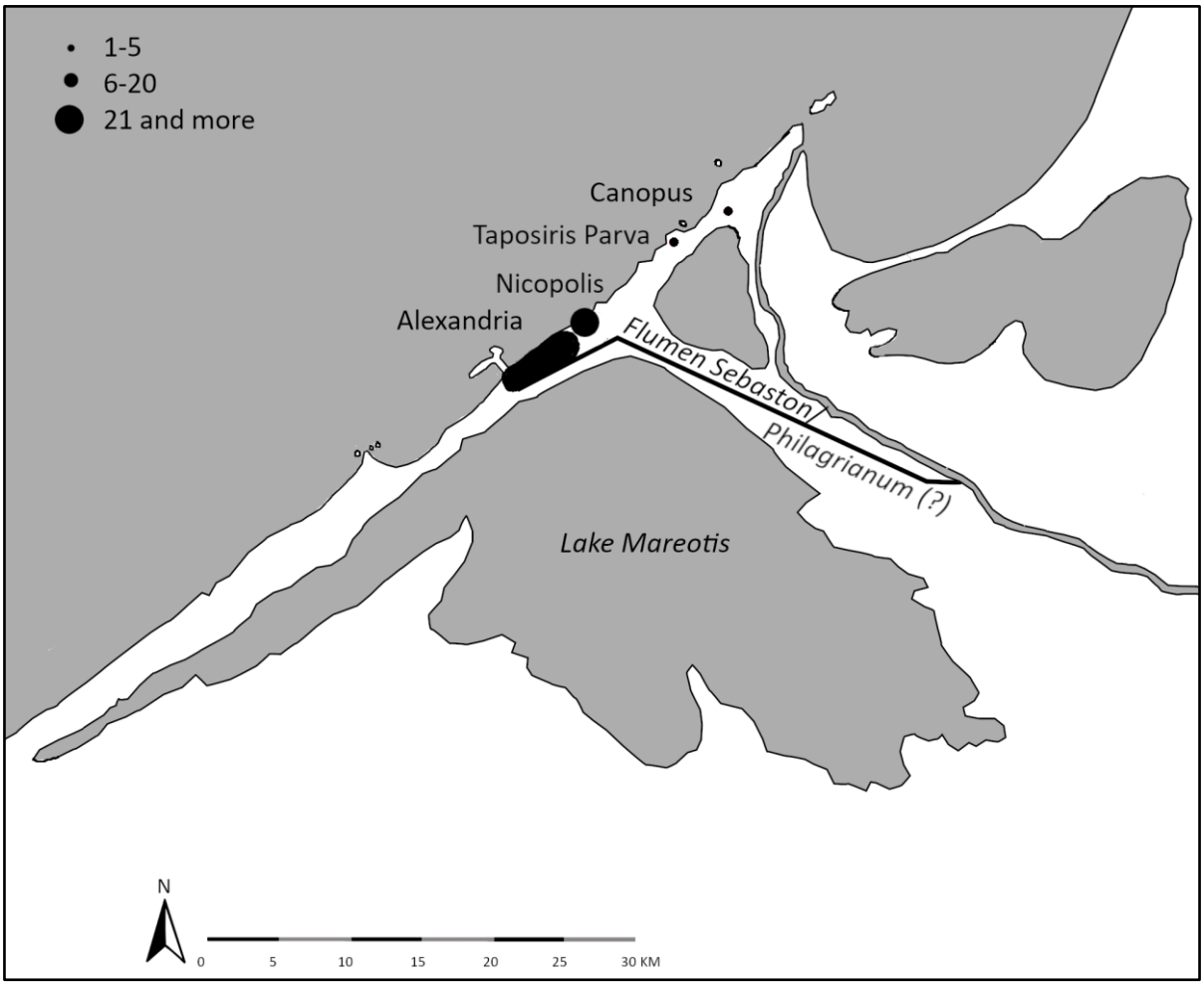


Fig. 1.1. The distribution of Latin textual evidence across the individual sites of the region of Alexandria and surroundings. The amounts of individual pieces of evidence coming from a single site are visualised in the sizes of the points. The city of Alexandria is visualised not as a point but in its approximate territorial extent.

1.1.1. Alexandria

The Latin epigraphic record of the capital included mainly various inscriptions belonging to the category of dedications and building inscriptions. The oldest extant Latin inscription from Alexandria (TM 107330) has been only recently recognised as preserved in traces, namely attachment holes left after the original bronze letters,[152] on the so-called Vatican Obelisk named after its current location at Vatican, Rome.[153] However, it formerly stood at Alexandria. The building inscription recorded the establishment of the 'Forum Iulium' where the obelisk was apparently originally erected. Despite some uncertainty about its identification,[154] the forum arguably belonged to the building complex near the Eastern Port, including the well-

[152] MAGI, Studi Romani 11(1).
[153] *Inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 571–572; ALFÖLDY, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom; IVERSEN, Obelisks in Exile I, 19–46; KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., nos. 1, 4; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43; SALVATERRA, Aegyptus 67(1/2).
[154] E.g. MCKENZIE, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 390, footnote no. 58; SALVATERRA, Aegyptus 67(1/2).

known Cleopatra VII's Caesareum, formerly dedicated to the cult of Iulius Caesar and later the imperial cult.[155] As the text reports, the works were caried out under the authority of Cornelius Gallus, the soon to be first *praefectus Aegypti*,[156] here still referred to in the capacity *praefectus fabrum* in which he served in Octavian's army during the Alexandrian Campaign. Thus, the dedication had to take place shortly after the final conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE. The commander of the engineering corps could be regarded as a natural choice for Octavian to whom to delegate such task. Later, the building inscription of Cornelius Gallus was removed and replaced by another text (TM 106374). It was a dedication to the deified Augustus and to Tiberius. The new message was repeated twice on two opposite sides of the obelisk. Originally, it was taken as a fact that the monument was rededicated by Caligula concurrently with its relocation to Rome which he ordered.[157] However, it has been later convincingly,[158] although not conclusively,[159] argued that the later dedication was older than that, inscribed still at Alexandria, and that, on the contrary, an unaccomplished attempt was made under Caligula's authority to remove it and later at least to conceal it. At Rome, the obelisk was erected first at the Vatican *circus*, and finally in 1586 moved for pope Sixtus V by Domenico Fontana to become the centrepiece of the nearby St. Peter's Square.[160]

Two more obelisks, the famous 'Cleopatra's needles' now in London and New York, were erected on the quayside nearby in front of the entrance to the Caesareum in 13–12 BCE.[161] The eastern, New York, obelisk was still standing during the 19th century and supported by the remains of a bronze construction in the form of crabs.[162] Two inscribed texts (TM 102611) were preserved on a claw of one of the arthropods. Recording nearly the same message in Latin and Greek, the building inscriptions identify P. Rubrius Barbarus[163] as the sponsor and a certain Pontius, an architect, as the contractor of the works. Interestingly, it was only the Latin version which explicitly mentioned Barbarus' official post of the *praefectus Aegypti*.

Another large building project was recorded in two similar bilingual inscriptions (TM 102613, 102649) from 10–11 CE. One of them (TM 102613) was found on a stone plaque, apparently reused, recovered from the eastern part of the city near the Rosetta Gate;[164] the other one

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[155] Esp. ALFÖLDY, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom, 41–42; HÄNLEIN-SCHÄFER, Veneratio Augusti, 211–216; HEINEN, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/18/5, esp. 3152–3155; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43; for the complex in general e.g. MCKENZIE, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 177–178; PFEIFFER, Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil, 237–241; PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 86–87.

[156] See also subchapter 1.5. below

[157] Esp. CIL VI, no. 882; for the relocation see PLINIUS MAIOR, Naturalis Historia XVI, 76, 201; see e.g. also WIRSCHING, The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology 29(2).

[158] Esp. IVERSEN, JEA 51; *inter alia* also ALFÖLDY, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom, esp. 83; IVERSEN, Obelisks in Exile I, 20–24; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43b.

[159] Esp. IVERSEN, JEA 51, 154; see also PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43b.

[160] See also FONTANA, Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano, 9–36.

[161] *Inter alia* HAYWARD, Cleopatra's Needles; IVERSEN, Obelisks in Exile II, 90–96; KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 2; MCKENZIE, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 177; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 46; TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, no. 81.

[162] MCKENZIE, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, Fig. 302.

[163] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 268; BRUNT, JRS 65, 142.

[164] TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, no. 207. Kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Inv. No. III 783), Online Sammlung (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien), https://www.khm.at/en/objectdb/detail/53293/?lv=detail.

(TM 102649), discovered close to the western edge of the city, was inscribed on a column.[165] Giving slightly different details, both inscriptions recorded the inauguration of the same project, the (re-)construction of a major water-canal named '*Flumen Sebaston*/ *Ποταμὸς Σεβαστὸς*' which was reported to have lead from Schedia, ca. 30 km south of Alexandria, and 'through the whole city'. In the inscription, Augustus was mentioned as the originator of the project but the *praefectus Aegypti* C. Iulius Aquila, who apparently oversaw the project, was mentioned as well.

Amongst the other more conventional dedications coming from statues or altars, four (TM 106165, 106277, 108943, 108945) were addressed to persons outside the imperial family, a subtype of inscriptions otherwise very rare amongst the Latin evidence from Roman Egypt.[166] Three of these inscriptions (TM 106165, 108943, 108945) came from the 2nd century CE. Two (TM 106165, 108943) honoured the *praefecti Aegypti* and were sponsored by military officers. Notably, one of them, T. Longaeus Rufus, was awarded a statue only after his Egyptian tenure and promotion to praetorian prefecture in Rome (TM 106165) and one of the dedicants, Maesianus, was a centurion of *legio III Gallica* stationed in Syria rather than Egypt (TM 108943). Another inscription (TM 108945) was addressed to an imperial freedman Cosmus, who held a high position in the central imperial administrative with the title of *a rationibus*.[167] A high central official was honoured also by a statue (TM 106277) erected in the late 4th century CE, most likely in 384 CE.[168] The *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* Maternus Cynegius was awarded the statue, as told by its accompanying inscription, 'on request of the most eminent nobles of the city of Alexandria' by the emperors Theodosius I and Arcadius.

An earlier high-profile visit was also commemorated through dedicating a statue (TM 106375).[169] In 19 CE, Alexandria and Egypt were visited by Germanicus, the heir apparent of emperor Tiberius and, at that time, his proxy for the east.[170] The inscription accompanying the gift is the only preserved case of a Latin imperial dedication from Egypt addressed to a member of the imperial family other than the emperor himself. The Germanicus' statue was consecrated by the *collegium* of the *magistri Larum Augustorum*. These officials presided over the originally Roman cult of the protective deities, the Lares, of municipal communal purview.[171] Since the Augustan times, these cults, spreading also to the provinces, were closely connected to the imperial ideology – namely in maintaining the relations between the civic communities and the emperor – and in the provinces to some extent with the imperial cult.[172] Apart from Germanicus, other dedications in Latin were made also for Caracalla (TM 106163)

[165] BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 49 (18); TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, no. 225A.

[166] The only other two examples come from Nicopolis, see section 1.1.2. below; and one more from Fuwa (TM 106162) in the Western Delta (7. Lower Egytian nome) not far from Alexandria.

[167] Cf. e.g. KLODZIŃSKI, Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum CII, esp. 114–115.

[168] See subchapter 3.5. below.

[169] Kept in Musée Calvet, Avignon (Inv. No. F 111).

[170] Esp. TACITUS, Annales II, 59–61; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039; WEINGÄRTNER, Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus; see also SUETONIUS, De Vitis Caesarum, Tiberius, 52.

[171] Esp. FLOWER, The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden; LOTT, The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome.

[172] E.g. SERRANO, Revue historique de droit français et étranger 66(2). However, note the previously accepted integration of the imperial cult with that of Lares Augusti has been recently disproved, Flower, The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden, esp. 299–310; LOTT, The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome, 106–114.

and an uncertain imperial figure (TM 108942).[173] Notably, at least five more came (probably) from the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE; TM 106275–106276, 106062, 106315, 220339, and probably also LAUBE, Excavations in the Basileia of Alexandria, cat. no. 37). By one such inscription (TM 106315), a statue was awarded by a certain Aurelius Sarapion, probably a veteran,[174] to Diocletian as '*pater Augustorum*', that is only after his abdication in 305 CE. Two inscriptions (TM 106275–106276) were addressed to Constantine I by high-ranking members of the provincial administrative. Two inscriptions (TM 106062, 220339), each on an altar, recovered from Alexandria formed a complementary couple. Both inscriptions were formulated as acclamations to an unnamed senior and junior member of the tetrarchy respectively, using an appellation associating them with the supreme Roman god Jupiter: '*Iovi*[175] *Auguste/Caesar, vincas*/ O Iovius Augustus/Caesar, may you prevail!'. Remarkably, they fit well with acclamations inscribed on a group of luxury fibulae interpreted as gifts and symbols of office conferred by the emperor to his subordinates, and dated mostly to the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE).[176] A monumental base was recovered with an inscription from the later 4th century CE through which C. Valerius Eusebius, *comes per Orientem*, that is the head of the diocese with the capital in Antiochia in Syria, dedicated a statue to Valentinian I.

Besides dedications, Latin was used on several tombstones (TM 98517, 106069, 106071, 106310, 106344–106345, 154456, 901140) associated with the city of Alexandria as well. They mostly came from the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), with one notable exception. It was a bilingual tombstone (TM 98517) made for a woman named Rebeka, which is the only Christian tombstone in the presently discussed set of evidence. Not only hers, but also other funerary inscriptions (TM 106310, 106344, 154456) from Alexandria used both Latin and Greek to record practically the same text. With the exception of Rebeka's epitaph, Latin preceded Greek in all. Notably, one (TM 106310) was made for a centurion's freedman. Two other tombstones (TM 106069, 106071) were made directly for soldiers.

Other inscriptions associated with Alexandria were more or less too fragmentary or obscure to allow reliable classification. Some could have been dedications or building inscriptions (TM 107273, 115849, 115864, 118681, 118681, 653776). One of them was a plaque containing a partially preserved account of a career of an equestrian officer. Interestingly, on the backside of the stone there was a Greek recording of a very similar career path which, however, must have belonged to another man.[177] Another inscription (TM 653778) comprised a short Latin Christian prayer: '*Deus nos adiuvet*/ May the God help us!' Altogether nine readable dipinti in red ink (TM 154327–154335) were found amongst fragments of marble, collected near kilns to be processed for lime but never burnt, coming from the site of Kom el-Dikka. They composed a coherent set also by their contents, six of them (TM 154327–154332) simply

[173] See section 2.5.2. below.
[174] See section 2.5.2 below.
[175] From the one of the pair honouring the junior emperor (*Caesar*; TM 220339), only the ending of the text was preserved. The theophoric name was restored by De Ricci as '*Iovius*' (DE RICCI, CRAIBL 52(10), 793) and supported by comparison with another unprovenanced inscription probably following a similar pattern (TM 913090; DE RICCI, CRAIBL 53(2), 146; cf. also JOHANSEN, JRA 7, 227, footnote no. 25). While this solution seems indeed more probable, it may not be excluded that the parallel appellation '*Herculius*' could have been used as well.
[176] JOHANSEN, JRA 7, 227–231.
[177] DEMOUGIN/LEFEBVRE, Revue des études anciennes 104; see *ibid.*, no. 1 for the Greek text.

stating the name 'Caesar', the other three apparently proclaimed a collective designation 'Caesariani'. The original context as well as interpretation of this remarkable set remains unclear.[178]

The Latin evidence from Alexandria was further supplemented by 33 documents which came from other parts of Egypt but could be identified as apparently/tentatively drafted in the city. They included 16 texts on papyri and 17 on wooden tablets.[179] They mostly comprised of various legal texts, usually birth certificates, less often judicial proceedings, and documents related to the acts of appointment of the guardian (*datio tutoris muliebris*) and inheritance. Besides them, there were only two fragments of administrative texts (TM 70008, 17204). It also ought to be mentioned that Alexandria was the main place from which the soldier Claudius Terentianus corresponded with his father Claudius Tiberianus residing in the Fayum (TM 27080–27083, 27085).[180]

The bulk of the present documents were produced by the central administrative apparatus of the province, especially the governor's office – the *praefectus Aegypti* and later during late antiquity (284–641 CE) the succession of the respective heads of the civil and military administration.[181] The preserved Latin and bilingual papers deal with agendas (virtually)[182] monopolised by the central authority. Against the backdrop of the generally increased centralisation during the Roman period, in particular in the matters of personal status and property,[183] these documents typically addressed the issues of Roman citizens or the Roman citizenship as such. In fact, they were often personal copies and excerpts from the registers kept in the central archives[184] or published, in particular, in the Forum Augustum at Alexandria,[185] that is the former Forum Iulium briefly discussed above.

Excluding the ones discussed in the following chapter, some of the texts traced to Alexandria deserve a separate mention. Two incomplete wooden diptychs (TM 18820, 70158) contained certificates of the appointment of a guardian (*datio tutoris muliebris*) for Maevia Dionysarion and Herennia Antonia respectively, issued by the office of the *praefectus Aegypti*. As such they represent one of the two distinct types of Latin documents connected with this type of legal act.[186] The judicial proceedings of a hearing from 378–379 CE (TM 219245) was a copy recovered from a fragment of a larger collection of documents (*tomos synkollesimos*).[187] Dealing with an uncertain matter, the court was interestingly presided by one Flavius Cratinus in his capacity of *praefectus Annonae Alexandriae*, that is an official dealing with the

[178] ŁUKASZEWICZ, JJP 41.
[179] For the provenance of some wooden tablets see also section 2.2.3. below.
[180] See section 1.2.1. below.
[181] E.g. KRUSE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 123–127, 134–135; PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World.
[182] Note esp. the exception of some birth certificates issued in military camps, e.g. TM 15712; 78521, for TM 78521 see section 1.5.2. below.
[183] See esp. KRUSE, Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung, 63–280.
[184] *Inter alia* COCKLE, JEA 70; KRUSE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 126–127.
[185] E.g. COCKLE, JEA 70, 118; MCKENZIE, The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 177; see also SCHULZ, JRS 32, *passim*.
[186] See section 2.2.3. below; cf. petition letters with official confirmation (TM 20419, 21331, 21867).
[187] Esp. CLARYSSE, in BROSIUS (ed.), Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions.

procurement/management of the grain supplies. A hint for the context of the legal action may be offered by a Greek document preserved on the same papyrus fragment dealing with amounts of an unknown commodity, probably cereals.[188] A nearly complete document on papyrus (TM 16273) recorded, in the form of a letter, a loan between two soldiers, foot soldier Pompeius, the creditor, and cavalryman Secundus, the debtor. The piece is remarkable for several of its details, for example, the description of various preciously decorated pieces of Secundus' military outfit put in pawn to Pompeius for a part of the debt.

1.1.2. Nicopolis

A majority of the 109 Latin inscriptions, and apparently also 10 texts on papyri and a tombstone acquisitioned at Cairo (TM 102420), from the wider Alexandrian region could be associated with Nicopolis and its surrounds, representing 58.91 % of Latin evidence from the Alexandrian area. The settlement of Nicopolis (also Iuliopolis in the earlier sources),[189] located ca. 3 km east of the ancient limits of Alexandria,[190] was reportedly founded by Octavian on the location of his military encampment and/or place of victory over M. Antonius during his Egyptian campaign.[191] The site was dominated by a newly built large military camp (*castra legionis*) housing the Alexandrian garrison. The force was placed conveniently for the central provincial authority's disposal not only in the case of internal strife, but also towards any external threat which was most likely to come from the east.[192]

From the onset of the Roman period there was reportedly one legion and at least three auxiliary units stationed at Alexandria.[193] Sometime before 23 CE, the Egyptian garrison as such was reduced, but the camp at Nicopolis received an additional legion; the two at that time being the *legio III Cyrenaica* and *legio XXII Deiotariana*.[194] The Egyptian garrison apparently played a major part in the expansive campaigns of Traian to the Middle East, in suppression of the Jewish revolt which broke out towards the end of his reign, and other missions in the region under Hadrian's rule.[195] Consequently, the entire Egyptian garrison had to be

[188] P. Monts. Roca IV, no. 70, 1.

[189] For discussion of the names see HANSON, ZPE 37; for Nicopolis in general see esp. ADRIANI, Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto greco-romano. Serie C, esp. 100–102; 230–231; ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 192–193; MURRAY, A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt I, 140–141; TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, 174–175; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 1–7.

[190] For the discussion of the location and the conflicting ancient testimonies of the distance see esp. BINGEN, CdÉ 19(38), 278, footnote no. 3; see also WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 1–5.

[191] CASSIUS DIO, Historia Romana LI, 1.3; STRABO, Geographica XVII, 1.10.

[192] For the discussion on the significance of the Roman army deployment at Alexandria see *inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 36–37; BAGNALL, JRA 10, 505; HAENSCH, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 70–71; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 1.

[193] STRABO, Geographica XVII, 1.12; for the overview of Roman military deployment in Egypt see *inter alia* BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 60–67; ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 13–38; 163–191; BOVET/SÄNGER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 171–175; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1; HAENSCH, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 69–72; LESQUIER, L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien, 1–114; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit; PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine world, 245–249, 255–256; POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1); SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1.

[194] TACITUS, Annales IV, 5.

[195] E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 72–73; 75–77; DERDA, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 58. As the exact dates of departures/arrivals of the legions from/in Egypt

reorganised and the camp at Nicopolis was for a long time since then staffed again by only one legion, the recently formed *legio II Traiana*, accompanied by auxiliary units, most notably the *ala veterana Gallica*[196] and *ala I Thracum Mauretana*.[197] The camp was at least partly reconstructed in 174 CE as it was recorded in an inscription found at the site (TM 115845) and apparently completely rebuilt between the 3rd and 4th century CE judging by its final architectural layout,[198] well comparable to other military fortresses built at that time, for example at Luxor or Abu Sha'ar.[199] The *legio II Traiana* was listed as residing at the site still towards the end of the 4th century CE[200] and apparently also after that.[201]

In its appearance from late antiquity (284–641 CE) the military camp of Nicopolis and the surrounding necropolis remained relatively well preserved until the later part of the 19th century.[202] The ruin featured most prominently the fortress' perimeter walls still standing to the height of several metres. The original state of preservation of the internal structures is less certain.[203] Then, however, the remains were completely razed to the ground, with nothing from them extant *in situ* by the turn of the century.[204] What has been recovered were especially many pieces of statuary and epigraphic evidence. Their context was, unfortunately, mostly captured in a most cursory way at best.[205] The whole set of inscriptions coming from Nicopolis and its environs notably falls, with some outliers, to a quite short chronological span roughly from the later 2nd century CE to the mid-3rd century CE (not so the associated papyri). Nicopolis is the only site in Egypt where the use of Latin language clearly dominates over Greek in the textual evidence, appearing in roughly 80.00 % of inscriptions and texts on papyri coming from there.[206]

It has been possible to associate smaller part of the inscriptions with the military camp itself while the majority was recovered from its burial grounds. Two Latin inscriptions (TM 106274, 115845) were related to a construction inside the military compound. The abovementioned building inscription (TM 115845), recording a renovation in 174 CE, notably described the

in the course of the Hadrianic reorganisation are unclear and still a matter of debate (it is doubtable whether they represented a single one-time event at all), in the present thesis a date of 'around 125 CE' is used for the purposes of dating of texts.

[196] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 167–169; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 752–753.

[197] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 170–171; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 754.

[198] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 193; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 4–5, Fig. 2; *contra* e.g. TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, 175.

[199] See sections 1.3.3., 1.4.1. below; see also e.g. POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 9–22.

[200] Not. Dig., Or., XXVIII; see also POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 15–16; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 2.

[201] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 2.

[202] Esp. MURRAY, A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt I, 140–141; for other early testimonies see AMR ABDO, Alexandria in Antiquity. A Topographical Reconstruction, 362–363; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 4–5.

[203] Esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 4.

[204] *Inter alia* ADRIANI, Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto greco-romano. Serie C, 101–102; TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, 174; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 4.

[205] See e.g. BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine; CIL III; KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp.; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 5–7; but note e.g. the exception of TM 106328, WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 6, no. 14.

[206] Trismegistos Database, search query 'Nikopolis (Sidi Gaber)'; see also KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp.; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 11.

structure in question as a '*praesidum*'. It is unclear whether the entire *castra* could be meant or it could have been rather just this part which needed to be restored.[207] The construction was realised by a centurion of the *legio II Traiana* Valerius Maximus. As in the case of other similar projects, the inscription included also the name of his superior, under whose authority (and sponsorship) he acted.[208] In this particular case it was the *praefectus Aegypti* Calvisius Statianus. Interestingly, there is no mention of the *praefectus legionis* or *praefectus castrorum* who stood in between them in the provincial miliary hierarchy.[209] A singular piece of Latin-inscribed mosaic floor (TM 106274) was documented as supposedly coming from the commander's residence (*praetorium*).[210] The design depicted the god Dionysus holding either *thyrsus* or Osiris' crook. On its side the image was signed by its creator: '*Sempronius stravit*/ Sempronius laid (this mosaic)'.

The remaining inscriptions from the military camp, including one uncertain partial specimen (TM 115846), were various kinds of dedications.[211] Three imperial dedications (TM 106271–106273) amongst them formed a closely knit group. Not only were they similar by their contents – as described below – and dating to the last quarter of the 2nd century CE or slightly later, but they were also reportedly found together at a similar spot.[212] The inscriptions were recovered from bases once carrying the statues of the emperors M. Aurelius (TM 106271),[213] Septimius Severus (TM 106272), and an unknown ruler, either again the latter or one of his successors (TM 106273). Notably, the dedications were not made by individuals but by collectives which were the higher officers, military tribunes, of the *legio II Traiana* (TM 106271), lower officers, decurions, of the *ala veterana Gallica* and *ala Thracum Mauretana* (TM 106272), and the whole *ala veterana Gallica* by proxy of an unknown person, possibly its commander,[214] whose name was intentionally erased from the monument (TM 106273). These groups, in the first two cases collectives of peers, could be on such occasion indeed be acting in the role of religious associations (*collegia*).[215] It is very well conceivable that such set could in fact originally belong to the camps headquarters (*principia*) which was amongst others dedicated to the practice of the official state cults, including the worship of the emperors, as well as the veneration of the protective deities of the particular military unit.[216]

[207] See OLD, s.v. *praesidium*; cf. also KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 104.
[208] See sections 2.5.2., 2.5.4. below.
[209] See e.g. TM 112210 in this section below and TM 121990, 128447, 154478–154479 in section 1.5.1. below.
[210] *Inter alia* MURRAY, A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt I, 141; ADRIANI, Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto greco-romano. Serie C, 102; cf. TKACZOW, The topography of ancient Alexandria, 174, footnote no. 241.
[211] For some further remarks on some of them see also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 495–497.
[212] CIL III, nos. 13–15.
[213] This dedication was in fact dated to the year 175/176 CE in which the emperor visited Alexandria (KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., 318). It was also suggested that another bilingual fragmentary inscription (TM 115854) could have been related to the visit (KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., 318, footnote no. 1).
[214] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 106bis.
[215] Forming of religious associations (*collegia*) was a feature typical of Roman religious practice, the imperial worship in particular, e.g. GRADEL, Emperor Worship and Roman Religion, esp. 213–233; see also section 2.5.2. below.
[216] See e.g. STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 63, 219, 223.

An additional four inscriptions, two dedications to emperors (TM 106314, 112709) and two to divinities (TM 106311–106312), with less clear circumstances of their discovery, could also very well fit the context of the headquarters (*principia*) of the military compound. The dedications honouring Antoninus Pius (TM 112709) and Septimius Severus (TM 106314) were again made by collectives of peers, in these two cases the classes of veterans discharged in the same year. In contrast, both dedications to deities were made by individual soldiers in private. The first one (TM 106311) was also closely related to the imperial worship, as its sponsor, a certain Aurelius Aeternalis, dedicated his unpreserved statuette (less than 50 cm in height) of the *Genius centuriae* '*pro salute domini nostril Antonini*/ for the wellbeing of our lord Antoninus (=Caracalla)'. A similar deity was awarded another small statue (TM 106312) by a lower officer, *optio*, Kalendinus who described his Genius as: '*Genius sanctus legionis et commanipulorum bonorum*/ sacred Genius of the legion and of the good comrades-in-arms'. The latter part of the divine name, namely the *Genius commanipulorum bonorum*, has been argued to be equivalent with the *Genius centuriae*.[217] Both Genii of the legions and *centuriae* counted among the most popular protective military deities.[218]

Another piece of statuary in the military camp of Nicopolis was erected by a centurion of the *legio II Traiana* Tychianus. Overall, quite similar to a dedication from Alexandria discussed above (TM 106165), Tychianus' inscription honoured another former *praefectus Aegypti* elevated to the praetorian prefecture, namely L. Domitius Honoratus – in this case notably mentioning only the latter office. An uncertain fragment (TM 115846) contained a list of names, undoubtedly of soldiers, and could have represented another collective dedication.

Several mostly fragmentary inscriptions (TM 102612, 106313, 112210, 120620) could be associated only generally with the site of Nicopolis, but neither with its military camp nor its necropolis. They included a badly preserved dedication to emperor Commodus or Carracalla (TM 106313),[219] a bilingual dedication to an imperial attendant Labeo (TM 102612), plausibly suggested to have been a part of Germanicus' entourage during the visit of 19 CE,[220] and a fragment mentioning the *praefectus castrorum* and the *legio II Traiana* (TM 112210).

The vast majority of Latin inscriptions from Nicopolis did not originate from the military camp itself but rather from the neighbouring cemeteries which served for the burials of the soldiers as well as members of their families. The 95 funerary inscriptions represent the largest monothematic set of Latin texts from Egypt. While most of the Nicopolis tombstones and their inscriptions were published already by the early 20th century,[221] they only relatively recently underwent a thorough assessment and analysis resulting especially in the seminal studies of Schmidt,[222] Waebens,[223] and Kayser,[224] each applying a different approach.

[217] E.g. LENDON, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 35, 273.
[218] SPEIDEL/DIMITROVA-MILČEVA, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/16/2, 1546; *ibid.* also for the military Genii in general.
[219] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 112.
[220] KAYSER, BIFAO 90, 244–246.
[221] Esp. BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine; CIL III.
[222] SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria.
[223] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt.
[224] KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine.

The Nicopolis tombstones cover the whole period of the 1st–3rd centuries CE. None was later than that. Most, but not all, of the epitaphs could be roughly divided into two groups corresponding to the two main phases in the history of the military garrison of Nicopolis, namely the period of residence of the *legio III Cyrenaica* and *legio XXII Deiotariana* until the early 2nd century CE and the period since the coming of the *legio II Traiana* in the mid-2nd century CE. Besides the dating itself, it is possible to distinguish both groups by other characteristics as well; some of them are mentioned below.[225]

The earlier group is the smaller one, comprising some 35 inscriptions. The tombstones on which they were written were simple, without relief decoration,[226] which appeared only in the later group. In addition, the texts of the epitaphs tended to be more concise, mostly or altogether avoiding some frequently, but not necessarily, appearing parts of Roman funerary inscriptions, most notably the opening dedication to *Dii Manes* and the name of the sponsor of the burial. The former was noted only in two inscriptions (TM 105969, 106239), the later in seven (TM 106239–106240, 106317, 106343, 154416, 154458, 382602). Thus, it was usually not possible to identify the burials of women and children unequivocally with the military context, which, however, may fairly certainly be presumed. On the other hand, the epitaphs of soldiers often included the cities they came from, attesting the usual foreign origin of the servicemen in the Egyptian legions during the 1st century CE.[227]

While covering a longer span of time, nearly 80 % of the approximately 52 inscriptions from the later group could be dated to the fairly narrow period of the first half of the 3rd century CE.[228] Many of these tombstones bore figural decoration representing the deceased, in general reflecting the usual features of Roman funerary imagery, in particular the empire-wide iconographic conventions established in the context of the army.[229] Thus, the servicemen themselves, and sometimes their children, were usually depicted in a realistic way dressed in the military garb and with other attributes of the profession such as their arms. Some of the deceased were represented in the act of offering on an altar.[230] The women were often reclining on a couch (*kline*). Abstracted away from their context, the imagery would hardly point to an Egyptian origin, with the exception of the rare appearance of Egyptian motives and features, such as most notably indigenous deities on the stele of C. Iulius Valerius (TM 102420) or among others in several cases the typical horned altar[231] or child's sidelock (e.g. TM

[225] See also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 206–229; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, *passim*, esp. 8.
[226] E.g. KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 215.
[227] See also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 212–213. The municipalities mentioned are well in accord with the general pattern of recruitment to the Egyptian army at that time as attested by other texts, including *inter alia* TM 9457, 88367, 106314, 112709, esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 41–42, Tab. 3.1.
[228] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 15, 25–40.
[229] In general e.g. ANDERSON, Roman Military Tombstones; HOPE, in OLIVER (ed.), The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome; for Alexandria in particular e.g. SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 238–257.
[230] E.g. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, nos. 2, 4, 7, 10, 18, 64.
[231] E.g. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, nos. 2, 18, 64.

106235).[232] The inscriptions on the tombstones are generally more elaborate than earlier; among others, half of them included the opening formula '*Dis Manibus (Sacrum)*/ (sacred) to the Spirits of the Dead' and in at least as many cases also the sponsor of the tombstone, usually servicemen themselves and in several cases soldiers' wives. The origin of the servicemen was included less often and, with some exceptions (TM 106319, 112201), only broader terms referring to a province/region and not to a particular municipality. This may reflect only the changing preference, but also the growing ratio of recruits coming from Egypt or the military community of Nicopolis itself.[233]

The soldiers encountered in the funerary inscriptions from Nicopolis were all of lower ranks, including ordinary footmen/cavalrymen as well as various kinds of lower officers. The only exception was Q. Valerius who was a military tribune, a member of the higher officer corps (TM 106337). Nearly all buried servicemen were legionary soldiers, while members of auxiliary units appeared only rarely. One inscription from the earlier group was made for a member of the *cohors scutata civium Romanorum* (TM 106335),[234] one from the later group honoured the memory of a lower officer of the abovementioned *ala Thracum Mauretana* (TM 120603), and two mentioned members of a navy (TM 106065, 106184), however, likely neither of them from the Alexandrian fleet. One of them was explicitly mentioned as coming from the fleet of Misenum near Naples (TM 106184).[235] One remarkable specimen (TM 154458) from the earlier inscriptions strays completely from the usual military context. The sponsor of the burial, to which the inscription belonged, was Harpocras, a freedman of the *praefectus Aegypti*. As stated in the text, the tomb was meant to be occupied by several individuals, mainly his infant Iulia Flora, himself, and his wife, but also his friend (*amicus*) Cassius Pudens and a certain Restituta, a priestess of the Roman cult of the goddess Flora, after whom Harpocras' daughter was apparently named.

One of the inscriptions from the later group was partly versed (TM 106342). The epigram testifies to the depth of the sorrow felt for the deceased young woman named Mainuna of north African origin. Only four inscriptions in the collection (TM 98554, 102614, 106336, 112215) were bilingual, with the Greek part representing either a translation or other supplementary texts. Notably, comparing the Latin funerary inscriptions from Nicopolis with their counterparts written exclusively in Greek, the latter were rarely made directly for the men in service and usually bear the names of persons who could have been members of their (wider) families.[236]

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[232] For further commentary and more Egyptian features see WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 240, 246–248; 250–255.

[233] See also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 214–215. For the pattern of recruitment in the latter period see esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 42–43, Tab. 3.2. The recruits coming from inside the military communities (not necessarily only that of Nicopolis) were usually labelled by the expression '*castris*/ from the camp', which, however, did not appear in the funerary inscriptions of Nicopolis, e.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 39–40 (cf. BAGNALL, JRA 10, 505–506).

[234] ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 181–182; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 763.

[235] Based on the soldier's identity, the Egyptian provenance of this inscription has been questioned, see e.g. KOLENDO, JJP 33, 78–79; Trismegistos Database, TM 106184, https://www.trismegistos.org/text/106184.

[236] See esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 11.

In addition to the inscriptions, 10 documents written on papyri could be associated with the military camp of Nicopolis as well. Five of the documents were actually collated and preserved on a single papyrus roll (TM 69867). These and also two other documents (TM 25148, 70134) came from the second half of the 1st century CE and, thus, relate to the earlier period of the camp's history before the reorganisation of its garrison. The remaining papers came from the mid-2nd (TM 20991, 942936) and mid-3rd centuries CE (TM 16515). Overall, these types of administrative and legal documents illustrate well the everyday conduct of the military bureaucracy as well as personal matters of individual soldiers.

The latter was represented by a sale contract for a slave Nike Megethion traded between soldiers (TM 16515), a declaration of eligibility for military service (*ius militandi*; TM 70134),[237] and a loan contract between soldiers (TM 20991). In the first two cases, the official military authority was also involved, as recipient of the latter and keeper of the former, which was accepted for deposition in the archive of the military camp. The remaining papers were internal administrative documents of the Roman army. In two cases (TM 25148, 942936), these were fragments of military logbooks of unknown units (legions?) recording various activities carried out by soldiers related to the day-to-day running of the unit and its duties across the province. A remarkable testimony of the inner workings of a legion has been provided by the abovementioned documents collated on a single papyrus role both recto and verso (TM 69867).[238] The records included came from the offices of the *legio III Cyrenaica* and they span from the 80s possibly to the early 90s of the 1st century CE. The set is obviously incomplete as only part of the papyrus role was preserved. The exact purpose of the set is not clear, but all of the preserved documents relate to the management of 'human resources'.[239] The oldest document from 81 CE (TM 69867, I) is an accounting record listing salaries to the individual legionaries (and/or their deposits).[240] The next text (TM 69867, II) focuses on the men involved in detached service during the 80s of the 1st century CE and the individual missions they were sent to. From 90 CE came a small fragment (TM 69867, III) listing several soldiers without any other details. The remaining two documents (TM 69867, IV, 69867, V) were clearly complementary and could have been created at the same date as the previous one. A large table (TM 69867, V) comprised a detailed roster of daily duties for individual soldiers, while the accompanying list named soldiers relieved of such duties (*immunes*) by the virtue of them serving in specialised professions and posts, such as clerks, craftsmen, and officers' adjutants. Besides the presently discussed Latin texts and in contrast to them only two Greek papyri could be identified as coming from Nicopolis. They were a letter sent from Nicopolis to the Fayum[241] and another papyrus roll with a collection of separate documents, in this case receipts by soldiers of the *ala veterana Gallica*.[242]

[237] See also BARNS, CdÉ 24(48), 296–298.
[238] For detailed commentary to all documents and the papyrus as a whole see esp. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, nos. 9–10, 37, 58, 68.
[239] See section 2.3.3. below.
[240] Cf. *inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 243–246; STAUNER, Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus, 66–68; WATSON, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/1, 497–499.
[241] JÖRDENS et al., P. Louvre 3, no. 200.
[242] FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 76.

1.1.3. Other

Four more Latin inscriptions were recovered from sites further to the north-east of Alexandria and Nicopolis from Taposiris Parva (TM 106322, 106339) and Canopus (TM 102275, 107274). Two tombstones found at **Taposiris Parva** (Mandara)[243] were complementary with the Nicopolis collection of funerary inscriptions. They were both made for children. While the military background of the father of M. Aurelius Ptoleus was explicitly stated (TM 106322), it could be presumed also in the case of Aurelia Aquilina (TM 106339), whose epitaph is remarkable also for its illustrative nature with which it applies some of the most characteristic phonetic changes of vulgar Latin. One of the Latin inscriptions from **Canopus** (Abu Qir)[244] came from a tombstone as well (TM 102275). It is of note that the simple text reports the deceased youth, Getelius (?) Epaphras, as born in Rome. A fragment of uncertain content (TM 107274), perhaps a dedication or building inscription, interestingly mentioned the '*Nilus fluvius*/ the river Nile' at the site of one of its major estuaries to the Mediterranean Sea.

1.2. Fayum and Middle Egypt

The Fayum (1.2.1.) as well as the adjacent wider region of Middle Egypt[245] (1.2.2.–1.2.6.) are dealt with together on the basis of yielding a similar kind of evidence. Overall, 174 pieces of published Latin texts could be identified as (probably) coming from the former; another 205 such pieces could be associated with the latter. They predominantly comprised of papyrological evidence.[246] A large part of the papyri, as well as pieces of parchment and wooden tablets, were recovered around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In many cases, their provenance was recorded only in general terms and often remains uncertain. Both were given partly by the contemporary standards of acquisition of such materials, and more so by the origin of many of them in unofficial digs and the complex histories of their ownership.[247] The current subchapter includes also such pieces for which the discussed regions represent at least a probable place of their recovery. The editing and publication of even the older finds is still ongoing.[248] The unedited pieces, even if published (e.g. photographically),[249] are excluded from the present subchapter. Combined, the 174 + 205 documents coming from Fayum and

[243] E. g. JÖRDENS et al., P. Louvre 3, 154–157.

[244] *Inter alia* BERNAND, I. Delta, 153–327; LÄ, s.v. *Kanopus*; PENSABENE, Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani, 217–218; TIRIBILLI, La provincia dell'Arpione Occidentale nei testi egiziani, 213–224.

[245] The exact extent of the territory conventionally labelled as Middle Egypt is not firmly established (cf. e.g. BAINES/MALEK, Atlas of Ancient Egypt, 120; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, 1; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Middle Egypt*). Its subdivision from Upper Egypt has its roots in (not only) political developments of Egypt during antiquity and the Graeco-Roman period in particular. However, also the delimitation of the historical administrative territorial units (e.g. Heptanomis, Arcadia), which existed in the region at that time, notably varied.
For the purposes of the present thesis, Middle Egypt has been arbitrarily defined as the area along the Nile Valley from the historical 10th Upper Egyptian nome in the south to the 20th Upper Egyptian nome in the north, with the aim of roughly covering the territory yielding the largest amounts of mainly papyrological textual evidence.

[246] See also Tab. 1.1. above.

[247] E.g. CUVIGNY, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, esp. 32–44; KEENAN, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 60–61, 66–67; VAN MINNEN, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, *passim*.

[248] Esp. SCAPPATICCIO (ed.), Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus, expected to be published in the course of 2024–2025.

[249] E.g. ChLA 1, no. 11 recto; ChLA 11, no. 487 verso; ChLA 47, no. 1432.

Middle Egypt represent 29.40 % of the entire corpus.[250] The collection consists mainly of papyri (77.84 %), with a minority of parchments (11.61 %) and wooden tablets (6.07 %).

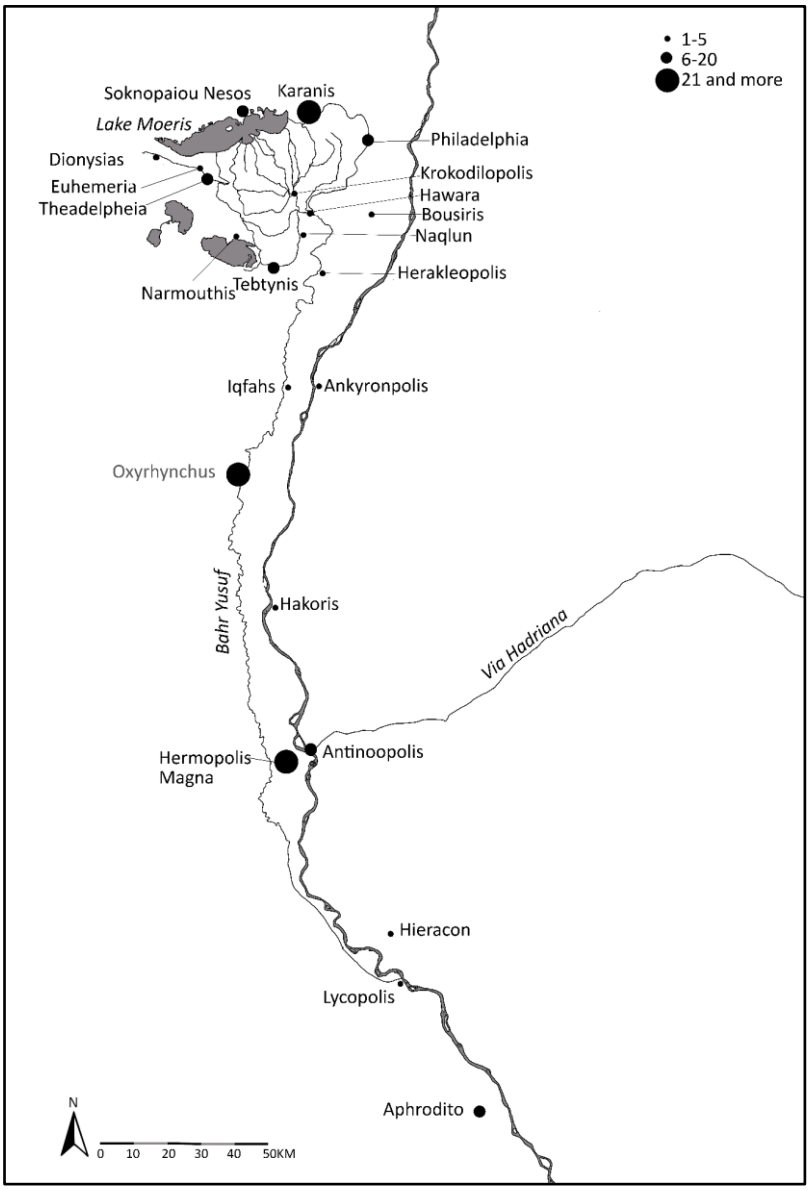


Fig. 1.2. The distribution of Latin textual evidence across the individual sites of the regions of the Fayum and Middle Egypt. The amounts of individual pieces of evidence coming from a single site are visualised in the sizes of the points.

1.2.1. Fayum

The region of the Fayum extends over a large depression west of the Nile. It is situated around the natural (formerly) freshwater Lake Moeris (Birket el-Qarun) fed by a branch of the Nile. Over the course of antiquity, the water level gradually lowered, and the lake receded in general towards the northern part of the depression. This allowed for the reclamation of vast new

[250] See also Fig. 1.2. below.

areas of agricultural land.[251] The largest expansion of the cultivated areas took place during a campaign initiated early in the Ptolemaic rule. Next to the settlements of pharaonic times, most notably the regional capital of Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayum), new villages and towns were founded and populated in a significant part by non-native Hellenised soldiers.[252] These settlements mostly flourished throughout the Ptolemaic period and during the earlier part of the Roman period. The previously established social and cultural character of the region was maintained through the frequent settlement of veterans of the Roman army.[253] The Fayum was severely affected by the empire-wide crisis of the 3rd century CE with the decline of the region lasting and progressing into the 4th century CE. During this time, many of the struggling communities abandoned their farmland, left for desertification, as well as their villages and towns, left for ruin.[254] These were also the usual fates of the settlements which later proved to be rich sources of ancient textual evidence, including the ones discussed below. This largely determined the general timeframe of the Latin texts coming from these sites and partly also the frequency of their occurrence across the individual periods. The Latin evidence from the period after the 4th century CE is, nonetheless, well represented amongst the less precisely provenanced texts from the region.

The small town of **Karanis** (Kom Aushim) in north-west of the Fayum counts amongst the best-preserved and outstandingly explored and documented sites in Egypt not only from the Graeco-Roman period. The excavations by the team of the University of Michigan conducted in the inter-war period brought to light large amounts of various finds and data forming together a representative and comprehensive view of the workings of the rural community with a significant presence of veterans of the Roman army.[255] Amongst the objects discovered, there were numerous pieces of written evidence, in particular on papyri. Unlike other sites, for many of the documents their context was very precisely documented. Other papyri associated with the site were uncovered under different, less favourable, circumstances. Some

[251] For the Fayum in general, e.g. BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Fayum, Neolithic and Predynastic* sites; LÄ, s.v. *Fajjum*; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Faiyum*; for Fayum in Graeco-Roman period in particular, *inter alia* BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Fayum, Graeco-Roman sites*; DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana; DAVOLI, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; DERDA, ΑΡΣΙΝΟΙΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ: administration of the Fayum under Roman rule.

[252] E.g. CLARYSSE/THOMPSON, Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt 2, *passim*, esp. 94, Tab. 4.1, 139–140; MUELLER, Settlements of the Ptolemies, esp. 149–151; SÄNGER, JJP 45, 229–230, 233–234.

[253] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 48–52, see also 117–142 (cf. BAGNALL, JRA 10, 506); FISCHER-BOVET/SÄNGER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 174–175; SÄNGER, in HERZ et al. (eds.), Zwischen Region und Reich: Das Gebiet der oberen Donau im Imperium Romanum, 122–125.

[254] DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, *passim*, esp. 344–345; HUEBNER, Studies in Late Antiquity 4(4).

[255] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 117–142; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Fayum, Graeco-Roman sites*, section *Kom Aushim (Karanis)*; DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 73–116; GAZDA, Karanis, an Egyptian town in Roman times: discoveries of the University of Michigan expedition to Egypt (1924-1935); HUSSELMAN, Karanis excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928-1935: topography and architecture; LÄ, s.v. *Karanis*.

of the Latin texts recovered from Karanis, as well as other sites discussed below, came from larger 'archives'[256] connected to a particular person, family, etc.

One of the most significant finds, at least concerning Latin, made during the excavations at Karanis was the 'archive' of Claudius Tiberianus recovered from a niche under the staircase in one of the townhouses.[257] Claudius Tiberianus was a soldier of lower yet distinguished rank and later a veteran settled at Karanis in the early 2nd century CE. Most of his collection comprised of private letters, seven of them in Latin (TM 27080–27085, 69897). One of them was written by Tiberianus to Longinus Priscus, apparently his superior in the military (TM 27085). The rest of the Latin letters (TM 27080–27084), including also a fragment possibly representing a duplicate of one of them (TM 69897), were sent to Tiberianus by his son Claudius Terentianus, who was also a soldier serving first with the *classis Augusta Alexandrina* and later, as he desired, with an unknown legion stationed at the military camp of Nicopolis. Terentianus's letters represent the most extensive sample of Latin coming from a single person ever recovered from that time. His language shows numerous non-standard features which together with the overall language choices made by him and Tiberianus have since the find attracted a lot of scholarly attention.[258]

A few pieces of Latin evidence came also from another important collection of texts from Karanis. The 'archive' of Aurelius Isidorus, a leading personality of the town at the beginning of the 4th century CE, and his family provides invaluable insight into the workings of the local community and administration at that time.[259] Amongst the large amount of documents, Latin appeared as a marginal component only in five of them (TM 10359, 10369, 10405, 10410, 51670). Two pieces of papyri bore copies of the same legal petition to a *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia concerning the lease of agricultural land (TM 10405, 51670). Only a date, notably written by a different hand than the majority of the documents, was given in Latin. In addition, there are three census reports preserved in the collection, two from 299 CE (TM 10359, 10369), and one from 309 CE (TM 10410). In them, Latin was used only for short subscriptions made by the *censitores*, that is the clerks tasked with running the ongoing survey.[260] Although preserved in the collection, Latin was not used in any capacity inside Isidorus' household as such.

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[256] For practical reasons, the present thesis uses the term 'archive' not only for collections of texts deliberately created in antiquity, but in its broadest sense in which it has been (historically) used in papyrology and other related fields. Nonetheless, as in some cases it could convey somewhat misleading notion about the character of the textual set, the term is used with quotation marks. See e.g. VANDORPE, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 217–219; VERHOOGT, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.

[257] For the archaeological context see esp. STEPHAN/VERHOOGT, BASP 42; for the archive in general see *inter alia* GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf; P. Mich. VIII, 16–18, nos. 467–481; STRASSI, L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis.

[258] Esp. ADAMS, The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus (P. Mich. VIII, 467-72); see also e.g. ADAMS, ZPE 31; CALBOLI, in CALBOLI (ed.), Latin vulgaire — latin tardif II.

[259] *Inter alia* BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan; GEENS, 'Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/34.pdf.

[260] LEWIS, BASP 30(3/4), 116–118; for more on the historic context of the early 3rd century CE censuses see also JONES, The Later Roman Empire 284-602, 61–64.

Similar short Latin subscriptions appeared also under three receipts found on ostraca (TM 30817–30818, 42703). Dozen other pieces of evidence coming from Karanis included a wide range of textual genres, besides others including a fragment of a handbook of Latin grammar (TM 63851) with a list of soldiers on the recto (TM 70017), a bronze tablet with military diploma (TM 78523), a wooden diptych with a birth certificate of twins (TM 11979), or a manumission (TM 942941).

The town of **Philadelphia** (Kom Darb Gerza) was founded in the early Ptolemaic period on the very eastern edge of Fayum. In its time it was one of the largest settlements of the region. It was laid out as a town with a regular street plan, amongst others, it included several temples and other public buildings, served as an important administrative centre,[261] and, like Karanis, housed a significant veteran community.[262] Unlike Karanis, Philadelphia remained until recently[263] virtually untouched by systematic archaeological exploration, with the most notable exception of a short campaign conducted by the Berlin Museum during the first decade of the 20th century.[264] Thus, most of the finds reported to have come from the site lack any proper recording of their original context. This included especially a large number of the notorious Fayum portraits coming from Philadelphia's cemeteries[265] and a considerable amount of written evidence. It included several 'archives', most notably the exceptionally large Greek and Demotic 'archive' of Zenon from the 3rd century BCE.[266] There were also some two dozen of documents using Latin; roughly half of them recovered during the Berlin Museum excavations.

Another important set of texts found at Philadelphia was the 'archive' of Flavius Abinnaeus from the mid-4th century CE.[267] Four texts (TM 10014, 10018, 10021, 16868) preserved as part of the much larger set of documents included Latin. Abinnaeus was a military officer who, at the height of his career, secured the command of the *ala V praelectorum* stationed at Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)[268] in the western Fayum. After retirement he apparently moved to Philadelphia where his 'archive' was reportedly found.[269] The appointment of Abinnaeus to his auxiliary command was marked by controversy which is documented by the only two letters from his

[261] BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Fayum, Graeco-Roman sites*, section *Kom Darb Gerza (Philadelphia)*; CHANG et al., Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger, Égypte 2023; DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 139–148; GEE, in MUHLESTEIN et al. (eds.), Excavations at the Seila Pyramid and Fag el-Gamous Cemetery; GEHAD et el., BIFAO 122; VIERECK, Philadelphia: die Gründung einer hellenistischen Militärkolonie in Ägypten; VIERECK/ZUCKER, Papyri, Ostraka Und Wachstafeln Aus Philadelphia Im Fayûm.

[262] E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 128.

[263] E.g. CHANG et al., Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger, Égypte 2023; GEHAD et el., BIFAO 122.

[264] VIERECK, Philadelphia: die Gründung einer hellenistischen Militärkolonie in Ägypten; VIERECK/ZUCKER, Papyri, Ostraka Und Wachstafeln Aus Philadelphia Im Fayûm.

[265] E.g. DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 142–143; GEHAD et el., BIFAO 122, 249–252.

[266] E.g. VANDORPE, 'Zenon son of Agreophon', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/256.pdf.

[267] *Inter alia* BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive; GEENS, 'Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/1.pdf; see also BARNES, Phoenix 39(4).

[268] See in this section below.

[269] *Contra* Gallazzi, AfP 61.

collection written completely in Latin (TM 10014, 10021).[270] One of them was a petition to the emperors composed by Abinnaeus himself (TM 10014), the other one an official writing received from his superior, the *comes et dux Aegypti* Flavius Valacius (TM 10021). Another letter sent to Abinnaeus by another military officer, a certain Sabikas, was written in Greek except for the Latin greeting formula at its end (TM 10018). Another bilingual document preserved in the collection was a judicial proceedings of a trial held before the *iuridicus* at Alexandria dealing with a property dispute between Abinnaeus' wife and her sister (TM 16868).

The remaining Latin evidence from Philadelphia was mostly of 2nd century CE date and comprised mainly of legal documents. The exceptions were a fragmentary list of recruits (TM 63754) and two uncertain texts (TM 69923, 69933), one of which (TM 69923) likely dealt with military matters as well. The legal documents also largely referred to members of the military and their families. They mostly comprised of birth certificates (TM 15712, 69745–69749, 80130). There were also four testaments (TM 10689, 69750–69751, 70160) and a marriage contract between M. Petronius Servilius and the father of his bride Zenarion (TM 27148). The issue of marriage played part also in the incomplete declaration made by an unknown soldier of the *legio XXII Deiotariana* (TM 13022). Ten of the legal documents coming from Philadelphia were notably preserved on wooden tablets (TM 15712, 69745–69751, 70160, 80130). Most were not issued in the town itself, but rather by the central provincial administration at Alexandria (TM 69746–69750, 70160, 80130) or alternatively at Crocodilopolis, the metropolis of the Fayum, (TM 10689) or even Contra Apollonopolis, a military base lying across the Nile from Apollonopolis (Edfu; TM 15712).[271]

Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit) in south-western Fayum was another Ptolemaic foundation.[272] The town included public buildings and several sanctuaries, especially the well-preserved temple of the god Pnepheros[273] with a cemetery for crocodiles, his sacred animals. Amongst others the site also yielded a considerable amount of written evidence, including some principal individual finds as well as extensive 'archives'.[274] Some of them offer exceptionally detailed glimpses at the community as a whole at several points in time during the Graeco-Roman period.[275]

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[270] Esp. BARNES, Phoenix 39(4), 371–373; but cf. GEENS, 'Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, 2–3, esp. footnote no. 6.

[271] E.g. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 419–420.

[272] *Inter alia* BRECCIA, Teadelfia e il tempio di Pneferôs; CASANOVA, Aegyptus 55, esp. 70–121; LÄ, s.v. *Theadelphia*; DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 279–293; RÖMER et al., The Fayoum Survey Project: The Themistou Meris, 105–172.

[273] BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Nepheros*; LÄGG, s.v. *nfr-ḥr*.

[274] *Inter alia* CLARYSSE, 'Decian *libelli*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/331.pdf; GEENS, 'Harthotes and his brother Marsisouchos, public farmers', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/99.pdf; P. Oxy. XLII, no. 3014; VERRETH/VANDORPE, 'Heroninos, estate manager', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/103.pdf.

[275] E.g. BAGNALL, BSAC 24; CASANOVA, Aegyptus 55; SHARP, in BOWMAN/ROGAN (eds.), Proceedings of the British Academy 96.

One of these sets of texts was also the 'archive' of Aurelius Sakaon reflecting the reality of the town in the early 4th century CE.[276] Most of the Latin texts from Theadelphia come from this set (TM 13025, 13036, 13047, 13051–13053, 13056). The collection is very well comparable with the 'archive' of Isidorus from Karanis discussed above, namely by the dating, the social standing of the main protagonist, the types of texts included, as well as the representation of Latin. All documents from the 'archive' using it were bilingual, with Latin playing only a marginal role. It was most extensively used in two judicial proceedings (TM 13051–13052) of trials presided over by the *praeses Aegypti Herculiae* Tziper. In such documents, it was usual that only the formal framework of the document – including the heading, introductions of direct speeches of the participants and description of other non-verbal actions in the course of the hearing – was in Latin.[277] Notably, the judicial proceedings from the 'archive' of Sakaon used Latin also for the direct speeches of the presiding *praeses* Tziper. This was not exceptional, although a relatively rare practice. One of the trials (TM 13051) dealt with a case of deficient water supply for the agricultural land of Theadelphia. The same affair was addressed also in the Greek lawyer's speech labelled as such by an abbreviation of the appropriate Latin term: '*N(arratio)*' (TM 13053). Another legal text, a petition to the *praefectus Aegypti* Aurelius Ammonius (TM 13056) was appended by the official decision with the dating formula written largely in Latin. Three other documents in the collection were census reports of Sakaon and his family members (TM 13026, 13036, 13047). In them Latin was used only for short subscriptions made by the *censitors*. Thus, besides other similarities with the 'archive' of Isidorus discussed above, also the social circle of Sakaon did not actively use Latin, as it entered its related collection of text only from external mostly official sources.

The other four pieces of Latin evidence recovered from Theadelphia (TM 19670, 62938, 70013, 70148) were older than the 'archive' of Sakaon and, with the exception of a dating formula in one of them (TM 19670), did not include any Greek. There was a piece of legal literature (TM 62938), an administrative text of uncertain kind (TM 70148), and another uncertain writing perhaps a letter (TM 19670). Of special note is a letter from the beginning of the 2nd century CE in which the recruit (*tiro*) C. Valerius Saturninus asks the *praefectus Aegypti* for the official approval, conditioned by meeting specific prerequisites needed for the enrolment to the auxiliary cohort.[278]

On the very southern edge of the Fayum lay the town of **Tebtynis** (Umm el-Baragat). The settlement was dominated by a large Temple of Soknebtynis, the local form of Sobek.[279] The sacred precinct was reached by a dromos which formed the main axis of the town. Other deities were worshiped at the site as well, both in the main temple as well as in other smaller sanctuaries which together with the sacred crocodile cemetery completed the sacred landscape of Tebtynis. The priestly staff apparently comprised a large part of the town's

[276] *Inter alia* GEENS, 'Aurelius Sakaon', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/206.pdf; PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon; see also GONIS, Tyche 36, 63–64.
[277] See section 2.2.2. below.
[278] SPEIDEL/SEIDER, JEA 74.
[279] BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Tebtunis*.

population.[280] The town, and the Temple of Soknebtynis in particular, have been gradually explored since the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries, first by Grenfell and Hunt followed by an Italian mission during the interwar period.[281] The systematic archaeological exploration of the site has been ongoing since the 1980s.[282] All of these ventures, and other informal excavations, yielded large amounts of papyri mostly in Greek as well as various forms of ancient Egyptian. The latter were featured most notably in the exceptional find of the temple library made in 1930.[283]

Amongst the vast papyrological evidence from Tebtynis, still far from being comprehensively processed, were only a dozen Latin texts, mostly very fragmentary. The textual types represented were varied. There were two literary texts (TM 59039), one of them legal (TM 63275). A papyrus fragment with a school exercise (TM 97904) included amongst others a distich from Vergil's *Georgica*, repeated several times. From several Latin administrative texts (TM 62953, 69902, 78514, 844316), two were apparently produced by the Roman military (TM 78514, 844316). The exploration of Tebtynis also yielded two fragmentary specimens of Latin testaments (TM 69903, 91297). Another legal text was a contract written, except for one Demotic line with signature, wholly in Greek (TM 14399). However, the Greek title of the contract written on its verso was written in Latin script. There was also a small fragment of what was apparently a Latin letter (TM 69904).

In addition to the abovementioned sites, single or a few Latin papyri each could be associated also with other principal village/town sites of the Fayum, such as several small fragments at **Soknopaiou Nesos** (Dimeh; TM 20224, 28305, 63048, 63060, 63954–63956, 69876–69877),[284] two ostraca with traces of text from **Dionysias** (Qasr Qarun; TM 44565, 383668),[285] two papyri from **Euhemeria** (Qasr el-Banat; TM 28607, 66430),[286] and three literary (?) fragments from **Hawara** (TM 62949, 63036, 63268).[287] The origin of nearly one tenth of Latin texts coming from the Fayum could be (tentatively) tracked to its capital of **Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë** (Medinet el-Fayum), formerly a vast archaeological site now almost completely overlaid by the modern

[280] *Inter alia* DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 179–211; GALLAZZI, Tebtynis I; GALLAZZI/HADJI-MINAGLOU, Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger, Égypte 2022; HADJI-MINAGLOU, Tebtynis IV; LÄ, s.v. *Tebtynis*; LIPPERT/SCHENTULEIT (eds.), Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum; RATHBONE, in Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, UC Berkeley Library, https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/files/ATownFullofGods_ImaginingReligiousExperienceinRomanTebtunis.pdf; RONDOT, Tebtynis II.

[281] *Inter alia* EL-AGUIZY, in EL-AGUIZY/MOHAMED SHERIF ALI (eds.), Echoes of Eternity, 175–176; ANTI, Aegyptus 11; BAGNANI, Aegyptus 14; DAVOLI, L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana, 179–187; GALLAZZI, Tebtynis I, 1–34; RATHBONE, in Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, UC Berkeley Library, 1–5.

[282] E.g. GALLAZZI, Tebtynis I; GALLAZZI/HADJI-MINAGLOU, Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger, Égypte 2022; HADJI-MINAGLOU, Tebtynis IV; RONDOT, Tebtynis II.

[283] E.g. EL-AGUIZY, in EL-AGUIZY/MOHAMED SHERIF ALI (eds.), Echoes of Eternity; RYHOLT, in LIPPERT/SCHENTULEIT (eds.), Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum.

[284] E.g. LÄ, s.v. *Dimeh*.

[285] E.g. RÖMER et al., The Fayoum Survey Project: The Themistou Meris, 261–282.

[286] E.g. RÖMER et al., The Fayoum Survey Project: The Themistou Meris, 173–210.

[287] E.g. LÄ, s.v. *Hawara*.

city.[288] Unsurprisingly, the evidence coming from Arsinoë were mainly various legal texts, typically warranted by the central metropolitan authorities (e.g. TM 13036, 13051, 13757).

In overall, most pieces of Latin evidence coming from the Fayum were not more closely provenanced, moreover, their association with the wider region itself was often tentative at best. The classes of literary and legal texts were especially well-represented amongst the Latin evidence from the Fayum. Apart from many pieces of the Roman literary canon and treatises from the field of law, there were also examples of the New Testament (TM 61647) and other Christian theological texts (TM 62323, 220486–220487). Another notable piece was an incomplete recording of a speech attributed to the emperor Claudius delivered in the Roman senate (TM 66432) which notably also dealt with matters of the practice of law.[289] The other legal texts as such coming from the Fayum corresponded to the types discussed above in the section. Notably, there was another military diploma (TM 106376). Amongst the several subliterary texts, some remarkable pieces may be noted; for example, a list of pieces of art including images of both Egyptian and Graeco-Roman deities (TM 63821). The unprovenanced administrative papers from the Fayum included, besides others, an additional census report (TM 44495). Unlike the specimens from the 'archives' of Aurelius Isidorus and Aurelius Sakaon, this one was much earlier coming from the mid-1st century CE. There was also probably the best-preserved specimen of a *pridianum*, that is military unit logbook (TM 69913). Excluding the correspondence of Claudius Tiberianus with his son, most of the Latin letters coming from the Fayum were official in nature.

There were two inscriptions on stone reported as coming from the Fayum (TM 106241, 106260). One of them (TM 106241) was an incomplete building inscription from the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius recording an erection of the headquarters (*principia*) for an unknown military installation. Notably, the text was inscribed on a stele with a rounded top with a plain circle depicted in the lunette, apparently a simplified version of the winged sun-disc.[290] The other (funerary) inscription (TM 106260) was preserved only as a small fragment. It could have been possibly, but not likely, of very early date which would make it one of the rare pieces of Latin evidence from Egypt coming from the times preceding the conquest of 30 BCE.[291]

1.2.2. 20th Upper Egyptian nome

The section of the Nile closest to the Fayum formed the 20th Upper Egyptian nome.[292] A few papyri with texts in Latin (TM 21149, 31217, 65514, 69927) are associated with two major archaeological sites of the region.

[288] *Inter alia* DAVOLI/NAHLA MOHAMED AHMED, Studi di egittologia e di papirologia: rivista internazionale 3; LÄ, s.v. *Medinet el-Fajjum*.
[289] See esp. BUONGIORNO, JJP 40.
[290] GUEY, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 1967, 31–32; compare esp. TM 105712 in section 1.4.7. below.
[291] See subchapter 3.1. below.
[292] Regarded here in its extent from the Graeco-Roman period (see esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 121–126; but cf. e.g. FALIVENE, The Herakleopolite Nome, esp. 12).

In the north-west near the main entrance to the Fayum lay **Bousiris** (Abusir el-Meleq). The site is notable for the archaeological remains reaching back to the Predynastic period.[293] Amongst the remnants from the following periods, there also were Roman period burials, some in distinctive statue-like and shrine coffins.[294] The burials also contained cartonnages which yielded many pieces of papyri, largely from the late Ptolemaic period until the 1st century CE.[295] One of such writings (TM 65514) preserved, in a fragmentary state, the oldest extant bilingual glossary recording various Greek terms and their Latin equivalents, however, written in Greek script. Its dating was perhaps as early as Augustan.[296] Probably older, possibly even predating the conquest of 30 BCE, was a short almost complete Latin letter of Phileros (TM 69927). As indicated in the letter, Phileros was a slave. The message was sent to Menandros and his other fellow-slaves (*conservi*). It is not surprising to find slaves with Greek names, including the author, in a Latin letter. It is more striking that also the name of their master Diogenes was Greek. Considering this, the dating of the letter, as well as its apparently private character, it is hard to explain Phileros' use of Latin. As pointed out by the editor, he was clearly a native speaker of Greek. He also suggests that Latin could have been intentionally used to obscure the message to most unwanted readers at the time.[297]

Two bilingual papyri (TM 35625, 70105) have been associated with **Heracleopolis Magna** (Ihnasya el-Medina), the metropolis of the nome.[298] One of the texts was a fragment of judicial proceedings dated to 394 CE. The other one was an official letter from the office of the *praeses Arcadiae* written fully in Greek except for the Latin subscription.

On the southern edge of the region the site of **Ancyropolis** (El-Hibe) was located. The site is best known for architectural remains and textual finds from the end of the New Kingdom until the Late period, but it also yielded a considerable amount of written evidence from Graeco-Roman times.[299] Several documents, which could be traced to the site, formed the 'archive' of Aelius Syrion, veteran of the *legio II Traiana* from Nicopolis.[300] Only one of them (TM 31217) contained some Latin. It was petition sent to the *praefectus Aegypti* demanding resolution of some uncertain grievance. To support his claims Syrion included a citation of a relevant imperial regulation in Latin original. At the end of the document, there was also a short Latin subscription. Another papyrus apparently connected to the *legio II Traiana* contained a short Latin letter (TM 21149). It was composed by one Iulius Repositus and sent to his colleague Claudius Germanus. As pointed out by M. P. Speidel,[301] the same names appear virtually next

[293] *Inter alia* BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Abusir el-Meleq*; FALIVENE, The Herakleopolite Nome, 60–64; LÄ, s.v. *Abusir el-Meleq*.

[294] *Inter alia* FALIVENE, The Herakleopolite Nome, 21; HELLINCKX, CdÉ 85(169–170), esp. 145–146; RIGGS, The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, 148–155; RUBENSOHN/KNATZ, ZÄS 41, *passim*.

[295] E.g. RUBENSOHN/KNATZ, ZÄS 41, 13–14.

[296] AMMIRATI/FRESSURA, JJP 47, 5–6; BRASHEAR, in BAGNALL et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XVI.

[297] SCHUBART, Berliner Museen 49, 44.

[298] E.g. BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Heracleopolis*; BAILEY, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 200–201; LÄ, s.v. *Herakleopolis magna*.

[299] *Inter alia* FALIVENE, The Herakleopolite Nome, 14–15, 39–43; LÄ, s.v. *el Hibe*; P. Hibeh I, esp. v; P. Hibeh II.

[300] SÄNGER, 'Aelius Syrion', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/533.pdf; SÄNGER, Veteranen unter den Severern und frühen Soldatenkaisern, esp. 123–215.

[301] SPEIDEL, Aegyptus 66.

to each other also in the collective imperial dedication at Nicopolis by the class of legionary veterans of 157 CE.[302] It seems beyond a doubt that the same men are identified there as fellow centurions from the same cohort of the *legio II Traiana*.

1.2.3. 19th Upper Egyptian nome

Before the Graeco-Roman period, the 19th Upper Egyptian nome[303] was far from being one of the principal regions of Egypt. However, this started to gradually change even before and then mostly under the Ptolemies and Roman emperors. The importance of the region peaked during late antiquity (284–641 CE) when it became the core of the northern part of Middle Egypt and eventually of its own province of Arcadia, subdivided from the original province of Egypt. At the same time, it became one of the centres of Christianity as well as Coptic culture as such.[304]

A single Latin inscription (TM 154404) has been reported as found at the modern village of **Iqfahs**, lying just to the east of the Bahr Yusuf between the towns of el-Fashn and Maghagha.[305] It recorded a dedication, likely of a statue, to the emperor Claudius, made in the time, and possibly on the occasion, of his censorship (47–48 CE). The monument was raised in the names of *legio III Cyrenaica* and *legio XXII Deiotariana*. The inscription also mentioned Cn. Vergilius Capito, the current *praefectus Aegypti*.

The city of **Oxyrhynchus** (el-Bahnasa) was located next to the Bahr Yusuf rather than the Nile. It came to prominence relatively late and it is attested as the metropolis of the 19th Upper Egyptian nome only since the Late period.[306] Oxyrhynchus flourished throughout the Graeco-Roman period gaining an evidently cosmopolitan character, comprising of not only the indigenous Egyptian and Hellenic populations, but also a Jewish minority.[307] In addition to the usual range of Graeco-Roman public facilities, a remarkable number of diverse temples and sanctuaries have been also attested in the city.[308] The peak of the development and significance of Oxyrhynchus came only during late antiquity (284–641 CE), in the course of which it became one of the centres of Christianity, with churches and monasteries springing up in and around the city, and finally also the capital of the newly established province of Arcadia split from the early Roman province of Aegyptus. The wealth of information about the city and its society stems almost exclusively from the enormous amounts of papyri and other written evidence famously dug up by Grenfell and Hunt around the turn of the 19th and 20th

[302] See TM 112709 in section 1.1.2. above.
[303] See esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 118–121.
[304] E.g. ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Monasteries of the Lower Ṣa'īd*; GABRA/TAKLA (eds.), Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt.
[305] BARRY, Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse IV(1).
[306] CAMINOS, JEA 50, 88; HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 119.
[307] Esp. EPP, in KRAUS/NICKLAS (eds.), New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World; see also e.g. WHITEHORNE, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/18/5, 3052; for Oxyrhynchus in general see *inter alia* ALSTON, The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, esp. 262–268; BAILEY, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 199–200; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)*; BOWMAN et al. (eds.), Oxyrhynchus: A city and its Texts; BRECCIA, Le musée gréco-romain 1931-1932; LÄ, s.v. *Oxyrhynchos*; MASCORT, Oxyrhynchos IV; Oxirrinc - La ciutat de Tueris, https://www.oxirrinc.com/; PADRÓ I PARCERISA, Oxyrhynchos I; PETRIE, Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos; TURNER, JEA 38; WHITEHORNE, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/18/5.
[308] Esp. WHITEHORNE, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/18/5.

centuries.[309] In contrast, seemingly little has been preserved and/or documented in the form of the archaeological record. Notable archaeological surveys were conducted during the interwar period.[310] Continuous archaeological exploration of the site has been ongoing since the 1980s.[311] Amongst the best preserved structures excavated were for example the Roman theatre, the subterranean complex of the Osireion, or several townhouses.[312] The vast amounts of papyri coming from the site's early exploration have been continuously published since 1898,[313] with the most recent volume of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri series appearing in 2023.[314] From the pieces published so far, 122 bore texts in Latin, representing 9.46 % of the entire corpus. While covering the whole Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE), the occurrence of Latin evidence peaked during the 3rd and 4th centuries CE.

Nearly a third of Latin texts from Oxyrhynchus preserved fragments of literary works. Confirming its extraordinary status in Latin culture in general and education in particular, attestations of Vergil's *Aeneid* comprised nearly a third of the literary papyri and parchments. The rest of the classic Latin literary canon was represented by five occurrences of the historical works of Sallust (TM 62687–62689, 62692–62693), four of Cicero's speeches (TM 59454, 59458–59459, 59461), two of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, namely fragments of the full text (TM 61430) and of the epitomised version (TM 61429), and one of the two oldest extant fragments of Terence's comedies (TM 62793), namely *Andria*, accompanied by Greek glosses.[315] Eight pieces were various works of legal literature (TM 59955, 62723, 64531, 64566, 64583, 64881, 65083, 957501).

At least three specimens of literary texts came specifically from a schooling context, representing writing exercises (TM 62950, 62971, 64857). While two of them belonged amongst the abovementioned fragments of the *Aeneid* (TM 62950, 62971), the third one cited the Bible and a 4th century CE theological text (TM 64857). There were only two other examples of Latin writing exercises (TM 64576, 67912). The learning of Latin was attested also by various lexicographic texts, typically Greek-Latin glossaries, in most cases also with the Latin part written in Greek script (TM 63291–63292, 63603, 64163, 100125, 171907–171908). A remarkable piece of papyrus written in Aramaic/Hebrew script contained transcriptions of some Greek and Latin terms (TM 113869).[316]

The largest part of the legal texts comprised of bilingual judicial proceedings from late antiquity (284–641 CE), with some exceptions (TM 16516, 22144, 495518) from courts

[309] E.g. GRENFELL, Archaeological Report (Egypt Exploration Fund) 1896-1897; see also *inter alia* CUVIGNY, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, esp. 34, 36–38; RATHBONE, in SPENCER (ed.), The Egypt Exploration Society: the early years.

[310] Esp. BRECCIA, Le musée gréco-romain, 1925-1931; BRECCIA, Le musée gréco-romain 1931-1932; PETRIE, Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos.

[311] E.g. MASCORT, Oxyrhynchos IV; Oxirrinc - La ciutat de Tueris; PADRÓ I PARCERISA, Oxyrhynchos I.

[312] BRECCIA, Le musée gréco-romain 1931-1932, esp. 36–38, Figs. 7–9; Pls. XXI–XXIII; MASCORT, Oxyrhynchos IV; PETRIE, Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos, 14–16; Pls. XXVI– XXVIII; for the foremost see also ALSTON, The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, 268.

[313] P. Oxy. I.

[314] P. Oxy. LXXXVII.

[315] The other one, also equipped with a philological apparatus, is TM 62794.

[316] E.g. LOEWE, Journal of Theological Studies 24, 129.

presided over by the provincial *praesides*.[317] However, there was also a rare specimen of a similar document from the 2nd century CE (TM 16419). Also bilingual, the partially preserved papyrus apparently recorded a ruling in an uncertain case likely dealing with the status of a freedwoman.[318] As given in the Greek introduction, the decision was issued by a college of *recuperatores* (*ξενοκριταί*), who were enumerated by name, in purview of which were some issues treated by the Roman civil law.[319] Fittingly, the ruling as such was given and recorded in Latin. The other recurring kinds of legal papers from Oxyrhynchus included especially testaments and other documents dealing with inheritance (TM 21587, 21736, 22244, 23051, 26514, 69899, 70139, 78797) and documents related to the appointment of the guardian (*datio tutoris muliebris*; TM 20419, 21331, 21867) and birth certificates (TM 16888, 17869, 20356). Another personal legal document was of a unique kind, establishing the emancipation of one Aurelia Sarapias from the power (*potestas*) of her father (TM 69993).

The two oldest Latin papyri from Oxyrhnychus bore administrative texts. A papyrus from the last third of the 1st century BCE listed wages paid to weavers (TM 69905), while a short text from 11 CE (TM 16563), in fact in Greek but transcribed to the Latin script and using Roman numerals, represented a payment order from the Roman citizen Iulius Lepos to the moneychanger (*collybista*) Archibios. Two other notable administrative documents both came from the mid-3rd century CE. A travel permit from 246 CE (TM 21785) comprised of a Greek-written petition by Aurelia Marciana, citizen of Side in Asia Minor, asking the *praefectus Aegypti* Valerius Firmus to give an order to the *procurator Phari* Asklepiades to let her leave the port of Alexandria. What follows is the command of the prefect written in Latin granting the permission to depart.[320] Dated to 269 CE was a bilingual record – accompanied by traces of another – of an auction of property apparently belonging to one Iulia Eirene (TM 17204).[321] With the exception of the abovementioned four, the remaining Latin administrative documents coming from Oxyrhynchus were in one way or another related to the Roman army. Another papyrus (TM 18859) contained two receipts, one in Greek and one in Latin, issued for provisions acquired from the local magistrate (*eutheniarchos*) by an officer (*agrimensor*)[322] from the staff of the *praefectus Aegypti*. Two papyri (TM 118645, 219285) scheduled assignments of servicemen to guarding duties, apparently in and around the city. The remaining documents contained various accounts, lists, and registers (TM 16517, 20435, 21887, 22510, 69879, 70000, 786137), some perhaps represented fragments of the *pridiana* (TM 21887, 22510, 786137).

Latin was used also in a number of letters. Most of them (TM 15398, 15400, 16008, 20513, 22128, 22132, 22517–22518, 36017, 37834, 128313, 957539), almost all from late antiquity (284–641 CE) – but including also a letter by Cerinthus, a slave of Antonia Minor, from 23 CE

[317] Four unprovenanced papyri (TM 70038, 70041, 70107, 78802) with judicial proceedings of sittings presided over by various *praesides Arcadiae* certainly came from the province of Arcadia, and probably from the city of Oxyrhynchus in particular.
[318] P. Oxy. XLII, no. 3016.
[319] E.g. RÜFNER, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History.
[320] For the office of *procurator Phari* and the control of movement in the harbour of Alexandria see PUK, ZPE 175; for TM 21785 in particular see also PURPURA, Aegyptus 82, 134–135.
[321] P. Oxy. XX, no. 2269 Ro.
[322] See e.g. HAENSCH, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 18, 99.

(TM 20513) – used Latin only for dates, addresses, greetings and/or other (side)notes. Only three letters were written fully in Latin (TM 69880, 78569, 78573). Two of them, dated to the 2nd century CE, represented internal correspondence within the army, one containing an accompanying letter for a group of new recruits to be enlisted in the *cohors III Ituraeorum* (TM 78569), the other a recommendation of a certain Theon to the legionary tribune from his subordinate (TM 69880). The third Latin letter was of a private nature and captured a communication between Chius, an imperial slave, and Synerus, probably his fellow (TM 78573). As typical for private correspondence, the contents, featuring mainly a warning against a certain Epaphras, are not entirely clear. Moreover, Synerus' Latin showed many non-standard features.

Of special note are two bilingual letters coming from Oxyrhynchus (TM 35623–35624) which should be discussed together with another one of uncertain provenance (TM 34796), but convincingly belonging together with the other two.[323] All three actually shared to a certain degree a similar structure and content and were written by the same man named Theon. The two letters reported to come from Oxyrhynchus were both addressed to Pascentius, probably some local dignitary, and plead for his favour on behalf of some old woman (TM 35623) and the veteran Paulus (TM 35624) respectively. From the third letter (TM 34796), based on the identification probably coming from the Oxyrhynchite region as well, only the ending was preserved in which consolation is being offered to the addressee of the letter named Apphous.[324] The argument of each letter was supported by aptly chosen citations from the Old Testament. In all cases the address on the verso was written in Latin, in one (TM 34796) also the greeting formula.[325] In addition, the two better preserved letters began with a Latin 'preface', proposed to be identified as a paraphrase from a piece of Greek hagiographic literature.[326] Based on the content of the letters, it is evident that Theon was in good command of Latin and very well versed in Christian scriptures and literature. Based on this, as well as the overall context of the letters, Blumell[327] has convincingly argued to identify the author of the letters with the 'holy man' Theon reported to have lived in the vicinity of Oxyrhynchus around 400 CE, who was amongst others lauded for his education and knowledge of Greek ([*διάλεξις ἕν*] *Ἑλληνικοῖς*), Latin (*Ῥωμαϊκοῖς*), and Coptic (*Αἰγυπτιακοῖς*).[328]

Another papyrus coming from Oxyrhynchus (TM 16514) bore a Latin text written in 3 cm large meticulously rendered rustic capital letters. Content-wise, it was an imperial dedication for Diocletian and Maximian made by the detachment (*vexillatio*/*vexillum*) of the *legio V Macedonica*.[329] Without a doubt, such papyrus must have represented a pattern according to which an inscription on stone was supposed to be made. It shows in what way such official inscriptions could have been carefully designed by a competent scribe likely detached from

[323] P. Köln IV, no. 200.
[324] Perhaps to be identified with the monk and Oxyrhynchite bishop of the same name, BLUMELL, AfP 54(2), 223, footnote no. 15.
[325] See also section 2.4.1. below.
[326] BLUMELL, ZPE 183.
[327] BLUMELL, AfP 54(2), esp. 221–223.
[328] Historia Monachorum in Aegypto 6, 3; more in general see also FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429.
[329] E.g. ZUCKERMAN, Tyche 3, esp. 280–282.

the actual stonecutter, with the pattern even possibly transferred over a great distance from one to the other. Another Latin inscription rooted in the imperial reverence was found on a fragment of a shield made of wood covered with gesso on one side and painted leather on the other (TM 786175). The painted surface preserved part of a laurel wreath which encompassed a short text of the type known to have been used for the commemoration of imperial jubilees, in this case either twenty or thirty years of rule of an unknown emperor most likely from the 4th century CE.[330]

1.2.4. 15th Upper Egyptian nome

Since long before the Graeco-Roman period, the 15th Upper Egyptian nome[331] came to evolve as the very core of Middle Egypt, both in political-economic and religious-cultural regards. One of the peaks of its significance came during the New Kingdom as the short-lived capital of Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna) was founded on its territory. During the Graeco-Roman period the nome was expanded by subsuming some of the neighbouring territories.[332] The importance of the region was raised again especially during late antiquity (284–641 CE) on the one hand with the progressing administrative subdivisions of the original province of Egypt and on the other as it became one of the centres of the monastic movement and Christianity and Coptic culture as such.[333]

The city of **Akoris** (Tihna el-Gebel) lies in the northern part of the region on the eastern bank of the Nile next to a prominent promontory of the escarpment. Throughout the history of the site, reaching at least to the Old Kingdom, the massif served as a monumental setting for rock-cut tombs as well as the New Kingdom *speos* temple of Amun which was enlarged to a *hemispeos* during the 1st century CE.[334] There were other temples, including a Roman sanctuary of Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis,[335] in the city below, the ruins of which have remained very well preserved until the present.[336]

The site has yielded numerous inscriptions from the Graeco-Roman period,[337] mostly in Greek with four in Latin (TM 92989, 92999, 106245, 154433). One of them (TM 92999) was found in the temple of Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis. It was a simple dedication to the god made by one C. Rammius Cypronianus, centurion of the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. Another dedication (TM 92989) coming from the city was more elaborate and honoured the emperor Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. Its originator was one Aurelius Avitianus, a naval officer (*trierarchus*) of the classis Augusta Alexandrina.[338] The inscription mentioned also his

[330] P. Oxy LXXXIII, no. 5401.
[331] See esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 102–104.
[332] E.g. DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite.
[333] E.g. ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Monasteries of the Middle Ṣa'īd*; GABRA/TAKLA (eds.), Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt; more in general also e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, esp. 210–224, 268–275.
[334] *Inter alia* Akoris: report of the excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt, 1981-1992; BERNAND, I. Akoris; Kawanishi et al. (eds.), Preliminary report: Akoris 2017; DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite, 12–18, 291–296; LÄ, s.v. *Tehne (Akoris)*; The Official Website of the Akoris Archive, https://akoris.jp//.
[335] BERNAND, I. Akoris, XVII–XVIII, 34–38; GROSSMANN, MDAIK 37; for the deity in particular see section 2.5.3. below.
[336] For the recent exploration see e.g. The Official Website of the Akoris Archive.
[337] BERNAND, I. Akoris.
[338] See also MODRZEJEWSKI/ZAWADZKI, in LOBIN (ed.), Études offertes à Jean Macqueron.

superiors, the *praefectus Aegypti* and, interestingly, the *epistrategos* of the Heptanomia. Possibly also a dedication, the largely erased inscription (TM 154433) on 'another altar, on the cliffs to the south of Tehneh'[339] again mentioned the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. Last but not least, there was a tombstone of M. Terentius Longus (TM 106245), soldier of the *legio III Cyrenaica*.

The city of **Antinoopolis** (Sheikh Ibada) was founded at a spot with earlier remains, most notably a New Kingdom temple,[340] by the emperor Hadrian in 130 CE during his visit to Egypt.[341] On one hand, the foundation honoured Hadrian's favourite Antinous, who earlier passed away during the Egyptian sojourn. More importantly, the city received a special status, various privileges for its citizens, and was located at the end of the newly established route connecting the Nile Valley with the Red Sea harbours across the Eastern Desert. Conceived as such, it soon became one of the major administrative centres and commercial hubs of the region and the whole of Egypt with its importance rising further during late antiquity (284–641 CE) when it also served as the provincial capital of the province of Thebais, split from the former early Roman province of Aegyptus. The settlement had a regular plan according to contemporary Roman standards.[342] The monumental architectonic setting of the city, including various public buildings, such as baths, theatre, hippodrome, and later also churches, was still very well preserved by the end of the 18th century, when it was recorded by members of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt.[343] Shortly after, the site became practically completely devastated. The archaeological excavations conducted throughout the 20th century complemented the early observations. They were largely focused on acquiring papyrological material, which led to numerous significant finds of textual evidence, some of it also in Latin.[344]

Latin papyri and parchments from Antinoopolis published so far[345] were mostly dated to the period of late antiquity (284–641 CE) and predominantly contained literary texts. Next to the 1st century BCE canonical school-works of Vergil (TM 62956, 62961) and Sallust (TM 62691), there was also a fragmentary parchment leaf with part of the *Satire* VII of Juvenal on the (deficiency in the) patronage of literary arts (TM 61415). The two pages of the codex contained 50 verses from the later part of the composition dealing with the teaching professions of *magistri* and *rhetores*. The poetic text was densely accompanied with scholia. and glosses both in Latin and Greek. Their contents as well as the scripts of their authors seem to point to the

[339] SAYCE, The Academy 1149(May 12, 1894), 401.

[340] *Inter alia* DONADONI, in Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini, nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1943); ROSATI, in EYRE (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995.

[341] *Inter alia* BIRLEY, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor, 247–250; CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, Arys 16; GRENIER, L'Osiris Antinoos, 47–58.

[342] *Inter alia* Antinoupolis, https://www.antinoupolis.it/index.html; ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Antinoopolis: Literary and Archaeological Sources, Antinoopolis: Architecture*; BAILEY, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 190–192; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Antinoopolis*; LÄ, s.v. *Antinooupolis*; PENSABENE, Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani, 273–288; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis I; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis II; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis III.

[343] Description de l'Egypte. Planches: Antiquités IV, Pls. 53–61.

[344] *Inter alia* ANDROLINI, in DEL FRANCIA BAROCAS (ed.), Antinoe cent'anni dopo; Antinoupolis; BRECCIA/DONADONI, Aegyptus 18; JOHNSON, JEA 1; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis I; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis II; PINTAUDI (ed.), Antinoupolis III.

[345] For a large part comprised of the papyri excavated during a single season in 1913–1914 by Johnson (ANDROLINI, in DEL FRANCIA BAROCAS (ed.), Antinoe cent'anni dopo; JOHNSON, JEA 1) and published in P. Ant. I; P. Ant. III.

use of the manuscript in the context of an advanced level of learning Latin in the Greek-speaking environment.[346] A larger group consists of various pieces of legal literature, including fragments of the Justinianic corpora of law (TM 64707, 64897) as well as works of earlier jurists and their commentaries (TM 59956, 62940, 117810). Notably, there were also three Latin biblical fragments, one of the Old Testament (TM 62089) and two of the New Testament (TM 61726, 61867). One of the latter (TM 61726) was an extraordinary piece as it contained two distinct translations of the Bible. The parchment codex, certainly an import to Egypt,[347] had on its alternate pages corresponding texts in Gothic and Latin.[348]

In addition to the Juvenal manuscript described above, one more fragmentary papyrus leaf (TM 64602) with two specimens of Latin alphabet testifies to the learning of Latin on a professional level in late antique (284–641 CE) Antinoopolis. The piece was one amongst the group of fragments identified to constitute remains of a papyrus codex, in fact a small booklet, containing a Greek shorthand writing manual.[349] The Latin alphabets on the papyrus leaf were written one over the other each using a different kind of script, namely the contemporary half-uncial minuscule for the upper one and, by that time, the outdated rustic capital for the lower one. Over each letter of the upper specimen its name was written in Greek script.[350] The lower alphabet was complemented with a line rendering Latin transcriptions for the Greek letters Θ, Φ, Χ, and Ψ and Latin diphthongs 'AE' and OE'. Either an appendix to the Greek shorthand writing manual or a beginning of its Latin part, as suggested by Milne,[351] the alphabet specimens were clearly meant for use by someone aspiring to write Latin as a professional.[352]

Amongst the other Latin texts recovered from Antinoopolis, there was a papyrus fragment of a collection of documents (*tomos synkollesimos*) which contained also a partially preserved Greek petition (TM 17189) which as its larger part included a citation of the legal ruling in Latin. Another legal document was a fragment of bilingual judicial proceedings from 299 CE (TM 33347). Dated to the first half of the 3rd century CE, there was a fragment with a list of soldiers (TM 30482), perhaps part of a *pridianum*. It should be also mentioned that Antinoopolis was the (tentative) place of origin for some pieces of Latin evidence found elsewhere in Egypt. Most notably, these included a series of documents belonging to the 'archive' of Dioscorus found at the site of ancient Aphrodito[353] and, unsurprisingly, some of those coming from the following site.

Not far from Antinoopolis over the Nile lay the traditional metropolis of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome, **Hermopolis Magna** (El-Ashmunein). Since early in history the city gained prominence as one of the major religious centres of Egypt, with the divine scribe Thoth and a group of creator gods, the Ogdoad, as its main deities. Thus, the site was dominated by a large

[346] Nocchi Macedo, in Derda et al. (eds.), esp. 171–172, 181–183; cf. Roberts, JEA 21, esp. 206–207.
[347] See esp. Underwood, Viator 45(1).
[348] The Latin translation is a distinct version stemming from the Vetus Latina (Itala) appearing also in other similar contexts, Glaue/Helm, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 11, *passim*.
[349] Milne, Greek Shorthand Manuals, 8–9; for this kind of technical literature in general see e.g. *ibid.*
[350] e.g. 'α', 'βη', 'κη' etc.; in some cases unusual forms were included such as 'ιφφε' for F or 'ιμμε' for M; in the case of H, the descriptive designation 'δασιά' was used, Kramer, AfP 45(1), 35–37.
[351] Milne, Greek Shorthand Manuals, 9.
[352] Kramer, AfP 45(1), 38.
[353] See section 1.2.6. below.

temple enclosure developed and enlarged over several millennia.[354] The fates of the city during the Graeco-Roman period and after are not dissimilar to neighbouring Antinoopolis. The site witnessed lively building activity both under the Ptolemies and Roman domination. Apart from new sanctuaries in Egyptian style it received also various public buildings and other features suitable for a Graeco-Roman polis.[355] The city kept its religious significance throughout late antiquity (284–641 CE), when a large basilica was built right next to the sacred enclosure on the site of the Ptolemaic temple.[356] Like Antinoopolis, the archaeological site was damaged during the 19th century, but not to such a large extent, with much of the remains still extant. Major excavations of the site occurred during the interwar period[357] and from the 1980s to 1990s,[358] which has been followed up by recently carried out research.[359] Amongst the other finds, the site also yielded considerable lots of written evidence, mainly on papyri, including several dozen finds of text written in Latin.

Again, similarly to Antioopolis, most of the preserved pieces of Latin evidence from Hermopolis could be dated to late antiquity (284–641 CE). The earlier texts include two uncertain fragments (TM 69925, 69976) possibly as early as the 2nd century CE. There was also a wooden tablet with a certificate of manumission for a maidservant Helene recorded in Latin and translated to Greek and dated to 221 CE (TM 23523). Of similar date was also a reused papyrus with a Latin-Greek glossary (TM 64219). The relatively extensive fragment preserved parts covering only the latter part of the alphabetically ordered original, which, thus, had to be quite extensive. Each lemma listed the word in several forms and/or in various phrases and notes on its inflection.[360]

Latin literary texts coming from Hermopolis were dominated by legal literature (TM 62360, 64537–64538, 100124), some of it bilingual (TM 64695, 704687). Related to the field of law was also the fragment from one of the orations by Cicero (TM 59456). A very rare piece is represented by fragments of a papyrus codex from the 4th century CE (TM 61384) with the bilingual text in parallel columns in Greek and Latin. The passages preserved were identified as representing fragments of two orations of Isocrates with their Latin translation. As argued by Rijksbaron and Worp, the translation was intentionally simplified and assimilated to the original, apparently to better serve for teaching Latin.[361] For the same purpose were apparently also used other more technical grammatical (TM 64630, 67946) and lexicographical (TM 67628, 67947) aids.

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[354] Esp. SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 2.

[355] *Inter alia* ALSTON, The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, esp. 260–262; ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Ashmūnayn, Al-: History and Architecture, Ashmūnayn, Al-: Sculpture*; BAILEY, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 4; BAILEY, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 192–198; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *el-Ashmunein*; LÄ, s.v. *Hermupolis magna*; PENSABENE, Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani, 244–257; ROEDER, Hermopolis 1929-1939; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 1; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 2; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 3.

[356] Esp. WACE et al. Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein: the Ptolemaic sanctuary and the basilica.

[357] Esp. ROEDER, Hermopolis 1929-1939.

[358] Esp. BAILEY, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 4; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 1; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 2; SPENCER, Excavations at el-Ashmunein 3.

[359] ABDEL-KADER, Egyptian Archaeology 61.

[360] DICKEY/FERRI, ZPE 175, 177–178.

[361] RIJKSBARON/WORP, Mnemosyne 51(6).

For late antiquity (284–641 CE), the legal texts were represented exclusively by bilingual judicial proceedings. In two cases, it was explicitly stated (TM 78302, 99306) that the records were in fact written at the provincial capital of Antinoopolis. The same may be tentatively proposed as a likely possibility especially in cases including a hearing before the *praeses Thebaidos* (TM 17284, 18367, 30994, 33700).[362] It is however far from certain as attested by a court held at Hermopolis by one of the holders of the office, a certain Hesychius (TM 22350). Latin appeared also as the language of a few letters (TM 17309, 17314, 32589), all official in nature. One fragmentary message was bilingual (TM 32589), with Latin used in isolated (formal) parts. Two very similar letters of recommendation from the early 4th century CE (TM 17314, 70001) belonged to the 'archive' of Theophanes, a member of Hermopolitan elite and an official close to the top echelons of the Egyptian administrative.[363] They were the only Latin writing preserved in the collection. The letters issued for Theophanes by the *rationalis* Flavius Vitalis, a high civil official of the province, were for the purposes of an official delegation on an uncertain mission Theophanes took to Antioch in Syria. Accordingly, the recommendations were addressed to Achillius (TM 70001), *praeses* of Phoenice, and Delphinius (TM 17314), probably *praeses* of Palaestina, two provinces Theophanes had to cross on the way, which is well documented by other documents from his 'archive'.[364] A later and more distinguished namesake of Theophanes, the commander of the provincial garrison (*comes rei militaris Thebaici limitis*) Flavius Constantinus Theophanes was the originator of a letter dated to 505 CE (TM 17309) in which he ordered the Hermopolitan military official Theodotus to enlist one Heracleon into the local military unit.

The remaining papyri associated with the 15th Upper Egyptian nome (TM 18374, 22353, 23552, 35230 69994, 942966) fit well with the evidence from Antinoopolis and Hermopolis discussed above. Two of the official documents (TM 23552, 35230) were wholly in Greek except for short Latin subscriptions. Of special note are also two fragmentary copies of the same official letter with a complaint, as argued, most likely sent by the *praeses Thebaidos* to the *rationalis* in Alexandria.[365]

1.2.5. 13th Upper Egyptian nome

The area of the ancient metropolis of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome[366] and one of the main and earliest centres of Christianity in Egypt, the city of **Lycopolis** (Asyut),[367] was recorded as the findspot of a lot of papyri fragments acquired in the early 20th century by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris. The collection is relatively late covering mainly the 5th–6th centuries CE, containing texts mainly in Greek and Coptic.[368]

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[362] As proposed e.g. by VAN MINNEN, Tyche 43, 259.
[363] *Inter alia* CHOAT, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 88(1); MATTHEWS, The Journey of Theophanes; P. Ryl. IV, 104–156, nos. 616–642.
[364] For the journey see esp. MATTHEWS, The Journey of Theophanes; for the recommendations in particular see *ibid.*, 33–40.
[365] BERNINI, ZPE 201.
[366] See esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 102–104.
[367] E.g. ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Asyūt*; BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Asyut*; LÄ, s.v. *Assiut*.
[368] FOURNET/GASCOU, CRAIBL 152(3); GASCOU, in Pap. Congr. XXII.

Two of the papyri also featured some parts written in Latin (TM 100062, 383702). One of these texts (TM 100062) belonged to a distinct 'archive', the so-called 'Library of the doctor or apothecary'.[369] It was a concordance of the names of the months in three columns according to the Egyptian, Julian, and Macedonian calendars. The Latin names of the months were written in Greek script. However, the list was notably ordered and gave the lengths of the months according to the Julian calendar.[370] The other piece (TM 383702) coming from Lycopolis contained bilingual judicial proceedings.

A Latin inscription (TM 106279), the current whereabouts of which are unknown,[371] was associated with the site of **Deir el-Gebrawi**.[372] The important Old Kingdom site could be plausibly identified with the Graeco-Roman toponym 'Hieracon' and as a location of an auxiliary fortress, the homebase of the *cohors I Lusitanorum*[373] during late antiquity (284–641 CE).[374] The military installation is most likely to be recognised in some of the archaeological remains extant at the site.[375] The Latin inscription discussed is in fact part of the argument for the equation of Hieracon with Deir el-Gebrawi as it apparently recorded the inauguration of the military installation in 288 CE. The building inscription was formulated as a dedication to Jupiter, Hercules, and Victoria, the principal state deities under Dioceletian. This emperor and his colleague Maximian are both mentioned as the originators of the building project. By its text, the inscription is near identical with two more found at other distant Egyptian sites, namely Sile (Tell Abu Seifa; TM 97572) in the eastern Delta and Qaret el-Tub (TM 702317) in Bahariya.[376]

[369] After FOURNET, in ANDORLINI (ed.), Testi medici su papiro; see also FOURNET/GASCOU, CRAIBL 152(3), *passim*, esp. 1054–1055.

[370] FOURNET/GASCOU, CRAIBL 152(3), 1066–1069.

[371] The inscription was most notably recorded and its contemporary placing described by Claude Sicard, a Jesuit missionary who sojourned in Egypt in the early 18th century (SICARD, Œuvres I: lettres et relations inédites, 14–15; VERNAREL/CABIN (eds.), Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères 3: mémoires du Levant, 316–317, 464; for Sicard in general see e.g. BIERBRIER (ed.), Who Was Who in Egyptology, s.v. *SICARD, (*Père*) Claude*). According to his testimony the inscription was displayed in the church of St. Victor, the son of Romanus. The sanctuary was plausibly argued to have been located at Deir el-Gebrawi (e.g. SICARD, Œuvres I: lettres et relations inédites, 14–15, footnote no. 2; TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Agypten in arabischer Zeit, s.v. *Abnūb*). The modern village of Deir el-Gebrawi is still centred around an apparently more recent church dedicated to the same saint; as of hearsay, the inscription was supposed to have been built into its walls (TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Agypten in arabischer Zeit, s.v. *Abnūb*; VAN DER VLIET, in Gabra/Takla (eds.), Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt, 162–163). But cf. also the possibly conflicting account of the location provided by A. C. Harris (CIL III, no. 6626).

[372] *Inter alia* ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Dayr al-Jabrāwī: Architecture*, *Dayr al-Jabrāwī: History*; KURTH/RÖßLER-KÖHLER (eds.), Zur Archäologie des 12. oberägyptischen Gaues; LÄ, s.v. *Deir el-Gebrawi*; MORENO GARCÍA, in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology; TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Agypten in arabischer Zeit, s.v. *Abnūb*.

[373] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 175–176; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 760–761.

[374] Esp. VAN DER VLIET, in Gabra/Takla (eds.), Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt, 162–165 = VAN DER VLIET, The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia, 194–196; see also *inter alia* ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Dayr al-Jabrāwī: History;* SICARD, Œuvres I: lettres et relations inédites, 14–15, footnote no. 2.

[375] ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Dayr al-Jabrāwī: Architecture*; KURTH/RÖßLER-KÖHLER (eds.), Zur Archäologie des 12. oberägyptischen Gaues, 186–194.

[376] For detailed discussion of all three inscriptions in context see subchapter 5.4. below.

1.2.6. 10th Upper Egyptian nome

More evidence for the late use of Latin in Egypt, namely coming from the 6th century CE, was recovered from the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome.[377] It comes from the exceptional finds of papyri and ostraca made at the site of **Aphrodito** (Kom Ishgau) during the first half of the 20th century.[378] The textual finds, more than the rather modest archaeological remains recovered, allow to observe, in exceptional detail, the life of the town during late antiquity (284–641 CE).

One of the most comprehensive sub-sets of the evidence is the 'archive' of Dioscorus.[379] Member of a leading family of Aphrodito, Dioscorus was himself a large landowner, headman of the community, and official of the imperial administrative. His 'archive' was therefore largely a blend of writings and documents dealing with matters of the whole town on the one hand and his family on the other. A remarkable part of the collection pertained to Dioscorus' literary interests, containing, amongst other books, fragments of Menander's comedies and several dozens of his own versed compositions. In several documents (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18454, 18878, 18994–18995, 36517), Latin appeared as a minor part. One part of them were legal texts, from which there were two bilingual judicial proceedings (TM 18454, 18878) and a decree of the provincial governor, *dux et augustalis* Flavius Hephaistos (TM 18995) which was wholly written in Greek with Latin used only for two subscriptions appended to its end. Interestingly, the decree at the end demands that it be also translated into Coptic (literally: *ἐπιχώριος διάλεκτος*/ local language). There were also several administrative documents, all of the same type, namely orders for the levy of rations (*annona*) with appended receipts of payment (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517), largely issued at Antinoopolis. The levies were ordered by the *praeses* of the province and destined either for the capital of Alexandria (TM 18994, 36517), the garrison of nearby Antaiopolis (Qaw el-Kebir; TM 18444) or for the military unit of the *Numidae Iustiniani* stationed at Hermopolis (TM 18007, 18445).[380] Short subscriptions in Latin appeared regularly after the part of the document containing the order. Notable is, however, also the use of the Latin dry measure *modius*, typical for similar contexts at that time.[381] Another bilingual judicial proceeding (TM 36006) recovered from the site of Aphrodito as well complements the documents from the 'archive' of Dioscorus.

[377] See esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 95–99.

[378] E.g. RUFFINI, Life in an Egyptian village in late antiquity: Aphrodito before and after the Islamic conquest, 5–10; for the site in general see *inter alia ibid*.; ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Aphrodito*; LÄ, s.v. *Kom Ischqau*; QUIBELL, ASAE 3.

[379] *Inter alia* BROUX, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 401–403; FOURNET (ed.), Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte; RUFFINI, Life in an Egyptian village in late antiquity: Aphrodito before and after the Islamic conquest, esp. 8–9, 60–74; see also KUEHN, Dioscorus of Aphrodito. Man and Circumstance: Select Bibliography.

[380] TM 18445, P. Cairo Masp. 3, no. 67321, 3–5.

[381] Esp. MAYERSON, BASP 43; cf. also P. Freer, nos. 3–4.

1.3. 4th Upper Egyptian nome – the Theban region

A prominent cumulation of Latin texts is connected with the 4th Upper Egyptian nome, that is the Theban region.[382] By the beginning of the Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE), the former political and religious core of Egypt had been in a state of centuries-long gradual decline, which only accelerated during the Ptolemaic period largely due to series of revolts the region was involved in. Especially the aftermath of the rebellion of 90–88 BCE apparently dealt a serious blow to the prosperity of the Theban area.[383] IN addition, the newly incoming Roman rule was initially met with violent resistance which had to suppressed by the first *praefectus Aegypti* Cornelius Gallus.[384] While the Theban region had no longer much significance from political or economic points of view, it was still considered as strategically important as attested by the considerable military presence throughout the Roman period.[385] Foremost, during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) Thebes continued to serve as one of the major religious centres, for which it could rely on its ancient monuments, long-established traditions, and illustrious past in general. All of this gave also rise to the extraordinary popularity of the region amongst pilgrims and tourists.[386] The 111 individual pieces of Latin evidence represent 8.61 % of the entire corpus. They were dominated by inscriptions on stone (95.50 %) and most of them were recovered from only a few sites, not surprisingly, exactly those connected with the Thebes' glorious past. They were the Colossi of Memnon (1.3.1.), Valley of the Kings (1.3.2.), and the Luxor Temple (1.3.3.).[387]

[382] Regarded here as the area of the traditional 4th Upper Egyptian nome (see esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 78–83) and including at least the area upstream from Medamud all the way to Gebelein, thus covering also the subdivision of *Pathyrites*/*Hermonthites* detached from the 4th Upper Egyptian nome well before the Graeco-Roman period; HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 81–83.

[383] E.g. RITNER, in DORMAN/BRYAN (eds.), Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes, 102–104; for the Theban region during the Ptolemaic period in general see e.g. COPPENS, in MYNÁŘOVÁ/ONDERKA (eds.), Thebes: city of gods and pharaohs; DORMAN/BRYAN (eds.), Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes; VANDORPE, in: VLEEMING, S. P. (ed.), Hundred-gated Thebes.

[384] E.g. HERKLOTZ, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; for Theban region during the Roman period in general *see inter alia* COPPENS, in MYNÁŘOVÁ/ONDERKA (eds.), Thebes: city of gods and pharaohs; KLOTZ, Caesar in the City of Amun; ŁAJTAR, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; VANDORPE, in: VLEEMING, S. P. (ed.), Hundred-gated Thebes.

[385] See sections 1.3.3.–1.3.4. below.

[386] *Inter alia* BATAILLE, Les Memnonia; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, esp. 22–31; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, esp. 705–709.

[387] See also Tab. 1.1. above and Fig. 1.3. below.

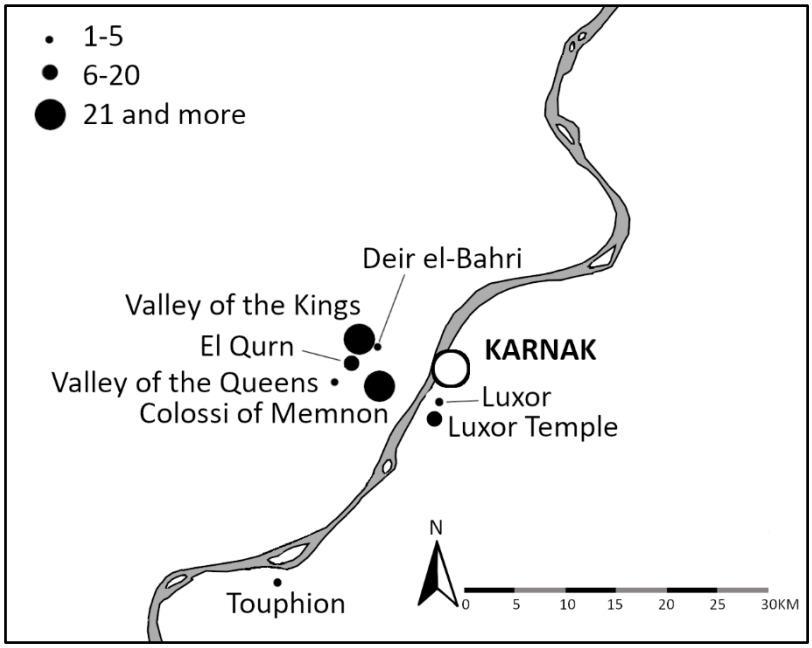


Fig. 1.3. The distribution of Latin textual evidence across the individual sites of the Theban region. The amounts of individual pieces of evidence coming from a single site are visualised in the sizes of the points. In addition, the site of Karnak is visualised as a hollow point.

1.3.1. The Colossi of Memnon

Two colossal statues of Amenhotep III were by the Graeco-Roman period the only extant visible remains of his temple of millions of years in Western Thebes.[388] Towards the end of the 1st century BCE, the Colossi of Memnon were described by Strabo.[389] He recorded the northern statue as collapsed from the waist up – the damage attributed to an earthquake.[390] Strabo was also the first one to mention the sound given out by the torso in the morning. It was this 'miracle'[391] what made the northern colossus famous and one of the most popular destinations for contemporary travellers. Graeco-Roman visitors started to identify this statue with the Homeric hero Memnon, while the southern colossus was practically ignored.[392] The morning sounds were explained as Memnon's greetings to his mother Eos, the goddess of the dawn.[393] The identification could have been further supported by other factors, notably for

[388] For the recent excavation at the site see *inter alia* SOUROUZIAN, AE 39; SOUROUZIAN, AE 50; SOUROUZIAN et al., ASAE 85; SOUROUZIAN et al., MDAIK 60; SOUROUZIAN et al., MDAIK 63.
[389] STRABO, Geographica XVII, 1.46.
[390] See also SOUROUZIAN et al., ASAE 85, 277–305.
[391] The sounds may have been caused by rapid expulsion of air and/or vapour from the cracks in the stone during the sunrise, which would have been facilitated by the high thermal expansivity of the stone; SOUROUZIAN et al., MDAIK 60, 183.
[392] *Inter alia* ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 5–6.
[393] *Inter alia* FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 23–24; ŁUKASZEWICZ, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 255; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 12–15; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 706–707.

example the possible closeness of the contemporary pronunciation of Amenhotep III's *prenomen* to the name of Memnon.[394]

Visitors to the site covered the accessible parts of the northern colossus with their graffiti. In their seminal edition of the collection, the Bernand brothers recorded altogether 108 Greek and Latin inscriptions.[395] Originally there were more graffiti, namely dipinti in red and black, which were recently detected only as unreadable traces.[396] The earliest dated inscription (TM 93156) came from 20 CE which was not long after the Colossi of Memnon were visited by the Tiberius' heir apparent Germanicus.[397] It was perhaps this event which established or confirmed the eminent, largely official, status of this touristic site.[398] Accordingly, the visitors came more often than elsewhere from the top echelons of society, their graffiti were often quite elaborate, the Greek ones often versed, including four epigrams composed by the poet Julia Balbilla[399] on the occasion of the visit of the emperor Hadrian and his wife Vibia Sabina in 130 CE.[400] The acoustic phenomenon apparently ceased to occur sometime after the beginning of the 3rd century CE and with it also the inscriptions.[401] Due to the specific context in which they appeared, their extraordinary quality, as well as the unusually high occurrence of Latin garnered the graffiti also considerable scholarly attention from various points of view.[402]

Altogether, 44 Latin visitors' graffiti[403] were identified on the northern colossus, one of them in combination with Greek. In comparison with the Greek ones, the Latin inscriptions were only seldom versed (e.g. TM 93209+93210). They were focused on providing proper identification of their originators including their position in the imperial hierarchy and in many cases followed a similar structural pattern including also the statement of hearing (*audire*/*ἀκούειν*) the sound of Memnon and the precise date of the event. The difference, apparently functional,[404] between the Greek and Latin texts is best illustrated by varying inscriptions left by the same originator.[405] It is further underscored by the only bilingual graffito containing a plainly structured statement in Latin interrupted by a Greek distich. Among the

[394] FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 23; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 14–15; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 706.
[395] BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon.
[396] SOUROUZIAN et al., MDAIK 63, 252.
[397] TACITUS, Annales II, 61; see also FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 113–115; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039.
[398] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 554–555 see also BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, 25–28.
[399] BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 28–31; see ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–168.
[400] Esp. BIRLEY, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor, 250–252; see also *inter alia* CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, Arys 16; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–154.
[401] BOWERSOCK, BASP 21, 24–26; ŁUKASZEWICZ, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 256; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 706.
[402] *Inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 546–555; BATAILLE, Les Memnonia, 153–168; BOWERSOCK, BASP 21; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 23–25; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins.
[403] In BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, the TM 93209–93210 is divided and considered as two separate inscriptions (nos. 54–55).
[404] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 551–555; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, esp. 82–84 (including also slight polemic with Adams' conclusions).
[405] Cf. TM 93193 with BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 39.

visitors attested in the Latin graffiti were many *praefecti Aegypti* and various military officers mostly of higher ranks down to centurions. There were only three members of the civil administrative (TM 93196, 93209–93210, 93214), two of them *epistrategoi*.

1.3.2. Valley of the Kings

The royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were likely even more notorious among ancient tourists than the Colossi of Memnon. The tombs, known as the *syringes* in antiquity,[406] were being visited from the 3rd century BCE[407] well into late antiquity (284–641 CE)[408] with the popularity apparently peaking in the early centuries of the Common Era.[409] Over 2100 visitor's graffiti in various languages – mainly Greek – were documented in ten of the tombs.[410] The exact nature of the special significance, which they held for visitors, is still a matter of debate. They were evidently considered to represent a marvel of ancient craftsmanship.[411] The acts of personal presence (*esse*/*ingredi*/*ἥκειν*), eyewitness (*videre/inspicere*/*εἶδον*), and/or investigation (*inspicere*?[412]/*ἱστορεῖν*) together with the experience of wonderment (*mirari*/*θαυμάζειν*) were typical and specific for this particular touristic site. As convincingly argued by Foertmeyer,[413] such self-presentation likely offered the possibility to identify oneself with the archetype of the inquisitive scholar, closely connected with the phenomenon of Graeco-Roman (non-religious) tourism as such. Yet more uncertainly related is the possible connection of the *syringes* with ideas of knowledge and wisdom.[414] Alternatively, the tombs could have had a certain religious aspect as well.[415] The most frequented of the tombs, KV9 of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI, yielding nearly half of the extant visitors' graffiti, owes its popularity also to a mythological connection. Similarly to the colossi of Amenhotep III it was associated with the Homeric Memnon.[416]

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[406] See LSJ, s.v. *σῦριγξ*; used e.g. by PAUSANIAS, Periegesis Hellados, I, 42; in the tombs themselves BAILLET, I. Syringes, nos. 13; 562, 1283; see also *inter alia* FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 26; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 708.

[407] See BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 30; see also FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 26.

[408] COPPENS, in WILKINSON/WEEKS (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 474–477; ŁUKASZEWICZ, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 259.

[409] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 583; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 26.

[410] KV1, KV2, KV4, KV6, KV7, KV8, KV9, KV10, KV11, KV15, all from the 19th and 20th Dynasties, with the notable exception of KV15, easily accessible tombs located near the entrance to the Valley; see also COPPENS, in WILKINSON/WEEKS (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 472–473; ŁUKASZEWICZ, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 258.

[411] *Inter alia* COPPENS, in WILKINSON/WEEKS (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 473; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 29; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 709.

[412] See OLD, s.v. *inspiciō*; cf. LSJ, s.v. *ἱστορ-έω*. Although the equivalence of these verbs seems plausible, however, '*inspicere*' was never used together with '*videre*' in a single inscription, unlike '*ἱστορεῖν*' and '*εἶδον*', which points against it.

[413] FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 28–29.

[414] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 584; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 29; see also AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Res Gestae XXII, 15, 30.

[415] BAILLET, I. Syringes, LXVI–LXXVI; COPPENS, in WILKINSON/WEEKS (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 473; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 709; cf. FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 28.

[416] Esp. ŁUKASZEWICZ, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 257–262.

In his monumental publication of the visitors' graffiti from the Valley of the Kings,[417] Baillet identified thirty Latin inscriptions. His nearly hundred-years-old monograph remains the only comprehensive edition of this vast epigraphic corpus. As such it is now fairly outdated and even his readings should be approached with due caution.[418] This was proved e.g. recently by Kayser, who was able to significantly improve and reinterpret the readings of some of the inscriptions and identified three more as written in Latin.[419]

Latin texts were found only in three of the ten tombs with visitors' graffiti, unsurprisingly the majority of them coming from KV9 of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI.[420] In general, these inscriptions tended to be shorter, less formal and informative than the visitors' graffiti from the Colossi of Memnon. They usually stated only the name of the originator and the acts of inspecting the tombs (*videre*/*inspicere*) and the experience of wonderment (*mirari*).[421] However, one of the graffiti (TM 96129) written by/for the legionary tribune Antiochianus Pulcher represented a clear outlier from the usual practice including detailed information about its originator, precise date, as well as the name of his companion. An exact date was given by only one other Latin inscription from the royal tombs (TM 96260). In several other cases, more or less precise date-ranges could be established on palaeographic grounds or inferred from the occurrence of certain titles, or their historic context in general.[422] Still, overall, the dating of the Latin graffiti from the Valley of the Kings remains too vague which hampers their informative value for the present analysis. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the users of Latin visited the tombs throughout the Roman period. In stark contrast with the varied social strata and professions attested to visit the Valley of the Kings in general, various ranks of soldiers featured prominently among the originators of Latin inscriptions. However, several members of civil administrative or educated classes in general (TM 95470, 95477, 96129, 96502 and possibly more) and one monk (TM 96517) were included as well. Three originators left more than one Latin inscription in one or several tombs.[423] Bilingual (e.g. TM 96241) or Greek influenced inscriptions (e.g. TM 95293, 96676) appeared more often than in the case of the Colossi of Memnon. One visitor's graffito was versed (TM 95939).

[417] Baillet, I. Syringes.

[418] See *inter alia* Bataille, Les Memnonia, 169; Coppens, in Wilkinson/Weeks (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 472; Kayser, in Delrieux/Kayser (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy; Martin, CdÉ 66(131–132); Speidel, CdÉ 49(98).

[419] Kayser, in Delrieux/Kayser (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy.

[420] Eleven in KV2, two in KV8, twenty in KV9.

[421] In singular cases other attitudes were expressed as well, namely the statement of one's presence/arrival (*esse*/*ingredire*; TM 95465, 95670, 95991 much more common in the Greek graffiti, and a singular expression of praise ('*Domesticus lauda<v=B>it hic*/ Domesticus praised (these *syringes*) here.'; TM 95041).

[422] Apart from Baillet, I. Syringes, see also Honzl, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2); Kayser, in Delrieux/Kayser (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy; other improvements are proposed in the present thesis.

[423] Ianuarius (TM 95176, 96184, 96264, 96298), Palladius (TM 95470, 95477), M. Porcius Marcellus (TM 95402, 95422), M. Vo(l)turius (TM 95293, 96676; also two more inscriptions in Greek, Baillet, I. Syringes, nos. 283, 2003).

1.3.3. The Luxor Temple

The Temple of Amun at Luxor was since the New Kingdom one of the main sanctuaries of the region. While the original cult was preserved into the 4th century CE[424] and the site enjoyed some touristic attention as well,[425] it also became the focus of activities of the Roman army in the Theban region since the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE).[426] It culminated with an extensive building project at the beginning of the 4th century CE in the course of which the temple was incorporated into a large legionary fortress and most of its features repurposed to serve as its facilities.[427] Most of the sixteen Latin inscriptions coming from the temple could be dated to the narrow timeframe of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE), or slightly after, and were closely related to this construction event.

However, three of the Latin texts (TM 18334, 106061, 106243) came already from the 2nd century CE. They were all recovered in a fragmentary state. Despite that, it was possible to establish that two of them were an official dedication (TM 18334) and building inscription (TM 106061), while the third (TM 106243) likely represented either of the two as well. The three texts could be all dated to the second half of the 2nd century CE and at least two of them were connected to the military. It remains inconclusive whether one or more of them[428] should be related to the *cohors II Thracum*, which was identified as the unit garrisoned in Thebes during that time.[429] The oldest one (TM 106061) recorded the construction of an auxiliary camp, which must have been located in close vicinity of the temple.

The Luxor Temple started to be rebuilt as a legionary fortress no later than 301 CE.[430] An early inscription on a lintel (TM 106242), datable possibly even to 293 CE,[431] could represent a prelude or the very beginning of the works. Seven inscriptions came from the bases of two monumental *tetrastyla* which were raised above prominent junctions inside the fortress.[432] Each of the column bases of the *tetrastylon* was symbolically furnished with a dedication to one of the four ruling emperors. The bases of the older *tetrastylon* dedicated in 301 CE were seriously damaged. Thus, only three (TM 106205, 220343–220344) of its four inscriptions could be recovered at least in partial state of preservation and it was not possible to fully

[424] *Inter alia* esp. KLOTZ, Caesar in the City of Amun, 376–379, HEIDEL/JOHNSON, in JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire, 48–56.
[425] FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 30–31; EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 101–121.
[426] *Inter alia* GILLIAM, Roman Army Papers, 320; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 420–423; MAXFIELD, in Limes XX, 76; REDON, BIFAO 109, 415–417.
[427] JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire; KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 29; KARELIN, in VAGALINSKI/SHARANKOV (eds.), Limes XXII; KLOTZ, Caesar in the City of Amun, 374–379; EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor.
[428] For TM 106061 see MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 421. In TM 106061, the preserved sequence of epithets of the military unit responsible for the building project could have possibly belonged to *cohors II Thracum* but, so far, it has not been attested as such elsewhere.
[429] ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 184; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 764–765; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 421.
[430] MCFADDEN, in JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire; EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 20–23.
[431] SPEIDEL/PAVKOVIC, The American Journal of Philology, 110/1; cf. MCFADDEN, in JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire, 26.
[432] EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 11–12, 20–21; for the architectural form in general see esp. THIEL, Antiquité tardive 10; THIEL, in BOSCHUNG/ECK (eds.), Die Tetrarchie.

reconstruct the exact pattern in which they bore the names of the four original members of the tetrarchy, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius I, and Galerius. What could be recovered was the name of Aurelius Reginus, the governor of the province of Thebaid, assuming the role of the dedicant. The second *tetrastylon* was dedicated in 308/309 CE by the military commander of the region, Aurelius Maximinus. Its largely preserved inscriptions featured the emperors Licinius (TM 220340), Galerius (TM 106203), Maximinus II (TM 220342), and Constantine I (TM 220341). Similar inscriptions as the ones on the *tetrastyla* appeared also on several bases for imperial statues. Two of the recovered socles were dedicated still during the original tetrarchy, namely in 302–304 CE, by *rationalis* Valerius Evethius to the junior emperors Galerius and Constantius I. They were originally likely part of a larger set including also the images of their senior counterparts. Another commander of the Egyptian army Valerius Rometalca erected three other statue bases. All of his dedications featured the emperor Constantine I, and thus it seems possible to speculate that they were dedicated only after his conquest of the eastern part of the Roman Empire in 324 CE.[433]

1.3.4. Other

The occurrence of Latin inscriptions at **Luxor** was not limited to the Temple of Amun itself. Two other texts on stone were associated with the territory of the modern city as well, and they too seem to be related to the activities of the Roman army taking place in and around the New Kingdom temple. A fragment of an official dedication or a building inscription text including the titulary of Commodus (TM 702271) was recovered from much later houses built along the Avenue of Sphinxes in front of the Luxor Temple.[434] The second inscription (TM 121989) was recovered from the kerb of a *saqyiah* located not far from the city.[435] It contained a funerary inscription of Petronius Valens, a soldier of *cohors II Thracum* mentioned above.

Besides the Colossi of Memnon and the Valley of the Kings, few visitors' graffiti came from other sites in Western Thebes, which was significantly affected by the phenomena of tourism and pilgrimage as a whole.[436]

Six such inscriptions were identified on rock faces of the southern slopes of the mountain **El Qurn**.[437] Found in the Valley of the Cord, a wadi lateral to the Valley of the Queens, five of them (TM 104924, 701010–701012, 701016) comprised a closely-knit group. Delattre[438] recognised them together with three other Greek graffiti[439] as belonging to the same originator, a certain Hermas.[440] With one exception (TM 701012), all of the inscriptions recorded only this name. Hermas' apparent bilingualism was further underscored by a certain

[433] See also McFadden, in Jones/McFadden (eds.), Art of Empire, 28.
[434] Kościuk, BSAC 50.
[435] 'Séance du 6 Juillet', Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 1892, 183.
[436] *Inter alia* Bataille, I. Deir el-Bahari; Bataille, Les Memnonia, 86–179; Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 22–31; Łajtar, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods; Riad, ASAE 60; Rutherford, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 705–709.
[437] See also Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 30
[438] Delattre, Latomus 67/3.
[439] Černý et al., Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine, no. 3093a; Delattre, Latomus 67/3, nos. 5, 6, 7.
[440] Who may have been connected to yet more graffiti from the wider area; Bingen, CdÉ, 56(112), 342; Delattre, Latomus 67/3, 719–720.

ambiguity of his writing. One of his Latin inscriptions (TM 104924) was indeed formerly considered to be Greek.[441] The case of the sixth (TM 104926) Latin inscription of El Qurn, found on the escarpment above the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina, was similar. This one, comprising only the name of a certain Cornelius was rendered in Greek script, however retaining its original Latin ending.[442]

The use of Greek characters for a Latin text appeared also in the well-known long inscription of Athenodoros (TM 96921) from the temple of Hatshepsut at **Deir el-Bahri**, which served by the Roman period as a popular place of incubation for pilgrims.[443] The inscription of Athenodoros, apparently a Palmyrene soldier from Coptos,[444] recorded in an elaborate way his experience from the visit.[445] Otherwise recounting in Greek, he switched to Latin written in Greek script when introducing himself as the '*tesserarius* of the first *vexillatio*'.[446] Although Deir el-Bahri was frequented similarly to the other abovementioned popular sites of the region, strikingly no other evidence for the use of Latin was recovered there.

Traces of two Latin inscriptions (TM 154475–154476) were recovered from a stone slab from the Temple of Montu at **Touphion** (Tod). Fitting well with other evidence for building/decoration activities at the site in the second half of the 2rd century CE,[447] the obverse preserved fragments of an official dedication or building inscription (TM 154475) datable to this or a slightly later period. Apparently not long after that, the slab was reused for another inscription of uncertain genre found on the reverse (TM 154476).

A well-known piece found in the region was the bilingual dedication of Sulpicius Serenus (TM 81680). As known from his Greek inscription from the Colossi of Memnon,[448] Serenus was a commander of the *ala Vocontiorum* stationed at Coptos.[449] In his bilingual text he boasted of defeating the desert-dwelling Agriophagi[450] and building an altar for Jupiter. The dedication was inscribed on a large piece of rock and enclosed in a framing in the form of a stele.[451] Serenus' monument was acquired at Luxor,[452] but its exact provenance remains unknown. The

[441] Bataille, BIFAO 38, 147, no. 9; reinterpreted as Latin by Bingen, CdÉ, 56(112), 341–342, no. 9.
[442] Considered Greek by Bataille, BIFAO 38, 166, no. 43; reinterpreted as Latin by Bingen, CdÉ, 56(112), 342, no. 10.
[443] *Inter alia* Bataille, I. Deir el-Bahari; Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 22–23; Łajtar, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods.
[444] Speidel, BASP 21, 222–224.
[445] The exact nature of which is still a matter of debate; Bataille, I. Deir el-Bahari, xxii–xxiii, 88; Łajtar, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, *passim*, esp. 296; Renberg, ZPE 184; summarised by Renberg, ZPE 184, 103–105.
[446] In original: '*τεσσεραρίω πριμα ούεξιλλατειωνε*'. Latin lexica '*tesserarius*' and '*vexillatio*' were accepted as loanwords into Greek vocabulary; see e.g. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, s.v. *τεσσεράριος*, s.v. *ουηξιλλατίων*. Thus, note that the identification of the phrase as Latin does not rely on the use of Latin military terminology but the ordinal number '*primus*' and Latin case endings.
[447] See Schwartz, BIFAO 50.
[448] Bernand/Bernand, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 20.
[449] For Sulpicius Serenus see esp. Bülow-Jacobsen/Cuvigny, Chiron 37; for *ala Vocontiorum* see Alston, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 171–172; Daris, in Temporini (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 754–755; Maxfield, in Alföldy et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, *passim*.
[450] *Inter alia* Bernand, Pan du desert, 265–266.
[451] See Bernand, Pan du désert, 261, Pl. 71.
[452] Bernand, Pan du désert, 261; Bülow-Jacobsen/Cuvigny, Chiron 37, 17, footnote no. 8.

occurrence of Serenus among the visitors of the Colossi of Memnon lends additional credibility to its possible local origin.[453] However, considering the events described and the identity of the military unit under Serenus' supervision, it was probably originally erected at Coptos or somewhere in the Eastern Desert.[454]

Besides the inscriptions on stone, there were only a few more Latin texts, which could be identified as coming from the Theban region. They came from three papyri (TM 17631, 64745, 64748) and two ostraca (TM 63313, 73465). Among the papyri, there was a receipt dealing with a soldier's inheritance (TM 17631) written completely in Greek, except for the signature of one of the witnesses. This witness, the cavalrymen Apollonius, gave his credentials in Latin, however, written in a mix of Greek and Latin letters. The other two papyri (TM 64745, 64748) were fragments of legal literature, in one case bilingual, from late antiquity (284–641 CE). Both ostraca were bilingual as well. One of them, coming from the **Valley of the Queens** (TM 63313) served as an aid for transliteration between Greek and Latin scripts. The other one contained a Greek receipt (TM 73465) with a date translated in Latin.

1.4. The Eastern Desert and the 5th Upper Egyptian nome – the Coptite region

A large and diverse set of Latin texts, comprising 173 individual items was collected from the Egyptian Eastern Desert. The mountainous wasteland occupying the space between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea greatly contributed to the economy of Roman Egypt through its trade routes and abundant deposits of precious materials. The exploitation of the Eastern Desert was facilitated by extensive state-sanctioned development mostly in the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) resulting in a variety of mostly smaller sites dotting the region.[455] Latin texts were noted as present at many of them; often only a few individual pieces coming from a single place. Below, the scattered evidence is sorted and grouped according to the main routes passing through the desert.[456] As of the present, Latin texts were most abundant at Mons Claudianus (1.4.2.), Didymoi and surroundings (1.4.6.), and Berenike (1.4.8.).[457] A more systematic approach to the exploration of the Eastern Desert started to flourish only relatively recently. Thus, many recovered texts, including Latin ones, still remain unpublished.[458] Also,

[453] Cf. also the case of Athenodoros (TM 96921) in this section above.

[454] See Bülow-Jacobsen/Cuvigny, Chiron 37, 17.

[455] See in this subchapter below; in general *inter alia* Brun et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5230; Gates-Foster, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; Jackson, At Empire's Edge, 3–107; Cuvigny (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; Cuvigny, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert; Sidebotham, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route; Sidebotham/Gates-Foster (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley; Sidebotham et al., The Red Land; Tchernia, The Romans and Trade, esp. 42–51, 220–228; Wilson, in De Romanis/Maiuro (eds.), Across the Ocean; see also Redon (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/.

[456] Cf. e.g. Bernand, De Koptos à Kosseir; Bernand, Pan du désert; Brun et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt; Cuvigny (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; Jackson, At Empire's Edge, esp. 55–73, 95–107; Sidebotham/Gates-Foster (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley.

[457] See also Fig. 1.4. below.

[458] Perhaps most notably the ostraca from Mons Pophyrites and its quarrying district, see Bülow-Jacobsen, in Nodar/Torallas Tovar (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, 528; Mathieu, BIFAO 103, 558; Peacock/Maxfield et al., The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998, 407–411; but see also *inter alia* Cuvigny, in Brun et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5231, § 1; Cuvigny, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, *passim*. Esp. Tab. 41.1; Redon (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/.

the state of publication, as well as the state of exploration, greatly varies by site. A further small set of Latin textual evidence came from the 5th Upper Egyptian nome, that is the Coptite region, (1.4.4.), containing 11 items in total.[459] Coptos (Qift) has been recognised as a pivotal entry point into the desert.[460] Moreover, its collection of Latin textual evidence was similar to that of the Eastern Desert. Thus, they are considered as complementary and dealt with together.[461] Overall, the Eastern Desert and 5th Upper Egyptian nome yielded 173 + 11 individual texts, predominantly pottery ostraca (70.65 %) and inscriptions on stone (25.00 %), which represent 14.27 % of the entire corpus.[462]

1.4.1. The route from Qena to Abu Sha'ar[463]

Only several pieces of Latin evidence came from the route starting at modern Qena and connecting the Nile Valley with the quarries of Mons Porphyrites, and (probably)[464] further reaching to the coast of the Red Sea at Abu Sha'ar.

It was convincingly suggested that a small fragment of what was apparently a dedication or building inscription (TM 81588) from the military fortlet (*praesidium*)[465] on this route at **El-Hayita**[466] featured the name of emperor Domitian.[467]

A comparable fragmentary inscription (TM 154465) attributed to the same ruler and also to the *praefectus Aegypti* Mettius Rufus[468] was recovered from the site of **Domitiane/Kaine Latomia** (Umm Balad)[469] belonging to the quarrying district of Mons Porphyrites. From the same site came also a Latin ostracon with a letter (TM 832097). As mentioned above, more Latin text on ostraca coming from the quarrying district of Mons Porphyrites are still awaiting publication.

[459] See also Fig. 1.4. below.
[460] e.g. PANTALACCI, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5247.
[461] Cf. e.g. CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, esp. 267–275; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, esp. 10–11; PANTALACCI, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt; RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2); SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 39.
[462] See also Tab. 1.1. above.
[463] In the absence of a generally accepted preference in the use of toponyms for sites of the Eastern Desert, the present thesis is following, when possible, CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, without using diacritics and with other slight adaptations, and preferring ancient Greek/Latin names, if known.
[464] See CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, Fig. 1.
[465] After REDDÉ, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5248.
[466] *Inter alia* JACKSON, At Empire's Edge, 65–67; REDON, 'El-Heita', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0088; SIDEBOTHAM et al., AJA 95/4, 591–594.
[467] BERNAND, Pan du désert, 65.
[468] E.g. MATHIEU, BIFAO 103, 558–559; cf. also TM 145033 in section 1.4.6. below.
[469] *Inter alia* BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, 525–528; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 33; MATHIEU, BIFAO 103, 557–560; REDDÉ, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 3, Fig. 2; REDON, 'Umm Balad', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0207.

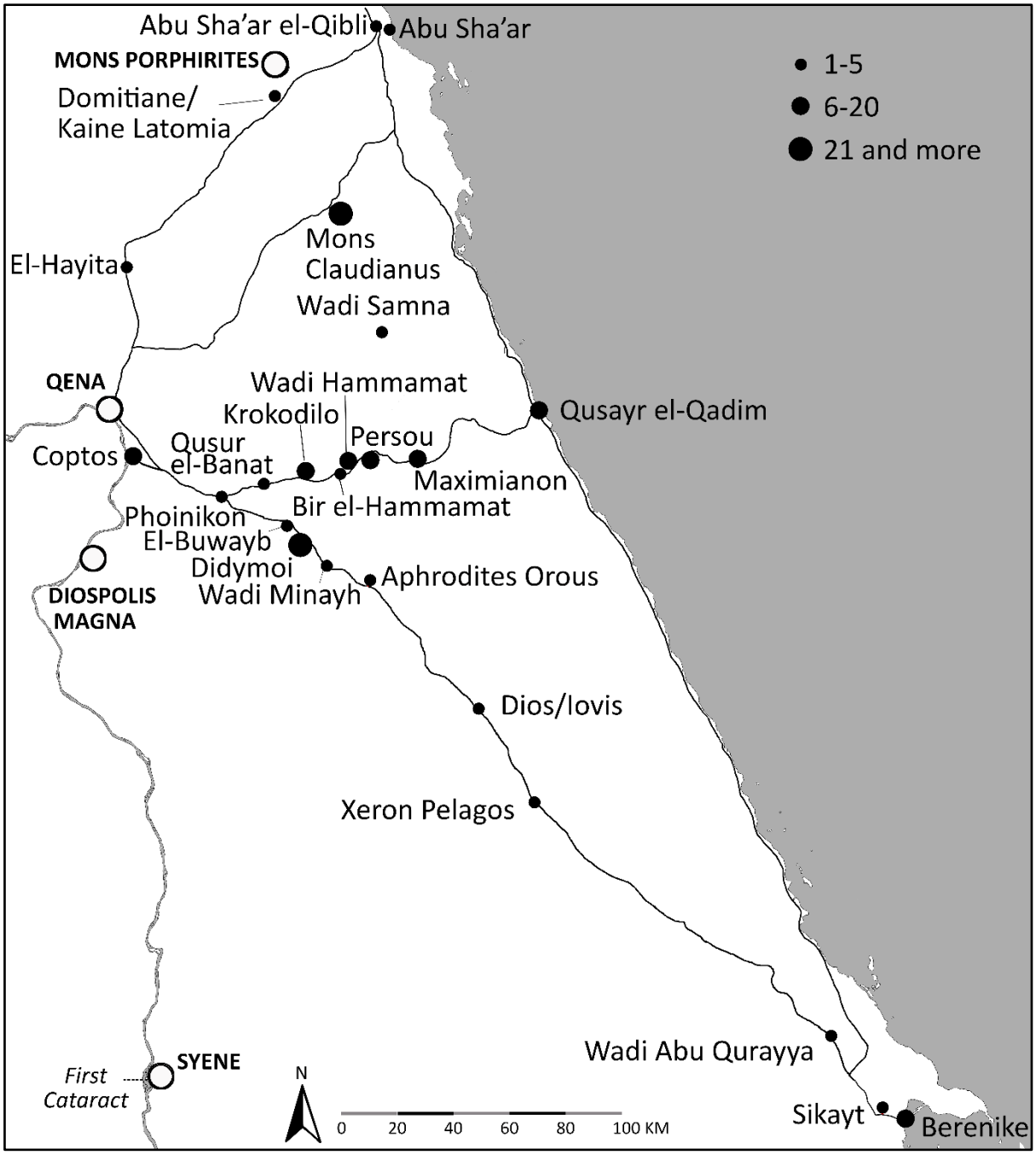


Fig. 1.4. The distribution of Latin textual evidence across the individual sites of the Eastern Desert and the Coptite region. The amounts of individual pieces of evidence coming from a single site are visualised in the sizes of the points. In addition, the sites of Mons Porphyrites, modern Qena, Diospolis Magna, and Syene are visualised as a hollow points.

A few more Latin texts were connected with the maritime site of **Abu Sha'ar**. It was dominated by an auxiliary fortress built in late antiquity (284–641 CE),[470] which yielded also fragments of two Latin inscriptions, which turned out to be vital for determining the exact date of its construction to 309–310 CE (TM 79054) and revealing the name of its garrisoned unit as *ala nova Maximiana* (TM 79055). A Latin ostracon with a letter (TM 78966) coming from a site of

[470] *Inter alia* REDON, 'Abu Shaar', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0026; SIDEBOTHAM, JARCE 31; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 53–60.

a nearby well (*hydreuma*) at **Abu Sha'ar el-Qibli**,[471] was estimated to be way much earlier than the founding of the military fort.[472]

1.4.2. Mons Claudianus

The area of Mons Claudianus yielded the largest collection, nearly a third, of Latin texts from the Eastern Desert published so far. One of the most important quarrying districts of the region was accessed, similarly to Mons Porphyrites, through a route leading from modern Qena.[473] Mons Claudianus was a large quarrying district including dozens of individual quarrying sites of a distinctive kind of a grey granodiorite.[474] Apparently, the area was exploited already around the mid-1st century CE,[475] but, while intermittently occupied, it flourished mainly from the Flavian period (69–96 CE) until the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE). It went on to be exploited from time to time, and visited long after that.[476]

During the Flavian period (69–96 CE), a new central settlement site in the area was established in Wadi Umm Hussein. The settlement consisted of several distinct parts. Its oldest and until today most prominent feature was a fort, or more precisely a fortified village, housing various residential structures as well as administrative, manufacturing, and other facilities. Across the street from the fortified quarter, there was another residential area including a representative building equipped with baths. At the end of the main street and in prominent position above all the other structures, was a multi-roomed temple complex dedicated to Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis. Next to the main street on the approaches to the settlement, there was also a building of so-called animal lines, that is stables, with a spacious granary and a large well (*hydreuma*).[477]

Just below the fort was an extensive dumping site which, in addition to numerous inscriptions from the other structures of the central settlement, yielded a hefty part of the more than 9,000 ostraca recovered at the site. So far only a part of the texts from Mons Claudianus were

[471] *Inter alia* REDON, 'Abu Shaar el-Qibli', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0028; SIDEBOTHAM, DOP 48, 263–266; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 317.

[472] BAGNALL/SHERIDAN, BASP 31/3–4, 110, 116; BINGEN, in Diogène 2013/1(241), 18–19; SIDEBOTHAM, DOP 48, 265.

[473] e.g. BINGEN, in Diogène 2013/1(241), 12; JACKSON, At Empire's Edge, 67–73.

[474] *Inter alia* KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 287–290; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 40–103; PEACOCK/MAXFIELD, Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation I, 175–255, 315–337; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 27–42; see also BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 135–219.

[475] e.g. BINGEN, in Diogène 2013/1(241), 12; PEACOCK/MAXFIELD, Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation I, 141–148; REDON, 'Mons Claudianus', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0143; REDON, 'The Hydreuma', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT1995.

[476] e.g. BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, 11; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in BALLET (ed.), Grecs et Romains en Égypte; REDON, 'Mons Claudianus', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0143.

[477] *Inter alia* BINGEN, in Diogène 2013/1(241), 11–20; MAXFIELD/PEACOCK (eds.), Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation II; MAXFIELD/PEACOCK (eds.), Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation III; PEACOCK/MAXFIELD, Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation I, 17–138; REDON, 'Mons Claudianus', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0143.

properly published.[478] This included also a substantial collection of several hundred Latin quarry marks[479] which are, however excluded from the purview of the present study.[480]

The Latin inscriptions on stone to be discussed came from various contexts of the central settlement. The oldest one (TM 106257+874390), now partially lost, was one of the pieces of evidence attesting the origin of the site during the reign of Domitian.[481] This dedication or rather a building inscription mentioned apart from the emperor also other officials involved in the project, particularly the *praefectus Aegypti* C. Septimius Vegetus. Notably, the inscription was similar to three other Domitian's fragmentary inscriptions (TM 81588, 145033,[482] 154465) from the Eastern Desert. Markedly, the Mons Claudianus inscription was dated a few years earlier than the other narrowly dated text (TM 154465) from Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad). Under Traian, Latin was used for texts inscribed on two altars (TM 81605, 81612) dedicated in the temple of Zeus Heilios Megas Sarapis. One of them (TM 81612) was donated by a centurion Annius Rufus tasked by the emperor to oversee the quarrying operations. He remarkably did not come from one of the units garrisoned in Egypt, but, as a member of the *legio XV Apollinaris* stationed in the western part of the empire, he was a complete outsider to the province.[483] The other altar (TM 81605) commemorated a building project of the '*Fons felicissimus Traianus Dacicus*/*Ὕδρευμα εὐτυχέστατον Τραιανὸν Δακικόν*' named in both Latin and Greek. It is not clear what 'well' (*fons*/*ὕδρευμα*) was in fact meant.[484] The dedication was made by the *praefectus Aegypti* Sulpicius Similis, but three other men, likely also involved, were mentioned on the altar as well. Unlike the former official, they were referred to not in Latin, but in Greek. Interestingly, the temple of Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis was not the only place at Mons Claudianus where the lofty-named well was mentioned. It featured also in an inscription on a lintel above the entrance to the so-called cistern-room in the fortified part of the settlement (TM 102595). There, the '*Traianus Dacicus*' was given slightly different epithets, which were this time written only in Latin.[485] It has been proposed that the cistern-room and its inscription were closely related to a lavishly decorated representative interior located nearby and both speculated to have been installed for the occasion of the visit of the above-mentioned dedicant of the altar, *praefectus Aegypti* Sulpicius Similis.[486] A small fragment (TM 81629) preserved traces of a Latin inscription of unclear contents possibly mentioning a person named C. Rabirius. One (TM 81626) of the two funerary inscriptions recovered from the much-

[478] Esp. BERNAND, Pan du desert, 78–111; BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I; BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV; CUVIGNY, O. Claud. III; see also *inter alia* CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 135–219; REDON, 'Mons Claudianus', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks.

[479] BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV.

[480] See section 0.3.1. above.

[481] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, 11–13; BINGEN/JENSEN, BIFAO 92, 16–17.

[482] See section 1.4.6. below.

[483] For the appointment see CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 237; for the military unit see WHEELER, in LE BOHEC/WOLFF (eds.), Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, 259–308. The text of Rufus' dedication also included the only preserved ancient mention of the toponym 'Mons Claudianus', CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 19; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 14. See also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 504.

[484] See esp. CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 177–178; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 65.

[485] See CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 65.

[486] ERISTOV et al., BIFAO 121.

disturbed cemetery of the settlement[487] commemorated a cavalrymen Q. Luconius from the *cohors I Flavia Cilicum* stationed at Aswan.[488]

Further Latin texts at Mons Claudianus came from the numerous ostraca. Twenty-seven texts came from a set of sherds bearing schedules of guarding duty. There were some variations in form amongst the individual texts, but with a few exceptions (TM 24007, 29756, 29763), most belonged to a single type following the same rigid pattern, attesting to a simple, yet clearly effective way of the organisation of guarding duty. All documents of this group were written by the same hands. These 'lists of eight *vigiles*' (TM 29717–29720, 29722–29734, 29736–29741, 29744) always included a date, a listing of eight names of the night watchmen, and a name of another *vigil* tasked with what was most likely collecting firewood for the night. This was all written by a one scribe's hand and wholly in Greek. The second scribe annotated the names of the guards with Roman numerals, apparently drawn by lot, signifying the particular posts to which two of the *vigiles* each were assigned. The same hand also added at the end the word in Greek script '*σίγνεν*', clearly a form of Latin '*signum*' and, again in the Greek script, a Latin password.[489] The remaining specimens followed a similar pattern with minor yet significant changes in the form and also in the apparent background of the guards.[490] Only one piece (TM 29763) of the whole set was fully written in Latin.

Four more Latin ostraca (TM 24002–24004, 24006) from Mons Claudianus dealt with scheduling, although of a different kind.[491] Four other administrative texts (TM 118495, 118497–118499) contained variously conceived lists pertaining to the works in the quarries. One ostracon (TM 140560) bore a Latin order for grain. Of the several letters using Latin (TM 24143, 24147, 29771, 29811, 118440), two (TM 24143, 24147) were addressed to the quartermaster Successus. As know from other letters from his small collection, he usually received messages in Greek.[492] One of the letters (TM 118440) was bilingual. The cultivation of literacy at the site was attested by an ostracon citing the first three verses of the *Aeneid* (TM 62952) and an extensive word list (TM 63424) written wholly in Greek script but including along with Greek words also many Latin terms.

1.4.3. Wadi Samna

The prominent valley of Wadi Samna runs roughly north-south in the most elevated and rugged part of the Eastern Desert. Together with Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus, it was also accessed from modern Qena. As both abovementioned sites, Wadi Samna was also exploited for its mineral resources. In particular, there was a Ptolemaic gold-mining site[493] and

[487] PEACOCK/MAXFIELD, Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation I, 137; REDON, 'Mons Claudianus', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0143.

[488] ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 176–177; DEVIJVER, ZPE 47; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, esp. 411–413; SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 785; for Q. Luconius see also MAXFIELD/PEACOCK (eds.), Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation III, 180.

[489] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 165–170.

[490] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 184–186.

[491] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 141–163.

[492] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, 111–121.

[493] *Inter alia* KLEMM/KLEMM, Gold and Gold Mining in Ancient Egypt and Nubia, 86–88; REDON, 'Semna', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0183.

roughly 10 km to the south-east a Roman quarrying station of greyish-green metagabbro,[494] identified with the precious *ophiates*-stone mentioned in ancient sources.[495] Amongst others, the station included a fortlet (*praesidium*) as well as small sanctuary and it expanded also into the Wadi Umm Wikala, a tributary of Wadi Samna.[496]

Several fragmentary Latin inscriptions (TM 81632, 81634, 81636, 81638, 106228) were found in the Wadi Samna in 1950–1951 by Tregenza.[497] According to him, they were recovered from the Ptolemaic gold mining site (*sic!*).[498] The best preserved of the texts (TM 81632), apparently a building inscription, could be dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius and mentioned several provincial/military officials involved in the project. In older editions,[499] it was supplemented by another of the fragments (TM 106228) which was, however, through autoptic observation confirmed by Cuvigny to constitute a separate item.[500] The remaining fragmentary inscriptions included mentions of emperor Hadrian (TM 81634), possibly a high official involved in the quarrying activities (TM 81636), and an auxiliary unit (TM 81638).

1.4.4. 5th Upper Egyptian nome

Eleven Latin texts are associated with the ancient city of **Coptos** (Qift) or the region around it.[501] The city was conveniently placed at the spot where the Upper Egyptian watercourse of the Nile comes closest to the coast of the Red Sea. Since the earliest times, it was the principal entry point to the Eastern Desert as well as an important regional economic and religious centre, amongst others mainly of the ithyphallic god Min.[502] After a decline in the later Ptolemaic period,[503] the city was again flourishing throughout most of the Roman period well into late antiquity (284–641 CE).[504] Mainly due to its close connection to the mining and trade

[494] KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 291–295.

[495] LUCANUS, Pharsalia IX, 714; PLINIUS MAIOR, Naturalis Historia VI, 11, 55–56.

[496] *Inter alia* BARNARD, Phoenix 48(3); REDON, 'Deir el-Wikalah', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0074; SIDEBOTHAM et al., JEA 87.

[497] TREGENZA, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt 12(2); TREGENZA, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt 13(2); both also cited in BERNAND, Pan du desert, 117–118. There were also two more unpublished fragments containing only a single letter.

[498] Cf. CUVIGNY, BIFAO 96, 92; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 83; REDON, 'Semna', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0183.

[499] BERNAND, Pan du desert, no. 53; TREGENZA, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt 12(2); it was also restored as such in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 81, Fig. 41.

[500] CUVIGNY, BIFAO 96, 91, 99–100; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 81.

[501] Constituting the ancient 5th Upper Egyptian nome (see esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 83–85).

[502] *Inter alia* BOUSSAC et al. (eds.), Autour de Coptos; LÄ, s.v. Koptos; PANTALACCI, in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, https://escholarship.org/content/qt2sx1v5nh/qt2sx1v5nh.pdf; PETRIE, Koptos; for Min in particular see also BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Min*; LÄGG, s.v. *mnw*.

[503] PANTALACCI, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 13–17; see also HÖLBL, A History of the Ptolemaic Empire, esp. 153–159; 210–211; VEÏSSE, Les "révoltes égyptiennes".

[504] *Inter alia* BERNAND, Les portes du désert, 5–10, 151–264; Fournet, in BOUSSAC et al. (eds.), Autour de Coptos; HERBERT/BERLIN, Excavations at Koptos (Qift) in Upper Egypt, 1987-1992; PANTALACCI, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 19–33; RATHBONE, in BOUSSAC et al. (eds.), In Autour de Coptos.

in the Eastern Desert, it developed into a cosmopolitan community,[505] moreover, with a strong presence of the Roman army.[506]

This is reflected also in the Latin texts. Five of them were inscriptions on stone (TM 88367, 88376, 88424, 88426, 106350). Most notable of them is a lively discussed building inscription (TM 88367) relating (most likely) to the early years of the Roman military activities in the Eastern Desert.[507] On two slabs it recorded a long list of soldiers who conducted an expedition refurbishing various sites along the main desert routes with cisterns (*lacus*) and fortifications. Another engineering project taken up by the army, namely the building of a bridge, was recorded in 90 CE (TM 88376). A dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (TM 88424) was also connected to the army, namely privately donated by a legionary Aemilianus. The other two inscriptions were epitaphs, one for another legionary Messius (TM 88426), the second for a woman Maria Polla (TM 106350).

Again related to the army, there were altogether three military diploma (TM 88374, 106378, 107275) associated with the city of Coptos, which is a unique number for a single Egyptian site. Two of the diplomas (TM 106378, 107275) were owned by veterans coming from the city, which, however, served with units stationed in Alexandria and Thebes. The case of the third diploma (TM 88374) is slightly more unclear. Its owner, C. Iulius Saturninus discharged in 83 CE, came from the Greek island of Chios and served with *coh. I Hispanorum* attested only in 99 CE at Aswan.[508] Interestingly, the commanding officer of the *cohors* at the time M. Sabinius Fuscus – mentioned also in the diploma – left his visitor's graffito at the Colossi of Memnon (TM 154479) in nearby Thebes. Thus, it seems possible that in the 80s of the 1st century CE the *cohors I Hispanorum* or its part was in fact engaged somewhere closer to Coptos.

Two more pieces of Latin evidence from the Coptite region come from two ostraca (TM 44966, 45041) and a single papyrus (TM 26685). The ostraca (TM 44966, 45041) contain receipts for goods transported to the Eastern Desert port of Berenike. They both are part of a collection of similar documents belonging to a transport enterprise operated by one Nicanor and his family.[509] Unlike the other receipts from the set, the Greek text of these two documents were supplemented by a Latin subscription by the other party involved in the transaction. The papyrus (TM 26685) contained an incomplete letter in which a commander informed a lower

[505] STRABO, Geographica XVII, 1.44; BINGEN, in BINGEN (ed.), Pages d'épigraphie grecque II. Egypte (1983-2002); PANTALACCI, in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 8–9.
[506] Not. Dig., Or., XXXI; ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, *passim*; DERDA et al., Palamedes 9/10; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, *passim*; REDDÉ, in BOUSSAC et al. (eds.).
[507] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 29–30; CIL III, no. 6627; COŞKUN, Tyche 23, 28–34; CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 267–270; DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, esp. 219–224; PANTALACCI, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 19; RATHBONE, in BOUSSAC et al. (eds.), 182.
[508] CIL III, no. 14147^2; for the unit in general see ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 177–178; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 758; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 411.
[509] *Inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 274–275; RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2).

ranking officer Teres that, on the request of the *strategus* of the Coptite nome, he was granted a month-long leave to visit the Fayum.[510]

1.4.5. The route from Coptos to Qusayr el-Qadim

The route leading from Coptos directly to the east was frequented from the earliest times.[511] It represented the shortest connection of the Nile Valley with the coast of the Red Sea and it also passed through areas with rich deposits of precious materials, most notably the Wadi Hammamat. Latin texts were retrieved in varying numbers from several sites along this trail.

The site of **Phoinikon** (El-Laqita) was one of the first way stations reached on the route departing Coptos, one significant for its readily accessible sources of water.[512] At the site the trail branched off in the direction of another Red Sea port, Berenike.[513] It was reportedly on the wall of a well (*hydreuma*), where a fragmentary Latin inscription (TM 81074) – now lost – was noted in the 1880s.[514]

Next on the route was the station at **Qusur el-Banat**, where a military fortlet (*praesidium*) was built during the reign of the Severan dynasty.[515] Its inauguration, most likely in 202 CE, was recorded by a fragmentary building inscription (TM 154463). The site yielded also a Latin ostracon mentioning the *cohors I Apamenorum* (TM 70169).[516]

The following fortlet (*praesdium*) of **Krokodilo** (Al-Muwayh) was given its name after the nearby rock formation resembling a reclining crocodile.[517] Perhaps for this distinctive shape, the outcrop attracted visitors to the site to leave graffiti on its surface.[518] Amongst them, there was a Latin one of a Dacian cavalryman Dida (TM 81091). Excavations of the military installation itself[519] yielded a considerable collection of ostraca.[520] It also included many Latin texts. Comprising many administrative texts and amongst others also some letters (TM 88634, 88640) and school exercises (TM 341733–341734), they refer mostly to various members of the military.

[510] The addressee of this letter could possibly be identified with the author of two letters on ostraca from Mons Claudianus including TM 29771, see also BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 207–210.

[511] e.g. GONCALVES, in DURAND et al. (eds.), Networked Spaces.

[512] ZITTERKOPF/SIDEBOTHAM, JEA 75, 179; see also *inter alia* BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5239, esp. § 7; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 122; REDON, 'Laqeita/Phoinikon', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0130.

[513] See section 1.4.8. below.

[514] CIL III, no. 6628.

[515] *Inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 73–77; REDON, 'Qusur el-Banat', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0169.

[516] ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 174; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 756; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 423.

[517] CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 111, Fig. 25a–b; cf. also the I3  hieroglyphic signs.

[518] See BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., BIFAO 95.

[519] CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 77–91; REDON, 'El-Muwayh/Krokodilo', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0096.

[520] CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., Ostraca de Krokodilô II; see also REDON, 'El-Muwayh/Krokodilo', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0096.

The entrance to the Wadi Hammamat from the west was secured by a large fort at **Bir el-Hammamat**.[521] Its foundation, likely in the mid-2nd century CE, was commemorated by a Latin building inscription (TM 154464), which was, however, recovered only in fragments.[522]

Other notable sites in the **Wadi Hammamat** were located along the stretch of the valley where the main quarries of grey-green greywacke were located.[523] On the southern edge of the streambed was a cave sanctuary dedicated mainly to the god Min.[524] Apart from being the chief god of Coptos, he was also considered as the patron of the Eastern Desert. In the Graeco-Roman period he was identified with the Greek god Pan[525] and by that time worshipped at various caves and rock shelters of the region known as Paneia, which were regularly adorned with visitor's graffiti.[526] Amongst the many inscriptions in the popular Paneion of Wadi Hammamat, there were also five written at least partly in Latin (TM 81250, 81268, 81284, 81287, 81333). All of the inscriptions were relatively simple. It seems likely that at least some of the originators of the Latin graffiti could have be people involved in the long distance trade.[527] On the northern side of the valley, just opposite the Paneion, there was a small settlement dominated by a monolithic naos dedicated in the name of the (*archi*)*metallarches* Iuventius Rufus[528] during the reign of Tiberius.[529] The site yielded a single fragmentary Latin ostracon (TM 79160) with a letter addressed also to a certain Rufus, though almost certainly not the same high-ranking official.

Further on the route to Myos Hormos, just beyond the Wadi Hammamat, was the site of **Persou**[530] (Bir Umm Fawakhir). It was known by this name in the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), when there was a fortified station.[531] Unfortunately, its vestiges were destroyed by mining activities in the mid-20th century,[532] but not before yielding a considerable set of ostraca.[533] From amongst them, seven were written in Latin (TM 70162–70168), all

[521] CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 91–94; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 312–313; REDON, 'Bir el-Hammamat', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0058.
[522] CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 92–93.
[523] e.g. DARCY HACKLEY/GONCALVES, 'El-Hammamat (quarries)', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0086; KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 297–309.
[524] For the possible other deities worshipped there see KAYSER, ZPE 98, 114.
[525] See e.g. BORGEAUD, Recherches sur le dieu Pan.
[526] *Inter alia* BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir; BERNAND, Le Paneion d'el-Kanaïs; BERNAND, Pan du desert; CUVIGNY, BIFAO 97; VAN RENGEN, CdÉ 70(139–140); CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 465–472.
[527] See section 2.6.1. below; for the case of TM 81333 see esp. Tchernia, The Romans and Trade, 47–48, 223–226.
[528] See also HIRT, Imperial Mines and Quarries, 110–111.
[529] BALLET, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5233; KAYSER, ZPE 98; POSENER-KRIÉGER, BIFAO 88, 205–206; for the dedication see BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 41; Kayser, ZPE 98, 112; LEPSIUS, Denkmaeler VI, Pl. 100, nos. 580–581, 583.
[530] Although this toponym could be identified with certainty with the site at the Bir Umm Fawakhir, its case is more complex and still not entirely solved. At a certain time, it could have referred also to the abovementioned sites in the Wadi Hammamat; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 113–118.
[531] *Inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 98–99; REDON, 'Umm Fawakhir', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0215; REINACH, BSAA 13, 130; for other activities at the site see e.g. MEYER, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5246.
[532] e.g. CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 116; GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, 142–143; MEYER, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 6.
[533] GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41.

representing letters. Notably, five of them, three certainly (TM 70162–70163, 70165) and two of them very likely (TM 70164, 70166), were written by one Rustius Barbarus, most likely a soldier, and addressed to his comrade Pompeius. The dossier was characterised by the use of language with markedly sub-standard features.[534]

The fortlet (*praesidium*) at **Maximianon** (El-Zarqa) counted amongst the best-preserved installations along this desert trail.[535] There was a simple Latin graffito (TM 106249) mentioning the name of one Serenus on a doorpost lining the entrance to the structure.[536] There was also a small collection of five Latin ostraca recovered from the site. Several of them were letters (TM 79037, 383683–383684, CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, M1234), one (TM 33684) addressed to Novellius, commander of the fortlet (*praesidium*). Amongst the others, there were also a school exercise (CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, M512) and language aids (TM 100143, 128465). Interestingly, one of the latter (TM 128465) was apparently intended for speakers of Latin, namely aimed at facilitating the understanding of Egyptian/Coptic numerals.

The Red Sea port of Myos Hormos, now with certainty identified with the modern site of **Qusayr el-Qadim**,[537] stood at the end of the desert route leading from Coptos through the Wadi Hammamat. The excavations of its remains[538] led amongst others to the discovery of a large collection papyri and ostraca.[539] Amongst them three papyri and three ostraca contained texts written in Latin (TM 26179, 26202–26203, 26213–26215), mostly with only slight traces preserved. The only exception is a papyrus (TM 26179) with a list of names of soldiers addressed to Serenus, who was identified by the editor as *curator Leuci Limenis* in accord with the former theory about the identification of the site.[540]

1.4.6. Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh) and surroundings

After branching off from the trail in the direction of Wadi Hammamat and Myos Hormos at Phoinikon, the route leading to Berenike passes through the Wadi Minyah. There it approached the first fortified waystation on this trail, the fortlet (*praesidium*) of Didymoi. This settlement, where a large collection of ostraca was recovered, as well as two nearby sites in the wadi yielded a considerable amount of Latin texts.

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[534] See e.g. ADAMS, ZPE 111; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.

[535] *Inter alia* BRUN, BIFAO 94; BRUN, Topoi Orient-Occident 6/2; CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 100–126; REDON, 'El-Zarqa/Maximianon', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0099.

[536] ZITTERKOPF/SIDEBOTHAM, JEA 75, 177; note that CIL III, no. 23 places the inscription wrongly to Middle Egypt.

[537] Esp. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., BIFAO 94; also PEACOCK, JRA 6; PEACOCK/BLUE (eds.), Myos Hormos - Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea 2, 335–338; for the site in general, see *inter alia* PEACOCK/BLUE (eds.), Myos Hormos - Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea 1; PEACOCK/BLUE (eds.), Myos Hormos - Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea 2; REDON, 'Quseir el-Qadim/Myos Hormos', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0168; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, 184–186; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, esp. 170–171; 243–244.

[538] *Inter alia* JOHNSON/WHITCOMB, The Oriental Institute Annual Report 1979–80; JOHNSON/WHITCOMB, The Oriental Institute Annual Report 1980–81; WHITCOMB/JOHNSON, The Oriental Institute Annual Report 1981–82; WHITCOMB/JOHNSON, The Oriental Institute Annual Report 1983–84.

[539] BAGNALL, BASP 23.

[540] But cf. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., BIFAO 94, 27.

From the north, Wadi Minayh was entered at the site of **El-Buwayb**, where a prominent rocky massif on its western side marked the mouth of the wadi. At its northernmost edge was a natural rock shelter, which apparently served as a resting place and a sanctuary dedicated to Min as its main god.[541] Amongst the graffiti left by its visitors were two short inscriptions written partly in Latin (TM 81408, 81429). As suggested by other graffiti from this Paneion, they most likely came from the earliest part of the Roman period, the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.[542]

The fortlet (*praesidium*) of **Didymoi** (Khasm el-Minayh)[543] located further up the Wadi Minayh was built only much later and inaugurated in 76/77 CE. This is attested by a Latin building inscription, several modest pieces of which were recovered from its ruins (TM 106256).[544] The text could be virtually fully reconstructed thanks to its recognition as a copy stemming from the same pattern as two other inscriptions (TM 81659, 105712)[545] from other fortified stations on the route from Coptos to Berenike. Evidently, these and most likely also other installations along this trail were erected as part of a single building campaign overseen by the *praefectus Aegypti* L. Iulius Ursus (TM 106256).[546] Another Latin building inscription (TM 145033) found at the site dates slightly later, between 88–92 CE. It recorded a dedication of a cistern (*lacus*)[547] by the commander (*curator praesidii*) of Didymoi Constans under the authority of another *praefectus Aegypti* Mettius Rufus.[548] The fortlet apparently underwent a decline or hiatus in occupation during the 2nd century CE and had to be reconstructed during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[549] One of the focal points of the fortlet (*praesidium*) was the sanctuary dedicated to Sarapis as its main deity.[550] Amongst the visitors' graffiti[551] preserved on its walls was also a short one written in Latin (TM 701163).

Apart from inscriptions, Didymoi yielded also a large collection of ostraca, a smaller part of them using Latin.[552] Parts of this textual record were connected with both occupation phases of the fortlet (*praesidium*), more from the earlier one. The same pertained also to the Latin ostraca, most of which bore private letters. However, there were also several administrative texts (TM 144613, 144615, 144629, 144708), notably including two travel permits (TM 144613, 144615) quite illustrative for the role played by this fortified waystation in the

[541] *Inter alia* BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, 215–250; COLIN, BIFAO 98, 89–92, 107–115, Figs. 16–27; CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I, 9–16; CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 100; DARCY HACKLEY, 'El-Buweib', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0085.
[542] CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 100, 244.
[543] Esp. CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I; CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II; *inter alia* also Leguilloux, Didymoi III; REDDÉ, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 9, 14–17, 50–51; REDON, 'Khashm el-Minayh/Didymoi', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0126.
[544] BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 328–329; CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. inscr. 1.
[545] See section 1.4.7. below.
[546] BAGNALL et al., JRA 14.
[547] See BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 330.
[548] Cf. TM 154465 in section 1.4.2. above.
[549] E.g. BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 19.
[550] CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I, 33–47; REDDÉ, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 50–51, Figs. 36–41.
[551] CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I, 52–53; CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II; see also CUVIGNY, BIFAO 101; HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 504.
[552] CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II; see also REDON, 'Khashm el-Minayh/Didymoi', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0126.

regulation of movement through the desert. Four ostraca (TM 968593–968595, 971876) bore subliterary texts, namely three writing exercises (TM 968593–968595) and a Greek-Latin glossary (TM 971876).

Interestingly, some of the ostraca could be sorted in clusters connected to particular personages amongst the inhabitants of Didymoi. The largest was the collection of nine texts (TM 144629, 144897–144899, 957329–957333) from the Flavian period (69–96 CE). All of them were apparently written by a single hand, which could be tentatively associated with one Cutus, a cavalryman, who was explicitly stated to be the originator of two of the texts (TM 144897–144898).[553] If so, Cutus apparently wrote ostraca not only on behalf of himself but also his comrades (TM 957330). Based on onomastic means, Cutus, as well as many other persons mentioned in his texts, most if not all of them soldiers as well, were clearly of Thracian origin,[554] attesting to the presence of a possibly strong Balkan community at Didymoi at this time. Three Latin letters (TM 144978, 144980–144981) and one Greek[555] from the early 2nd century CE revolved around Claudius, Demeterous, Numosis, and Crescens.[556] Three other letters from the time of the second occupation phase were all sent by one Aelius Silvinus (TM 145016–145018).[557] Other single pieces of Latin texts from the Didymoi collection (TM 144889, 144923) could be associated with only Greek counterparts.[558] The size of the whole collection, the presence of sufficient samples connected to individual persons (once with clear regional background), and the private character of most of the texts make the Latin ostraca of Didymoi especially interesting for linguistic research.[559]

To the south of Didymoi was another Paneion close to the place where the Berenike route left the **Wadi Minayh** and continued through one of its tributaries. The sanctuary was, as in the case of El-Buwayb, established in a natural rock shelter, here nearly closed off by a fallen boulder. As at the former site, its walls were covered with various visitors' graffiti.[560] Amongst them were also five inscriptions using Latin (TM 81651, 81655, 81657, 106468–106469). Together with another Greek one,[561] they form a notably homogenous group. Their originators were slaves (TM 81655, 81657, 106469),[562] with the exception of freedman C. Numidius Eros (TM 81651, 106468). The Latin inscriptions used similar phrasing and, together with the Greek one, they included precise dates of the visits, falling into the period of 4 BCE – 6 CE, with the exception of an undated graffito of Primus (TM 81657), which could, however,

[553] ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, 243–244.
[554] ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, 244–245.
[555] CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 418.
[556] BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 186–189.
[557] BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[558] BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; for the former CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, nos. 317–324; for the latter CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 361.
[559] *Inter alia* ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[560] *Inter alia* BERNAND, Pan du desert, 160–167; COLIN, BIFAO 98, 89–107, 114–115, Figs. 1–15; CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, 133–164, Figs. 1–43; DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, 203–217; MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57); DARCY HACKLEY/GONCALVES, 'Paneion of the Wadi Minayh', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0150.
[561] CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 1.
[562] Including CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 1.

very well come from the same time as well.[563] The freedman Eros (TM 81651, 106468) explicitly mentioned that he was involved in trade with India, and so were likely also the other slaves.[564] The abovementioned Primus (TM 81657) notably identified his master as a centurion of the *legio XXII Deiotariana*.

1.4.7. The route to Berenike

After the initial stretch, the route to Berenike turned more to the east entering the rocky mountainous terrain. Before reaching the coast, it passed along other fortlets (praesidia), resting spots, shelters, as well as the important mining district of Mons Smaragdus.[565] Several of these sites yielded further Latin texts. However, as some of these and other sites along this stretch of the route remain notably unexplored and/or unpublished,[566] the spread of Latin appears to have been lesser in this part of the Eastern Desert, although most likely it was not.

Not far after leaving the Wadi Minayh, the Berenike trail approached the fortlet (*praesidium*) of **Aphrodites Orous** (Minayh el-Hir).[567] The only textual evidence spotted at the so far unexcavated site was the building inscription of the *praefectus Aegypti* L. Iulius Ursus (TM 81659), one of the duplicates of the text recovered from Didymoi discussed above. The Aphrodites Orous inscription was documented by J. G. Wilkinson already in early 19th century. Since then it has been nearly destroyed by weathering.[568]

One of the following fortlets (*praesidia*) at **Dios/Iovis** (Abu Qurayya) was finished only in 114–115 CE as attested by a Latin building inscription (TM 130149).[569] However, it was likely preceded by another similar installation located nearby.[570] Two other fragmentary Latin inscriptions (TM 130151, 130153) came from the station's sanctuary which was dedicated to Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis as its main god. Interestingly, as evidenced by the other textual

[563] See esp. BERNAND, Pan du desert, 165.
[564] Esp. TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 42–47.
[565] *Inter alia* PLINIUS MAIOR, Naturalis Historia VI, 26, 102–103; BAGNALL et al., JRA 14; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, 125–174; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, esp. 329–43; for Mons Smaragdus see e.g. OLLER GUZMÁN, in DURAND et al. (eds.), Networked Spaces; REDON, 'Sikait', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0194.
[566] See e.g. REDON, 'Abu Qurayyah/Dios', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0022; also SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*.
[567] CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I, 9–16; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 125–126; MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), 281, Fig. 43; REDON, 'Minayh el-Hir/Aphrodites Orous', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0155; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*.
[568] BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 327–328; MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), 281, 285–286; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, 265, Fig. 3.244; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 336, Fig. 14.8.
[569] *Inter alia* CUVIGNY, Chiron 40; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 128–129; PANTALACCI/DENOIX (eds.), BIFAO 106, 409–413; PANTALACCI/DENOIX (eds.), BIFAO 107, 319–323; PANTALACCI/DENOIX (eds.), BIFAO 108, 443–448; PANTALACCI/DENOIX (eds.), BIFAO 109, 606–612; REDON, 'Abu Qurayyah/Dios', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0022; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*.
[570] CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 16, 18; CUVIGNY, Chiron 40, 245.

evidence recovered, it served also as an oracle.[571] A fragment of a pediment (TM 130151) included parts of the imperial titulary affected by *damnatio memoriae*. The other fragment of a plaque (TM 130153) preserved the end of its text. Despite the difficult reading due to its non-standard features, it could be interpreted as mentioning a soldier probably named C. Liberalis.[572] An ostracon belonging to a larger unpublished 'archive' of Dinnis, commander of the fortlet, illustrates the particular writing preference of its author as he used a Latin script to record a Greek mail delivery receipt.[573]

A different kind of material was represented by a single Latin ostracon (TM 704273) published from the site of another fortlet (*praesidium*) of **Xeron Pelagos** (Wadi Jirf).[574] The text of the ostracon, apart from an incomprehensible note mentioning some Aemilius Valentinus and Ulpius Iuvenalis, comprised a selection of various verses from the first, second, and ninth books of the *Aeneid*. According to Bülow-Jacobsen, this was not a school text as one could expect but rather a record of recollected passages of an individual who once had learned the epic by heart.[575]

Another Latin ostracon (TM 89253) was recovered from a fortlet (*praesidium*) at **Wadi Abu Qurayya** located already on the approaches to the port of Berenike.[576] The ostracon contained a partially preserved letter dealing with the wine trade[577] – another commodity whose flow was important for the region.

The last stop before reaching Berenike was located at the nearby fortlet (*praesidium*) at **Sikayt**.[578] There, the best preserved exemplar of the building inscription of L. Iulius Ursus was found (TM 105712). The completely preserved inscription was carved on the face of a triangular pediment with acroteria on the sides and the simple relief representation of a sun-disc at the apex. The pediment was part of the monumental gate through which the fortification was entered.[579]

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[571] CUVIGNY, Chiron 40; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 479–526.

[572] CUVIGNY, Chiron 40, 253.

[573] CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 311–312.

[574] *Inter alia* BRUN, *Annuaire du Collège de France. Cours et travaux* 115, 471–476; CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 130–132; REDDÉ, in VAGALINSKI/SHARANKOV (eds.), Limes XXII; REDON, 'El-Faysaliyya/Xeron Pelagos', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0244.

[575] BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in AMDEN et al. (eds.), Festskrift til Christian Marinus Taisbak - 80 år, https://aigis.igl.ku.dk/aigis/CMT80/ABJ-Vergil.pdf.

[576] Inter alia CUVIGNY, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 140–144; REDON, 'Abu Qurayyah/Kainon hydreuma (?)', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0021; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*.

[577] See IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 182.

[578] *Inter alia* REDON, 'Siket', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0195; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*; SIDEBOTHAM/WENDRICH (eds.), Berenike 1999/2000, 4–21, 358–367; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, esp. 355–360.

[579] BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 325–326, Fig. 2; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, 77; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land, 358, Figs. 15.5–6.

1.4.8. Berenike (Ras Banas)

The Red Sea port of Berenike located at the end of the desert route was one of the principal trading nodes of Egypt as well as the entire Roman empire. It had been founded already during the reign of Ptolemy II, but it flourished mainly under Roman rule well into late antiquity (284–641 CE). The exploration of the site uncovered multiple temples and sanctuaries, a church, burial grounds, fortifications, workshops, harbours, as well as water management facilities. These contexts yielded rich evidence attesting to a highly cosmopolitan community, with notable sub-Saharan, Arabian, and south Asian elements.[580] Many pieces of textual evidence have been recovered as well.[581]

Amongst them, the Latin textual evidence was relatively scarce. Most of it came from ostraca, moreover, in their majority belonging to a single narrowly focused set. There was also one bilingual inscription (TM 131599) and a papyrus (TM 89148). The bilingual inscription (TM 131599) was recovered on a stone reused later for building a wall, and thus, preserved only very fragmentarily.[582] It was probably a dedication mentioning a high military official in charge of Berenike and the surrounding region, the *praefectus (montis) Berenicidis*.[583] His name was stated in Latin while the titles were in Greek. The papyrus (TM 89148) held a partially preserved letter recommending one Longinus, while the names of both the sender and recipient were lost.

Fourteen ostraca, four completely in Latin (TM 641779, 641821, 641921, 641927) and ten bilingual (TM 641764, 641772, 641778, 641800, 641849, 641853, 641880, 614900, 641902, 641904), belonged to a larger 'water archive'.[584] The collection comprised of receipts for deliveries of water by local camel-drivers for the military. Most documents (with the exception of e.g. TM 641821, 641904) followed a similar pattern. They identified the camel-driver responsible for the delivery by stating his (in one case her) name and the organisational unit, *decania*, they belonged to. Then, the volume of the shipment was specified and at the bottom the ostracon was subscribed by the receiving soldier.[585] In the bilingual ostraca, the camel-driver's part was usually written in Greek, while the receiving soldier subscribed in Latin. Some

[580] *Inter alia* AST, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route; REDON, 'Berenike/Ras Banas', in REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0051; SIDEBOTHAM, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5250; SIDEBOTHAM, in SMITH (ed.), Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology, https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-1-4419-0465-2_1333; SIDEBOTHAM/GATES-FOSTER (eds.), The Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Desert Roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley, *passim*; WOŹNIAK, in PETERKOVÁ HLOUCHOVÁ et al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2018; ZYCH, PAM 26(2); ZYCH/RĄDKOWSKA, in MANZO et al. (eds.), Stories of Globalisation.

[581] Featuring at least twelve different languages, however, with Greek clearly predominating, e.g. SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, 55, 74–75; SIDEBOTHAM, in SMITH (ed.), Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology; for the main editions see AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III; AST/BAGNALL, Pylon 1, https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/pylon/article/view/89358/84248; BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike I; BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II.

[582] BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, 28.

[583] *Inter alia* BÜLOW-JACOBSEN/CUVIGNY, Chiron 37; CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 297–305; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert , 81–132; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, 85–86, 140; see also OLLER GUZMÁN, in DURAND et al. (eds.), Networked Spaces, § 11.

[584] AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, 71, nos. 274–455.

[585] AST, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 3, 22–28; AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, 17–30, 71

possible personal interconnections could be proposed based on the camel-drivers mentioned between the water suppliers of Berenike and the above-mentioned transporting business of Nicanor of Coptos.[586] Even more interestingly, amongst the receiving military were some persons probably known also from the fortlet (*praesidium*) of Didymoi, most notably two Thracian soldiers (also TM 641821) mentioned in the abovementioned ostraca written by Cutus.[587]

Latin was found on three more ostraca from Berenike (TM 89237, 89239, 971749). One of them (TM 89239) mentioning a soldier and a group of 20 camels was in its contents somewhat close to the 'water archive'. The second badly preserved text (TM 971749) included mentions of some goods and numbers. The last ostracon (TM 89237) bore a Greek list of several names as well as a barely visible and unintelligible sidenote in Latin.

1.5. 1st Upper Egyptian nome and Nubia

A group of 75 published Latin texts came from the region spanning southward from the 1st Upper Egyptian nome, including the First Cataract region, (1.5.1.), the so-called Dodecaschoenus (1.5.2.), and the rest of the Lower Nubia (1.5.3.), which altogether constituted the frontier between Egypt and Nubia.[588] The political border between the Roman province of Aegyptus on one side and the Meroitic kingdom and its successor entities on the other had shifted over time. Neither ever firmly controlled the whole of the territory and there was also never a clear cultural boundary between both. Throughout the Roman period, a strong presence of the Roman army was characteristic for the part controlled by the provincial authority.[589] One more text coming from the distant Meroitic heartland (1.5.4.) is also dealt with in the present subchapter. In overall, it was 75 + 1 Latin texts, representing 5.90 % of the entire corpus. With the notable exceptions of the 16 papyri from Primis (Qasr Ibrim) and 7 from the First Cataract region (30.26 %), inscriptions on stone dominate in the set (68.42 %).[590]

[586] AST, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 12; AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, *passim*.
[587] Adams/Ast, ZPE 218, 245; AST, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 28; AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, *passim*.
[588] See also Fig. 1.5. below.
[589] For the Egyptian-Nubian frontier in the Roman period in general see *inter alia* ASHBY, Calling out to Isis; FHN III; HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II; KIRWAN, The Geographical Journal 123(1), esp. 15–17; KUCKERTZ, in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, https://escholarship.org/content/qt6061m848/qt6061m848.pdf?t=rzuef9; TÖRÖK, Between Two Worlds; TÖRÖK, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[590] See also Tab. 1.1. above.

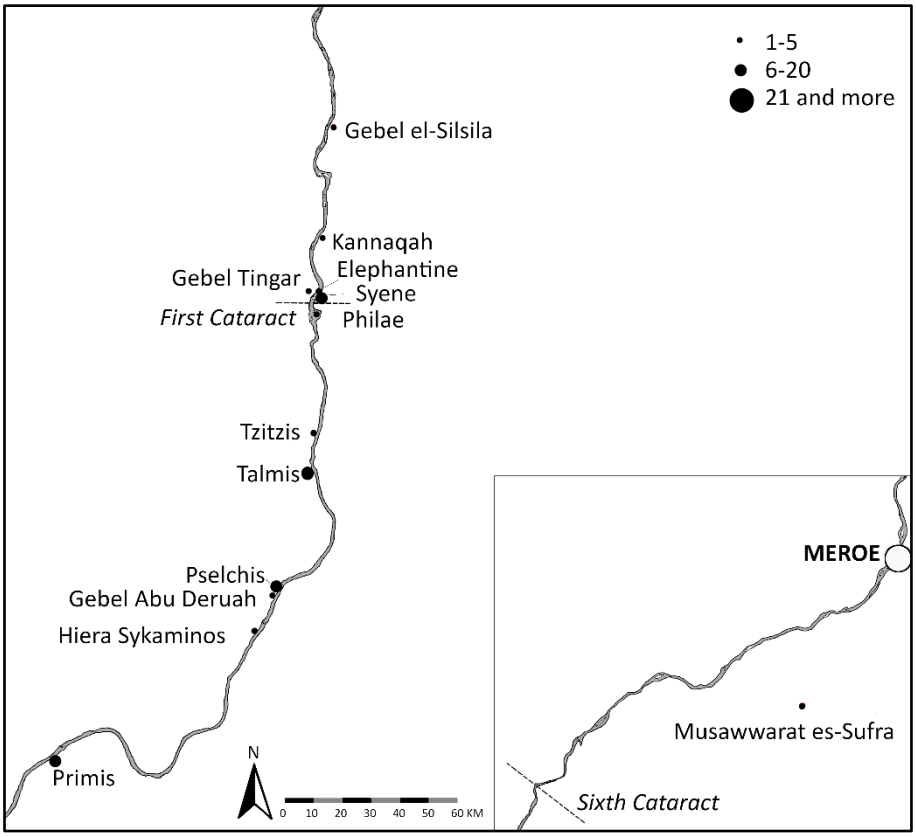


Fig. 1.5. The distribution of Latin textual evidence across the individual sites of the regions of the 1st Upper Egyptian nome and Nubia. The amounts of individual pieces of evidence coming from a single site are visualised in the sizes of the points. In addition, the site of Meroe is visualised as a hollow point.

1.5.1. 1st Upper Egyptian nome

The natural waterway obstacle of the First Nile Cataract had been, since early in historic times, established as the border between Egypt and Nubia. The region around and below the cataract[591] benefited from this location and especially its capital of Syene (Aswan) became an important hub for the long-distance trade. Both around the border and further down the river there were also quarries providing most importantly high-quality granite, sandstone, and other kinds of stone. Along the cataract, there were also several eminent sanctuaries, some with impact reaching far beyond the region itself. The strategic importance of the cataract, its settlements, and sources from a military point of view was reflected in the presence of military installations both in the city of Syene and its surroundings.[592] All of the abovementioned types of sites yielded Latin texts.

The vast quarries of **Gebel el-Silsila** were the most important Egyptian source of building sandstone. Although the site provided evidence of human activities spanning from the palaeolithic, it started to be exploited for the stone only during the New Kingdom. As such it

[591] Constituting the ancient 1th Upper Egyptian nome (see esp. HELCK, Die altägyptischen Gaue, 68–71).
[592] For the region in general *inter alia* BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Aswan;* LOCHER, Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit; RAUE et al. (eds.), The First Cataract of the Nile: one region - diverse perspectives; SEIDLMAYER, Der Nil in Aswân: Inschriften und Heiligtümer; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Aswan*.

flourished until the Roman period.[593] The walls of the quarries as well as natural rock surfaces in their vicinity preserve large numbers of various graffiti coming from several periods.[594] So far, only one Latin textual inscription was recorded amongst them (TM 701089). It simply recorded the name of a certain Faustus.

Two more Latin visitor's graffiti (TM 106164, CIL III, no. 13581) were left in the quarry at the site of **Kannaqah**.[595] There, in his more elaborate inscription, the soldier Caecilius Victor recorded also his *centuria* and the length of service. The other graffito included only his name (CIL III, no. 13581). Another simple signature of a quarry worker (TM 141765), in this case Didymos, was noted also at site of **Gebel Tingar** on the west bank of the Nile just west the city of Syene.[596] The name was written in Greek, however, using the Latin 'D' instead of the Greek 'Δ' for the initial.

The Island of **Elephantine** at the northern edge of the First Cataract housed the original capital of the region which was superseded by Syene only around the mid-1st millennium BCE. After that, it continued to serve chiefly as the cultic centre of the local ancestral deities, most notably Khnum, Satis, and Anukis.[597] During late antiquity, the island became a military base and the great Temple of Khnum was turned into a fort.[598]

Two short inscriptions using Latin (TM 88888, 88904) came from the terrace built in front of the Temple of Khnum and next to its monumental nilometer.[599] The structure preserved also a considerable collection of graffiti from the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) in which the visitors arguably venerated Khnum in his capacity of the inundation deity.[600] Of the two graffiti, the first one (TM 88888) preserved only the generic Latin proper nominal ending '-*ius*'. The other one was a Greek *proskynema* inscription rendering one name, 'Aleas', from its short list of attendees in Latin script. Two fragmentary papyri (TM 69973–69974) dated to the second half of the 3rd century CE contained lists of soldiers and, thus, seem to suggest some

[593] *Inter alia* BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Gebel el-Silsila*; CAMINOS/JAMES, Gebel es-Silsilah 1; KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 180–197; KUCHAREK, in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, https://escholarship.org/content/qt2x73c8bz/qt2x73c8bz.pdf?t=rzuee2; LÄ, s.v. *Gebel es-Silsile*.

[594] Most notably BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, 51–121; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 32–33; NILSSON, Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology 2, 154–191; NILSSON et al., The Swedish Expedition to Gebel el-Silsila 1; PREISIGKE/SPIEGELBERG, Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile.

[595] 'Séance du 20 Novembre', Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France 1901, 316–317.

[596] *Inter alia* FOURNET, BIFAO 96, 151–156; HELDAL et al., Marmora 1; JARITZ, MDAIK 37.

[597] *Inter alia* BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Elephantine*; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/25953; Elephantine. The Ancient Town; LÄ, s.v. *Elephantine*; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Elephantine*; for the temples, deities, and cults in particular see *inter alia* BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Anuket*, *Chnum*, *Satis*; JARITZ, Elephantine III; JARITZ et al., Elephantine XXXVI; HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 28–38; LÄGG, s.v. *ʿnḳt*, *ḫnmw*, *sṯt*; MAEHLER, in JOHNSON (ed.), Life in a multi-cultural society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond; NIEDERBERGER, Elephantine XX; RICKE/SAUNERON, Die Tempel Nektanebos' II in Elephantine und ihre Erweiterungen; SEIDLMAYER, Der Nil in Aswân: Inschriften und Heiligtümer; SEIDLMAYER et al., MDAIK 72; NAVRATILOVA/RUTHERFORD, in DIRKSEN/KRASTEL (eds.), Epigraphy through Five Millennia.

[598] E.g. Not. Dig., Or., XXXI; GROSSMANN, Elephantine II; KEENAN, BASP 27(1/4).

[599] Esp. JARITZ, Elephantine III.

[600] NAVRATILOVA/RUTHERFORD, in DIRKSEN/KRASTEL (eds.), Epigraphy through Five Millennia.

involvement of the army at Elephantine already in the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE).[601]

The city of **Syene** (Aswan) is located on the eastern bank of the Nile right opposite to the island of Elephantine. Unlike the neighbouring island, the archaeological exploration of its past has been limited by the presence of modern built-up areas on top of most of its territory. Some notable contexts, including nearly all of the presently discussed texts, explored in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries, were largely insufficiently documented and since then destroyed.[602] Together with later systematic research, significant yet still locally restricted evidence has been amassed, documenting especially the Graeco-Roman phase of Syene's history. Next to buildings dedicated to living and economic activities, this included several temples, most notably the Temple of Isis, and churches as well as extensive fortifications guarding not only the settlement itself but also its southern approaches.[603] The city of Syene has been recognised as a core garrison of the region especially during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) and continued to house soldiers also for the whole of late antiquity.[604]

A collection of eight Latin inscriptions (TM 106128, 106171, 106177, 106179, 121990, 128447, 154478, 154479) could be (tentatively) associated with an area close to the Temple of Isis, to the south of the Abu Elela Mosque and to the north of the Coptic Cathedral of Archangel Michael.[605] The best preserved, or at least most clearly described, remains at the site were three statue bases found regularly aligned along the course of a paved road.[606] The three socles bore altogether four inscriptions dedicating the absent statues each to a different emperor, namely Caligula (TM 154478), Traian (TM 154479), Antoninus Pius (TM 128447), and Lucius Verus (TM 121990). The dedications to Caligula and Traian were inscribed on two neighbouring sides of a single block, clearly reflecting the official condemnation of the former ruler and reusing the socle without hesitation for a statue of one of his successors. Another similar monument (TM 106171) was recovered nearby bearing a dedication to the emperor Diadumenian.[607] The texts of all five imperial dedications had a very similar structure. They were made in the name of various auxiliary units, while at the same time referring themselves

[601] Discussed also by MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 412–413; including TM 106171 for which cf. the commentary below.

[602] E.g. CAGNAT, CRAIBL 40(1); DE RICCI, CRAIBL 53(2); HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, CRAIBL 49(1); 'Recent Discoveries in Egypt', PSBA 30.

[603] *Inter alia* DIJKSTRA, BASP 44; DIJKSTRA, Syene I; HEPA, Syene V; JARITZ/MÜLLER/VON PILGRIM, Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, https://swissinst.ch/html/forschung_neu.html; MARTIN-KILCHER/WININGER, Syene III; MÜLLER, in TRISTANT/GHILARDI (eds.), Landscape archaeology: Egypt and the Mediterranean world; REMBART, Syene IV.

[604] See esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 33–36; 176–177; LOCHER, Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 280–281; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 410–414; SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1.

[605] For the location see e.g. DIJKSTRA, BASP 44, 183–184; for recent (re-)excavations in this area see esp. HEPA, Ein griechisch-römischer Siedlungsbefund in Assuan/Ägypten. Areal 13c; HEPA/TORALLAS TOVAR, in AST et al. (eds.), 65–66; VON PILGRIM et al., MDAIK 64; REMBART, Syene IV.

[606] CAGNAT, CRAIBL 40(1), 37–38, footnote no. 1; CIL III, no. 14147[1].

[607] HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, CRAIBL 49(1); note that in this text Elephantine is wrongly noted as the site of origin of the inscription.

to the authority of the *praefectus Aegypti*, with the actual responsibility for the statue delegated to the commanding officer of the unit, either a prefect or legionary centurion.

Near the spot of the statue bases two more pieces of stone bearing Latin texts were noted (TM 106177, 106179).[608] The first of them was a red granite altar defaced to be reused in a church (TM 106179).[609] What is clear from the partial inscription is that it was consecrated to 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus', a deity of Syrian origin.[610] Based on further traces, it may be only tentatively presumed that the dedication could have been made for the wellbeing of the emperor.[611] The other monument was a stone plaque with a building inscription (TM 106177) recording the reconstruction of a more closely unspecified '*hic locus*' under the authority of *dux Aegypti* Flavius Mauricius, which took place in 367–375 CE. The eighth inscription (TM 106128) could be associated with the other and their findspot only very tentatively.[612] It was inscribed on a granite base for, as stated in the text, an obelisk, one of two dedicated likely to 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Ammon' and 'Iuno Regina'[613] for the wellbeing and victory of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Although donating as a private person ('*de suo posuit*'), the dedicating centurion Restitutus did not fail, similarly to the texts on the abovementioned statue bases, to mention his superiors.

It has been already implied by some scholars[614] that the area, originally considered to be a temple site,[615] could have in fact be the location where the early Roman auxiliary camp, or at least a military quarter, was located, and the *in situ* statue bases could have even (formerly) belonged to its headquarters (*principia*).[616] Such interpretation seems to be well in accord with not only the epigraphic but also the other evidence gathered from the site.[617] If so, the building inscription of Flavius Mauricius could record repairs of this military infrastructure.[618]

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[608] De Ricci, CRAIBL 53(2), 147–148; 'Recent Discoveries in Egypt', PSBA 30; see also Bernand, ZPE 82, 180–181.
[609] 'Recent Discoveries in Egypt', PSBA 30, 73.
[610] For Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus see *inter alia* Bellelli/Bianchi (eds.), Orientalia sacra urbis Romae. Dolichena et Heliopolitana; Hajjar, La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek; cf. Locher, Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 38, footnote no. 10, suggesting a resolution of the abbreviation '*HEL*' not as '*Heliopolitanus*' but as '*Helius*'. However, this seems unlikely as users of Latin, referring to the Greek solar deity, consistently used its Latin equivalent '*Sol*' (see OLD, s.v. *sōl*); cf. also EDCS, http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en, search query 'heli'. On the other hand, the name 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus' is well attested in the Latin evidence. Moreover, the soldiers of Syrian origin seem to have been well represented in the Egyptian garrison, see Alston, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 42–43, Tab. 3.1, Tab. 3. 2.
[611] See esp. de Ricci, CRAIBL 53(2), 147.
[612] Zawadzki, CdÉ 44(87), 106.
[613] See section 2.5.3. below; for this and the other proposed restorations see AE 1974, no. 664; Locher, Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 38, footnote no. 9; Pfeiffer, EQÄ 9, no. 70; Zawadzki, CdÉ 44(87), 116.
[614] CIL III, no. 14147[1], Maxfield, in Alföldy et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 410–413; Pfeiffer, EQÄ 9, no. 52.
[615] E.g. 'Recent Discoveries in Egypt', PSBA 30, 73; see also Dijkstra, BASP 44, 184.
[616] Hepa/Torallas Tovar, in Ast et al. (eds.), 65–66; Pfeiffer, EQÄ 9, no. 52; cf. also the collections of inscribed statue bases from Nicopolis and Luxor Temple in sections 1.1.2., 1.3.3. above.
[617] E.g. Hepa, Études et Travaux XXXI, esp. 176.
[618] It is well comparable with three probably later Greek inscriptions recording construction works on the city's fortifications; Bernand, De Thèbes à Syène, nos. 235–237; see also Dijkstra, BASP 44, 185–186. For the possible

Another building project realised by the army in the mid-2nd century CE was recorded in a building inscription (TM 128448) reportedly found south of the city '*près de Philé*'.[619] The text was formulated, similarly to the statue socles discussed above, mentioning the *cohors I Flavia Cilicum* as the contractor acting under the authorities of the *praefectus Aegypti* and the *praefectus castrorum* and overseen by its commanding officer. In this case, the structure erected was identified as a *'basilica*'. Unbeknownst from where in Aswan or its surrounds the inscription originally came, it remains uncertain to what structure it exactly belonged to and whether it formed part of the civil or military infrastructure of the region.[620] The building inscription of the *'basilica*' was found together with a tombstone of an auxiliary cavalryman and *signifer* Sex. Maevius (TM 88854).[621] The simple Latin epitaph was given on top of the monument, followed by its Greek translation, the closing phrase of which was very slightly expanded.

A large red granite column with Latin inscription (TM 106289) was found in the quarrying district to the south of the city.[622] It described the opening of a new quarry producing pillars and columns during the reign of Septimius Severus. The building inscription was at the same time formulated as a dedication to 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Hammon Chnubis' and 'Iuno Regina' and sought their protection as the guardians of region. The deities addressed were clearly Khnum and Satis of Elephantine, guised through syncretism and *interpretatio Graeca/Romana*.[623] The works were conducted and the dedication made under the authority of Subatianus Aqulia, the current *praefectus Aegypti*, and directly overseen by an auxiliary centurion Heraclidas.

Latin appeared also in two papyri (TM 15311, 15321) from the 6th century CE. They came from the 'archive' of Patermouthis, son of Menas.[624] The first (TM 15311) was an enlistment certificate for another Patermouthis, son of Dios, soldier of the Elephantine garrison. The other one (TM 15321) was a sale contract for a house involving Patermouthis, son of Menas, some of his relatives and several soldiers from the First Cataract region. Both documents were almost entirely written in Greek, containing only short Latin greeting formulas.

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context of the construction project see section 2.5.4. below; see also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 103–104.

[619] RENIER, CRAIBL 13, 279.

[620] See also MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 413; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 68.

[621] RENIER, CRAIBL 13.

[622] BELZONI, Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries, 106; CAILLIAUD, Voyage à l'oasis de Thèbes et dans les déserts situés à l'orient et à l'occident de la Thébaïde, 11, 108–109; Pl. VIII, no. 5. In the 19th century it was removed to the Louvre (Inv. No. N 285), *inter alia* Collections (Musée du Louvre), https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010027240; DUBOIS, Description des antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines, monuments cophtes et arabes composant la collection de feu M. J.-F. Mimaut, 85, no. 537; LETRONNE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte I, 446. It has been often wrongly stated to have come from Philae apparently based on CIL III, no. 75, and possibly also the mention of Philae in the inscription.

[623] See e.g. KOSSMANN, Ägyptische Götter in Panzertracht in der römischen Kaiserzeit, esp. 138; NAVRATILOVA/RUTHERFORD, in DIRKSEN/KRASTEL (eds.), Epigraphy through Five Millennia, 230; cf. also esp. BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, nos. 302–303.

[624] Esp. GEENS, 'Archive of Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/37.pdf; *inter alia* also KEENAN, BASP 27(1/4); for the place of origin see DIJKSTRA, BASP 44, 196–207.

Amongst the ostraca recovered during the recent excavations,[625] a single Latin text of a letter written by a soldier (TM 874106) was found. It notably came from the area south of the Abu Elela Mosque discussed above as the findspot of several Latin inscriptions probably closely related to Syene's Roman garrison.

The island of **Philae** was located near the southern boundary of the First Cataract. For almost a millennium around the turn of the Common Era it had been one of the principal and most illustrious sanctuaries for both Egypt and Nubia. The temple complex of Philae has kept its extraordinary status to modern times and after its re-location in the 1970s, due to flooding by the Aswan Low Dam, it remains to be one the best-preserved Egyptian temples.[626] First major building activities as well as the cult of Isis were attested at the island only in the course of the 26th Dynasty, and possibly even earlier.[627] Most structures comprising the intricate cultic complex, including the great Temple of Isis, were erected during the Ptolemaic period, however, with some major additions made still during the first century of Roman rule.[628] This included among others the Temple of Augustus built mostly in classical style.[629] Since the Ptolemaic period, Philae became a major place of pilgrimage for visitors coming both from the north and the south. On the walls of the temples, they left scores of pictorial and textual graffiti in Greek, Demotic, Meroitic, and Latin.[630] The involvement of the Nubian worshippers, even on an official level, in running the cultic activities at Philae was significant and grew in importance over time. It was mostly them who made the Temple of Isis the latest operating native Egyptian temple, officially closed only in the 6th century CE.[631]

There were only five Latin texts (TM 80859, 80879, 80903, 88950, 88953) documented to have come from the island of Philae. Moreover, two of them (TM 88950, 88953) were found only recently during the temple's relocation when they were noted, together with other Greek ones, on stones taken out from the filling of the outer wall of the Western Colonnade.[632] Since

[625] Hepa/Torallas Tovar, in Ast et al. (eds.), Uniformity and Regionalism in Latin Writing Culture of the First Millennium C.E., esp. 62, 66; Jaritz/Müller/von Pilgrim, Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, https://swissinst.ch/html/forschung_neu.html.

[626] Bard (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Philae*; Kockelmann, in Wendrich (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, https://escholarship.org/content/qt1456t8bn/qt1456t8bn.pdf; LÄ, s.v. *Philae*; Redford (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Philae*.

[627] *Inter alia* Farag et al., Oriens Antiquus 18; Haeny, BIFAO 1985, 200–201; Kockelmann, in Wendrich (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 6–7.

[628] For the history and architecture esp. Arnold, Temples of the Last Pharaohs, *passim*; Haeny, BIFAO 1985; Hölbl, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, esp. 40–98; for the reliefs and texts *inter alia* Junker, Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä; Junker/Winter, Philä-Publikation II; Kockelmann/Winter, Philae III; Vassilika, Ptolemaic Philae; Winter, in Sauneron (ed.), Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique.

[629] *Inter alia* Bochardt, JdI 18; McKenzie, The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 166–168, Figs. 286–289.

[630] Bernand, De Thèbes à Syène, 280–318; Bernand/Bernand, I. Philae; Cruz-Uribe, The Demotic graffiti from the temple of Isis on Philae Island; Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus; Griffith, Meroitic inscriptions II: Napata to Philae and miscellaneous, 33–52, Pls. XVII–XL; in general also Cruz-Uribe, in Bács (ed.), A Tribute to Excellence; Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 33–34; Rutherford, in Frankfurter (ed.), Pilgrimage and holy space in late antique Egypt; Rutherford, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 707–708.

[631] Esp. Ashby, Calling out to Isis: the enduring Nubian presence at Philae; Dijkstra, Philae and the end of ancient Egyptian religion.

[632] Roccati, in de Boer/Edridge (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3.

their discovery, they attracted considerable attention for their contents and especially their date.[633] The longer graffito (TM 88950) – in fact comprising of four distinct yet closely interconnected texts – recorded a visit of three Romans to Philae dated to the 26 August 116 BCE.[634] This makes it by far the earliest extant evidence for the use of Latin in Egypt. Interestingly, one of the trio of visitors, C. Acutius, stated of himself that: '*hoc venit primus*/ came there first'. There has been much speculation of what exact kind of primacy he in fact claimed.[635] The second inscription (TM 88953) was much more concise comprising only the name of the visitor and the statement of arrival (*venire*). Its dating, estimated by the editor to around 115 BCE by comparison with a close by Greek inscription,[636] is necessarily less secure. Nonetheless, in any case it should also not be any later than the reign of Ptolemy XII.[637] Two more Latin-writing visitors left their graffito (TM 80879) on the front façade of the First Pylon of the great Temple of Isis during the reign of Augustus.

At the very beginning of Augustus' rule over Egypt a trilingual stele (TM 80859) of his prominent officer and first *praefectus Aegypti* Cornelius Gallus was erected at the island. From various points of view, the monument is a unique and one of the foremost pieces of evidence for the early history of the Roman province of Aegyptus and its relations with Meroitic Nubia.[638] The stele was found in two pieces used in the foundations for the altar standing in front of the newly-built Temple of Augustus.[639] This very well illustrates the rapid fall from grace of Gallus, a still not fully understood episode from the history of the early principate.[640] In the form of a dedication to the deities of the First Cataract region, the stele records mainly the exploits of Gallus' military campaign to Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia. It does so combining both Egyptian and classical iconographic features as well as languages, clearly following up on the forms established mainly by the Ptolemaic priestly decrees.[641] The accounts of the events were recorded from top to bottom in hieroglyphic Egyptian, Latin, and Greek. The Egyptian hieroglyphic text was composed differently and independently from the other two, which shared roughly similar contents and structure.

[633] For bibliography and overview of the debate see BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144; PFIEFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 30; most recently also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 230–234.

[634] Note that this is a date of the Roman republican calendar before the Julian reform of 46 BCE and, thus, not an exact seasonal equivalent of 26 August of the Gregorian calendar. Nonetheless, it seems that by the late 2nd century the Roman republican calendar was kept relatively well-aligned in this respect, e.g. SAMUEL, Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity, 162–163.

[635] BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144, 203–204; their argument that he ought to have claimed to be the first Roman at the southern frontier of Egypt seems reasonable enough.

[636] ROCCATI, in DE BOER/EDRIDGE (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3, no. 6, 2.

[637] ROCCATI, in DE BOER/EDRIDGE (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3, 988–990.

[638] For the stele and various aspects of its context see esp. HOFFMANN et al., Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus; for a more the up-to-date selection from the vastly related bibliography see also PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 44; most recently e.g. BUSSI, Aegyptus 98, 2018, 197–215; VASQUES, Mare Nostrum 11(2).

[639] LYONS et al., Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1896(20), 469–470; HOFFMANN et al., Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus, 10–11, Abb. 2.

[640] E.g. BUSSI, Aegyptus 98.

[641] See *inter alia* HOFFMANN et al., Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus, esp. 26–44.

A piece of red granite also found at Philae[642] bore a dedication inscription (TM 80903) for the emperor Traian. Based on his titulary the torso could be dated to 109/110 CE. Notably, this inscription represents the only preserved occurrence of Latin at the island of Philae after the turn of the Common Era.

In addition, three more papyri (TM 69999, 23768, 27293) containing Latin were recorded to have come from the same general region. The oldest one of them (TM 27293) recorded a Latin order for payment to the *dispensator Caesaris* followed by a receipt for the payment in Greek.[643] The other two documents came from the 4th century CE. The first one (TM 23768) was a Greek pattern for an official petition equipped with a Latin heading and a perpendicular note with a greeting. The other fragmentary papyrus bore an official legal document (TM 69999) dealing with a problematic case of sale.

1.5.2. Dodecaschoenus

The part of Lower Nubia nearest to Egypt, from Philae to Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqa), usually referred to under the originally Greek appellation '*Δωδεκάσχοινος*/*Dodecaschoenus*', had been during the Graeco-Roman period closely interconnected with Egypt.[644] For a major part of this timespan, including almost the entire early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), it was attached to the Kingdom/Province of Egypt also politically. The mostly barren region was attractive for the rulers of Egypt for its strategic location controlling for example the approaches to the gold-bearing Wadi Allaqi near ancient Pselchis (Dakka). The Roman rulers sought to maintain its grasp on the region by two main means. Especially during the reign of Augustus, the Romans massively invested into the temple construction projects in the *Dodecaschoenus* largely following upon and expanding the earlier Meroitic and Ptolemaic building programme.[645] On top of that, the strategic points of the region were garrisoned by the Roman army.[646] The local occurrence of Latin was closely related to both the sacred landscape as well as the Roman military presence.

A single Latin inscription came from the site of **Tzitzis** (Qertassi) notable for its large quarries and small well-preserved kiosk.[647] One of the principal features of the quarries was a small chapel in form of a *speos*.[648] The façade on both sides of the entrance has been filled with numerous visitors' graffiti, one of which was a Latin inscription (TM 106290) using the

[642] BERNAND/BERNAND, I. Philae, no. 163.
[643] For the interpretation see CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 359.
[644] *Inter alia* EDWARDS, The Nubian Past, esp. 156–163; LÄ, s.v. *Dodekaschoinos*; TÖRÖK, Between Two Worlds, esp. 427–530; TÖRÖK, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[645] In general esp. HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II; TÖRÖK, Between Two Worlds, 443–456.
[646] *Inter alia* MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 414–418; SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1; WELSBY, Archéologie du Nil moyen 8.
[647] *Inter alia* BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Kertassi*; DERONNE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques de Kertassi en Nubie; HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 101–102; LÄ, s.v. *Qertassi*; ROEDER, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche I, 123–180; WELSBY, Archéologie du Nil moyen 8, 169; ZUCKER, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche III, 15–140; ŽÁBA, Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961); ŽÁBA, in Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963).
[648] Esp. ROEDER, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche I, 168–176.

acclamation phrase '*feliciter/* good luck!'[649] for a certain Fabius, Thimmuis (?), possibly his wife, and their close ones ('*suis*').

The site of **Talmis** (Kalabsha) was dominated by a monumental temple building, the largest in the region. The temple complex was almost entirely built during the reign of Augustus.[650] It was preceded by older structures which were completely raised to make place for the new foundation.[651] The sanctuary was dedicated to the local Nubian god Mandulis as its chief deity; for his solar features identified by Greeks and Romans with Apollo.[652] A detachment of the Roman army was stationed at the site[653] with the soldiers taking active part in the cult and leaving numerous visitors' graffiti,[654] some of them in Latin.

However, most of them were badly damaged and/or hardly legible. Nonetheless, from what could be ascertained it is clear that in comparison with visitors' graffiti from other sites they often had quite an unusual content and tended to be in general more elaborate. The best preserved Latin inscription (TM 106291) from the Temple of Mandulis serves as a good example of that. It is a well-known versed composition with an acrostich containing the name of its author, Iulius Faustinus. While still exceptional, his little opus had close parallels to Greek inscriptions from the same site.[655] In his verses, Iulius Faustinus invokes the new age of piety under the emperor Hadrian and renewal of the concord between gods and men, while likely also alluding to a recent observation of the acoustic miracle of the northern Colossus of Memnon and the dismal state in which he found the temple of Talmis. Another long graffito (TM 154412) was reportedly not inscribed into the wall of the temple but rather painted on it. Likely not preserved to this day, it could be only hastily documented by Sayce.[656] The text (of the facsimile) is largely unintelligible and hard to interpret. However, it apparently mentioned the names of several soldiers and was dated to 108/109 CE. Another shorter graffito (TM 244130) belonged amongst the *feliciter* inscriptions mentioned above, while using also a roughly equivalent phrase '*bene valeas*/ may you fare well!'. The remaining Latin visitors' graffiti from the Temple of Mandulis (TM 702272–702273, 913053, 913066) were partly understandable at best. One more badly preserved inscription (TM 106292) on a piece of stone also coming from the temple seems to represent a dedication, probably to an emperor.

The area of Talmis was also reported as the findspot of a milestone (TM 154418) with fragmentarily preserved Latin legend. The text of the column gives an uncertain mileage from the island of Philae, which seems to confirm its provenance in the *Dodecaschoenus*. Its dating,

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[649] See section 2.6.3. below.
[650] *Inter alia* ARNOLD, Die Tempel von Kalabsha; ARNOLD, Temples of the Last Pharaohs, esp. 240–243; GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah; HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 105–133; LÄ, s.v. *Kalabscha*.
[651] Esp. DE MEULENAERE, CdÉ 36(71).
[652] BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Mandulis*; LÄGG, s.v. *Mrwr* ZAKI, RdE 60.
[653] E.g. HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 105; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 415–416.
[654] Esp. GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II; see also *inter alia* HAENSCH, in EHMIG (ed.), Vergesellschaftete Schriften, 98–103, 113–132.
[655] MAIRS, CdÉ 86(171–172). Kept in the British Museum (Inv. No. 1973,0107.1), Collection online (British Museum), https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1973-0107-1.
[656] CIL III, no. 13582.

ascertained by mentioning the members of the original tetrarchy (293–305 CE), is notable as it was contemporary with the time during which the Roman army presence in Egypt was reorganised and the region of the *Dodecaschoenus* evacuated.[657]

Not far to the south of the Temple of Mandulis was a prominent rock formation projecting close to the watercourse of the Nile. As a natural vantage point, it was used for building a watchtower. The rocks below this construction were covered with a number of visitor's graffiti likely by the sentries and/or passers-by.[658] Several of them were in Latin. All five Latin inscriptions (TM 383608, 383476–383479) at this site were made by soldiers and followed a very simple wording giving mainly the names of their units, namely *cohors I Lusitanorum* and *cohors II Ituraeorum*. Remarkably, only in three cases, the name of the particular serviceman was given as well. They were a foot soldier of the odd name Vizina (TM 383608, 383477), perhaps a Thracian,[659] and a certain Valerius Ammonianus (TM 383479).

Another milestone (TM 102271) was found further to the south of Talmis (Kalabsha) at Abu Tarfa. However, it probably originally came from another location, namely Tzitzis (Qertassi).[660] It was older than the milestone from Talmis, dating to the reign of Traian.

The site of **Pselchis** (Dakka) counted amongst the major religious centres of the Dodecaschoinos and was an important strategic point due to its location just across the river from the mouth of the Wadi Allaqi. The main feature of the site was a Temple of Thoth, worshipped there together with other gods in his Nubian warrior-like form of Thoth of Pnubs, or Hermes/Mercury (Pauthnouphis) according to the *interpretatio Graeca/Romana*.[661] Having a Ptolemaic core, including also the chapel of the Meroitic king Arkamani, the temple was significantly expanded during the reign of Augustus.[662] Throughout the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), a military garrison was stationed at Pselchis, in a military camp built around the temple.[663] Thus, similarly to Kalabsha, the Roman soldiers were very much involved in the religious activities at the site, attested chiefly through epigraphic evidence,[664] including several inscriptions in Latin.

The visitor's graffito written by one C. Cossutius Nigrinus (TM 106293) was the only one directly addressing the chief deity of the temple, namely as '*deus magnus Mercurius*'.[665] The

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[657] E.g. BURSTEIN, Symbolae Osloenses 73(1); HENDRICKX, Akroterion 59; for historical implications of the milestone (TM 154418) in particular see BURSTEIN, Symbolae Osloenses 73(1), 129–130.

[658] ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, 214–220; see also SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 790–791.

[659] For the reading and possible origin see SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 790.

[660] CIL III, no. 14148[2]; FHN III, 921–922.

[661] BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Pauthnuphis*; HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, esp. 138; LÄGG s.v. *ḏḥwty-n-Pr-nbs*.

[662] *Inter alia* ARNOLD, Temples of the Last Pharaohs, 204, 244; HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 138–143; LÄ, s.v. *Dakke*; ROEDER, Der Tempel von Dakke I–II.

[663] *Inter alia* FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 30–38; HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 138; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 416–417; WELSBY, Archéologie du Nil moyen 8, 169–170, Fig. 5.

[664] Esp. RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III; see also *inter alia* HAENSCH, in EHMIG (ed.), Vergesellschaftete Schriften, 92–98.

[665] Cf. '*deus magnus*/great god' and the common Egyptian divine epithet '*nṯr ꜥꜣ*/great god', see LÄGG, s.v. *nṯr ꜥꜣ*; for its occurrence in the temple see ROEDER, Der Tempel von Dakke I.

inscription is, however, more notable as the only extant example of the *proskynema* written in Latin coming from Egypt or Nubia. Instead of the usual Greek word '*προσκύνημα*', it used the verbal form '*adorare*' of its Latin equivalent '*adoratio*'.[666] The exceptional use of Latin in rendering this type of visitor's graffito could be likely explained through its official character, as the author of the inscription, C. Cossutius Nigrinus, wrote it not for himself but for a collective military body, namely a detachment (*vexillatio*/*vexillum*) of the *legio II Traiana*.[667] There were also two well-rendered *feliciter* inscriptions (TM 106294, 118702) both for the same person, a certain Valerius Maximus. Interestingly, he left them (next to TM 154428 and several other Greek inscriptions)[668] on the roof of one of the temple's pylons, accessible through stairs in its interior. It is, thus, easy to imagine him as a soldier assigned to the principal vantage point of the site. The remaining Latin visitors' graffiti from the temple were either very simple and/or partially preserved (TM 104305, 106295, 154422, 154428).

Apart from visitors' graffiti, other types of Latin inscriptions were represented in Pselchis as well. Remains of a statue, reportedly of Jupiter or Sarapis, and its base with a dedication (TM 154432) were found in the Temple of Thoth in 1842 and later lost.[669] Whomever the statue depicted, the preserved text from its base attests that it was an imperial dedication.[670] Apart from giving the name of the dedicant, centurion T. Flavius Valens, it also mentioned his superior prefect Cassius Bassus. The text itself roughly resembles those of the statue base groups from Nicopolis and Syene discussed above, while the placement of the statue into the temple of a native deity recalls the introduction of the imperial cult to the Temple of Luxor, as was also dealt with above. From Pselchis came also two Latin funerary inscriptions. One of them (TM 154417) was apparently found reused in a construction.[671] The other one (FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29)[672] came from the vicinity of a small

[666] See OLD, s.v. *adōrātiō*, *adōrō*; cf. LSJ, *προσκῠν-έω*.

[667] For commentary on and interpretation of the inscription see also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 586; HONZL, Annals of the Náprstek Museum 42(2), 21; HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 513–514; STOLL, in VOGEL/GUNDLACH (eds.), Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten, 454; *contra* HAENSCH, in EHMIG (ed.), Vergesellschaftete Schriften, 95–96.

[668] RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, nos. 60–64 a.

[669] RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, 68–69; see also HÖLBL, Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 146.

[670] For the relative absence of the imperial cult in the *Dodecaschoenus* see HAENSCH, in LEMBKE et al. (eds.), Tradition and Transformation, 124–125.

[671] See esp. HAENSCH, in EHMIG (ed.), Vergesellschaftete Schriften, 97, footnote no. 74; note that RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III, no. 72 associates the inscription with the pronaos of the Temple of Thoth while referring to CIL III, no. 14147[7] and citing the unspecific description of the inscription's provenance by Borchardt: '*Dakkeh supra portam casae*/ At Dakka, above the entrance of a house'.

[672] As recorded by Firth (The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29), the contents of the inscription are entirely clear. In spite of that, its identification as a funerary inscription seems most likely. At least some of the irregularities may be explained by the possible low proficiency of the originator/stonecutter in Latin. Firth noted that: 'The letters (…) show by their form that the lapidary was better acquainted with the forms of Greek than Roman letters' (FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29).
Amongst others, the Greek influence could perhaps partly explain the puzzling ending of the inscription, including the words '*animo fort(ibus)*' in the final line. As suggested by Kayser (in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 205), the final line could actually represent a somewhat clumsy translation of '*εὐψύχει*', the Greek farewell expression (see LSJ, s.v. *εὐψυχ-έω*), commonly appearing as the ending of epitaphs, especially in Egypt (e.g. PHI Greek Inscriptions, https://epigraphy.packhum.org/, search query 'ευψυχει'). It was also occasionally appended to (translations of) funerary inscriptions written in Latin (TM 98552, 98554, 106336).

mudbrick building located to the north of the temple, which is known especially as the findspot of a large collection of Greek ostraca containing receipts for rations given to soldiers.[673] Reused in the pavement of one of the gates of Pselchis' military camp, a partial inscription was found (FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 32), most likely representing a building inscription from its earlier phase.[674]

In addition, one more document could be associated with the site of Pselchis. An incomplete wooden diptych (TM 78521) of unknown provenance bought in Cairo[675] recorded a birth certificate of an illegitimate boy named Numissius. The name of his father was not preserved on the fragment but, apparently, he was an auxiliary soldier stationed at Pselchis, where the certificate was issued as well.

Not far to the south-west from Pselchis, two Latin visitors' graffiti (TM 154430, 154431) were documented amongst other Greek and Meroitic inscriptions on the prominent sandstone outcrop of **Gebel Abu Deruah**.[676] Both Latin texts were again the *feliciter* inscriptions, both mentioning more than one recipient of the wish of good luck.

One more piece of Latin evidence came also from the southern border of the *Dodecaschoenus*, namely the temple of **Hiera Sykaminos** (Maharraqa).[677] An inscription (TM 106296) documented in this sanctuary of Isis and Serapis preserved a hardly intelligible mixture of Latin and Greek characters which, however, appeared to have again '*FELIC(iter)*' written in its last line.

1.5.3. Lower Nubia

The rest of Lower Nubia above Hiera Sykaminos was for the most part outside of the Roman sphere of control. This *status quo* was, however, established only in 21 BCE with the well-known Treaty of Samos, which, for the following ca. 300 years, established the framework of peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence and interactions between the Roman Empire and the Meroitic kingdom. The decade before the signing of the accord was on the other hand marked first by the military intervention of Cornelius Gallus into Lower Nubia followed by

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Coincidentally, the other, more clearly written, Latin funerary inscription from Pselchis (TM 154417) ended, after the numeral giving the age of the deceased, with letters '*A F*'. Ruppel (RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, 58), unsurely proposed ('*Die Auflösung der Siglen ist mir fraglich,…*') to resolve the abbreviation, amongst other possibilities requiring other readings of the 'A' sign, as '*amicus fecit*' (see also EDCS, https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_url.php?s_sprache=en&p_edcs_id=EDCS-31400488). By comparison with the Latin funerary inscription mentioned above, the '*animo forti*' represents a more plausible solution.

673 FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 25–30; for the ostraca in particular se also *inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 78; LA'DA/RUBINSTEIN, ZPE 110; WHITE, The Classical Review 33(3/4).

674 FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 32, Plan 2; WHITE, The Classical Review 33(3/4), 49.

675 P. Mich. VII, no. 436.

676 *Inter alia* KOERNER, in ENDESFELDER et al. (ed.), Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag; MASPERO, ASAE 9; REM I, nos. 0091A–C; RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III, 61–68.

677 *Inter alia* ARNOLD, Temples of the Last Pharaohs, 244; BONNET, Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, s.v. *Hierasykaminos*; HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II, 147–150; LÄ, s.v. *Hierasykamnos*; MASPERO, Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples, 8–10; 99–105; MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 418.

direct conflict with the Meroitic kingdom, resulting in a series of successes and setbacks for both sides.[678]

As one of the results of a major campaign of *praefectus Aegypti* C. Petronius[679] in 24/25 BCE, the Roman army occupied and settled the fortified settlement of **Primis** (Qasr Ibrim) making it one of their chief garrisons in Nubia. It had been, nonetheless, evacuated already in 21 BCE, as one of the terms reached in the Samos Treaty.[680] Despite the briefness of their sojourn, significant and in many ways unique remains of the presence of Roman soldiers were preserved at the site.[681]

This included also an exceptional find of written evidence in Greek and Latin, mostly consisting of papyri found at a single spot, in a refuse dumb accumulated just outside the so-called southern bastion of the fortified citadel.[682] Most of the collection of textual evidence left by the Roman garrison of Primis still remains unpublished. However, the comprehensive publication of the Primis papyri should be in the final stages of preparation.[683] Amongst the less than 200 fragments recovered,[684] at least 41 Latin items were identified, mostly papyri but also a few inscribed pieces of pottery.[685] From them 16 Latin papyri have been published so far.[686]

As stated by the editors of the collection, most of the papyri from Primis contained letters by soldiers (TM 70018, 78737, DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia, DERDA et al., Palamedes 13, no. 3),[687] testifying to, among others, lively contacts between Primis and Coptos, with the latter representing the headquarters of the legion and the former its outpost.[688] The messages were dealing with various matters, amongst the Latin ones for example containing reports or instructions on purely soldierly matters (TM 78737, DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia) but also one dealing with a delivery of pork (DERDA et al., Palamedes 13, no. 3). Practical aspects of the ebb and flow of the military base were reflected in less numerous administrative documents such as a neatly organised list of Roman citizens (TM 851433), probably servicemen. The remaining published Latin papyri from

[678] E.g. FHN II, 689–704; FHN III, esp. 828–835, 876–884; MATIĆ, in JANKOVIĆ et al. (eds.), The Edges of the Roman World; TÖRÖK, Between Two Worlds, 427–442; TROCHE, JAEI 36.

[679] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 267; BRUNT, JRS 65, 142.

[680] E.g. ADAMS, in GEUS/THILL (eds.), Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter; ADAMS, JARCE 20; DERDA/ŁAJTAR, in HAGEN/VAN DER VLIET (eds.), Qasr Ibrim, between Egypt and Africa; ROSE, Sudan & Nubia 15, 5–6.

[681] *Inter alia* ADAMS/CROWFOOT, in WALTON ROGERS et al. (eds.), The Roman Textile Industry and its Influence; JAMES/TAYLOR, Saalburg Jahrbuch 47; ROWLEY-CONWY, in LUFF/ROWLEY-CONWY (eds.), Whither Environmental Archaeology?; WILKINS et al., Sudan & Nubia 10.

[682] *Inter alia* ANDERSON/ADAMS, JEA 65, 33–35; ANDERSON et al., JRS 69, 125–126; DERDA et al., in TOMAS (ed.), Ad fines imperii Romani, 48.

[683] See esp. DERDA/ŁAJTAR, in SCHUBERT (ed.), Pap. Congr. XXVI; DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia, 94.

[684] E.g. DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia, 93; SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 180.

[685] See esp. DERDA et al., in TOMAS (ed.), Ad fines imperii Romani, 48–49; note that the authors/editors acknowledge that they are omitting some pieces with 'insignificant traces' from their figures; cf. SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 180 who counts 52 pieces of Latin texts.

[686] Esp. WEINSTEIN/TURNER, JEA 62.

[687] E.g. DERDA et al., in TOMAS (ed.), Ad fines imperii Romani, 49

[688] DERDA et al., Palamedes 9/10.

Primis (TM 70018–70028) are too fragmentary to allow any meaningful interpretation but remain to serve at least as an indicator to what extent the use of Latin was spread at the site. The Latin texts from Primis also notably featured various non-standard linguistic features. As pointed out also by the editors,[689] considering the relatively early as well as unusually narrow and clearly defined dating range of the set makes it especially valuable not only from a historic and linguistic point of view.

Apart from texts produced by the inhabitants of the citadel, the refuse dump at Primis yielded also some literary texts. They included an exceptional find of a Latin papyrus (TM 59474) with nine lines in elegiac couplets attributed to Cornelius Gallus, who in fact garnered more renown as a poet than as a military leader and the governor of Egypt, in which roles he was mentioned above. Before the discovery of the Primis papyrus, only one pentametric line had been preserved from the corpus of his poetry. Given the illustrious status of Gallus as the first Roman elegiac poet, praised by his immediate successors as well as later literates, the loss of his writings has been felt especially bitterly and hard to accept.[690] The additional five incomplete couplets naturally present only a poor alleviation. Yet since their first publication in 1979,[691] they have stimulated a lively debate and gave new impetus to the discussions about various aspects of Gallus' literary legacy.[692] In particular, the extant contents of the papyrus seem to divide into three distinct compositions. The first of them preserved only in one incomplete ending line mentions a woman named Lycoris, known to have been a recurring subject of his poetry, thus giving a major clue for the attribution of the fragment.[693] The next four lines presented a brief tribute to 'Caesar', either the dictator or the later emperor Augustus.[694] The remaining incomplete verses seem to turn back to Lycoris, or another woman, and present the author's ostentatious disregard for the (assumed) contemporary criticism of his style.

1.5.4. The Island of Meroe

A single Latin inscription was recovered at the Meroitic settlement of **Musawwarat es-Sufra**. The site is located some 25 km south-east from the Nile where several desert trails crossed in the valley with convenient reserves of water.[695] The Meroitic rulers used this focal point to exert their authority over the nomadic populations of the region and made it into one of the centres of the region with a monumental architectural setting. Until today, the site is dominated by the well-preserved ruins of the so-called Great Enclosure, a vast complex of

[689] DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia, 98.
[690] See esp. WHITE, Gallus Reborn.
[691] ANDERSON et al., JRS 69.
[692] *Inter alia* ANDERSON et al., JRS 69; CAPASSO/RADICIOTTI, Il ritorno di Cornelio Gallo—Il papiro di Qaṣr Ibrim venticinque anni dopo; GAGLIARDI, Papyrologia Lupiensia 20–21; LUTHER, AfP 48(1); WHITE, Gallus Reborn.
[693] ANDERSON et al., JRS 69, 148.
[694] Cf. e.g. ANDERSON et al., JRS 69, 151–152; LUTHER, AfP 48(1).
[695] E.g. SCHEIBNER, Wasserbauliche Infrastruktur und Wassermanagement in Musawwarat es-Sufra in kuschitischer Zeit.

various courtyards and buildings of mainly, but not only, ritual purpose and with features strongly emphasising the royal power.[696]

It was there where a single Latin visitor's graffito (TM 106297) was found amongst a myriad of textual (Meroitic, Greek, and others), pictorial, and various kinds of more simple markings.[697] The Latin inscriptions was first noted in 1822 by the earliest European visitor's to the site[698] and not long after that in 1844 extracted from the wall of the Great Enclosure by the Lepsius expedition and moved to Berlin.[699] Several editions of the text were made before (and after) the stone slab bearing it got lost towards the end of the 19th century.[700] However, the inscription was recently rediscovered and its reading corrected by Łajtar and Van der Vliet.[701]

In their commentary Łajtar and Van der Vliet convincingly argued to identify the '*Domina Regina*', to which the visitor's graffito paid a tribute, as a Meroitic queen[702] not the goddess Isis as supposed previously by some scholars.[703] The originator of the inscription, Acutus, made an acclamation to the queen using, together with other appropriate phrases[704] also the adverb '*feliciter*' encountered repeatedly in Dodecaschoenus. In the second part of the inscription he identified himself, stated the date of the visit (without the year), and that he came from an anonymous 'city'.[705] The visitor's graffito from Musawwarat es-Sufra remains to date the southernmost extant ancient Latin inscription.

[696] *Inter alia* EDWARDS, Musawwarat es Sufra III; EIGNER, MittSAG 21; FITZENREITER et al., Musawwarat es Sufra II; HINTZE, Musawwarat es Sufra I.2; HINTZE et al., Musawwarat es Sufra I.1; KLEINITZ, MittSAG 30; LÄ, s.v. *Musawwarat es-Sufra*; LÄ, s.v. Musawwarat es-Sufra; SCHEIBNER, Wasserbauliche Infrastruktur und Wassermanagement in Musawwarat es-Sufra in kuschitischer Zeit; WENIG, in DORNISCH (ed.), Sudan: Festschrift für Steffen Wenig zum 65. Geburtstag.

[697] *Inter alia* KLEINITZ, Sudan & Nubia 18; Kleinitz (ed.), The Musawwarat Graffiti Archive, https://musawwaratgraffiti.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/; KLEINITZ, in WENIG/ZIBELIUS-CHEN (eds.), Die Kulturen Nubiens – ein afrikanisches Vermächtnis.

[698] First noted by LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, Journal d'un voyage à Méroé dans les années 1821 et 1822, 119, Pl. XXIV; it was noted shortly after and first published by CAILLIAUD, Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc au-delà de Fazoql, 375.

[699] See LEPSIUS, Allgemeine Preußische Zeitung 1844(284), 1505; LEPSIUS, Denkmaeler V, 345, Pl. 101, Lat.56.

[700] Most notably CIL III, no. 83; see also ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157, 194–195. It was also preserved in a squeeze made by Lepsius, see HINTZE, Kush 12.

[701] ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157; for detailed description of the inscription's history, see *ibid*., 193–195.

[702] ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157, 196–197; but see also e.g. HINTZE, Kush XII, 298.

[703] Notably e.g. FHN III, 1094; but see also *inter alia* DE DECKER, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique 54, 300–309; LECLANT, Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Ve section - sciences religieuses 90, 56.

[704] See ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157, 196; PETERSON, Εἷς Θεός, 21, 26, 167–168; RAC, s.v. *Akklamation*, 231; ROUECHÉ, JRS 74, 185–186.

[705] So far best argued to be Rome, ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157, 197.

1.6. Discussion

As mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter, there were altogether 909 texts associated with only the regions described above.[706] This represents 69.98 % of the entire corpus of Latin evidence from Egypt and Nubia. Only 64 texts,[707] representing 4.97 % of the entire corpus were recovered from the remaining parts of Egypt. The remaining collection of the 323 closely unprovenanced pieces of evidence, representing 25.05 % of the entire corpus, comprised overwhelmingly of texts written on easily perishable media, namely papyrus (283, 87.61 %), parchment (13, 4.02 %), and wooden tablets (13, 4.02 %). By itself, this points to the regions which yielded most of such objects bearing Latin texts, namely the Fayum and Middle Egypt, as the most probable places of their provenance. This further underscores the overall strong localisation of the Latin evidence to only certain regions of Egypt.

There were substantial differences amongst the evidence gathered from each of the regions, often even from individual sites. Most obvious were the contrasts in the representation of various writing media.[708] Already this alone clearly shows the main caveat to the interpretation of other differences in the spatial distribution, which are the significantly varying rates and conditions of the preservation of Latin texts in general and some of their kinds in particular. The uneven state of exploration and publication of whole regions and individual sites, as well as other more specific factors and biases further distort the available textual record. Thus, it is necessary not to overestimate the differences between the regions and consider various possible causes behind them. On the other hand, as the gaps in the record were not everywhere the same, its is possible to use the specimens extant in one region or at one site as a basis for speculation on what kind of evidence could have been originally present elsewhere. Despite these caveats, the resulting image does not fail to show clearly enough what were the actual spatial patterns of the use of Latin in Egypt.

Latin appears to cluster especially in the eastern and southern peripheries of what was the territory of the Roman province of Aegyptus, namely in the Eastern Desert (1.4.), the 1st upper Egyptian nome (1.5.1.) – in particular the southernmost portion around its metropolis of Syene and the First Cataract – and the Roman occupied parts of Lower Nubia, including mainly the Dodecaschoenus (1.5.2.), but initially also territories further south (1.5.3.). These areas stood not only on the edge of the province, but also constituted a part of the frontier of the whole Roman Empire. As such, and as was typical for most such regions, they hosted a significant presence of the Roman army.[709] One of its effects, and of the specific status Latin had in the Roman military,[710] was also the regional clustering of the Latin textual evidence which was indeed clearly apparent from its predominating contexts and contents of the texts. The eastern and southern frontier regions have yielded altogether 248 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 19.24 % of the entire corpus; with 173 texts, representing 13.42 % just from the

[706] See also Tab. 1.1. above.
[707] Including 5 texts which could be associated with some of the regions included into the previous group as their place of origin. Thus, these 5 pieces were counted in both figures.
[708] See section 1.0.1. above.
[709] Most clearly manifested especially through various extant military installations, see subchapters 1.4. and 1.5. above, see also e.g. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit.
[710] See *passim*, esp. in chapter 2. below.

Eastern Desert. The sets of Latin evidence from these regions were typologically varied, and notably included texts both of official/public and private character.

In their absolute amounts, the 173 Latin texts from the Eastern Desert more than twice outnumbered the 75 pieces coming from the First Cataract region and Lower Nubia. The difference is caused mainly by the presence of 128 Latin ostraca in the textual record of the Eastern Desert. Latin ostraca, and consequently the types of text commonly appearing on them, were virtually absent in the south of Egypt and in Lower Nubia. This could have been partly given by the higher availability of perishable writing materials like papyrus in the Nile Valley, and only rarely preserved such as at Qasr Ibrim. The only Latin ostracon (TM 874106) published from the region came from Syene (Aswan). It was the only one from more than 1,000 recovered from the site to date.[711] Another Latin ostracon could have been included in the collection of ca. 300 found in the beginning of the 20th century at Pselchis (Dakka).[712] Not excluding that more ostraca could have been lost with the submerged sites of Lower Nubia and more may probably yet be recovered especially from Syene, it seems clear from both samples that Latin was used there on ostraca less often than in the Eastern Desert, and, in overall, for a lesser, and slightly different,[713] range of textual types.

The situation was notably different in the remaining peripheral areas of the province of Aegyptus, namely the Eastern Delta with the Isthmus of Suez and the Western Desert. Unlike the regions dealt with above, the Eastern Delta bordered since 106 CE with other provinces,[714] not with territories outside the Roman Empire. Nonetheless, and despite this fact, the eastern overland approach to Egypt proved throughout the Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE) as a serious liability for its security, as it did throughout its earlier history. From the military point of view, this direction was during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) apparently covered by the units stationed at Babylon on the western bank of the Nile near the beginning of the Delta,[715] or alternatively the main Egyptian military garrison at Nicopolis near Alexandria.[716] Tangible evidence for the military presence in the region, could be firmly established only since the later decades of the 3rd century CE on,[717] chiefly in the form of extant fortifications at Pelusium (Tell el-Farama),[718] Magdolum (Tell el-Herr),[719] and Sile (Tell Abu Seifa).[720] The evidence for the use of Latin recovered from the region was sparse, comprising of only 6

[711] HEPA/TORALLAS TOVAR, in AST et al. (eds.), Uniformity and Regionalism in Latin Writing Culture of the First Millennium C.E., 62.
[712] FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29; but cf. LA'DA/RUBINSTEIN, ZPE 110, esp. 135–136; WHITE, The Classical Review 33(3/4).
[713] See subchapter 2.5. below.
[714] Before 106 CE, the neighbouring territories belonged to the Nabatean kingdom, which was a client of the Roman Empire, e.g. BOWERSOCK, Roman Arabia, esp. 45–75; RE, s.v. *Nabataioi*; for the later province see e.g. BOWERSOCK, Roman Arabia, 76–147; RE, s.v. *Arabia*.
[715] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 28, 35–37, 204; ATIYA (ed.), The Coptic Encyclopedia, s.v. *Babylon*; LÄ, s.v. *Babylon*; SHEEHAN, Babylon of Egypt.
[716] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 36–37; BAGNALL, JRA 10, 505; HAENSCH, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 70–71; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 1.
[717] For the wider context see esp. POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1).
[718] E.g. ABD EL-MAQSOUD et al., CRIPEL 16; for the late antique (284–641 CE) fortifications in the region in general see also MACKENSEN, JRA 16.
[719] Esp. VALBELLE/CARREZ-MARATRAY, Le camp romain du Bas-Empire à Tell el-Herr.
[720] Esp. ABD EL-MAQSOUD et al., MDAIK 53.

inscriptions on stone (TM 97572, 106348, 106351, 108866, 128274–128275). Notably, the more firmly datable of the texts came only from the period spanning from the second half of the 3rd century CE to the beginning of the 4th century CE, including one of several fragments of Latin inscriptions found at Pelusium (TM 128274) from 258–260 CE, a building inscription of the abovementioned fortresses at Sile (TM 97572)[721] from 288 CE, and a milestone from Tell el-Maskhuta (TM 106351).[722]

The Western Desert of Egypt,[723] and namely its belt of oases, comprised the easternmost part of the Roman Empire's frontier facing the vast reaches of the Sahara. As such it played, amongst others, an important role in the long-distance trade. In this respect, its significance for the ruling power was similar as in the case of the Eastern Desert. During the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), both apparently did not pose a serious security risks for the empire. The occupation of the Eastern Desert by the Roman army during this time was necessary chiefly for the organisation and support of its economic exploitation.[724] This was not, at least not to such an extent, the case of the Western Desert. Contrary to its eastern counterpart, the Western Desert was in general inhabited by indigenous and self-sufficient communities which were autonomous in generating the economic revenues of the region desirable for the imperial government. At most a limited presence of the army, as in particular attested for Bahariya in 213 CE,[725] could have been sufficient for securing and the management of the region during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). This changed in the course of the 3rd century CE during which the security of the Western Desert apparently deteriorated, demanding a military intervention.[726] In consequence, with the onset of the tetrarchy, the Roman army took stricter control over the security, as well as the economic management,[727] of the Western Desert. This is attested especially by numerous fortresses and other military installations, (tentatively) dated to this time, sprouting across the oases.[728] One of the auxiliary bases at the site of Qaret el-Tub in the Bahariya yielded the only fragmentary Latin inscription on stone from the Western Desert which recorded its inauguration (TM 702317). The inscription was apparently near identical to two abovementioned inscriptions from Deir el-Gebrawi (TM 106279) and Sile (Tell Abu Seifa; TM 97572) and, thus, also likely dated to 288

[721] Near identical to TM 106279, 702317 from Deir el-Gebrawi and Qaret el-Tub respectively; for detailed discussion of all three inscriptions in context see subchapter 5.4. below.
[722] E.g. BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, 1; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Tell el-Maskhuta*.
[723] E.g. DUNAND/LICHTENBERG, Oasis égyptiennes: les îles des bienheureux; JACKSON, At Empire's Edge, 158–260; KAPER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.
[724] See subchapter 1.4. above.
[725] P. Köln II, no. 94; see also e.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 165; KUCERA, The Artefact 28, 28.
[726] Esp. KUCERA, in HOPE et al. (eds.), Australasian Egyptology Conference 4; see also POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 8; WAGNER, Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et Byzantine d'après les documents grecs, 394–400.
[727] E.g. KUCERA, The Artefact 28, esp. 26–31.
[728] *Inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 33, 193; BRONES/DUVETTE, BIFAO 107; JACKSON, At Empire's Edge, 158–239; KUCERA in BAGNALL et al. (eds.), The Oasis Papers 6; KUCERA, The Roman military presence in the Western Desert of Egypt; for the wider context see also esp. POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1).

CE.[729] Apart from that, only three other Latin texts were recovered from the region (TM 20290, 66270–66271).

As described, the situation in both peripheral regions was similar. Latin started to appear here only during the 3rd century CE, in particular towards its end. That was at the same time, in which the Roman army strengthened its presence in both regions as manifested in the frequent appearance of new fortifications, and apparently connected to it. However, as argued below,[730] Latin largely disappeared from use by the Roman army shortly after this point. Thus, it was too late for it to leave behind a similar clustering of Latin textual evidence as observed in the Eastern Desert, First Cataract Region and Lower Nubia, in the eastern Delta with the Isthmus of Suez and the Western Desert.[731]

As stressed above, the provincial capital of Alexandria (1.1.) also had, in essence, the character of a periphery, in many aspects distinguished from the rest of Egypt (*chora*). In overall, 202 pieces of evidence came from the Alexandrian area, representing 15.67 % of the entire corpus. Its level of Hellenization and Romanization was hardly matched by any other city of the province. The social and cultural distinction in general was apparently not the main driving force behind the appearance of rich Latin evidence in the city. It was rather its role as the capital. As such, Alexandria, or actually Nicopolis (1.1.2.) in its suburbs, housed the core of the Roman army garrison of Egypt, moreover, for a long time (2nd–3rd century CE) being the only legionary base in the province. As with the frontier regions dealt with above, it was again the army which stood behind the majority of the extant Latin evidence coming from the city and its surrounds. Nicopolis in particular was the only place where the use of Latin dominated over Greek, at least as far as attested by the preserved evidence.

There were 120 texts coming just from Nicopolis, representing 9.39 % of the entire corpus and 59.41 % of texts coming from Alexandria and its surrounds. Nearly a half of the Nicopolis evidence came from the 3rd century CE. It seems reasonable to presume that the earlier centuries are underrepresented mainly due to the lower rate of preservation of the evidence. There were some dedications and building inscriptions extant from the military camp itself (11, 9.16 %) together with several papyri (10, 8.33 %) tracked to have been most likely written there as well. However, the vast majority of the evidence comprised of funerary inscriptions from the surrounding necropolis (95, 79.16 %). Such a large collection of Latin inscriptions, moreover clearly outnumbering the Greek ones from the same site, coming from one site, let alone of one kind, is exceptional in Egypt. While there were other Latin funerary inscriptions scattered here and there throughout and beyond the Nile Valley, it is without doubt that nowhere in Egypt or Nubia Latin could have been used for epitaphs in such an intensity as at Nicopolis. The same seems be probably true also for Latin in general.

[729] COLIN (ed.), Baḥariya I: le fort romain de Qaret el-Toub I, 103–114; for detailed discussion of all three inscriptions in context see subchapter 5.4. below.

[730] See subchapter 5.4. below.

[731] Nonetheless, in the case of the present argument the possibility of the lack of evidence not representing its absence should be especially stressed. In fact, it should be amongst others noted that not a small portion (TM 128274–128275; 702317) of the scarce Latin evidence of both regions dealt with above originated from only relatively recent discoveries. It is possible that more relevant evidence adding up in the future will necessitate at least a partial reconsideration of the issue.

Alexandria (1.1.1.) was also, and foremost, the seat of the Egyptian provincial and later diocesan administrative headed by the *praefectus Aegypti*/*augustalis*. Thus, more than elsewhere, the attention was given to adorning the public space with monuments using Latin as the language signifying and embodying the imperial power, while it was also preferred, for similar reasons, at least by some niches of the central provincial administrative.[732] For the latter, the extant evidence is especially scrappy as well as strongly selective, comprising only 33 Latin documents with certainty traced to Alexandria. That they indeed represent only the proverbial 'tip of the iceberg' seems without doubt.

The eminent role of Latin in the central administrative was more clearly demonstrated for the period of late antiquity (284–641 CE) by the evidence coming directly from the sites of the Fayum (1.2.1.) and Middle Egypt (1.2.2.–1.2.6.). The high occurrence of Latin, considering the absolute number of texts, was first of all caused by the specific conditions resulting in preservation, as well as recovery, of perishable writing media, scarce in most of the other regions. On the other hand, inscriptions on stone were, with some exceptions such as Akoris, in general scarcer in this region. The rarely preserved specimens (TM 106241, 106260, 154404, 653848) show that monuments comparable for example with those from Alexandria could have occurred, although likely not so frequently, also at and around the regional centres of the Fayum and Middle Egypt. Also in these parts of Egypt Latin regularly appeared more often in locations closely connected with the Roman army, personified not only again by stationed servicemen, but also settled veterans.[733] Overall, the regions yielded 373 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 28.94 % of the entire corpus.

During late antiquity (284–641 CE) in particular, Latin seems to have to a certain degree kept its prominence especially in the cities of Oxyrhynchus (at least 64, 53.78 %)[734] and Antinoopolis (32, 94.12 %;[735] and neighbouring Hermopolis Magna, at least 28, 80.00 %)[736] which became the capitals of the new provinces split from the early Roman province of Aegyptus.[737] The relevant texts, while being of various types, overwhelmingly point to the provincial administrative apparatus as the context they were related to.[738] It is reasonable to presume that the situation could have been similar also in the other provincial capitals of Egypt, from which, however, similarly rich textual evidence is missing.

The remaining region with ample Latin evidence, comprising 111 texts, representing 8.61 % of the entire corpus, was the 4th Upper Egyptian nome (1.3.). It, however, does not fit well into

[732] See *passim* in chapter 2. below.

[733] Most notably in the north-eastern Fayum, e.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 48–52; FISCHER-BOVET/SÄNGER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 174–175.

[734] Cf. the overall diachronic distribution of textual evidence from Oxyrhynchus, Trismegistos Database, search query 'Oxyrynchos (Bahnasa)'.

[735] Cf. the overall diachronic distribution of textual evidence from Antinoopolis, Trismegistos Database, search query 'Antinoopolis (El-Sheikh Ibada)'.

[736] Cf. the overall diachronic distribution of textual evidence from Hermopolis, Trismegistos Database, search query 'Hermopolis (El-Ashmunein)'.

[737] The relevant parts of the textual record could be biased by lesser attention given by excavators to the surrounding smaller settlements, e.g. the case of Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau; see section 1.2.6. above), where the representation of Latin was marginal and largely in documents (probably) coming from Antinoopolis, which seems to confirm this observation.

[738] See esp. subchapters 3.5.–3.6. below.

the patterns described above. On the one hand, it was again a region with attested military presence. Luxor in particular was garrisoned since the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) by at least one auxiliary unit, apparently the *cohors II Thracum*, and later after the overbuilding of the Luxor temple with the tetrarchic fortress, by new legionary units. While a neat collection of Latin inscriptions could be associated with the latter (13, 11.71 %), they were all confined to the legionary fortress itself as well as the fairly limited timeframe of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) and the following sole reign of Constantine I. The textual track left in the Theban region by the former *cohors II Thracum* was fairly limited,[739] including only two Latin inscriptions (TM 106061, 121989), one of them tentatively (TM 106061), and a Greek document dealing with inheritance with a signature of one of its witnesses written in Latin (TM 17631).[740] Most notably, none of the local soldiers could be identified amongst the originators of the numerous Latin visitor's graffiti mainly from the Colossi of Memnon (1.3.1.) and the Valley of the Kings (1.3.2.; 84, 75.68 %).[741] This definitely does not mean that any other Latin writing soldierly visitor of the Theban monuments could not have been assigned there on a medium-/long-term basis.[742] Nonetheless, a large part of the visitors of both sites certainly arrived from afar. In general, both the Colossi of Memnon and the tombs in the Valley of the Kings and their, not only Latin, visitors' graffiti represent an extraordinary occurrence. The appearance of large quantities of Latin texts at both sites depended, apart from the considerable contribution by non-local visitors, firstly on the eminence of both monuments, in particular the certain official status of the Colossi of Memnon and the wide-reaching popularity of the royal tombs, and secondly the favourable circumstances which allowed their preservation. The evidence coming from them could be by no means interpreted as attesting to the above-the-ordinary spread of the use of Latin in the Theban region. Without them, the Latin evidence from the 4th Upper Egyptian nome gives a much humbler impression, comprising 27 texts representing 2.09 % of the entire corpus.

Besides Thebes, there was more of scanty Latin evidence scattered here and there across the southern Upper Egyptian Nile Valley, namely at sites such as Gebel el-Tukh (TM 119278–119279, 154405–154406, 154455),[743] Naga ed-Deir (TM 154407), Abydos (TM 119057), Coptos (Qift; TM 44966, 45041, 88367, 88374, 88376, 88424, 88426, 106350, 106378, 107275),[744] Latopolis (Esna; TM 70012), Eileithyiopolis (El-Kab; TM 702459), Apollonopolis (Edfu; TM 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003, 69992, 74234–74242, 74247, 74333–74334, 74445–74446,

[739] ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 184; DARIS, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 764–765.

[740] While the assignment to the *cohors II Thracum* was explicitly mentioned only in the case of the deceased soldier the matter of whose inheritance was dealt with in the document, it seems likely that also the witnesses, all active servicemen, including the one using Latin, came from the same military unit.

[741] From amongst the Greek visitor's graffiti from the Valley of the Kings, one was written by the commanding officer in charge of the local military camp, presumably from the time of late antiquity (284–641 CE), BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1733; see also CUVIGNY, CdÉ 77(153–154), 239–240. In addition, Maxfield (in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 422) proposed to tentatively identify two of the visitors to the colossi of Memnon as commanders of the *cohors III Ituraeorum* and speculated that it could have been stationed in Thebes.

[742] Cf. e.g. the case of L. Tanicius Verus (TM 93162), see also e.g. ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 56–58, or amongst various other similar cases, the officers assigned to the auxiliary units stationed at Syene (e.g. TM 106171, 121990, 128447–128448).

[743] See section 2.6.3. below.

[744] See section 1.4.4. above.

79287) Contra Apollonopolis (TM 154466), Gebel el-Silsila (TM 701089), and Kannaqah (106164, CIL III, no. 13581), as well as the only very roughly provenanced 'Florida ostraca' (TM 69865–69866, 74522–74524, 389951).[745] Again, these were mostly sites with attested military presence, at some of them by the texts as such.[746] Nonetheless, the relevant textual record is too meagre for any reliable evaluation of the spread of Latin in these regions, at their sites and in their military communities. The situation could, nevertheless, be in general comparable to Thebes.

[745] *Inter alia* BAGNALL/CRIBIORE, CdÉ 85(169–170), 221–223; in general see esp. BAGNALL, O. Florida.
[746] Cf. e.g. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 418–424.

2. Typological and functional analysis

2.0. Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the functional characteristics of the corpus of Latin texts recovered from Egypt and Nubia. It is evident and long acknowledged that Latin was mostly spread in the military milieu of the society,[747] that it was also cultivated especially in the field of law,[748] and that it was often applied on various official occasions, both within and beyond both abovementioned domains.[749] However, this cursory overview has much potential of being refined and supplemented by elaborating on particular niches most prominently occupied by Latin, from within the abovementioned domains, further specifying the social groups involved, and touching on some aspects of how exactly it was used. Accordingly, the following analyses, focusing on the content of the texts, are aimed in three distinct directions, that is primarily their typology (2.0.1.), and secondarily the persons they mention (2.0.2.) and whether and in what way Latin interacts in them with other languages, mainly but not only Greek (2.0.3.).

Within the three domains described above – the army, law, and official sphere in general – Latin strongly, but not exclusively, realised its role as the 'language of power' (of the Roman Empire). In this regard, the present thesis draws, follows, and elaborates especially on the findings of Adams who, in his seminal work *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*,[750] thoroughly examined and aptly described this and other aspects of the use of Latin in interaction with Greek on the basis of evidence coming from Egypt in particular. He argues that, in regard to the dynamics between the two (and other) languages in Egypt, it is not possible to delineate them in simple terms, namely referring to the clearly-cut hierarchical opposition of low and high language as embodied in the concept of diglossia.[751] While not abandoning this model altogether, he especially points out that Latin had the capacity to serve occasionally as a 'super-high' language assuming the emblematic quality of symbolising the power/authority of the Roman empire as well as by extension of the institutions, offices, and their members and

[747] E.g. Adams, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 527; Derda, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 52; Depauw, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 501; Dickey, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 149; Evans, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 518; Iovine, in Capasso et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 550; Palme, in Bagnall (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, 259; Papaconstantinou (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 5; Torallas Tovar/Vierros, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 488.

[748] E.g. Bonati, In die Skriflig / In Luce Verbi 53(2), 3–4; Derda, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 52; Evans, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 518; Fournet, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 425; Papaconstantinou (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 6; Torallas Tovar/Vierros, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 488.

[749] E.g. Depauw, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 501; Evans, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 518; Fournet, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 421–422; Papaconstantinou (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 5; Torallas Tovar/Vierros, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 488; Yiftach-Firanko/Vandorpe, in Vandorpe (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 197–198.

[750] Adams, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 383–403, 537–541, 545–576; 597–623; 630–637; 757–759; see also Fournet, in Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, esp. 424–425 focusing in particular on the period of late antiquity (284–641 CE).

[751] Adams, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 537–541; Ferguson, Word 15.

holders it was delegated to. In fact, the role of Latin as language of power could manifest itself in its choice over Greek, and more specifically in 'code-switching', that is changing between the languages in a single text,[752] across a considerably wide range of situations.

Besides this aspect, there were also other factors which could separately or together enter into the choice of Latin used in Egypt and Nubia. Most notably they included the actual knowledge of Latin or the availability of scribes commanding it, various forms of accommodation, its being one's mother tongue, or simple otherwise motivated personal choices.[753] In comparison with the language of power symbolic, these reasons seem to be much more scarcely, in fact rather more subtly, involved. While possibly working together, it is often hard to resolve the particular motivations standing in the background of individual texts.[754]

2.0.1. Typological analysis

Based on their overall content, the individual pieces of texts were classified in two tiers. First, they were assigned to widely defined classes[755] which was followed by the determination of the particular textual type(s) they represented. For 127 textual specimens, representing 9.85 % of the entire corpus, it was not possible to at least tentatively assign them to any of the broadly defined classes. This was mostly due to their bad state of preservation hampering any reasonable assessment of their contents. A few specimens fell through this tier of classification on account of the general closeness of and ambiguity between legal and administrative texts (TM 69890, 70035, 70083, 70090, 78529). Rather than risking the bias they potentially bring, they were excluded from most of the following analyses and discussions. Some specimens could also meet the characteristics of two or more different classes/types[756] or comprising more distinctly classified parts. The present thesis mostly follows the conventional classifications of ancient textual types,[757] however, with some adjustments and elaborations applied to meet the particular aims of the analyses performed.[758] Intentionally, the conventional separation of papyrological and epigraphic evidence is disregarded, while this distinction still largely corresponds also to functional differences between particular classes of texts. Four mostly papyrological classes cover the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts (2.1.), legal texts (2.2.), administrative texts (2.3.), and letters (2.4.). The following three classes comprise mainly epigraphic evidence of dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones (2.5.), visitors' graffiti (2.6.), and funerary inscriptions (2.7.).

[752] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. xx–xxi, 18– 29, 297–305.
[753] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 541–543, 545, 589–599, 630–637.
[754] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 590–593.
[755] See also Tab. 2.1. below.
[756] E.g. letters, the form of which could be regularly applied to other types of documents, see subchapter 2.4. below.
[757] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, *passim*, esp. 358–394; BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy.
[758] Esp. literary, subliterary and paraliterary texts (subchapter 2.1.), dedications (sections 2.5.1.–2.5.3.), and visitors' graffiti (subchapter 2.6.).

2.0.2. Personnel

The people identifiable in the textual content of individual pieces of Latin evidence from Egypt hold special informational value for evaluating the context they should be set into.[759] The relevance and weight of each such person for the analyses varies depending on their relation to the particular text. There is naturally a significant difference between the originators of the texts, intermediaries, who could have created them in their stead, and beneficiaries, for the benefit of, honouring of, or receival by whom they were composed, on the one side and persons they just plainly mention on the other. Nonetheless, 386 specimens of texts, representing 29.95 % of the entire corpus, were preserved as completely anonymous. Members of the military were directly engaged – that is as originators, intermediaries, or beneficiaries – with 299 texts (23.20 %). Overall, 461 pieces of texts (35.76 %) were connected more broadly to the military sphere, including also specimens mentioning soldiers or otherwise touching on matters of the military. Thus, it was indeed the army which was the main source of Latin evidence coming from Egypt and Nubia.[760] Other groups were in general much less involved in using Latin. The rulers and their houses (71, 5.51 %) and administrative officials down to the municipal level (169, 13.11 %) were the only other groups with above marginal representation.

2.0.3. Bilingualism

A large part of 421 texts, representing 32.66 % of the entire corpus, were bilingual, comprising also passages in other language(s) than Latin.[761] Besides the dominating Greek, Latin in six cases interacted with Demotic (TM 14399, 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003, 70137), all administrative texts mostly from Apollonopolis (Edfu), once, in the trilingual stele of Cornelius Gallus (TM 80859), with hieroglyphic Egyptian, thrice with Egyptian/Coptic (TM 18454, 64837, 128465), and once with Gothic, in a bilingual Bible (TM 61726), and Hebrew with Aramaic (TM 113869). The Greek, or other language, passages represented in 121 specimens a full or partial translation or close paraphrase of their Latin texts, in 321 they represented original additions to their other parts. Actually, in as many as 172 bilingual specimens, representing 13.34 % of the entire corpus, Latin was used for only minor portions of the (preserved) texts, be it for specific words, short citations, or dominantly for marginal mostly formulaic additions and subscriptions, which are discussed in more detail below.[762]

[759] See also Tab. 2.1. below.
[760] Cf. similar results of topographic analysis in subchapter 1.6. above.
[761] See also Tab. 2.1. below.
[762] See esp. section 2.4.1. below, inter alia also section 2.2.3., 2.3.4. below.

	Overall	Personnel (originators, intermediaries, beneficiaries)				Bilingual texts		
		Military	Administrative	Rulers	Other	Overall	Translation	Other text
Overall	1289	299	169	71	45	421	121	321
Literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts	230	–	–	–	3	104	61	49
Legal texts	179	33	61	15	4	121	22	108
Administrative texts	252	53	19	–	22	101	7	97
Letters	142	37	26	3	11	36	4	32
Dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones	103	48	41	51	2	15	14	4
Visitors' graffiti	140	42	21	2	4	17	2	15
Funerary inscriptions	121	82	–	–	2	11	10	1
Uncertain	127	4	1	–	–	19	1	18

Tab. 2.1. The overview of typological classes, personnel directly engaged in the texts (originators, intermediaries, beneficiaries), and bilingual texts and their basic characteristics. Some text may at the same time fall into two or more categories within the same column/row. The class of legal texts excludes pieces of legal literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts;[763] the class of letters excludes other documents formally composed as letters.[764]

[763] See subchapter 2.1. below.
[764] See subchapter 2.4. below.

2.1. Literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts[765]

Various works of classical literature and various texts from the categories of subliterary and paraliterary texts were captured by 230 fragments, representing 17.84 % of the entire corpus. Unsurprisingly, in the vast majority of the specimens the original compositions were preserved only very partially. Substantial passages of the original literary works were preserved by only several pieces (TM 59453, 59458, 59956, 61415, 61873, 62793, 62954, 62963–62964, 66271, 66432). More often than the other classes, the literary texts could have been written elsewhere in the Roman Empire and only imported to Egypt (e.g. TM 59328, 61415, 61434, 61726). In Hellenised/Romanised societies the literature and its knowledge played an important part in constructing their cultural identities. Naturally, this was largely restricted to educated middle and higher classes. For them, the consumption and reflection of literature, as well as one's own literary pursuits belonged to the idealised lifestyle of Roman nobility as part of the active leisure (*otium*) they should aspire to.[766] Unsurprisingly, the major 'artistic' genres (2.1.1.) stood in the focus of such activities. It is generally not possible to judge to what extent exactly the collection of Latin literary texts recovered from Roman Egypt fulfilled such a role. It was certainly not beyond marginal. Only very rarely (TM 69980, 704273[767]) could it be glimpsed that such texts in fact reflected and expressed the cultural (and religious) identities of members of the Roman Egyptian society. It was other more 'practical' reasons which served as the chief stimuli behind the dissemination of Latin literature in Egypt.[768] This was clearly the case of the collection of literary and mainly subliterary texts, comprising various pieces of professional mainly juristic literature (2.1.2.). A special category of texts is represented by a small collection of fragments of Latin Christian literature (2.1.3.). Finally, some of the texts belonging to the category of professional literature, but also many from both other categories, as well as almost all paraliterary texts, were demonstrably involved in the teaching of Latin. As such, this phenomenon is dealt with separately in the final section (2.1.4.) of this subchapter.

[765] In the scholarly discourse, there are no clearly defined divisions between texts referred to as 'literary' and closely related categories of 'subliterary' and 'paraliterary', with the two latter posing as especially elusive terms (cf. e.g. ELLIOT/BAGNALL, 'Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri Launched', in INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT WORLD, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, https://isaw.nyu.edu/news/dclp-201712; RENNER, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology; VERHOOGT, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 4). In the present thesis, these terms are applied as follows: Any pieces of texts which could be discerned as representing some distinguishable coherent 'work' or composition with recognisable transmission history, or at least including its excerpts, are regarded as either literary or subliterary. Texts not meeting this minimal requirement are considered as paraliterary. Especially, but not exclusively, compositions of a clearly prevailing professionally technical nature are regarded as subliterary. Nonetheless, in some cases these divisions still remain unsharp. In regard to this, but mainly also because of the research questions tackled by the present thesis, all of these types of texts are dealt with in a single subchapter and as its part categorised rather along the lines of their functional aspects.

[766] E.g. DAMICO, Otium: Roman views on the proper use of leisure; for Egypt in particular see e.g. BENAISSA/REMIJSEN, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 381–387.

[767] See section 1.4.7. above; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in AMDEN et al. (eds.), Festskrift til Christian Marinus Taisbak - 80 år, https://aigis.igl.ku.dk/aigis/CMT80/ABJ-Vergil.pdf.

[768] See e.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 62; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428; GAEBEL, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 52; SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ, ZPE 187, 152.

2.1.1. Major 'artistic' genres

Passages from works of various canonical and less illustrious authors were captured by 89 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 6.90 % of the entire corpus. Individual authors and works and their quantity reflect well their general significance and popularity in classical antiquity. Tellingly, the trio of best represented authors comprised of an epic poet, an orator, and a historian, each arguably the most eminent personage in his field. Expectedly, Vergil[769] was by far the best represented writer with the *Aeneid* recognisable in 25 instances (TM 62949–62950, 62952, 62954, 62957–62966, 62968–62971, 62973, 64953, 69980, 704169, 704273, 704634, 754183), from that once in epitomised form (TM 62965),[770] followed by Georgics with 3 (TM 62956, 62967, 97904) and Bucolics with 2 attestations (TM 62946, 62955), altogether representing 33.71 % of texts of this category. The orations of Cicero[771] appeared in 12 pieces of evidence (TM 59453, I, 59454–59462, 316150, 642457), representing 13.48 % of texts of this category, with 6 bearing passages of the *Catilinarians* (TM 59453, I, 59455, 59457, 59460, 316150, 642457) and 4 of the speeches *In Verrem* (TM 59454, 59458, 59461–59462). His philosophical and rhetorical dialogues were strikingly, but at least in the former case not so surprisingly, missing. Sallust was represented by 7 fragments (TM 62687–62693), representing 7.87 % of texts of this category, 3 of them from the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (TM 62688, 62690–62691), 2 from the *De Catilinae Coniuratione* (TM 62689, 62693), and 2 from the only fragmentarily preserved *Historiae* (TM 62687, 62692).

Other historians were represented most notably by 3 fragments of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (TM 61429–61431), with 1 of the fragments representing an unpreserved part (TM 61431) and 1 epitomised version of the monumental opus (TM 61429). A remarkable fragment of a parchment codex comprising thirteen extant leaves from Wadi el-Natrun was a twice reused palimpsest. The latest text written on its pages was a Syriac translation of a piece of patristic literature, which was preceded by a grammatical treatise (TM 66270), and finally relatively extensive portions of the *Annales* of Granius Licinianus (TM 66271), who drew for them both from Sallust and Livy.[772] In addition, there was also a fragment dealing with the Macedonian wars (TM 63237), perhaps attributable to L. Arruntius, another follower of Sallust.[773] Another fragment of historiographical literature (TM 63328) was only recently attributed to the little known 2nd-century-BCE annalist Vennonius.[774] One more piece of Latin prose (TM 59453, IV) was recognised amongst various other Greek and Latin texts[775] in a torso of a papyrus codex

[769] For the overview of the preserved ancient fragments of Vergil see also esp. Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae.
[770] The earlier books (I–VI) were interestingly much better represented (22) than the later ones (VII–XII; 5), with book I being the most common (10).
[771] For the overview (excluding TM 642457) of the preserved ancient fragments of Cicero see also Sánchez-Ostiz, ZPE 187.
[772] For the manuscript see Pertz, Gai Grani Liciniani Annalium quae supersunt ex codice ter scripto Musei Britannici Londinensis; For Granius Licinianus in general see esp. Criniti, in Haase (ed.), ANRW II/34/1.
[773] Kouznetsov, BASP 47, esp. 123–127.
[774] Adamo, ZPE 202, 82; see also RE, s.v. Vennonius 1.
[775] See also TM 59453, I above and TM 59453, II, 59453, III below in this section.

preserving fifty-two individual folia, the so-called Montserrat *Miscellaneus Codex*.[776] It was a previously unknown text, namely a novelised biography of the emperor Hadrian.[777]

Amongst the pieces of the poetic genres, there was only one other specimen of Latin epic, namely preserving four incomplete verses from Lucan's *Pharsalia* (TM 61434). Roman lyric poets were represented chiefly by the notorious find of several previously unknown couplets of Cornelius Gallus from Qasr Ibrim (TM 59474),[778] but also by an extensive and valuable torso of Juvenal's *Satire VII* (TM 61415).[779] There was also a piece of papyrus from Hawara (TM 62949) interpreted to contain a scribal exercise, arguably of an aspiring calligrapher.[780] The lesson comprised of repeated copying of selected hexametric lines, with not even half preserved of any of them. Nonetheless, two of the samples could be identified as verses from the *Aeneid*, while the third was tentatively recognised as likely representing a line from Horace's influential *Ars Poetica*.[781] A previously unknown piece of Latin poetry (TM 59453, III) was found in the Montserrat *Miscellaneus Codex*. It was a hexametric composition commonly referred to as *Alcestis Barcinonensis*, telling the mythological story of the sacrifice of Alcestis for her husband Admetus.[782] Dramatic texts were included in the form of 2 fragments of the *Andria* by Terence (TM 62793–62794). An ambiguous dialogical text (TM 63824) could be tentatively suggested to be another piece of Roman comedy, perhaps a rare example of a *fabula togata* by L. Afranius.[783] Last but not least, there was also a papyrus preserving a few dozen lines from the tragedy *Medea* written by Seneca the Younger (TM 62719) shedding important new light on the development of the textual tradition of the play.[784]

Apart from original Latin works, there were also several fragments preserving translations of Greek literary pieces (TM 59039, 59041, 59043, 59335, 61384). On 3 pieces of papyri, passages from Aesopic fables were extant (TM 59039, 59041, 59043). In one case there was also the original Greek texts on the recto of the papyrus (TM 59043); in another piece, what was probably an ending of one fable in Latin was followed by a different story in Greek (TM 59039). Two more pieces were both excerpts of literary works parallelly translated from Greek to Latin as part of a school exercise, namely passages from two orations of Isocrates (TM 61384) and from stories of another fabulist Babrius (TM 59335).[785] Of yet another kind was a fragment capturing a famous episode from the Alexander Romance, the meeting with gymnosophists

[776] Since its purchase by Roca-Puig in 1955, who brought it to Montserrat, the manuscript has attracted much scholarly attention with various editions of its texts and other studies dealing with the piece published over the years. For a useful overview and references see GHIGO/TORALLAS TOVAR, in BUZI (ed.), Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.), 101–105; see also DVCTVS, https://dvctvs.upf.edu/dvctvs_en.html.
[777] BERG, L'"Hadrianus" de Montserrat; P. Monts. Roca III.
[778] See esp. ANDERSON et al., JRS 69; see also section 1.5.3. above.
[779] See esp. ROBERTS, JEA 21; see also section 1.2.4. above.
[780] DOW, JRS 58, 70.
[781] DOW, JRS 58, 60–62.
[782] *Inter alia* NOCCHI MACEDO, L'Alceste de Barcelone (P. Monts. Roca inv. 158-161); ROCA PUIG, Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins.
[783] DINGEL, ZPE 10; but cf. BADER, ZPE 12.
[784] MARKUS/SCHWENDNER, ZPE 117, esp. 73.
[785] RE, s.v. *Babrios*; see also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 725–732.

(TM 63240). While written in Latin script, the text itself was in Greek. It has been argued that the piece in fact formed part of a Latin learning handbook.[786]

2.1.2. Professional literature

Fragments of writings dedicated to vocationally specific matters, including several specialised paraliterary specimens, comprised 74 pieces, representing 32.17 % of literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts. The vast majority of them (63, 85.14 %) were pieces used in the field of law.

Almost all juristic texts came from the period of late antiquity (284–641 CE) when the Latin language became more tightly interwoven with the practice of law in Egypt than ever before,[787] and Alexandria housed one of the prominent schools of higher education including law.[788] Only 7 texts were older (TM 59955, 62938, 63275, 63954, 66432, 67356, 68710), including as the earliest and best preserved specimen of the written version of a senatorial speech of the emperor Claudius (TM 66432) touching on matters of procedural legislation.[789] From the 3rd century CE, there were two fragments containing passages of works of two principal Roman jurists, Gaius (TM 59955) and Ulpian (TM 62938).

The works of Ulpian, a jurist and praetorian prefect of the late Severans,[790] were the most common in general with 8 individual specimens (TM 61414, 62938–62941, 62944–62945, 64538). Gaius was overall represented by 2 fragments (TM 59955–59956), same as Iulius Paulus (TM 62359–62360). Another author, Papinianus, appeared as the only quoted author also in 2 instances (TM 64566, 117810). All of these authors belonged amongst the most influential jurists, moreover, canonised by the 'Law of Citations' of 426 CE.[791] As such their texts had not only scholarly but also authoritative significance.

The principal corpora of Roman law from the time of late antiquity (284–641 CE) were represented by 2 specimens of the *Codex Theodosianus* (TM 64820, 64881), and by 10 pieces capturing parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian I, namely the *Codex Iustinianus* (TM 61411, 64695, 65031, 65083), *Digesta* (TM 61408, 61410–61411, 61413, 64748, 957501) – once in an epitomised version (TM 61408) –, and *Novellae* (TM 64707). Besides the pieces of evidence attributable to various well-known legal works, there were also numerous fragments (38, 51.35 %) of closely unrecognisable pieces of legal writing, including amongst others various commentaries or (commented) excerpts.

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[786] CIRIELLO/STRAMAGLIA, AfP 44(2), esp. 221, 227.

[787] E.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 57; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 36–40; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, esp. 989–991; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496; ZILLIACUS, Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich, esp. 86–97; see also subchapter 3.5. below.

[788] E.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 243–250; CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 51–58, esp. 57; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 43; RIGGSBY, in BLOOMER (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Education, 449–450.

[789] See esp. BUONGIORNO, JJP 40.

[790] E.g. RE, s.v. *Domitius 88*.

[791] Codex Theodosianus, esp. 1.4.3.; see also *inter alia* PUGSLEY, Comparative law Review LI(2), 1–5; Comparative Law Review LI(2), WATSON, The law of the ancient Romans, 90–91; WATSON, Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis/Legal History Review 34(3); cf. also RIGGSBY, in BLOOMER (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Education, 449.

Especially some of the excerpts or commentaries may have been very well utilised for the purpose of educating the practitioners of law.[792] Such purpose may be presumed also for specimens of works including the apparatus in the form of scholia and/or glosses (TM 59956, 61411, 61413, 62939, 154379). Such treatment was given to fragments of the *Codex Iustinianus* and *Digesta* (TM 61411, 61413) and the works of Gaius (TM 59956) and Ulpian (TM 62939). A considerable grounding for the students of law could have been offered also by the reading of some works from the rank of 'artistic' literature, namely the orations of Cicero. In particular, the contents of the scholia and/or glosses added to manuscripts of his first *Catilinarian* (TM 59457) and *Divinatio in Caecilium* (TM 59459) indicate this.[793]

Besides the field of law, 6 of the remaining professional texts (TM 59433, 63821, 63851, 64602, 64235, 66270) were handbooks used in the context of Latin language education or alternatively its use on a professional level. As such they are dealt with in one of the following sections (2.1.4.). Related to a completely different sphere was a fragment containing a recipe (TM 109284), which involved processing of the iris plant for apothecarial rather than for culinary utilisation.[794] Even more enigmatic was a partial text representing a listing of various pieces of fine arts (TM 63821). Its interpretation remains rather speculative,[795] as perhaps more than in other cases it is hampered by the missing context of the preserved passage.

2.1.3. Christian literature

Christian religious texts formed only a minor part of the collection with 16 pieces of evidence, representing 1.24 % of the entire corpus.[796] Most common were fragments of various biblical texts captured on 11 individual fragments (TM 34796, 35623–35624, 61647, 61726, 61867, 61873, 62044, 62073, 62089, 64857), comprising 68.75 % of Latin Christian texts from Egypt. Attested books from the Old Testament included Genesis (TM 62044, 34796), Exodus (TM 62073), Esther (TM 62089), Job (TM 35623), Psalms (TM 64857), and Ecclesiasticus (TM 35624). The New Testament was represented by the Gospels of Luke (TM 61726), and John (TM 61647), and the Epistle to the Ephesians (TM 61867). Various Epistles, namely to the Romans, Corinthians II, Galatians, and Ephesians, were cited in a Greek-Latin glossary kept in the Chester Beaty Library (TM 61873).[797] All extant Latin biblical fragments from Egypt featured the *Vetus Latina* (*Itala*) translation.[798] In the case of the bilingual Gothic-Latin bible fragment from Antinoopolis (TM 61726), it was its distinct version typically appearing alongside the Gothic translation and in other similar contexts.[799] Another bilingual biblical parchment combined the Latin text with the Greek original (TM 61867).

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[792] Esp. BONATI, In die Skriflig / In Luce Verbi 53(2), 3–8.
[793] BONATI, In die Skriflig / In Luce Verbi 53(2), 5–6.
[794] BILABEL, Οψαρτυτικα und Verwandtes, 26–33, esp. 28–29.
[795] E.g. MARICHAL, CdÉ 30(60), 349–355.
[796] In general see also FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429.
[797] Esp. DICKEY, New Testament Studies 65(1).
[798] While the St. Jerome's revision (Vulgate) had been finished already by the late 4th century CE, it started to supersede the *Vetus Latina* only much later and, thus, its absence in Egypt is not surprising, e.g. BOGAERT, in MARDSEN/MATTER (eds.), The New Cambridge History of the Bible 2, esp. 69–80; for the *Vetus Latina* in general see e.g. BOGAERT, in PAGET/SHAPER (eds.), The New Cambridge History of the Bible 1, 505–514.
[799] GLAUE/HELM, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 11, *passim*.

One of the only two pieces of Latin patristic literature was identified in several fragments recovered from the *genizah* of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo.[800] The codex was a palimpsest reused for another religious text in Hebrew, under which, however, various passages from writings by St. Augustine could be identified (TM 59328). Such codices with collections of Augustinian works were relatively commonly compiled during late antiquity (284–641 CE). The Egyptian specimen included namely *Contra Sermonem Arrianorum*, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, *Sermo* 118, and *Sermo* 225.[801] A papyrus with a school exercise from Oxyrhynchus (TM 64857) contained besides other cited pieces of Christian literature also a quote from *De Trinitate sive de Fide contra Arrianos* by Faustinus of Brescia.[802]

There was also the otherwise unknown Latin *Hymn to the Virgin Mary* amongst the other texts from the Montserrat *Miscellaneus Codex* (TM 59453, II).[803] Besides these, there were also 4 other unidentified Latin texts (TM 62323, 64321, 220486, 220487), likewise representing various Christian religious genres.

2.1.4. Literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts – Latin language education, everyday and professional use

Greek and various forms of Egyptian were the mother tongues of the vast majority of inhabitants of Roman Egypt. Thus, most of them, if they did so, learned Latin only as their second or third language. Some 103 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 44.78 % of the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts, could be (tentatively) identified as having a tangible link to the acquisition, improvement, and supporting of language skills. While texts aimed at the primary users of Greek, or alternatively Coptic (TM 64837)[804] and possibly Hebrew (TM 113869),[805] clearly predominated, there were also rare specimens apparently aimed for the use by native speakers of Latin (e.g. TM 65244, 128465). The first of these texts was a glossary aimed at acquiring some basic quotidian Greek vocabulary (TM 65244).[806] There was also a remarkable ostracon recovered from Maximianon (El-Zarqa) in the Eastern Desert (TM 128465). It contained a list of Roman numerals accompanied by corresponding words from the Egyptian/Coptic language spelled out in Latin script.[807] As attested by the evidence discussed below, the education of Latin language in Egypt was facilitated by a complex and refined system of instruction covering everything from the basics of writing and reading to the active use of the written and spoken language on a professional level. This was achieved through the help of a diverse range of textual types.[808]

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[800] Also the so-called Cairo Genizah, e.g. STILLMAN et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World, s.v. *Cairo Geniza: General Survey and History of Discovery*.
[801] HOUGHTON, Sacris Eruditi 68.
[802] E.g. RE, s.v. *Faustinus 16*.
[803] ROCA-PUIG, Himne a la Verge Maria.
[804] DICKEY, ZPE 193; see also AMMIRATI/FRESSURA, JJP 47, 20–21.
[805] E.g. LOEWE, Journal of Theological Studies 24, 129.
[806] KRAMER, AfP 50(1), 52–53.
[807] CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 446.
[808] For Latin language education in Egypt in general see *inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 623–630; AMMIRATI/FRESSURA, JJP 47; BONATI, In die Skriflig / In Luce Verbi 53(2); CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, esp. 57–63; DICKEY, Learning the Latin the Ancient Way; DICKEY, The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana; SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti; ROCHETTE, Aegyptus 76, esp.

While it was also possible to learn the Latin language, or at least some elements of it, without the knowledge of the Latin script,[809] picking up the Latin alphabet stood at the very baseline of such education.[810] From the 8 specimens of complete or partial Latin alphabets (TM 61873, 63313, 64602, 65469, 68675, 100143, 703232, 968595), 6 represented pattern abecedaries. They were typically accompanied by Greek equivalents or pronunciations. At least 2 of them apparently aimed at acquiring a skill of writing in particular kinds of script (TM 64602, 68675). The other 2 alphabets were part of writing exercises inked by the pupils (TM 65469, 968595).

In the next step, the students could use dedicated word lists to acquire the basics of vocabulary (e.g. TM 63424)[811] and grammar (e.g. TM 64909, 67946, 171906). Such texts belonged to a larger formally variable class of glossaries which could much more commonly serve plainly as dictionaries, for use both in education and beyond. They often compiled words based on their thematic affinity (e.g. TM 63291, 64815, 67947, 171907). Amongst the Latin texts related to language education there were 34 fragments of various kinds of glossaries,[812] representing 33.01 % of them.

A special type of schooling aid also formally related to glossaries were literary and dedicated subliterary compositions broken down into short lines accompanied by a translation in strictly parallel columns. Namely, such teaching materials were included in the so-called *colloquia*,[813] exemplified from Egypt by the fragment of the *Colloquium Harleianum* kept by the National Library in Prague (TM 64769)[814] or a rare Latin-Greek-Coptic trilingual specimen (TM 64837),[815] as well as often the deliberately adjusted specimens of the *Aeneid* (TM 62954, 62958, 62962–62963, 62967–62968, 62970, 64953, 704169) or the *Catilinarians* of Cicero (TM 59455, 59457, 316150).[816]

Both authors appeared also as texts copied by pupils for their school exercises (TM 59460, 62949, 62971, 97904). Other such texts with recognisable literary patterns included the abovementioned papyrus with Christian literature quotes (TM 64857), and two more consisting of translated passages from Greek authors (TM 59335, 61384). Overall, there were 24 Latin school exercises, representing 23.30 % of the presently discussed group.

70–79; ROCHETTE, Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain, 165–210.

[809] This seems to be attested by a relatively frequent occurrence of textual educational instruments in which Latin passages were rendered in Greek script (TM 27520, 63291–63292, 63532, 63603, 63848, 64163, 64454, 64837, 65514, 66430, 67946–67947, 100062, 100125, 171907–171908, 971876); see esp. DICKEY, Learning the Latin the Ancient Way, 121–127.

[810] E.g. DICKEY, Learning the Latin the Ancient Way, 119–120.

[811] CUVIGNY, O. Claud. II, no. 415.

[812] E.g. AMMIRATI/FRESSURA, JJP 47; DICKEY, Learning the Latin the Ancient Way, 100–115; DICKEY, The Classical Quarterly 71(1); DICKEY, ZPE 175; KRAMER, AfP 50(1); KRAMER, Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta.

[813] E.g. DICKEY, Learning the Latin the Ancient Way, 10–88; DICKEY, The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana.

[814] DICKEY, ZPE 180; P. Prag. II, no. 118.

[815] DICKEY, ZPE 193; see also AMMIRATI/FRESSURA, JJP 47, 20–21.

[816] Esp. DICKEY, The Classical Quarterly 65(2); FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I; GAEBEL, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 52; SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ, ZPE 187.

Indeed, not only copying and translating, but naturally also the reading of canonised authors stood at the very heart of the Latin language education. The more advanced students no longer needed the parallel translations and could manage with the aid of an accompanying apparatus in the form of scholia and/or glosses. Such sidenotes were present in 14 manuscript fragments, in 9 instances written in Greek (TM 59956, 61411, 61413, 62689, 62719 62793–62794, 62939, 154379), 2 in Latin (TM 62956, 62959), and 2 in both (TM 59459, 61415[817]). Specifically, the literary works equipped with scholia and/or glosses included the *Aeneid* (TM 62959) and *Georgics* (TM 62956) of Vergil, the *Divinatio in Caecilium* (TM 59459) and the first *Catilinarian* (TM 59457) of Cicero, *De Catilinae Coniuratione* of Sallust (TM 62689), the *Satire VII* of Juvenal (TM 61415), *Andria* of Terence (TM 62793–62794), and *Medea* of Seneca the Younger (TM 62719). The remaining pieces were legal codices (TM 61411, 61413) and treatises (TM 59956, 62939, 154379), used not as much for teaching the language as such, but rather to acquire deeper juristic knowledge.[818]

Finally, the learning was also facilitated with the help of various handbooks.[819] They could have the form of a seemingly random collection of texts suitable for teaching. This was apparently the case of the Montserrat *Miscellaneus Codex* (TM 59453, I–IV),[820] which in its Greek part included amongst others also an aid for stenographic writing.[821] A fragmentary stand-alone manual for professional writing was found at Antinoopolis (TM 64602), together with samples of various kinds of Latin script.[822] Another dedicated instrument was a collection of Latin and Greek patterns for writing letters (TM 64278). There were also several examples of scholarly treatises dedicated to philological topics, namely fragments of treatises of which one (TM 63851) has been proposed to have been authored by the 1st-century-CE grammarian Remmius Palaemon,[823] another (TM 59433) perhaps attributable to the 4th-century-CE scholar Charisius,[824] and a fragment of a commentary on the major works of Donatus (TM 66270),[825] found on the same palimpsest codex as the abovementioned *Annales* of Granius Licinianus (TM 66271).

The make-up of literary texts appearing in various forms in the context of Latin language education demonstrate clearly the hierarchy and specifics of the utilisation of particular works for such purpose. The pivotal role in the teaching system was played firstly by the best represented works, Vergil's *Aeneid* and the orations of Cicero, regarded as paramount works of Latin poetry and prose respectively, which were introduced to the pupils already during the early stages of learning. Secondly, later in the education, these writings were supplemented amongst others by Sallust, perhaps the highest-regarded historian, Terence, and Juvenal; all

[817] The scholia and glosses accompanying this manuscript were notably recognised to have been written by two different hands. Both commentators, however, authored entries in both Latin and Greek, ROBERTS, JEA 21, 201.
[818] See also above.
[819] Esp. SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti.
[820] E.g. FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429; for further references see also GHIGO/TORALLAS TOVAR, in BUZI (ed.), Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.), 104, footnote no. 31.
[821] P. Monts. Roca I.
[822] See section 1.2.4. above; MILNE, Greek Shorthand Manuals, 8–9.
[823] E.g. SWIGGERS, Aegyptus 64; for Remmius Palaemon, see e.g. RE, s.v. *Remmius 4*.
[824] SCAPPATICCIO, Aegyptus 88, esp. 48; for Charisius see e.g. RE, s.v. *Charisios 8*.
[825] *Inter alia* DE PAOLIS, in DE NONNO et al. (eds.), Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance; DE PAOLIS, in GARCÍA LEAL/PRIETO ENTRIALGO (eds.), Latin Vulgaire - Latin Tardif XI.

of them deemed suitable for education not only for their literary qualities but also strongly moralist message. Strikingly, also the remaining literary fragments, not showing any explicit indication of involvement with the field of education, fit very well into this pattern. Thus, it is possible to presume that in many cases also such texts possibly and likely served schooling. It seems to suggest that educational demands were indeed the main driving force behind the acquisition and keeping of Latin literature in Egypt.

2.2. Legal texts

The Latin documents produced as a part of the establishment and the practice of law in Egypt[826] amounted to 179 individual pieces, representing 13.89 % of the entire corpus. Some more documents (esp. TM 44495, 69881, 78531, 131574), classified as administrative texts in the present thesis and as such dealt with in detail in the following subchapter, were close to legal texts by their contents and/or form. In order to establish a clear distinguishing line between the two classes, such documents which were legally binding in themselves were included in the present class while others, even if secondary products of legally binding acts, were considered as administrative texts. Several pieces of Latin textual evidence represented normative acts issued by the highest institutions of the state or the province (2.2.1.). A large homogenous group of bilingual judicial proceedings was typical for the period of late antiquity (284–641 CE; 2.2.2.). On the other hand, relatively diverse texts forming a rather broadly defined subclass of personal documents were mostly confined to the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE; 2.2.3.). Apart from focusing on similar issues, namely the personal status and property of Roman citizens, they were also characterised by some shared formal features, most manifestly the regular use of more durable materials for their recording such as wood or even metal. The Latin legal texts were otherwise exclusively written on papyrus, clearly avoiding less prestigious writing media such as pottery ostraca. Another smaller subclass encompassed various contracts including loans (2.2.4.). Latin was also used for several singular pieces of other documents, especially legal petitions (2.2.5.).

2.2.1. Governmental constitutions

The common laws, typically and mostly preserved as parts of the major corpora of late antiquity (284–641 CE), were dealt with in the previous subchapter.[827] This section focuses rather on uncodified more *ad hoc* normative acts issued and guaranteed by the supreme ruling power as well as lower authorities representing the government. At the same time, the individual specimens of the former may be presumed to have served rather in more theoretical scholarly contexts, the latter discussed here were clearly of practical focus. Such

[826] *Inter alia* JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 61–64; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest; MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, *passim*; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D.; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I, esp. 148–200; YIFTACH-FIRANKO, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology; YIFTACH-FIRANKO/VANDORPE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt.

[827] See section 2.1.2. above.

constitutions (edicts, rescripts, and *codicilli imperatoris*)[828] using Latin were preserved in 15 pieces of texts, representing just 8.38 % of the class, at the same time equally distributed across the whole duration of the analysed period of Egyptian history. Constitutions could be cited in other documents. As such, Latin constitutions not unexpectedly twice appeared as parts of Greek legal petitions (TM 17189,[829] 31217[830]) using them as the basis for their argumentation and once more as part of another partially preserved document of an uncertain type (TM 22353). The same was suggested also for another such document (TM 69919); none of its hypothetical framework was, however, preserved.[831] In one case, several imperial edicts were excerpted focusing on the topic of the privileges of the veterans (TM 69918). They were often, especially during late antiquity (284–641 CE), sent out in the form of official letters (at least TM 22353, 69919, 69999, 70039, 70088)[832] and regularly monumentalised, which was in the case of Latin texts in Egypt exemplified by a single remarkable piece (TM 6400).

The stone plaque (TM 6400) recorded a Ptolemaic royal decree confirming a formerly granted privilege of asylum bestowed on a Jewish 'place of prayer' (*προσευχή*). The current decree was issued by the unnamed pair of the 'Queen' and the 'King', referred to in this order, while the original grant was given by 'Ptolemaios Euergetes'. At the end of the monument, the pivotal phrase constituting the authority of the Greek decree is repeated in Latin in twice as large letters: '*Regina et Rex iusser(unt).* / The Queen and the King decreed (this).'[833] As convincingly argued by Rigsby,[834] the unprovenanced inscription came from Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahudiya)[835] in the 13th Lower Egyptian nome, one of the main centres of the Egyptian Jewish community and pertained to its distinguished temple. The Ptolemies involved were almost certainly Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II as the original patron and more importantly Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesarion as the originators of the actual inscription. Such dating serves as a plausible background to explain the appearance of Latin in the Ptolemaic decree. It was at a time when the Ptolemaic kingdom had not only been a long and firmly established client state of the Roman Republic, intricately intertwined with the political, economic, and other structures of its society, but also when Egypt had already for some time housed a permanently stationed Roman military garrison.[836] Even then, Latin could have been regarded

[828] E.g. HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 102–105; JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 63; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 120–122; MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, esp. 65–70, also 84–86.

[829] See also JOHNSON et al., Ancient Roman Statutes, no. 297.

[830] See also SÄNGER, Veteranen unter den Severern und frühen Soldatenkaisern, no. 10.

[831] HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 104–105.

[832] See e.g. MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, 85.

[833] For detailed discussions of the inscription see esp. PEARCE, Transactions of the RHS 27, 46–52; RIGSBY, in DREHER (ed.), Das Antike Asyl; see also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 263–265; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 38.

[834] RIGSBY, in DREHER (ed.), Das Antike Asyl.

[835] E.g. BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of the Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Tell el-Yahudiya*; LÄ, s.v. *Tell el-Jahudija*; REDFORD (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, s.v. *Yahudiyya, Tell el-*.

[836] *Inter alia* BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 43–45; CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt. The Creation of a Roman Province, esp. 5–10, 14–17; HEILPORN, in N. BARRANDON/F. KIRBIHLER (eds.), Administrer les provinces de la République romaine, https://books.openedition.org/pur/110723; JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, esp. 253–255; HERKLOTZ, in RIGGS (ed.),

in Egypt already to a certain degree as the language of power, standing in significance over Greek. It certainly was regarded as such by the resident Romans and in particular Roman soldiers, officers, and officials. The addition of the Latin version of the principal formula of the decree guaranteed the authority of the privilege of asylum also by them who from the nature of their responsibilities could have reasons to violate it.[837] The short Latin phrase at the end of the inscription offers a striking parallel and perhaps precursor to some of the Latin subscription regularly appearing with Greek administrative and legal documents and letters.[838]

The remaining constitutions using Latin come from the time of Egypt as the Roman province and originated within the framework of the imperial legal system. Four of them could be recognised as imperial rescripts (TM 20155, 22353, 69921, 69999), that is binding decisions answering to particular petitions addressed to the emperor.[839] Slightly more common were specimens of imperial edicts (TM 69917–69918, 70088, 78415), issued on the initiative of the lawgiver.[840] Of particular interest are two other edicts issued not by the emperor but by local high provincial dignitaries (TM 18995, 70039).[841] An edict of a civil governor from the very end of the 4th century CE established the desirable procedure for administering the transport of grain (TM 70039).[842] A ducal edict from the 6th century CE regulating compensations for judicial officers (TM 18995) was preserved in the 'archive' of Dioscorus from Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau).[843] Notably, and in contrast with the imperial constitutions, both were written mainly in Greek and used Latin only for subscriptions, apparently serving for their authentication.[844] A singular remarkable piece of papyrus contained a copy of a *codicilli imperatoris* (TM 69919), originally produced as a wooden polyptych, with an appointment decree for the *praefectus Aegypti*.[845] Concerning the matters addressed by the Latin-using constitutions found in Egypt, in four cases (TM 22353, 69918, 69921, 78415) it were privileges of various social groups, in two cases of the veterans (TM 69918, 69921), in three cases it were the specifics of running the judicial (TM 18995, 69917) and administrative (TM 70039) apparatus of the province.

The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 11–12; HÖLBL, A History of the Ptolemaic Empire, 229–256; VAN 'T DACK, in: Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten.

[837] See also esp. JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 264–265.

[838] Cf. esp. sections 2.2.3., 2.3.4., 2.4.1. below.

[839] E.g. MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, *passim*, esp. 68–69.

[840] E.g. MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, *passim*, esp. 66–67.

[841] Cf. KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 121–122.

[842] See also P. Sijp., no. 23.

[843] See section 1.2.6. above.

[844] See e.g. IOVINE, Manuscripta 63(2); see also sections 2.2.3., 2.3.4., 2.4.1. below; cf. e.g. PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 58.

[845] See also esp. HAENSCH, AfP 66(1); IOVINE, CdÉ 95(189). A vivid debate concerning this document so far (see e.g. IOVINE, CdÉ 95(189), 94, footnote no. 4) did not reach a universally accepted conclusion on the identities of the *praefectus Aegypti*, the emperor, and other persons involved in this document, and consequently its dating. In the present thesis, the most widely accepted interpretation (e.g. HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 109–110; IOVINE, CdÉ 95(189), 93–94), identifying the *praefectus Aegypti* as L. Laberius Maximus (BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 276; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144) and the emperor as Domitian, as well as the recently proposed solution of HAENSCH (HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 110–114), identifying the *praefectus Aegypti* as C. Vibius Maximus (BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 280; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144) and the emperor as Traian, are both considered as equally possible.

Moreover, the other constitutions dealt also with matters of property (TM 20155, 69999) or declared amnesty on the occasion of Easter (TM 70088).[846]

2.2.2. Judicial proceedings

Recordings of judicial sessions[847] could be (tentatively) recognised on 63 individual pieces of papyri, representing 35.20 % of the legal texts. Almost all of them (59, 93.65 %) belonged to a distinctive standardised type of bilingual judicial proceedings employed during late antiquity (284–641 CE). The remaining four specimens (TM 15893, 16419, 17525, 78513) were earlier,[848] showing that until that time Latin was only seldom used for recording court sessions. Generally, the early Roman judicial proceedings represented *ad hoc* provided excerpts from larger logbooks recording various dealings of the particular office.[849] Significantly earlier than the others, the only specimen of purely Latin judicial proceedings appeared in the mid-1st century CE (TM 78513). Notably, it described a hearing of a military court, presided over by a legionary appointed by the *praefectus castrorum*, deciding an inheritance dispute between auxiliary soldiers.[850] Both the exclusively military milieu and the matter resolved may be considered as possibly influencing the choice of the language used. Interestingly in this regard, the excerpt obviously served as a *de facto* certificate for the claim of the winning party of the lawsuit and as such in fact quite close to some of the documents dealing with the inheritance discussed in the following section, relatively often rendered in Latin.[851] More judicial proceedings using

[846] See also KREUZSALER et al. (eds.), Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand, no. 61.

[847] *Inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 383–390, 557–558; COLES, Reports of Proceedings in Papyri; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 424–425; HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 482–502; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 377–426. Note also that a project aiming at significant expansion of the available body of evidence and bringing its up-to-date overview and analysis is presently underway, PALME/DOLGANOV, Roman Court Proceedings in Papyri; see also 'Roman Court Proceedings', in: Austrian Academy of Sciences, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/classical-studies/history-of-ancient-law-and-papyrology/roman-court-proceedings-in-papyri.

[848] For the judicial proceedings of the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) in general see e.g. COLES, Reports of Proceedings in Papyri; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 122–123, 145–146; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 485–492.

[849] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 485–486.

[850] See also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 492–494.

[851] Also remarkably, the fragmentarily preserved penultimate line of the extant text mentioned the Heliopolite nome (i.e. the 13th Lower Egyptian nome) and an unspecified '*castra*', apparently pointing to the region of origin of the document.

The papyrus was most probably recovered from the Fayum (P. Mich III, no. 159). It is not surprising to find it there as the winning party of the lawsuit was an army veteran (cf. section 1.2.1. above). His possible region of residence would also neatly explain his need to obtain the excerpt in the first place if he was not a local of the wider Memphite area, or possibly the disputed property was also located in the Fayum as its former owner was also a veteran.

Turning back to the mention of the '*castra*' in the 13th Lower Egyptian nome, as suggested by Letta (LETTA, Athenaeum, 6, footnote no. 13; LETTA, Egitto e Vicino Oriente 9, 3), it seems to be almost certainly referring to the well-known military base of Babylon (STRABO, Geographica, XVII, 1.30) and offers a rare clue to the units which manned it during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). It seems possible that the units of soldiers taking part in the lawsuit – *legio III Cyrenaica*, *ala Apriana*, *ala Vocontiorum*, *ala Xoitana* –, or rather their elements, were stationed there at the time. One of them, *ala Vocontiorum* is associated with Babylon also by a Greek loan contract dated to 59 CE (P. Hamb. I, no. 2). Contrary to Letta's notion, Babylon in fact need not have been by that

Latin came only from the mid-2nd (TM 15893, 16419) and the 3rd century CE (TM 17525). In all of them, Latin was used only to render a minor part of the overall text. In one (TM 16419), it was specifically the ruling at the end of the document which was rendered in Latin.[852] Possibly, the same could be also in the case of a papyrus (TM 15893) the extant part of which ends with two badly preserved lines in Latin, beginning with was obviously the name of the *praefectus Aegypti* M. Sempronius Liberalis,[853] who was apparently presiding over the court.[854] In another early proceedings (TM 17525), the speeches of the *praefectus Aegypti* were, as the only party of the session, introduced in Latin.[855] The modes in which Latin was integrated into the early bilingual proceedings very well foreshadow the practice of late antiquity (284–641 CE), which, however, applied them regularly in a more standardised fashion.

Proceedings of a new type, not representing mere excerpts from larger mixed records but individual documents dedicated to specific lawsuits, started to appear just before the beginning of the reign of Diocletian,[856] and soon became regularly bilingual.[857] The changes apparently happened as a result of wider developments in the legal/administrative sphere,[858] and against the background of much wider developments of the time during and around the period of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE).[859]

By not only by their contents, but also layout, and even their script,[860] bilingual proceedings represented a homogenous, well-standardised type of document. Latin was almost always used for the framework of the recording consisting of the date and place of the session, and less often the list of parties involved (e.g. TM 16868, 22350), in its beginning, and after that, introductions of the speeches of the acting participants, as well as some processional notes (e.g. TM 22144, 33700).[861] With varying consistency, Latin appeared also as the language of (some of) the speeches of the judge, most prominently in rulings as well as in other acts emphasising his authority.[862] The use of Latin in speeches was attested twice as often (11 out of 30, 33.33 %) during the first century of late antiquity (284–395 CE) than later (4 out of 24,

time the homebase of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, the unit of the centurion judging the lawsuit. There could have been only its detachment or only the centurion assigned to the auxiliary units (cf. e.g. legionary officers assigned to auxiliary unit attested later at Syene, TM 106128, 106171, 121990, 128447).

[852] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 387; specifically for the body of '*ξενοκρίται*' (*recuperatores*) passing the judgement see e.g. HORSTKOTTE, ZPE 112.

[853] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 292–294; BRUNT, JRS 65, 145.

[854] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 384, footnote no. 158; P. Wisc. II, no. 48.

[855] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 384.

[856] E.g. HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 301–303; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496.

[857] Esp. HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 301–302.

[858] See e.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496; CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 57; see also subchapter 3.5. below.

[859] E.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 169–178.

[860] KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 497.

[861] E.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 384–390; COLES, Reports of Proceedings in Papyri 36–38, 45–49, 52–54; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496–497.

[862] Esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 384–388, also 557–558.

16.67 %).[863] Two judicial proceedings remarkably included translations (TM 13051–13052). They both recorded sessions held between 318–321 CE at a court presided over by the *praeses Aegypti Herculiae* Tziper which were preserved in the 'archive' of Aurelius Sakaon. As expected, Tziper delivered his ruling in Latin, but for practical reason, to ensure its correct understanding by the affected parties, a Greek translation was appended to the passage.[864] Nonetheless, this was a singular occurrence never repeated in other bilingual proceedings.

Bilingual judicial proceedings were used mainly by the civil provincial courts presided over by governors. *Praesides* and *praefecti Aegypti* could be with certainty identified as judges in 25 specimens of the proceedings, representing 42.37 % of them from late antiquity (284–641 CE). In 24 other cases, the name and office held by the judge were not preserved, but it seems reasonable to presume that provincial governors could have been responsible for a good part of them as well. Apart from these, the court sessions in Egypt could be run also by officials above the rank of governor. Thus, a certain Iulianus presided over a court session in Egypt in the capacity of the *agens vices prafectorum praetorio* governing the diocese (*vicarius*; TM 16516).[865] Unfortunately, given the state of preservation of the papyrus, it is not possible to say anything about the nature of the lawsuit Iulianus judged. It is not impossible that two more dignitaries (TM 35728, 140298), with their currently held office not preserved/included in the documents, could have also judged in Egypt from positions above the governorly level. But in fact, they more likely acted in the capacity of the *praeses* or his military counterpart.[866] In three extant instances (TM 16868, 17320, 495518), the court sessions were entrusted to the *iuridicus Aegypti*/*Alexandriae*, the highest specialised judicial dignitary of the province since the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) preserved for some time into late antiquity (284–641 CE).[867] It is quite remarkable to find another court session headed by the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* (TM 219245).[868] While the exact matter dealt with remains obscure, given also the other document copied on the same piece of papyrus, it clearly and unsurprisingly must have dealt with an agenda within the responsibility of this official. Judicial proceedings of courts held on lower than the governorly level were overall rare and regularly written fully in Greek.[869] Thus, it is rather exceptional to find the otherwise usual Latin framework also in the proceedings of a session presided over by the *defensor civitatis Antaeopoleos*[870] and dealing with a property dispute between two villages (TM 18454), moreover, as late as 524 CE. Bilingual judicial proceedings also seldom recorded sessions of military courts. In all three such cases (TM 22144, 36006, 383702), the lawsuits involved under differing circumstances the

[863] Cf. also ROCHETTE, Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain, 119–120.
[864] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 388.
[865] For diocesan *vicarii* and their authorities in general see e.g. WIEWIOROWSKI, The Judiciary of Diocaesan Vicars in the Later Roman Empire; for the title *agens vices praefectorum praetorio* see *ibid.*, esp. 46–77; for further remarks on Iulianus' identity and possible circumstances of his judicial activity see *ibid.*, 60–62.
[866] See esp. GASCOU, ZPE 170, 149–150.
[867] E.g. HAENSCH, 'Im Schatten Alexandrias: Der iuridicus Aegypti et Alexandreae', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum; for the judicial proceedings in particular see also *ibid.*, 181.
[868] See also P. Monts. Roca IV, no. 70.
[869] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 497.
[870] E.g. FRAKES, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History.

members of the military giving the reason for them to be decided by their superiors.[871] The two later documents from the 5th–6th centuries CE (TM 36006, 383702) used Latin only in their framework. On the other hand, the proceedings of the 375 CE recording session held in Alexandria by the *dux Aegypti* Flavius Mauricius (TM 22144) used Latin besides the framework and speeches of the judge also for the speech of his staff and Greek only for the read-out statement of the case (*libellus*) and a label on the verso identifying it as '*πρόσταξις τοῦ κυρίου μου δουκός*/ the ordaining of my lord *dux*', making it perhaps the most Latinate specimen of the type. The case involved a civil action taken by two soldiers against unlawful collection of taxes exacted from a camel stable owned by them. As a civil dispute, even though involving active military servicemen, it should have been decided, according to law, by the civil not military court.[872] It is not entirely clear what motivated the unusual emphasis on the use of Latin. Apparently, as showed most directly by comparison with the two other military proceedings, it was not given by the military background of the court as such. It seems possible that the *dux Aegypti* Mauricius could have to a certain degree personally preferred Latin over Greek, as it repeatedly appeared also in other texts directly related to him.[873] Alternatively, he could have been specifically in this case intentionally stressing his authority,[874] in the possibly delicate situation in which he got involved in a legal action outside his jurisdiction. Overall, bilingual judicial proceedings were with only some exceptions used by the high civil administrative. Comparable only to the treatment of some earlier personal documents, dealt with in the following section, they represent the most consistent application of Latin in the civil agenda of the provincial government.

Following their introduction in the late 3rd century CE, bilingual judicial proceedings were most common during the first century of late antiquity (284–395 CE; 31, 52.54 %), continued to be recovered less often throughout the following period (395–500 CE; 19, 32.20 %). However, as soon as the later part of the 5th century CE they started to be particularly scarce. It remains uncertain exactly why.[875] From the following 6th century CE and after there were seldom any specimens (4, 6.78 %). Three of these latest pieces of bilingual judicial proceedings from before 567 CE (TM 18454, 18878, 36006) came from a single site, Middle Egyptian Aphrodito.[876] A recently published papyrus, also tentatively identified as a bilingual proceeding (TM 901296),[877] could perhaps push the occurrence of this type of documents as far as the final decades of Roman rule in Egypt. If indeed so, it would seem that they did not completely disappear at such a hardly explicable moment in time as previously thought.[878]

[871] See also esp. PALME, in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 463–468.
[872] KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 500–501, also 498–499; PALME, in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 465–466.
[873] HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), esp. 113–115; see also subchapter 3.5. below.
[874] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 557–558.
[875] See esp. HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 304–310.
[876] See section 1.2.6. above.
[877] P. Messeri, no. 45.
[878] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 497–498.

2.2.3. Personal documents

The subclass of personal documents included 73 individual specimens, representing 40.78 % of all legal texts. The group encompassed a relatively wide scale of legal acts, all in some manner dealing with the Roman citizenship, the personal status of its holders, and/or their personal property.[879] They belonged to an even broader group of documents, including also some Latin administrative texts (TM 17631, 44495, 78531, 131574),[880] which more or less closely adhered to the distinctively Roman mode of legal practice, in particular as it developed using the writing media in the form of tablets (*tabulae*).[881] As typical for their Roman patterns, a large part of these texts was indeed inscribed on more durable materials than papyrus, namely wood and in the case of military diplomas on metal, both specifically fashioned as diptychs.[882] However, papyrus rolls could be used as well, adjusted as so-called 'double-documents' (*diplomata*).[883] In them, the actual texts were as a rule recorded in two copies one of which was freely displayed on the outer part of the document while the other one was sealed inside to be confronted only in the case if the authenticity of the former would come into doubt.[884] Such documents were also usually authenticated through the signatures of witnesses, typically seven in number, which could also be professional notaries.[885] Besides these concrete features, the documents were apparently given a higher degree of credibility, especially before non-local Roman authorities, by the very fact of accommodation to the traditional Roman practice.[886] This naturally included also the use of Latin which was in Egypt, with the exception of the several administrative documents mentioned above, mostly reserved just for several types of texts from amongst the personal documents. As remarked by Meyer,[887] the production of legal documents in Roman fashion was actually in general more tightly regulated in Egypt than elsewhere in the eastern part of the Roman empire.

Still, it was possible to observe marked differences in the application of Romanising features to individual types of personal documents as well as over time. In general, personal documents using Latin occurred only during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), with some particular types notably appearing for even much shorter spans of time, namely the *dationes*

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[879] See also esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 562–571; cf. also papyrus TM 15894 dealt with in section 2.2.5. below which comprised excerpts from several personal documents of various types, including a birth certificate, a declaration of acceptance of the inheritance (*cretio*), and also touching on the issues of manumission and marriage (P. Wisc. II, no. 50). This is illustrative for the idea that these types of documents and their agendas are closely related to one another and possibly, as part of the regular legal practice, dealt with together.

[880] See also sections 2.3.4–5. below.

[881] Esp. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World; for its (limited) adoption in the eastern part of the Roman empire including Egypt in particular see *ibid.*, *passim*, esp. 171–175, 187–205, 207–215; see also ROWE, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 310–314.

[882] But see also e.g. TM 70160 comprising of more than two tablets.

[883] E.g. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 187–191; YIFTACH-FIRANKO/VANDORPE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, *passim*.

[884] E.g. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 127–133; 188; YIFTACH-FIRANKO, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 544.

[885] E.g. AMELOTTI, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/13; HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, *passim*.

[886] E.g. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, esp. 193.

[887] MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 194–195.

tutoris muliebris in 126 (TM 70158) –247 CE (TM 20419), marriage contracts in 150 (TM 27148) –192 CE (TM 27148, 70087, 78526), and manumissions in 212 (TM 942941) –241 CE (TM 70157). As it seems, it took some time after the conquest of Egypt for Latin to establish itself in personal documents during the second half of the 1st century CE, as also wood gradually became more used for inscribing them.[888] During the 2nd century CE they were most numerous and that in a form closest to the standard Roman practice. A certain upswing in the use of Latin personal documents was probably marked by the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, ending the exclusivity of Roman citizenship which much of the texts revolved around.[889] With that, however, Roman-like personal documents also gradually started to lose their significance and finally became obsolete after the mid-3rd century CE. Over time, more, although less significant, changes in their use apparently also occurred as reactions to other centrally or locally sanctioned policies.[890]

A considerable part of personal documents was bilingual. Sometimes they could be translated into Greek (16, 21.92 %), clearly to facilitate their intelligibility in milieus lacking the knowledge of Latin which they were apparently often expected to enter. As remarked on below, the translation appeared with varying frequency specific to individual types of personal documents as well as over time, being the commonest during the 3rd century CE. Legal texts in general, with some, such as petitions in particular,[891] could be appended with various Latin and Greek subscriptions signifying most often the administrative processing of the document, its authentication, or approval.[892] Similar practices pertained also to administrative texts and to a lesser degree to letters.[893] Another kind of subscription were also the signatures of witnesses, some of which could have also been written in a different language than the main body of the text.

Given the wealth of information they mandatorily contained, the six military diplomas (TM 78523, 88374, 106376, 106378–106379, 107275) recovered from Egypt serve as invaluable snapshots of the Egyptian military garrison's composition from the late 1st to the late 2nd century CE.[894] They stood out amongst the other personal documents by their physical form, as they were as a rule inscribed on metal tablets, as well as by their strictly standardised contents.[895] Actually, the later stemmed besides others from the presently even more

[888] For the earlier Greek written documents see e.g. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 187–188.
[889] E.g. BESSON, Constitutio Antoniniana: L'universalisation de la citoyenneté romaine au 3e siècle; for its impacts in particular see *inter alia* ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces; IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I, *passim*, esp. 130–148.
[890] In general e.g. TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D.; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I; in particular e.g. ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces, 52–53; HAENSCH, ZPE 100; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, esp. 175–191; MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, *passim*, esp. 169–215; SANTOS, Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos 31.
[891] Esp. HAENSCH, ZPE 100.
[892] For detailed discussion see ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 564–571.
[893] See sections 2.3.4., 2.4.1. below.
[894] See e.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 25–32.
[895] E.g. LAMBERT/SCHEUERBRANDT, Das Militärdiplom. Quelle zur römischen Armee und zum Urkundenwesen; SPEIDEL, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 337–340; WESCH-KLEIN, in: ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 442–443; see also their corpora CIL XVI; ROXAN, Roman Military

significant fact that they all came from a single source outside Egypt, namely from Rome. During earlier times, before a reform carried out by Vespasian probably during his censorship in 73/74 CE, military diplomas could have been produced directly in the provinces.[896] The earliest specimen found in Egypt came from 79 CE (TM 106376). Thus, all military diplomas from the province originated only after the centralisation of their production to Rome. As such they do not count amongst the evidence attesting the active use of Latin in Egypt. Ultimately, after 138 CE, the military diplomas made in Rome became also connected with a restricted *collegium* of notaries (*tabelliones*?) who authenticated them as witnesses. The members of the group could serve for a long term of time, sometimes spanning even a few decades.[897] Other personal documents closely related to the military diplomas were the discharge certificates (TM 17460, 78519, 80129–80130).[898] Unlike military diplomas produced centrally in bulk, discharge certificates were apparently issued only occasionally,[899] for example to prove one's veteran status for a birth certificate of his children (TM 80130), by the provincial military commanders,[900] such as the *praefectus Aegypti* (TM 80129), and witnessed by fellow soldiers rather than notaries (TM 17460, 80130). They could be inscribed on metal,[901] but the specimens from Egypt were drawn up on wooden tablets (TM 78519, 80129–80130) or even papyrus (TM 17460). Also their texts were not at all standardised and could be close to that of the military diplomas (esp. TM 80130) or also much more simple than that (TM 80129).

As pointed out by Haensch,[902] the practice of employing specialised notary collegia for authenticating the military diplomas was similar and very well comparable to the treatment of some of the other personal documents. As with the military diplomas, the same witnesses (or ones bearing the same name) sometimes appeared in more than one text.[903] Some of these

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Diplomas I; ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas II; ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas III; ROXAN/HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas IV; HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas V.

[896] See e.g. HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, 463.

[897] Esp. HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, 463–469; see also *inter alia* MORRIS/ROXAN, Arheološki Vestnik 28; HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas V, *passim*, esp. 924–925.

[898] In general e.g. MANN/ROXAN, Britannia 19; ROXAN/HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas IV, 613.

[899] MANN/ROXAN, Britannia 19, esp. 343.

[900] E.g. ROXAN/HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas IV, 613.

[901] See ROXAN/HOLDER, Roman Military Diplomas IV, nos. I.1–3, I.A–B.

[902] HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, 466–467.

[903] L. Petronius Celer: TM 78515 (128 CE), TM 78511 (148 CE); C. Iulius Priscus and C. Iulius Licinnianus: TM 78511 (148 CE), TM 70159 (around 150 CE); C. Terentius Sarapammon, M. Iulius Felix and perhaps M. Aurelius Marcius: TM 18820 (198 CE), TM 18351 (223 CE); see also HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, 466–467; CPL, no. 201.
In the *datio turoris muliebris* for Maevia Dionysarion (TM 18820), C. Terentius Sarapammon acted not only as a witness, but also as petitioner (see also HAENSCH, in BOUSSAC/INVERNIZZI (eds.), Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, 466–467). Two same witnesses, T. Flavius Iulianus and L. Valerius Lucretianus, appeared also in a marriage contract from the second half of the 2nd century CE (TM 27148) and a document related to an inheritance from 170 CE (TM 106174) both coming from the Fayum. In the later one, L. Valerius Lucretianus served also as the proxy for Valeria Sarapias, the underage woman in possession of the property. Here and in another closely related document (TM 9922), he was stated to be her brother. Considering the name of her mother, Flavia Valeria (TM 9922), also T. Flavius Iulianus could have been her relative. On the other hand, there seems to be no obvious familial connection between the two men and the other protagonists of the marriage contract (TM 27148) they also witnessed. While doubtful, it seems not impossible that some sort of notary collegium may have been active also in the Fayum. Concerning the witnesses serving also as proxies: while L. Valerius Lucretianus was a relative of the woman he represented, it may be suggested that C. Terentius Sarapammon could have lent his services to the tutor of Maevia Dionysarion as a professional.

documents were explicitly stated to have been issued in Alexandria. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the assumed notary collegium resided at the provincial capital and that also the so far unprovenanced exemplars showing overlaps in witnesses with the Alexandrian documents could be identified as issued there (TM 18351, 70159). Overall, 21 personal documents could be (nearly) certainly identified as drawn up in Alexandria. While definitely not all of them were connected to the local notary collegium, it still very well shows how a large part of them clearly had a professional specialised background. On the other hand, similar personal documents could be very well produced also outside the capital, in particular in regional capitals, such as Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayum) in the Fayum (TM 9922, 10689, 13757, 106174), or a military camp in the *chora* (TM 15712, 78521).

A high degree of centralisation to Alexandria as well as a close adherence to the Roman standard was shown by birth certificates, representing a common type of personal documents (21, 28.77 %). They included two distinct subtypes, however, both dealing with the same agenda.[904] While largely issued in Alexandria, nearly all extant Latin birth certificates were found in the Fayum or in Middle Egypt. Some of them evidently concerned the children of veterans (TM 15712, 69745–69746, 78516, 78521, 80130), and the same may be presumed also for a large part of the rest. Five Latin birth certificates were (partially) translated to Greek (TM 17869, 11979, 20356, 21332, 69745). This shows that sometimes it was presumed that the Latin document would come into contact with someone lacking its knowledge. An interesting specimen of a complete diptych with the birth certificate for the girl Herennia Gemella (TM 78515) was not translated, but was on its originally blank page equipped with a Greek label telling her name. It seems to show that at least in this case it was in fact a family member who did not understand the document in their own possession.[905]

Slightly more numerous than birth certificates were legal documents dealing with inheritance (24, 32.88 %). They included not only testaments as such but also other closely related types of documents (often not straightforwardly distinguishable), namely legal petitions (TM 18351, 21587, 23051, 70139, 78797), declarations of acceptance (*cretio*;[906] TM 9922, 106174), protocols of opening the testament (esp. TM 69914),[907] or testamentary manumission (TM 28696),[908] revolving around the same agenda. Partly, they could represent *ad hoc* reactions to particular irregular cases. On the other hand the agenda of inheritance (amongst Roman citizens) underwent some development over the centuries[909] which had certain ramifications for what particular types of legal acts and in what mode Latin was used. In general, documents dealing with inheritance were only sometimes (8, 33.33 %) recorded on wooden tablets which

[904] E.g. BERNINI, JJP 48, 40–44; SCHULZ, JRS 32, 83–91; for birth certificates in general see *inter alia* BERNINI, JJP 48; GERACI, Mélanges de l'école française de Rome 113(2); KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 149–150; SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART, Professio liberorum; SCHULZ, JRS 32.

[905] For other possible interpretations see ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 563–564.

[906] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 130–133; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 159–161.

[907] E.g. TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 152–153; see also COLELLA, JJP 51; also other specimens of testaments could be (tentatively) identified as in fact belonging to such protocols.

[908] See also e.g. VELDMAN, The Lex Junia, Lex Fufia Caninia, and Lex Aelia Sentia, esp. 26–27.

[909] E.g. ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces; MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, I testamenti romani nei papiri e nelle tavolette d'Egitto; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I, esp. 157–159.

were, however, more often used for testaments per se than other related texts. Latin testaments as such appeared only until they were rendered unnecessary by the constitution of Alexander Severus[910] – the latest one was in fact dated to 211 CE (TM 10689). Translations to Greek were relatively common. They were seldom appended to the testaments as such (TM 10689, 22244, 69750), but appeared much more often with the other related types of documents. Greek translations constituted a regular part of legal petitions for the confirmation of the possession of the estate (*agnitio bonorum possesionis*; TM 18351, 21587, 23051, 78797; not preserved in TM 70139). Apart from being consistently bilingual, these petitions were also otherwise strongly standardised. All five specimens preserved remarkably came roughly from the mid-3rd century CE.[911]

Very clearly differing before and after 212 CE were the documents dealing with the *datio tutoris muliebris* (the appointment of the tutor for a woman; TM 18820, 20419, 21331, 21867, 69989, 70158–70159).[912] Before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* they were similar to most personal documents, being made as certificates issued by the office of the *praefectus Aegypti* inscribed on wood (TM 18820, 70158–70159). After, the matter of a woman's tutorship was solved through legal petitions addressed to the governor which were in his office officially approved and filed (TM 20419, 21331, 21867).[913]

Amongst the other less numerous types of personal documents, there were several marriage contracts (TM 27148, 70006, 70087, 78524, 78526, 874385) all from before 212 CE, some of which appeared also as part of the documentation/property settlement of the divorce,[914] and a document declaring the married status (TM 13022). Three manumissions (TM 23523, 70157, 942941) were drafted only after the abovementioned date.[915] All three were bilingual, mixing Latin with Greek, in one of them for translation purposes (TM 23523). One woman's legal status was changed through a rare specimen of Latin *emancipatio* (TM 69993) by which Aurelia Sarapias was released from the power of her father. Usually, such legal actions were related to transfers of property, typically the inheritance.[916] A solemn declaration by oath of T. Flavius Longus, a lower officer of the *legio III Cyrenica*, professed his eligibility to the army as a legionary serviceman (TM 70134). Such *ex-post* document apparently had to react to some

[910] E.g. ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces, 52–53; AMELOTTI, Il testamento romano, 217–250; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 123, 148–149; see also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 124, footnote no. 44 including references to further literature.

[911] Esp. SANTOS, Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos 31; see also TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 162; for the possible reasons behind the chronologically limited occurrence see *ibid.*, 161–162; see also IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554.

[912] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, esp. 175–180; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 128–133; for the dating see also IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554.

[913] See also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 177–179.

[914] E.g. EVANS-GRUBBS, in LARSSON LOVÉN/STRÖMBERG (eds.), Ancient Marriage in Myth and Reality, esp. 82–86; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 77–97; see also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 154–175.

[915] See e.g. IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554–555.

[916] In general, see e.g. PERRY/SÁNCHEZ-MORENO ELLART, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History; see also COLELLA, CdÉ 96(191).

doubts raised concerning the citizenship status of the originator.[917] Another personal document representing a matter of Roman citizenship *par excellence* was a certificate of the assumption of the *toga pura* (TM 78520) marking the coming of age of one Iulianus, most importantly gaining the legal subjectivity. In essence, form, and mechanism of its issue, the document represents a natural complement and follow-up to the Latin birth certificate.[918]

2.2.4. Contracts

A smaller subclass of 16 texts consisted of various contracts,[919] representing 8.94 % of the whole class. Some of these documents could be identified as imported to Egypt from other parts of Roman empire, namely Palaestina (TM 69895), Syria (TM 11654), and Italy (TM 18822). Thus, they evidence only passive rather than active engagement with Latin in Egypt itself. Individual specimens of the subclass were quite heterogeneous, especially in their form. While entering into a contract, it was possible to seek higher level of guaranties for it by having it drawn up by a professional and also officially registered (e.g. TM 15321,[920] 16515).[921] The notary service for one of such documents, a bilingual sale of a slave (TM 16515), was notably taken up by the clerical staff of the *legio II Traiana* at Nicopolis. The other option was to draw the contract in private (*cheirographon*; e.g. TM 20991, 69889, 69895), regularly in the form of a letter.[922] A majority (12, 75.00 %) of the contracts including Latin were in fact bilingual, or even trilingual (TM 14399). The exact mode of interaction of both languages in them greatly varied on a continuum from alternating distinctive Latin and Greek parts (TM 9619, 16515, 20991) to the complex mixtures of languages and their scripts (TM 14399,[923] 18822[924]).[925] Often, the main body of the text in one language was appended with subscription(s) in the other (Latin: 14399, 15321, 18163, 69889; Latin and Demotic: TM 14399; Greek: TM 11654, 16273, 69901), usually representing the (autographic) confirmation of the document.[926]

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[917] See also BARNS, CdÉ 24(48), 296–298.

[918] See also e.g. PEZZELLA, Glotta 97.

[919] Excluding the marriage contracts dealt with in the previous section. Contracts as such are closely related to other documents which could emerge in their effect, namely receipts, here classified as administrative texts and dealt with in section 2.3.4. below. For contracts in the Roman period in general see e.g. CLAYTOR, Mechanics of Empire: The Karanis Register and the Writing Offices of Roman Egypt, 55–82; also KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 150–151; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, *passim*; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 240–267; YIFTACH-FIRANKO/VANDORPE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, *passim*.

[920] Apart from others, this document very well exemplifies a common feature of the notary practice in Egypt during late antiquity (284–641 CE), namely the use of the '*di emu*' notary signature. While here it was written in Greek script (e.g. also TM 15311), these Greek subscriptions were often being rendered with an admixture of or fully in Latin letters (e.g. CPR XIX, no. 33; in general see *inter alia* APOSTOLAKOU, JJP 50; FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, 223–225; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 427). As noted in section 0.3.1. above, fully Greek documents with only the '*di emu*' using Latin script are not included into the analyses of the present thesis.

[921] E.g. CLAYTOR, Mechanics of Empire: The Karanis Register and the Writing Offices of Roman Egypt, 55–82.

[922] E,g, YIFTACH-FIRANKO, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah13037.

[923] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 179–180.

[924] See also esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 53–63.

[925] Also the '*di emu*' notary signatures, *inter alia* APOSTOLAKOU, JJP 50; FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, 223–225; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 427.

[926] See sections 2.2.3. above, 2.3.4., 2.4.1. below.

At least 10 contracts, representing 62.5 % of the subclass, involved members of the Roman army. They notably included three of the four specimens of contracts written solely in Latin, as well as others in which it was used for a major part of the text. On the other hand, a group of three contracts (TM 9619, 14399, 18163), all dated to the early decades of the Common Era and establishing loans, could be connected to activities of Roman businessmen and their agents, including slaves (TM 18163), in Egypt.[927] Content-wise, Latin-using contracts dealt virtually exclusively, and unsurprisingly, with sales and loans, both antichretic[928] (e.g. TM 14399) and for interest (e.g. TM 16273). The sale-covering contracts dealt with transactions involving slaves (TM 11654, 16515, 18822), property (TM 15321, 42958), and once with a horse (TM 70005). One of the specimens contracting a sale of a slave (TM 18822) was remarkably not written on a papyrus but on a wooden tablet, apparently originally part of a triptych.[929] This document was in fact produced at the Roman navy base of Ravenna in Italy and only imported to Egypt. Thus, also the choice of the wooden tablet to bear it in particular clearly reflects the local traditional role and much wider application of this medium in legal practice.[930] Still, it is worth to consider the certain closeness it seems to suggest of this particular document – and perhaps other similar slave-sale contracts – to the personal documents dealt with in the previous section. And they could indeed very well de facto serve as such.[931]

2.2.5. Other

Amongst the remaining 12 legal documents using Latin, representing 6.70 % of the whole class, there were five specimens of legal petitions addressed to high provincial or imperial authorities (TM 10405, 13056, 22346, 51670, 69961, 70013). They are dealt here in addition to the other petitions which were on the basis of their subject matters and high degree of formalisation included amongst the personal documents dealt with above.[932] Separately composed formal rescripts could answer legal petitions aiming at the highest tiers of the imperial hierarchy.[933] But they could be also appended with a much more simple response to the document itself.[934] This was markedly the case of the previously dealt with petitions which, during the 3rd century CE, became the preferred form of document for dealing with some of the agendas of personal documents, namely *datio tutoris muliebris* (TM 20419, 21331, 21867) and the confirmation of the possession of the estate (*agnitio bonorum possesionis*; TM 18351, 21587, 23051, 70139, 78797). As discussed above, these petitions were regularly bilingual, which both languages also used in a standardised way. Some consistency in the use of both languages seems to be hinted at also in the remaining legal petitions. A single petition written fully in Latin came from the early 2nd century CE (TM 70013). It conveyed a request by a military

[927] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185, esp. 174–175, 179–181.
[928] E.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, esp. 265–269.
[929] See also e.g. KRAMER, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, 127–139.
[930] E.g. MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World.
[931] Cf. the Latin receipts for payments of the *vicesima libertatis* tax (TM 78531, 131574), see section 2.3.4. below.
[932] See section 2.2.3. above.
[933] E.g. MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, esp. 68–69; see also section 2.2.1. above.
[934] See esp. HAENSCH, ZPE 100.

recruit C. Valerius Saturininus to the *praefectus Aegypti* to officially approve his (eligibility for the) enlistment (*probatio*),[935] in effect confirming his soldierly status.[936] The other petitions from the 4th century CE were with one exception (TM 69961) written mainly in Greek. Three of them (TM 10405, 13056, 51670) were addressed to governors and Latin was used only for the date subscribed in their end.[937] Two roughly concurrent petitions from late in the century addressed the emperors (TM 22346, 69961). One of them seeking support in the matter of a dispute over a dowry (TM 69961) was notably written entirely in Latin.[938] The other one appealing in the matter of compensation for tax-money lost (TM 22346) was written fully in Greek and only the official response asking for additional evidence was drafted in Latin.[939]

Amongst the remaining miscellaneous legal documents, some ambiguous in this interpretation (TM 33693, 70002, 78525), there was a collection of excerpts from various personal documents (TM 15894), likely relating to a single legal case.[940] A papyrus from the 'archive' of Sakaon from Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit) in the Fayum[941] (TM 13053) bearing a Greek lawyer's speech, however, labelled as such by a Latin term: '*N(arratio)*'. Latin was similarly scarcely used also in a 6th century CE certificate of recruitment to the army in the form of a letter (TM 15311) written in Greek and twice subscribed with a Latin greeting formula as the means of authentication.

2.3. Administrative texts

Various documents appearing beyond the field of law constituted in absolute numbers 252 specimens, representing 19.55 % of the entire corpus, the largest class of Latin texts coming from Egypt and Nubia. Certainly, the number in itself illustrates the sheer volume of documentation produced by the provincial and municipal administrative apparatuses as well as private persons overall.[942] It is not to be taken as an indication that Latin was preferred in the administrative sphere more than for the other purposes. While almost all administrative texts were written on papyri (157, 62.30 %) or, mostly in the Eastern Desert, on ostraca (92, 36.51 %), there were two specialised tax receipts preserved on wooden tablets (TM 78531, 131574)[943] and one text from a leather sachet holding a reference sample for a shipment of

[935] E.g. PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 287–289; WESCH-KLEIN, in: ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 436.
[936] Cf. also the personal document TM 70134 dealing with a similar matter.
[937] See IOVINE, Manuscripta 63(2); see also section 2.4.1. below.
[938] See also BGU XIX, no. 2760.
[939] See also GEENS, 'Archive of Flavius Isidoros, *officialis* and *beneficiarius*, in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/89.pdf, 2–3.
[940] See also P. Wisc. II, no. 50.
[941] See section 1.2.1. above.
[942] E.g. JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; KRUSE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt; MONSON, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 155–162; PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, *passim*; for the Roman military administrative (not only) in Egypt see *inter alia* FINK, Roman military Records; MITTHOF, Annona militaris; PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, *passim*; PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano; STAUNER, Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus; WATSON, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/1.
[943] See also section 2.3.4. below.

grain (TM 70012).[944] The vast majority of 219 Latin administrative texts, representing 86.90 % of the class, were produced during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). Moreover, most of the later specimens fall to the first century of late antiquity (284–395 CE), especially from the initial period of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE). From the end of the 4th century CE onwards, Latin was only exceptionally used for administrative documents.[945] As given by their nature, administrative texts only seldom recorded who were the originators responsible for their making. However, considering their contents, and especially the other people they mention, no fewer than 172 specimens, representing 68.53 % of the whole class, could be (tentatively) recognised as coming from the military milieu of society or at least touching on matters of the Roman army. Typologically, Latin administrative documents were dominated by only several subclasses of texts. Most of them contained plain recordings, including various lists, accounting records, and other more simple notices (2.3.1.), mainly originating in the military sphere. Besides them, the army used also other more specific types of administrative writings, namely schedules and logbooks (2.3.2.). Both former sections are followed by some further notes on a papyrus role collating several distinct military administrative documents (TM 69867),[946] and a subsequent general remark on the use of Latin by the Roman army in Egypt (2.3.3.). A distinctive subset was formed by orders and receipts, seldom also joint together, for various transfers of money as well as payments in kind (2.3.4.). Besides these subclasses, other miscellaneous documents occasionally used Latin as well (2.3.5.).

2.3.1. Lists and accounts

Various lists/registers, accounting sheets, and shorter notices were attested by 93 individual specimens, representing 37.05 % of the class. As with the administrative texts in general, a large majority of the documents of this subset could be tentatively recognised as related to the military milieu. This was especially the case of list of which at least 46 out of 59 (77.97 %) indeed dealt with matters of running the army. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases these lists enumerated individual people. Only rarely did they focus on something else, such as for example an inventory of silver-made artefacts (TM 110832). Even in cases when the personnel listed was not explicitly identified as soldiers, it may be in most cases with a high degree of probability presumed as well, using the onomastic analysis in particular. But again, there were notable exceptions, such as list of various individuals involved in a commercial business from the very beginning of the Roman period (TM 70007).[947] The lists and registers of military personnel could serve various purposes, facilitating the daily management of military units as well as serve as sources for more formal reports.[948] The records of individual servicemen were largely standardised and often quite comprehensive, including amongst others their rank as

[944] See e.g. RICKMAN, Roman Granaries and Store Buildings, 189–190.
[945] From the eleven specimens, only four receipts used Latin for more than subscriptions or minor parts of the text. Five orders with receipts came from the 'archive' of Dioscorus (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517), and another three receipts and a certificate fully/largely written in Latin were also clearly part of a single dossier (TM 18755–18756, 23788, 70106), see e.g. MITTHOF, Annona militaris, nos. 153–154; see also section 2.3.5. below.
[946] See also section 1.1.2. above.
[947] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 179.
[948] E.g. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, esp. 9–10; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 65–136; see also section 2.3.2. below.

well as the particular division of the unit they were assigned to. Besides listings of active soldiers, there was also a piece scrutinising a single class of veterans (TM 69916).

A particular type of lists was represented by accounting sheets. The army bookkeeping appeared in at least 18 out of 34 (52.94 %) specimens of Latin accounts. In ten cases it were specifically the soldiers' pay records (TM 27910, 63048, 69867, I, 69868, 69874, 69884, 69944, 69982, 70085, 110834).[949] Amongst the others, the records of various kinds of transactions within the units involving individual soldiers, for example deposits kept for them by the unit, also appeared recurrently (esp. TM 10770, 69884–69885, possibly also 69867, I[950]). On the other hand, there was a group of four accounting sheets (TM 25149, 69905, 69992, 70137), all coming from the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), mostly its very beginning. There is nothing that would point to any relation with the military sphere. One of them was namely a record of wages for weavers (TM 69905),[951] while another one was a remarkable multilingual specimen mixing Latin and Greek with Demotic and perhaps some other language and labelled on the verso as '*Rationes C. Calpur(nii) Ptol(emaei)*/ The accounts of C. Calpurnius Ptolemaeus' (TM 70137).[952] Iovine and Salati included two of these documents (TM 25149, 69905) amongst other evidence, especially letters, attesting to the early penetration of Egypt by Roman businessmen from outside the province.[953]

2.3.2. Military logbooks and schedules

A less numerous, yet distinctive, subset of administrative texts of 53 specimens, representing 21.12 % of the class, contain recordings of types virtually exclusively connected to the everyday running of the institution of the Roman army. Namely, they were schedules harmonising the duties taken up by the servicemen, and logbooks, including *pridiana*, dealing mainly with the changes to the military units' personnel. Apart from several other specimens, military schedules[954] were mainly represented by a coherent collection of several dozen ostraca from Mons Claudianus detailing day-to-day guarding duties at the site (TM 29717–29720, 29722–29734, 29736–29741, 29744).[955] These guarding rosters were always written by two hands, with the first one prescribing most of the information in Greek. The second hand, apparently belonging to a higher military official, added only the data which were sensitive for the security of the operation, namely the numbers of guarding posts and the password, using Roman numerals and Latin words written in Greek. As pointed out by Adams,[956] Greek was evidently the chief language of conduct for the personnel involved in the organisation of the guarding duties, while Latin was likely for the bare but essential minimum of the information. It clearly demonstrates the special elevated significance Latin had in this context. That this manner of using both languages was not an isolated practice is shown by other similar ostraca from

[949] E.g. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, esp. 241–242; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 138–156.
[950] Cf. *inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 243–246; STAUNER, Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus, 66–68; WATSON, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/1, 497–499.
[951] See also e.g. CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt, 147–148; IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 181.
[952] See also COLES, in BAGNALL et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XVI.
[953] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185; see also section 2.4.3. below.
[954] In general e.g. PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 291–292.
[955] See esp. BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 165–192; see also section 1.4.2. above.
[956] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 393–395.

elsewhere in Egypt (TM 29475).[957] Unlike the previous subclass, these sheets were more complex, covering not only a single day of duties. More larger scheduling sheets were preserved on four more ostraca from Mons Claudianus (TM 24002–24004, 24006). While clearly attesting a different kind/tier of planning out duties, these schedules were distinctly written entirely in Latin including only sparse loanwords from Greek. One of the Mons Claudianus ostraca (TM 24006) with sketched out table with abbreviations signifying various duties in every cell[958] was well comparable to a much better-preserved exemplar (TM 69867, V)[959] preserved amongst the documents collected on a papyrus role dealing with the management of the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed at Nicopolis. Dealing again specifically with guarding duties, two Latin papyri from Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa; TM 118645, 219285) showed a roughly similar format of the pairing of servicemen with particular guarding posts as observed on the ostraca dealt with above. Although generally scarce and illustrating different kinds/tiers of the planning of military duties, the schedules show remarkable similarities across various sites and dates. This may point to a certain level of standardisation, perhaps including also the use of language, of the scheduling procedures within the Roman army in Egypt.

The formalisation and standardisation were clearly more strongly present in the higher tiers of military unit management represented by reports in the form of logbooks.[960] Similarly formatted documents were encountered also outside Egypt coming from various reaches of the Roman Empire.[961] Several distinctive types of such documents were recognised which covered various spans of time, up to one year, and to a certain degree characterised by differing formal features. While the daily 'morning reports' covered a relatively wide agenda,[962] the most important yearly (in Egypt apparently biannual)[963] *pridiana* were reserved for reporting on the state and changes of the unit's personnel. The only certainly identified actual *pridianum*[964] dated to 156 CE was found in the Fayum but reported on the *cohors I Lusitanorum* stationed at that time at Contra Apollonopolis in Upper Egypt (TM 69913). Very

[957] Also BAGNALL et al., O. Amst., no. 9; for the provenance see *inter alia* BAGNALL/CRIBIORE, CdÉ 85(169–170), 221–223; for the contents see *inter alia* also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 395; BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, 144–145.

[958] See also BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 308.

[959] See also FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 9.

[960] *Inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 179–240; PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 292–295; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 9–64; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit.

[961] Esp. Bu Njem in Libya: MARICHAL, Les Ostraca de Bu Njem; see also PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 291; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, esp. 39–43; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, esp. 294–295; Dura Europos in Syria: P. Dura; see also FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 183–239; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, esp. 43–47; Vindolanda: BOWMAN et al., Vindolanda in Great Britain: the Latin writing tablets II; BOWMAN et al., Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets III; see also SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, esp. 39–43, 59–62; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, *passim*; but cf. PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 293.

[962] E.g. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 179–180.

[963] Esp. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 181.

[964] *Inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 180–182, no. 64; PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 293–295; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 50–64; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, esp. 287–292.

closely related to *pridiana* were the so-called interim reports[965] (*pridianum detulit*)[966] which served as direct precursors for their creation. Three specimens of such reports were recognised so far (TM 18058, 69875,[967] 69987). Furthermore, there were also monthly logbooks[968] (TM 17244, 69867, IV) – one of them (TM 69867, IV) was notably found together on one papyrus role with the tabular schedule of duties of the *legio III Cyrenaica* discussed above (TM 69867, V) – and the so-called morning reports[969] (*acta diurna*; TM 25148, 42957, 69882, 69912, 69971, 69988, 942936). Several more fragmentary papyri (TM 21887, 30482, 69940, 69991, 786137) could be also (tentatively) identified as representing closely unspecified documents belonging to this subclass. The badly preserved specimens of logbooks might be possibly confused for less formalised military personnel registers and lists (e.g. TM 22510) which in fact served as their precursors and sources of data.

2.3.3. The case of papyrus roll TM 69867 and its implications for the use of Latin in the military administrative

The papyrus role TM 69867 comprises of five individual documents of different types, all pertaining to the management of the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed at Nicopolis near Alexandria and spanning from the 80s possibly to the early 90s of the 1st century CE.[970] The oldest text was an accounting sheet detailing pay records, or alternatively individual soldiers' deposits, or both (TM 69867, I),[971] and a list of servicemen involved in detached service and details of their missions covering the period of at least eight years (TM 69867, II);[972] in essence comprising a long-term overview excerpting a specific kind of data usually included in military logbooks. They were followed by a short list of soldiers headed by a consular date (TM 69867, III), perhaps a sample of an official register.[973] On the verso, the collection continued with two clearly complementary texts, a monthly report dealing with the unit's personnel (TM 69867, IV) and a tabular schedule of duties (TM 69867, V).

Remarkably, these five texts exemplify each of the principal types of (military) administrative documents dealt with in the two preceding sections. While at first sight dealing with quite disparate administrative agendas, in fact, all five deal, in one way or another, with matters pertaining to the personnel of the legion. Appearing together on a single piece of papyrus, it

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[965] *Inter alia* PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 295; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 50–64; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, esp. 287–292.

[966] After TM 69987; see also SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 50; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, 292.

[967] Formerly considered possibly to represent another specimen of an actual *pridianum*, FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 63.

[968] *Inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 180; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 25–50; see also SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, 291–292.

[969] *Inter alia* FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 179–180; PHANG, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 292; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 10–50; SPEIDEL, in SPEIDEL, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit, esp. 293–300.

[970] See section 1.1.2. above.

[971] Esp. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, 243–246; cf. also STAUNER, Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus, 66–68; WATSON, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/1, 497–499.

[972] See also esp. SÄNGER-BÖHM/SÄNGER, CdÉ 86(171–172).

[973] FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 37.

seems to suggest that these agendas were not administered by separate offshoots of the unit's clerical apparatus, but rather in concert. Indeed, personal lists, pay records and accounting sheets dealing with transactions of individual soldiers, more elaborate military schedules, and military logbooks showed, besides a certain thematic overlap, in general also a significant similarity of various formal features. This points to a considerable level of formalisation and standardisation of these documents which could have included also the preference to use Latin for recording them. In their absolute amount, these particular types of texts formed a major part of the Latin administrative documentation related in particular to the army as well as in general. In the sphere of the military administrative, Latin was of course also used for other purposes, but not to such an extent and not so consistently, as best exemplified by the orders and receipts dealt with in the following section. The 'human resources' agendas clearly formed the most robust pivotal element of the army management, the significance of which was underscored also by the language preferred in their bookkeeping.[974]

2.3.4. Orders and receipts

Orders and, in most cases, receipts for deliveries/transfers of money and more often goods could be recognised in 71 individual specimens of texts, representing 27.89 % of the class. The vast majority of them (51, 73.91 %), and perhaps even more, were at least vaguely related to the military sphere.[975] From the rest, two receipts (TM 78531, 131574) stand out as they were inscribed on wooden tablets and made specifically to confirm the payment of the *vicesima libertatis*, that is the tax from the manumission of a slave.[976] Although in essence recording financial transactions, considering the actual ramifications of such acts and as shown by their formal (physical) arrangement, they were clearly considered as *de facto* certificates of the manumission and as such very well comparable to the other personal documents dealt with in the previous subchapter.[977] Also formally similar to them was a receipt for a soldier's deposit (TM 17631) made in the form of a 'double-document' (*diploma*) which represented an earlier alternative to wooden diptychs.[978]

Sometimes, individual orders and receipts could be recovered as parts of larger collections of similar or various documents on a single papyrus roll (e.g. TM 20435, 27293,[979] 69872, 69907). In the 6th century CE 'archive' of Dioscorus,[980] receipts were appended on the same pieces of papyrus as their corresponding orders for the *annona* levies (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517), written mainly in Greek with only a few Latin words, used as a confirmation of the order. Found as part of a larger set of documents was also another, older pair of an order and

[974] Cf. also the personal legal documents (section 2.2.3. above) dealing with in essence somewhat corresponding agendas in the civil setting. For the use of Latin by the Roman army in Egypt in general cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 599–623, esp. 608.
[975] E.g. FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, esp. 241–242; SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, 156–166.
[976] E.g. GÜNTHER, "Vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae": Die indirekten Steuern in der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian, 95–126.
[977] See section 2.2.3. above; see also VAN MINNEN/WORP, BASP 46.
[978] See section 2.2.3. above; see also MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, 187–191.
[979] See FINK, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, no. 79; CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 359.
[980] See section 1.2.6. above.

corresponding receipt for the shipment of grain (TM 27293). In a manner similar to the ones from the 'archive' of Dioscorus and perhaps illustratively for the significance of the languages used, the order was in Latin and the receipt in Greek, although both having the same originator.[981] One receipt found in Egypt could be remarkably, based on the dating standard used, tentatively identified as imported from as far as the province Mauretania Caesariensis (TM 27061).[982] Some orders and receipts were, not unexpectedly, composed in the form of letters (12, 17.14 %). Distinctly from the subclasses of administrative texts dealt with above, orders and receipts generally showed greater variability in their form. Many of the orders and receipts using Latin were preserved as parts of larger coherent sets,[983] showing that in particular places and points in time the practice could have been more or less consistent. Orders and receipts were apparently not a subclass of administrative documents the form of which would be strongly regulated by some umbrella authority.[984]

Very illustrative for the heterogeneity of orders and receipts are their bilingual specimens.[985] In fact, bilingualism was a quite common feature of the subclass, pertaining to more than half of the texts (38, 54.29 %). Quite strikingly, just within this specific subclass it appeared in virtually all of its possible forms. Besides the regular interaction with Greek, in several 1st century CE ostraca from Apollonopolis (Edfu), Latin was mixed also with Demotic (TM 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003).

In two receipts both languages were used in specific ways for distinct parts of the text. One of the papyri probably preserved parts of two collected receipts for wheat rationed to groups of soldiers (TM 20435). While the main body of the better-preserved receipt was written in Greek, it was accompanied by a list of individual servicemen benefiting from the ration, which was written in Latin. The receipt was composed by a lower military officer while its recipient was notably a member of the civilian branch of the provincial administrative. While expectably addressing his non-military partner mainly in Greek,[986] the army clerk could have simply copied the plain enumerative part of the receipt from the preexisting Latin list/register.[987] In the other specific case, a single piece of papyrus included two receipts dealing with two parts of the same shipment (TM 18859). The receipts were issued for provisions ordered for the retinue of the *praefectus Aegypti* apparently during the course of his regular progress (*commeatus*) across the province, the one for bread in Greek and the one for wine in Latin.

[981] See also CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 359–363.
[982] E.g. GILLIAM, Illinois Classical Studies 3, 126–128.
[983] i.e. ostraca (TM 30817–30818, 42703) from Karanis (Kom Aushim) in the Fayum; papyri from the 'archive' of Dioscorus (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517) at Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau) in Middle Egypt; ostraca from the 'water archive' (TM 641764, 641772, 641778–641800, 641821, 641849, 641853, 641880, 614900, 641902, 641904, 641921, 641927) at Berenike (Ras Banas) in the Eastern Desert; ostraca (TM 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003, 74234–74242, 74245, 74247) at Apollonopolis (Edfu) in Upper Egypt.
[984] See also e.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 605.
[985] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 530–533, 601–606, focusing on a detailed discussion of several of the texts (TM 18254, 20435, 46933, 69907, 74234–74239, 74445, 78865); see ibid., 605–606 for the suggestion that Greek could have been preferred for receipts issued by the army for parties outside the institution; cf. e.g. TM 20435, 28607, 78865.
[986] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 605–606.
[987] See section 2.3.5. above.

Both were issued by a military clerk of the governor's staff[988] for a local civil officer. While the reasons for the change in language remain unclear, it may be pointed out that a change of writing hands between both parts was recognised by the original editor,[989] but also that the form of both texts was slightly different with the first one showing some epistolary features.

As far as apparent from its fragmentary state, one Latin receipt was perhaps appended by a complete translation into Greek (TM 69984).[990] An order and two receipts (TM 16563, 369041, 389951) were written in Latin script while actually recorded in Greek, or more precisely with strongly prevailing Greek grammatical and lexical features. A receipt for mail from Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya) in the Eastern Desert dated to the 2nd century CE (TM 369041) was written/dictated by a soldier of Thracian origin who clearly used Latin more than Greek.[991] Another order (TM 16563) could be dated to the early decades after the Roman conquest of Egypt and was related to private commercial businesses managed by agents of apparently Italian origin.[992] The third of these texts (TM 389951) as well as two Greek receipts with Latin subscriptions (TM 44966, 45041) from the 'archive' of Nicanor from Coptos (Qift)[993] could have been possibly connected to the trading activities of agents of Italian origin in the Eastern Desert (and/or beyond).[994] However, it may be also alternatively suggested that all these three receipts belonged to the military context.[995]

In as many as 29 individual specimens of orders and receipts, representing 40.00 % of the subclass, Latin was used for only marginal parts of the whole text while the main body was written in Greek or Demotic. An interesting piece of a Demotic receipt for the levy of grain on an ostracon from 2 BCE contained a single Latin word: '*annona*' (TM 46935). It is remarkable, while not that surprising, especially this early after the establishment of the Roman province of Aegyptus, to find a demotic scribe to refrain from translating the specific technical Latin term for a newly introduced kind of levy, either not to interfere with its significance, for lack of a suitable Demotic analogue, or both. In the other Greek and Demotic documents, marginal Latin passages represented various subscriptions. Reversely, Greek subscriptions could also rarely appear appended to receipts written fully in Latin (TM 18365, 23788, 69915), two of them dated to late antiquity (284–641 CE; TM 18365, 23788). In general they were very well comparable and in particular partly also functionally overlapping with the Latin marginalia appearing in Greek letters and functionally very well with subscriptions appearing with some legal texts.[996] Such 'code-switching' for Latin in Greek orders and receipts took on various forms, including especially names, dates, and verbs signifying receival, acknowledgement, or

[988] HAENSCH, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 18, 99.
[989] E.g. CEL I, no. 205.
[990] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 193.
[991] CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 311–312; cf. also esp. section 1.4.6. above.
[992] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185; for TM 16563 in particular see *ibid.*, 177–178.
[993] *Inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 274–275; RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2); see also section 1.4.4. above.
[994] E.g. DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, *passim*; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, esp. 221; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 48–49; cf. also section 2.6.1. below; for the involvement of the Nicanor family in particular, see e.g. RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2), *passim*; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 50.
[995] See BERNINI, ZPE 212, 225; cf. RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2), esp. 11–12.
[996] See sections 2.2.3. above, 2.4.1. below.

confirmation. The last points most clearly to what was the prevailing function of such subscriptions in orders and receipts in general. This act of confirmation could have been performed by persons mentioned in the main bodies of the documents themselves, or by other parties representing some other (presumably higher) authority. Under such circumstances Latin apparently assumed a symbolic role supporting the gravity of the (official) confirmation.[997] Thus, two receipt subscriptions signified the receival through the verb '*accipere*' (TM 69915, 70161). The orders from the 'archive' of Dioscorus (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517) were being appended by multiple simple statements of acknowledgement: '*Legi.*/ I have read (this).' or '*R(ecognovi).*/ I have looked over (this).' In the receipts on ostraca from Karanis (Kom Aushim; TM 30817–30818, 42703) the confirmation was done by a statement of signing: '*Notavit.*/ He signed (this).' A similar formulation on an ostracon from Berenike (Ras Banas; TM 44966) included also the name of the signatory. Confirmed solely through the name of the authorised military serviceman were for example the receipts for water deliveries by camel-drivers belonging to the 'water archive' (TM 641764, 641772, 641778, 641800, 641849, 641853, 641880, 614900, 641902, 641904) also coming from Berenike.[998] Name as well as date of the receipt were repeated in Latin from the main body of the Demotic text on three ostraca from Apollonopolis (TM 18254, 46933, 54003). Solely, the exact Latin date appeared on two more Greek ostraca (TM 28607, 73465).

2.3.5. Other administrative texts

Only a handful more Latin texts (26, 10.36 %) represent further types of administrative documents. Their scarcity additionally underscores the impression that Latin could have been more preferred only for some specific types.

A dozen shorter texts mostly of a simple descriptive nature could be tentatively identified as representing notices recording various kinds of data (TM 16517, 18057, 77650, 88707–88713, 89239), as it seems, revolving mostly around personal registers. Not fitting in any of the subclasses of documents discussed above, they likely served as *ad hoc* aids of particular clerks. Correspondingly, only two were made on papyrus (TM 16517, 18057), the rest on ostraca. Seven of them comprised a single set recovered from Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh) in the Eastern Desert (TM 88707–88713). All of them plainly stated the name and rank of apparently one and the same soldier, Domitius Fronto.

Latin was also used by several pieces of census reports.[999] The oldest one was prepared for the Claudius' empire-wide census of 47/48 CE by L. Pompeius Niger, a veteran residing in the Fayum, and written fully in Latin (TM 44495).[1000] Niger's census report was written on papyrus and remarkably fashioned in the form of a 'double-document'. Another fragmentary one from the 3rd century CE (TM 30682) combined passages in both Latin and Greek, notably with a Latin subscription signifying the acceptance of the report by an official collecting the data. Seven

[997] See esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 396–399; see also section 2.4.1. below.
[998] See also section 1.4.8. above.
[999] See also KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 123–124.
[1000] Cf. the later report by the same person for a provincial census which was written in Greek, PARÁSSOGLOU, BASP 7; see also SMOLDERS, '(Lucius) Pompeius Niger', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/195.pdf.

more reports were prepared for censuses conducted during the tetrarchy (TM 10359, 10369, 10410, 13025, 13036, 13047, 23552),[1001] coming mostly from the 'archive' of Aurelius Sakaon (TM 13025, 13036, 13047) and the 'archive' of Aurelius Isidorus (TM 10359, 10369, 10410) from the Fayum. While showing a high degree of standardisation, they were all written mostly in Greek, except for the Latin formula of acceptance appended to all of them by the *censitores* running the surveys.[1002]

Three specimens preserved travel permits. Two ostraca from Didymoi in the Eastern Desert (TM 144613, 144615) showed a similar simple order for clearing the passage, in one case (TM 144615) subscribed to a Greek request. A travel permit on papyrus issued by the *praefectus Aegypti* for one Aurelia Marciana from Asia Minor embarking from the port of Alexandria in 246 CE (TM 21785) had a more elaborate form, but virtually the same structure. Her request in Greek was followed by an order for the guard of Pharos given by the governor in Latin.

The remaining Latin administrative documents were singular pieces. One of them was a unique specimen of senatorial minutes (*acta senatus*) from the reign of Commodus (TM 69881), the circumstances of its appearance in Egypt remain unclear.[1003] Also rare was a partially preserved papyrus containing a record of a property auction, apparently more than one, from the 3rd century CE (TM 17204).[1004] The document was headed by a Greek introduction, but the course of the auction was recorded in Latin. From the very end of the 4th century CE came a certificate (TM 70106) issued by Flavius Gaiolus, a commander of the *legio V Macedonica*, for four soldiers traveling as a delegation to the imperial court. The document entitled the bearers to receive board and lodging at the public expense.[1005] Interestingly, Flavius Gaiolus appeared also in two receipts on the same papyrus concerning provisions for the unit he commanded (TM 23788). Two more fragmentary receipts of uncertain kind revolving around payments in kind in the army also belonged to the same small dossier of documents (TM 18755–18756).[1006]

2.4. Letters

Various messages using Latin[1007] sent between the people of the province, and occasionally beyond (e.g. TM 10014, 14904, 17314, 23403, 70001) comprised 142 individual specimens, representing 11.01 % of the entire corpus. An additional 52 texts, representing 4.03 % of the entire corpus, also displayed the basic formal features of letters, that is details about the sender and the addressee and greeting formulas. However, considering their content they could be more aptly qualified as either legal or administrative documents and as such are dealt together with other text belonging to these classes in the previous subchapters[1008] and left

[1001] E.g. JONES, The Later Roman Empire 284-602, 61–64.
[1002] LEWIS, BASP 30(3/4), 116–118.
[1003] See esp. TALBERT, ZPE 71.
[1004] See esp. P. Oxy. XX, no. 2269 Ro; see also *inter alia* IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 556.
[1005] See esp. MITTHOF, Annona militaris, no. 154.
[1006] MITTHOF, Annona militaris, esp. 490–491.
[1007] E.g. CUGUSI, Evoluzione e forme dell'epistolografia Latina; MORELLO/MORRISON (eds.), Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography.
[1008] See subchapters 2.2. and 2.3. above.

aside from the following analyses and considerations.[1009] While in most cases the distinction was clear, there were also some more ambiguous specimens, including especially various official reports or petitions (e.g. TM 17309, 78569 included as 'letters'; TM 16563, 18365, 69865 included as 'administrative texts'; TM 70013 included as 'legal text').[1010] Thus, also the official correspondence singled out to be dealt with in this subchapter should be considered in general as less formalised and more focused on an *ad hoc* agenda part. A majority of 99 letters, representing 70.21 % of the class, was written on papyri. The remaining 43 texts were written on ostraca coming largely from the Eastern Desert, and only seldom also from the riverine sites of Upper Egypt (TM 69866, 74522–74524, 874106). Conspicuously, no Latin letter came on wooden tablets which, joined to form diptychs, served as a typical epistolary medium in other parts of the Roman Empire.[1011] In Egypt, however, this material was reserved for other types of documents.[1012] These preferences were obviously dictated mainly by the availability of individual writing materials in Egypt in general and its individual regions in particular.[1013] Based on the general character of their content, the texts could be split up for the following analysis into the distinct subclasses of official (2.4.2.) and private letters (2.4.3.), and specifically on their senders (originator, addressees (beneficiaries), and the relations between them as related to their use of Latin. Before focusing on either subclass in detail a recuring feature of the inclusion of minor Latin passages in letters written mainly in Greek ought to be tackled as well (2.4.1.). Some of the preserved specimens of letters were not the actual exemplars sent, including the drafts kept in the 'archive' of the sender (e.g. TM 10014, 27085) and for official letters also the clerical duplicates (*exempla*; e.g. TM 23768) and copies included in larger (thematic) registers of correspondence (TM 88634, 88640).

2.4.1. Latin marginalia in Greek letters

In many official letters, as well as a few private ones (TM 33524, 34796, 35623–35624), Latin was used only for a minor, mostly outrightly marginal, part of the text while its main body was written in Greek. In some of them Latin could have been the language of inserted citations, namely of an administrative document (TM 13415)[1014] or literary passages (TM 35623–35624),[1015] or could have been used for the translation of a certain part of the message,

[1009] In comparison with the letters as such (see below), these documents were almost all written on papyrus (49, 94.23 %) and only seldom on ostraca (3, 5.77 %); similarly, the vast majority of them were of an official nature (42, 82.35 %) with only a handful capturing dealings between private persons (10, 19.23 %). The documents formulated as letters included especially legal constitutions (TM 17189, 22353, 31217, 69919, 69999, 70039, 70088; see section 2.2.1. above), petitions for the confirmation of the possession of the estate (*agnitio bonorum possesionis*; TM 18351, 21587, 23051, 70139, 78797; see section 2.2.3. above), petitions for the *datio tutoris muliebris* (TM 20419, 21331, 21867; see section 2.2.3. above) and other petitions (TM 10405, 13056, 22346, 51670, 69961, 70013; see section 2.2.5. above), contracts (16273, 18163, 20991, 69901, 70097; see section 2.3.4. above) on the one hand, and various orders and receipts on the other (TM 16563, 18365, 18859, 20435, 22763, 27293, 44966, 69871, 69907, 73465, 942930; see section 2.3.4. above). For most of these types of documents the use of the epistolary form is not surprising and largely expectable.

[1010] The texts were assessed from case to case as any rule and preference of any one criterion was deemed as more likely resulting in bias.

[1011] E.g. esp. BOWMAN/THOMAS, Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets I.

[1012] See esp. section 2.2.3. above.

[1013] Cf. also MARICHAL, Les Ostraca de Bu Njem.

[1014] See also MITTHOF, Annona militaris, no. 89.

[1015] See section 1.2.3. above; see also BLUMELL, ZPE 183.

notably the included accounting (TM 32589). However, in the vast majority of these cases it was used for certain formalised features of the messages[1016] and/or (additional administrative) subscriptions/sidenotes. They could be written both by the sender of the letter or by others who read/processed it. Similar marginal Latinised features were seldom included also as part of legal and administrative texts, unsurprisingly especially in those composed in the form of letters.[1017] While appearing also during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), a large majority of their occurrences was datable to the time of late antiquity (284–641 CE). Altogether, such Latin marginalia appeared in 26 specimens of letters as such, mostly from high provincial dignitaries to their subordinates. In them Latin was most often used for the writing of the date – and sometimes also the place – of writing or alternatively of receiving or filing the message (TM 15398, 15400, 16008, 18754, 20513, 22132, 22517–22518, 27299, 35625, 69908, 322177; also TM 18995, 21719, 28608, 69891, 70039, 73465). Sometimes also the Latin greeting formula (TM 10018, 22517, 23768, 33524, 34796, 88640, 957539; also TM 15311, 15321, 22763), 'address' (TM 16008, 22128, 32589, 34796, 35623–35624), and possible signature or statement of it (TM 20513, 22128, 36017, 128313)[1018] could be included. Yet other kinds of subscriptions/sidenotes appeared with three more letters (TM 23768, 35230, 37834). Some of these Latin marginalia were previously notably discussed by Adams as part of the wider survey of various kinds of 'code-switching' in connection with Latin.[1019] While it is possible to agree with his conclusions, and apply them more broadly also on other – although certainly not all – specimens of the presently discussed class, they may be also stressed further with additional observations.

Concerning the appearance of Latin dates in the postscript of Greek documents, and not only in letters, Adams,[1020] referring to some of the abovementioned texts (TM 15398, 16008, 20513, 28607, 69891), recognised that apart from the obvious informative function they could have also served as the act of affirmation/validation of the preceding text.[1021] A similar conclusion was reached by Iovine[1022] who more generally underscored their authority-signifying aspect. The switch to Latin could very well serve to support the gravity of such an act. The same may perhaps be suspected for other kinds of the marginal subscriptions not only in letters and quite obviously in the case of signatures. A Latin date, according to the Egyptian calendar, was indeed combined with a Latin affirmation of the authorship, using a Greek verb written in Latin script, in the letter of Cerinthus, a slave of Antonia Minor, to the *strategus* Chaireas (TM 20513).[1023] It seems possible that Cerinthus chose to use Latin also as a means to project his closeness to the imperial family and power while communicating with a member

[1016] Esp. initial and closing formulas termed *inter alia* '*inscriptio*' and '*subscriptio*', see e.g. CUGUSI, Evoluzione e forme dell'epistolografia Latina, *passim*, esp. 46.
[1017] See subchapters 2.2. and 2.3. above.
[1018] Cf. the practices of confirmation and authentication on some administrative and legal documents, see esp. sections 2.2.3., 2.2.4., 2.3.4. above.
[1019] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 390–393, 396–399.
[1020] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 390–393.
[1021] Cf. also the use of similar subscriptions in receipts, see section 2.3.4. below.
[1022] IOVINE, Manuscripta 63(2).
[1023] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 184–185.

of the provincial administrative.[1024] As even during late antiquity, this and related kinds of 'code-switching' were included only in a minority of letters and other documents in question, it seems that their use could have been to a certain degree a matter of personal preference and choice.[1025] This seems to have been possibly the case of two high administrative dignitaries – and/or their office staff – from the 4th century CE. Latin dates, and in one case also a Latin 'address' (TM 16008), were appended to three letters by Flavius Philagrius (TM 16008, 22518, 69908) and two by Flavius Iulius Ausonius (TM 15398, 15400). Together these letters represent a quarter of all preserved appearances of this phenomenon in total.

Focusing specifically on the use of Latin for the greeting formulas in Greek letters and discussing some of the abovementioned specimens in particular (TM 10018, 20513, 22517, 33524), Adams[1026] proposed several possible motivations behind this specific display of 'code-switching'. He admits that simply the language competence limitations of the parties involved could have played a role in it but is more inclined to see it rather as a result of the symbolic use of Latin as the language of state institutions and imperial power in general. It is possible to apply this conclusion more broadly also on other – although certainly not all – kind of presently discussed cases of 'code-switching' and further stress it with additional observations. It is in the first place the prevailing official character of the letters in which the Latin marginalia appeared. Crucially not preserving the identity of the sender nor the addressee, one of the Greek letters with a Latin greeting (TM 33524) had the clear appearance of a private message.[1027] The admonishing nature of the contents as well as the clearly superior position of the sender addressing the other party as '*filius*/son' point to a clear dynamic of power between the two. The anonymous letter clearly represented an informal communication. However, especially if the sender or both parties – which seems likely – came from the higher administrative milieu, Latin could have still been used to underscore the authority of the sender. The character of rather informal communication with higher provincial authorities could be recognised also in the three similar letters written by the Oxyrhinchite monk Theon (TM 34796, 35623–35624),[1028] who skilfully used his language proficiencies. All three messages were consistently provided with a Latin address which could have amongst others ensured the priority and prominence of the sealed missives amongst the larger body of correspondence. An effort to project more prestige could also very well explain why the Egyptian monk did strikingly embellish his letters – otherwise quite oddly – with citations of what were probably Latin paraphrases of Greek hagiographical literature.[1029]

In general, the letters using Latin for the main body of text on the one side and only for some minor/marginal parts of it on the other notably represent qualitatively distinct kinds of using Latin. This fact must be taken into account for the analyses discussed in the following sections.

[1024] Note also the recurring use of Latin in the (self-)presentation of officers, including freedmen, serving close to the emperor (e.g. TM 93214, 102612, 108945); Cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 306–307.
[1025] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 392–393.
[1026] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 396–399.
[1027] P. Mert. III, no. 115.
[1028] See section 1.2.3. above.
[1029] BLUMELL, ZPE 183.

2.4.2. Official letters

Only 53 letters, representing 36.88 % of the class, could be with a reasonable degree of certainty recognised as having a character of official communication. As touched upon above, about a half of them used Latin only for minor often formulaic parts of the text, while the main body of the letters was in Greek. On the other hand, it were also especially official writings in the form of letters which could be, based on their contents, classified rather as administrative or legal texts than letters as such.

It is not surprising that a vast majority of both the senders and addressees of letters using Latin were members of the provincial and municipal administrative (at least 16 and 14, 30.77 % and 26.92 %, respectively) or the of the Roman army (at least 13 and 10, 25.00 % and 19.23 %, respectively).[1030] Besides them, one letter was tentatively identified as sent by/in the name of the emperor Elegabalus (TM 23403),[1031] one other (TM 20513) and perhaps one more (TM 70015) as authored by slaves, the former one serving the imperial house. In one case, a letter (TM 10014) was addressed to the emperors Constantius II and Constans. Besides focusing separately on senders and addressees of official letters it is possible also to consider their relation in the light of the power dynamic between the two parties as framed by the imperial, provincial, and military hierarchies. In general Latin was slightly more often used for conveying messages to one's subordinates (at least 24, 46.15 %) than for approaching one's superiors (16, 30.77 %). There were, however, significant differences amongst the personages involved in sending and receiving the official letters between the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) and late antiquity (284–641 CE), while on the other hand not necessarily in the general character of the messages they conveyed.

The early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) yielded just 20 official Latin and bilingual letters. As far as it could be ascertained, members of the military predominated amongst both senders (at least 7, 35.00 %) and addressees (at least 4, 20.00 %), preserving exclusively the internal communication of the army, at least seemingly more often intended for the higher tier of the military hierarchy. Offices of the civil administrative were represented only scarcely (TM 25160, 26685), and that only amongst the recipients of the messages. Only one Latin letter was sent by the *praefectus Aegypti* (TM 23775). This is striking in comparison to the frequency with which Latin was used in connection to the *praefecti Aegypti* in texts intended for public display[1032] and to a lesser degree also in legal documents.[1033] The Egyptian governor could have been an addressee of another letter (TM 14401), and they were regularly approached in Latin by various official petitions for which the choice of language was given mainly by the

[1030] Excluded from this and some of the following analyses as irrelevant is the well-known letter of Appion, the bishop of Syene, Contra-Syene, and Elephantine to the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III (TM 23768; for the commentary see esp. FHN III, no. 314). The original letter of Appion was composed solely in Greek. Its preserved exemplar is a copy labelled by the scribe who made it in Latin. Another hand belonging to an unknown originator appended also a Latin greeting written perpendicular to the letter itself (see esp. FEISSEL/WORP, OMRO 68).

[1031] REA, ZPE 96.

[1032] Cf. esp. dedications and building inscriptions (see subchapter 2.5. below) and visitors' graffiti (see subchapter 2.6. below).

[1033] Cf. subchapters 2.2. and 2.3. above.

matters dealt with.[1034] The senders approached their superiors and subordinates roughly equally. Greek letters with only some formalised parts or subscriptions in Latin appeared only rarely (TM 20513, 27299, 88640).

A majority, namely 31 specimens, of preserved official letters using Latin came from late antiquity (284–641 CE), two thirds of them solely from the first century of the period (284–395 CE). By this time, both as senders and addressees, the members of the civil imperial, provincial, and municipal administrative apparatus (at least 14 and 14, 45.16 % and 45.16 %, respectively) clearly outnumbered the officers of the army (at least 6 and 4, 19.35 % and 12.90 %, respectively). In one case (TM 70015) the sender could have been a slave and one of the letters was addressed to the emperors (TM 10014). Also distinctly, Latin was now used twice more often for conveying messages down the hierarchical chain than for approaching one's superiors. Greek letters with only marginal parts in Latin comprised two thirds of the individual specimens of letters from late antiquity (284–641 CE; 18, 58.06 %). Moreover, from the period towards the end and after the 4th century CE, there were only two official letters written wholly in Latin (TM 14904, 17309), both notably connected to personages of especially high station. The older of the two from 399 CE (TM 14904) originally came from outside of Egypt sent by the highest civil officers of the empire, the *praefecti praetorio*, to the local Middle-Egyptian governor (*praeses*). It has been argued that the actual specimen preserved was a duplicate made in Egypt.[1035] The copy was in addition provided – for letters quite exceptionally – with a Greek translation placed on the verso. The later writing of 505 CE (TM 17309) conveyed orders by the local military commander, *comes rei militaris Thebaici limitis*, to a military tribune. However, the sender held also, although arguably only as an honorary title,[1036] the much higher central military rank of *comes domesticorum*.[1037] Distinctly from messages written wholly in Latin, Greek letters with only marginal parts in Latin were almost never used for communicating with one's superiors, even if the sender was himself of quite a high station (TM 10014, 17314, 70001). The only two exceptions (TM 10018, 22128), could perhaps be explained as extraordinary cases, as one of them (TM 22128) contained a rare correspondence of a soldier with a civil provincial governor (*praeses*) and the other one was a correspondence between two mid-ranking officers relatively close to each other in the chain of command.[1038] Thus, it may be in general tentatively proposed that it was enough, as well as more convenient and perhaps also more acceptable, to use Latin only in a limited extent to project the desired level of prestige. On the other hand, while approaching their superiors, the senders – if they had the competence or possibility to do so – could be strongly motivated to use Latin for the whole bodies of their letters, as an act of accommodation to (the higher hierarchical station of) the addressees.

[1034] See sections 2.2.3., 2.2.5 above.
[1035] KRAMER, Tyche 7, 157–158.
[1036] PLRE II, s.v. *(Fl. Cons)tantinius Theophanes 3*.
[1037] E.g. JONES, The Later Roman Empire, *passim*, esp. 372.
[1038] A similar power dynamic seems to be also behind the correspondence of the monk Theon (TM 34796, 35623–35624), who used Latin marginalia as well. But his case was rather specific in its own distinct manner, see sections 1.2.3. and 2.4.1. above.

The use of Latin for official communication was, perhaps with rare exceptions, in no way prescribed and preferred. Thus, amongst the correspondence preserved as part of the larger 'archive' of Flavius Abinnaeus,[1039] only two letters were fully in Latin (TM 10014, 10021) and one had only a Latin subscription (TM 10018). As pointed out by Adams,[1040] it was no coincidence that only both of the former were written in Latin as they were not part of the ordinary official conduct but of an affair surrounding Abinnaeus' appointment to the commanding post of an auxiliary unit.[1041] In one of the letters (TM 10021), an act of dismissal from the command was taken against Abinnaeus by his direct superior the *dux Aegypti* Valacius. By using Latin Valacius clearly asserted the power of his station and the authority over Abinnaeus. In the second Latin letter (TM 10014), Abinnaeus countered with petitioning the emperors for their support in the affair, which he was apparently granted. The formal features of the writing professionally composed[1042] in Latin represented the best the sender could do in this regard to support his chances for success.

2.4.3. Private letters

Based on their content, 76 specimens of letters were (tentatively) assessed as conveying messages of a private or at least informal character.[1043] They represented 53.90 % of the class. However, they should be considered as overrepresented. Private letters were more likely to be written on cheaper more readily available, and also much more durable, writing medium as were pottery ostraca (38, 50.00 %). Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of them, and thus nearly half of the private letters overall, came from the Eastern Desert alone representing further bias to be accounted for.[1044] Beyond the Eastern Desert, private letters in Latin appeared only scarcely, even at sites with richly preserved (Latin) textual record, such as for example Karanis (Kom Aushmin) in the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa) in Middle Egypt. The vast majority of private letters using Latin could be dated to the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE); only 6 came from late antiquity (284–641 CE), while none of them could be dated with certainty beyond the 4th century CE.

Quite naturally, it was not usual for private letters to explicitly report the social/professional background of their senders and addressees. As personal details of both appeared usually on the margins of the object bearing the message, and given the general lesser complete state of preservation of letters, not even their names could often be recovered. If included, the senders and addresses of the letters were most often identified as soldiers. The origin in the military milieu may be suggested/suspected for more private letters based on particular features of their content, and in general especially in the Eastern Desert, at Qasr Ibrim, and in the case of

[1039] *Inter alia* BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II; GEENS, 'Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/1.pdf; see also section 1.2.1. above.

[1040] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 555–557.

[1041] See also *Inter alia* BARNES, Phoenix 39(4), 371–374; GEENS, 'Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/1.pdf, 2–3.

[1042] See ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 555.

[1043] i.e. private letters include not only messages of a personal character. While not having the official form, the correspondence and relation between the sender and the addressee could still be professional in essence. See e.g. TM 24143, 24147.

[1044] Cf. section 1.0.1. and subchapter 1.6. above.

the 'Florida ostraca'.[1045] It is, however, not possible to be absolutely certain that it were soldiers who predominated amongst the people involved in communication through Latin private letters.

Some letters show that people outside the military service used Latin in private communication as well. This could be the case of the letter of Eulogius from the 4th century CE (TM 35255). What was the background of the addressee of the letter is unknown, and Eulogius himself is identified in by a Greek term in Latin script as '*epitropos*', an unspecific designation equal to the Latin '*procurator*' used for various kinds of administrators.[1046] The contents of the letter possibly points to its Christian ecclesiastical background.[1047] Likely belonging to the non-military component of state-sponsored enterprises, namely the quarrying at Mons Claudianus, were two Latin letters (TM 24143, 21147) belonging to the larger collection related to the quartermaster Successus. Both letters comprised requests for supplies sent to Successus by Greek-named men, Anthenor (TM 24143) and Agathon (TM 24147), while at least the latter one was apparently directly involved in the handling of the stone quarried. It has been notably suggested that Successus was a slave or a freedman and possibly *caesarianus*,[1048] and as such belonging to the staff of the imperial household.[1049] Four more letters involved slaves (TM 25882, 69911, 69927, 78573), both as senders (TM 69927, 78573) and addressees (TM 25882, 69911, 69927, 78573), one of them supplemented with its Greek translation (TM 25882). Remarkably, two of them (TM 69927, 78573) came from the very beginning of the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), if not even earlier. Chius, a recipient of one of the early letters (TM 78573), was an imperial slave, thus, having a similar background as Successus. It may be closely compared to a similarly dated official letter of Cerinthus (TM 20513).[1050] Both letters (TM 20513, 78573), and one more (TM 89253), were discussed by Iovine and Salati[1051] as belonging to the evidence of activities of Roman businessmen in Egypt. Also the other letters involving slaves possibly had a similar background and in fact represent with their senders and addressees persons, if not outrightly of western origin, then definitely using Latin regularly in their day-to-day conduct. Perhaps some of the other private Latin letters from the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE (in particular TM 25882, 69927) could be also a product of the abovementioned business enterprises.

In several cases, more private letters were recovered belonging to the same sender, addressee, or both. In the Eastern Desert such groups included the abovementioned pair of letters addressed to Successus at Mons Claudianus (TM 24143, 21147). There were also several ostraca (tentatively) identified as exchanged between Rustius Barbarus, as sender, and Pompeius, both probably soldiers, which were found at Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir; TM 70162–

[1045] BAGNALL, O. Florida.
[1046] See e.g. MASON, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, 142–143.
[1047] FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429; P. Lond. V, no. 1792.
[1048] BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, 111.
[1049] E.g. RE, s.v. *Caesariani*; for their involvement in the Eastern Desert in particular see *inter alia* CUVIGNY, in BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Mons Claudianus: organisation, administration og teknik i et romersk stenbrud fra kejsertiden, esp. 19–20; CUVIGNY, O. Claud. III, 11–53, esp. 24–25; HIRT, Imperial Mines and Quarries, 252–253.
[1050] See section 2.4.1. above.
[1051] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185.

70166).[1052] At Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh), several letters revolving around various persons with mostly Thracian names were all apparently scribbled by a cavalryman named Cutus (TM 144897–144898, 957329–957331),[1053] three other were all sent by one Aelius Silvinus (TM 145016–145018),[1054] and three letters (TM 144978, 144980–144981) revolved around a group of mutually interconnected soldiers.[1055] The dossiers of Rustius Barbarus, Cutus, Aelius Silvinus, and others all showed distinctive non-standard linguistic features showing that they used Latin on a regular basis, if not indeed as their mother tongue, even in an informal capacity.[1056] From other parts of Egypt, there were the three letters of the monk Theon (TM 34796, 35623–35624), tentatively identified as private and discussed above.[1057]

The largest body of Latin correspondence from Egypt related to a single person is the set of letters from the 'archive' of Claudius Tiberianus (TM 27080–27085, 69897). It is recognised as one of the most significant and important pieces of evidence regarding especially, but certainly not only, the issue of the use of Latin in Egypt. As such it has been extensively discussed by various scholars,[1058] most notably Adams.[1059] The central person of the archive Tiberianus, a soldier of lower yet distinguished rank and later a veteran, was the sender of a letter addressed to one Longinus Priscus, apparently his superior in the military (TM 27085). The remaining six Latin letters (including a fragmentary duplicate; TM 69897) were sent to Tiberianus by his son Claudius Terentianus who also served as soldier, first with the *classis Augusta Alexandrina* and later with an unknown legion. In addition, five more preserved letters from Terentianus to Tiberianus were in Greek.[1060] It has been demonstrated that Terentianus was a proficient user of Latin, of which he employs a distinctive form consistently applying various non-standard linguistic features.[1061] However, it is unclear if Latin should be on top of that considered to have been in fact his, and his father's, mother tongue.[1062] This issue is one of the major points for consideration in the debate about the reasons which stood behind the particular language choices Terentianus as well as his father made. Nonetheless, various other factors, both stemming from the contents of the letters and from the social contexts of the people

[1052] See section 1.4.5. above.

[1053] Esp. ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, 243–244; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.

[1054] See section 1.4.6. above.

[1055] BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 186–189.

[1056] See esp. ADAMS, ZPE 111; ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.

[1057] See section 2.4.1. above; see also section 1.2.3. above.

[1058] *Inter alia* GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf; P. Mich. VIII, 16–18, nos. 467–481; STRASSI, L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis; see also section 1.2.1. above.

[1059] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 593–597.

[1060] P. Mich. VIII, nos. 476–480. The other preserved communication of both men, in particular with the female members of their family (P. Mich. VIII, nos. 473–474, 481), was in Greek.

[1061] Esp. ADAMS, The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus (P. Mich. VIII, 467-72); see also e.g. ADAMS, ZPE 31; CALBOLI, in CALBOLI (ed.), Latin vulgaire — latin tardif II; more in general also e.g. DICKEY, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 162–164.

[1062] Esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 593, 595–597; cf. e.g. GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf, 3; STRASSI, L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis, esp. 110–112.

involved,[1063] which could have influenced their decisions, were pointed out, which are certainly not mutually exclusive. One angle of the debate is to be highlighted for its special relevance for the present thesis.

The original editors, Youtie and Winter,[1064] suggested that Terentianus' use of both Latin and Greek in letters sent to his father had a diachronic aspect to it. The letters (tentatively) identified as earlier were written in Latin, the later ones in Greek. Adams[1065] convincingly argued that the possible switch could not have been related to the attested/suspected changes in the status of Terentianus in relation to his military service. However, Kaimio[1066] and later Geens,[1067] in their consideration of this issue, pointed rather to the status of Tiberianus who was discharged in the course of the time covered by the correspondence and became a veteran settled at Karanis, while his son remained in active service. Indeed, it seems to be a more promising approach to focus on the father's rather than son's status in regard to the latter's language choice. Given the inherent familial power dynamic between the two men, Terentianus was certainly motivated to pay his father proper respects. This could have been done also by accommodating to the language reflecting his changing status/identity. Alternatively, and more specifically, the accommodation could perhaps also reflect their inequality on professional level, given the addressee's seniority in service or his possibly higher military rank.[1068] Thus, the switch from Latin to Greek on Tiberianus' discharge could signify the expiration of the professional dimension of their relationship. It seems that symbolic aspects of language use playing obviously a role in the case of official letters[1069] could have entered not only the private but also more narrowly personal correspondence as well.

2.5. Dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones

Various dedications, comprising inscriptions conventionally categorised also as honorific and religious,[1070] building inscriptions,[1071] and milestone inscriptions[1072] were represented by 103 specimens, mainly – but notably not only (TM 16514, 786175) – on stone, accounting for 7.99 % of the entire corpus. With regard to the specific research questions tackled by the present thesis, a slightly different than usual approach was applied especially towards the classification of various dedications. They were sorted according to their beneficiaries, as private dedications (2.5.1.), imperial dedications (2.5.2.), and divine dedications (2.5.3.). The

[1063] *Inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 593–597; GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf, 2–3.
[1064] P. Mich. VIII, 16; see also e.g. STRASSI, L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis, 91–97.
[1065] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 594.
[1066] KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 158.
[1067] GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf, 3.
[1068] Other possibly similar cases of accommodation in letters, including official ones, have been mentioned above. But cf. esp. the contradictory argument of Adams regarding esp. P. Mich. VIII, no. 476 regarding the possibility of Greek being considered as the higher language in their communication, ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 595–596.
[1069] See section 2.4.2. above.
[1070] E.g. BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 91–93.
[1071] E.g. BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 93–94.
[1072] E.g. BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 94; KOLB, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, esp. 654–660.

building inscriptions (2.5.4.) and milestones (2.5.5.) were defined on the basis of other criteria. They represent textual subclasses closely related to dedications, and in the case of the former also (formally) partly overlapping with them.

With some specifics and differences inherent to each subclass – most clearly in the case of the divine dedications –, dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones comprise a class of texts not only designated by design for public spaces, but also intended to reach as wide an audience as possible. Thus, both their form and contents were primarily defined by particular strategies of projecting one's desirable image, depending on their political, vocational, religious, or other identities, emphasised variously with regard to the particular type of the text and its further specifics.[1073] This could apply not only to the originators of the inscriptions, but importantly also to their beneficiaries. The language used, and its choice as such, were naturally one of the particular strategies applied to achieve that goal. Thus, the presently discussed class should be considered as perhaps one of the best exemplifying some principal aspects of the role of Latin in the public and official spheres of life in Roman Egypt, specifically in the sector where both of them meet.

2.5.1. Private dedications

Latin inscriptions honouring private persons formed a small and closely knit subclass comprising 7 specimens, representing 6.80 % of the class. Almost all of them came from Alexandria and surroundings. The only exception was an inscribed column (TM 106162) found at the modern town of Fuwa on the Rosetta branch of the Delta some 60 km from Alexandria. While the original context in which the inscription was found has not been recorded,[1074] it may be presumed that the piece could have been very well moved there from the capital. The private beneficiaries of these monuments were all high officials close to the imperial power.

Four of the inscriptions (TM 106162, 106165, 108943–108944) honoured provincial governors, the *praefecti Aegypti*. Actually, two of them, L. Domitius Honoratus (TM 108944) and T. Longaeus Rufus (TM 106165) were mentioned primarily, the former one solely, as *praefecti praetorio*, which was only the next (and top) stage in their careers. Another *praefectus Aegypti*, T. Furius Victorinus, was addressed in the same manner in a Greek dedication also coming from Alexandria.[1075] Thus, these three had to be awarded the monuments only after, and even more likely at the conclusion of their Egyptian tenure. It is not impossible that also the other two governors received their honorific inscriptions (TM 106162, 108943) only at/after their departure from the province. In fact, neither of them could have been referred to by a higher rank, as it was apparently the Egyptian prefecture which marked the apex of their careers.[1076]

[1073] See e.g. *passim* in C. BRUUN/J. EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy; on some particular aspects specific for the religious sphere and the army see e.g. STOLL, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army; STOLL, in VOGEL/GUNDLACH (eds.), Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten, esp. 427–434.
[1074] See BOTTI, BSAA 1, no. 20.
[1075] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 21.
[1076] C. Minicius Italus (TM 108943), mentioned with a record of the major part of his career, was awarded a larger monument in his home city of Aquileia in Italy dated to 105 CE (CIL V, no. 875), i.e. after his governorship of Egypt (BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 279; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144). The latter inscription also detailing his career expands it by no additional high equestrian offices (See also SYME, JRS 70, esp. 72).

Thus, it is possible to speculate, whether there perhaps could be an (in)formal ban on erecting monuments venerating the acting governors of Egypt. In the light of the possessive attitude of emperors towards Egypt and the infamous example of Cornelius Gallus, this would not be surprising.[1077] The exact circumstances under which the *praefecti Aegypti* were awarded their honours are elusive. Only in one case (TM 106162) the dedication featured an abbreviation likely solvable as a rather non-specific '*O(b) M(erita)*/ for merits'. Remarkably, all the Latin dedications to the *praefecti Aegypti* were made by military officers, at least three of them (TM 106165, 108943–108944), and perhaps all, serving with legions and with all probability serving close to the governors,[1078] while the abovementioned Greek dedication to T. Furius Victorinus was made by a member of the provincial administrative staff.[1079]

The remaining Latin monuments dedicated to private persons were strikingly awarded to officers who came from the central imperial apparatus rather than to members of the provincial administration. The oldest such case (TM 102612) came from the reign of Tiberius. It was a dedication to L. Publilius Labeo, who was introduced as *viator consulum praetorumque* and *Tiberi Caesaris praefectus statorum*. Thus, he was not a high imperial dignitary in his own right but, as argued by Kayser,[1080] he was a commander of a detachment of imperial messengers and bodyguards, and as such a close attendant to the most powerful figures of the empire. Kayser also plausibly suggested that Labeo could have come to Egypt as part of Germanicus' entourage during his visit in 19 CE.[1081] The inscription was notably bilingual. The partially preserved Greek part followed the Latin one and, as far as preserved, seems to have represented its full translation. The identity of the originator(s) of the honour was not included/preserved in the text. The key to further understanding this unusual inscription lays in the honorific epithet '*philalexandreus*' added to Labeo's vocational tittles. Similar appellations were awarded by eastern *poleis* to foreign esteemed individuals who showed them their favour.[1082] If indeed part of Germanicus' retinue, Labeo could have very well played

Q. Rammius Martialis (TM 106162) is not attested beyond the end of his Egyptian tenure in 119 CE (BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 283; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144; LEWIS, The American Journal of Philology 76(1); SYME, JRS 70, 72–73), while at least the holders of the praetorian prefecture, if not other high equestrian offices, are well established around and after this date (SYME, JRS 70, 68).

[1077] E.g. DERDA, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 58–59; for the case of Cornelius Gallus see 1.5.1. above; cf. also the later legislation of 398 CE establishing exactly such a kind of ban, Codex Iustinianus, 1.24.1; ROUECHÉ, in CHRISTOL/MASSON (eds.), Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/24055, esp. footnote no. 5.

[1078] Cf. KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., nos. 17, 19.

[1079] Note also Haensch's (HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 104–105) proposal that the outgoing *praefecti Aegypti* could have sent out an official announcement of their departure amongst others boasting of their career achievements. This and the erecting of the statues, both presumably revolving around similar ideas, could very well form parts of the same set of customs enacted on the conclusion of the particular governor's tenure.

[1080] KAYSER, BIFAO 90, 244–246.

[1081] KAYSER, BIFAO 90, 246; for Germanicus' visit in Egypt in general see esp. TACITUS, Annales, II, 59–61; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039; WEINGÄRTNER, Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus; see also SUETONIUS, De Vitis Caesarum, Tiberius, 52.

[1082] E.g. KALINOWSKI, Memory, Family, and Community in Roman Ephesos, 26; note also a very similar case of another viator from Ephesus, KAYSER, BIFAO 90, 246.

part in the known benefaction of his master towards the city of Alexandria,[1083] or even promote such attitude through his exclusive access to him. In addition, the bilingualism of the inscription may be interpreted as underscoring Labeo's closeness to the imperial power through the use of Latin, and the character of the monument as an award of the local municipality through the use of Greek.

The circumstances behind the monument erected for the imperial freedman Cosmus between 169–174 CE[1084] (TM 108945) are much less clear. Cosmus bore the title of *a rationibus*, placing him at, or just below the top of the fiscal branch of the central imperial administration. What was the exact station of Cosmus and other freedmen officials of his rank serving in the fiscal office is still a matter of debate.[1085] He was mentioned in a few other inscriptions attesting him as being active in Italy.[1086] There is no obvious connection explaining his appearance in Egypt. One possibility could be his supposed close relation with the equestrian M. Bassaeus Rufus who served himself as *procurator a rationibus* in 165 CE, presumably with Cosmus as one of his subordinates, then shortly as *praefectus Aegypti* in 168–169 CE, and finally as *praefectus praetorio* since 169 CE.[1087] It is well conceivable that Bassaeus Rufus could have arranged some kind of patronage of Cosmus for Alexandria (or Egypt) the same way as Cosmus pleaded to him and his colleague in the praetorian prefecture on behalf of the Samnite town of Saepinum.[1088]

The inscription awarding a statue to the *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* Maternus Cynegius (TM 106277), the chief administrator of the eastern part of the empire in late 4th century CE, is partly comparable to the dedication to the attendant Labeo (TM 102612). It was also initiated by the polity of Alexandria, namely its nobility. Likewise, it may be presumed that the statue was erected on the occasion of Cynegius' visit to the city. Cynegius held the abovementioned office in 384–388 CE.[1089] According to Libanius,[1090] he was tasked with coercing a better participation of provincial elites in the municipal administrative. For this purpose, possibly among others,[1091] he started his tenure with a tour across the provinces under his authority. Most likely still during 384 CE, he arrived also in Alexandria.[1092] The dedication of the statue was clearly connected to the visit of this illustrious guest, an extraordinary event on its own.[1093] However, the diligence of the Alexandrian elites is to be

[1083] Also SUETONIUS, De Vitis Caesarum, Tiberius, 52; TACITUS, Annales, II, 59; see also e.g. SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History.
[1084] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., 86.
[1085] Esp. KŁODZIŃSKI, Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum CII; see also *inter alia* WEAVER, The Cambridge Classical Journal 10, esp. 89–92.
[1086] CIL VI, no. 455; CIL IX, no. 2438; CIL XV, no. 7443.
[1087] Esp. PFLAUM, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, no. 162, p. 1019; see also BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 297; BRUNT, JRS 65, 146.
[1088] CIL IX, no. 2438; see also KŁODZIŃSKI, Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum CII, 115, esp. footnote no. 130; WEAVER, The Cambridge Classical Journal 10, 81–83.
[1089] PLRE I, s.v. *Maternus Cynegius* 3.
[1090] Esp. LIBANIUS, Orationes XLIX, 3.
[1091] E.g. ZOSIMUS, Nea Historia IV, 37, 3.
[1092] Two tours and visits to Egypt in 384 CE and 388 CE were assumed e.g. by PLRE I, s.v. *Maternus Cynegius 3*; *contra* MCLYNN, in BOWES/KULIKOWSKI (eds.), Hispania in Late Antiquity, 114–115, esp. 115, footnote no. 157, convincingly arguing that this and other suggested chronologies of his Alexandrian stay(s) are to be discarded in favour of one short visit immediately after his introduction to the office.
[1093] See also MCLYNN, in BOWES/KULIKOWSKI (eds.), Hispania in Late Antiquity, 115.

seen also in light of Cynegius' mission which likely served as an additional incentive for them to try to remain on the best possible terms with this esteemed guest in particular. Notably, while the erection of the monument was initiated by the representatives of the local municipality, they had to acquire the imperial approval and the text itself is formulated as an order from Theodosius I and Arcadius.[1094] This could perhaps explain why, especially in contrast with the dedication to Labeo (TM 102612), only Latin was used, and not Greek.

2.5.2. Imperial dedications

Texts honouring and venerating the emperor, or rarely other imperial figures or the imperial house as such (TM 106171, 106375, 154432), form the largest part of the dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones, comprising 49 individual specimens, representing 47.57 % of the entire class. The emperor was the central figure of the state ideology and the focal point of the officially sanctioned part of the religious landscape of the Roman Empire. In practice this was expressed through the distinct yet closely interconnected phenomena of imperial worship and imperial cult.[1095] The cultivation of both naturally belonged on the list of agendas realised and overseen by the Egyptian provincial administrative.[1096] While in the leading role, the central authority operated to achieve this goal also through representation by, in cooperation with, and besides other actors. Focusing on these originators – herein mostly belonging to the military – reveals clear spatial and chronological patterns in the set of Latin imperial dedications from Egypt.

During the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), at least half of the imperial dedications (13 out of 26) were (formally) realised as collective acts. They were of two distinct types. The first type comprised of dedications made in the name of entire military units.[1097] In all such cases the inscriptions disclose that various superiors and/or particular officers of these units were the ones actually involved in establishing the monuments, revealing their distinct officially curated nature.[1098] Usually, several persons were listed in hierarchical order. While the lower officers were generally responsible for the actual realisation of the dedications, it seems also apparent that, contrary to some formerly held assumptions,[1099] the higher officials were not

[1094] Cf. also the later legislation of 398 CE in this sense, Codex Iustinianus, 1.24.1; ROUECHÉ, in CHRISTOL/MASSON (eds.), Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, esp. footnote no. 5; for similar, yet distinctly formulated, cases of Greek private dedications see FEISSEL, BHC 108, 545–558.

[1095] *Inter alia* CLAUSS, Kaiser und Gott: Herrscherkult im römischen Reich; FISHWICK, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West; GRADEL, Emperor Worship and Roman Religion; for Egypt in particular see PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; STOLL, in VOGEL/GUNDLACH (eds.), Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten, 445–449. In the inscriptions, one or the other may be sometimes recognised based on the formulations included; e.g. '*pro salute*/ for the wellbeing (of the emperor)' implying the imperial worship (TM 81680, 92989, 106311, 154432; e.g. PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 84–85), '*devota/us numini (maiestatique) eius*/ devoted to the *numen* and majesty of his (=emperor)' explicitly mentioning the godly aspect of the emperor as the object of the imperial cult (e.g. TM 106205, 106273, 121847, 220340; *inter alia* FISHWICK, Britania 20; FISHWICK, ZPE 160; GUNDEL, Epigraphica 15; CLAUSS, Keiser und Gott, 236–237).

[1096] Esp. PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 86–94.

[1097] *Inter alia* STOLL, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 461–462; STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 205, 218–225; WILLBURGER, in HODGSON et al. (eds.), Limes XXI, 719–722.

[1098] Esp. STOLL, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 49, esp. 259–260; STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 197–200; WILLBURGER, in HODGSON et al. (eds.), Limes XXI, 719–721.

[1099] E.g. STOLL, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 49, 250.

being mentioned only formally. They could have provided anything ranging from the initiative, direct order, and financial means to sole passive consent, or even participation in the consecration or performance thereof.[1100] A similar practice pertained in general also to the building inscriptions,[1101] some imperial dedications with individual originators (TM 92989, 106128, 154432), exceptionally to collective dedications of the abovementioned first group (TM 112709), and even to some visitors' graffiti (TM 93168, 106293).[1102] In the other type, the dedicating body was a group of peers,[1103] acting in an arrangement close to the well-established Roman institution of the *collegia*,[1104] if they indeed did not *de jure* represent one.[1105] In most cases (with the notable exception of TM 112709) a mention of any overseeing authority is missing. Thus, not only the responsibility for erecting the monument, but also the initiative to do so, lay with the respective collective body.[1106]

Eleven imperial dedications from the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) came from Alexandria and surroundings; a set of six inscriptions (TM 106271–106273, 106311, 106314, 112709) could be tentatively associated with the legionary camp at Nicopolis, and the building of its headquarters (*principia*) in particular.[1107] A singular dedication to Tiberius' heir Germanicus made by a priestly *collegium* of the *magistri Larum Augustorum* (TM 106375) was apparently connected to his visit to Alexandria in 19 CE[1108] and, thus, likely closely related to the abovementioned honorific inscription for the imperial attendant Labeo. Next to this one, four more inscriptions of the collegial type came from Nicopolis (TM 106271–106272, 106709, 106314), all dedicated by collectives from the army, namely by the military tribunes of the *legio II Traiana* (TM 106271), decurions of the two auxiliary units stationed with it at Nicopolis (TM 106272), and two by the classes of legionary veterans (TM 106314, 112709), representing a distinct sub-type of a monument which could be consecrated as part of the discharge ceremonies.[1109] One of these 'discharge dedications' (TM 112709) was notably overseen by the *praefectus Aegypti* and commander of the Nicopolis fortress. One of the Nicopolis inscriptions (TM 106273) belonged to the type of dedications made in the name of whole units, namely the *ala veterana Gallica*, with an involvement of a person, probably its

[1100] STOLL, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 461; STOLL, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 49, esp. 250.
[1101] See section 2.5.4. below.
[1102] See subchapter 2.8. below.
[1103] *Inter alia* STOLL, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 461–462; STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 152–153.
[1104] See e.g. RE, s.v. *collegium*; see also FLOWER, The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden, 215–225.
[1105] In the inscriptions, this was never explicitly stated. A formally established collegium was certainly represented by members of the priesthood in TM 106375; see also PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 96. In the case of the military peer-groups this seems also well possible. For the Roman military *collegia* see esp. PEREA YÉBENES, Collegia militaria. Asociaciones militares en el Imperio; for the relevant commentary on TM 106272 see *ibid.*, esp. 348–349. For *collegia* in relation to the imperial worship, see e.g. GRADEL, Emperor Worship and Roman Religion, esp. 213–233. For the use of Latin by the *collegia* at the island of Delos, see ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 666–669. A closely unspecified c*ollegium* appeared also in a Greek dedication coming from Alexandria (BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 108).
[1106] Esp. WILLBURGER, in HODGSON et al. (eds.), Limes XXI, 721.
[1107] See e.g. STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 63, 219, 223–224.
[1108] See also section 1.1.1. above.
[1109] STOLL, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 49.

commander, whose name was erased from the monument.[1110] The last monument from the military camp of Nicopolis (TM 106311) was a privately dedicated statue base for the image of the *Genius centuriae*, seeking the wellbeing of the emperor Caracalla. The personnel background of the other three imperial dedications from Alexandria (TM 106163, 106313, 108942) remains uncertain due to their partial state of preservation. The re-dedication of the Vatican Obelisk (TM 106374) is to be considered as an exceptional case altogether, nonetheless, with clear official background.[1111]

Away from Alexandria, the personnel background of the Latin imperial dedications was markedly different. This is best exemplified by the collection of seven inscriptions from Syene (Aswan; TM 106128, 106171, 106179, 121990, 128447, 154478, 154479) which apparently came from a very similar military setting as the set associated with the Nicopolis camp headquarters (*principia*).[1112] Five of the texts dedicated monuments on behalf of the whole auxiliary units and included the meticulous listing of their superordinate commanding hierarchy, in all reaching as far as the *praefectus Aegypti*. Notably, the commanding officers tasked with the actual erection of the three later monuments from the reign of Antoninus Pius onward (TM 106171, 121990, 128447) were all legionary centurions of the *legio II Traiana* based at Nicopolis. Similarly structured was also the dedication of two obelisks to a pair of deities for the wellbeing and victory of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by one Aurelius Restitutus (TM 106128), also a centurion of the Nicopolitan legion put in command of the auxiliary unit based at Syene. Although the originator explicitly states that he made the donation as a private person ('*de suo posuit*'), the mention of the superiors, and also the apparent monumental scale of the donation, as well as the possible occasion for which it was made,[1113] show that the official authorities had to be somehow involved, perhaps at least in authorising the project. Most probably also asking for godly favour for the emperor, the text of the large granite altar from Syene (TM 106179) was too fragmentary to reveal any information about its origin.

The remaining several Latin imperial dedications (TM 18334, 80903, 81680, 92989, 106241, 106292, 154404, 154432, 967241) coming from the rest of the *chora* – largely incompletely preserved – overall apparently fit similar patterns as the group from Syene. In particular, the texts composed on behalf of the Egyptian legions for Claudius (TM 154404) found at Iqfahs near Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa) and in the name of the *cohors II Thracum* for Septimius Severus at Luxor, did not fail to mention the *praefectus Aegypti*. Also two private dedicants, a naval officer at Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel; TM 92989), and an auxiliary centurion at Pselchis (Dakka; TM 154432), credited their superiors. Only Sulpicius Serenus (TM 81680), a military tribune of the *legio XXII Deiotariana*,[1114] did not mention anyone else in his exceptional dedication, in fact chiefly recording the military exploits he achieved as commander of the auxiliary unit in the Eastern Desert.[1115]

[1110] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 106bis.
[1111] See section 1.1.1. above.
[1112] See section 1.5.1. above.
[1113] PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 70.
[1114] See BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 20.
[1115] See section 1.3.4. above.

During the period of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) and after, the collective dedications quite common before no longer appeared. All monuments honouring the emperors were, as long as it was reported, raised by individuals. Most of the late imperial dedications (13 out of 22) were recovered from a single site, the legionary fortress built in and around the Temple of Amun at Luxor.[1116] Amongst them, two groups, of three (TM 106205, 220343–220344) and four texts (TM 106203, 220340–220342) respectively, came from the large *tetrastyla* erected over the major street junctions inside the fortress.[1117] The older *tetrastylon* of 301 CE was dedicated by Aurelius Reginus, the *praeses Thebaidos*, while the later bore the name and titles of Aurelius Maximus, *dux Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum*. Besides the *tetrastyla*, there were also several statue bases associated with one of the inner halls of the temple adapted to serve as a sanctuary dedicated mainly to the imperial cult, in fact representing the military camp's headquarters (*principia*).[1118] Again, they formed two groups, namely two bases (TM 106206, 754597) dedicated by Valerius Evethius, a *rationalis*, to the members of the original tetrarchy, and three bases (TM 120588, 121847, 754582) erected by Valerius Rometalca, another *dux Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum*, for the statues of Constantine I.

The involvement of the highest civil and military officials of the provincial administrative in erecting monuments venerating emperors was not limited to this site. Several late imperial dedications were recovered also from Alexandria. There as well, two of them (TM 106275–106276) had as their originators members of the highest echelons of the Egyptian civil administrative, namely another *rationalis* and *magister privatorum Aegypti et Libyae*. A statue base (TM 106315) of Diocletian as the 'pater Augustorum' probably represented a rare exception from the outlined pattern. It was dedicated by a certain Aurelius Sarapion who could have been a veteran member of the military.[1119] The latest known Latin imperial dedication from Egypt honoured the emperor Valentinian I (TM 106170). Its originator was C. Valerius Eusebius who held the office of *comes per Orientem*.[1120] Standing above the Egyptian provincial administration and being responsible for the whole easternmost part of the empire, this official resided in Syrian Antiochia. The circumstances under which he had a statue of the emperor erected in Egypt are unknown and perhaps this case may be compared with the not

[1116] See section 1.3.3. above.

[1117] EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 11–12, 20–21; for the architectural form in general see esp. THIEL, Antiquité tardive 10; THIEL, in BOSCHUNG/ECK (eds.), Die Tetrarchie.

[1118] See esp. JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire; KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 29.

[1119] The occupation/status of Aurelius Sarapion is not clear. Only the letters 'VE[.]' were preserved behind his name representing an incomplete ending of the respective line, under which follows only the abbreviated formula '*d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e(ius)*'. The incomplete title was suggested to be restored as '*ve[t(eranus)]*' by Momsen (CIL III, no. 6584). Gehn (LSA, no. LSA-873, http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-873) proposed to treat the two letters as an abbreviation of the rank title '*v(ir) e(minentissimus)*'. This would suggest that Aurelius Sarapion in fact most likely held the office of *praefectus praetorio* (e.g. CHASTAGNOL, Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes 100(1), 204–205; see also DILLON, in WIENAND (ed.), Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD, 46–48; cf. PLRE I), standing well above the provincial administrative. This seems improbable based on several reasons: his cognomen of Egyptian origin, the unlikely failure to mention the prominent office held next to/instead of the rank title, the layout of the inscription using interpunction and in particular the spacing between letters representing abbreviations.

[1120] PLRE I, s.v. *GAIUS VALERIUS EUSEBIUS 42*.

much later appearance of Maternus Cynegius holding a similar office (TM 106277).[1121] In other imperial dedications from that time, the identity of the inscription's originator was not preserved or stated at all.

2.5.3. Divine dedications

Latin religious inscriptions, in particular the dedications to various deities, were rare, comprising just 4 specimens (TM 81612, 88424, 92999, 106312), with 9 more inscriptions, including four building inscriptions (TM 97572, 106279, 106289, 702317), four imperial dedications (TM 81680, 106128, 106179, 106311), as well as the trilingual stela of Cornelius Gallus (TM 80859), which were also partly formulated as such. The latter bear limited relevance for the following discussion and are taken into consideration mainly with regard to the deities they mention. Altogether, these 13 religious inscriptions represented 12,62 % of all dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones.

Due caution must be applied when analysing what divinities were venerated by the Latin inscriptions. Firstly, in several of them (TM 92999, 97572, 106128, 702317), the passages identifying the god(s) were damaged, necessitating various degrees of restoration. In one case the text of the dedication was composed as not mentioning the approached deity at all (TM 81612). Subsequently, the preserved and restored divine names also ought to be considered through the lens of syncretism and *interpretatio Graeca/Romana*. Thus, the reliability of individual identifications significantly varies, in some cases possibly up to nearing conjecture.

Most consecrations were aimed at some form of supreme deity – either alone or accompanied by other gods. In more than a third of them (TM 81680, 88424, 97572, 106279, 702317) this was Jupiter (Optimus Maximus). In others it was or could be some other deity identified with him (TM 81612, 92999, 106128, 106179, 106289), such as most notably Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis (TM 81612, 92999).[1122] Jupiter and other official state deities were mentioned in four inscriptions (TM 88424, 97572, 106279, 702317). Jupiter Optimus Maximus and other gods (*Ceteri Dii*) were venerated by a 2nd century CE dedication from Coptos (Qift; TM 88424). Jupiter was invoked also on an altar erected to commemorate a victory over the nomadic dwellers of the Eastern Desert (TM 81860), perhaps also coming from Coptos.[1123] The other three inscriptions were near identical building inscriptions dated to 288 CE coming from Deir el-Gebrawi in Middle Egypt (TM 106279), Sile (Tell Abu Seifa) in the Isthmus of Suez (TM 97572), and Qaret el-Tub in Bahariya (TM 702317).[1124] They all dedicated the inaugurated fortresses to the principal deities involved in the imperial ideology of the nascent tetrarchic regime: Jupiter, Hercules, and Victoria.[1125]

In the First Cataract region a newly opened quarrying enterprise was dedicated by a building inscription (TM 106289) to the ancestral gods and protectors of the region, Khnum and Satis

[1121] See section 2.5.1. above.
[1122] See below.
[1123] See section 1.3.4. above.
[1124] See section 2.5.5. below.
[1125] E.g. KOLB, Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike, 25–58.

of Elephantine, named as 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Hammon Chnubis' and 'Iuno Regina'.[1126] The comparison with this specimen supports the restoration of divine names from the beginning of a dedication of a pair of obelisks from Syene (TM 106128) as 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Ammon' and 'Iuno Regina',[1127] in which they were approached in request for the wellbeing and victory of the emperors. It may be cautiously suggested that as in the case of the building inscription, the deities mentioned are to be identified as Khnum and Satis as well.[1128] The Latin and Greek texts of the trilingual stele of Cornelius Gallus (TM 80859) were framed as dedications to '*Dii Patres*/ *Θεοί Πατρῷοι*/ Fatherly Gods' and '*Nilus Adiutor*/ *Νεῖλος Συνλήπτωρ*/ Nile the Helper'. Arguably the former also referred in general to the ancestral deities of the First Cataract region.[1129] Specific just for this particular area, the appearance of the native Egyptian deities in Latin dedications could have amongst others stemmed from the strength their cults maintained at the very south of Egypt even during the Roman period.[1130]

Also ultimately rooted in the native Egyptian religion, a syncretic deity Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis was likely introduced in the early 2nd century CE and enjoyed some popularity especially amongst the members of the Egyptian military garrison.[1131] He was arguably the intended recipient of the unspecific dedication of an altar at Mons Claudianus (TM 81612) which was found in the temple dedicated to him and the '*Συννάοι Θεοί*/ Gods having the same sanctuary'.[1132] Another sanctuary of this god was at Akoris[1133] where another Latin inscribed monument venerating him was found (TM 92999).[1134] One more foreign deity adopted by the Romans, and the Roman army in particular, was the Jupiter Optimus Heliopolitanus of Syrian origin,[1135] to whom an altar was consecrated at Syene (TM 106179).[1136] Typically Roman, ones intrinsically linked to the imperial army, were the various divinities belonging amongst the military Genii.[1137] Two statues of such Genii were erected at the military camp of Nicopolis near Alexandria (TM 106311–106312). One of these dedications (TM 106311) named the '*Genius centuriae*/ Genius of the *centuria*'. The other statue (TM 106312) was labelled as the

[1126] See e.g. KOSSMANN, Ägyptische Götter in Panzertracht in der römischen Kaiserzeit, esp. 138; NAVRATILOVA/RUTHERFORD, in DIRKSEN/KRASTEL (eds.), Epigraphy through Five Millennia, 230; cf. also esp. BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, nos. 302–303.

[1127] Cf. AE 1974, no. 664; LOCHER, Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 38, footnote no. 9; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 70; ZAWADZKI, CdÉ 44(87), 116.

[1128] See also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 510–511; KOSSMANN, Ägyptische Götter in Panzertracht in der römischen Kaiserzeit, 138–139.

[1129] HOFFMANN et al., Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus, esp. 162–164.

[1130] See section 1.5.1. above.

[1131] Esp. BRICAULT, Acta Orientalia Belgica XVIII; TALLET, in BELAYCHE/DUBOIS (eds.), L'oiseau et le poisson. Cohabitations religieuses dans les mondes grec et romain; see also BERNAND, I. Akoris, 35.

[1132] Esp. PEACOCK/MAXFIELD, Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavation I, 101–116.

[1133] BERNAND, I. Akoris, XVII–XVIII, 34–38; GROSSMANN, MDAIK 37.

[1134] See also BERNAND, I. Akoris, no. 21.

[1135] BELLELLI/BIANCHI (eds.), Orientalia sacra urbis Romae. Dolichena et Heliopolitana; HAJJAR, La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek; for his worship in the Roman army in particular see STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, esp. 324–327.

[1136] For the identification of the deity see also section 1.5.1. above.

[1137] E.g. SPEIDEL/DIMITROVA-MILČEVA, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/16/2; STOLL, in JUNG/SCHÜCKER (eds.), Utere felix vivas. Festschrift für Jürgen Oldenstein.

'*Genius sanctus legionis et commanipulorum bonorum*/ sacred Genius of the legion and of the good comrades-in-arms'.[1138]

It is not surprising to find the official state deities and the chief native gods as the addressees of inscriptions commemorating large projects, including construction of military fortresses (TM 97572, 106279, 702317) and the opening of a quarry (TM 106289), and other texts with a more or less clear official background (TM 80859, 81680,[1139] 106128[1140]). The dedication to Jupiter from Coptos (TM 88424) is a remarkable exception in this regard. The other divine dedications, belonging presumably rather to the private sphere (TM 81612, 92999, 106179, 106311–106312), notably featured only the deities more or less exclusively related to the Roman army.

Considering only the 4 divine dedications *sensu stricto* (TM 81612, 88424, 92999, 106312), they were all made by soldiers, specifically members of the lower officer corps. The appearance of such Latin texts is clearly restricted to the military milieu, and even there it was rare in comparison to the soldiers' divine dedications written in Greek.[1141] Remarkably, the originators of these Latin dedications shared a similar background which could have played a role in their choice of language. Annius Rufus dedicating the altar at Mons Claudianus (TM 81612) was a centurion of *legio XV Apollinaris* stationed in the western part of the empire and, thus, originally an outsider to the province.[1142] The dedicants from Akoris (TM 92999) and Coptos (TM 88424) were servicemen of the legion based at Nicopolis.

2.5.4. Building inscriptions[1143]

The dedications discussed so far were supplemented by a specific subclass of building inscriptions which amounted to 32 specimens, representing 31.07 % of the entire class. The construction works recorded in Latin building inscriptions were mostly large-scale projects. Most often it was military forts, mentioned certainly by thirteen (TM 79054, 81659, 88367, 97572, 105712, 106256, 106279, 115845, 130149, 154463–154465, 702317) and possibly by five more inscriptions (TM 81588, 81632, 106061, 106177). Other separately built edifices or installations inaugurated comprised their part, including water management infrastructure (TM 81605, 102595, 145033), the building of the fort's headquarters (*principia*; TM 106241),

[1138] See also STOLL, in VOGEL/GUNDLACH (eds.), Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten, 444. For the commentary on the purview of the Genius of TM 106312 see LENDON, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 35, 273.

[1139] See section 1.3.4. above.

[1140] See section 2.5.2. above.

[1141] Cf. e.g. BERNAND, I. Akoris; BERNAND, Pan du desert, esp. nos. 19–22; CUVIGNY, Chiron 40; HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, Tab. 1–3; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, 65–66.

[1142] For Rufus' appointment see CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 237; for the military unit see WHEELER, in LE BOHEC/WOLFF (eds.), Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, 259–308.

[1143] There was no clearly set distinguishing line between various types of dedications and building inscriptions. Moreover, the latter was defined mainly on the basis of what was the object of the inscription, rather than who was its beneficiary. Building inscriptions comprised texts pertaining to various buildings, and other larger construction works, including also public monuments for which no beneficiary person was mentioned. Building inscriptions may partly overlap with the other categories, namely the divine dedications (TM 97572, 106279, 106289, 702317) and imperial dedications (TM 106241).

and possibly a *'basilica'* (TM 128448).[1144] In the military camp of Nicopolis a short Latin building inscription was made also to record the authorship of a comparatively minor project of laying a mosaic (TM 106274). Other infrastructural projects, such as a bridge (TM 88376) and artificial water-canals (TM 102613, 102649, 103026), could besides others serve the needs of the army as well. Two Latin inscriptions commemorated the raising of obelisks at Alexandria (TM 102611, 107330) and one texts the quarry works taking place near Syene (TM 106289). With regard to the language(s) used by the building inscriptions, it seems symptomatic that the several bilingual, that is translated, inscriptions encountered pertained only to civilian or only partly military projects (TM 81605, 102595, 102649, 102611, 102613, 103026).[1145]

Correspondingly to the scale, presumable cost, and significance of such projects, the emperor himself is mentioned as the originator in several cases (TM 81632, 88376, 97572, 102613, 102649, 106279, 154465, 702317); more often, however, it was the *praefectus Aegypti*, apparently as the head of the provincial military, and later the *dux* (TM 79054, 106177) which superseded him in this role. As with the imperial dedications,[1146] the building inscriptions were often composed as listing various higher and lower officials, as well as particular military units, whose authority and resources on the one hand and actual responsibility and labour on the other were involved in the projects. All of the above points to the exclusively official, governmental background of the construction works recorded in Latin inscriptions. Only in rare cases, namely the mosaic at Nicopolis (TM 106274) and a cistern at Mons Claudianus (TM 81605, 102595), is it possible to consider less official forms of sponsorship.

Many projects were apparently or probably realised with the involvement of the central imperial government.[1147] Notably, in several instances it is more or less evident that individual construction events mentioned in the inscriptions were a part of larger building campaigns, happening both as temporally limited and gradually progressing efforts. In the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), several such building campaigns were connected especially with the region of the Eastern Desert. Such a construction venture was recorded by an inscription on two slabs of stone from Coptos raised around the turn of the Common Era (TM 88367). After listing several dozen individual soldiers involved,[1148] it described the construction of several cisterns at particular sites with the exact dates of their inauguration, namely the ports of Myos Hormos and Berenike and two waystations on the route leading to the latter, namely Apollonos Hydreuma and Compasi,[1149] and more generally construction and reconstruction works on multiple fortifications. The text could indeed fit well with the archaeologically

[1144] See esp. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 413; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 68.
[1145] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 571–576.
[1146] See section 2.5.2. above.
[1147] Cf. also e.g. ARNOLD, Temples of the Last Pharaohs, 225–273; CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt. The Creation of a Roman Province, esp. 18–19; HÖLBL, Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II; JACKSON, At Empire's Edge, 95–98; TÖRÖK, Between Two Worlds, 443–456.
[1148] Cf. the collegial dedications in section 2.5.2. above.
[1149] Cf. the itinerary as recorded by Pliny the Elder, PLINIUS MAIOR, Naturalis Historia, VI, 102–103; see also BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 329.

attested surge of (construction) activities noted at various sites in the Eastern Desert at that time.[1150]

The facilities along the Berenike route were further expanded in 76/77 CE under the authority of the *praefectus Aegypti* L. Iulius Ursus,[1151] who reportedly traversed the trail in person.[1152] A complete inscription from Sikayt (TM 105712), a damaged one from Aphrodites Orous (Minayh el-Hir; TM 81659), and a only partially preserved one from Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh; TM 106256) all had similar wording and recorded (re)constructions of wells (*hydreumata*), cisterns (*lacus*), and fortlets (*praesidia*) at these sites.

A similar campaign of route improvement and maintenance could have been conducted also roughly a decade later by the *praefectus Aegypti* M. Mettius Rufus[1153] who was involved in the construction of another cistern (*lacus*) at Didymoi (TM 145033) and arguably also the fortlet (*praesidium*) at Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad; TM 154465)[1154] as well as a bridge at Coptos (TM 88376).[1155] He also issued the so-called 'Coptos Tariff' written in Greek,[1156] and is mentioned in a Greek visitor's graffito from the quarrying district of Gebel el-Tukh on the eastern bank of the Nile near Ptolemais Hermiu (el- Mansha) in Middle Egypt.[1157] In all these inscriptions, his name was, with varying degrees of success, erased due to a *damnatio memoriae* issued over his person.[1158] It may be tentatively suggested that also another very fragmentary Domitianic[1159] inscription from El-Hayita (TM 81588) could have belonged to the group. In comparison with Iulius Ursus, Mettius Rufus was apparently active not only on the Berenike route but also along the one heading towards the quarries of Mons Porphyrites and the port of Abu Sha'ar. However, the inscription from El-Hayita could conceivably be linked also to C. Septimius Vegetus,[1160] another *praefectus Aegypti*, who was responsible for a partially preserved dedication/building inscriptions at Mons Claudianus (TM 106257+874390) and for the digging out of a water-canal in the western Delta (TM 103026), or alternatively also to some of the immediate successors of both abovementioned governors.[1161] It was established that the Flavian period indeed marked the start of a time of the most intensive development and exploitation of the Eastern Desert.[1162] In this context, the activities of

[1150] E.g. BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 11–14; cf. also *inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; REDON (ed.), Desert Networks, https://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land; see also subchapter 1.4. above.
[1151] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 276–277; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144.
[1152] Esp. BAGNALL et al., JRA 14; see also section 1.4.6. above.
[1153] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 277–278; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144.
[1154] E.g. MATHIEU, BIFAO 103, 558–559.
[1155] BERNAND, Les portes du désert, no. 68.
[1156] BERNAND, Les portes du désert, no. 67.
[1157] SAYCE, Revue des Études Grecques 1888(1–3), 313–314; for the site in general see DE MORGAN et al., MMAF 8(3); KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 130–135; SAYCE, Revue des Études Grecques 1888(1–3); for a distinctive set of Latin visitors' graffiti recovered there, see section 2.6.3. below.
[1158] E.g. MAGDY, International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences 3(2), 84, 87.
[1159] BERNAND, Pan du désert, 65.
[1160] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 277; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144.
[1161] BASTIANINI, ZPE 17, 277–279; BRUNT, JRS 65, 144.
[1162] E.g. BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 15–18; cf. also *inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; REDON (ed.), Desert Networks; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land; see also subchapter 1.4. above.

several (nearly) consecutive governors in the region may be perhaps considered as part of a single concerted effort.

It seems possible that some coordinated construction effort could have occurred also during the reign of Antoninus Pius when the Eastern Desert ventures were already in decline. It is hinted by two building inscriptions mentioning the name of another Egyptian governor L. Munatius Felix from Wadi Samna in the Eastern Desert (TM 81632) and from Luxor (TM 106061).[1163] Both texts were preserved with damage to the passages specifying the actual objects of the building projects adding to the overall uncertainty of the hypothetical event.

The most manifestly evidenced case of a coordinated construction project was realised early during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE). The complete inscription documented at Deir el-Gebrawi[1164] in Middle Egypt (TM 106279), a damaged one from Sile (Tell Abu Seifa)[1165] in the Isthmus of Suez (TM 97572), and a recently found fragmentary text at Qaret el-Tub[1166] in Bahariya (TM 702317) had all evidently nearly the same wording, all were dated to 288 CE, and all were inaugurating newly established military fortresses. While the (possible) building campaigns described above were all apparently restricted to a certain (sub-)region, the inscriptions of 288 CE are remarkable by their spread across mutually distant reaches of Egypt,[1167] but still evidently comprising a single construction effort.[1168] The fortresses of 288 CE, however, arguably represent only the first phase within a more extensive overhaul – certainly directed by the central imperial government – of the system of military infrastructure of Egypt, and the reorganisation of its garrison,[1169] and eventually in particular also the vacation of Lower Nubia,[1170] which all took shape only gradually spanning the several following decades in total. Overall, our knowledge about Diocletian's and later reforms of the Roman military presence in Egypt still remain limited.[1171] As complex and far reaching as they were, they themselves formed part of an even larger empire-wide reform programme begun during the tetrarchy.[1172] Amongst the multiple fortifications (tentatively) associated with the tetrarchic building campaign,[1173] only two other yielded also Latin epigraphic evidence. A large

[1163] See also the Greek dedication of the same *praefectus Aegypti* from Coptos, BERNAND, Pan du désert, 78.
[1164] See section 1.2.5. above.
[1165] See esp. ABD EL-MAQSOUD et al., MDAIK 53; see also subchapter 1.6. above.
[1166] See esp. COLIN (ed.), Baḥariya I: le fort romain de Qaret el-Toub I; see also subchapter 1.6. above.
[1167] The practical aspect of disseminating nearly the same text, apparently distributed to all the sites from a single source (i.e. authority), is well illustrated by the near contemporary papyrus (TM 16514) containing a pattern for an imperial dedication honouring Diocletian and Maximian written in the appropriate monumental script, see also section 1.2.3. above.
[1168] See also *inter alia* CIL III, no. 13578; COLIN (ed.), Baḥariya I: le fort romain de Qaret el-Toub I, 103–114, 208–215; POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 16, 22.
[1169] Esp. POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), esp. 9, 16, 20, 22–30; see also *inter alia* ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 143–155, 201, 204–207; BOWMAN, BASP 15(1/2); PALME, in BAGNALL (ed.) Egypt in the Byzantine World, esp. 247–248, 255–257.
[1170] E.g. BOWMAN, BASP 15(1/2), 28–29; FHN III, esp. 1188–1193; POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 6–9; UPDEGRAFF, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1.
[1171] See POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 9.
[1172] E.g. SOUTHERN/DIXON, The Late Roman Army, esp. 15–38.
[1173] *Inter alia* BRONES/DUVETTE, BIFAO 107; KUCERA in BAGNALL et al. (eds.), The Oasis Papers 6; KUCERA, The Roman military presence in the Western Desert of Egypt; MACKENSEN, JRA 16; POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 9–22; SCHWARTZ/WILD, Qaṣr-Qārūn / Dionysias 1948; SCHWARTZ et al., Qaṣr-Qārūn/Dionysias 1950; SHEEHAN, Babylon of Egypt.

collection of twelve texts (TM 106203, 106205–106206, 120588, 121847, 220340–220344, 754582, 754597) came from the Temple of Amun at Luxor which was incorporated into the newly established legionary fortress.[1174] They were not building inscriptions but rather imperial dedications,[1175] with seven of them, nonetheless, inaugurating two monumental tetrastyla in 301 CE (TM 106205, 220343–220344) and 308/309 CE (TM 106203, 220340–220342), suggesting the general timeframe for the major construction works on the fortress. Concurrently and at least as late as the sole reign of Constantine I (324–337 CE), its interior was further provided and embellished by sets of imperial portrait statuary (TM 106206, 120588, 121847, 754582, 754597). At the same time as the later *tetrastylon* and with the involvement of the same high military official, namely the *dux Aegypti et Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum* Aurelius Maximus, also the new auxiliary fort of Abu Sha'ar at the coast of the Red Sea was inaugurated (TM 79054; most likely also TM 79055). It may be presumed that at least two milestones coming from the same time (TM 106351, 154418), and perhaps a third (TM 119368),[1176] were also erected as part of the same building campaign. Overall, as much as 20 inscriptions could be (tentatively) associated with the tetrarchic overhaul of the military infrastructure in Egypt, representing 68.97 % of Latin epigraphic evidence dated to the given timeframe and 2/3 of the ones dated to the period of 284–395 CE in general.

Last but not least, the *dux Aegypti* Flavius Mauricius oversaw closely unspecified restoration works undertaken by an auxiliary unit at Syene sometime between 367–375 CE (TM 106177). As argued above,[1177] the site of the find and the reconstructed structure mentioned could have been the city's old auxiliary camp. Unlike the other earlier cases discussed, it was not possible to relate this inscription to any other epigraphic find from Egypt. However, it seems to fit well with the empire-wide campaign of restoration, reinforcement, and establishment of border fortifications under Valentinian I in the west and Valens in the east.[1178] In particular, there are multiple building inscriptions recording these works preserved from various sites across the Roman frontiers dated to the abovementioned timeframe, especially around 371 CE.[1179]

In total, 15 Latin building inscriptions (representing 30.61 % of texts of the subclass), and 15 other texts, could be at least tentatively associated with others forming coherent sets representing wider building campaigns. The larger, more widespread, and costlier, the likelier it was that the central imperial government was in fact significantly involved in these efforts, even in cases in which this is not explicitly mentioned/suggested. Obviously, this could have a significant impact also on the epigraphic monuments recording the individual construction works included, as it would have affected not only their content, but also their formal features including the language chosen and used for their composition.

[1174] *Inter alia* JONES/MCFADDEN (eds.), Art of Empire; KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 29; EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor; see also section 1.3.3. above.

[1175] See section 2.5.2. above

[1176] See section 2.5.5. below.

[1177] See section 1.5.1. above.

[1178] E.g. SOUTHERN/DIXON, The Late Roman Army, 40–45; for Mauricius' inscription in particular see also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 103–104.

[1179] E.g. AE 1996, nos. 1612–1613; AE 2000, no. 1223; CIL III, nos. 3653, 5670a, 10596; CIL XIII, nos. 11538, 11543.

2.5.5. Milestones

Representing a typically Roman epigraphic genre closely related to dedications and building inscriptions, there were only 4 milestone inscriptions extant from Roman Egypt and Nubia,[1180] all of them at least partly written in Latin, representing a mere 3.88 % of the present class. The scarcity of Roman milestones in Egypt is striking in comparison with the thousands of them preserved from the remaining provinces of the empire. In the Nile Valley proper this should be clearly put on the account of its natural conditions, and in particular its mutable topography. The explanation is less obvious in the case of the desert routes, along which milestones regularly appeared in other provinces,[1181] but it seems that other systems of road-marking, such as simpler cairns or marker-stones, could have been (traditionally) employed.[1182] Apart from their practical importance, the ubiquitous milestones – and the Roman roads themselves – also served as manifestations of the imperial power.[1183] Their appearances and texts were designed accordingly. In the Greek-speaking part of the Roman Empire the practical and symbolic functions of milestones, and the certain tension between the two, were also closely related to the choice of language(s) in which the milestone inscriptions were composed. Thus, in the east, milestones could have been inscribed both in Latin and Greek as well as various combinations of both. In general, Greek was preferred if some local (municipal) authority constructed the milestone while Latin appeared on specimens erected by the army or some other actor representing the central government.[1184]

Of the milestone inscriptions recovered from Egypt and Nubia, three were bilingual (TM 102271, 106351, 119368) and one only exclusively in Latin (TM 154418). However, considering its state of preservation and the other specimens, it seems possible and probable that the latter originally bore some Greek text as well. Similar bilingual milestones appeared also in other eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, but there, they were notably rare.[1185] With due caution given the small size of the current sample, it may be proposed that an emphasis could have been given in Egypt on such adjustment of the inscriptions which, as described below, was aimed at facilitating their intelligibility and usability for the general populace lacking the knowledge of Latin. Possible reasons behind such preference, nonetheless, remain unclear.

The Latin text of milestone inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia came always first, on two milestones followed only by brief Greek additions, translating only the mileage from/to (TM 106351) the next towns/cities, or also their names (TM 102271). In the single case of an inscription coming from the western Delta (TM 119368) the ratio of both languages was reversed, with the piece being an outlier otherwise as well. It was very short, omitting the

[1180] For other possible unpreserved inscriptions of this type see ADAMS, Land transport in Roman Egypt, 22, footnote no. 24.
[1181] Cf. e.g. THOMSEN, Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina.
[1182] Esp. ADAMS, Land transport in Roman Egypt, 22; ADAMS, in ADAMS/LAURENCE (eds.), Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire, 141–142.
[1183] E.g. KOLB, in MULLEN (ed.), Social Factors in the Latinization of the Roman West, 124; KOLB, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 654–658.
[1184] Esp. KOLB, in MULLEN (ed.), Social Factors in the Latinization of the Roman West, 123–128.
[1185] Cf. *inter alia* FRENCH, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor III; ISAAC/ROLL, Roman Roads in Judaea I; KOLB, in MULLEN (ed.), Social Factors in the Latinization of the Roman West, 125–128, Tab. 6.1, Figs. 6.1–6.3; THOMSEN, Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina.

usual heading mentioning the emperor, reporting only the distance of the preceding and following settlements on the road, with one of the entries only in Greek. The piece bearing the inscription was a stone slab probably not coming from the regular columnar milestone.[1186] It could, however, be very cautiously compared with road markings reportedly encountered by Petrie in the desert between Fayum and Saqqara.[1187]

This was in fact the only of the milestone inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia in case of which the involvement of the central provincial or even higher authority in its making may be doubted. For the other ones this was clear. A milestone apparently originally erected at Tzitzis (Qertassi) during the reign of Traian (TM 102271) even explicitly mentioned, besides the emperor, the current *praefectus Aegypti*. The remaining three milestone inscriptions came from the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE; TM 106351, 154418), or alternatively more widely from the 4th century CE (TM 119368). Thus, it is tempting to see them, especially the milestone found from Tell el-Maskhuta (TM 154418), as part of the extensive building campaign taking place during that time.[1188] Such connection could even explain why several milestones appear in Egypt and Nubia at the same time, in contrast to their near complete absence in other periods.

2.6. Visitors' graffiti

In their absolute amount, the 140 visitors' graffiti represented 10.86 % of the entire corpus. However, more than a half derive from just two sites, namely the Colossi of Memnon and the Valley of the Kings, in the Theban region.[1189] In general, the genre of visitors' graffiti, both textual and iconic, had been typical for Egypt since long before the Graeco-Roman period.[1190] With the Ptolemaic period, they started to be written, besides in various forms of Egyptian, also in Greek *en masse* and finally, after the conquest of Egypt by Octavian, often in Latin as well. As a remarkable feature of many Egyptian and Nubian sites, they have been given a lot of attention by various scholars analysing different aspects of the phenomenon.[1191]

It should be stressed that the occurrence of not only Latin, but visitors' graffiti in general, was first of all conditioned by the presence of sites, and/or situations, deemed significant or extraordinary enough to provoke attitudes and behaviours leading to their creation. As what

[1186] See GRIFFITH, PSBA 18, 54.
[1187] DROWER, Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology, 123.
[1188] See section 2.5.4. above.
[1189] The reasons for this disparity are discussed in subchapter 1.6. and sections 1.3.1–2. above.
[1190] E.g. CRUZ-URIBE, in in WENDRICH (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology; NAVRATILOVA, Visitors' graffiti of Dynasties 18 and 19 in Abusir and northern Saqqara; PEDEN, The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt.
[1191] *Inter alia* in general ELSNER/RUTHERFORD (eds.), Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & early Christian antiquity: seeing the gods; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt; GERACI, Aegyptus 51; HAENSCH, in EHMIG (ed.), Vergesellschaftete Schriften; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt; TALLET, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07079; for individual sites in particular see *inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 546–555, 579–589; BAILLET, I. Syringes; BATAILLE, Les Memnonia, 153–179; BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir; BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène; BERNAND, Pan du desert; BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon; BERNAND/BERNAND, I. Philae; CRUZ-URIBE, Hibis temple project 3; GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II; PERDRIZET/LEFEBVRE, Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos; ROEDER, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche I; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins; RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III.

distinguished the individual frequented sites could greatly vary, moreover visitors' graffiti could easily develop distinct styles often typical or even exclusive for a certain region or individual site. The particular motivations, especially concerning the Latin and Greek graffiti, can be found on the scale ranging from religiously motivated pilgrimages[1192] to sightseeing tourism.[1193] While it is possible to argue that site by site and case by case the visits and their graffiti were leaning more to the former or the latter, it must be noted that both phenomena were in fact intricately interwoven with one another with no clear boundaries between them.[1194] In effect, besides the fundamental function of recording one's presence at the given place, these inscriptions could also embody a wide range of other messages and motivations of the originators. The persons of the originators, occasionally deliberately putting certain accents or even projecting certain identities as part of their self-presentation,[1195] stood inherently at the core of the epigraphic records of their pilgrimage/touristic feats. With the aim of tackling especially the aspects distinctive for the choice and use of Latin for the visitors' graffiti, attention is first given to their originators as such (2.6.1.), then to some features of their content (2.6.2.), and finally to one specific, so far little-discussed, subclass of these inscriptions (2.6.3.).

2.6.1. Originators

Nearly half of the specimens of Latin graffiti, specifically 61 texts, representing 43.57 % of the class, include some explicit statements relating to the visitors' social/vocational background. In other cases, it may be with varying degrees of certainty inferred from circumstantial evidence, such as their onomastics or the general context of the site, where their inscription appears.

In most cases (37, 60.66 %) the visitors stated their allegiance to the army. The same may be presumed for many of the other visitors' graffiti, especially those coming from Lower Nubia, a region with a major military presence and touristic/pilgrimage sites of apparently no more than regional significance (at least for the inhabitants of the Roman Empire).[1196] As discussed further below in this section, the situation in the Eastern Desert, while in these regards seemingly similar, was probably indeed markedly different. The soldierly visitors to the major Theban touristic sites largely comprised of units based in Alexandria (TM 93157, 93162, 93165, 93180, 93199–93202), but notably included also some servicemen of legions operating chiefly elsewhere in the empire (TM 93157, 93215, 96219). At the same time, many of the visiting servicemen were high-ranking officers. In the royal tombs, Latin graffiti were amongst others left by the *praefectus cohortis* (TM 95402, 95422) and *tribunus militum* (TM 96192). There were also several military prefects using mostly Latin as well (TM 93159, 93161, 93164, 93169,

[1192] E.g. FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 208–256; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 703–704.
[1193] E.g. FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *passim*, esp. 159–207; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, *passim*.
[1194] Esp. ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 49–53.
[1195] E.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 356–396 in general, e.g. 554, 582–583, 586 in particular.
[1196] See e.g. CUVIGNY, BIFAO 97; FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 20–22; see also section 1.5.2. above.

93181, 93193, 93211).[1197] Nearly no one there from the army was of a lower rank than that of a centurion.[1198]

The graffiti from the Colossi of Memnon included visitors of a markedly higher-profile than those recorded at other sites in general, including also other high dignitaries than the abovementioned military officers. The monumental statues, in fact only the miraculously sounding northern one,[1199] evidently had an extraordinary eminent status. This was evidently ultimately rooted in the unusual acoustic phenomenon itself, but also clearly fortified by other circumstances such as the association of the site with the Homeric Memnon[1200] and visits by members of the imperial house, namely Germanicus in 19 CE[1201] and Hadrian and Vibia Sabina in 130 CE.[1202] Arguably, many of the visits, had a prevailing official character with their originators acting often rather as representatives of their respective offices.[1203] This set the Colossi of Memnon apart from other touristic /pilgrimage sites, in particular as the only one with roughly equal representation of Latin and Greek amongst its graffiti. Specifically, it attracted various high-ranking dignitaries to have their graffiti inscribed there and have it often done in Latin. The deliberate assuming, switching, and merging of roles/identities, very clearly manifest at this site in general,[1204] was best exemplified by the use of both languages by Q. Marcius Hermogenes, a commander of the *classis Augusta Alexandrina*, for two separate inscriptions (TM 93193, 93196)[1205] or in even in a single text (TM 93168).

At the Colossi of Memnon, Latin was besides the mid- and especially high-ranking military officers usually used also by the *praefecti Aegypti* (TM 93158, 93163, 93168, 93170–93171, 93179, 93195, 93212–93213), including also the wife of one of them (TM 93163).[1206] Both soldiers and the governors could occasionally use Greek as well.[1207] M. Herrenius Faustus, a member of the senatorial elite and a consular, enumerating his entire *cursus honorum* (TM 93215), used Latin also. The members of the civil branch of the provincial administrative in general preferred Greek.[1208] From amongst them Latin was used by two *epistrategoi* (TM 93196, 93209+93210), notably counting amongst those highest provincial offices usually

[1197] With the exception of Sulpicius Serenus (BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 20), who was notably also the originator of TM 81680, see section 1.3.4. above; see also BÜLOW-JACOBSEN/CUVIGNY, Chiron 37.
[1198] Note the case of TM 93213 which was, however, a '*feliciter*' inscription serving as an acclamation to the *praefectus Aegypti* and TM 93230 made by a serviceman of an uncertain rank, however, belonging to the retinue of an unspecified prefect.
[1199] See section 1.3.1. above; see *inter alia* also ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 5–6.
[1200] Esp. ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 111–140.
[1201] TACITUS, Annales, II, 61; see also FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 113–115; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039.
[1202] Esp. BIRLEY, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor, 250–252; see also *inter alia* CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, Arys 16; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–154.
[1203] E.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 549–555.
[1204] Distinctly to the official/representative role, the visitors could also pose as literates/poets, esp. ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–168.
[1205] Cf. BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 39, 42 respectively.
[1206] See also FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 106–107.
[1207] E.g. TM 93168, BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 11, 20, 39, 101.
[1208] See e.g. BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon.

occupied by non-native holders.[1209] Another civilian leaving a Latin graffito was the imperial freedman Felix (TM 93214) who served as *procurator usiacus*, that is the steward of the imperial possessions in the province.[1210]

Turning back the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the Latin graffito of one of its higher-ranking visitors, the military tribune M. Ulpius Antiochianus, (TM 96129) strikingly resembled the style and composition of the inscription from the Colossi of Memnon. Remarkably, this visitor's graffito came from the tomb KV9, thought to have belonged to Memnon as well. However, this was an exception as the Latin visitors' graffiti from this site were in general shorter and simpler. There were also a few high (provincial) officials, *duces* and *comites*, who appeared in the graffiti during late antiquity (284–641 CE). They were written equally in Latin (TM 95991, 96088–96089, 96508) and Greek.[1211] Three more men not belonging to the army nor higher strata of the society also used Latin for their graffiti on the walls of the royal tombs (TM 95470, 96477, 96502, 96517). One of them was the specialised scribe (*exceptor*)[1212] Latiebis (TM 96502) who certainly learned and used Latin by virtue of his profession. Palladius who left two separate inscriptions (TM 95470, 95477) held the offices of *notarius* and *tribunus voluptatum*, with the later, charged with organizing public spectacles, was specific for the western part of the empire.[1213] Remarkably, a Latin graffito, although imperfectly written, was left behind also by the monk Ulpius (TM 96517), who was perhaps showing of his erudition similarly as in the letters of the monk Theon.[1214]

A distinctive group of Latin writing visitors could be recognised amongst the visitors of the rock shelter sanctuary of Wadi Minayh in the Eastern Desert.[1215] The five originators of the five Latin or bilingual (TM 81651, 81655, 81657, 106468–106469) and one Greek[1216] inscriptions could be all (tentatively) identified as slaves or freedmen, all visiting the site during a relatively short time-window around the turn of the Common Era. One of them, C. Numidius Eros explicitly mentions his personal involvement in the maritime trade with India (TM 81651, 106468). Based on their names or the mentioned names of their masters, it is possible to identify at least three of the men as agents of well-known Italian mercantile families.[1217] It is not surprising to find these traders using Latin for their visitors' graffiti. It has been suggested that another such trader is hiding also behind two inscriptions, one Latin (TM 81333) and one

[1209] E.g. HERKLOTZ, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 16; JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 58.

[1210] Inter alia BEUTLER, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 18; PARÁSSOGLOU, Imperial Estates In Roman Egypt, esp. 84–90; see also JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 57.

[1211] BAILLET, I. Syringes, nos. 482, 788, 1282; note that BAILLET, I. Syringes, nos. 482, 788 were 'εὐτυχῶς' inscriptions paying homage to them, see section 2.6.3. below.

[1212] E.g. RE, s.v. *Exceptor*.

[1213] LIM, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 41.

[1214] See 1.2.3. above.

[1215] See section 1.4.6. above.

[1216] CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 1

[1217] DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, esp. 243–250, 254–257, also 203–217; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 42–47. One of the slaves, Primus, notably identified his master as a centurion of the *legio XXII Deiotariana* stationed at Nicopolis near Alexandria (TM 81657) and as such likely resided in Egypt on a more permanent basis. He could possibly assist the other non-Egyptian traders and it shows that members of the Roman army could have been their most readily approachable contacts in the province.

Greek,[1218] both mentioning just the name '*C. Peticius/ Γάιος Πετίκιος*', from the Paneion at Wadi Hammamat, and proposed to narrow their dating roughly to the reign of Tiberius, that is only slightly later than the group from Wadi Minayh.[1219] Considering that a large part of the explicitly dated, and likely also the undated, visitors' graffiti from this cave sanctuary indeed came from Tiberian times,[1220] and noting that the other Latin inscriptions from the site (TM 81250, 81268, 81284, 81287) shared the similar simple style as adopted by C. Peticius, it might be tentatively proposed that they also could have belonged to Italian traders who were in general especially active in the long-distance trade running through Egypt during the early decades of the Roman period.[1221] By extension, the same could be at least suspected also for two Latin writing passers-by encountered at the site of El-Buwayb (TM 81408, 81429) not far north from the rock shelter sanctuary of Wadi Minayh.[1222] In effect, the makeup of the originators of the Latin visitors' graffiti from the Eastern Desert was probably markedly different from other regions where they were mostly soldiers of various ranks.

2.6.2. Remarks on content

With some rare exceptions,[1223] the mentioning of the name of the originator of the inscription represented the bare minimum of which could comprise a visitor's graffito. Nonetheless, most of their texts were significantly more extensive, giving not only additional information about the persons involved and their visits, as discussed in the preceding section. On the other end of the scale, some visitors' graffiti could be also created as elaborate poetic compositions. Amongst such Latin inscriptions, versed texts were particularly rare (TM 93168, 93196, 93209+93210, 95939, 106278, 106291), only occasionally made in imitation of similar graffiti written in Greek, which was arguably (by most) considered more appropriate or better suited for attempting such poetic feats.[1224]

One usually appearing feature (88, 62.86 %) of the visitors' graffiti was some kind of predicate, most often in the form of a verb, describing some kind of action taken at/towards the place in question by the originator and, thus, defining the nature of the visit.[1225] The used Latin vocabulary generally equated to the one used in Greek inscriptions from the same sites. Most simply, this could mean explicitly stating, or in fact rather accenting, one's personal presence

[1218] BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 120.
[1219] *Inter alia* DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, 250–251; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 47–48, 223–226.
[1220] See BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, nos. 40, 42–49; see also CUVIGNY, BIFAO 97.
[1221] E.g. DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, *passim*; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, esp. 221; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 48–49.
[1222] See section 1.4.6. above. Yet more speculatively, there are also a few more inscriptions from other regions of Egypt, namely TM 80879 at Philae, TM 95465, 95670 from the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which could be by their dating, the onomastics of their originators, and/or the use of the '*esse*' predicate (see section 2.6.2. below) in general fit a similar pattern and could be recording the presence of Italian traders or other business agents (see esp. section 2.4.3. above, 2.8.4. below) also in other regions of Egypt.
[1223] See section 2.6.3. below.
[1224] See esp. the case of the Colossi of Memnon, ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 541, 549–552 (but cf. ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 83–84); BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, 15–23; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 84; see also *inter alia* MAIRS, CdÉ 86(171–172); ROUECHÉ, in CHRISTOL/MASSON (eds.), Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, § 13–19.
[1225] See esp. FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 71–74, Tab. V.

at the given site. Foertmeyer[1226] argued against the earlier suggestions[1227] that this in itself also implied the religious character of the visit. Such statements were included in 15 specimens of the graffiti, using most commonly the verbs '*esse*' and '*venire*' (=*ἥκειν*), and once, at the Valley of the Kings, the more site-specific '*ingredi*' (TM 95991). The expressions of one's presence were notably included in all three Latin visitors' graffiti from the temple complex of Philae (TM 80879, 88950, 88953), where their occurrence was common in general,[1228] and in the distinctive group of the traders' graffiti from Wadi Minayh in the Eastern Desert (TM 81651, 81655, 81657, 106468–106469).[1229]

Encountered exclusively at the Colossi of Memnon and in the Valley of the Kings were expressions describing the visitors' perceptions of the monuments. In both cases, it reflected the very specific status of both places even amongst the other touristic/pilgrimage sites.[1230] At the former it was the statements of hearing the sounding statue using the standard Latin verb '*audire*' (=*ἀκούειν*), and once in a versed text also the poetic '*auribus capere*' (TM 93169). In the royal tombs the experience was described as visual, using mostly the generic verb '*videre*' (=*εἶδον*), but often also the more specific '*inspicere*' which could both be apparently equated also with the Greek '*ἱστορεῖν*', as illustrated specifically for the case of '*videre*' by the bilingual inscriptions of Saturninus (TM 96511).[1231] Often added to these was also the expressive statement of wonder using the verb '*mirari*' (=*θαυμάζειν*). These observative, in essence passive, attitudes conform well to the touristic, pseudo-scholarly, mode of experience which was largely typical for both sites.[1232]

In contrast, a large part of the visitors' graffiti written in Greek or other languages (especially Demotic) across various sites stated some kind of active, mostly religious, interaction with the monuments, typically the act of obeisance/adoration (*προσκύνημα*/*προσκυνεῖν*).[1233] These so-called *proskynema* inscriptions[1234] were clearly closely connected with the phenomenon of pilgrimage, while sometimes they could have been used more generically also by visitors lacking particular religious motivation and at sites without strong cultic significance.[1235] With the remarkable exception of an inscription from Pselchis (Dakka; TM 106293),[1236] *proskynema* inscriptions strikingly altogether lack amongst the Latin visitors' graffiti.[1237] In place of the

[1226] Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 71.
[1227] E.g. Perdrizet/Lefebvre, Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos, XV.
[1228] Cf. Bernand/Bernand, I. Philae; see also Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Tab. V.
[1229] See also section 1.4.6. above.
[1230] See sections 1.3.1–2. above.
[1231] For '*inspicere*' see OLD, s.v. *inspiciō*; cf. LSJ, s.v. *ἱστορ-έω*.
[1232] See esp. Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 23–29, 72, 158–165; Rosenmeyer, The Language of Ruins, 53–75; Rutherford, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 708–709.
[1233] See LSJ, s.v. *προσκῠν-έω*.
[1234] *Inter alia* Bernand, in Mactoux/Genys (eds.), Mélanges François Kerlouégan; Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, esp. 11–12; Geraci, Aegyptus 51; Tallet, in Erskine et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07079.
[1235] E.g. Foertmeyer, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, esp. 28.
[1236] See section 1.5.2. above.
[1237] While Latin was used also by a *proskynema* inscription from Elephantine (TM 88904), it was only for a name of one of several visitors mentioned in it. The act of *proskynema* was mentioned twice, both times in Greek. See also section 1.5.1. above. In another inscription from the Paneion of Wadi Hammamat (Bernand, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 82) the *proskynema* phrase was partly written in the Latin script.

appropriate Greek word, the Pselchis inscription uses the equivalent Latin verb '*adorare*'.[1238] The adoration addressed to Thoth of Pnubs (*deus magnus Mercurius*) was notably made by a soldier acting as a proxy for a whole military detachment (*vexillatio*/*vexillum*) of the *legio II Traiana*. This setup is strikingly well comparable to the distinct type of dedications made in the name of military units discussed in the preceding subchapter.[1239] Overall, the inscription clearly had an official character which very well explains the otherwise exceptional use of Latin for a ritually charged visitor's graffito. Besides the only Latin *proskynema* inscription, also other graffiti included predicates indicating some active, possibly also religious, engagement with the sites. Namely, at the Colossi of Memnon appeared as singular occurrences the bestowing of a donation (*donare*; TM 93209+93210) and honouring (*honorare*; TM 93168) – in both cases with poetry meant as the object/means of doing so –, as well as expressing gratitude (*gratias agere*; TM 93156) for the performance of the acoustic miracle. In addition, one graffito from the Valley of the Kings states an expression of praise (*laudare*; TM 95041) evidently aiming it at the royal tombs. Given the sites as well as the particular contexts in which these statements appeared, they should be considered as having most likely performative rather than actual religious significance.

2.6.3. Acclamation in Latin visitors' graffiti – some notes on the 'feliciter' inscriptions

Another somewhat active, yet distinctly different, performance at the touristic/pilgrimage sites was represented by a rather rare visitors' graffiti using the word '*feliciter*'. Interestingly, the occurrence of this specific subclass was partly localised. Of 16 such inscriptions, representing 11.43 % of all visitors' graffiti, 8 notably came from Dodecaschoenus. On the other hand, the group of 4 such graffiti (TM 119278–119279, 154406, 154455) from the Middle Egyptian quarrying site of Gebel el-Tukh[1240] were apparently all left by the same group of soldiers in the course of a single event. The adverb '*feliciter*', meaning literally 'luckily' or 'fortunately',[1241] was in general used as an idiom for wishing good luck. It evidently entered the vocabulary related to the visitors' graffiti through its use as a widespread acclamation phrase. The public communal act of acclamation played an important part not only in the ancient Graeco-Roman society. Origins of the phenomenon could be traced to the religious context, but over time acclamations assumed new roles and gained significance in the spheres of politics, public entertainment, and on other occasions of public and civic life in general. Consequently, acclamations started gradually to penetrate especially into epigraphic as well as other textual genres from which they are well attested especially in the period of late antiquity.[1242] As an acclamation, '*feliciter*' – and its Greek equivalent '*εὐτυχῶς*' – apparently served to honour the addressee of the wish. Its use as such has been attested very well from

[1238] See OLD, s.v. *adōrō*; for some relevant notes on its semantic development see HICKSON, Roman Prayer Language. Livy and the Aeneid of Vergil, 46.
[1239] See section 2.5.2. above.
[1240] *Inter alia* DE MORGAN et al., MMAF 8(3); KLEMM/KLEMM, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, 130–135; SAYCE, Revue des Études Grecques 1888(1–3).
[1241] OLD, s.v. *fēlīciter*.
[1242] For acclamations in the Graeco-Roman world in general, see PETERSON, Εἷς Θεός; RAC, s.v. Akklamation; ROUECHÉ, JRS 74.

various contexts already in the early centuries of the Common Era.[1243] In acclamations, '*feliciter*/*εὐτυχῶς*' could be addressed to private individuals, collective bodies, rulers, or even deities.

Visitors' graffiti using the '*feliciter*/*εὐτυχῶς*' acclamation phrase were in their function evidently close to *proskynema* inscriptions[1244] and dedications.[1245] Apart from recording the presence/visit, these visitors' graffiti served also to pay homage to some other person. In Latin it was never a deity,[1246] twice a ruler (TM 81091, 106297), one's direct superior (TM 93213, 119278, 154455), and twice also a collective entity such as a military unit (TM 119279, 244130) or just general '*commilitones*' (TM 119279). The originators of these acclamations were only seldom mentioned (TM 81091, 93213, 106297, 154455, and probably also TM 96129, 154431). In some cases, the originator and beneficiary could even very likely be one and the same (e.g. TM 913250).[1247] In several cases (TM 93213, 106297, 119278, 154455, 244130) the formalised '*feliciter*' acclamation did appear together with other phrases of a similar meaning.[1248]

Notably, Latin was used relatively more frequently for inscribing the '*feliciter*/*εὐτυχῶς*' subclass than for the visitors' graffiti in general.[1249] A lot of their originators (or beneficiaries) came evidently or at least apparently from the sphere of the military. Better than solely on the basis of this, the choice of language for the '*feliciter*/*εὐτυχῶς*' inscriptions may be at least partly explained by their abovementioned affinity both to *proskynema* inscriptions and dedications in particular as well as the religious origin and later more widely public, and often politically charged, use of acclamations in general. Amongst the inscriptions, this is clearly exemplified by the absence of Latin acclamations addressed to divinities on the one hand and only the singular appearance of such Greek statement[1250] made within the framing of the military or higher administrative hierarchy on the other.

2.7. Funerary inscriptions

Epitaphs keeping the memory of the deceased receivers of funerary monuments[1251] comprised 121 individual specimens, representing 9.39 % of the entire corpus. However, the vast majority of them were erected in the area of the capital of Alexandria (2.7.1.). Throughout the rest of Egypt and Nubia, Latin epitaphs appeared only as rare singular finds (2.7.2.). The occurrence of Latin tombstones in Egypt was limited to the early Roman period (30 BCE –284

[1243] PETERSON, Εἷς Θεός, 223–224; RAC, s.v. Akklamation, 229; ROUECHÉ, JRS 74, 183; see also HICKSON, Roman Prayer Language. Livy and the Aeneid of Vergil, esp. 58, 70–72.
[1244] Cf. e.g. GERACI, Aegyptus 51, 13–14; RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III, 71–72.
[1245] See subchapter 2.5. above. This is clearly apparent in the inscription of the Dacian cavalryman Dida from Krokodilo (TM 81091) where '*feliciter*' was used together with the standard dedicatory formula '*pro salute (imperatoris)*'
[1246] In Greek e.g. BERNAND, I. Fayoum II, no. 128.
[1247] Cf. e.g. also BATAILLE, I. Deir el-Bahari, nos. 179, 181.
[1248] TM 93213 – '*felix*'; TM 106297 – '*bona fortuna in multos annos*'; TM 154455 – '*gratias agimus*'; TM 119278 – '*habeas propitium imperii*'; TM 244130 – '*bene valeas*'.
[1249] Cf. PHI Greek Inscriptions, https://epigraphy.packhum.org/, search query 'εὐτυχῶς'.
[1250] BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 482.
[1251] E.g. BELTRÁN LLORIS, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 95–96; CHIOFFI, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy; RAC, s.v. Grabinschrift II (Lateinisch); see also CARROLL, Spirits of the Dead.

CE), presumably with the exception of the exceptional specimen of a bilingual Christian tombstone from Alexandria for a woman named Rebeka (TM 98571).[1252]

A large majority of the Latin tombstones belonged to Roman soldiers of lower ranks – the appearances of a military tribune (TM 106337) or prefect (TM 106070) were exceptional – and members of their families, such as wives, children, slaves/freedmen. Even in most cases when it was not explicitly stated in their texts, the same may be presumed based mainly on the spatial or iconographic contexts in which they appeared, or other features of their content. The only unequivocal exception from this pattern was an inscription from the mid-1st century CE (TM 154458) which a certain Harpocras, being the freedman of the *praefectus Aegypti*, had made for his close ones. Occasionally (11, 9.09 %), the inscriptions could be bilingual with the Greek translation almost always placed behind the main text in Latin. Once, only the typically Greek farewell phrase '*εὐψύχει*' was appended to the epitaph written otherwise entirely in Latin (TM 106336). In other cases, the Greek expression was added to the translated version (TM 98552, 98554).[1253]

Adams[1254] argued that the use of Latin as such was one of the principal means of projecting military status/identity on funerary monuments.[1255] Thus indeed, even in the eastern provinces such as Egypt it was only very rarely possible to encounter Greek epitaphs unambiguously identifiable as belonging to the military milieu of the society.[1256] This is not to exclude that other Greek funerary inscriptions, while unspecific in this regard, could have also commemorated Roman soldiers or members of their families. Not using Latin nor usually any other means of expressing the affiliation to the Roman army, these epitaphs could have in fact stressed other, that is non-military, aspects of the identities of the deceased.

This seems to be well in accord with the case of funerary inscriptions commemorating veterans. Epitaphs explicitly describing the deceased as veterans were very rare, with just a few specimens preserved both in Latin (TM 106273, 112196, 120603) and Greek.[1257] With one exception found at Saqqara (TM 106237), they all came from Alexandria and surroundings. It is notable that the (former) military status/identity of the deceased veterans was accentuated at the capital where also the main part of the Egyptian military garrison was located.[1258] However, the equal representation of veterans on tombstones inscribed in both languages suggests that, specifically in the funerary context, Latin was not so closely connected to the veteran status as it apparently was with active service.[1259] Nonetheless, it is not surprising to

[1252] Note also that it was the only piece of a bilingual tombstone in which the Greek text was deliberately placed before its Latin translation.

[1253] For this and similar cases of 'code-switching' see ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 21–22; the Latin version of '*εὐψύχει*' was probably included in two funerary inscriptions from Pselchis (Dakka; TM 154417, FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29), see section 1.5.2. above.

[1254] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 261–262; ADAMS, JRS 89, esp. 131–132; for the case of Egypt in particular see ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 616–617.

[1255] Cf. also RIGGS, The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, esp. 14–26.

[1256] E.g. Iscrizioni greche e latine, nos. 364, 378; SB I, no. 2477; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, nos. 2, 35; WAGNER, Memnonia 6.

[1257] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, nos. 2, 35; SB I, no. 2477.

[1258] See section 1.1.2. above, 2.7.1. below.

[1259] Cf. also STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, 108.

find that the number of veterans buried at and around Alexandria was small, as they tended to (be) disperse(d) throughout the *chora*, with some clustering especially in the north-eastern Fayum.[1260] Intermingled with the indigenous communities and more distant from their original military communities, there could have been even lesser motivation to accentuate the (former) military status/identity of the veterans,[1261] or it could be, due to assimilation to local specifics of the funerary material culture, expressed by other means[1262] than by using the Latin language.[1263]

2.7.1. Funerary inscriptions from Alexandria and surroundings

The vast majority of Latin epitaphs came from the area of the capital of Alexandria, namely from Nicopolis. Its military camp, serving as the main base of the Roman army in Egypt during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE),[1264] was surrounded by the burial grounds used both for soldiers and members of their families. At least 95 Latin epitaphs could be associated with the site, inscribed mainly on sculptural tombstones, intermingled with a much lesser number of Greek ones.[1265] Another 11 Latin funerary inscriptions were associated with nearby sites including the city of Alexandria itself. Altogether, epitaphs from Alexandria and its surroundings constitute 87.99 % of all Latin funerary inscriptions from Egypt.

At Nicopolis in particular, some iconographic features[1266] appearing on the sculptural tombstones as well as some linguistic features[1267] present in the epitaphs betray very well with the Egyptian Hellenised context in which they occurred. In general, however, they fit well the iconographic and epigraphic habits used by the Roman army throughout the empire.[1268] This is clearly exemplified by the use of the typically Roman opening (dedication) formula '*Dis Manibus (Sacrum)*/ (sacred) to the Spirits of the Dead'[1269] which was preserved in a third of Latin epitaphs from Nicopolis (30, 31.58 %, against 51, 53.68 % certainly without it, and 14, 14.74 % for which it could not be determined). This seems to roughly correspond to the

[1260] E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 48–52; see also DERDA, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 174–175.
[1261] Cf. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 138–142.
[1262] Esp. iconography, e.g. PAETZ GEN. SCHIECK, in NOSCH (ed.), Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times; RIGGS, The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, 22, 225–226, no. 117, Pl. 12; SPEIDEL, in PARLASCA/SEEMANN (eds.), Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit.
[1263] See also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 201. Cf. also the case of the potential switch between Latin and Greek in the letters of Claudius Terentianus to his father Claudius Tiberianus possibly occurring after the latter's discharge from the army, GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf, 3; see also section 2.4.3. above.
[1264] See section 1.1.2. above.
[1265] For the earlier analyses and discussions of the collection see esp. KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine; SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt; see also section 1.1.2. above.
[1266] E.g. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 240, 246–248; 250–255; see also section 1.1.2. above.
[1267] See also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, 203–205; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 264–267.
[1268] Esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 256–257, 271–273, more in general 274–275.
[1269] E.g. CHIOFFI, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 642–643; KING, The Ancient Roman Afterlife, *passim*, esp. 27–29, 138–140.

empire-wide rate of its use during the principate.[1270] In only three epitaphs from Nicopolis the Latin text was supplemented by its Greek translation (TM 98546, 98554, 102614), and in the one abovementioned case (TM 106336) only a Greek farewell phrase was added. Indicatively to the major role of Latin in signifying the military status/identity of the deceased, it was the members of the soldier's families and others, rather than the active Egyptian servicemen themselves, who mainly appeared in Greek funerary inscriptions from the site.[1271]

Their largely fragmentary character complicates the interpretation of tombstones associated with sites beyond the immediate area of Nicopolis. In three (TM 106069, 106071, 106322) of the eleven cases the deceased could be with certainty identified as soldiers, and in two more (TM 106310, 106339) as other members of the Nicopolis military community. The better-preserved funerary inscriptions included also the abovementioned tombstone of the Christian woman Rebeka (TM 98571), and one other from Canopus (Abu Qir) commemorating a young man Getelius (?) Epaphras (TM 102275) who was explicitly mentioned as born in Rome.[1272] Moreover, four of the Latin inscription were provided with Greek translations (TM 98517, 106310, 106344, 154456). The only of them with evident military background was notably made by a soldier's freedman (TM 106310). The '*Dis Manibus (Sacrum)*' formula was used only once, on the tombstone for a soldierly child,[1273] Aurelia Aquilina, found at Taposiris Parva (Mandara; TM 106339). Despite the size and state of preservation of this sample, differences from the Nicopolis collection of tombstones seem to point to its less Romanised context and background.

2.7.2. Funerary inscriptions from the chora

The same may be suggested also for the 15 Latin funerary inscriptions, representing 12.40 % of the class, which were recovered, only by one or two specimens each, from various sites throughout Egypt and Nubia. Most of the deceased they commemorate were explicitly identified as soldiers. In a few cases (TM 102615, 102685, 106260) they were presumably members of their families. However, only a half of the tombstones came from sites with also otherwise well-established military presence, including Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel; TM 106245), Coptos (Qift; TM 88426, 106350), Luxor (TM 121989), Mons Claudianus (TM 81626), Syene

[1270] Cf. e.g. in EDCS, http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en. But note that most of the Nicopolis funerary inscriptions came from the 2nd–3rd centuries CE which was concurrent with the period of greatest popularity of the formula, e.g. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, L'Antiquité Classique 71; see also CARROLL, Spirits of the Dead, 10; CHIOFFI, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 643; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 38.

[1271] *Inter alia* BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, nos. 364 (for a soldier of *legio VI Ferrata* based in Palaestina), 378 (for a freedman of a centurion); SB I, no. 2477 (for a veteran); WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, nos. 2 (for a veteran), 18 (dedicated by a slave for a soldier, his master), 35 (for a veteran), 36 (for a man with *tria nomina*, probably a soldier), 40, 41, 44, 46, 57, 58 (for women), 59 (for a child); see also WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 11, Tab. II. Note that not only the use of Greek as such but also other features, in particular the iconography, rendered these tombstones as more firmly rooted in the indigenous rather empire-wide Roman military cultural background, WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 274–275.

[1272] The mix of the Latin and Greek letters and orthography used for rendering the cognomen of the deceased as '*ΕΠΑΡΗΡΑ*' is to be accounted solely to the stonecutter who, while apparently well-versed in Latin (or at least in the Latin script), remarkably struggled with the writing of the Greek name.

[1273] As argued by WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 140, see also Tab. II.

(Aswan; TM 88854), and Pselchis (Dakka; TM 154417, FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29). At least three of the tombstones bore besides the Latin epitaph itself also its translation into Greek (TM 88854, 102615, 102685), in accommodation to the Greek-speaking context in which they appeared. Out of the eight instances in which it was specified, three tombstones notably belonged to legionaries of the *legio III Cyrenaica* based at Nicopolis (TM 88426, 106245, 154407). Some relation to the area of the capital, and its epigraphic habit in particular, may be suggested for three more specimens using the '…*hic situs est*/ …lies here' (TM 81626,[1274] 88854, 106070). This phrase appeared occasionally, yet regularly, on the tombstones from Nicopolis (TM 102614, 106324, 106325, 106326, 106327, 106329, 106330, 112189, 112203, 121988, 154416, 520925, 106240).[1275] In addition, its Greek equivalent '*ἐνθάδε κεῖται*' occurred almost exclusively in the funerary inscriptions from Alexandria.[1276] One of the Latin inscribed tombstones with this formula (TM 106070) in fact came from the site of Garbaniat on the coast not far west from the city. Only two inscriptions (TM 102615, 118686) included the '*Dis Manibus (Sacrum)*' formula.

2.8. Discussion

Within the preceding subchapters, each of the classes of texts has been considered separately. With varying limitations and accents, it has been possible to evaluate which particular types of texts they comprised of, and who were the persons involved in their creation and reception. Besides that, at least the functional aspects of the texts could be assessed with particular focus on if and pertinently in what way Latin was combined with Greek (or other languages). Similar aims and shared characteristics appeared between the classes as well as individual textual types even beyond what was given by the inherent functional focus of each of the groups of evidence as such.

It was indeed possible to confirm that the majority of the Latin evidence from Egypt and Nubia revolved around the domains introduced in the beginning of this chapter. It is nonetheless possible to refine, particularise, and complement some of the previously made findings and assessments of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt and Nubia. Putting together individual pieces of evidence discussed in the previous subchapter, a coherent three-dimensional image emerges of what were the main functions taken up by the Latin in Egypt and Nubia, in what ways they were fulfilled, and to what niches of the society they were set. As brought up in the introduction to this chapter, it is indeed the role of Latin as the language of power which serves as the leitmotif running across the following discussion.

2.8.1. The army

It was indeed the army and the wider military social milieu which offered the most fertile ground for Latin in Egypt and Nubia. Its widespread presence in this sphere is overall manifestly shown by the high representation (461, 35.76 %) of servicemen or at least mentions of military matters across the whole textual corpus, as touched upon in the beginning of the present

[1274] Here also in combination with '*Sit tibi terra levis*/ May the ground be light to you!'.
[1275] See also WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 39, 101.
[1276] SB I, nos. 1395, 1422, 2479; another one came Terenouthis (Kom Abu Billo) in the Delta (El-NASSERY et al., BIFAO 78, no. 46) and once more it was used in a Greek translation of a Latin text at Syene (TM 88854).

chapter,[1277] and by the topographic distribution of Latin in regions with well-established military presence.[1278] The Roman military was significantly represented in all typological classes discussed above, unsurprisingly, with the exception of literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts. While strong in the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), the use of Latin in the military sphere significantly subsided during late antiquity (284–641 CE).[1279] Thus, also the following discussion pertains mostly to the much clearer situation during the first half of the Roman period in Egypt.

The army was the principal institution through which Roman rule manifested itself in the province. In its capacity of the language of power, Latin could serve as one of the tools by which the army and namely the military servicemen representing it identified themselves with its distinctly Roman identity (*romanitas*), the accompanying status, and more directly the imperial authority it stood for and carried out. As such, Latin was by the army most obviously employed in the public and semi-public spheres, aiming both within and beyond itself.

While the involvement of the army was explicitly stated only in about a half of Latin building inscriptions, the military background of most of them is evident both from the contexts in which they were found and from the particular kinds of construction projects they recorded: in most instances military forts and less often their particular facilities, or large infrastructural projects which could be also utilised by soldiers. However, these undertakings in many cases arguably happened only as parts of larger building campaigns. They were also apparently as a rule realised with the (financial, managerial, or nominal) involvement of officials standing above the Egyptian military hierarchy, namely the *praefectus Aegypti* or later provincial military commanders and the emperor himself. Thus, also the form and in particular the choice of language for the inscriptions commemorating these constructions could be influenced from above the Egyptian military hierarchy or even the province as such,[1280] either by directly projecting the superior's status, or indirectly through accommodation to it. The former is perhaps actually evidenced in the case of three nearly identical building inscriptions from 288 CE, each inaugurating a different auxiliary fortress in mutually distant reaches of the province, namely Deir el-Gebrawi in Middle Egypt (TM 106279), Sile (Tell Abu Seifa) in the Isthmus of Suez (TM 97572), and Qaret el-Tub in Bahariya (TM 702317). As such they had to be prepared in advance by some central authority.[1281] It is not to be taken that the actual form of the building inscriptions was not determined also, for those which had it, by their projects' military character, background, and/or setting. A subtle hint in this regard is perhaps given by several building inscriptions which were appended with (partial) translations into Greek, all recording projects of civilian or only partly military nature.[1282] The building of purely military installations were recorded always exclusively in Latin.

[1277] See section 2.0.2. above.
[1278] See subchapter 1.6. above.
[1279] See subchapters 5.3.–5.4. below.
[1280] See also section 2.8.6. below.
[1281] See also section 2.5.4. above.
[1282] Namely erecting an obelisk in Alexandria (TM 102611, 102649, 103026), two water-canal building/maintenance projects near Alexandria (TM 102613), the construction of a well at Mons Claudianus (TM 81605, 102595). Cf. also the building inscription of a small sanctuary of Isis at Mons Claudianus (BERNAND, Pan du

Also arising in close interaction between the army and its superiors were several extant dedications made by legionary officers stationed at Alexandria for the *praefecti Aegypti* (TM 106162, 106165, 108943–108944), possibly in their capacity of the supreme commander of the Egyptian garrison.

When engaging with the religious sphere, it has been recognised that it was, even amongst soldiers or speakers of Latin, generally the Greek language which was strongly preferred in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.[1283] In this context, Latin was used with sparse exceptions only in cases in which it prevailed over Greek as the 'super-high' language of power.[1284] Thus, in only four cases Latin was used for divine dedications as such (TM 81612, 88424, 92999, 106312). At Nicopolis, a serviceman approached the military deity in the headquarters of the legionary camp (TM 106312). The others from the *chora* were all made by legionary soldiers, one of them a member of unit stationed in the western part of the empire (TM 81612), the second approaching the supreme state deity (TM 88424), and the last one a syncretic military deity (TM 92999). More often, however, approaching occasionally also local Egyptian deities, Latin divine dedications appeared as representing the framework for building (TM 97572, 106279, 106289, 702317) or other kind (TM 80859) of inscriptions and asking the godly favour for the emperor through which they notably entered the realm of imperial worship.[1285]

Representing the principal meeting point between the religion and state ideology was the cultivation of the imperial worship/cult by the army, which underscored the close relation between the army and its highest commander and patron and through which the soldiers could engage with him.[1286] In fact, imperial dedications comprised a major part of the army's public monuments. While in the civil sphere the Roman ruler could be very well honoured using Greek,[1287] Latin was preferred for it in the military milieu. Indeed, with one exception (TM 106375),[1288] in all discernible cases from the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), the Latin imperial dedications were made by soldiers. With rare exceptions (TM 81680, 106311, 106315), monuments to the emperors were explicitly devised as collective dedications and often curated by high members of the officer corps. While sometimes they were apparently erected in the general public (e.g. TM 92989, 154404), they were usually placed inside military installations, typically in the fortress' headquarters (*principia*)[1289] and, thus, communicating

desert, no. 20; see also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 503–504) which was dedicated for the wellbeing of the emperor by an auxiliary officer and written fully in Greek. Likely it was the cultic character of the construction project honouring the deity of local Egyptian origin which prevailed in choosing the language in this case. Cf. also PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 75; see also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 506.

[1283] Esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 576–589.

[1284] See also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 518–519.

[1285] But cf. esp. BERNAND, Pan du desert, no. 20; PFEIFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 75 both dedicated for the wellbeing of the emperor and composed in Greek; see also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 503–504, 506.

[1286] E.g. STOLL, in ERDKAMP (ed.), A Companion to the Roman Army, 451–464.

[1287] PFEIFFER, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, *passim*.

[1288] See sections 1.1.1., 2.5.2. above.

[1289] Namely at Nicopolis: TM 106271–106273, 106311, 106314, 112709, Luxor: TM 106206, 120588, 121847, 754582, 754597, Syene (Aswan): TM 121990, 128447, 154478, 154479, Pselchis (Dakka): TM 154432; See also STOLL, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, *passim*, esp. 63, 219, 223–224.

rather to the army itself and its ranks. During late antiquity (284–641 CE), Latin monuments honouring emperors could be still found in similar (military) spatial contexts, but their erection was by then taken over by the highest provincial officials, military and civil alike. In extension to conveying the symbolic of imperial power, the use of Latin for dedications to the emperor could have also helped to underscore the projected *romanitas* of the army, appositely in the course of the official performance of the imperial worship/cult, in itself an inherently Roman phenomenon.

Also largely belonging to the religious sphere, Roman soldiers in Egypt and Nubia often became engaged also in creating visitors' graffiti at various memorable sites. For this, military servicemen used both Latin and Greek,[1290] the former never for religious graffiti *par excellence*, as most obviously exemplified by the *proskynema* inscriptions, the only exception being notably the inscriptions from Pselchis (Dakka) made in the name of an entire military detachment (TM 106293). While not in all, but certainly, in most Latin visitor's graffiti it is again possible to recognise that the language in some way once more served in its role as a language of power. This was most obviously the case of the graffiti left on the northern Colossus of Memnon. Amongst other touristic/pilgrimage sites, this monument bore numerous inscriptions of markedly high-profile visitors. It reflected its specific and prominent status, prompting the eminent tourists also to assume distinct attitudes, including the choice of language, in their graffiti, posing in general either in their official roles (both in Latin and Greek), or as scholars/poets (almost exclusively in Greek and in verse). While representing their institution, mid- and high-ranking military officers visiting the Colossi of Memnon always used Latin. When they posed as scholars/poets, they composed their graffiti in Greek verse.[1291] The commander of the *classis Augusta Alexandrina* Q. Marcius Hermogenes, leaving both kinds of inscriptions (TM 93193),[1292] most illustratively exemplifies the dichotomy. Another high officer Caesellius even composed his epigram in Latin (TM 93169), further emphasising the 'super-high' role of the language. The situation is less clear at other touristic/pilgrimage sites. At another extraordinary monument, the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the visitors identified themselves only seldom as soldiers. Similarly to the Colossi of Memnon, they were all mid- to high-ranking officers and one of their inscriptions (TM 96129) seemed also formally very close to the ones from the previously discussed site.

Considering the strong presence of the military in the Eastern Desert, it is striking to find that only one Latin visitor's graffito (TM 81091), and perhaps one more (TM 81074), from the region may be with certainty ascribed to a soldier. It is not certain, if the other unspecific Latin graffiti from the region are to be considered in general as likely of soldiers when perhaps a better alternative for their identification as belonging to Roman agents involved in long-distance trade seems to be at hand.[1293] The abovementioned Latin inscription (TM 81091) was singular in its form, belonging to the type of *feliciter* inscriptions, touched upon below, and at the same time worshiping the emperor. While both could have influenced the originators' choice of

[1290] See e.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 579–589; HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, *passim*.
[1291] Cf. BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon.
[1292] Cf. BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 39.
[1293] See section 2.6.1. above.

language, this cavalryman was of Dacian origin and could have commanded Latin betters than Greek.

Adams[1294] pointed out the scarcity of Latin in visitors' graffiti of soldiers from the temples of Dodecaschoenus as well as the extraordinary case of the *proskynema* left in the name of a whole detachment. Unlike in the Eastern Desert, here it seems more justified to assume that soldiers could have been responsible also for most of the unspecific graffiti. Like the *proskynema* inscription from Pselchis, two of the rock inscriptions from Talmis (Kalabsha; TM 384476, 384478) also commemorated entire military units, rather than individual soldiers.[1295] Remarkably, taking into account also their often bad state of preservation, it may be established that a large part, or even most, Latin inscriptions from the Dodecaschoenus belonged to the type of *feliciter* inscriptions. In connection to soldiers, this type also appeared elsewhere, most notably at the Middle Egyptian site of Gebel el-Tukh (TM 119278–119279, 154406, 154455). As discussed above,[1296] the *feliciter* inscriptions stemmed from the politically charged phenomenon of acclamations, which were usually used to pay homage to one's superior person/collective entity, including the emperor and whole military units. Perhaps significantly for both is that they were in general more frequently composed in Latin than in Greek.[1297] Thus, also a large part, if not a majority, of soldiers' visitors' graffiti from the Dodecaschoenus as well as other *feliciter* inscriptions apparently applied Latin in its capacity as the language of power, in particular most likely through an accommodation to the honoured superiors.

Mostly internally, the Roman army used Latin for a considerable volume of its administrative documentation. It was in fact a majority (172, 68.53 %) of the preserved administrative documents using Latin that were positively traceable to the military. However, as noted by Adams,[1298] the military administrative was far from being conducted exclusively or even preferably in Latin. In the military offices both languages were widely interchangeable, as it was apparent especially in the case of orders and receipts, which were in fact also often bilingual (38, 54.29 %). In these Latin often appeared in the form of subscriptions serving for their authorisation. While they could be standardised on the local level,[1299] the same was not observable on a wider perspective, as they were in general quite heterogeneous. However, this was not the case of all administrative documents of the army which in general showed a distinctive tendency for standardisation,[1300] especially in several types of documents specific for the military sphere, namely military pay records, logbooks, and schedules. It seems that an

[1294] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 580–583, 586–587, 588–589.

[1295] The alteration between mentioning the whole unit and individual soldiers in an apparently closely-knit group of graffiti seems well comparable with the set of inscriptions from Gebel el-Tukh, see section 2.6.3. above, and below.

[1296] See section 2.6.3. above.

[1297] Only once a Greek *feliciter/εὐτυχῶς* inscription involved a high civil/military official, BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 482.

[1298] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 601–614, esp. 608.

[1299] See e.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 605; sets of ostraca from Karanis (Kom Asuhim): TM 30817–30818, 42703, Berenike (Ras Banas): TM 641764, 641772, 641778–641800, 641821, 641849, 641853, 641880, 614900, 641902, 641904, 641921, 641927, Apollonopolis (Edfu): TM 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003, 74234–74242, 74245, 74247.

[1300] Esp. SALATI, Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano, *passim*, esp. 190–192.

emphasis on the use of Latin in certain kinds of military administrative documents could have gone, to a certain degree, hand in hand with their increasing standardisation and perceived importance and officiality. Concurrently, and possibly relatedly, Latin was most often and consistently used in various types of documents related to 'human resources' agendas, as best exemplified by the composed administrative papyrus roll of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (TM 69867).[1301] Overall, Latin occupied a position of prominence in the military administrative by being closely connected to a certain branch of important agendas and more occasionally used throughout to lend more authority to the documents which included it. The latter as well as the accommodation to the higher authority occasionally entered also into the choice of Latin in soldier's official, and probably also private,[1302] letters, which were however, much less numerous than administrative texts.

As has been already show especially by some of the visitors' graffiti, orders and receipts, or official letters, the use of Latin penetrated also to the lower levels of military ranks. Low ranking soldiers could use the language to accommodate to their superiors. As shown by Latin using contracts, which in their majority (at least 10, 62.5 %) featured military servicemen, they could, both composed privately and with the help of a professional, occasionally and in various particular forms and combinations with Greek invoke the authority of Latin to give further guarantee to their personal legal acts.

As shown most clearly by Latin funerary monuments, men from the ranks also turned to Latin, in the narrower aspect of its function as the language of power, as a signifier of their status and identity as members of the army.[1303] The use of Latin for epitaphs was in Egypt, with one certain exception (TM 154458),[1304] practically limited to members of the military and their families. A vast majority of soldiers' epitaphs came from the area of the capital of Alexandria, especially the surroundings of the military camp of Nicopolis. With regard to the rest of Egypt and Nubia, represented by only several such inscriptions, it is not certain to what extent this disparity might be caused by the absence of documented evidence as such on the one hand, and the unavailability of Roman style funerary monuments outside the capital or the deliberate choice of soldiers to accommodate to the local funerary material culture on the other. While the last seems to be the most likely, in both latter cases, their military status/identity could be expressed by other than textual means or not be apparent at all. That it was the soldierly status/identity which stood behind the choice of language, and overall form, is confirmed by the difference between the tombstones of servicemen themselves and members of their families at Nicopolis, with the latter being more often written in Greek and also otherwise formally more diverse.[1305]

[1301] See sections 1.1.2., 2.3.3. above.

[1302] See e.g. the case of correspondence from Claudius Terentianus to Claudius Tiberianus, see section 2.4.3. above.

[1303] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 262, 616–617; in general also e.g. CARROLL, Spirits of the Dead, 142–148; cf. also RIGGS, The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, esp. 14–26.

[1304] Probably also TM 102275.

[1305] WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 274–275; see also KAYSER, in VEÏSSE/WACKENIER (eds.), L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine, *passim*, esp. 227–229.

As discussed above,[1306] discharged soldiers were strikingly scarcely represented amongst the deceased honoured by the Latin, but also Greek, epitaphs. While there were objective causes for this unrelated to the issue of language choice, the small sample of veterans' tombstones from Alexandria showed that Latin and Greek were used for them roughly equally. Consequently, unlike active soldiers, there seems to be a much weaker, if any, connection between Latin and the projection of veteran status/identity.[1307] If not stemming from other reasons, it seems to be further corroborated also by the switch from Latin to Greek in the letters by Claudius Terentianus to his father Claudius Tiberianus on the latter's discharge from active service.[1308] From other kinds of Latin texts veterans were most commonly encountered in various legal personal documents, belonging to themselves and their close ones.[1309] In this context, with the notable exception of military diplomas combining both, the use of Latin was clearly prompted rather by the fact that these documents dealt with the matters of Roman citizenship, than the military legacy of the veterans featuring in them.[1310] They were indeed not mentioned as such.[1311] Otherwise, veterans were also notably encountered in two 'discharge dedications' to emperors marking the end of their active service (TM 106314, 112709).[1312]

As shown, in the military milieu, Latin was in the prevailing majority of occasions used in its capacity as the language of power. Moreover, it could have been used in this way also in other cases in which it was not so distinguishable. On the other hand, it is possible to assume that the choice of Latin over Greek might have also been sometimes entirely or mostly independent on the more universal status of Latin in the society. Latin could have been preferred for being one's mother tongue or at least primary language of communication. In general, the (primary/advanced) speakers of Latin are attested in Egypt on the one hand through the linguistic analysis of the preserved texts,[1313] and through rare teaching materials and/or language aids apparently aimed at primary users of Latin (e.g. TM 65244, 128465), which did appear also in the context of the military (TM 128465).[1314] It is evident that in the

[1306] See subchapter 2.7. above.

[1307] Cf. also ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, esp. 138–142; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 157–158, 161–162.

[1308] See section 2.4.3. above; see also GEENS, 'Claudius Tiberianus', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf, 3; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 158.

[1309] Also remarkably, with the notable exception of letters of Tiberianus and Terentianus, there were seldom any Latin private letters (TM 69904, 69970, 69972) found in the region of the Fayum, despite its recognised relatively numerous population of veterans, e.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 48–52.

[1310] See section 2.2.3. above, and below.

[1311] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, *passim*, esp. 185–190, 196.

[1312] While representing singular occurrences, the remaining texts using Latin explicitly featuring veterans in general support the situation sketched: excerpts of imperial edicts dealing with privileges of veterans (TM 69918); a Greek legal petition by a veteran citing a Latin constitution and with a Latin subscription by the addressee (TM 31217), a discharge certificate issued in Palaestina witnessed by several veterans with some writing in Latin and some in Greek (TM 17460), a census declaration by a veteran (TM 44495), a letter probably originating from Cappadocia written by a veteran (TM 69969; SPEIDEL, Aegyptus 62.), letters addressed to a veteran apparently still residing and employed amongst active servicemen (TM 144923), and a private dedication to Diocletian as *pater Augustorum* only tentatively identified as made by veteran (TM 106315).

[1313] E.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, *passim*, esp. 579–589; ADAMS, ZPE 111; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 427–500.

[1314] For Greek speaking soldiers learning Latin see e.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 617–623.

context of the army there were certain isolated islands in which Latin indeed served as the mundane means of the quotidian communication, as attested amongst others especially at Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh),[1315] at the very beginning of the Roman period at Primis (Qasr Ibrim),[1316] and perhaps also at the site of origin of the 'Florida ostraca'.[1317] There are isolated pieces of evidence showing that individual soldiers in Egypt could have received relatively high levels of standard Latin (literary) education (TM 106291, 704273).[1318]

It seems suggested that by this, and amongst others also by some observable cross-regional differences most notably between the Eastern Desert on the one side and the First Cataract region and the Dodecaschoenus on the other,[1319] that the occurrence of Latin in the Egyptian military milieu was not a homogeneous phenomenon. This is, however, most obviously, and indeed expectably, apparent in the case of Nicopolis and the area of Alexandria in general. Most clearly, it is shown by the extensive collection of soldiers' funerary monuments associated with the site, which was, as mentioned above, unparalleled elsewhere in Egypt and Nubia and, moreover, in which Latin clearly predominated over Greek. In general, Latin appeared in roughly 80.00 % of all textual evidence, mainly but not only inscriptions on stone, which could be associated with the site.[1320] Focusing on the particular makeup of the Latin textual corpus of Nicopolis, there are other features which set it apart from the rest of the evidence coming from Egypt and Nubia. Alexandria and Nicopolis were the only places where *praefecti Aegypti* were honoured by public monuments inscribed in Latin dedicated by soldiers.[1321] Similarly, Nicopolis and Alexandria were the only sites at which imperial dedication made by the military were dedicated through *collegia* of soldiers.[1322] Elsewhere, they were usually made in the name of entire units usually with the explicit involvement of their superiors. In the case of Syene (Aswan), it were the officers of *legio II Traiana* from Nicopolis who became from a certain point in time onward regularly involved in erecting imperial dedications of local auxiliary units (TM 106128, 106171, 121990, 128447).[1323] Private dedications to deities as such were made in Latin only by local Nicopolitan servicemen (TM 106312), or elsewhere by members of legions stationed there (TM 88424, 92999).[1324] The Latin-using soldierly visitors of the major touristic sites of the Theban region also largely

[1315] *Inter alia* ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 186–189.

[1316] E.g. DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia, 98. In consequence, it may be inferred that another such early island of Latinity might have existed at Coptos where the military headquarters overseeing the outpost of Primis were most likely situated (DERDA et al., Palamedes 9/10). Indeed, the preserved Latin evidence from Coptos dates in its majority to the first century of the Roman rule (30 BCE – 96 CE) with some pieces even towards its beginning (TM 88367, 88426, 44960).

[1317] E.g. BAGNALL, O. Florida.

[1318] Cf. also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 629–630.

[1319] See subchapter 1.6. above; see also HONZL, in COPPENS (ed.), Continuity, Discontinuity and Change, 519.

[1320] Trismegistos Database, search query 'Nikopolis (Sidi Gaber)'; see also KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp.; WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 11.

[1321] cf. e.g. also the dedications to high-ranked Roman dignitaries at Delos, ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 646–647, 654–655, 663–666.

[1322] cf. also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 666–669.

[1323] See section 2.5.2. above.

[1324] With the abovementioned exception of a legionary from a unit stationed in the western part of the empire (TM 81612).

comprised of servicemen of units based at Nicopolis.[1325] The textual evidence borne by perishable media is at Nicopolis mostly missing, limited to pieces recovered from other sites and only tracked there, given their very low rate of preservation from the whole area of Alexandria. The torso of papyrological documents, which the military headquarters of the entire province had to produce in large volumes, also seems to show an extensive application of Latin. Namely, it may be mentioned that Nicopolis was the place of origin of at least 3 (16.67 %; TM 25148, 69867, IV, 942936) of the 18 highly standardised military logbooks. In addition, the letters of Claudius Terentianus – who was stationed there – with his advanced level of command of the Latin language ought to be mentioned in this context. In conclusion, the levels of Latinisation, reflected in the higher rate at which Latin was used, as well as Romanisation, reflected in the greater diversity and distinctness of the content of texts, seem to have been significantly higher at Nicopolis than elsewhere in the context of the Egyptian military garrison. Moreover, with the servicemen sent from Nicopolis on detached service, the local attitudes towards Latin could possibly emanate and materialise in evidence found in other distant parts of the province.

Adams[1326] aptly pointed out as misleading to consider Latin as the 'official' language of the army as it was on many such occasions apparently interchangeable with Greek. Its role could be more accurately described as that of a 'super-high' language with the capacity of signifying the Roman imperial power and more narrowly the military status/identity of individual active servicemen. Apart from that, Latin was to a minor extent used also as the language of everyday use. Both dimensions of the use of the language also interfered with one another, amongst others most significantly perhaps in the case of private letters or visitor's graffiti. As in other provinces, the Roman army was a principal bearer of *romanitas* and partly also the Latinity. In the course of that, the latter helps to establish the former and also the distinct identity of the army and military milieu as such, projecting their privileged status in the society. As touched upon in the following section, Latin was similarly connected to the status/identity of Roman citizens. However, in reality it was used in connection with them practically only in personal documents, actually seldom drafted with their more significant involvement. In fact, their approach to the Latin language as a signifier of their status/identity seems rather passive.[1327] This is in contrast with soldiers that appear to have been using Latin on various occasion in this regard much more actively. In general, the Roman army servicemen on all tiers of the military hierarchy were the ones most prone in the province to use Latin. A whole range of particular textual types appeared in Latin exclusively or mostly in the military context. Latin was used systematically only on some strongly official occasions, otherwise it was a matter of choice which combined in itself both the capacity of Latin to assume the role of the language of power, as well as other more subtle factors.

[1325] See section 2.6.1. above.

[1326] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 599–623; esp. 608; see also *inter alia* HAYNES, Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans, 315; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 153–162, esp. 161–162.

[1327] Cf. e.g. ECK, in COTTON et al. (eds.), From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East, 15–16.

2.8.2. The field of law

It is almost one fifth, namely 247 specimens representing 19.16 %, of the entire corpus of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia, which is somehow related to the field of law. The use of Latin in this context was of course exclusively connected to the Roman law which, in practice, did never apply universally to the entire Egyptian society.[1328]

The matters of the law appeared as the topic of more than a quarter of specimens of literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts (63, 27.39 %).[1329] This included manuscripts of legal codices, legal treatises by leading Roman jurists, often supplemented with scholia and/or glosses, subliterary legal commentaries and other subliterary or paraliterary texts. These texts served the needs of a legal education, while for some time during late antiquity (284–641 CE) Alexandria in particular was one of the leading, although little known, centres providing legal education.[1330] At the same time, the legal codices as well as canonised works of Roman jurists served as sources of law.[1331]

While in general addressing particular legal cases, the governmental constitutions could also serve as sources of law in the way of precedents for later deliberations.[1332] From their preserved specimens, it was only imperial constitutions which were written fully in Latin. Two exemplars of edicts issued by the highest provincial officials written mainly in Greek (TM 18995, 70039) were authorised through Latin subscriptions. During the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), Latin was applied mainly to various personal documents dealing with the issues of Roman citizenship, the status of its holders (largely veterans), and/or their personal property.[1333] They were characterised by a typically Roman formal treatment, including the media bearing them. The use of Latin in the personal documents clearly signified the elevated status of Roman citizenship and its identification with the ruling Roman empire.[1334] While being drafted or issued in various (specialised) offices, including occasionally military ones (TM 15712), throughout the province, many of them (21, 28.77 %), given their dependence on central registers especially the birth certificates, derived from Alexandria. Many had to be confirmed/authorised by the *praefectus Aegypti*. After the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, these documents gradually became obsolete and disappeared or

[1328] See e.g. BEAUCAMP, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700, 275–285; JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 61–64; YIFTACH-FIRANKO, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 553–555; YIFTACH-FIRANKO/VANDORPE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 197–198.

[1329] See section 2.1.2. above.

[1330] E.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 243–250; CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 51–58, esp. 57; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 43; RIGGSBY, in BLOOMER (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Education, 449–450; see also subchapter 3.5. below.

[1331] Definitively by the 'Law of Citations' of 426 CE, Codex Theodosianus, esp. 1.4.3.; see also *inter alia* PUGSLEY, Comparative law Review LI(2), 1–5; Comparative Law Review LI(2), WATSON, The law of the ancient Romans, 90–91; WATSON, Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis/Legal History Review 34(3).

[1332] E.g. JÖRDENS, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 63; MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, esp. 65–79.

[1333] See section 2.2.3. above.

[1334] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 562–571.

stopped being drafted in Latin.[1335] Appearing in the later 3rd century CE, bilingual judicial proceedings represented a more straightforward way in which Latin was applied in the role of the language of power. In them Latin was consistently used for the standardised and formalistic framework of the documents, lending them in general, together with their distinct scribal treatment, the impression of officiality and authoritativeness. In addition, Latin was less systematically used also for some of the speeches or their parts, mostly by the judging governor, and especially his ruling, that is the most power-charged part of the document. Latin was also much less systematically, yet often used in various contracts, mainly coming from within the army. In their case, the choice of language was apparently rather given by their military context than their background in the field of law.

Latin was inherently connected with Roman law. As such it appeared primarily as the language of its sources, the scholarship derived from them, and thus also largely the legal education. In the practice of law, the application of Latin was fairly limited, first mostly to personal documents closely connected to and highlighting the elevated status of Roman citizenship, and later judicial proceedings underscoring the authoritativeness of the whole undertaking and often especially the ruling. This was due as delivering justice through courts indeed represented an exercise of the imperial power *par excellence*.

2.8.3. The official sphere

The issue of the use of Latin on various official occasions has been already elaborated on in the previous sections. The official context was where the army used it most often and especially most systematically. Most of the Latin-using legal texts fell into this category as well. What mainly remains is to evaluate to what extent Latin was used in general by the (civil) provincial administrative.

During the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) both military and civil branches of the Roman provincial authorities were headed by the *praefectus Aegypti* as the direct proxy of the emperor. As touched upon above, these governors appeared in Latin dedications addressed to them exclusively by members of the military (TM 106162, 106165, 108943–108944). Apparently, such veneration was bestowed on governors only on the occasion of the conclusion of their tenure and departure from the province.[1336] Notably, a similar dedication originating from the civil sphere was composed in Greek.[1337] *Praefecti Aegypti* were mentioned and also involved in many imperial dedications and building inscriptions evidently or presumably realised by the army. Latin was also used by them in several visitors' graffiti on the officially-charged site of the Colossi of Memnon,[1338] including also the governor's wife (TM 93163), or perhaps rather by their inferiors tasked with having them made which, as explicitly stated by the inscription of T. Petronius Secundus (TM 93168), could have been officers of the

[1335] E.g. ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces, 52–53; AMELOTTI, Il testamento romano, 217–250; see also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 124, footnote no. 44 including references to further literature.

[1336] Cf. also HAENSCH, AfP 66(1), 104–105.

[1337] KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 21; see also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 646–647, 654–655, 663–666.

[1338] Cf. their markedly different behaviour in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 549.

army. A singular but eminent case of the use of Latin by a *praefectus Aegypti* in inscription was the trilingual stele of Cornelius Gallus (TM 80859). Apart from inscriptions on stone, the governors regularly became involved in some of the Latin and bilingual personal documents, and a legal petition submitted by a military recruit in the matter of his personal status (TM 70013). The language also featured prominently in connection with the governor in bilingual judicial proceedings, generally rare during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE; TM 15893, 16419, 17525). Beyond the official inscriptions and personal documents, Latin was used by the *praefectus Aegypti* in a travel permit for a woman from Asia Minor embarking from the port of Alexandria (TM 21785) and one extant official letter (TM 23775), and another one perhaps addressed to him (TM 14401). In addition, from the members of his staff,[1339] it was attested to have been used by a holder of the post of *agrimensor*, a member of the military,[1340] who issued two conjoined receipts, one in Greek and one in Latin (TM 18859), and likely also by a *tabularius*, an imperial freedman, found amongst the Greek-writing witnesses authenticating the inheritance declaration (TM 21736).[1341] In addition, the singular record of a property auction (TM 17204) could come from a context close to the office of the governor.[1342] Outside the official sphere Harpocras, a freedman of the *praefectus Aegypti*, dedicated a tombstone in Latin for his close ones (TM 154458).

Remarkably, a large majority of the occasions in which the *praefectus Aegypti* is noted to use or come into direct contact with the use of Latin were (presumably) in some way related to the army. It suggests that Latin could have been to a certain degree preferred in interactions between the military garrison and its supreme provincial commander. In the civil domain, the *praefectus Aegypti* was found in connection with the use of Latin mainly in personal documents, and also the scarcely occurring early bilingual judicial proceedings. Thus, it were the specifics of both, as described in the previous sections, which likely played the major, although not necessarily sole, role in the choice of language for them. Outside these contexts, and especially amongst the rest of the administrative communication of the governor and his office, Latin was scarcely applied.[1343]

The only other officials beside the *praefecti Aegypti* who received dedications in Latin were (visiting)[1344] representatives of the central imperial apparatus (TM 102612, 108945), not necessarily high-ranking (TM 102612), but close to the emperor.[1345] A visit of the imperial heir apparent Germanicus stood behind the Latin dedication to the imperial prince by a Roman style collegial priesthood of the *magistri Larum Augustorum* (TM 106375). From more than one point of view, this inscription was in Egypt one of its kind.[1346] Amongst the visitors to the Colossi of Memnon, Latin was used notably also by two *epistrategoi* (TM 93196, 93209+93210) and a *procurator usiacus* (TM 93214), both coming to their positions from outside the province

[1339] See esp. HAENSCH, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 18.
[1340] E.g. HAENSCH, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 18, 99; PETERSON, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah10039.
[1341] Not in a stricter sense of *cretio*, IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 556; cf. section 2.2.3. above.
[1342] IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 556.
[1343] Cf. also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 547–549.
[1344] See also section 2.8.6. below.
[1345] Cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 646–647, 654–655, 663–666.
[1346] Cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 666–669.

and the latter again close to the emperor. Another *epistrategos* was also involved in dedicating a monument honouring the emperor Septimius Severus and his sons at Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel; TM 92989). There, he was mentioned as a superior of the navy officer dedicator. Other high and lower civil officers also occasionally appeared directly involved in other inscriptions as well as in various official documents. It is not always clear what was their particular background, but sometimes a connection to the military milieu may be observed or at least suspected. In general, with the notable exceptions of personal documents, using Latin as it concerned matters of Roman citizens and citizenship as such, and cases in which the *praefectus Aegypti* comes into direct interaction with the army, there seems to be no widespread and systematic application of Latin by the (civil) provincial administrative, at least during the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE).[1347]

In contrast, there seems to be a certain uptick in this regard during late antiquity.[1348] Besides, once more, the dedications for (TM 106277) and by (TM 106170) high-ranking officials coming from outside the province, imperial dedications were during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) or slightly later made besides by high military commanders also by similarly positioned civil officials,[1349] both for the general public (TM 106275–106276) and in military contexts (TM 106205–106206, 220343–220344, 754597). From the documentary evidence Latin appeared mainly in bilingual judicial proceedings which were produced dominantly for court sessions presided over by civil provincial governors. In these records, Latin notably signified the judges' exercise of the imperial power.[1350] Besides the bilingual judicial proceedings, the use of Latin by the civil administrative was much less systematic. Latin appears in several orders combined with respective receipts (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994) in the 'archive' of Dioscorus from Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau). While the orders were issued in Greek by the *praesides* at Antinoopolis, or once Hermopolis (TM 18007), only short subscriptions were appended to them in Latin. Another order (TM 18365), written fully in Latin, made by a lower ranking clerk came already from the end of the 3rd century CE. All of these orders pertained to the *annona* levies. Otherwise, members of the civil administrative used Latin in administrative documents only in census reports from the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE; TM 10359, 10369, 10410, 13025, 13036, 13047, 23552). In all of them, Latin was used only for subscriptions by the *censitores*, that is the imperial clerks tasked with running the undertaking.

Latin was, during late antiquity (284–641 CE), relatively often used for official letters with the majority indeed involving members of the civil provincial and municipal administrative both as senders and addressees.[1351] Mostly, such letters conveyed a communication from the highest provincial officials to their inferiors. In most cases, Latin was only used for the subscriptions, while the main body of the letters tended to be written in Greek. While lower clerks writing to their superiors represent a minority, they were more often using Latin for the entire letter or its substantial part, clearly in an act of accommodation to the higher-ranking officials. Besides the official letters, also some legal petitions addressed to the provincial governors (TM 10405,

[1347] Cf. also KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 124–129.
[1348] See also subchapter 3.5. below.
[1349] See also section 2.5.2. above.
[1350] See sections 2.2.2., 2.8.2. above.
[1351] See section 2.4.2. above.

13056, 51670), showing formal features of letters, were equipped with Latin subscriptions. Apart from the occasion discussed above, Latin in the form of formalistic, abbreviated, or otherwise adapted subscriptions penetrated also into other niches of the Egyptian administrative of late antiquity (284–641 CE).[1352] With the remarkable exception of bilingual judicial proceedings, it is critical to evaluate the use of Latin in the civil administrative during that time with restraint. As shown, it was used mainly by the top tiers of the administrative, presumably mostly in the provincial capitals.[1353] There the administrative use of Latin is in particular attested by the exemplar of the shorthand writing manual from Antinoopolis (TM 64602), dealing also with the Latin script. Most importantly, in the majority of the abovementioned cases, Latin was used only in the form of formalised subscriptions. Nonetheless, it is still to the be recognised that, although still fairly limited, that the civil administrative sector used Latin slightly more widely and especially more systematically, not just in the form of an occasional practice, in comparison with the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE).

Also beyond the military milieu and the field of law, Latin was on various, however relatively scarce, official occasions used mainly as the language of power. The utilisation of Latin by civil branches of the imperial administrative in Egypt in particular was always limited. It was the personal documents and later the bilingual judicial proceedings which represented its most widespread and systematically attested use. Both fell into the field of law and in the former case were closely related with the issue of Roman citizenship. These and other kinds of texts seem to show that the use of Latin in the official sphere was largely concentrated in the provincial capitals. As in the case of the military sphere and its main provincial headquarters at Nicopolis, Latin seems to have to a certain degree emanated from these centres to the wider *chora*. It must be admitted that especially for the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) the near absence of the documentary evidence from Alexandria, with notable exceptions of texts sent out from the city, poses a major issue for the evaluation of the phenomenon, pertaining notably also to the office of the *praefectus Aegypti*. While the evidence from the later established provincial capitals was recovered in larger amounts, the very fact of missing the proper earlier comparative material is hindering and potentially biasing its assessment.[1354]

2.8.4. Roman business

In their recent paper,[1355] Iovine and Salati brought to the general attention and focused on the economic activities of Roman citizens as attested by Latin documents on papyri, ostraca and wooden tablets. Amongst others, they comprehensively described the activities of (Italian)

[1352] As exemplified most widely e.g. by the '*di emu*' notary subscriptions, *inter alia* APOSTOLAKOU, JJP 50; FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, 223–225; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 427; for the phenomenon of transliterating Greek words into the Latin script in general see esp. FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie. Cf. also the extensive use of Latin loanwords, e.g. BEAUCAMP, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, *passim*, esp. 279, 282; RÖMER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 72; cf. also SOPHOCLES, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, *passim*.

[1353] Cf. also subchapter 1.6. above.

[1354] See subchapter 3.5. below; see also IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 558; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 124.

[1355] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50.

Roman commercial/financial businessmen, including Antonia Minor (TM 20513), and their (servile/freedmen) agents in Egypt, thriving especially during the first century of the Roman period.[1356] It were apparently these groups of people which, alongside soldiers, formed the main part of the Roman immigration to Egypt around the conquest of 30 BCE.[1357] To arrive at their conclusions Iovine and Salati discussed in detail three contracts (TM 9619, 14399, 18163) from amongst the legal texts,[1358] several administrative documents including a list (TM 70007), two accounts (TM 25149, 69905), and a receipt (TM 16563),[1359] three letters (TM 20513, 78573, 89253),[1360] and one more undeterminable document (TM 70029) and another one identified as accounts.[1361] As proposed above,[1362] it may be possible to add to this overview still several additional documents, namely three receipts on ostraca (TM 44961, 45041, 389951) and two letters (TM 25882, 69927), further corroborating the picture sketched by Iovine and Salati. It seems possible that amongst the extant Latin documents there could be even more belonging to the same context.[1363]

With one piece of evidence (TM 89253),[1364] Iovine and Salati also touch upon the issue of trade in the Eastern Desert. In this regards, it is, however, also possible to link the papyrological evidence for Roman commercial/financial activities in Egypt with epigraphic evidence from the Eastern Desert attesting to the involvement of similar social milieus, that is Italian Roman businessmen and their servile/freedmen/citizen agents, in the long-distance trade activities running through the province.[1365] Amongst the visitor's graffiti left by Roman trading agents in the Eastern Desert, there was especially a closely-knit group of five texts coming from the rock shelter sanctuary of Wadi Minayh (TM 81651, 81655, 81657, 106468–106469)[1366] and also another Latin graffito from the Paneion at Wadi Hammamat (TM 81333),[1367] which were previously discussed in this context.[1368] However, considering their (presumed) dating, form and content, as well as the onomastics of their originators, several more graffiti from the Eastern Desert may be tentatively added to them (El-Buwayb:[1369] TM 81408, 81429, Paneion at Wadi Hammamat: TM 81250, 81268, 81284, 8128), and possibly others both from the Eastern Desert and beyond.[1370] In this context, also the abovementioned receipts on ostraca

[1356] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185; for later scantier similar evidence not included into the present section see IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 192–195.
[1357] See e.g. VAN MINNEN, in in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 1005–1006.
[1358] See section 2.2.4. above.
[1359] See sections 2.3.1., 2.3.4. above.
[1360] See section 2.4.3. above.
[1361] ChLA 47, no. 1441; see also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 183. This text is not included in the evidence analysed in the present thesis.
[1362] See sections 2.2.4., 2.4.3. above.
[1363] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 175.
[1364] IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 182–183.
[1365] See section 2.6.1. above.
[1366] See section 1.4.6. above.
[1367] See section 1.4.5. above.
[1368] E.g. DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, esp. 203–217, 241–259; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 42–48, 223–226.
[1369] See section 1.4.6. above.
[1370] See section 2.6.1. above. More speculatively also some visitors' graffiti from beyond the Eastern Desert may be similarly considered as possibly belonging to the Roman traders' milieu, namely TM 80879 at Philae, TM 95465, 95670 from the tombs in the Valley of the Kings.

(TM 44961, 45041, 389951) could be tentatively interpreted in this way. In their case, however, also their origin in a military context remains a valid possibility.[1371]

The agents of Roman businessmen were versatile in their use of Latin.[1372] Occasionally, most obviously in their internal documents or the communication amongst each other (TM 25149, 69905, 70007, 70029, 78573, 89253, possibly TM 69927), they applied it casually as their language of quotidian use. Possibly not only in interactions with Egyptian society, they could either try to accommodate, often a bit clumsily in Latin script (TM 9619, 14399, 16563, possibly TM 389951),[1373] to the local Greek *lingua franca* (also TM 18163), or more rarely deliberately use Latin as the language of power (TM 20513,[1374] possibly TM 44966, 45041). In this way, Latin was probably at least occasionally used also by the originators of the visitors' graffiti from the Eastern Desert. This is shown by cases of bilingual translated and dual inscriptions (TM 81333,[1375] 81650) through which one originator commemorated his visit in both Latin and Greek. The Greek version was aimed at the general public, while the Latin one emphasised the Roman status/identity of the visitor.[1376]

Overall, the commercial/financial ventures of the (Italian) Roman businessmen and their agents in Egypt during the first century of the Roman rule (30 BCE – 96 CE) were with certainty represented in 18 texts, that is 8.74 % of texts certainly from the given period, and possibly in as much and even more than 29 texts, representing 14.08 % of texts certainly from the given period. It is a minor yet significant amount of evidence. Together they provide an impression of relatively intensive, diversified, and widespread activities, which regarding the function of Latin form a distinctive set markedly deviating from what was typical for the use of Latin concurrently and during the following periods.

2.8.5. The Christian Church

Worthy of at least a brief note is also the use of Latin in the context of (not only) the Christian Church.[1377] There was only a small collection of Biblical and other Christian religious and theological texts in Latin collected from Egypt.[1378] There seems to be relatively ample evidence attesting to the acquisition of Latin language skills by the members of the clergy/ monastic milieu,[1379] including amongst other Latin texts, especially the Montserrat *Miscellaneus Codex* (TM 59453), a Latin-Greek-Coptic colloquium (TM 64837), and a Greek-Latin glossary to the Pauline epistles (TM 61873). On practical level, the use of Latin in a Christian context is remarkably attested by a bilingual tombstone from Alexandria for a woman named Rebeka (TM 98517), in a visitor's graffito of the monk Ulpius from the royal tombs in the Valley of the

[1371] See BERNINI, ZPE 212, 225; cf. RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII(2), esp. 11–12.
[1372] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, *passim*.
[1373] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 177–181
[1374] See also IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 185.
[1375] And BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 120.
[1376] Cf. also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 243–253.
[1377] FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429; P. Lond. V, no. 1792.
[1378] See section 2.1.3. above.
[1379] E.g. FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428–429; TORALLAS TOVAR, in PAPACONSTANTINOU (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 35–42.

Kings, perhaps by one fragmentary letter (TM 35255),[1380] and by three letters of the Oxyrhynchite monk Theon (TM 34796, 35623–35624).[1381] It is especially the case of Theon, presumably communicating with high local dignitaries, which shows that, besides his access to the body of western theological literature, the knowledge of Latin could have been perhaps also exploited by the Christian church milieu as an advantage in negotiating with the provincial representatives of the imperial power.

2.8.6. The occurrence of Latin as a result of extra-provincial impulses

While seldom appearing before, Latin, representing a distinctively foreign element in society, firmly took root in Egypt and Nubia with the Augustan conquest of 30 BCE. While variously thriving and languishing throughout the period of Roman rule, it may be noticed, that besides the original major thrust, Egypt and Nubia periodically received other external impulses resulting in the appearance of particular Latin texts. Such external interventions could be of various kind, quantitative and topographic extent, time duration, and especially of a differing impact on society and influence on the further development of the use of Latin in Egypt. There is indeed a fairly large amount of Latin textual evidence which may be considered a result of external impulses. Without the ambition to provide a full listing of such cases, it remains useful to highlight some of them to at least partially illustrate the diversity and extent in which this phenomenon appeared.

As already touched upon, one of the most impactful events on the use of Latin in Egypt was indeed the conquest of 30 BCE, resulting amongst others in the arrival of Roman governing institutions, the creation of a Roman citizens' milieu and related administrative and legal structures, the permanent settlement of the Roman army, and a greater penetration of the economic sphere by Roman businessmen and their agents. Other major events or long-time processes leaving a lasting mark in the Latin textual evidence included for example the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE, leading first to a certain uptick in the production of Latin legal texts followed by a sharp decline and finally disappearance of Latin personal documents.[1382] There were also gradual changes occurring in the legal practice around the transition from the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE) into late antiquity (284–641 CE), having an impact on the spread of Latin in legal education,[1383] and beyond that likely also in bilingual judicial proceedings, and perhaps even more widely, especially against the background of other accelerated developments during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE).[1384] Latin pervaded Egypt and Nubia also with migrating groups of people, most notably within the military sphere. It occurred with relocations of entire military units, most notably during the overhaul of the Egyptian garrison during late Traianic and early Hadrianic periods.[1385] There is

[1380] FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 429.
[1381] See sections 1.2.3., 2.4.1. above.
[1382] See *inter alia* ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces; IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I, *passim*, esp. 130–148; see also section 2.2.3. above.
[1383] E.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 57.
[1384] See subchapter 3.5. below; see also e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 169–178.
[1385] E.g. E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 72–73; 75–77; DERDA, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 58; see also section 1.1.2. above.

also ample evidence for military recruits to arrive from outside the province, including most notably from Roman Africa in the western part of the empire. The inflow of foreign recruits seems to have been most intensive during the first two centuries of Roman rule and sharply declined already during the 2nd century CE.[1386] In the textual evidence itself, these arrivals are perhaps best illustrated by the small communities in the Eastern Desert using Latin as the language of their quotidian communication, such as at Didymoi.[1387]

Some classes/types of Latin texts could be brought to Egypt and Nubia on a long-term, regular basis. They included especially the widely distributed literary (and even subliterary and paraliterary) texts, the transmission of documents from the central governmental apparatuses, including notably the imperial constitutions, petitions to emperors and their responses, and the correspondence with the imperial officials in general, and specifically amongst others also the military diplomas. At least several dozen (49, 3.80 %) of individual pieces of texts could be with varying degrees of certainty identified as physically imported into Egypt. Apart from the kinds of texts described above, they included occasionally some other especially legal texts of private significance, which could have arrived with their migrating holders. However, such cases represent singular events, rather than a continuous inflow, the circumstances of which mostly remain unclear.

Individual events stood behind many more texts appearing in Egypt and Nubia. Usually, but not always, they led only to one-time or short-term surges in the appearance of Latin evidence. Typically, they could be visits of particular individuals from emperors, accompanied by their retinues and other high officials of the state, to (possibly) private individuals. From the known imperial visits to Egypt,[1388] it is the one made not by an emperor himself but by Germanicus, the then heir presumptive of Tiberius, in 19 CE which seems to be one of the more impactful for the occurrence of Latin in Egypt. As mentioned in literary sources,[1389] Germanicus sojourned at Alexandria bestowing his benefaction upon the city and receiving certain honours in return. At the site itself the visit is attested by a dedication made to the imperial prince by the Roman-style collegium of *magistri Larum Augustorum* (TM 106375), and likely also by a private dedication to his presumable close attendant Labeo (TM 102612).[1390] Reportedly,[1391] Germanicus also visited the Colossi of Memnon in the Theban region. It may have been this particular visit which established or at least confirmed the eminent status of this touristic site, attracting the extraordinary collection of visitors it received during the following two centuries.[1392] It seems as no coincidence that the oldest dated graffito from the northern statue came from 20 CE (TM 93156) and, moreover, was written in Latin. Another such

[1386] E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 39–44.

[1387] *Inter alia* ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4; SPEIDEL, in KOLB (ed.), Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life, 186–189.

[1388] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 48–49.

[1389] Esp. TACITUS, Annales, II, 59–61; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039; WEINGÄRTNER, Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus; see also SUETONIUS, De Vitis Caesarum, Tiberius, 52.

[1390] KAYSER, BIFAO 90, 244–246; see also section 2.5.1. above.

[1391] TACITUS, Annales, II, 61.

[1392] See also ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 554–555 see also BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, 25–28.

impactful visit was the one of Hadrian and his retinue including also the empress Vibia Sabina in 130 CE. Apart from amongst others founding the city of Antinoopolis, the emperor's company also arrived to the Colossi of Memnon,[1393] leaving several graffiti of their[1394] own and sealing the extraordinary status of the monument.

Besides emperors, also their close subordinates from the ranks of highest, or even lower, state officials could have been honoured while visiting, or alternatively significantly intervening in the province's matters (TM 106277, 108945),[1395] or could be themselves leaving a monument behind during their stay (TM 81612, 106170). Including perhaps more informal visits to the province, persons coming from outside Egypt may be recognised behind some of the visitors' graffiti. This includes for example the anonymous noblewoman leaving a touching recollection of her brother, a consular, on one of the pyramids in Giza (TM 106278),[1396] M. Herrenius Faustus, another member of the senatorial elite, at the Colossi of Memnon (TM 93215), or a certain Palladius visiting the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, holding a title specific for the western part of the Roman empire (TM 95470, 95477).[1397] There could also be events happening as a result of an order/initiative of the authorities above the provincial level. They could most typically include large construction projects often comprising of several individual monuments, buildings, or complexes,[1398] or other undertakings such as empire-wide censuses.[1399]

The extra-provincial impulses impacting the spread of Latin in Egypt are also well comparable with the abovementioned tendency of Latin to emanate from the provincial capital(s) to the farther reaches of the *chora*,[1400] such as most illustratively in the cases of imperial dedications involving the legionary officers from Nicopolis, legal and other documents issued by the central provincial apparatus(es) and distributed across the countryside, or the visitors' graffiti of the central provincial officials, in particular the *praefecti Aegypti*, on the Colossi of Memnon. In fact, both the former and the latter represent more global and more local versions of practically the same phenomenon. It is only underscoring the nature of Latin in Egypt as its occurrence spread from the top tiers of the imperial society, mostly as the language of power. Many of the events and longer processes mentioned in this section count amongst the defining moments for the diachronic development of the use of Latin in Egypt which is outlined in the following chapter.

[1393] Esp. BIRLEY, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor, 250–252; see also *inter alia* CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, Arys 16; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–154.

[1394] BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 28–33, possibly also nos. 27, 36.

[1395] See section 2.5.1. above; cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, esp. 646–647, 654–655, 663–666.

[1396] See also FOERTMEYER, Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, 16; RUTHERFORD, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 709. The actual inscription is lost, presumably destroyed during the Middle Ages. It was nonetheless recorded in a travelogue of Wilhelm de Boldensele, a German pilgrim to the Holly Land from the early 14th century, WILHELM VON BOLDENSELE, Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra sancta 3, 226; for Wilhelm de Boldensele in general, see e.g. GRAEFE, in HORNUNG (ed.), Zum Bild Ägyptens im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance / Comment se représente-t-on l'Égypte au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance?; Kazhdan (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Byzantium, s.v. *Boldensele, Wilhelm Von*.

[1397] See section 2.6.1. above.

[1398] See section 2.5.4. above.

[1399] See section 2.3.5. above.

[1400] See sections 2.8.1., 2.8.3. above.

3. The diachronic perspective – the history of Latin in Egypt

3.0. Introduction

The presence of Latin in Egypt before (116–30 BCE) and during the period of Roman rule over Egypt (30 BCE – 641 CE) was not constant, but showed considerable diachronic variation undergoing significant developments. While occasionally touched upon in the previous chapters, they are delt with comprehensively in the present one, while also incorporating the findings detailed in the previous two chapters to outline the history of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt.

There are vast differences in the precision of dating the individual pieces of Latin textual evidence. For some, only the broadest possible dating to the Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE) in general was available. At the other extreme, some inscriptions from the Colossi of Memnon specify not only the day, but also the hour in which the particular visit of the monument is claimed to have happened. Besides precision, also the reliability, although difficult to determine, of various means of dating, or their combinations, likewise difficult to exactly define, should be considered. Most precisely and reliably dated were the texts including explicit dating formulas, available for nearly a fifth of all texts (240, 18.62 %). Most common were notably the specifically Roman consular dates (177, 73.75 %), with much less common regnal years (103, 42.92 %), sometimes combined together, and only seldom the indiction dates specific for late antiquity (284–641 CE), due to their cyclical nature[1401] necessary to be combined with other evidence, and once probably the Mauretanian Era (TM 27061).[1402] Various other kinds of internal data, such as prosopographic evidence – including mentioned rulers and evolution stages of their titularies, other mentioned events, things and other kinds of phenomena, or even the publication dates of literary works –, and to lesser extent also some of the less precise external evidence,[1403] may be summarised under the label of historic context (512, 39.72 %). Some texts, especially numerous Latin ostraca from the Eastern Desert, rely for their dating on their original position in their stratified archaeological context (122, 9.46 %). Similarly, utilising the relation of some of the texts rather than to other objects to other texts/features of the piece of medium, some specimens could be dated according to the other texts on (the other side of) the same papyrus, ostracon, stone monument or wall etc. and their mutual position, or as in particular in the case of the sculptural tombstones from Nicopolis near Alexandria, based on their artistic style.[1404] At least relatively broad dates, often of variable reliability, may especially, in absence of other leads, be based on the palaeographic grounds. About a third of the texts (434, 33.67 %) of the entire corpus relies for its dating solely on the appearance of the script.

[1401] See e.g. BAGNALL/WORP, Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, esp. 2–42.
[1402] E.g. GILLIAM, Illinois Classical Studies 3, 126–128; for Mauretanian Era in general see e.g. RE, s.v. *Aera, XXXI*.
[1403] Such as the known general duration of the (military) occupation of the given site (e.g. Qasr Ibrim, see section 1.5.3. above) or a whole region (e.g. Dodecaschoenus, see section 1.5.2. above; see also POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), 6–9; Eastern Desert, see subchapter 1.4. above; see also BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5239), or more specifically also the known extent during which the northern Memmon Colossus produced its morning sounds (see section 1.3.1. above).
[1404] Esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, 28–32.

To facilitate the following analyses, all pieces of evidence were sorted into seven distinct periods. They were designed on the one hand with the aim to cover similar spans of time, roughly one hundred years,[1405] for the sake of comparability. On the other, they represent a compromise between the centuries of the Common Era and political-historical eras defined by major political events and changes of ruling dynasties, as both were and remain to be used in cases when only a broader dating could be suggested. In accordance with these principles, the following analyses and subchapters are structured along the lines of the following periods. The Ptolemaic period (116–30 BCE; 3.1.) before the establishment of the province of Aegyptus has its lower limit set to 116 BCE, that is the occurrence of the earliest firmly dated Latin text coming from Egypt (TM 88950). The early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) is segmented in three parts, namely the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE; 3.2.), the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE; 3.3.), and the later principate (192–284 CE; 3.4.). Late antiquity (284–641 CE) is divided between early late antiquity (284–395 CE; 3.5.), earlier (395–500 CE), and later Byzantine periods (500–641 CE), the latter two of which are below dealt with together in a single subchapter (3.6.). A clear majority of 981 pieces of Latin textual evidence, representing 76.11 % of the entire corpus, were dated precisely enough to fall with certainty to one of these periods. The date of the remaining specimens could be estimated only more broadly with them possibly belonging to two or more of the chronological divisions.

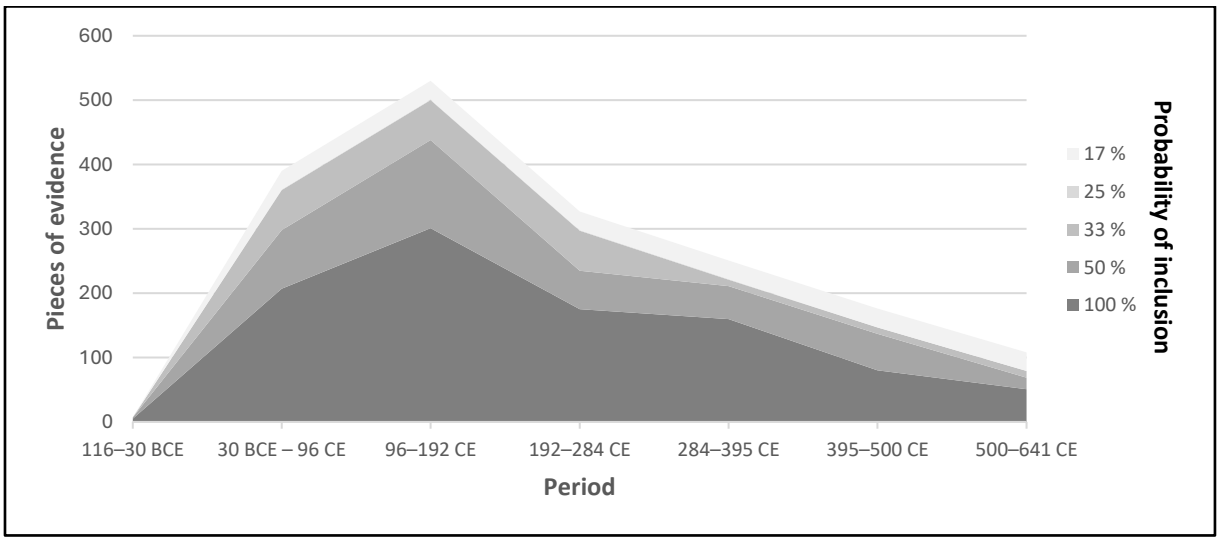


Fig. 3.1. The distribution of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia throughout the entire analysed timeframe (116 BCE – 641 CE) amongst the seven periods as defined above. The ambiguously dated pieces of evidence were added to each period they could possibly belong to. The probability of their inclusion is expressed in percentages and visualised in shades of grey.

The distribution of the Latin textual evidence throughout the entire analysed timeframe (116 BCE – 641 CE) was uneven,[1406] beginning with only a few texts datable to the Ptolemaic period (116–30 BCE), continuing with a rapid surge in their occurrence during the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), peaking in the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE),

[1405] The shortest period of 116–30 BCE spanned 86 years, the longest period of 500–641 CE spanned 141 years.
[1406] See Fig. 3.1. above.

and a steady decline ever since, probably slowing or even stopping between the later principate (192–284 CE) and early late antiquity (284–395 CE).

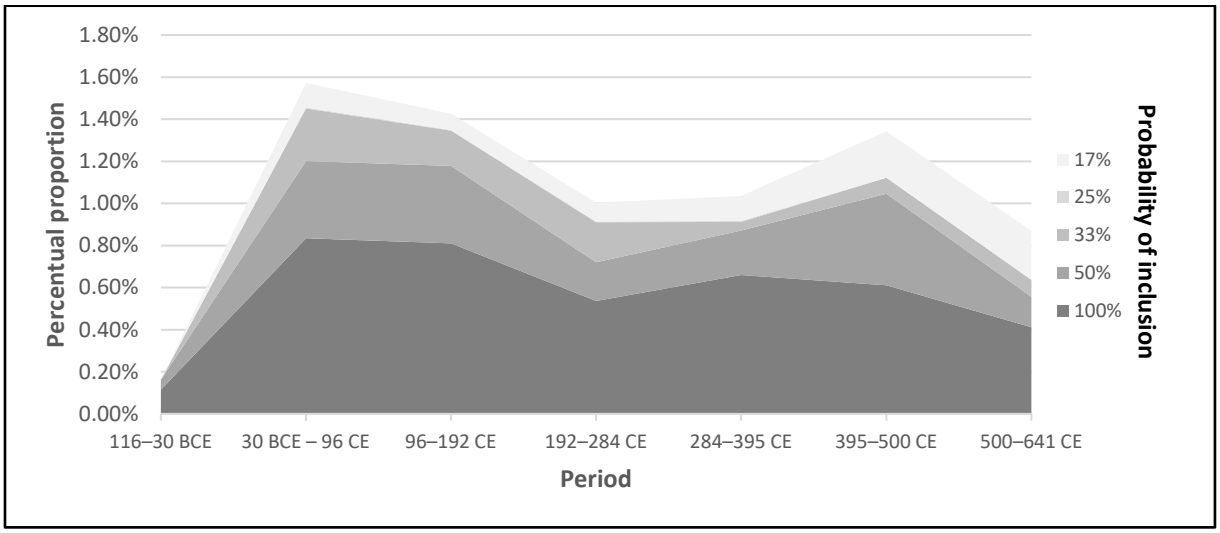


Fig. 3.2. The percentual proportion of Latin specimens of all textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia throughout the entire analysed timeframe (116 BCE – 641 CE) amongst the seven periods as defined above. The estimates of the overall volume of textual evidence for each period were made based on records in the Trismegistos Database (DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org). The ambiguously dated pieces of evidence were added to each period they could possibly belong to. The probability of inclusion of the additional proportion they represent is expressed in percentages and visualised in shades of grey. The resulting heights of the calculated percentual proportions should be considered as very conservative as they were calculated using the maximal possible amount of all textual evidence for each period.

However, the abovementioned trends are necessarily biased by the varying overall rates of production and especially the preservation of textual evidence for each of the periods. Thus, the absolute numbers of preserved Latin textual evidence for each period were compared against the amount of all textual specimens from the given period as recorded by the Trismegistos Database.[1407] The resulting proportions of Latin specimens from the whole volume of textual evidence for each given period[1408] should be considered as much more accurately indicating the trends in its occurrence over time. After the similarly shown initial steep raise, a slight decline in the occurrence of Latin is suggested after the earliest Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE), reverting to slight increase after the later principate (192–284 CE), and turning into rapid fall in the later Byzantine period (500–641 CE).

[1407] DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org. For papyrological evidence in particular, showing very similar trends, see also esp. HABERMANN, ZPE 122; see also BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a.
[1408] See Fig. 3.2. above.

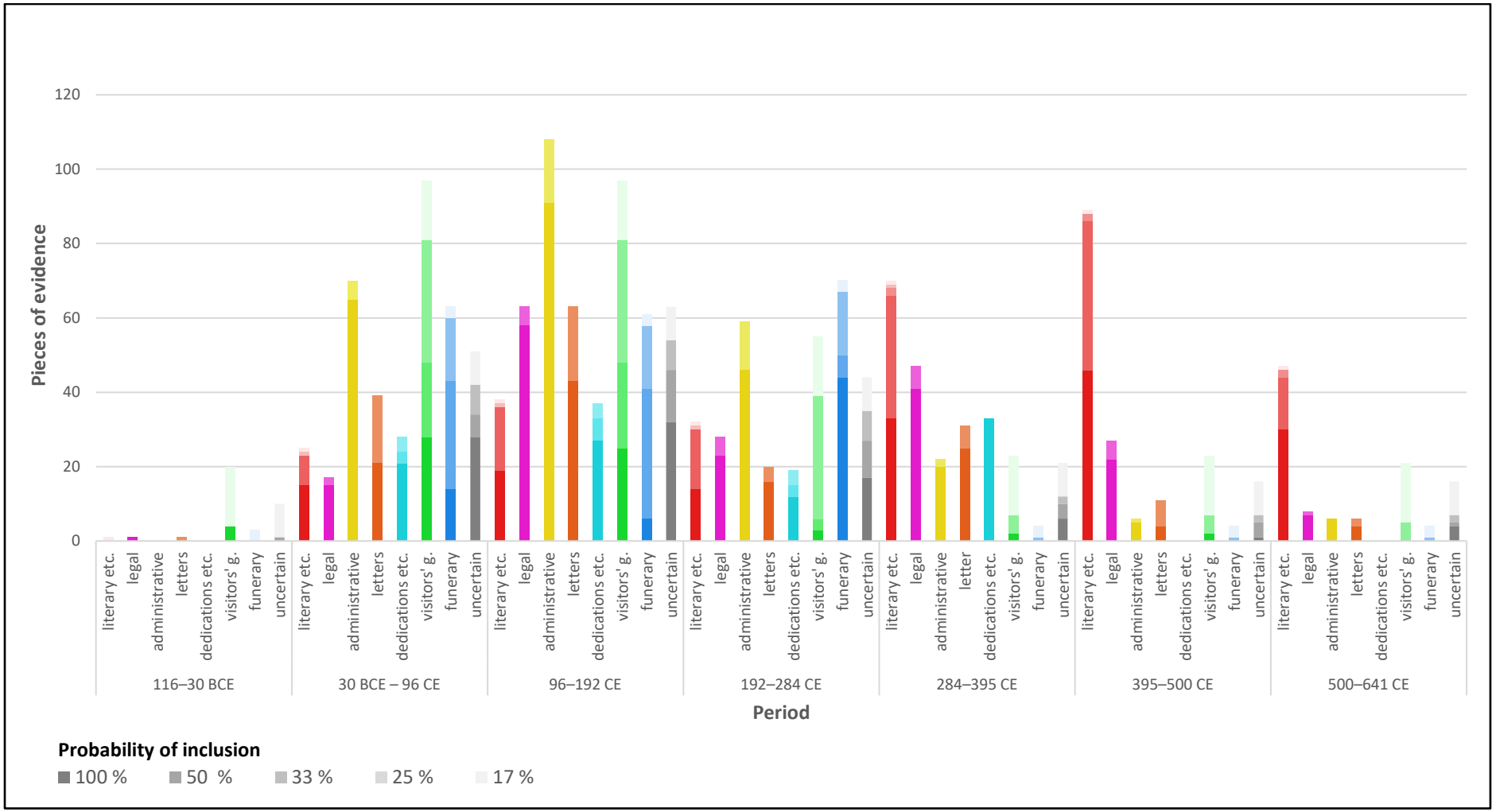


Fig. 3.3. The distribution of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia according to typological classes (see chapter 2. above) throughout the entire analysed timeframe (116 BCE – 641 CE) amongst the seven periods as defined above. The ambiguously dated pieces of evidence were added to each period they could possibly belong to. The probability of their inclusion is expressed in percentages and visualised in shades of the respective colours. Abbreviations: literary etc. = literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts; dedications etc. = dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones; visitors' g. = visitors' graffiti.

The fundamental outlines of the related qualitative developments may be grasped from following the increases/declines of individual classes of texts.[1409] Especially administrative and legal texts and letters, and various epigraphic genres including dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones, visitors' graffiti, and funerary inscriptions dominated the earlier periods. The occurrence of administrative texts severely declined with early late antiquity (284–395 CE), with letters and legal texts, after a concurrent brief increase, seeing a definitive decline only during the Byzantine period (395–641 CE). While visitors' graffiti and funerary inscriptions all but disappeared before late antiquity (284–641 CE), the dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones still flourished during its early part (284–395 CE). The most clearly surging class with the onset of late antiquity (284–641 CE) were the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts. In general, the most striking changes in the typological profile of the Latin evidence from Egypt and Nubia as well as major alterations in both quantitative and qualitative trends occurred in and between the periods of the later principate (192–284 CE) and early late antiquity (284–395 CE).

More in general, the entire early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) on the one hand and late antiquity (284–641 CE) on the other appear to be clearly distinct from each other as well. Besides the typological difference, this is exemplified also by a comparison of some other characteristics. During the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE), Latin appeared for almost one third (271 out of 882, 30.73 %) in bilingual texts, while, in late antiquity (284–641 CE), their share almost doubled (200 out of 359, 55.71 %). Relatedly, focusing only on the documentary evidence represented by legal texts, administrative texts, and letters, formerly only in a small part of them (64 out of 424, 15.09 %) Latin was used only for minor parts of the text, typically subscriptions. In the later part of the Roman period, it was the case of two thirds (88 out of 149, 59.06 %) of them, nearly four times more.

As discussed above,[1410] Latin was in Egypt and Nubia connected mainly with the military milieu of the society. This was definitely true for the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE) from which almost half (412 out of 882, 46.71 %) of the textual evidence was broadly connected to it. In late antiquity (284–641 CE) it was only fraction (59 out of 358, 16.48 %) of this amount. The developments and reasons standing behind these and other more subtle distinction between the individual periods and even their parts are discussed in their context in the following subchapters.

3.1. 116–30 BCE: A modest prelude

Latin evidence predating the conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE is extremely scarce, consisting with varying degrees of certainty of only 5 individual pieces of evidence (TM 6400, 88950, 88953, 95293, 96676). This is in stark contrast with the long-established presence of Romans/Italians in the Ptolemaic Kingdom and its growing dependence and especially political and economic interweaving with the Roman Republic both of which greatly intensified during the 1st century BCE, well before Egypt became a Roman province.[1411] Seemingly, the Latin-speaking visitors

[1409] See Fig. 3.3. above.

[1410] See section 2.8.1. above.

[1411] *Inter alia* BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 42–45; CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt. The Creation of a Roman Province, esp. 5–10, 14–17; HEILPORN, in N. BARRANDON/F. KIRBIHLER (eds.), Administrer les provinces de la

and immigrants to Egypt – much more readily than later – accommodated to the local linguistic landscape rather than ostentatiously using their own.[1412] It is worth to look in which specific cases Latin was used against the prevailing tendency.

While Latin was undeniably used in Egypt before, most likely the oldest piece of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia is dated to 26 August 116 BCE. The visitors' graffito of three Romans, C. Acutius, M. Claudius Varus, and Sp. Varaeus, (TM 88950), has been briefly discussed above.[1413] While precisely dated and with one of its originators, quite provocatively for modern scholarly interest, stating his further unspecified primacy of arrival, the wider context of the inscription and the visit as such remains painfully obscure. As a result, the inscription became the object of a relatively lively debate.[1414] One aspect especially relevant for the present discussion is the apparent evidence suggesting a possible official character of the visit and the inscription.[1415] It is in the first place the choice of Latin as such which seems to point in this direction, characteristically used for a text lacking any indication of a religious motivation of the visit,[1416] but notably left at a pilgrimage site *par excellence*. In not only the choice of language but also the composition of the text, the trio makes no concessions to the intelligibility of their message to locals, with the only exception of C. Acutius who also repeated his name in Greek slightly to the side of the main text. In particular, as noted by James,[1417] they also used detached third-person forms for the predicates of their inscriptions (*venit*/*venerunt*) which is well comparable with the formulation of some of the graffiti from the Colossi of Memnon as discussed by Adams.[1418] Beyond the internal evidence, also the historic context of the visit is conspicuous. According to the date given by them,[1419] the Romans arrived at Philae roughly around the Egyptian New Year/Inundation festivities in which the temple complex of Phiale occupied a privileged spot as closely connected to the ritual sources of the Nile. Moreover, in that year it would have been not long after the passing of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and in the course of the establishment of a new coregency involving Ptolemy IX Soter II, Cleopatra II, who passed away soon after, and Cleopatra III.[1420] The liminal potentially volatile situation could have very well prompted increased diplomatic activity both within and from

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République romaine, https://books.openedition.org/pur/110723; JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, esp. 253–255; HERKLOTZ, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 11–12; HÖLBL, A History of the Ptolemaic Empire, esp. 229–256; VAN T' DACK, in: Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten.

[1412] See e.g. JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean.

[1413] See section 1.5.1. above.

[1414] *Inter alia* BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144; JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 230–234; PFIEFFER, EQÄ 9, no. 30.

[1415] See esp. BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144, 204–207; JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 231–233.

[1416] See section 2.6.2. above.

[1417] JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 233.

[1418] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 549, 551.

[1419] Note that the date is of the Roman republican calendar before the Julian reform of 46 BCE and, thus, not an exact seasonal equivalent of 26 August of the Gregorian calendar. Nonetheless, it seems that by the late 2nd century the Roman republican calendar was kept relatively well-aligned in this respect, e.g. SAMUEL, Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity, 162–163.

[1420] E.g. HÖLBL, A History of the Ptolemaic Empire, 204–205.

outside Egypt in which, and possibly specifically on the occasion of the principal (local) holiday, the three Romans could have tentatively taken some closely unspecified part. Another Latin graffito found at the same site and in the same context (TM 88953), estimated to be contemporary,[1421] or even directly related,[1422] was simpler – containing just the personal details of the visitor and a predicate – giving a more personal impression.[1423]

Other Latin visitors' graffiti (TM 95293, 96676) dating to the Ptolemaic period[1424] came from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Together with two more Greek ones,[1425] they likely formed a single set belonging to a man named M. Vo(l)turius,[1426] who in three of them (TM 96676)[1427] also explicitly stated his Roman identity. The four inscriptions were notable distributed amongst two individual tombs, with a pair of Greek and Latin graffito in each,[1428] in one case written right next to each other (TM 96676).[1429] While his consistent use of the '-*os*' endings for the nominative singular of masculine names may be considered as an archaic Latin feature, rather than influence of Greek, one of the Latin inscriptions (TM 96676) included the Greek ethnonym *'Ρωμαῖος*', with the exception of the Greek Ω written in Latin script, instead of the Latin '*Romanus*'.[1430]

Overall, it seems possible that in the visitors' graffiti predating the conquest of 30 BCE Latin was applied narrowly with the purpose of underscoring the Roman status/identity of their originators. At least in the cases of C. Acutius and M. Vo(l)turius, the Latin inscriptions were accompanied by (partial) Greek translations aiming at the general public. By this feature, otherwise quite rare, they are well comparable with some of the later visitors' graffiti from the Eastern Desert of agents of (Italian) Roman businessmen.[1431] As discussed above, Latin could come into play as the language of power more directly in the Philae inscription of 116 BCE. It did so quite obviously in the last Latin-using inscription of the Ptolemaic period, which was the royal decree of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesarion issued in thirties of the 1st century BCE confirming the privilege of asylum to the Jewish sanctuary of Leontopolis (TM 6400). While

[1421] ROCCATI, in DE BOER/EDRIDGE (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3, no. 6, 2.
[1422] E.g. BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144, 203, esp. footnote no. 3.
[1423] See also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 233.
[1424] It has been proposed already by Letronne (LETRONNE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte II, esp. 288, also 286–287), to date the inscriptions to the 1st century BCE mainly on palaeographic grounds. It was, however, put forward by James (JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 243–244) that the inscriptions may be older on the basis of the missing cognomina. Considering in particular the date of the wider appearance of the lunate version of the letter Σ in Ptolemaic inscriptions (e.g. CROWTHER, in BOWMAN/CROWTHER (eds.), The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt, esp. 163, Tab. 13.1) Letronne's dating may hold. While the influence of documents on papyri, in which it appeared much earlier (e.g. JANKO, ZPE 205, 196–197), on the discussed inscriptions is not unlikely, an earlier date must be regarded as also possible.
[1425] BAILLET, I. Syringes, nos. 283, 2003.
[1426] But see JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 245–246; in general see also *ibid.*, 243–247.
[1427] And BAILLET, I. Syringes, nos. 283, 2003.
[1428] KV2: TM 95293, I. Syringes, nos. 283; KV9: TM 96676, BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 2003.
[1429] And BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 2003.
[1430] See also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 244–245.
[1431] See section 2.8.4. below.

the inscription was thoroughly discussed above,[1432] Latin appears in it used for only a short subscription capturing the phrase giving the authority to the grant, in fact extending its effect also on representatives of the Roman power. Considering also the doubled size of the Latin letters compared to the Greek text, the passage and it language clearly played a prominent symbolic rather than informative role – Romans had to read, or have read, the Greek part anyway. On one hand the royal edict reveals the level to which Roman authority pervaded Egypt already some years before its ultimate annexation into the Roman empire, on the other it for the first time illustrates one of the particular modes in which Latin was to be used for the remainder of the Roman rule over Egypt.

Several more ambiguously dated pieces of evidence may have come from the Ptolemaic period, or more precisely its very end, as well. Even if not, which for all of them seems likely, they still very well illustrate the quick spread of Latin to other textual genres and functional niches around 30 BCE. Considering the scarcity of evidence discussed so far, it is worth to go briefly through them. A neatly sculpted partial inscription of an uncertain kind containing the *tria nomina* and filiation of a man in two lines and a (ordinal?) numeral in the third (TM 106260) was by its original examiners/editors dated as republican by palaeographic means. Its letters M, P, and R indeed show typically early features. However, these are not limited to the republican times and may occur also well after the establishment of the principate,[1433] in particular also in some of the Latin inscriptions from Egypt firmly dated after the conquest of 30 BCE.[1434] A group of nine dipinti featuring the words 'Caesar' or 'Caesariani' found on fragments of marble at the site of Kom el-Dikka at Alexandria (TM 154327–154335) could perhaps be connected to the event of the conquest of Egypt by Caesar Octavian rather than to the no less peaceful sojourn of the armies of his adoptive father Julius Caesar a generation earlier.[1435] A letter of Phileros addressed to his fellow slaves, all of whom were owned by a certain Diogenes, (TM 69927) was found as the only other Latin piece identified so far amongst the lot of papyri recovered from the cartonnages excavated at Bousiris (Abusir el-Meleq).[1436] As the papyri were in their entirety recognised to constitute an Alexandrian waste dump dating both before and after 30 BCE, the same must be, at least until more precise dating is argued, presumed also for this letter.[1437]

3.2. 30 BCE – 96 CE: The initial explosion

There were altogether 206 pieces of Latin textual evidence, representing 15.98 % of the entire corpus, which fell with certainty to the roughly first hundred years of Roman rule (30 BCE – 96 CE). Another 183 specimens, representing 14.20 % of the entire corpus could belong to this

[1432] See section 2.2.1. above.

[1433] E.g. GORDON/GORDON, Contributions to the palaeography of Latin inscriptions, esp. 210–211; SALOMIES, in BRUUN/EDMONDSON (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy, 169–170; in particular see also Collections (Musée du Louvre), https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010278666; DUCROUX, Catalogue analytique des inscriptions latines sur pierre conservées au Musée du Louvre, no. 928.

[1434] E.g. TM 81333 (BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, pl. 62, 1; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, Fig. 13.2), TM 81651 (CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, Fig. 3), TM 81655 (CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, Fig. 3), TM 102649 (KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., Pl. IV); TM 10733 (KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., Pl. I).

[1435] ŁUKASZEWICZ, JJP 41, esp. 90–92.

[1436] See section 1.2.2. above.

[1437] E.g. RUBENSOHN/KNATZ, ZÄS 41, 13–14.

period with varying degrees of probability. Considering the overall scarcity of textual evidence coming from the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), it is the time in which Latin was relatively well represented reaching already the highest proportion of all recovered specimens of written evidence.[1438] As mentioned, Latin did not appear in Egypt for the first time with the conquest of 30 BCE. The rare pieces of its evidence occurring before and around that date had already to a certain degree outlined its upcoming setting in society. However, in absolute numbers, the increase in the occurrence of Latin was massive and indeed abrupt. Despite many continuities with the preceding Ptolemaic period, the explosive spread of Latin was one of the consequences of the more profound changes brought to the Egyptian and Nubian societies with the incipient Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE).[1439]

A considerable part, namely about a third of the evidence, came already from the first half of the period, that is until the end of the Tiberius' reign. It was notably characterised by some features distinguishing it from the later 1st century CE, and even more so from the later periods. In the direct aftermath of the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, the establishment of the Roman power in Egypt and Nubia was marked by the erection of the Vatican Obelisk by Cornelius Gallus at the 'Forum Iulium' at Alexandria (TM 107330), and of his trilingual stele on the island of Philae (TM 80859), already in the rank of *praefectus Aegypti*. This foreshadowed the other large building projects of the time also commemorated in Latin (TM 88367, 102611, 102613, 102649, 106374), which were (presumably) largely initiated by the central imperial government, involved the army, and focused amongst others on the provincial military and water management infrastructure. While before the later part of the 1st century CE, there is a relative scarcity of Latin evidence explicitly related to the army (esp. TM 9457, 16273, 23892, 25148, 81657, 382601, 851433), one should rather consider it as missing/lost as shown before. The abovementioned building inscriptions, probably the 'Caesar/Caesariani' graffiti from Alexandria (TM 154327–154335), and especially the exceptional find of the considerable lot of Latin papyri at Primis (Qasr Ibrim; TM 59474, 70018–70028, 78737, 851433, Derda et al., in Ciołek/Chowaniec (eds.), Aleksanderia; Derda et al., Palamedes 13, no. 3) capture a narrowly limited (25–21 BCE)[1440] glimpse at the inner workings of the military sphere of that time.[1441] Although rare, it still seems to show that the army was indeed one of the main vessels bringing Latin into Egypt just after the establishment of the province.

[1438] See Fig. 3.2. above; cf. also Bagnall (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; Habermann, ZPE 122, esp. 150, Abb. 1.

[1439] E.g. Bagnall (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, esp. 46–59; Capponi, Augustan Egypt; Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.

[1440] E.g. Adams, in Geus/Thill (eds.), Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter; Adams, JARCE 20; Derda/Łajtar, in Hagen/van der Vliet (eds.), Qasr Ibrim, between Egypt and Africa; Rose, Sudan & Nubia 15, 5–6.

[1441] As mentioned above (see section 1.5.3. above), the garrison of Qasr Ibrim could be most likely considered as a detachment managed from the headquarters at Coptos (Qift) supporting the existence of its own considerable garrison at that time (Derda et al., Palamedes 9/10). Indeed there seems to be a modest grouping of Latin evidence to the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE) including at least a monument recording a widespread infrastructural building campaign across the Eastern Dessert (TM 88367), a funerary inscription of a soldier (TM 88426), and two military diplomas (TM 88374, 106378). The limited volume of the evidence recovered from this site seems to be due to rather the unfavourable conditions for their preservation/recovery.

Alongside them,[1442] there were also the (Italian) Roman businessmen and more often their (servile/freedmen) agents, which seem to have concurrently, following up on their predecessors from before the conquest,[1443] flooded the province to exploit the newly expanded opportunities, namely but not only for financial businesses and for long-distance trade.[1444] Considering only the pieces of evidence assigned to these activities with a high degree of certainty, 16 (TM 20513, 9619, 14399, 18163, 70007, 25149, 69905, 16563, 78573, 70029, 81651, 81655, 81657, 106468–106469, 81333) out of 18 could be dated until the end of Tiberius's reign, making about a fifth of Latin texts falling to this span of time. Afterwards, the business activities of (Italian) Roman businessmen, at least producing Latin textual evidence but probably in general, seem to have been severely but certainly not completely restricted.[1445] Possibly this could have been one of the effects of the financial crisis of 33 CE.[1446] After the shock to the formerly established structures, the businesses could have been partly cut back in general,[1447] the (Italian) Roman businessmen and their agents replaced with locals,[1448] or assimilated into the local environment. Either of these could have brought the rapid decline of the use of Latin in this specific context. Some efforts to accommodate themselves to the language environment of Egypt were done by the business agents before, including the bilingual translated or dual visitors' graffiti (TM 81333,[1449] 81650), similar to the ones extant from before 30 BCE,[1450] and some documents mixing Greek and Latin (script; TM 9619, 14399, 16563, possibly TM 389951).

Similarly to the latter and largely already beyond the first half of the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), it has been argued by Adams[1451] that apparently Greek texts written in Latin script occurred also amongst the ostraca recovered from Apollonopolis (Edfu; TM 18254, 46933, 54003, 74234–74239, 74240–74241, 74333), in what was likely an effort to accommodate the other way around, that is by primary users of Greek, presumably to some

[1442] See also esp. VAN MINNEN, in in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 1005–1006. For the incoming members of the administrative, only rarely using Latin (e.g. TM 70161), see esp. CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt, *passim*, esp. 27, 29–34, 36–38, 109–110, 112–113, 131–132.

[1443] E.g. CAPPONI, Augustan Egypt, *passim*, esp. 9–10; HEILPORN, in N. BARRANDON/F. KIRBIHLER (eds.), Administrer les provinces de la République romaine, https://books.openedition.org/pur/110723; JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 255–263. Possibly, they could have included also the originators of the Latin visitors' graffiti from before 30 BCE, e.g. BENESS/HILLARD, ZPE 144, 204.

[1444] See esp. DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, esp. 119–259; IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 174–185; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, *passim*; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, esp. 42–51; 220–248; see also section 2.8.4. above.

[1445] See e.g. BONSANGUE, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 12; IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, esp. 192–196.

[1446] E.g. ELLIOTT, Journal of Ancient History 3(2); esp. for the argument suggesting the deeper connection between the moneylending crisis and the long-distance trade running through Egypt see TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 174–187, 238–248.

[1447] For the intensity trade in particular see e.g. DE ROMANIS, Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana, *passim*; SIDEBOTHAM, Berenike and the Ancient maritime Spice Route, *passim*, esp. 221.

[1448] See e.g. IOVINE/SALATI, JJP 50, 195–196; in particular see also the businesses Egyptian individuals such as Nicanor (e.g. CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 274–275; RUFFING, Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte XII[2]), or M. Iulius Alexander (e.g. DANIÉLOU, Philo of Alexandria, 3; FUKS, JJP 5, 214–216; TCHERNIA, The Romans and Trade, 50).

[1449] And BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 120.

[1450] See subchapter 3.1. above.

[1451] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 530–533.

kind of higher authority. It seems unclear if this could have been connected to the Roman army.[1452] The mixing of both languages, and their scripts, above merely influencing one another in various ways, seems to be typical for this period, while appearing much less often later. It could have been symptomatic for the Latin-Greek bilingualism still setting in the province. It was also amongst the Apollonopolis ostraca that Latin came often into the otherwise rare contact with Demotic (TM 18254, 46933, 46935, 54003). Strikingly and likely significantly for the time, in one of these cases (TM 46935) only a single Latin word '*annona*' was inserted into the Demotic receipt. Two more documents in which Latin met Demotic (TM 14399, 70137) were similarly early. Although since the beginning of the Roman period, the use of Demotic came to a serious decline,[1453] it seems also remarkable that it came into contact with Latin in fact only during this earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE).

An important event taking place during the reign of Tiberius was the Egyptian sojourn of his heir apparent Germanicus in 19 CE.[1454] As argued above,[1455] his visit likely resulted in a local surge of Latin epigraphic monuments at Alexandria. While only two inscriptions (tentatively) connected to this event are preserved (TM 102612, 106375), it seems likely that more could have originally been dedicated, especially given the fact that one was aimed not at the imperial prince himself, but at a close yet relatively low-ranking member of his retinue (TM 102612). A short trip to Upper Egypt bringing Germanicus to the Colossi of Memnon could have had longer standing effects as possibly sparking or rather fortifying the extraordinary status of the monument and inspiring the high-ranking officials to emulate their superior in visiting the site and leaving their visitors' graffiti largely written in Latin. The oldest one of them appeared at the site only about a year after Germanicus' presence (TM 93156).

Besides the gradual emergence of Latin visitors' graffiti at the Colossi of Memnon, other major *loci*/niches of the occurrence of Latin in the centuries to come started to gain momentum during the second half of the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE). Latin visitors' graffiti, now mentioning mainly soldiers, start to appear also elsewhere than in the Theban region, likely including the group from Gebel el-Tukh in Middle Egypt (TM 119278–119279, 154406, 154455). It is uncertain to what extent some of the mostly undated graffiti from the Dodecaschoenus could fall into this time as well.[1456] Also amongst inscriptions on stone, the first of the monuments broadly associated with the auxiliary stationing at Syene were erected (TM 106179, 154478), and Latin soldiers' tombstones show up for the first time in considerable numbers at Nicopolis. The two main kinds of Latin documentary evidence characteristic for the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE), namely legal personal documents

[1452] See e.g. YOUTIE, AJA 53(3), 269; but note that more intensive military presence in the vicinity of the site is attested only much later, e.g. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 419–420; cf. also JAMES, in CLACKSON et al. (eds.), Migration, Mobility and Language Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean, 256–259.

[1453] E.g. DEPAUW, in RIGGS (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt, 494–496.

[1454] Esp. TACITUS, Annales, II, 59–61; SPEIDEL, in ERSKINE et al. (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah07039; WEINGÄRTNER, Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus; see also SUETONIUS, De Vitis Caesarum, Tiberius, 52.

[1455] See section 2.8.6. above.

[1456] For the temporal setting of the military presence in the region see e.g. MAXFIELD, in ALFÖLDY et al. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, 414–418; cf. in particular for Talmis (Kalabsha): GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, no. 17, Pselchis (Dakka): RUPPEL, Der Tempel von Dakke III, no. 54.

and military administrative papyri start to be produced as well, notably including the composed administrative papyrus roll of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (TM 69867).[1457] Amongst the earliest personal documents, there were markedly three of the six military diplomas preserved from Egypt (TM 88374, 106376, 106378).

Under the Flavian dynasty begins the period of most intensive activities in the Eastern Desert,[1458] leaving behind considerable amounts of Latin evidence. Foremost, it was heralded by a wide-reaching building campaign aimed at improving the (military) infrastructure of the region. It was conducted in several stages under several *praefecti Aegypti* and commemorated by Latin building inscriptions at individual construction sites (TM 81588, 81659, 88376, 105712, 106256, 106257+874390, 145033, 154465).[1459] The official inscriptions were accompanied by the appearance of a considerable amount of Latin evidence on pottery ostraca encompassing the administrative as well as everyday private dealings of the military communities on the ground. The Eastern Desert ostraca from the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE) notably included the 'water archive' from Berenike (Ras Banas; TM 641764, 641772, 641778–641800, 641821, 641849, 641853, 641880, 614900, 641902, 641904, 641921, 641927),[1460] the dossier of Cutus and other Thracian soldiers from Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh; TM 144629, 144897–144899, 957329–957333)[1461] and possibly also the letters (tentatively) associated with another soldier, Rustius Barbarus, from Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir; TM 70162–70166).[1462]

The textual record for the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE) is to be considered, in comparison with the other periods, as highly fragmentary, especially during its first half.[1463] This only underscores the strength and intensity with which Latin entered the Egyptian society. The particular contexts in which Latin appeared at first were distinctive from where it is found in the decades and centuries after. On the one hand, the position of Latin in the society may have not yet been more firmly delimited. On the other, the years and decades just after the conquest of 30 BCE were apparently the time in which the presence of Roman citizens and other Romans in the broader sense more than ever after indeed comprised foreigners, represented mainly by members of the army and Italian businessmen and their agents. The causes of the explosion could be perhaps seen mainly in the inflow of actual speakers and primary users of Latin and, on the other, perhaps more importantly, in its definitive assertion as the language of power and a rapid decline in the accommodation typical before. However, it must be acknowledged that significant gaps in the evidence are likely hampering a more comprehensive grasp of the beginnings of Latin in Egypt and Nubia.

[1457] See sections 1.1.2., 2.3.3. above.
[1458] E.g. BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 15–18; cf. also *inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; REDON (ed.), Desert Networks; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land; see also subchapter 1.4. above.
[1459] See section 2.5.4. above. Note especially that also the abovementioned group of visitors' graffiti from Gebel el-Tukh (TM 119278–119279, 154406, 154455) may be tentatively suggested to have been connected to these activities.
[1460] AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, 71, nos. 274–455; see also section 1.4.8. above.
[1461] ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, 243–244; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[1462] See e.g. ADAMS, ZPE 111; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[1463] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, esp. 150, Abb. 1.

During the later decades of the period Latin seems to be steadily setting in some of the regions and positions typical for it during the next two centuries to come. Remarkable in this regard is especially the significant surge in Latin evidence coming from the Eastern Desert comprising of various classes and types of texts. The arrival and settlement of the foreign military force at the beginning of the period is at least partly replenished through immigration of foreign recruits which was however, as far as it is mapped, besides the occasional contribution from the western part of the empire, fed mainly from Greek speaking Asia Minor.[1464] Notably, on the fringes of the province and in the different situations of the beginning and the end of the period, there appear two limited military communities where Latin was evidently used on a wider day to day basis than elsewhere in the province, namely at Qasr Ibrim in Lower Nubia during the late 1st century BCE and especially at Didymoi in the Eastern Desert during the Flavian period.

3.3. 96–192 CE: Standardisation and stagnation

Making it the best represented period, 301 pieces of Latin evidence, representing 23.35 % of the entire corpus, came certainly from the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE). Another 229 pieces, representing 17.77 % of the entire corpus, could possibly belong to the period as well. Despite the growth and primacy in the absolute number of the evidence, the occurrence of Latin seems to have rather stagnated in comparison with the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE).[1465] This trend seems to be also well illustrated by a comparison between the 72 pieces of inscriptions on stone with certainty dated to the earliest Roman period (30 BCE –96 CE) and 63 coming from the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE). The rate of preservation of the inscriptions on stone may be considered as more constant, not subjected to such variations in time and space as in the case of less-durable writing media. On the other hand, more inscriptions on stone could have sprung up as results of irregular events leading to limited surges in their appearance at certain points in time. Moreover, less than a third (85, 28.24 %)[1466] of the Latin textual evidence certainly falling to this period came solely from the Eastern Desert, which especially during its first half reached the peak of its exploitation during the Roman period.[1467] In addition, at least a fifth (62, 20.60 %), and likely more, of the specimens came with certainty from the Fayum which serves as the richest source of papyrological evidence from the 2nd century CE.[1468]

In comparison not only with the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), the textual record from the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE) may be considered as more complete and representative, with the best potential of showing well its actual structures. In the follow-up to earlier developments from the later decades of the 1st century CE, it shows

[1464] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 41–42, Tab. 3.1.
[1465] See Fig. 3.2. above; cf. also BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, esp. 150, Abb. 1.
[1466] But notably including some closely-knit sets of evidence accumulated at a single spot and over a very limited span of time, especially the collection of 24 very similar ostraca (TM 29717–29720, 29722–29734, 29736–29741, 29744) recording the day-to-day scheduling of guard duties at Mons Claudianus.
[1467] E.g. BRUN, in BRUN et al. (eds.), The Eastern Desert of Egypt, § 17–19; cf. also *inter alia* CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos; REDON (ed.), Desert Networks; SIDEBOTHAM et al., The Red Land; see also subchapter 1.4. above.
[1468] E.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, b; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, esp. 149–150, 152–155, Abb. 3, 8.

that Latin now firmly occupies several main functional niches in the Egyptian and Nubian societies.[1469] At this point, its use seems clearly standardised.

More Latin visitors' graffiti were inscribed especially at the Colossi of Memnon. While peaking already before, the extraordinary status of the site was clearly further supported by the visit of the emperor Hadrian and his retinue in 130 CE.[1470] The few more firmly dated visitors' graffiti (TM 106291, 106293, 106295, 154412, 383477), and in fact, with a single exception of a tetrarchic milestone (TM 154418), also other such inscriptions (TM 102271, 154432), from the Dodecaschoenus came from the 2nd century CE. In addition, it seems reasonable to presume that a large part of Latin evidence with more unspecific dating indeed comes from this period as well. The appearance of Latin tombstones around Nicopolis followed up steadily on the preceding period. Although preserved in somewhat lesser numbers, so did also the occurrence of Latin building inscriptions. Various Latin dedications appeared more regularly than before, especially those honouring the emperors, but notably also the three of four dedications made for the *praefecti Aegypti* fell to this time (TM 106162, 106165, 108943). Overall, the most official inscriptions, namely building inscriptions and dedications, appeared at various site throughout the province, but were preserved mainly from the area of the capital (TM 106165, 106271, 108943, 108945, 112709, 115845) and the First cataract region (TM 80903, 106128, 121990, 128447–128449, 154479) with their major military bases.

Further, Latin was standardly used especially for personal documents and in the military administrative. The former group comprised most (43, 74.14 %) of the preserved legal texts from the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE). After their apparent gradual adoption and formal development during the 1st century CE,[1471] Roman-style personal documents, now regularly inscribed on wooden tablets, are well established and their appearance peaking, causing the legal texts in general to be the most clearly surging class of Latin evidence in this period.[1472] Similarly, the increase could have been caused also by the raising ratio of the Egyptian population admitted to the Roman citizenship,[1473] as Latin personal documents directly dealt with it, the personal status of its holders, and/or their personal property. At the Fayum, the richest source of papyrological material from this period, personal documents make up almost half of its Latin textual evidence. It shows well on what occasions and how intensively Latin was mainly used in overwhelmingly civilian or alternatively veteran[1474] communities of the province.

While the administrative of the army was certainly not exclusively, not even primarily, conducted in Latin, the language was to some degree preferred for some of its agendas and for its high-end official documents.[1475] Moreover, Latin appeared also as the language of many

[1469] See esp. section 2.8.1.–2.8.3. above.
[1470] Esp. BIRLEY, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor, 250–252; see also *inter alia* CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, Arys 16; ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, 141–154.
[1471] See MEYER, Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World, esp. 190–191.
[1472] See Fig. 3.3. above.
[1473] See esp. VAN MINNEN, in in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 1012.
[1474] E.g. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 48–52; see also DERDA, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 174–175.
[1475] See sections 2.3.1.–2.3.3., 2.8.1. above.

letters, most of which were especially during this period, similarly to administrative documents, clearly traceable to the military milieu. About three quarters of them, including the exceptional collection of letters from the 'archive' of Claudius Tiberianus (TM 27080–27085, 69897), were of a private nature. Together with other legal and administrative documents from a similar background, they show that in the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE) Latin (still) relatively intensively pervaded also the lower ranks of the military, being used occasionally also in the informal quotidian communication.[1476]

The spread of Latin in the army, and in extension across the regions with its strong presence, is, with some reservation, best exemplified at this time in the Eastern Desert, which provided another major part of the evidence belonging to the period. In general, it adhered to the same pattern as outlined for the second half of the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE). Latin was preserved there as used in a wide range of texts, spanning from official building inscriptions, now less numerous apparently for the lack of large centrally initiated projects, to various sets of pottery ostraca capturing military scheduling (TM 29717–29720, 29722–29734, 29736–29741, 29744), administrative notices (TM 88707–88713), and especially in the dossiers of letters revolving around interrelated group of soldiers at Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh; TM 144978, 144980–144981) and possibly Rustius Barbarus at Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir; TM 70162–70166), which could be also earlier. The people represented in these letters were likely primary users of Latin.[1477] In addition there were also several paraliterary texts (TM 62952, 63424, 128465, 341733–341734, 968594–968595) and a rare literary one (TM 62952) preserved from this period which served to help with the learning and utilisation of the language also by the primary users of Greek and Egyptian. Especially these as well as other texts on ostraca show how Latin was locally used on a day-to-day basis in the running of the quotidian and even personal matters of the military communities. On the other hand, it seems clear that not even here and then Latin was the dominating language, or even more widespread than anywhere else in Egypt and Nubia. In particular, and most illustratively, the Latin evidence from the Eastern Desert was lacking some of the types of texts typical for the military environment. Namely, this included Latin imperial dedications, and it is also apparent that soldiers in the Eastern Desert almost abstained from producing Latin visitors' graffiti. Apart from two such texts certainly dated to the 2nd century CE (TM 81091, 701163), with only one of them explicitly identified as originated by a soldier (TM 81091), most Latin visitors' graffiti from the Eastern Desert apparently came from the earliest Roman period, and as discussed above,[1478] were mainly connected not to the army but to the (Italian) Roman businessmen and their agents. Thus, it seems that the local representation of Latin could have been even slightly less than in other regions with a similarly strong military presence. However, without equally rich and representative evidence from elsewhere, such a notion cannot be satisfyingly confirmed.

As shown, during the time under the rule of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE), the relative frequency in which Latin was used was rather stagnating. In comparison with the previous period which showed more variability in its use, now the utilisation of Latin appeared

[1476] See also section 2.8.1. above.
[1477] See esp. ADAMS, ZPE 111; ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218; BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[1478] See subchapter 3.2. and section 2.8.4. above.

to be more standardised and more firmly confined to its main niches of application, such as the military milieu and the specific branch of the field of law dealing with matters of Roman citizenship and of its holders. The spread of Latin in the former, and especially amongst the lower ranks of servicemen, could still very well benefit from the inflow of foreign recruits, who now could come in a large part from Roman Africa in the western part of the empire, before the enlistment of the local recruits possibly prevailed in the second half of the 2nd century CE.[1479] In fact, it is possible to consider the time under the rule of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE) as well representative for the use of Latin in Egypt and Nubia throughout the entire early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), and as such use it also as a benchmark for evaluating the earlier developments as well as the significant changes in its use beginning in the following period.

3.4. 192–284 CE: The early decline

The time of the later principate (192–284 CE) was marked by a decline in the absolute amount of not only Latin textual evidence coming from Egypt and Nubia.[1480] Overall, the 175 specimens of Latin evidence certainly falling to this time, representing 13.58 % of the entire corpus, and an additional 151 pieces of texts, representing 11.71 % of the entire corpus, possibly belonging amongst them as well, do not represent a steep decrease in its occurrence,[1481] which in fact came only in the later part of the period. Over half of the Latin evidence (93, 53.14 %) could be (likely) ascribed to the earlier part of the period, that is until the end of the Severan rule in 235 CE. This notably included most of the large collection of the Latin inscribed tombstones from around the military camp of Nicopolis near Alexandria,[1482] and the small dossier of Latin letters of Aelius Silvinus from Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh; TM 145016–145018)[1483] following up on and in fact concluding the succession of similar sets of private correspondence from the site dating to the previous periods.[1484] In contrast, only several dozen Latin texts (42, 24.00 %) came certainly or likely from the time of the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 CE). While the causes seem to be to a certain degree shared, each domain in which Latin was chiefly used was affected in a different way and apparently with different intensity.[1485]

The sphere of law, which was in Latin up until the time of the later principate represented mainly by various personal documents, was quite obviously deeply affected by the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, which granted the Roman citizenship to all free denizens of the Roman empire.[1486] Against the background of the wider impacts it

[1479] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 41–44, Tab. 3.2.
[1480] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, *passim*, esp. Abb. 1.
[1481] See Fig. 3.2. above.
[1482] Some could be possibly later, but apparently no later than 250 CE, for the dating of the collection see esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, esp. 25–40, Tab. III.
[1483] See esp. BARCHI, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62/4.
[1484] See esp. subchapters 3.2.–3.3. above.
[1485] For discussion of the period focusing on the Latin papyrological, mainly documentary evidence see esp. IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX.
[1486] E.g. BESSON, Constitutio Antoniniana: L'universalisation de la citoyenneté romaine au 3e siècle.

brought especially to the field of law,[1487] it was roughly contemporaneous with various changes to the range of the produced Latin personal documents as such, as well as to their individual types. While not in all cases evidently, most of them had to stem directly from the ground-breaking legislation. Besides others,[1488] three exemplars of manumissions (TM 23523, 70157, 942941) all falling most likely between 212–241 CE represented a type of text not attested before. Possibly older, or in fact also contemporaneous, could have been only a single specimen of testamentary manumission (TM 28696). As suggested by Iovine,[1489] given the major differences in how the procedure was defined according to the Roman and local legal customs,[1490] the latter, after 212 CE available to all provincials, could have been sometimes preferred. Amongst the documents dealing with inheritance, a new type of text was represented by the confirmation of the possession of the estate (*agnitio bonorum possesionis*; TM 18351, 21587, 23051, 70139, 78797). All of the preserved specimens of this type of text dated after 212 CE derived more precisely from the decades of mid-3rd century CE. In fact, they formed the majority of Latin documents dealing with inheritance recovered from the time of later the principate (192–284 CE). Again, as argued by Iovine,[1491] the Roman standard could be seen as more advantageous, as it precluded the subsidiary partition of the inheritance. Such confirmations were notably made in the form of a legal petition addressed to the *praefectus Aegypti* who was authorised with supervising such property transfers. Newly, a similar form also applied after 212 CE to documents on papyri formalising the appointment of the tutor for a woman (*datio tutoris muliebris*; TM 20419, 21331, 21867), while earlier they were issued as certificates on wooden tablets (TM 18820, 70158–70159). As demonstrated by Arjava,[1492] the Roman legislation in this matter offered the affected women more opportunities than the local customary arrangement. The formal shift towards legal petitions addressing the *praefectus Aegypti* observable in the case of the two preceding types of documents was apparently one of the causes behind the decline of inscribing the personal documents on wooden tablets – certainly not the only one as the same tendency affected also other types of texts belonging to the subclass. While during the preceding period wooden tablets served as the dominant medium bearing the Latin personal documents (26 out of 43, 60.47 %), during the later principate they were used only for a fraction (4 out of 19, 21.05 %). Beside new types of personal documents springing up, others were vanishing, most notably the birth certificates, formerly quite numerous but with only three specimens dated to the time of the later principate (TM 16888, 20356, 17869), the latest dated to 240 CE (TM 17869). Considering the language use and choice, the personal documents from the time of the later principate (192–284 CE) were almost all (17 out of 19, 89.47 %) bilingual, applying both Latin and Greek either for distinct parts of the text, sometimes specifically subscriptions,

[1487] *Inter alia* ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces; WOLFF, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens I, *passim*, esp. 130–148.
[1488] See also e.g. IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554–556.
[1489] IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554–555.
[1490] Esp. PEDONE, Index 47, 31–41; see also e.g. KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, *passim*, esp. 452–455, 460–464; TAUBENSCHLAG, The law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 73–76.
[1491] IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 554.
[1492] ARJAVA, in KRAMER et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXI; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 177–180.

or for its translations. This was a striking change in comparison with the preceding period during which only a third (14 out of 43, 32.56 %) of personal documents were produced as bilingual. The growing importance and admissibility of Greek, and the weakening of Latin, in personal documents for Roman citizens is well illustrated in the case of testaments, in which case an accordingly designed legislation has been attested from the terminal Severan period.[1493] In general, the time of the later principate, and the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE in particular, brought about a new dynamic to the long-before standardised system of issuing Latin personal documents. At first, the new reality likely led to a certain upswing in their production, as the pool of the provincials entitled to have them issued rapidly grew. Indeed, there had been a certain demand for them, now certainly given by particular benefits stemming from the distinctive features of the Roman law, not by the general desire to confirm, back up, or project one's status as Roman citizen as such. The uptick was, however, followed by a steep decline. Amongst other reasons, this happened especially against the background of Roman citizenship losing its significance, as it no longer represented an exclusive privileged status. Simply put, Latin personal documents in the end vanished as having become obsolete.[1494]

The use of Latin by the army was in the time of the later principate (192–284 CE) most visibly represented by the large set of soldiers' tombstones from Nicopolis.[1495] The peak of their occurrence in the first half of the 3rd century CE is to be seen as most likely the result of their apparent higher preservation rate in comparison with the previous periods. With the single exception of a Christian tombstone for the woman Rebeka (TM 98517), they at the same time represented the latest tombstones inscribed in Latin coming from Egypt and Nubia. Their disappearance by 250 CE at the latest seems to coincide in general with the decline in producing Latin personal documents. It could have been another delayed effect of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE, as the empire-wide grant of citizenship narrowed the status gap between the civilians and soldiers and especially between servicemen from various kinds of units, namely legions and auxiliaries. The specific reasons to stress one's identity as a soldier, and especially as a legionary, faded away.[1496] It is not certain, if and to what extent it could have been also influenced by the likely decrease in immigration of foreign recruits, which, as discussed above, possibly accelerated as early as the second half of the 2nd century CE.[1497] Particular foreign origins were mentioned for both the servicemen and their family members still during the 3rd century CE (TM 106318–106319, 106323, 106236, 106336, 106342, 112201, 120220), notably including people coming from Roman Africa (106342, 112201, 120220), Italy (TM 106336), and even Pannonia (TM 106319), all belonging to the western part of the Roman Empire. Both the more limited inflow of eastern recruits as well as the weakened connection between Latin and (active) soldierly status/identity could have been

[1493] E.g. ALONSO, in CZAJKOWSKI et al. (eds.), Law in the Roman Provinces, 52–53; AMELOTTI, Il testamento romano, 217–250; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 123, 148–149; see also KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 124, footnote no. 44 including references to further literature.

[1494] See also esp. IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 557–558.

[1495] See sections 1.1.2., 2.7.1. below; see also esp. WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt.

[1496] See e.g. COULSTON, in DE BLOIS/LO CASCIO (eds.), The Impact of the Roman Army (200 B.C. – A.D. 476), 547.

[1497] Esp. ALSTON, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, 41–44, Tab. 3.2.

behind the lessening number of Latin letters and especially the private ones. From the 43 letters dating certainly to the preceding period, almost three quarters (30, 69.77 %) could be (tentatively) identified as private. And, indeed, their majority came from the military milieu. Only 16 letters came certainly from the time of the later principate (192–284 CE), with only half of them (tentatively) discerned as private (8, 50.00 %).[1498] They notably included the small dossier of Aelius Silvinus from Didymoi (TM 145016–145018). Despite their fragmentary state of preservation, three more of the private letters from this period could be identified as having a background in the military (TM 69946, 69957, 69968). Both the cases of Latin epitaphs and the private letters seem to show that Latin stared to vanish from the lower ranks of the military, especially for its use in private matters. Although the letters could not be dated with more precision, it could have taken place as soon as the mid-3rd century CE. On the other hand, Latin seems to have better persisted as the partly privileged language of the military administrative, notably with several specimens of military administrative documents (TM 21887, 22510, 32180, 69910, 69973–69974, 69888, 786137) certainly dated to the time of the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 CE). In this context, the utilisation of Latin started to significantly decline only during the following period.[1499]

The picture of the later principate (192–284 CE) is further complemented by the total disappearance of building inscriptions, in which the army often acted together with its superior authorities namely the *praefectus Aegypti*, and various dedications, which were still quite numerous at the beginning of the period, but none later than 218 CE (TM 106171). More occurred only during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE). The lack of these costly projects often with the involvement of the central provincial or even imperial authorities is to be seen as one of the effects of the progressive weakening of the central power and its increasing lack of means, which culminated in the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 CE).

The empire wide collapse of imperial, not as much the provincial,[1500] structures is not to be overlooked as the general background against which the decrease in the use of Latin in Egypt took place. It appears to be no coincidence that it was exactly the time of the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 CE) when it seems to hit its lowest point yet since the beginning of the Roman rule over Egypt. All major niches in which Latin was utilised seem to have been to a certain degree hit. The use of Latin partly recovered only during the following period, and that especially on the official level in the higher echelons of the provincial administrative. From the lower (military) strata of the Egyptian and Nubian societies it nearly vanished for good.

3.5. 284–395 CE: A limited resurgence and adjustment

The early late antiquity (284–395 CE) yielded, in absolute numbers, only a slightly lesser amount of evidence as the preceding period, comprising with certainty 160 pieces,

[1498] The trend of the changing ratio between private and official letters continued even more strongly into late antiquity (284–641 CE), see subchapter 3.5. below, see also e.g. FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 423–424.

[1499] See subchapter 3.5. below.

[1500] For Egypt in particular (largely relativizing the intensity of the impact of the crisis promoted by the earlier scholarship) see e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 121–142; ROBERTSON, The Crisis of the 3rd Century A.D.: Wage Increases and Inflation in Roman Egypt, esp. 49–59; TACOMA, Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third Century Roman Egypt, esp. 274–275.

representing 12.41 % of the entire corpus, and possibly an additional 90 specimens, representing 6.98 % of the entire corpus. Given the continuing significant decrease in the overall amount of preserved textual evidence from Egypt,[1501] the relative representation of Latin grew again, although not to the level of the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE).[1502] However, as in the preceding period, the evidence from early late antiquity (284–395 CE) is not spread out evenly throughout its duration. While nearly a half (78, 48.75 %) of the textual specimens recovered (likely) belonged to the first half of the period covering the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) until the end of the reign of Constantine I in 337 CE, only a quarter (42, 26.25 %) could be (likely) recognised as coming from the later 4th century CE. Clearly, the surge in the appearance of Latin was largely confined to the beginning of the period with the decline in its use resuming as rapidly as after several decades. Next to the notable quantitative changes, the qualitative changes in the typological make-up of the evidence seem to be even more remarkable. They were observable in comparison of early late antiquity (284–395 CE) with the entire previous early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), as well as between both halves of the former.

A clear shift was observable even on the level of the widely-defined typological classes.[1503] For the first time, and from then on, the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts form a significant portion (33, 20.63 %) of texts certainly dated to early late antiquity (284–395 CE). They significantly featured (40, 44.44 %) also amongst specimens which could possibly also come from that time. Amongst the documentary evidence, there was a significant decrease in the representation of administrative texts[1504] and on the other hand a large uptick in recovered legal texts. The latter was, however, caused dominantly (30, 73.17 %) by the establishment of the new kind of bilingual judicial proceedings, which represented the most systematic applications of Latin during late antiquity (284–641 CE) and perhaps even beyond.[1505] Following up on the tendency of the previous period, the letters, of which there were slightly more specimens than before, finish the switch to the clear prevalence of official ones (22, 88.00 %) over the private ones (3, 12.00 %).[1506] However, over half of the legal texts, administrative texts, and letters (48, 55.81 %)[1507] used Latin for minor parts only while their main body was in Greek. Latin, mostly, occurred only for various kinds of standardised/formalised subscriptions. It was often used for authenticating the documents and deemed sufficient to convey the symbolic meaning of Latin as the language of power[1508] and, in the case of bilingual judicial proceedings (as far as preserved), only for the formalised framework and not for any of the speeches by parties of the session. This is also related to the overall proportion of the Latin using texts that were composed as bilingual (or more) which

[1501] See Fig. 3.2. above; cf. also BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, Abb. 1.
[1502] See Fig. 3.2. above.
[1503] See subchapter 3.0., esp. Fig. 3.3. above.
[1504] See also below.
[1505] See esp. section 2.2.2. above.
[1506] See also esp. section 2.4.2. above; see also e.g. FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 423–424.
[1507] In particular: ca. 20 out of 30 (66.67 %) bilingual judicial proceedings, 6 out of 11 (54.55 %) other legal texts, 8 out of 21 (38.10 %) administrative texts, and 12 out of 25 (48.00 %) letters.
[1508] See esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 390–393; IOVINE, Manuscripta 63(2); see also sections 2.2.3., 2.2.4., 2.3.4., 2.4.1. above.

during late antiquity (284–641 CE) approximately doubled (from ca. 30 % to almost 60 %).[1509] For the previous period, such trend was demonstrated in particular on the case of personal legal documents.[1510]

Remarkably, the largest group of people to be directly engaged with texts – that is originators, intermediaries, or beneficiaries – from this period were not soldiers as before but members of the civil imperial, provincial, or municipal administrative. As such they were (tentatively) identified in 56 texts, representing 35.00 % of specimens certainly ascribed to the period. They mostly included the highest provincial dignitaries, especially the governors themselves. They and occasionally other high officials could be recognised as the judges in a large majority (20, 64.52 %) of the bilingual judicial proceedings. Only once, the session was presided over by a high military commander (TM 22144), and thus, the involvement of civil judges may be presumed also in the other cases. They could be often found amongst the senders of letters, usually conveying messages down the provincial hierarchy. In such letters of high-ranking officials, Latin was mostly used only for subscriptions. This is in notable contrast with the rarer letters addressed to them from their subordinates, who more often used Latin also for the main body of the text in an apparent act of accommodation to the higher authority, while a subscription was apparently enough when asserting one's authority.[1511] Newly, the highest civil provincial dignitaries appeared also as dedicants of monuments honouring the emperors, both within military context, namely in the fortress of Luxor (TM 106205–106206, 220343–220344, 754597), and in the civil public spaces, namely in the city of Alexandria (TM 106170, 106275–106276).

About a dozen less texts (45, 28.13 %) came from or touched on the military sphere. In comparison with the earlier abundance of evidence coming from the military milieu, this represents a significant decrease in the use of Latin by the army. This is especially reflected in the significant drop in the occurrence of Latin administrative texts in general, out of which half (11, 52.38 %) came from a military background showing a marked drop from ca. 70 % during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). Very illustrative in this regard is also the case of the 'archive' of Flavius Abinnaeus, a commander of a military unit from the mid-4th century CE.[1512] Apart from one other incoming document (TM 16868), Latin was amongst the about 90 papyri used in only three letters (TM 10014, 10018, 10021). One sent to Abinnaeus by another army officer (TM 10018) used it only for the subscription at its end. The two remaining letters were written fully in Latin. They were both connected to the controversy concerning Abinnaeus' appointment to his abovementioned command. The use of Latin in the plea for support sent by Abinnaeus to the emperors (TM 10014) is natural as the act of accommodation to the highest authority of the empire. It is more striking in the other case, a letter of revocation sent by Abinnaeus' superior and rival, the *comes et dux Aegypti* Flavius Valacius (TM 10021).

[1509] See subchapter 3.0. above.
[1510] See subchapter 3.4. above.
[1511] See section 2.4.2. above.
[1512] *Inter alia* BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II; GEENS, 'Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/1.pdf; see also BARNES, Phoenix 39(4); see also sections 1.2.1., 2.4.2. above.

Although, as discussed above, a subscription could have been enough for this downward mode of official communication, Valacius clearly chose to use Latin for the whole language to further underscore his position of power in the plainly hostile move against the addressee. Thus, in the archive' of Flavius Abinnaeus Latin was extensively and productively applied only in extraordinary strongly power-charged situations. Last but not least, the amount of Latin texts with soldierly background from early late antiquity (284–395 CE) was also largely determined by the army's involvement in the large building campaign conducted during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) discussed below. Against the background of the overall decline and continuing the trend of the previous period, Latin in the army seems to have continued to lose especially its practical utilisation and was more and more confined to the most official of occasions.

The largest and most wide-reaching building campaign in Egypt commemorated by Latin inscriptions happened as part of the tetrarchic overhaul of the Roman military presence in Egypt.[1513] As broken down in detail above, the inscriptions (tentatively) connected to the large building campaign, certainly initiated, financed, and overseen by the central imperial government, included three nearly identical building inscription dated to 288 CE from as many sites, namely Deir el-Gebrawi[1514] in Middle Egypt (TM 106279), Sile (Tell Abu Seifa)[1515] in the Isthmus of Suez (TM 97572), and Qaret el-Tub[1516] in Bahariya (TM 702317), twelve dedications in the legionary fortress at Luxor (TM 106203, 106205–106206, 120588, 121847, 220340–220344, 754582, 754597) from 301 CE until the sole reign of Constantine I, two inscriptions from Abu Sha'ar[1517] at the coast of the Red Sea (TM 79054–79055) dated to (around) 309–310 CE, and three milestones (TM 106351, 119368, 154418) from various reaches of Egypt and Nubia.[1518] Notably, these 20 inscriptions represented 68.97 % of Latin epigraphic evidence from the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) and the time until the end of the reign of Constantine I in 337 CE, and 60.61 % of the whole period of early late antiquity (284–395 CE). Apart from the tetrarchic building campaign, Latin official inscriptions, namely imperial and once private dedications, appeared only in the capital of Alexandria, mainly during the same timeframe (TM 106062, 106275–106276, 106315, 220339) and seldom after (TM 106170, 106277 and possibly Laube 2020, LAUBE, Excavations in the Basileia of Alexandria, cat. no. 37). As previously discussed, during the later part of the 4th century CE official Latin inscriptions placed in the public arena strikingly nearly vanished, and also the Latin documentary evidence became poorer with the exception of bilingual judicial proceedings, which comprised over one third (20, 35.71 %) of all Latin texts (likely) dated to that time.

It has been a long-standing scholarly consensus that the comprehensive and far-reaching reform programme of the tetrarchy, more impactful in Egypt than elsewhere, brought alongside a new impetus for the general Romanisation also a certain pressure on the use of Latin, particularly in the official sphere of the eastern part of the empire.[1519] The exact

[1513] See esp. POLLARD, Journal of Late Antiquity 6(1), see also section 2.5.4. above.
[1514] See also section 1.2.5. above.
[1515] see also subchapter 1.6. above.
[1516] See also subchapter 1.6. above.
[1517] see also section 1.4.1. above.
[1518] See also section 2.5.5. above.
[1519] *Inter alia* ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 392–393, 635–637; 758–759; BAGNALL, Egypt in Late Antiquity, 231–232; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 422; HAENSCH, *pers. comm.*

character of this promotion of Latin remains unclear, especially whether it resulted from a deliberate governmental policy or rather as a side effect of some of the reforms.[1520] Some scholars[1521] relativised the reform programme's impact on the use of Latin and the extent to which it actually manifested through the increased occurrence of the language in the textual evidence. While it seems not necessary to express such scepticism to it as did Adams,[1522] the present evidence shows that, at least in Egypt,[1523] both was indeed fairly limited.

As discussed above, most of the official epigraphic evidence occurred against the background of the large building campaign which in fact constituted a part of the reform push, namely the overhaul of the military presence in the province. It is, however, not certain to what extent their occurrence is to be ascribed to the new or altered approach towards the language choice and use. On one hand, imperial dedications were newly at least nominally made by the top military and remarkably also by civil dignitaries, and by the latter also outside military contexts in the capital of Alexandria. On the other hand, the inscriptions were well comparable to the earlier ones made both within the larger building campaigns and without. In any case, the occurrence of Latin in official inscriptions of early late antiquity (284–395 CE) was both spatially and temporally strongly limited.

Similarly as the high civil provincial officials newly appearing in the Latin inscriptions, so did Latin started to fairly regularly occur in connection with them, and much more occasionally also with their subordinates, amongst the administrative and epistolary evidence. However, as discussed above, the language was in practice used largely formulaically and formalistically as well as for minor parts of the texts.[1524] The surge is possibly further relativised by the low rate of preservation of papyrological evidence from Alexandria, the capital of the original province of Aegyptus.[1525] Thus, it is not possible to reliably compare the increase with the range of Latin documents produced by the central provincial administrative before, more precisely only with its torso represented by documents distributed for various reasons to other parts of the province. Moreover, the consecutive administrative reorganisations increasing the number of provinces and creating new provincial centres at sites with better preserved

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2020; KAIMIO, in BINGEN/NACHTERGAEL (eds.), Pap. Congr. XV; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, *passim*; ROCHETTE, Aegyptus 76, 61–62; ROCHETTE, Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain, esp. 116–126; TURNER, in Language and Society. Essays presented to Arthur M. Jensen on his Seventieth Birthday; for the reform programme of the Tetrarchy in general see e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 169–178; with accent on the provincial civil administrative e.g. ADAMS, in SWAIN/EDWARDS (eds.), Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire; BOWMAN, in KIESSLING/RUPPRECHT (eds.), Pap. Congr. XIII.

[1520] Cf. e.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 58; YIFTACH-FIRANKO/VANDORPE, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 197–198; see also PAPACONSTANTINOU (ed.), The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids, 5.

[1521] Esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 635–637; 758–759; TURNER, in Language and Society. Essays presented to Arthur M. Jensen on his Seventieth Birthday; see also DARIS, in Il bilinguismo degli antichi, 66–67; ZILLIACUS, Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich, esp. 86–97.

[1522] ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 635–637.

[1523] Cf. esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 637.

[1524] Cf. also the possible limits of the Latin language education they could have received, CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 62–63.

[1525] See also DARIS, in Il bilinguismo degli antichi, 50; IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 558; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 124.

textual records, led presumably in itself to a certain increase in the amount of the central provincial administrative documentation.[1526] Nonetheless, it seems certain that Latin indeed became more prominent in use especially by the central civil provincial administrative and that it was a tendency from the top down, and likely above the local hierarchy, although not necessarily through a deliberate imposition.

It is reasonable to suspect that the administrative sphere and the field of law, closely interconnected with each other in particular also by the personnel involved, influenced each other also in the matters of language choice. The increase in the use of Latin in one could have supported a similar trend in the other and vice versa. By the time of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE), the sphere of law had been already undergoing significant, and notably more gradual, developments which continued throughout the 4th century CE and amongst others led to a more prominent role of Latin in the field.[1527] Thus, the tetrarchic reform push should perhaps be seen taking effect only in concert with wider long-time developments and adding to its momentum. This seems to be most obviously exemplified by the judicial proceedings significantly changing their form already during the earlier 3rd century CE,[1528] while becoming, specifically in Egypt,[1529] regularly bilingual only during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE).[1530]

The rise of prominence of Latin in the administrative and law was what apparently mainly stood behind the surge of various literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts connected with learning of and in Latin.[1531] Hardly any of these texts could be dated more precisely within the period of early late antiquity (284–395 CE). Thus, it is possible that most of them in fact came only from the later part of the 4th century, only well after the period of the tetrarchic reforms, when some of the changes in the field of law seem to have fully taken their effect.[1532] The increasing demand for the knowledge of Latin, *de jure* or at least *de facto* mandatory for certain mostly higher ranks of civil servicemen and their staff,[1533] stemming especially from the top tiers of the provincial administrative, could have very well led also to the increasing

[1526] See also IOVINE, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX, 558.

[1527] E.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 57; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 36–40; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, esp. 989–991; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496; ZILLIACUS, Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich, esp. 86–97.

[1528] Esp. HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 301–303; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 496; PALME, in GAGARIN/LANNI (eds.), Symposion 2013: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, 418–421.

[1529] Cf. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 383–384, 635–636; PALME, in GAGARIN/LANNI (eds.), Symposion 2013: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, 407–408.

[1530] Esp. PALME, in GAGARIN/LANNI (eds.), Symposion 2013: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, 409–418; HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 301–302.

[1531] See also e.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 58–63; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 989–991; KAIMIO, The Romans and the Greek Language, 606–607; TORALLAS TOVAR/VIERROS, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 488.

[1532] CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, esp. 57, see also 58–63; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 40.

[1533] E.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 58–59; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 428; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 990; cf. also the case of Johannes Lydus, e.g. DMITRIEV, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 111(1); ROCHETTE, CdÉ 71(141), 161, 163.

formalisation. This is reflected in the regular appearance of texts such as parallel translations, glossaries, *colloquia*, or manuals amongst the texts, and perhaps also the officialization of Latin language instruction.[1534]

The impact of the tetrarchic reform push on the use of Latin in Egypt is indeed clearly visible, even though it was fairly limited in its extent and especially its duration. On the other hand, the dynamic period around 300 CE left a lasting mark on the language's presence in Egypt. As discussed above, during the later part of the 4th century CE, the absolute amount of Latin texts as well as their diversity both started again to drop.

To some degree, Latin could have better survived in specific 'islets' or even around particular persons. This possibility seems to be best exemplified by the case of the *dux Aegypti* Flavius Mauricius, the top military commander of Egypt from the time of the Valentinian dynasty.[1535] This person could be (tentatively) recognised as a protagonist of a small collection of widely scattered literary, epigraphic, and papyrological evidence, mostly centred on his Egyptian tenure.[1536] Interestingly, a large part of it was written in Latin. Excluding obviously his mention in *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus[1537] and most likely also the mention of him in a fragmentary official letter preserved in two copies (TM 69994, 942966),[1538] he himself figured as the originator in three texts found in Egypt, namely the bilingual judicial proceedings from 375 CE (TM 22144),[1539] the building (reconstruction) inscription from Syene (Aswan; TM 106177),[1540] and a visitor's graffito from the tomb KV9 in the Valley of the Kings (TM 96088).[1541] In all three cases the use of Latin may be readily explained by its application as the language of power, with the bilingual judicial proceedings also composed according to already long-

[1534] See also e.g. CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 58–63; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 989–991.

[1535] See esp. HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), esp. 109–116; PLRE I, s.v. *Mauricius 1*, *Fl. Mauricius 2*.

[1536] Esp. BERNINI, ZPE 218, 278–279; HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2); for other authors suggesting links between some of the pieces of evidence see also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 100.

[1537] AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Res Gestae XXV, 8, 7; see also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 105–106; cf. ZOSIMUS, Nea Historia III, 33, 1.

[1538] See esp. BERNINI, ZPE 218; HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 102–103. The copy of the letter newly edited and published by Bernini (TM 942966; BERNINI, ZPE 218, 271–275) was not available to the author of the present thesis for his original discussion of the letter (HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 102–103). Aided by the identified second exemplar of the letter, Bernini was able fill in some of the blanks in the fragmentary text, significantly improve the comprehension of its contents, and hint at the context it came from (BERNINI, ZPE 218, 276–280).
It may be remarked that the mention of the 13th indiction apparently referring to the year 368/369 CE (BERNINI, ZPE 218, 277–278) now strongly hints that Flavius Mauricius began his Egyptian tenure near to its possible lower limit in 368 CE (HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 111). Also remarkably, Mauricius' involvement in the civil (financial) matters discussed in the letter seems to be in alignment with his undue intervention in the matters of tax collection by civil authorities as a judge in 375 CE (TM 22144; see KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 500–501; PALME, in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 465–466; see also section 2.2.2. above).

[1539] See esp. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 557–558; HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 100–101; KEENAN et al. (eds.), Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, 498–501; PALME, in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 465–466; see also section 2.2.2. above.

[1540] See esp. BERNAND, ZPE 82, 180–181; HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 103–104; see also section 2.5.4. above.

[1541] See esp. HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 104–105.

standing conventions, and the building inscription also possibly belonging to an empire-wide restoration campaign of border fortifications under Valentinian I and Valens.[1542] Remarkably, the judicial proceedings from the court session presided over by Mauricius (TM 22144) is the type's specimen with the largest proportion of text written in Latin. Apart from a consistent application to the framework, the language was used for all speeches by the judge, notably not only the ruling, and even more strikingly also the speech by his staff (*ex officio*). Only the text of the read-out statement of the case (*libellus*) and a label on the verso were written in Greek. As suggested above,[1543] Mauricius' stress on the use of Latin could have been possibly motivated by his questionable jurisdiction over such a, in nature civil, case. However, that he also could have had a certain personal preference for Latin seems to be hinted by his possible western origin,[1544] and suggested especially by the Latin epitaph tentatively ascribed to Mauricius[1545] coming from Macedonia, belonging to the Greek-dominated part of the empire, where the language was by no means used for convenience, but clearly to underscore the distinct identity of the person buried.[1546] It is certainly not possible to conclude that the use of Latin in texts directly related to Mauricius was a result of his personal preference, but the consistency with which it occurred suggests the possibility that he may have added an extra touch of Latinity next to other external reasons for which it was in individual cases applied. Another similar Latin language 'islet' could perhaps be identified in a group of four documents (TM 18755–18756, 23788, 70106) coming from the offices of the *legio V Macedonica* and related to its commanding officer Flavius Gaiolus from the very end of the 4th century, in fact belonging only to the following period.[1547] The three receipts (TM 18755–18756, 23788) and a certificate providing board and lodging at public expense for members of a delegation (TM 70106) could indeed point to the fairly consistent use of Latin by this particular military office. In comparison with the diverse dossier of Flavius Mauricius, a major caveat is represented by the fact that the four papyri apparently represented a single chance find.

The period of early late antiquity (284–395 CE) was marked by a clear surge in the use of Latin and significant changes in the contexts in which it was found. The increase took place during the period of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) against the background of ongoing sweeping reforms, while possibly partly as their deliberate component, but largely only as their side effect. Shortly after, the amount of Latin evidence as well as its diversity started again to fall, with the language almost[1548] completely disappearing from the public spaces and, beyond that,

[1542] E.g. SOUTHERN/DIXON, The Late Roman Army, 40–45, see also section 2.5.4. above.

[1543] See section 2.2.2. above.

[1544] HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 109–110; cf. e.g. also the case of the *praefectus praetorio* Flavius Rufinus from the time of Theodisus I knowing no Greek while serving in such a high post in the eastern part of the empire, LIBANIUS, *Epistulae*, 865, 1106; see also DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 37; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 990; PLRE I, s.v. *Flavius Rufinus 18*.

[1545] FEISSEL, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle, no. 251, see also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 105.

[1546] See also HONZL, Graeco-Latina Brunensia 25(2), 114; OGEREAU, in HARRISON/WELBORN (eds.), The First Urban Churches 4: Roman Philippi, 100–101.

[1547] See esp. MITTHOF, Annona militaris, esp. 490–491; ZUCKERMAN, Tyche 3, see also 2.3.5. above.

[1548] From the epigraphic evidence, only the two visitors' graffiti of Palladius, arriving from the western part of the empire (see section 2.6.1. above), from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings (TM 95470, 95477) are certainly dated to after 395 CE. The situation is comparable to the Asian province in which Latin inscriptions are very rare after 395 CE, see e.g. EDCS, http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en.

becoming more and more confined only to certain narrow functional niches, in which it survived for the remainder of Roman rule over Egypt.

3.6. 395–641 CE: The final decline

The remaining period of more than two centuries before the Arab conquest of 641 CE yielded at least 150 texts, representing 11.64 % of the whole corpus, and possibly 77 more, representing 5.97 % of the entire corpus. Given that the Byzantine period (395–641 CE) in Egypt is roughly twice as long as the time-spans previously dealt with, it represents a significant decrease in the absolute amount of Latin textual evidence. However, considered against the overall scarcity of textual evidence datable to 5th century CE[1549] – which must be taken as a crucial caveat for drawing any general statements –, the occurrence of 80 pieces of Latin evidence dated certainly to this century points to a stagnation of its use, if not, although unlikely, a slight increase.[1550] Against the recovering preservation rate of the textual evidence,[1551] the 52 specimens of Latin texts from the beginning of the 6th century onwards represent a more rapid final decline in its occurrence in Egypt.[1552]

The turn is best exemplified by the bilingual judicial proceedings, which were still in regular use,[1553] although it would have been expectable to see them affected by the decrease of the preference of Latin for such purposes in particular with the legislation of 397 CE.[1554] However, they, as well as probably also other kinds of Latin texts, started to become more scarce only during the later part of the 5th century CE, with a further gradual diminishing of the status of the language[1555] and perhaps also in the context of the deepening disaffection and divergence of Egypt from the central imperial structures in the wake of the post-Chalcedonian schism.[1556] Singular pieces of papyri preserving bilingual judicial proceedings however came also from the 6th century CE (TM 18454, 18878, 36006) and probably as late as the last decades of Roman rule over Egypt (TM 901296).[1557] Besides bilingual judicial proceedings, legal texts were quite rare and represented mainly by several specimens of governmental constitutions, namely two imperial (TM 69999, 70088), written fully in Greek, and two promulgated by high provincial dignitaries, both only with Latin subscriptions (TM 18995, 70039).

The administrative texts were, with a few exceptions (TM 22763, 69894), represented only by two coherent sets. The abovementioned small dossier of the office of *legio V Macedonica* (TM

[1549] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, esp. 155–156, Abb. 1, 5.
[1550] See Fig. 3.2. above.
[1551] See e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, Fig. 2.1.1, a; HABERMANN, ZPE 122, esp. Abb. 1, 5.
[1552] See Fig. 3.2. above.
[1553] With 19 coming certainly from the earlier part of the Byzantine period (395–500 CE) against 31 from preceding early late antiquity (284–395 CE); see also section 2.2.2. above.
[1554] E.g. DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 40–41; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 422; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 989.
[1555] See e.g. DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), esp. 37, 40–42; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, esp. 422–423; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, esp. 989–991; MOUSOURAKIS, Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition, 89.
[1556] Esp. HAENSCH, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in HAENSCH (ed.), Recht haben und Recht bekommen in Imperium Romanum, 304–310, esp. 306–307; for the wider context see e.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 225–233.
[1557] P. Messeri, no. 45.

18755–18756, 23788, 70106) came from the very beginning of the Byzantine period (395–641 CE). Three were also several orders and receipts for *annona* levies preserved in the 'archive' of Dioscorus from the 6th century CE (TM 18007, 18444–18445, 18994, 36517),[1558] including only Latin subscriptions appended to the parts with the order. Both sets notably came from the military context, in the latter case in a broader sense, as the orders were issued by civilian authorities but for the benefit of the army. While, by this point, there were not many Latin-using documents connected to the army overall, it was notably in the military context where Latin still somewhat persisted in use even for such practical purposes.[1559]

From the military milieu came also some of the rare latest Latin using official letters (TM 12866, 17309, 36017, 37834), two notably written fully in Latin (TM 12866, 17309). The others, now only sent out by the highest administrative officials or their close attendants to their subordinates used Latin generally only for subscriptions. While some could be younger, the latest certainly dated Latin letter in Egypt was sent in 505 CE by the *comes rei militaris limitis Thebaici* Theophanes (TM 17309).

The largest part (91, 60.67 %) of Latin texts from the Byzantine period (395–641 CE) was represented by literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts. During the 5th century CE they were still quite diverse. On the other hand, amongst the specimens dated since the beginning of the 6th century CE legal topics clearly prevailed with most of the texts (10 out of 31, 32.26 %) in fact representing fragments of the Theodosian and Justinianic codices, with the latter – notably issued only in 529–537 CE – clearly prevailing. As a whole, the literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts attest to the continuity of Latin language education in Egypt, which towards the end of the period focused more and more exclusively on the sources of law. The complexity and quality of the education could have been affected by the abolition of the Alexandrian school of higher education by Jusitinian I.[1560] The knowledge of Latin continued to be cultivated to a certain extent also by members of the Christian clergy, as represented for example by the case of the monk Theon and his letters written around 400 CE (TM 144978, 144980–144981).[1561] Besides them, the Byzantine period yielded also a small collection of 11 specimens of Christian literature in Latin, which amongst the prevailing biblical fragments included also a fragment of a codex with theological writings of St. Agustine (TM 59328).[1562]

During the Byzantine period (395–641 CE), Latin appeared more and more only as a minor part of the texts. Considering in particular the legal texts, administrative texts, and letters it was now the case of almost three quarters of them (37 out of 52, 71.15 %). Beyond the textual evidence in the scope of the present thesis, Latin had an impact on the eastern Roman and Egyptian societies also in more subtle forms. This included multiple loanwords taken over by

[1558] See section 1.2.6. above.

[1559] See also e.g. ADAMS, Bilingualism and the Latin Language, 394, esp. footnote no. 168; JONES, The Later Roman Empire, esp. 989.

[1560] E.g. BAGNALL (ed.), Roman Egypt: A History, 244; CRIBIORE, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 57; DAGRON, Revue Historique 241(1), 43; RIGGSBY, in BLOOMER (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Education, 450.

[1561] See section 1.2.3. above; for Latin in a Christian clerical milieu in general see also section 2.1.3., 2.8.5. above.

[1562] See section 2.1.3. above.

Greek and also Coptic[1563] as well as admixtures in writing such as the widely spread *di emu* notary signatures.[1564]

That even some primary users of Latin still found their way to Egypt is suggested by the find of a Latin-Greek glossary used for learning the basic quotidian Greek vocabulary (TM 65244),[1565] and perhaps also by the rare specimen of a Gothic Bible (TM 61726). Besides some possibly even later pieces (esp. TM 65244, 901296), the latest firmly datable Latin text in Egypt from the times under Roman rule was from 18 January 594 CE. It was a property sale contract (TM 15321) from the 'archive' of Patermouthis, son of Menas from Syene (Aswan).[1566] It uses Latin only for a short subscription at the very end of the long text, apparently written by the clerk drafting the contract, a military serviceman Flavius Foibammon,[1567] comprising of an abbreviated signature and a simple greeting: '*Fiobam(mon?), val(eas)*/ Fiobammon, may you fare well!'. Overall, Latin survived during the Byzantine period (395–641 CE) only in certain narrowly defined niches of the society. By this point, it was largely 'fossilised' in the form of individual (loan)words, formalistic phrases and subscriptions. Although it apparently remained to be taught and used until the very end of Roman rule over Egypt, its overall standing was by then indeed quite weak.

3.7. Epilogue

The event of the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 CE was, in regard to the occurrence of Latin in Egypt, certainly consequential. On the other hand, it definitely did not mark a complete disappearance of the language,[1568] although indeed it could be found from then on only very rarely. However, there are also such pieces as a Latin-Arabic letter, written fully in Latin script, probably from the Umayyad or Abbasid periods,[1569] showing on the one hand a practical quotidian use of the language as well as its close interaction with the Arabic milieu of the early medieval Egyptian society.

In the present day, Latin serves, through the texts left behind from almost seven centuries of Roman rule, as one of the means to deepen the knowledge and understanding of the ancient Egyptian, and more widely Mediterranean, history and society. As such, Latin is in Egypt

[1563] e.g. BEAUCAMP, in BAGNALL (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, *passim*, esp. 279, 282; BÖHLING, Ein Lexikon der griechischen Lehnwörter im Koptischen; Die griechisch-lateinischen Lehnwörter in den koptischen manichäischen Texten CERVENKA-EHRENSTRASSER, Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens; FILOS, in EVANS/OBBINK (eds.), *passim*, esp. 237–239; RÖMER, in VANDORPE (ed.), A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 72; cf. also SOPHOCLES, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, *passim*; see also CAVENAILE, Aegyptus 32.

[1564] *Inter alia* APOSTOLAKOU, JJP 50; FEISSEL, in BIVILLE et al. (eds.), Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, 223–225; FOURNET, in BAGNALL (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, 427.

[1565] KRAMER, AfP 50(1), 52–53.

[1566] Esp. GEENS, 'Archive of Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas', in DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/37.pdf; see also section 1.5.1. above.

[1567] See also PORTEN et al., The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change, no. D47; but cf. P. Münch. I, no. 13.

[1568] See also section 0.3.1. above.

[1569] See e.g. INTERNULLO, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge 128(2), http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/3233.

nowadays taught for example at the Department of Greek and Latin Studies of the Cairo University. The history of Latin in Egypt goes on.

4. Conclusions

Overall, the present research reached its main objectives, that is drawing a comprehensive overview of the occurrence of Latin textual evidence in Egypt and Nubia in its context, while addressing especially the issues of spatial distribution, functional aspects, and diachronic developments, admittedly within the limits set by the selected approach.[1570] On the other hand, the application of the quantitative evaluation as the principal examination method of the occurrence of Latin in Egypt and Nubia enabled to tackle the phenomenon from a wider perspective, alternative to how it was mostly approached so far. It was possible to at least partially fill in some of the blind spots in the current state of knowledge of the phenomenon, to test and, if needed, to revise some of the previously formulated statements on the matter. According to firmly defined criteria, a corpus of 1289 individual pieces of Latin textual evidence was compiled. The analysis of the corpus and evaluation of its results in a wider context made it possible to draw a comprehensive overview of the phenomenon of Latin in Egypt and Nubia and within its framework, and especially the following findings were established.

The spatial distribution of Latin textual evidence in Egypt and Nubia was strongly localised to certain regions of the Roman province.[1571] It was the wider area of the capital of Alexandria, the Fayum and Middle Egypt, the Theban region, the Eastern Desert and the closely related Coptite region, and the First Cataract region and Lower Nubia. Beyond, the occurrence of Latin was indeed marginal. The main reasons behind the occurrence of Latin in the five abovementioned regions were the strong involvement of the Roman army – apparently within certain chronological limits roughly corresponding to the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) – and/or the locally higher recovery rate of perishable writing media, such as papyrus – together especially with the residence of the central organs of the provincial administrative. The varying rate of preservation of different kinds of writing media has to be accounted for as a major but certainly not the only reason for significant differences in the makeup of the evidence from each of the regions.

The city of Alexandria served as the provincial and later also as the diocesan capital and as the main base and headquarters of the Roman military garrison of Egypt. The latter gave rise to a large collection of Latin epigraphic evidence coming from the nearby military camp of Nicopolis and its surroundings, where several military units were stationed. Especially the former, and likely also the overall distinct social and cultural character of Alexandria which was well integrated with the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean, resulted in the occurrence of distinct types of Latin texts (esp. private dedications and a large amount of funerary inscriptions) as well as their individual specimens, which were mostly if not completely missing in the *chora*. The virtual absence of papyrological evidence from the capital is especially palpably felt. Nonetheless, it is to a limited degree compensated through finds of documents taken away or sent especially to the Fayum and to a lesser degree to other places in Middle Egypt.

The rate of preservation and recovery of perishable writing media from the Fayum and various sites of Middle Egypt is extraordinary. It needs to be considered as such when evaluating the

[1570] See esp. chapter 0. above.
[1571] See esp. chapter 1. above.

occurrence of Latin in these regions, as it was not necessarily used there more often than elsewhere despite the abundance of evidence. In the Fayum, the richest finds of Latin texts came from the sites of Karanis (Kom Aushim) and Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza), where communities of army veterans settled. However, the typological range of Latin texts yielded at these sites was largely limited and does not attest to a more widespread use of the language by the veterans or in general. The main sources of Latin evidence from Middle Egypt were especially the provincial capitals of Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa) and Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada) with its twin city of Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein). Besides the rich finds directly at these sites, some documents deriving from these areas also could be distributed elsewhere. This was for example the case of the evidence found at Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau) further up the Nile, which clearly illustrated how Latin could emanate from these centres to other (peripheral) regions and sites.

The Theban region is to a large degree specific for its glorious past and illustrious monuments. While most of the local Latin evidence came from such touristic sites as the Colossi of Memon and the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the occurrence of Latin there mostly did not deviate from the more generally established patterns for the use of Latin in Egypt. A military presence in the region was established especially at Luxor. More scarcely recovered evidence, perhaps pointing to similar spread of Latin in connection with military units stationed there, came also from other more southerly regions of Upper Egypt.

Together with Alexandria, albeit in a partially different sense, the remaining regions yielding significant amounts of Latin evidence formed the periphery of the Roman province of Aegyptus. All of its frontiers attracted at some point considerable attention of the Roman army, not only for their significance for the province's security but also for their considerable economic yields. The Eastern Desert and the closely related Coptite region, serving as its principal entry point, were distinguished by the large amounts of recovered pottery ostraca, which allowed for a detailed view into the everyday running of the army's operations and its servicemen's lives in the region. The ostraca were supplemented by a smaller, but no less important collection of Latin inscriptions.

More of mainly epigraphic evidence coming largely from the military milieu of the society was documented in the 1st Upper Egyptian nome and Lower Nubia, forming together the southernmost frontier of the Roman Empire. In general, the overall situation seems well comparable to that of the Eastern Desert. While factoring in the likely different availability of particular writing media and their rate of preservation in both regions, it seems that Latin was used, however, in both, especially within the army, for somewhat different kinds of texts and in slightly different ways. For example, the imperial dedications and visitors' graffiti were virtually missing in the Eastern Desert, while there were almost no Latin administrative and other texts on the ostraca from First Cataract region and Lower Nubia. A more particular character of and especially reasons for this distinction remain unclear. Well beyond the reach of Roman rule, the southernmost piece of Latin textual evidence appeared in the form of a visitor's graffito at the desert site of Musawwarat es-Sufra in the Island of Meroe (TM 106297).

Strikingly, the remaining frontiers, namely the Eastern Delta with the Isthmus of Suez and the Western Desert, were almost void of Latin textual evidence. Rather than a matter of

preservation, it seems to be a consequence of the relatively late establishment of the permanent military presence in both regions, only around the beginning of late antiquity (284–641 CE). This shortly preceded the rapid decline of the appearance of Latin in Egyptian public spaces in the form of inscriptions and was concurrent with the gradual decline of the use of Latin in the army in general.

The particular functional niches occupied by Latin in Egyptian and Nubian societies mostly revolved around its capacity for playing the role of the language of power.[1572] The core of its use lay at first within the military milieu of the society, by which it was used most intensively and for diverse particular purposes. During late antiquity (284–641 CE), the focal point of the utilisation of Latin shifted largely to particular *loci* within the field of law. Latin was used in close interaction with Greek. About a third of Latin textual evidence came from bilingual (or multilingual) texts, in half of which it formed only a minor part of the overall composition. In many such cases Latin took the form of various kinds of subscriptions or sidenotes, often by different persons than the originators of the main text. Being short, formalised, or outright formulaic, such displays of 'code-switching' were often clearly symbolically charged, with the use of Latin language signifying the authority of the involved persons and their offices, and representing acts of affirmation or validation of particular documents. While the presence of Latin in Egyptian society was generally marginal, the pieces of its evidence were considerably diverse. As such, they were sorted into seven distinct classes of texts, including literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts, legal texts, administrative texts, letters, dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones, visitors' graffiti, and funerary inscriptions.

Literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts formed a diverse but closely interrelated group. A dominant majority of them served the purposes of education, firstly the acquisition of Latin language skills as such, followed especially by their application for gaining knowledge in the field of law. Beyond education and the field of law, the role of Latin literature was minimal, in a significant, but still marginal, amount appearing only as the language of Christian religious texts during late antiquity (284–641 CE).

The range of Latin legal texts, stemming from the actual practice of law, was fairly limited. Apart from a handful specimens of governmental constitutions on the one hand and a limited number of privately concluded contracts, mostly between soldiers, on the other, they were dominated mainly by two types of texts. During the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE), various kinds of personal documents, dealing with matters of Roman citizenship, the personal status of its holders, and/or their personal property, dominate. They represented distinctly Roman kind of documents and as such were largely inscribed on wooden diptychs. The production of especially some was centralised in Alexandria, or alternatively other qualified offices. Dramatic changes and their eventual extinction occurred with the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE. The beginning of late antiquity (284–641 CE) saw, on the other hand, the development and widespread use of bilingual judicial proceedings. These documents covering mainly the court sessions presided over by the highest provincial officials, typically governors, used Latin mainly for their formalised framework and less systematically

[1572] See esp. chapter 2. above.

also for (the most power-charged) locutions of the judges. The bilingual judicial proceedings apparently represented the most consistent application of Latin in the civil provincial agenda.

Administrative texts represented mostly internal dealings of institutions or private persons. A vast majority of Latin administrative texts came from within the Roman army. There, Latin was used most consistently for documents appearing in the contexts of the highest echelons of its management, such as most notably the *pridiana*, and those dealing especially with matters of its personal resources, in striking, but not that surprising, similarity to personal legal documents. The latter tendency was well illustrated by the extraordinary specimen of a papyrus roll compiling several Latin military documents dealing with various aspects of exactly such kind of agenda (TM 69867). Lower down the military administrative apparatus, and beyond, the use of Latin seems to have been more a matter of individual choice.

Latin letters, which also often lent their form to some of the legal and administrative texts, could be divided to official and private ones. Most letters from the early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE) came from the military milieu, capturing mainly private communication. Such letters were most notably exemplified by messages sent by Claudius Terentianus to his father Claudius Tiberianus, in which the former was likely accommodating his choice of language to his father's current status, formerly as an active soldier and later as a veteran. By late antiquity (284–641 CE) Latin private letters all but disappeared, and the official ones started to appear in the context of the civil provincial administrative. The use of the language was by this time clearly charged with demonstrating the authority of the sender or his accommodation to the higher status of the addressee. Both aspects are clearly demonstrated, in a specific context, by the letters from the 'archive' of Flavius Abinnaeus. In general, Latin was in letters mostly used in the form of subscriptions and for communication down the official hierarchy. Writing letters fully in Latin was seemingly more often done as an act of accommodation rather than the assertion of power.

The class of dedications, building inscriptions, and milestones comprised mostly of officially established monuments. Latin dedications were dominated by monuments erected to honour the emperors or members of their houses as part of the imperial cult and worship. Nearly all of these imperial dedications were made by representatives of the army, most often, at least nominally, in the name of collective entities, in the area of the capital regularly by *collegia* of pears from within the ranks, while in the *chora* by entire military units as a rule under the direction/supervision of their superiors. Private dedications in Latin were scarce and appeared only at Alexandria and were honouring only the *praefecti Aegypti*, apparently on the occasion of the successful conclusion of their tenure, or non-Egyptian Roman officials close to the emperor. Latin dedications to deities were rare as well, often made also as acts of the imperial worship, for example for the wellbeing of the emperor, or on clearly official occasions. Latin building inscriptions largely recorded infrastructure projects of purely military or military-civil character. The army was apparently involved in the vast majority, if not all, of these activities. The individual construction projects apparently often constituted part of wider building campaigns necessarily managed by the top provincial or rather central imperial administrative, delegating the responsibilities to particular units and officers. Such building campaigns included the establishment of new infrastructure in the Eastern Desert around the turn of the

Common Era, its expansion under the Flavians, and the province-wide overhaul of the military infrastructure during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE), to which also likely belonged the three of only four milestones recovered from the province.

The occurrence of visitors' graffiti at various remarkable sites of Egypt and Nubia stemmed from behaviours ranging from religiously motivated pilgrimage to sightseeing tourism. Latin visitors' graffiti were with a few exceptions connected rather to the latter. Many were made on an occasional basis by soldiers, but some also by members of other social milieus. They were generally rare, with the exception of the Colossi of Memnon where they comprised almost half of the extant texts. The site of the monumental miraculously sounding statue had an eminent official status attracting the highest representatives of the imperial power, including the rulers themselves. A certain public, or even political, aspect was most likely innate also to a distinctive subclass of visitors' graffiti adopting the common acclamation phrase '*feliciter*', and often apparently used to honour one's superiors or collective entities. These *feliciter* visitors' graffiti were the only kind which was more often rendered in Latin than in Greek.

The vast majority of Latin funerary inscriptions came from the area of the capital of Alexandria, and honoured Roman soldiers of lower ranks and members of their families. In them, Latin served primarily as a marker of the military identity and the elevated status of the soldiers and their close ones. Nevertheless, the tombstones of the active servicemen generally showed a more rigid affinity to using Latin as well as other typically Roman features than those of the members of their families. Strikingly, only a few Latin funerary inscriptions honoured discharged veterans who apparently demonstrated their (military or other) status/identity through different means than the use of Latin. So apparently did in most cases also the active soldiers detached in the *chora*.

As stated above, the prominent position of Latin within the Roman army in Egypt and Nubia is obvious. More than third of all Latin textual evidence came from this social milieu. Latin was used there for a wide range of purposes in all tiers of the military hierarchy, admittedly the higher the more, on official, both public and internal, private, as well as purely personal occasions. A clear limit to its use was, however, given to it for example in the religious sphere outside the boundaries of the official state cults. Within the army, it served clearly as the language of power but also more narrowly as a signifier of the soldierly status/identity. Some evidence shows that rarely, likely within certain isolated islands, Latin was also used as the means of mundane quotidian communication and/or as some soldiers' primary language of use. The use of Latin was apparently stronger within the military community of Nicopolis near the capital of Alexandria than by the units stationed in the *chora*. Despite all of this, the position of Latin within the Roman army in Egypt and Nubia should not be considered as official, perhaps with the exception of the very apex of its hierarchy, or otherwise overstated. Even there, Greek still predominated overall.

The use of Latin in the legal sphere was naturally exclusively connected to the practice of Roman law, which for a large part of the Roman period (30 BCE – 641 CE) was in fact not universally applicable to all inhabitants of the province. Within these limits, Latin was, moreover, encountered only in certain narrowly defined *loci* which included the legal

education and the sources of law and, in the actual legal practice, formerly the personal documents, closely connected to the issues of Roman citizenship, and later especially the bilingual judicial proceedings. All of these agendas were largely confined to the provincial capital(s), or alternatively other important centres of the province.

The use of Latin on other official occasions beyond the army and the field of law, and namely by the (civil) provincial administrative, seems to have been fairly limited, more so during the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE). In that time, the evidence seems to show virtually no preference for using Latin even by the heads of the provincial government, the *praefecti Aegypti*. In most cases of Latin texts connected to them, these were either personal documents using Latin from the title of their subject matter or inscriptions involving also the army, possibly including also their visitors' graffiti from the Colossi of Memnon. Other Latin evidence related to these officials is scarce. Otherwise Latin was virtually absent from the civil administrative of the period. It was used more widely and systematically, but apparently also more formalistically, within the civil administrative during late antiquity (284–641 CE).

Two specific realms of the utilisation of Latin in Egypt were clearly temporally limited and at the same time notably diverging from the use of Latin primarily as the language of power. During the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE, Egypt was frequented by (Italian) Roman businessmen or rather their (servile/freedmen) agents involved mostly in finance and long distant trade. They left behind a relatively rich documentary evidence and at least several visitor's graffiti along the major trade routes. During late antiquity (284–641 CE), Latin language and culture were to a minor extent cultivated amongst the members of the clergy and the monastic milieu.

As a distinctly foreign element in the Egyptian and Nubian societies, the presence and position of Latin was periodically reinforced by extra-provincial impulses. In fact, such influences stood behind a large part of the Latin evidence coming from the province. For example, they included one-time events such as the conquest of 30 BCE itself, the imperial visits, or centrally promulgated legislation on the one hand as well as a continuous inflow of Latin language books and documents on the other.

From a diachronic perspective, most of the Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia came from the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) and the 2nd century CE in particular.[1573] Relatively, the use of Latin was most widespread during the century just after the conquest of 30 BCE, its low point was marked by the 3rd century CE, followed by slight resurgence especially during the tetrarchy (284–324 CE), before the incoming final decline. Especially in regard to the typological makeup of the texts, but also taking into account other characteristics of the evidence, a clear, not only functional, distinction can be established between the use of Latin in the early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) and late antiquity (284–641 CE). During the former, its occurrence was more widespread, both geographically and across various social strata, and its use more productive. Later it was more localised and confined to certain niches and the higher echelons of society, and its use more officialised and formalised, or even 'fossilised'.

[1573] See chapter 3. above.

Very scarce evidence attests to the occurrence of Latin in Egypt well before the creation of the Roman province, by 116 BCE at the latest, when three Roman visitors left their Latin graffito in the temple of Isis at Philae (TM 88950). The later dominating roles of Latin as the language of power, and more narrowly as the signifier of the Roman status/identity, could be recognised already during the Ptolemaic period.

Initiated with two remarkable inscriptions of the first *praefectus Aegypti* Cornelius Gallus on the Vatican obelisk (TM 107330) and the trilingual stele from Philae (TM 80859), the occurrence of Latin rapidly surged in the earliest Roman period (30 BCE – 96 CE), during which its use was also apparently the most widespread. The first half of the period could have been a time when the position of Latin in Egyptian and Nubian societies was still not clearly delimited and when there was a strongest inflow of primary speakers of Latin to the province, in particular soldiers and the (Italian) Roman businessmen and more often their (servile/freedmen) agents. Thus, Latin appeared also in contexts in which it was not encountered ever after. In particular, the virtual disappearance of Roman commercial/financial businesses from the Latin textual record before the half of the 1st century CE could be tentatively identified as one of the effects of the empire-wide financial crisis of 33 CE. In the later 1st century CE, Latin was gradually setting in the regions and niches in which it was typically encountered at least for the rest of the early roman period (30 BCE –284 CE).

At the time under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (96–192 CE) this process was finished. Now, the use of Latin was largely standardised, yet still variable. Latin regularly appeared in certain functional niches, as exemplified especially by the personal documents. In its relative amount, the its occurrence rather stagnated. Large portions of the evidence came especially from the Fayum and the Eastern Desert. It was well established both in the higher and lower echelons of the Egyptian military garrison, which apparently at least until the mid-2nd century CE received considerable numbers of recruits coming from abroad, including the western part of the empire. Keeping in mind also the high absolute amount of evidence coming from this period, one may consider it as very representative for the entire early Roman period (30 BCE –284 CE).

At the beginning of the later principate (192–284 CE), the intensity with which Latin occurred in Egypt was still maintained. The relative amount of Latin personal documents apparently even temporarily increased in the wake of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE and its universal grant of Roman citizenship. However, this type of evidence started to rapidly disappear shortly after and completely vanished as obsolete around the half of the 3rd century CE. The tombstones of Roman soldiers and their families at Nicopolis, most of which in fact came from this period, disappeared around the same time. It was possibly caused, alongside with the inflow of fewer western recruits, by Latin likely losing its appeal as the signifier of the no longer so prestigious Roman soldierly status/identity. More kinds of Latin texts were in decline or vanished during the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 CE). In particular, Latin all but disappeared from the lower (military) strata of the Egyptian and Nubian societies. It continued, however, seemingly with the same intensity in the military administrative.

The limited resurgence of Latin in early late antiquity (284–395 CE) was largely confined to the period of the tetrarchy (284–324 CE) and evidently connected to the sweeping reform

programme enacted during that time, possibly partly as its deliberate component. While the reforms certainly led to some pressure on the use of Latin on official occasions, its actual impact in Egypt as shown by the extant textual evidence was rather limited. The construction projects and dedications recorded in Latin inscriptions sprouting mainly as part of the major overhaul of the military infrastructure of the province newly involved also the highest civil dignitaries. The same kinds of officials, and to lesser degree also their civil administrative apparatuses, started also to use more of Latin in the documentary evidence they produced, although largely in the form of formalised subscriptions. The most remarkable of these documents were the bilingual judicial proceedings, but this stemmed also from deeper, more gradual developments in the field of law in particular. The same changes influenced also the rapid rise in the occurrence of Latin literary, subliterary, and paraliterary texts attesting to the expansion of the likely more formalised and officialised Latin language and legal education. However, the use of Latin started again to decline shortly after the tetrarchy (284–324 CE). In the form of official inscriptions, it all but disappeared from the public space. Its decline progressed further within the army, now including also the administrative texts. The diversity of Latin textual evidence generally lowered and the language was becoming more and more confined only to certain narrow functional niches. To some degree, Latin could have better survived in specific isolated 'islets', which could be represented even by particular persons, such as the *dux Aegypti* Flavius Mauricus.

The remaining more than 200 years of the Byzantine period (395–641 CE) were marked by overall decline in the use of Latin, significantly accelerating in the 6th century CE, and its gradual confinement to the function of the language of legal education and the sources of law. This happened against the background of its diminishing official and actual prominence since the very end of the 4th century CE throughout the whole of the Roman east and in Egypt in particular most likely also in the wake of the post-Chalcedonian schism. Besides the field of law, Latin survived relatively long, although indeed marginally, within the army. The last firmly dated piece of Latin textual evidence from Egypt came from 594 CE. Characteristically, it was a short subscription at the end of a letter. Although never disappearing completely, the presence of Latin in the Egyptian society was by the time of the Arab conquest of 641 CE already very weak.

Latin in Egypt and Nubia was always only utilised as an essentially foreign and marginal language. In practice, its presence was never sustainable on its own. It persisted thanks to repeated external impulses and more particularly mainly thanks to its role as the language of power of the then overlord of Egypt, the Roman Empire. The small piece in the colourful mosaic of Egypt during the Roman period it represents is not only immensely captivating through its diversity and endurance, as mentioned in the preface, but indeed also indispensable to reach an actual, yet still unsatisfyingly shallow, understanding of its society.

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Appendix – list of Latin textual evidence from Egypt and Nubia

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 6400	CIL III, no. 6583 = CPI 1, no. 125 = PFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 38 = RIGSBY, in DREHER (ed.), Das Antike Asyl	13. LE	Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahudiya)	Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahudiya)	116–30 BCE	37–30 BCE	stone slab	complete	legal (constitution)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 9457	BGU IV, no. 1083 = ChLA 10, no. 426 = CPL, no. 109 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 36	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	32–38 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 9619	BGU XI, no. 2116 = ChLA 11, no. 465	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–26 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 9922	AE 1906, no. 172 = CPL, no. 214 = FIRA III, no. 60 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II, no. 327	Fayum	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	96–192 CE	170 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (translation)
TM 10014	BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive, no. 1 = CEL I, no. 226 = ChLA 3, no. 202 = CPL, no. 265	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Fayum	284–395 CE	340–342 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 10018	CEL I, no. 228 = ChLA 1, no. 6 = CPL, no. Annexe 27 = BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive, no. 16	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Fayum	284–395 CE	346–351 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 10021	BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive, no. 2 = CEL I, no. 227 = ChLA 1, no. 8 = CPL, no. 264	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	284–395 CE	344 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 10359	BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	299 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report); letter (official)	Greek (other text)

[1574] Selection of at most four editions/relevant publications, for more see *inter alia* DEPAUW et al., Trismegistos Database, https://www.trismegistos.org.

[1575] Abbreviations: Alex. = Alexandria and surroundings, 1. LE, 2. LE, etc. = Lower Egyptian nomes, 1. UE, 2. UE, etc. = Upper Egyptian nomes.

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Michigan, no. 3 = ChLA 41, no. 1199 = SB V, no. 7669									
TM 10369	BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan, no. 4 = ChLA 41, no. 1200 = SB V, no. 7670	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	299 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 10405	BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan, no. 74, 57385 = ChLA 41, no. 1202	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	315 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 10410	BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan, no. 8 = ChLA 41, no. 1201 = CPL, no. Annexe 23 = SB V, no. 7673	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	309 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 10689	ChLA 47, no. 1403 = SCHUBERT, Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes, no. 10	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	192–284 CE	211 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (translation)
TM 10770	ChLA 3, no. 208 = CPL, no. 124 = GRENFELL et al., Fayum Towns and their Papyri, no. 105	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	–175–185 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (accounts)	
TM 11654	AE 1896, no. 21 = ChLA 3, no. 200 = CPL, no. 120 = FIRA III, no. 132	Fayum	Fayum	Seleukeia Pieria (Kapısuyu)	96–192 CE	166 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 11979	AE 1939, no. 314 = CPL, no. 162 = FIRA III, no. 4 = P. Mich. III, no. 169	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	145 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 12866	CEL I, nos. 231–233 = ChLA 43, no. 1248 = P. Rain. Cent., no. 165	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	401 CE–	papyrus	damaged	letter (official; register of letters)	
TM 13022	ChLA 4 no. 248 = CPL, no. 176 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 611	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	30 BCE – 96 CE	87–88 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (declaration)	
TM 13025	ChLA 19, no. 685 = CPL, no. Annexe 25 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 1 = P. Stras. I, no. 42	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	284–395 CE	310 CE	papyrus	complete	administrative (census report); letter (official)	
TM 13036	ChLA 41, no. 1205 = CPL, no. Annexe 21 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 2 = P. Thead., no. 54	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	284–395 CE	300 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 13047	ChLA 41, no. 1206 = CPL, nos. Annexe 22, Annexe 24 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 3 = P. Thead., no. 55b	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	284–395 CE	300 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 13051	ChLA 4, no. 254 = CPL, no. Annexe 2 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 33 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 653	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	284–395 CE	318–320 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 13052	ChLA 41, no. 1204 = CPL, no. Annexe 23 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 34 = P. Thead., no. 13	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	284–395 CE	321 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 13053	PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 35 = P. Thead., no. 16	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	284–395 CE	–332 CE–	papyrus	complete	legal (*narratio*)	Greek (other text)
TM 13056	ChLA 25, no. 778 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	284–395 CE	312 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Papyruskunde II, no. 64 = PARÁSSOGLOU, The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, no. 38 = P. Flor. I, no. 36									
TM 13415	ChLA 19, no. 684 = MITTHOF, Annona Militaris, no. 89 = P. Stras. VII, no. 617	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	284–395 CE	303–304 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 13757	CPL, no. 213 = FIRA III, no. 59 = PSI IX, no. 1027	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	96–192 CE	151 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (translation)
TM 14399	CPL, no. 184 = KEENAN, in KIEßLING/RUPPRECHT (eds.), Pap. Congr. XIII, 213–214 = P. Tebt. II, no. 586 = SB XII, no. 11041	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	30 BCE – 96 CE	20–21 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	Greek (other text); Demotic (other text)
TM 14400	ChLA 11, no. 466 = SB XII, no. 11043 recto	Fayum	Fayum	Caesarea Maritima	96–192 CE	117–152 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 14401	ChLA 11, no. 467 = SB XII, no. 11043 verso	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–192 CE	117–152 CE–	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 14904	CEL III, no. 233bis = CPL, no. 183 = KRAMER, Tyche 7 = SB XX, no. 14726	Fayum	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë? (Medinet el-Fayum)	395–500 CE	399 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (translation)
TM 15311	P. Münch. I, no. 2	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Elephantine	500–641 CE	578 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (certificate); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 15321	P. Münch. I, no. 13	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	500–641 CE	594 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 15352	ChLA 47, no. 1423 = P. Oxy. LI, no. 3619	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	314–324 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 15398	CEL III, no. 225quater = ChLA 47, no. 1421 = P. Oxy. L, no. 3577	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	20. UE	284–395 CE	342 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 15400	CEL III, no. 225quinquies = ChLA 47, no. 1422 = P. Oxy. L, no. 3579	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	341–343 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 15712	AE 1937, no. 112 = CPL, no. 159 = SCHUBERT, Les	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Contra Apollonopolis	96–192 CE	127 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes, no. 1									
TM 15836	ChLA 45, no. 1335 = CPR VII, no. 21	Egypt	Egypt	UE	284–395 CE	300–306 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 15893	ChLA 47, no. 1438 = P. Wisc. II, no. 48	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	154–159 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 15894	ChLA 47, no. 1439 = P. Wisc. II, no. 50	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	165 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (excerpts from legal documents)	Greek (other text)
TM 16008	CEL III, no. 224bis1 = ChLA 47, no. 1419 = P. Oxy. XLIII, no. 3129	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	335 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 16273	CEL I, no. 13 = ChLA 45, no. 1340 = SB XVI, no. 12609	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	27 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract); letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 16419	ChLA 47, no. 1418 = P. Oxy. XLII, no. 3016	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	148 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 16514	ChLA 47, no. 1414 = P. Oxy. XLI, no. 2950	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	285 CE–	papyrus	partial	dedication (uncertain)	
TM 16515	ChLA 47, no. 1415 = P. Oxy. XLI, no. 2951	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	267 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 16516	ChLA 47, no. 1416 = P. Oxy. XLI, no. 2952	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	–315 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 16517	ChLA 47, no. 1417 = P. Oxy. XLI, no. 2953	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	293–305 CE	papyrus	complete	administrative (notice)	
TM 16563	P. Oxy. XXXVI, no. 2772	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	11 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order); letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 16868	BELL et al., The Abinnaeus Archive, no. 63 = ChLA 18, no. 661 = CPL, no. Annexe 4 = FIRA III, no. 172	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	284–395 CE	350 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 16888	ChLA 47, no. 1412 = P. Oxy. XXXI, no. 2565	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Alexandria	192–284 CE	224 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 17189	ChLA 4, no. 260 = CPL, no. 181 = P. Ant. I, no. 35	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	326 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution?; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 17204	ChLA 4, no. 262 = CPL, no. 198 = P. Oxy. XX, no. 2269 recto	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Alexandria	192–284 CE	269 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (auction record)	Greek (other text)
TM 17244	ChLA 25, no. 787 = CPL, no. 144 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 59 = PSI XIII, no. 1308	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	152–164 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 17266	ChLA 9, no. 402 = CPL, no. 196 = P. Princ. III, no. 143	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	132 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	
TM 17284	ChLA 10, no. 463 = CPL, no. Annexe 8 = P. Berl. Zill., no. 4	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	–349 CE–	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 17309	CEL 1, no. 242 = ChLA 4, no. 246 = CPL, no. 274 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 609	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	500–641 CE	505 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 17314	CEL 1, no. 223 = ChLA 4, no. 253 = CPL, no. 263 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 623	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Egypt	284–395 CE	322–323 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 17320	ChLA 4, no. 255 = CPL, no. Annexe 9 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 654	19. UE	19. UE	19. UE	284–395 CE	302–309 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 17460	ChLA 25, no. 784 = CIL XVI, no. Appendix 13 = CPL, no. 117 = PSI IX, no. 1026	Egypt	Egypt	Caesarea Maritima	96–192 CE	150 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*honesta missio*); letter (official)	
TM 17525	ChLA 46, no. 1395 = CPL, no. Annexe 196 = P. Ross Georg. V, no. 18	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	212–213 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 17631	ChLA 47, no. 1448 = P. Col. VIII, no. 221	4. UE	4. UE	4. UE	96–192 CE	143 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 17869	AE 1948, no. 121 = CPL, no. 163 = FIRA III, no. 1 = SB VI, no. 9200	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	240 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 18007	ChLA 10, no. 464 = SB V, no. 8028	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	500–641 CE	550 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order; receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 18057	ChLA 47, no. 1449 = P. Brookl., no. 20	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	169 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (notice)	Greek (translation)
TM 18058	ChLA 47, no. 1450 = P. Brookl., no. 24	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	192–284 CE	213–215 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 18163	ChLA 28, no. 840 = DARIS, Aegyptus 56, 87 = SB XIV, no. 11624	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	7 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract); letter (private)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 18254	P. Brookl. Dem., no. 96 = SB XVIII, no. 13574 = ZAUZICH, Enchoria 12, no. 4.1.1	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	9 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text); Demotic (translation)
TM 18334	AE 1987, no. 975d = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, no. 52 = RIAD, ASAE 60, no. 23 = SB XVII, no. 13717	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	192–284 CE	194 CE	stone wall	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 18351	ChLA 28, no. 865 = CPL, no. 178 = P. Ryl. IV no. 610 = SB XVIII, no. 13610	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	192–284 CE	223 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 18365	CEL III, no. 217bis = ChLA 47, no. 1433 = SB XVIII, no. 13851 = REA et al., Yale Classical Review 28	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	293 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 18367	ChLA 41, no. 1187 = SB XIII, no. 13295	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	298–300 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 18374	ChLA 45, no. 1337 = SB XVIII, no. 13769 = SIJPESTEIJN/WORP, Tyche 1	15. UE	15. UE	15. UE	284–395 CE	345–352 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 18444	ChLA 41, no. 1193 = P. Cairo Masp. III, no. 67320	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	541 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order; receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 18445	ChLA 41, no. 1186 = P. Cairo Masp. III, no. 67321	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	533–549 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order; receipt)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 18454	ChLA 41, no. 1194 = CPL, no. Annexe 18 = P. Cairo Masp. III, no. 67329	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	500–641 CE	524 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text); Coptic (other text)
TM 18463	ChLA 46, no. 1393 = P. Leid. Inst. I, no. 22	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	48 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (uncertain)	
TM 18464	ChLA 46, no. 1394 = P. Leid. Inst. I, no. 23	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	68–69 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (uncertain)	
TM 18754	CEL I, no. 221 = ChLA 45, no. 1319 = CPL, no. 272	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	317 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 18755	ChLA 45, no. 1329 = CPL, no. 199b	Egypt	Egypt	UE	395–500 CE	399 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	
TM 18756	ChLA 45, no. 1330 = CPL, no. 199c	Egypt	Egypt	UE	395–500 CE	399 CE	papyrus	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 18820	AE 1921, no. 35 = CPL, no. 202 = FIRA III, no. 25 = SB III, no. 6223	1. LE	Cairo	Alexandria	192–284 CE	198 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*)	Greek (translation)
TM 18822	CPL, no. 193 = FIRA III, no. 134 = KRAMER, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, no. 9 = SM III, no. 6304	Fayum	Fayum	Ravenna	96–192 CE	151 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (contract)	
TM 18859	CEL I, no. 205 = ChLA 41, no. 1198 = CPL, no. 137 = SB III, no. 7181a	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	220 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 18878	ChLA 41, no. 1197 recto = CPL, no. Annexe 19 = P. Cairo Masp. II, no. 67331 recto	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	–567 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 18994	ChLA 41, no. 1195 = P. Cairo Masp. I, no. 67030	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	531–546 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order; receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 18995	ChLA 41, no. 1195 = P. Cairo Masp. I, no. 67031	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	543–545 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (constitution)	Greek (other text)
TM 19488	ChLA 4, no. 241 = CPL, no. 125 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 28 = P. Ryl. II no. 79	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	144 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 19670	ChLA 25, no. 779 = CPL, no. 145 = P. Flor. II no. 278 recto(fr. 1–17)	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Memphis (Mit Rahina)	192–284 CE	203–235 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 19773	ChLA 3, no. 210 = CPL, no. 323	9. UE	Panopolis (Akhmim)	Panopolis (Akhmim)	284–395 CE	352 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 20155	ChLA, 25, no. 780 = CPL, no. 240 = PSI I, no. 111	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	286–305 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution)	Greek (other text)
TM 20224	CEL I, no. 72 = ChLA 4, no. 224 = CPL, no. 185 = P. Aberd., no. 61	Fayum	Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	48 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (private)	
TM 20290	P. Kellis I, no. 26	Western Desert	Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab)	Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab)	284–395 CE	388–390 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 20356	ChLA 3, no. 214 = CPL, no. 158 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I, no. 213 = P. Oxy VI, no. 894	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Alexandria	192–284 CE	195–196 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (translation)
TM 20419	ChLA 4, no. 269 = CPL, no. 205 = FIRA III, no. 24 = P. Oxy. IV, no. 720	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	247 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 20435	ChLA 4, nos. 275, 735 = CPL, no. 134 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 238 = P. Oxy. IV, no. 720	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	205 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 20513	ChLA 3, no. 206 = CPL, no. 175 = P. Oxy. II, no. 244	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	23 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 20991	CEL I, no. 155 = ChLA 42, no. 1207 = CPL, no. 189 = P. Fouad I, no. 45	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	153 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract); letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 21149	CEL I, no. 177 = ChLA 42, no. 1208 = CPL, no. 260 = P. Hibeh II, no. 276	20. UE	Ancyropolis (El-Hibe)	Ancyropolis (El-Hibe)	96–192 CE	–157 CE–	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 21330	ChLA 5, no. 283 = CPL, no. 129 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 39 = P. Mich. III, no. 162	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	189 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 21331	ChLA 5, no. 290 = CPL, no. 203 = P. Mich. III, no. 165	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	236 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 21332	AE 1952, no. 234 = CPL, no. 153 = P. Mich. VII, no. 168	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	96–192 CE	145 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (translation)
TM 21356	ChLA 5, no. 298 = P. Mich. X, no. 592	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	311 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 21553	ChLA 46, no. 1391 = CPL, no. 139 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 24 = P. Oslo III, no. 122	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	230 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 21587	ChLA 4, no. 233 = CPL, no. 218 = P. Oxy. IX, no. 1201	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	258 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 21719	ChLA 9, no. 401 = CPL, no. 141	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	303 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative? (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 21736	ChLA 3, no. 216 = CPL, no. 217 = FIRA III, no. 63 = P. Oxy. VIII, no. 1114	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	237 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (other text)
TM 21785	CEL I, no. 213 = ChLA 4, no. 266 = CPL, no. 179 = P. Oxy. X, no. 1271	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	246 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (travel permit); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 21867	ChLA 46, no. 1361 = COLELLA, AfP 68(1) = CPL, no. 204 = P. Oxy XII, no. 1466	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	19. UE	192–284 CE	245 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 21887	ChLA 4. no. 265 = CPL, no. 140 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 102 = P. Oxy. XII, no. 1511	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	–247 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 22012	ChLA 47, no. 1406 = CPL, no. Annexe 13 = FIRA III, no. 176 = P. Oxy. XVI, no. 1876	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	–480 CE–	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22013	ChLA 47, no. 1407 = CPL, no. Annexe 14 = P. Oxy. XVI, no. 1877	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	–488 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 22014	ChLA 47, no. 1408 = CPL, no. Annexe 12 = P. Oxy. XVI, no. 1878	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Heracleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)	395–500 CE	461 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22015	ChLA 47, no. 1409 = CPL, no. Annexe 11 = P. Oxy. XVI, no. 1879	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	434 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22128	ChLA 47, no. 1428 = P. Oxy. LXIII, no. 4363	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	314–325 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 22132	CEL III, no. 228bis = ChLA 47, no. 1429 = P. Oxy. LXIII, no. 4369	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	345 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 22134	ChLA 47, no. 1430 = P. Oxy. LXIII, no. 4371	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	341–395 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22144	ChLA 47, no. 143 = P. Oxy. LXIII, no. 4381	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Alexandria	284–395 CE	375 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22244	ChLA 47, no. 1413 = P. Oxy. XXXVIII, no. 2857	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	134 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (translation)
TM 22344	ChLA XII, no. 525 = CPL, no. Annexe 5 = FIRA III, no. 175 = P. Lips. I, no. 33	Upper Egypt	UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	368 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22346	ChLA 12, no. 524 = CPL, no. Annexe 6 = P. Lips. I, no. 35	Upper Egypt	UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	–375 CE–	papyrus	damaged	legal (petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 22350	ChLA 12, no. 520 = CPL, no. Annexe 7 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II, no. 97 = P. Lips. I, no. 38	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	390 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 22353	ChLA 12, no. 526 = CPL, no. 241 = P. Lips. I, no. 44	15. UE	15. UE	15. UE	284–395 CE	324–337 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 22510	ChLA 47, no. 1425 = P. Oxy. LV, no. 3785	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	250 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 22517	CEL I, no. 225bis = ChLA 47, no. 1426 = P. Oxy. LV, no. 3793	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	340 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 22518	CEL I, no. 225ter = ChLA 47, no. 1427 = P. Oxy. LV, no. 3794	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Alexandria	284–395 CE	340 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 22763	P. Gascou, no. 21	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	500–641 CE	514 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 23051	ChLA 11, no. 486(40) = CPL, no. 216 = FIRA III, no. 61 = SB I, no. 1010	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	192–284 CE	249 CE	papyrus	complete	legal (*testamenta* and related; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 23403	CEL III, no. 205bis = ChLA 47, no. 1459 = Rea, ZPE 96 = SB XXII, no. 15625	18. LE	Boubastis (Tell Basta)	Italia	192–284 CE	–221 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 23523	AE 1904, no. 217 = CPL, no. 172 = FIRA III, no. 11 = Mitteis/Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II, no.362	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	192–284 CE	221 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (*manumissio*)	Greek (translation)
TM 23552	ChLA 25, no. 777 = P. Flor. I, no. 32b	15. UE	15. UE	15. UE	284–395 CE	298 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (census report)	Greek (other text)
TM 23768	ChLA 46, no. 1392 = CPL, no. Annexe 28 = FHN III, no. 314 = SB XX, no. 14606	1. UE	1. UE	1. UE	395–500 CE	425–430 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 23775	CEL I, no. 151 = ChLA 10, no. 421 = SB XX, no. 14631	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	139 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 23788	ChLA 45, no. 1328 = CPL, no. 199a = SB XX, no. 14675 = Zuckerman, Tyche 3	Egypt	Egypt	UE	395–500 CE	399 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 23792	ChLA 43, no. 1246 = Kramer, 'Zwei neue Augustalpräfekten auf einem lateinischen Protokoll', Tyche 5, 41 = SB XX, no. 14688	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	398–399 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 23892	CEL I, no. 8 = ChLA 43, no. 1241L1c = CPL, no. 247 = Kramer, Vulgärlateinische	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	5–2 BCE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, no. 1									
TM 24002	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 304	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 24003	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 305	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 24004	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 306	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 24006	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 308	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 24007	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 356	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 24143	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, no. 131 = CEL III, no. 149ter	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–107 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 24147	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, no. 135 = CEL III, no. 149quater	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–107 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 25148	ChLA 25, no. 786 = CPL, no. 108 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 51 = PSI XIII, no. 1307 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	0–50 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 25149	ChLA 25, no. 788 = CPL, no. 187 = PSI XIII, no. 1321	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–50 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 25160	CEL I, no. 81 = ChLA 4, no. 245 = CPL, no. 248 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 608	9. UE	Panopolis (Akhmim)	Panopolis (Akhmim)	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–150 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 25161	CEL I, no. 86 = ChLA 4, no. 250 = CPL, no. 256 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 613	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 25882	CEL I, no. 166 = ChLA 47, no. 1454 = P. Köln III, no. 160 verso	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	Greek (translation)
TM 25952	CEL III, no. Incerta 4 recto = ChLA 47, no. 1435 recto = P. Bodl. I, no. 95 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 26179	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 18 = CIL I, no. 150bis = ChLA 42, no. 1210 = SB XX, no. 14257	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list); letter (official)	
TM 26202	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 19 = ChLA 42, no. 1209 = SB XX, no. 14275(19)	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 26203	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 20 = ChLA 42, no. 1211 = SB XX, no. 14275(20)	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 26213	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 44 = SB XX, no. 14276(44)	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	
TM 26214	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 45 = SB XX, no. 14276(45)	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 26215	BAGNALL, BASP 23, no. 46 = SB XX, no. 14276(46)	Eastern Desert	Qusayr el-Qadim	Qusayr el-Qadim	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 26514	ChLA 47, no. 1424 = P. Oxy. LII, no. 3692	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 26685	CEL III, no. 140bis = ChLA 47, no. 1440 = P. Wisc. II, no. 70	5. UE	5. UE	5. UE	96–192 CE	–103 CE– (?)	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 27061	ChLA 25, no. 789 = PSI XIV, no. 1448	Egypt	Egypt	Mauretania	96–192 CE	142 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt)	
TM 27080	CEL I, no. 141 = ChLA 42, no. 1218 = CPL, no. 250 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 467	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 27081	CEL I, no. 142 = ChLA 42, no. 1217 = CPL, no. 251 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 468	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 27082	CEL I, no. 144 = ChLA 42, no. 1216 = CPL, no. 252 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 469	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 27083	CEL I, no. 145 = ChLA 42, no. 1221 = CPL, no. 253 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 470	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 27084	CEL I, no. 146 = ChLA 42, no. 1220 = CPL, no. 254 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 471	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 27085	CEL I, no. 147 = ChLA 42, no. 1219 = CPL, no. 255 = P. Mich. VIII, no. 472	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 27148	CPL, no. 208–209 = ChLA 4, no. 249 = P. Mich. VII, no. 434 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 612	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (marrige contract)	
TM 27228	P. Athen., no. 50 recto	Fayum	Fayum	Philoteris?	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (official?)	
TM 27293	CEL I, no. 165 = CPL, no. 136 = Cuvigny, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 359–363 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 79	1. UE	1. UE	1. UE	192–284 CE	221 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order; receipt); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 27299	CEL III, no. 164bis = ChLA 47, no. 1447 = SB VI, no. 9290	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 27407	ChLA 47, no. 1451 = P. Brookl., no. 100	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 27520	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 5 = Pintaudi, ZPE 27, no. 6 = P. Laur. IV, no. 147 = SB XIV, no. 1449	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 27901	ChLA 4, no. 242 = CPL, no. 312 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 82 = P. Coles, no. 19	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 27910	ChLA 4, no. 243 = CPL, no. 126 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 72	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 28305	ChLA 4, no. 229 = CPL, no. 127 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 133	Fayum	Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 28607	ChLA 3, no. 207 = CPL, no. Annexe 26 = Grenfell et al., Fayum Towns and their Papyri, no. 262	Fayum	Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat)	Fayum	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (order)	Greek (other text)
TM 28696	ChLA 1, no. 496 = CPL, no. 174 = P. Hamb. I, no. 72	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 28826	CPL, no. 164 = P. Michael., no. 61	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	wooden tablet	traces	legal (birth certificate?)	Greek (other text)
TM 29475	BAGNALL et al., O. Amst., no. 8 = SB XX, no. 14180	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29717	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 309	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29718	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 310	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29719	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 311	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 29720	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 312	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29722	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 314	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29723	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 315	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29724	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 316	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29725	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 317	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29726	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 318	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29727	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 319	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29728	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 320	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29729	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 321	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29730	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 322	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29731	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 323	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29732	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 324	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29733	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 325	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 29734	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 326	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29736	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 328	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29737	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 329	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29738	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 330	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29739	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 331	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29740	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 332	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29741	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 333	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29744	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 336	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29756	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 348	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (military schedule)	Greek (other text)
TM 29763	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 355	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 29771	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 367	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Raima	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 29811	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, no. 2 = CEL III, no. 149bis	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Raima	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 30482	ChLA 4, no. 261 = CPL, no. 135 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 46 = P. Ant. I, no. 41 recto	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	192–284 CE	212–230 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 30586	CEL I, no. 219 = ChLA 4, no. 251 = CPL, no. 259 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 614 verso	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–225 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official?)	
TM 30682	CPL, no. 168 = P. Ross. Georg. V, no. 26	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (census report)	Greek (other text)
TM 30807	ChLA 47, no. 1452 = P. Brookl., no. 101	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 30817	CPL, no. 300 = SB XIV, no. 11438	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 30818	CPL, no. 301 = SB XIV, no. 11439	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 30994	ChLA 41, no. 1189 = SB XIII, no. 13296	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	192–395 CE	275–325 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 31019	CEL I, no. 173 = ChLA 19, no. 686 = CPL, no. 261 = P. Stras. I, no. 36	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private?)	
TM 31048	ChLA 45, no. 1324	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	–312 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 31217	ChLA 3, no. 201 = CPL, no. 180 = SÄNGER, Veteranen unter den Severern und frühen Soldatenkaisern, no. 10	20. UE	Ancyropolis (El-Hibe)	Ancyropolis (El-Hibe)	192–284 CE	222–255 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 32180	ChLA 9, no. 404 = RENTING/SIJPESTEIJN, CdÉ 62(123–124) = SB XX, no. 14386	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	277–282 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 32589	CEL I, no. 235 = ChLA 12, no. 519 = HAGEDORN, ZPE 34, no. 1 = SB XVI, no. 12580	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	375–395 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (translation)
TM 32758	CEL I, no. 239 = ChLA 4, no. 252 = CPL, no. 266 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 615	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 32781	ChLA 4, no. 257 = CPL, no. 234 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 702	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	300–325 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 32813	PAPAIOANNOU, ZPE 220 = SB X, no. 10732	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	350–425 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 33347	EBERHARD et al. (ed.), Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer, no. 11	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	299 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 33524	CEL III, no. 224bis = ChLA 46, no. 1363 = P. Mert. III, no. 115	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	300–325 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 33693	ChLA 4. no. 264 = CPL, no. 235 = P. Oxy. XXII, no. 2352	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (*dialysis*?)	Greek (other text)
TM 33700	ChLA 12, no. 518 = CPL, no. Annexe 10 = P. Lips. I, no. 40	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	375–395 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 34796	CEL III, no. 244bis = ChLA 47, no. 1455 = P. Köln IV, no. 200	19. UE	19. UE	19. UE	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private); literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Genesis*, 46.16)	Greek (other text)
TM 35065	ChLA 42, no. 1226 = CPL, no. Annexe 17 = SCAPPATICCIO, Analecta Papyrologica 25 = PSI XIII, no. 1309 recto	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–450 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 35230	P. Flor. III, no. 304	15. UE	15. UE	15. UE	395–641 CE	395–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 35255	CEL I, no. 237 = ChLA 3, no. 211 = CPL, no. 269 = P. Lond. V, no. 1792	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 35623	CEL I, no. 243 = ChLA 47, no. 1410 = CPL, no. 270 = P. Oxy. XVIII, no. 2193	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private); literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Iob*, 36.19)	Greek (other text)
TM 35624	CEL I, no. 244 = ChLA 47, no. 1411 = CPL, no. 271 = P. Oxy. XVIII, no. 2194	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private); literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Ecclesiasticus*, 12.2)	Greek (other text)
TM 35625	P. Mich. XVIII, no. 794	20. UE	Heracleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)	Heracleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)	500–641 CE	500–525 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 35728	ChLA 10, no. 407 = CPL, no. Annexe 15 = SB I, no. 5357	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	395–641 CE	406–542 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 35775	ChLA 47, 1462 recto = HERRAUER/PINTAUDI, Tyche 6 = SB XX, no. 14707	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 36006	ChLA 47, no. 1437 = P. Mich. XIII, nos. 660–661 = SB XVI, no. 12542	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	500–641 CE	558–559 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 36017	CEL II, no. 245 = ChLA 5, no. 291 = SB XVI, no. 12990 = SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 42, 110	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 36517	ChLA 41, no. 1192 = P. Cairo Masp. III, no. 67280	10. UE	Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	500–641 CE	538–539 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (order; receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 37834	ChLA 4, no. 237 = P. Oxy. VIII, no. 1106	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 40818	ChLA 12, no. 522 = HAGEDORN, ZPE 34, no. 2 = SB XVI, no. 12581	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	284–395 CE	310 CE (?)	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 42703	CPL, no. 302	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 42956	ChLA 42, no. 1222 = CPJ III, no. 463 = CPL, no. 131 = P. Mich. VII, no. 448	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	203–208 CE–	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 42957	CEL I, no. 204 = ChLA 42, no. 1213 = CPL, no. 132 = P. Mich. VII, no. 450	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	225–250 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 42958	ChLA 5, no. 289 = CPL, no. 227 = P. Mich. VII, no. 453	Fayum?	Fayum?	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (contract)	
TM 44495	CPL, no. 170 = FIRA III, no. 8 = PSI XI, no. 1183 = P. Thomas, no. 6	Fayum	Fayum	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)?	30 BCE – 96 CE	47–48 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (census report)	
TM 44565	SB XXVIII, no. 17077 = SCHWARTZ et al., Qasr-Qarun / Dionysias 1950, no. 6	Fayum	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	284–395 CE	–350 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 44966	FUNGHI et al., O. Petrie, no. 153	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	21 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 45041	FUNGHI et al., O. Petrie, no. 185	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	61 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt); letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 45366	CEL I, no. 175 = ChLA 10, no. 434	Fayum	Fayum	Egypt	96–192 CE	–125–148 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (uncertain)	
TM 46933	CPL, no. 296 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou III, no. 473 = SB XVIII, 13575 = ZAUZICH, Enchoria 12, no. 4.1.2	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 14 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text); Demotic (translation)
TM 46935	MATTHA, Demotic Ostraca, no. 247	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Demotic (other text)
TM 51670	BOAK/YOUTIE, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan, no. 74, 57063 = ChLA 41, no. 1202	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	315 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 54003	CPL, no. 297 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou III, no. 474	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–25 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text); Demotic (translation)
TM 59039	CPL, no. 80 = P. Mich VII, no. 457 = P. Yale II, no. 104	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Egypt	96–284 CE	150–250 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (AESOPUS, *Fabulae?*)	Greek (other text)
TM 59041	CPL, no. 38 = P. Oxy. XI, no. 1404 recto	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (AESOPUS, *Fabulae?*)	
TM 59043	C. Gloss. Biling II, no. 10 = CPL, no. 39 = PSI VII, no. 848	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (AESOPUS, *Fabulae,* 264)	Greek (translation)
TM 59207	ChLA 18, no. 664	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 59328	CPL, no. 55 = HOUGHTON, Sacris Eruditi 68	1. LE	Babylon (Fustat)	Italia	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (AUGUSTINUS, De Sermone Domini in Monte II; AUGUSTINUS, *Contra Sermonem Arrianorum*, 18; AUGUSTINUS, *Sermones*, 225)	
TM 59335	CPL, no. 40 = KRAMER, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, no. 10 = P. Amh. II, no. 26	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–395 CE	250–350 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (BABRIUS, *Fabulae*, 11, 16, 17)	Greek (translation)
TM 59433	SCAPPATICCIO, Aegyptus 88 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 144–155 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 25	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	301–350 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (grammatical treatise)	
TM 59453, I	ROCA PUIG, Ciceró, Catilinàries (I et II in Cat.)	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	papyrus	complete	literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* I–II)	
TM 59453, II	ROCA PUIG, Himne a la Verge Maria	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	papyrus	complete	literary (Montserrat Miscellaneus Codex, *Hymn to the Virgin Mary*)	
TM 59453, III	NOCCHI MACEDO, L'Alceste de Barcelone (P. Monts. Roca inv. 158-161) = ROCA PUIG, Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	papyrus	complete	literary (Montserrat Miscellaneus Codex, *Alcestis Barcinonensis*)	
TM 59453, IV	BERG, L'"Hadrianus" de Montserrat = P. Monts. Roca III	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	papyrus	complete	literary (Montserrat Miscellaneus Codex, *Hadrianus*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 59454	GALLAZZI, ZPE 54	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Italia	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (CICERO, *In Verrem* II.5, 15–16, 39–41)	
TM 59455	CPL, no. 21 = INTERNULLO, Papyrologica Lupiensia 20–21, 37–79 = INTERNULLO, ZPE 199 = P. Rain. Cent., no. 163	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* I, 15–20	Greek (translation)
TM 59456	CPL, no. 26	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (CICERO, *Pro Plancio*, 27–28, 46–47)	
TM 59457	INTERNULLO, Papyrologica Lupiensia 20–21, 107–120	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* I, 10–11); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (translation)
TM 59458	CPL, no. 24–25 = P. Lond. Lit., no. 143 = P. Oxy VIII, no. 1097 = P. Oxy. X, no. 1251	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (CICERO, *De Imperio Cn. Pompei*, 60–65, 68–71; CICERO, *In Verrem* II.1, 1–3, 7–9; CICERO, *Pro Caelio*, 26–55)	
TM 59459	CPL, no. 23 = P. Ryl. III, no. 477	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (CICERO, *Divinatio in Caecilium*, 33–37, 44–46); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)
TM 59460	INTERNULLO, Papyrologica Lupiensia 20–21, 94–106	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* III, 15–16)	Greek (translation)
TM 59461	CPL, no. 27 = PSI I, no. 20	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (CICERO, *In Verrem* II.1, 60–63)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 59462	CPL, no. 20 = P. Giss. Lit., no. 3.5 = P. Iand V, no. 90 recto	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (CICERO, *In Verrem* II.2, 3–4)	
TM 59474	ANDERSON et al., JRS 69 = LUTHER, AfP 48(1)	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	–21 BCE	papyrus	partial	literary (CORNELIUS GALLUS, fragmenta)	
TM 59955	CPL, no. 77 = P. Oxy. XVII, no. 2103	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (GAIUS, *Institutiones* IV, 57, 68–72); legal	
TM 59956	CPL, no. 78 = PSI XI, no. 1182	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (GAIUS, *Institutiones* III, 153–154, 167–174, IV, 16–18); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 61384	BKT IX, no. 149	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (ISOCRATES, *Ad Demonicum*, 47–48; ISOCRATES, *Ad Nicoclem*, 7–8)	Greek (translation)
TM 61408	PSI XIII, no. 1350	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	533–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* – epitome); legal	
TM 61410	CPL, no. 89 = P. Ryl. III, no. 479	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	500–641 CE	553–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* XXX, 11–13, 22–26); legal	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 61411	AMELOTTI/MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi, no. 2 = CPL, no. 100	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	533 CE–	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus* XII, 59.10, 60.3, 62.3; *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* XIX, 2.54); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 61413	CPL, no. 87	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	533–700 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* V, 2.16–19); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 61414	CPL, no. 88 = P. Ryl. III, no. 474	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	500–641 CE	500–559 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (excerpts); literary; legal	Greek (other text)
TM 61415	CPL, no. 37 = ROBERTS, JEA 21	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	partial	literary (IUVENALIS, *Saturae*, 7, 149–198); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)
TM 61429	CPL, nos 33–34 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.1. Titus Livius, no. 1F = P. Oxy. IV, no. 668 = PSI XII, no. 1291	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Africa	192–284 CE	192–249 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe Condita* XXXVII– XL, XLVII–LV – epitome)	
TM 61430	CPL, no. 35 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.1. Titus Livius, no. 2F = P. Oxy. XI, no. 1379	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe Condita* I, 5–6)	
TM 61431	FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini.	Fayum	Naqlun	uncertain (imported?)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe Condita* XI)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, no. 3F									
TM 61434	CPL, no. 36, P. Lond. Lit., no. 42	Fayum?	Fayum?	Italia	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	parchment	traces	literary (LUCANUS, *Pharsalia* II, 247–248, 265–266)	
TM 61647	CPL, no. 52 = P. Aberd., no. 1	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	traces	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Novum, Iohannes*, 7.27–28, 30–31)	
TM 61726	CPL, no. 53 = P. Giss. Lit., no. 5.9	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Italia	500–641 CE	500–550 CE	parchment	partial	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Novum, Lucas*, 23.2–6, 11–14, 24.5–9, 13–17)	Gothic (translation)
TM 61867	CPL, no. 51 = PSI XIII, no. 1306	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	284–500 CE	284–450 CE	parchment	partial	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Novum, Ad Ephesios*, 6.11–12)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 61873	DICKEY, New Testament Studies 65(1) = WOUTERS, The Chester Beatty Codex AC 1499	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (various); literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Novum*, Ad Romanos, 1.1, *Ad Corinthios* II, 1.3–6, 1.6–17, 1.20–24, 2.1–9, 2.9–5.13, 5.13–6.3, 6.3–8.13, 8.14–22, 9.2–11.8, 11.9–23, 11.26–13.11, *Ad Galatas*, 1.4–11, 1.18–6.15, 1.14–2.4, 2.4–3.19, 3.19–4.9, *Ad Ephesios*, 1.4–2.21, 1.22?, 3.8–6.24)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 62044	CPL, no. 49 = P. Oxy. VIII, no. 1073	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Genesis*, 5.4–13, 29–31, 6.1–2)	
TM 62073	CPL, no. 50 = PSI XII, no. 1272	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	475–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Exodus*, 8.16–20, 8.28–9.1)	
TM 62089	CPL, no. 54 = P. Ant. I, no. 14	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Italia	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (*Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Esther*, 4.1–6)	
TM 62323	P. Lond. Copt. I, nos. 48, 55	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum?	395–641 CE	395–641 CE	parchment	partial	literary (Christian theological text)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 62356	CPL, nos. 93–94	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	284–641 CE	284–600 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); paraliterary (excerpts); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 62359	ARCHI et al., Pauli Sententiarum fragmentum Leidense = CPL, no. 74	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–395 CE	192–395 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (PAULUS IURIDICUS, *Sententiae*, 28–29); legal	
TM 62360	BKT IX, no. 200 = BRASHEAR, AfP 34, 12–13 = CPL, no. 84–85	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (PAULUS IURIDICUS, *Ad Plautium*, 8; PAULUS IURIDICUS, *De Formula Fabiana*); legal	
TM 62361	FIRA II, no. 635–652	Sinai	Monasterium Sancti Catharinae	Egypt	395–641 CE	395–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 62687	CPL, no. 28 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, 117–151 = P. Ryl. III, no. 473	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *Historiae*, fragmenta)	
TM 62688	CPL, no. 31 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, 73–89	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Italia	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 43–44, 49–50)	
TM 62689	CPL, no. 29 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, 51–62 = PSI I, no. 110	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, 10–11); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)
TM 62690	CPL, no. 30 = P. Ryl. I, no. 42	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 37)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 62691	P. Ant. III, no. 154	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	parchment	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 93)	
TM 62692	FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, 99–116	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *Historiae*, fragmenta)	
TM 62693	CPL, no. 32 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.1.2. Caius Sallustius Crispus, 33–50 = P. Oxy. VI, no. 884	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (SALLUSTIUS, *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, 6); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	
TM 62694	CPL, no. 46 = DINGEL, ZPE 14	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 62719	MARKUS/SCHWENDNER, ZPE 117	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (SENECA MINOR, *Medea*, 663–704); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)
TM 62723	CPL, no. 86 = GRENFELL/HUNT, New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri, no. 107	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain); legal	
TM 62793	NOCCHI MACEDO, BASP 55 = P. Oxy. XXIV, no. 2401	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (TERENTIUS, *Andria*, 602–668, 924–950, 957–979); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 62794	DANESE, Studi Classici e Orientali 39	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (TERENTIUS, *Andria*, 489–499, 514–521, 539–554, 575–582); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (other text)
TM 62938	CPL, no. 71 = GRENFELL et al., Fayum Towns and their Papyri, no. 10 = SALATI, ZPE 205	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Egypt	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (ULPIANUS, *Ad Edictum*, 45); legal	
TM 62939	PSI XIV, no. 1449	Egypt	Egypt	Berytus? (Beirut)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (ULPIANUS, *Ad Edictum*, 32); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 62940	CPL, no. 72 = P. Ant. I, no. 22	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (ULPIANUS, *Ad Edictum*, 22); legal	
TM 62941	CPL, no. 75	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	parchment	partial	literary (ULPIANUS, fragmenta); legal	
TM 62942	CPL, no. 73 = P. Haun. III, no. 45	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	
TM 62944	GIRARD, Textes de droit romain, 492–493	Egypt	Egypt	Italia?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (ULPIANUS, *Institutiones* II); legal	
TM 62945	CPL, no. 76	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (ULPIANUS, *Disputationes*); legal	
TM 62946	GALLAZZI, ZPE 48 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 31	Fayum	Narmouthis (Medinet Madi)	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Bucolica*, 8, 53–62)	
TM 62947	CPL, no. 61 = PSI XIII, no. 1307 verso = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 29	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 62949	CPL, no. 14 = DOW, JRS 58 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 4	Fayum	Hawara	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (HORATIUS, *Ars Poetica,* 78; VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* II, 601)	
TM 62950	P. Oxy L, no. 3554 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 26	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* XI, 371–372)	
TM 62952	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, no. 190 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 2	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	96–120 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 1–3)	
TM 62953	ChLA 5, no. 304(accounts) = P. Tebt. II, no. 686(accounts)	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (accounts)	
TM 62954	CPL, nos. 1–3 = FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 4 = P. Ryl. III, no 478 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 5	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	350–449 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 235–243, 247–261, 270–274, 406–414, 418–426, 633–640, 702–707, 711–719),	Greek (translation)
TM 62955	SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 30	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Bucolica*, 5, 17–31)	
TM 62956	CPL, no. 17 = P. Ant. I, no. 29 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 34	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Syria?	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Georgica* II, 527–542, III, 1–25); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	
TM 62957	FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 1 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 4	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 211–756, II, 51–121)	Greek (translation)
TM 62958	SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 24	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* X, 832–836, 863–867)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 62959	CPL, no. 9 = P. Oxy. VIII, no. 1098 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 10	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Italia	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	parchment	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* II, 16–23, 39–46); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	
TM 62960	CPL, no. 10 = P. Oxy I, no. 31 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 7	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* I, 457–467, 495–507)	
TM 62961	CPL, no. 15 = P. Ant. I, no. 30 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 27	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Italia?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* XII, 762–765, 786–790)	
TM 62962	CPL, no. 6 = Fressura, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 2 = P. Fouad I, no. 5 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 15	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–450 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* III, 444–468)	Greek (translation)
TM 62963	CPL, no. 4 = Fressura, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 3 = PSI VII, no. 756 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 13	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–450 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* II, 443–537)	Greek (translation)
TM 62964	CPL, no. 7 = Kramer, ZPE 111 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 8	Sinai	Monasterium Sancti Catharinae	Egypt?	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* I, 588–608, 649–668, 689–708, 729–733, 735–748)	Greek (translation)
TM 62965	ChLA 47, no. 1462 verso = CPL, no. 19 = PSI II, no. 142 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 28	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* I, 477–493 – epitome)	
TM 62966	CPL, no. 11 = PSI I, no. 21 = Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 17	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* IV, 66–68, 99–102)	
TM 62967	Scappaticcio, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 33	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (Vergilius, *Georgica* I, 229–237)	Greek (translation)
TM 62968	Fressura, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 6 = P.	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (Vergilius, *Aeneis* I, 615–621)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Oxy L, no. 3553 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 9									
TM 62969	CPL, no. 13 = FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 8 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 20	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	parchment	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* V, 671–674, 683–684)	
TM 62970	CPL, no. 5 = FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 7 = P. Oxy L, no. 3553 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 19	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* IV, 661–705, V, 1–6)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 62971	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 2 = ChLA 4, no. 234 = CPL, no. 59 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 18	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–641 CE	284–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* IV, 129, XI, 1)	Greek (translation)
TM 62973	CPL, no. 12 = P. Oxy. VI, no. 872 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 21	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	traces	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* VI, 698–700, 706, 711)	
TM 63036	AMMIRATI, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII	Fayum	Hawara	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 63048	ChLA 18, no. 663 = CPL, nos. 122–123 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 70 = P. Aberd., no. 133	Fayum?	Soknopaiou Nesos? (Dimeh)	Fayum?	192–284 CE	193–196 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 63060	ChLA 4, no. 226 = CPL, no. 66 = P. Aberd., no. 131	Fayum?	Soknopaiou Nesos? (Dimeh)	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 63127	CPL, no. 70 = P. Mich VII, no. 431	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	traces	paraliterary (school exercise?); legal	
TM 63240	CIRIELLO/STRAMAGLIA, AfP 44(2) = CPL, no. 69 = PSI VII, no. 743	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–150 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (*Historia Alexandri Magni* III, 6)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 63267	CPL, no. 43 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.2. Adespota, no. 3 = P. Oxy. I, no. 30	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–150 CE	parchment	partial	literary (L. ARRUNTIUS, fragmenta)	
TM 63268	ChLA 4, no. 239 = CPL, no. 319 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 131	Fayum	Hawara	Fayum	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (accounts?)	
TM 63274	CPL, no. 45 = P. Mich. VII, no. 430	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	–115 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain)	
TM 63275	CPL, no. 231 = P. Mich VII, no. 456	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	75–125 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 63291	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 6 = P. Oxy. XXXIII, no. 2660	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 63292	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 8 = P. Oxy. XLVI, no. 3315	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	
TM 63313	WAGNER et al., BIFAO 90, no. C6	4. UE	Valley of the Queens	Valley of the Queens	30 BCE – 395 CE	30 BCE – 395 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (alphabet)	Greek (translation)
TM 63328	ADAMO, ZPE 202 = CPL, no. 41 = FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.2. Adespota, no. 4 = P. Oxy. XVII, no. 2088	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VENNONIUS, fragmenta)	
TM 63340	DARIS, Aegyptus 66, 120–123	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 63424	BINGEN et al., O. Claud. II, no. 415	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (other text)
TM 63532	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 9 = CPL, no. 275 = P. Lund I, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (other text)
TM 63603	C. Gloss Biling. II, no. 7 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 466–467 = P. Oxy. XLIX, no. 3452	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 63667	P. Oxy. XXXII, no. 2624 verso	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 63754	BGU VII, no. 1689 recto = ChLA 10, no. 422 = CPL, no. 42 = SPEIDEL, ZPE 163	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	122 CE–	papyrus	traces	administrative (list)	
TM 63767	BKT IX, no. 148	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 63821	ChLA 1, nos. 10 verso, 11 verso = CPL, nos. 63–64 = MARICHAL, CdÉ 30(60)	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	192–284 CE	211 CE–	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (list of artworks)	
TM 63824	CPL, no. 65 = P. Hamb. II, no. 167	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (L. AFRANIUS, fabula togata)	
TM 63848	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 12 = PRIEST, ZPE 27 = SB XIV, no. 12157	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 63851	ChLA 3, no. 218 verso = P. Mich. VII, no. 430 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 93–143 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 22	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–284 CE	162–250 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (REMMIUS PALAEMON, Ars Grammatica?)	
TM 63954	CPL, no. 79 = P. Aberd., no. 130	Fayum	Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain); legal	
TM 63955	ChLA 4, no. 225 = CPL, no. 67 = P. Aberd., no. 129	Fayum?	Soknopaiou Nesos? (Dimeh)	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 63956	ChLA 4, no. 227 = CPL, no. 68 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 45 = P. Aberd., no. 132	Fayum?	Soknopaiou Nesos? (Dimeh)	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 64110	CEL I, no. 208 = ChLA 4, no. 244 = CPL, no. 44 = P. Ryl. IV, no. 553	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64136	SCAPPATICCIO, ZPE 217	Fayum	Abd el-Nahab	Abd el-Nahab	30 BCE – 192 CE	75–125 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64163	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 7 = P. Oxy. XXXIII, no. 2660a	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 64219	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 2 = CPL, no. 256 = DICKEY/FERRI, ZPE 175 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 466–471	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64220	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 3 = P. Sorb. I, no. 8	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64235	DICKEY, The Classical Quarterly 71(1), 369–372 = P. Vars., no. 6	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–284 CE	150–250 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (PSEUDO-PHILOXENUS, glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64254	CLA 10, no. 1520	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	literary? (uncertain)	
TM 64278	CEL I, no. 1 = C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 16 = CPL, no. 279 = P. Bon., no. 5	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Africa	192–395 CE	275–325 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (letter pattern)	Greek (translation)
TM 64321	CPL, nos. 48, 56–57 = P. Ryl. III, no. 472	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (Christian theological text)	
TM 64407	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 10	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64454	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 13 = CPL, no. 278 = DICKEY, The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana, no. 4.3 = P. Lond. II, no. 418	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64486	P. Ant. III, no. 155	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64528	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 4 = KRAMER, 'Lateinisch-griechisches Glossar', Tyche 5 = P. Marganne, no. 11	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64531	CPL, no. 92 = P. Oxy. XVII, no. 2089	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 64537	CLA 8, no. 1039	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64538	BKT X, no. 30 = CASCIONE, JJP 38 = CLA 8, no. 1040	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	parchment	partial	literary (ULPIANUS, *De Officio Proconsulis?*); legal	
TM 64566	PSI XIII, no. 1348	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	500–641 CE	500–550 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64576	CPL, no. 62 = MIGLIONICO, ZPE 213	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise)	Greek (other text)
TM 64583	CPL, no. 91 = P. Ryl. III, no. 476	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (list of imperial constitutions); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64590	CPL, no. 90 = P. Amh. II, no. 28	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64594	P. Oxy. LII, no. 3660 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 462–463	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	
TM 64602	ChLA 4, no. 259 = CPL, no. 58 = C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 1	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	284–500 CE	350–449 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (writing manual); paraliterary (alphabet)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 64604	CPL, no. 47 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 501–505 = P. Oxy. VI, no. 871	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–284 CE	150–284 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64630	ChLA 43, no. 1256 = P. Rain. Unterricht, no. 181 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 227–230	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise)	
TM 64631	ChLA 44, no. 1311 = CLA 10, no. 1527	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64632	CLA 10, no. 1530	Fayum	Fayum	Africa	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64633	CLA 10, no. 1532	Fayum?	Fayum?	uncertain (imported?)	284–500 CE	350–449 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 64695	THÜNGEN, JJP 47	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	395–641 CE	457–529 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus* IV, 30.4–7; legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64707	CPL, no. 233 = PSI XIII, no. 1346	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	500–641 CE	537–600 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Novellae*, 62); legal	
TM 64745	CPL, no. 95 = P. Ryl. III, no. 475	4. UE	4. UE	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64748	FRESSURA, in CAPASSO et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXIX = P. Ryl. III, no. 480	4. UE	Luxor	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* XXVIII, 8); legal	
TM 64749	CPL, nos. 97 = P. Ryl. III, no. 481	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64769	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 8 = DICKEY, ZPE 180 = P. Prag. II, no. 118	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Colloquium Harleianum*)	Greek (translation)
TM 64815	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64817	CLA 10, no. 1523	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64818	CLA 10, no. 1524	Fayum?	Fayum?	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64819	CLA 10, no. 1526	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64820	MITTHOF, in RUPPRECHT (ed.), Symposion 2003: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, 416–417	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–641 CE	438–529 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (*Codex Theodosianus* – excerpts); legal	
TM 64821	CLA 10, no. 1531	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64822	CLA 10, no. 1534	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 64837	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 15 = CPL, no. 281 = DICKEY, ZPE 193	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–641 CE	450–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (*colloquium*)	Greek (translation); Coptic (translation)
TM 64838	CLA 8, no. 1041	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 64840	SCHÖNBAUER, Aegyptus 13	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–641 CE	475–529 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64857	SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 231–237 = PSI XIII, no. 1309 verso	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	395–500 CE	450–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (FAUSTINUS, *De Trinitate Sive de Fide Contra Arianos*; *Biblia Sacra*, *Testamentum Vetus*, *Psalmi*, 52)	Greek (other text)
TM 64881	CPL, no. 98 = P. Oxy. XV, no. 1813	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–529 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (*Codex Theodosianus* VIII, 8.9–14); legal	
TM 64894	CPL, no. 244 = P. Amh. II, no. 27	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 64897	AMELOTTI/MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi, no. 4 = P. Ant. III, no. 152	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	529–550 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64903	P. Bodl. I, no. 2 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 163–183	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	parchment	partial	paraliterary (glossary; uncertain)	
TM 64909	SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 184–226	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–395 CE	250–350 CE	parchment	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 64952	CLA 10, no. 1536	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–641 CE	450–550 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text; translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 64953	FRESSURA, ZPE 197 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 11	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	500–641 CE	500–550 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* II, 130–160)	Greek (translation)
TM 64985	CLA 8, no. 1034	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 64986	CLA 8, no. 1035	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 65031	AMELOTTI/MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi = CPL, no. 99 = PSI XIII, no. 1347	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	529–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus* VII, 16.41–42, 17.1); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 65038	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 4 = CPL, no. 280	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 65039	CPL, no. 83	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 65083	AMELOTTI/MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi, no. 1 = CPL, no. 101 = P. Oxy. XV, no. 1814	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	500–641 CE	529–600 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus* – index); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 65085	P. Ant. III, no. 153	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Berytus? (Beirut)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 65155	CPL, no. 245 = GIRARD, Textes de droit romain, no. 27	Fayum?	Fayum?	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	
TM 65157	CLA 10, no. 1535	Fayum?	Fayum?	Constantinopolis?	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 65244	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 14 = CPL, no. 277 = KRAMER, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, no. 11	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	550–650 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 65469	P. Rain. Unterricht, no. 183 verso	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	500–641 CE	601–800 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (alphabet; school exercise)	Arabic (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 65514	BRASHEAR, in: BAGNALL et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XV = C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 1 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 464–466	20. UE	Bousiris (Abusir el-Meleq)	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE–	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (other text)
TM 66270	CLA 2, no. 14	Western Desert	Wadi el-Natrun	Italia	500–641 CE	550–600 CE	parchment	partial	subliterary (*Explanationes in Donatum* I)	
TM 66271	CLA 2, no. 167 = CRINITI, in HAASE (ed.), ANRW II/34/1, XXIII, P	Western Desert	Wadi el-Natrun	Italia	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (GRANIUS LICINIANUS, *Annales* XXVI, XXVIII, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVI)	
TM 66430	C. Gloss. Biling. I, no. 11	Fayum	Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat)	Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 66432	BGU II, no. 611 = ChLA 10, no. 418 recto = CPL, no. 236 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II, no. 370	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	42–96 CE	papyrus	damaged	literary (CLAUDIUS IMPERATOR, sermo in senatu habita); legal	
TM 67356	CPL, no. 82	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 67628	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 9 = DICKEY, The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana 2, no. 4.2	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*colloquium*)	Greek (translation)
TM 67809	CLA 11, no. 1648	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 67867	FUNARI (ed.), Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini. B.2. Adespota, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 67912	CPL, no. 228 = IOVINE, ZPE 216 = P. Mic. VII, no. 459	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	traces	paraliterary (school exercise)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 67946	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 3 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 288–369	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	192–395 CE	192–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 67947	C. Gloss. Biling. II, no. 6	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	192–395 CE	192–395 CE	parchment	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 68675	CLARYSSE/ROCHETTE, AfP 51(1) = SB XXX, no. 17327	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–450 CE	papyrus	complete	paraliterary (alphabet)	Greek (translation)
TM 68710	ChLA 12, no. 544	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary? (uncertain); legal?	
TM 69745	AE 1927, no. 175 = BGU VII, no. 1690 = CPL, no. 160 = FIRA III, no. 5	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	131 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (translation)
TM 69746	AE 1927, no. 176 = BGU VII, no. 1691 = CPL, no. 150	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	109 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 69747	AE 1927, no. 177 = BGU VII, no. 1692 = CPL, no. 152 = FIRA III, no. 3	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	144 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 69748	AE 1927, no. 178 = BGU VII, no. 1693 = CPL, no. 154	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	145 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 69749	AE 1927, no. 179 = BGU VII, no. 1694 = CPL, no. 157	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	163 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 69750	AE 1927, no. 180 = BGU VII, no. 1695 = CPL, no. 223	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	157 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 69751	BGU VII, no. 1696 = CPL, no. 224	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 69865	CEL I, no. 158 = GILLIAM, BASP 13, no. 13	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	134–192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (official)	
TM 69866	CEL I, no. 159 = GILLIAM, BASP 13, no. 14	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	134–192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69867, I	ChLA 1, no. 7 = CPL, no. 106, I = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 68	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis?	30 BCE – 96 CE	81 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69867, II	ChLA 1, no. 7 = CPL, no. 106, II = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 10	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis?	30 BCE – 96 CE	87 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 69867, III	ChLA 1, no. 7 = CPL, no. 106, III = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 37	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis?	30 BCE – 96 CE	90 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69867, IV	ChLA 1, no. 7 = CPL, no. 106, IV = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 58	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis?	30 BCE – 96 CE	–90 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69867, V	ChLA 1, no. 7 = CPL, no. 106, V = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 9	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis?	30 BCE – 96 CE	–90–96 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 69868	ChLA 1, no. 9 recto = CPL, no. 107 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 69	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	83–84 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69871	CEL I, no. 157 = ChLA 1, no. 12 = CPL, no. 192	Egypt	Egypt	Pulvini	96–192 CE	167 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative? (receipt?); letter (private)	
TM 69872	CEL I, no. 156 = ChLA 3, no. 204 = CPL, no. 191 = FIRA III, no. 154	Egypt	Egypt	Pulvini	96–192 CE	167 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt)	
TM 69873	ChLA 3, no. 205 = CPL, no. 142 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 86	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	293 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt)	
TM 69874	ChLA 3, no. 212	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69875	ChLA 3, no. 219 = CPL, no. 112 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 63	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	105 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69876	ChLA 4, no. 230 recto = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 132	Fayum	Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh)	Fayum	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (accounts?)	
TM 69877	ChLA 42, no. 31	Fayum	Soknopaiou Nesos? (Dimeh)	Fayum	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69878	ChLA 4, no. 258	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69879	ChLA 4, no. 264 = Salati, Aegyptus 97	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	105–125 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69880	CEL I, no. 169 = ChLA 4, no. 267 = CPl, no. 249 = P. Oxy. I, no. 32	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 69881	ChLA 4, no. 268	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	180–192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (senatorial minutes)	
TM 69882	ChLA 4, no. 270 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 67	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	225–275 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69883	ChLA 4, no. 271 = CPL, no. 321	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	1–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts?)	
TM 69884	ChLA 4, no. 272 recto = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 129	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69885	ChLA 4, no. 273 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 130	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (accounts?)	
TM 69886	ChLA 5, no. 276 = CPL, no. 146 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 30 = P. Mich. VII, no. 454	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69887	ChLA 5, no. 277 = CPL, nos. 190, 219 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 77 = P. Mich. VII, nos. 435, 440	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt)	
TM 69888	ChLA 5, no. 281 recto = CPL, nos. 143 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 20 = P. Mich. III, nos. 164	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	243 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69889	ChLA 5, no. 282	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–395 CE	275–350 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 69890	Bernini, ZPE 206 = ChLA 5, no. 284 = CPL, no. 194 = P. Mich. VII, no. 445	Egypt	Egypt	Hierosolyma (Al-Quds/Jerusalem)	96–192 CE	141 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal/administrative (receipt/contract)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69891	ChLA 5, no. 285	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	357 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 69892	ChLA 5, no. 287	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	legal? (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 69893	ChLA 5, no. 292	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	352–354 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 69894	ChLA 5, no. 293 = CPL, no. Annexe 20 = P. Mich. VII, no. 463	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list?)	Greek (other text)
TM 69895	ChLA 5, no. 294 = CPL, no. 128 = P. Mich. iII, no. 161	Egypt	Egypt	Caesarea? (Cherchell)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (contract)	
TM 69896	CEL I, no. 170 = ChLA 5, no. 296 = CPL, no. 81 = P. Mich. VII, no. 458	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 69897	CEL I, nos. 143, 148 = ChLA 5, no. 299 = RODGERS, ZPE 5	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	112 CE (?)	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 69898	CEL I, no. 136 = ChLA 5, no. 300 = P. Mich. XXI, no. 843	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (uncertain)	
TM 69899	ChLA 5, no. 301 = CPL, no. 222 = P. Mich. VII, no. 439	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	147 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 69900	CEL I, no. 164 = ChLA 5, no. 302 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 69901	CEL I, no. 154 = ChLA 5, no. 303 = CPL, no. 188 = P. Mich. VII, no. 438	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	140 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract); letter (private)	Greek (translation)
TM 69902	ChLA 5, no. 305 = P. Tebt. II, no. 433 recto	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69903	ChLA 5, no. 306 = COLELLA, Analecta Papyrologica 33 = CPL, no. 166 = P. Tebt. II, no. 687	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 69904	CEL, I, no. 238 = ChLA 5, no. 307 = CPL, no. 273 = P. Tebt. II, no. 688	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	letter (private?)	
TM 69905	ChLA 5, no. 308 = CPL, no. 311 = P. Oxy. IV, no. 737	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	31–8 BCE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69906	ChLA 9, no. 396	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69907	ChLA 4, no. 397 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 75	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	139 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 69908	CEL I, no. 224 = ChLA 9, no. 398	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	317–324 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 69909	ChLA 9, no. 399 = Parássoglou, CdÉ 48(96), 318–320	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	91 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (other text)
TM 69910	ChLA 9, no. 403 recto = CPL, no. 138 = Fink, Roman military Records, no. 21	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	242 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 69911	CEL I, no. 174 = ChLA 10, no. 408 = CPL, no. 258	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private?)	
TM 69912	ChLA 10, no. 409	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69913	BGU II, no. 696 = ChLA 10, no. 411 = CPL, no. 118 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 64	Fayum	Fayum	Contra Apollonopolis	96–192 CE	156 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69914	ChLA 10, no. 412 = Colella, JJP 51 = CPL, no. 220	Fayum	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	96–192 CE	131 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (other text)
TM 69915	ChLA 10, no. 413	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–192 CE	165 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (receipt?)	Greek (other text)
TM 69916	BGU II, no. 610 = CPL, no. 115	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	140 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 69917	BGU II, no. 628 recto = ChLA 10, no. 415 = CPL, no. 237 = Mitteis/Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II, no. 371	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (constitution)	
TM 69918	BGU II, 628 verso = ChLA 10, no. 416 = CPL, no. 103 = Mitteis/Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Papyruskunde I, no. 462, col. 2									
TM 69919	CEL I, no. 85 = ChLA 10, no. 417 = CPL, no. 238 = HAENSCH, AfP 66(1)	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	83–84; 107–108 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (constitution); letter (official)	
TM 69921	CEL I, no. 171 = ChLA 10, no. 419	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	178–180 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution)	
TM 69922	CEL I, no. 168 = ChLA 10, no. 420	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	–171 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private?)	
TM 69923	BGU VII, no. 1689 = ChLA 10, no. 423	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–192 CE	122 CE–	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 69924	CEL I, no. 83 = ChLA 10, no. 424 = CPL, no. 257	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–92 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 69925	ChLA 10, no. 425 recto	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 69926	ChLA 10, no. 427	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 69927	CEL I, no. 3 = ChLA 10, no. 428 = CPL, no. 246 = SCHUBART, Berliner Museen 49	20. UE	Bousiris (Abusir el-Meleq)	Egypt	116 BCE – 96 CE	50–1 BCE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 69928	ChLA 10, no. 429	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69929	ChLA 10, no. 430	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69930	CEL I, no. 82 = ChLA 10, no. 431	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–125 CE–	papyrus	partial	letter (private?)	
TM 69931	CEL III, no. Incerta 3 = ChLA 10, no. 432	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 69932	CEL III, no. Incerta 2 = ChLA 10, no. 433	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	25–75 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69933	ChLA 10, no. 435	Fayum	Philadelphia? (Kom Darb Gerza)	Philadelphia? (Kom Darb Gerza)	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69934	ChLA 10, no. 436 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	Greek (other text)
TM 69935	ChLA 10, no. 437 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69936	ChLA 10, no. 438	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (list)	
TM 69937	ChLA 10, no. 439	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69938	ChLA 10, no. 440	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69939	ChLA 10, no. 441 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69940	ChLA 10, no. 442 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (military logbook?)	
TM 69941	ChLA 10, no. 443 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69942	ChLA 10, no. 444	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69943	CEL I, no. 211 = ChLA 10, no. 445 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	225–275 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list); letter (official)	
TM 69944	ChLA 10, no. 446 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69945	ChLA 10, no. 447	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69946	CEL I, no. 220 = ChLA 10, no. 448	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 69947	ChLA 10, no. 449	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	98 CE–	papyrus	traces	letter? (uncertain)	
TM 69948	ChLA 10, no. 450	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	98 CE–	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69949	ChLA 10, no. 451 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69950	BERNINI, Tyche 35, 10–12 = CEL I, no. 176 = ChLA 10, no. 452	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 69951	ChLA 10, no. 453	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69952	ChLA 10, no. 454 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69953	ChLA 10, no. 455	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	letter? (uncertain)	
TM 69954	ChLA 10, no. 457 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69955	ChLA 10, no. 458 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	207 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69956	ChLA 10, no. 459	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 69957	ChLA 10, no. 460	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	letter (private?)	
TM 69958	ChLA 10, no. 461	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (calendar)	
TM 69959	CEL I, no. 218 = ChLA 10, no. 462	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 69960	ChLA 10, no. 456 recto, 11, no. 468 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	95 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69961	BGU XIX, no. 2760 = ChLA 11, no. 469	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	350–395 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (petition); letter (official)	
TM 69962	ChLA 11, no. 470	Egypt	Egypt	UE	284–395 CE	380 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 69963	ChLA 11, no. 471	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna? (El-Ashmunein)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 69964	ChLA 11, no. 472	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	284–395 CE	347 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 69965	ChLA 11, no. 473	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative? (accounts)	
TM 69966	ChLA 11, no. 474 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 69967	ChLA 11, no. 475	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	paraliterary? (school exercise)	
TM 69968	ChLA 11, no. 476	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (private?)	
TM 69969	CEL I, no. 217 = ChLA 11, no. 477	Fayum	Fayum	Cappadocia?	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official?)	
TM 69970	ChLA 11, no. 478 recto	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (private?)	
TM 69971	ChLA 11, no. 479	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69972	ChLA 11, no. 480	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	letter? (private?)	
TM 69973	ChLA 11, no. 481 recto	1. UE	Elephantine	Elephantine	192–284 CE	250–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69974	ChLA 11, no. 482	1. UE	Elephantine	Elephantine	192–284 CE	250–284 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (list)	
TM 69975	CEL I, no. 209 = ChLA 11, no. 483 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (official?)	
TM 69976	ChLA 11, no. 484	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 69977	CEL I, no. 212 = ChLA 11, no. 487 recto	Fayum	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	192–284 CE	225–275 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (uncertain)	
TM 69978	ChLA 11, no. 491	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69979	ChLA 11, no. 492 =P. Iand. V, 90 verso	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	
TM 69980	CEL I, no. 2 = ChLA 11, no. 493 = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 3	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	75–96 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official); literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 1, II, 1)	
TM 69981	ChLA 11, no. 494	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 69982	ChLA 11, no. 495	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	193–211 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69983	ChLA 11, no. 497	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	217 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69984	ChLA 11, no. 498	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–150 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt)	Greek (translation?)
TM 69985	ChLA 11, no. 499	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69986	ChLA 11, no. 500	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative? (uncertain)	
TM 69987	ChLA 11, no. 501	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	48 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69988	ChLA 11, no. 5002	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 69989	ChLA 11, no. 503	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	219 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 69990	ChLA 11, no. 504	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–395 CE	283 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 69991	ChLA 11, no. 505	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	138 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 69992	ChLA 11, no. 506	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 69993	ChLA 12, no. 521 = COLELLA, CdÉ 96(191) = CPL, no. 206 = FIRA III, no. 14	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	212–275 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*emancipatio*)	
TM 69994	BERNINI, ZPE 218, 266–270 = CEL I, no. 230 = ChLA 12, no. 523 recto	15. UE	15. UE	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	368–375 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 69995	CEL I, no. 206 = ChLA 12, no. 527 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	232–237 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 69996	CEL I, no. 229 = ChLA 12, no. 528 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	traces	letter? (uncertain)	
TM 69997	ChLA 12, no. 546	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (uncertain)	
TM 69999	ChLA 17, no. 657 = CPL, 136	1. UE	1. UE	1. UE	395–500 CE	436–450 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution); letter? (official?)	
TM 70000	ChLA 18, no. 660	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	326–329 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 70001	CEL 1, no. 222 = ChLA 19, no. 687 = CPL, no. 262	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Egypt	284–395 CE	322–323 CE	papyrus	complete	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 70002	ChLA 19, no. 688	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	papyrus	partial	legal? (uncertain)	
TM 70003	ChLA 19, no. 689	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	169 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70004	ChLA 25, no. 781 = CPL, no. 242 = PSI I, no. 112	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	316 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (constitution)	
TM 70005	ChLA, 25, no. 782 = CPL, no. 186 = FIRA III, no. 136 = PSI VI, no. 729	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	77 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70006	ChLA, 25, no. 783 = CPL, no. 207 = PSI VI, no. 730	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (marrige contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 70007	ChLA 25, no. 790	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 25 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 70008	ChLA 28, no. 839 = Fontanella, ZPE 210	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (uncertain)	
TM 70009	CEL I, no. 84 = ChLA 28, no. 841	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 70010	ChLA 28, no. 864 = Daris, BASP 10	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70012	AE 1934, no. 6 = CPL, no. 169 = ChLA 41, no. 1191 = Guéraud, ASAE 33, 62–64	3. UE	Latopolis (Esna)	1. LE	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	parchment	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 70013	CEL I, no. 149 = ChLA 42, no. 1212 = Speidel/Seider, JEA 74	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	96–192 CE	113–117 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (petition); letter (official)	
TM 70014	ChLA 42, no. 1214	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative? (accounts?)	
TM 70015	CEL I, no. 225 = ChLA 42, no. 1223 = CPL, no. 182 = P. Mich. VII, no. 460	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	300–325 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 70016	ChLA 42, no. 1224 = CPL, no. 229 = P. Mich. VII, no. 461	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 70017	ChLA 42, no. 1225 = CPL, no. 121 = P. Mich. VII, no. 447	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	162–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70018	CEL I, no. 4 = ChLA 42, 1227 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 30	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 70019	CEL I, no. 5 = ChLA 42, 1228 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 31	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70020	ChLA 42, 1229 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 32	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70021	CEL I, no. 12 = ChLA 42, 1230 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 33	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70022	ChLA 42, 1231 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 34	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70023	ChLA 42, 1232 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 35	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70024	ChLA 42, 1233 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 36	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70025	ChLA 42, 1234 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 37	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70026	ChLA 42, 1235 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 38	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70027	ChLA 42, 1236 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 39	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70028	ChLA 42, 1237 = Weinstein/Turner, JEA 62, no. 40	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70029	ChLA 42, no. 1239	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	8 BCE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70030	CEL I, no. 6 = ChLA, 43, no. 1241L1a = CPL, no. 247a	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30–1 BCE	papyrus	traces	letter (private?)	Greek (other text)
TM 70031	CEL I, no. 7 = ChLA, 43, no. 1241L1b = CPL, no. 247b	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30–1 BCE	papyrus	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 70033	Bernini, Tyche 35, 5–9 = ChLA 43, no. 1241L1e	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	25 BCE – 25 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 70034	ChLA 43, no. 1242 = CPL, no. 110 = Fink, Roman Military Records, no. 34 = Kramer, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–125 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70035	ChLA 43, no. 1243 = CPL, no. 147	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	561 CE	papyrus	traces	legal/administrative (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70036	ChLA 43, no. 1244 recto = CPL, no. 322 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 11bis	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–300 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 70037	ChLA 43, no. 1245	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	375–395 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70038	ChLA 43, no. 1247	Egypt	Egypt	Arcadia	395–500 CE	402–450 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70039	ChLA 43, no. 1249 = CPL, no. 230 = P. Sijp., no. 23	Egypt	Egypt	Heracleopolis Magna? (Ihnasya el-Medina)	395–500 CE	396 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (constitution); letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 70040	ChLA 43, no. 1250	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	–386–422 CE–	papyrus	traces	legal? (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 70041	ChLA 43, no. 1251	Egypt	Egypt	Arcadia	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70042	ChLA 43, no. 1252 = IOVINE, Scripta 13, no. 1	Egypt	Egypt	Constantinopolis?	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70043	ChLA 43, no. 1253	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70044	ChLA 43, no. 1247	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70045	ChLA 43, no. 1255	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 70046	ChLA 43, no. 1257	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	legal? (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 70047	ChLA 43, no. 1259	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 70048	ChLA 43, no. 1260	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	legal? (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 70053	ChLA 44, no. 1266 = IOVINE, Scripta 13, no. 2	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	papyrus	traces	literary? (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 70054	ChLA 44, no. 1267 = IOVINE, Scripta 13, no. 3	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70063	ChLA 44, no. 1276 = IOVINE, Scripta 13, no. 4	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70080	ChLA 44, no. 1293	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–641 CE	395–600 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	

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		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70083	IOVINE, 'Three Latin Business Documents from the Papyrus¬sammlung of the Austrian National Library at Vienna (ChLA XLIV 1296; 1310; 1303 + XLV 1348)', Tyche 32, no. 1	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	192–284 CE	192–225 CE	papyrus	partial	legal/administrative (receipt/contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 70085	ChLA 44, no. 1298 verso = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 71 verso	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 70087	IOVINE, 'A Latin Private Document on Papyrus (ChLA XLIV 1300 recto)', Tyche 32	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (marrige contract?)	
TM 70088	ChLA 44, no. 1301 = MITTHOF, in HAMETER/BEUTLER, Festschrift Ekkehard Weber	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	465–467 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution); letter (official)	
TM 70090	IOVINE, 'Three Latin Business Documents from the Papyrus¬sammlung of the Austrian National Library at Vienna (ChLA XLIV 1296; 1310; 1303 + XLV 1348) ', Tyche 32, no. 3	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	192–284 CE	266 CE	papyrus	partial	legal/administrative (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 70097	IOVINE, 'Three Latin Business Documents from the Papyrus¬sammlung of the Austrian National Library at Vienna (ChLA XLIV 1296; 1310; 1303 + XLV 1348) ', Tyche 32, no. 2	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	192–284 CE	206 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (contract); letter (private)	Greek (translation)
TM 70101	ChLA 44, no. 1314 = IOVINE, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, no. 2	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	152 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts?)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70102	ChLA 44, no. 1315 verso = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 38	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70103	ChLA 44, no. 1316 verso = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	217 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70105	P. Scholl, no. 2	20. UE	Heracleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)	Heracleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medina)	284–395 CE	394 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70106	CEL I, no. 234 = ChLA, 45, no. 1320a = CPL, no. 267	Egypt	Egypt	UE	395–500 CE	–399 CE–	papyrus	damaged	administrative (certificate); letter (official)	Greek (translation)
TM 70107	ChLA, 45, no. 1321 = CPL, no. Annexe 16	Egypt	Egypt	Arcadia	395–500 CE	–434 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70108	ChLA 45, no. 1322 recto = CPL, no. 313 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 84	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 70109	ChLA 45, no. 1323 recto = CPL, no. 116 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 11	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	129 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 70112	CEL I, no. 207 = ChLA, 45, no. 1333 = SIJPESTEIJN/WORP, ZPE 24	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 70125	ChLA 45, no. 1350	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 70130	ChLA 45, no. 1355 = IOVINE, Scripta 13, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 70134	BARNS, CdÉ 24(48) = ChLA 46, no. 1364 = CPL, no. 102	Fayum	Fayum	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	92 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (declaration)	
TM 70137	ChLA 47, no. 1434 = COLES, in BAGNALL et al. (eds.), Pap. Congr. XVI = SB XXIV, no. 16132	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	13 BCE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	Greek (other text); Demotic (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70139	P. Bagnall, no. 3	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	239 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related; petition); letter (official)	
TM 70140	ChLA 47, no. 1443 = Iovine, Papyrologica Lupiensia 29, 59–65	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	149 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (contract)	
TM 70141	CEL III, no. Incerta 1	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	283–284 CE	papyrus	partial	letter? (official?)	
TM 70142	ChLA 45, no. 1445 = Salati, BASP 58	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (uncertain)	
TM 70144	ChLA 47, no. 1453 = Iovine, Papyrologica Lupiensia 29, 51–59	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–225 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts; list)	
TM 70148	Radiciotti, Analecta Papyrologica 18–20, 113–116 = SB XXX, no. 17317	Fayum	Theadelphia (Batn el-Harit)	Fayum	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (accounts?)	
TM 70156	AE 1904, no. 218 = CPL, no. 155	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	96–192 CE	147 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 70157	AE 1948, no. 122= CPL, no. 173	1. LE	Cairo	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	241 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (*emancipatio*)	Greek (other text)
TM 70158	AE 1947, no. 12 = CPL, no. 200	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria?	96–192 CE	126–133 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*)	
TM 70159	CPL, no. 201	Fayum	Fayum	Alexandria	96–192 CE	–150 CE–	wooden tablet	traces	legal (*datio tutoris muliebris*)	
TM 70160	AE 1948, no. 168 = CPL, no. 221 = FIRA III, no. 47	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	142 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	Greek (other text)
TM 70161	CEL I, no. 11 = CPL, no. 282	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	18 BCE	pottery ostracon	uncertain	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 70162	CEL I, no. 73 = CPL, no. 303 = Guéraud, BIFAO 41, no. 1	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 70163	CEL I, no. 74 = CPL, no. 304 = Guéraud, BIFAO 41, no. 2	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 70164	CEL I, no. 75 = CPL, no. 305 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, no. 3	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 70165	CEL I, no. 76 = CPL, no. 306 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, no. 4	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 70166	CEL I, nos. 77–78 = CPL, no. 307 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, no. 5	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 70167	CEL I, nos. 79 = CPL, no. 308 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, no. 6	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 70168	CEL I, nos. 80 = CPL, no. 309 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 41, no. 7	Eastern Desert	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	Persou (Bir Umm Fawakhir)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 70169	CPL, no. 310 = SCHWARTZ, CdÉ 31(61), 118–119	Eastern Desert	Qusur el-Banat	Qusur el-Banat	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	
TM 70183	CPR XIX, no. 4	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	416 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 70316	CPR XXIV, no. 3	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	284–500 CE	375–425 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 73465	GALLAZZI et al., O. Cair., no. 117	4. UE	4. UE	4. UE	30 BCE – 96 CE	77 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt); letter (official)	Greek (translation)
TM 74234	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 196 = CPL, no. 283	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74235	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 197 = CPL, no. 284	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74236	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 198 = CPL, no. 285	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74237	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 199 = CPL, no. 286	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74238	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 200 = CPL, no. 287	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74239	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 201 = CPL, no. 288	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74240	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 202 = CPL, no. 289	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 74241	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 203 = CPL, no. 290	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 74242	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 204 = CPL, no. 291	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt)	
TM 74247	BRUYÈRE et al., Tell Edfou I, no. 209 = CPL, no. 292	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt?)	
TM 74333	CPL, no. 293 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou II, no. 324	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	Greek? (other text?)
TM 74334	CPL, no. 294 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou II, no. 325	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 74445	CPL, no. 295 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou III, no. 472	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 74446	CPL, no. 298 = MICHALOWSKI et al., Tell Edfou III, no. 475	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	uncertain	
TM 74522	BAGNALL, O. Florida, no. 29 = CEL I, no. 160	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	134–192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 74523	BAGNALL, O. Florida, no. 30 = CEL I, no. 161	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	134–192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 74524	BAGNALL, O. Florida, no. 31 = CEL I, no. 162	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	96–192 CE	134–192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 77650	CPL, no. 299	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (notice)	
TM 78302	ChLA 45, no. 1325 = CPL, no. 232 = P. Herrauer, no. 46 = SB XXVIII, no. 17038	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	332 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 78415	CEL I, no. 167 = ChLA, 11, no. 488 = CPL, no. 239 = P. Iand. IV, no. 68	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	138–175 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (constitution)	
TM 78416	ChLA, 11, no. 489 = CPL, no. 320 = P. Iand. IV, no. 68a	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 78417	CEL I, no. 241 = ChLA, 11, no. 490 = CPL, no. 267 = P. Iand. IV, no. 68b	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–641 CE	–500 CE–	papyrus	partial	letter (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 78511	AE, 1939, nos. 304, 311 = CPL, 156 = GUÉRAUD, BIFAO 27, 117–119	Fayum	Fayum	Alexandria	96–192 CE	148 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 78512	AE 1939, no. 305 = CPL, no. 148 = FIRA III, no. 2 = P. Mich. III, 154–155	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	62 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 78513	ChLA 5, no. 280, CPL, no. 212 = FIRA III, no. 64 = P. Mich, III, no. 159	Fayum	Fayum	Babylon (Fustat)?	30 BCE – 96 CE	37–43 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (judicial proceedings)	
TM 78514	ChLA 5, no. 279 = CPL, no. 130 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 40 = P. Mich. III, no. 163	Fayum	Tebtynis? (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis? (Umm el-Baragat)	192–284 CE	222–239 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 78515	AE 1939, no. 309 = CPL, no. 151 = P. Mich III, no. 166	Fayum	Fayum	Alexandria	96–192 CE	128 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (birth certificate)	Greek (other text)
TM 78516	AE 1952, no. 233 = CPL, no. 149 = P. Mich. VII, no. 167	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	103 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 78519	CPL, no. 105 = P. Mich. VII, no. 432	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	82/95 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (*honesta missio*)	
TM 78520	ChLA 5, no. 278 = CPL, no. 165 = P. Mich, VII, no. 433	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	110 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (certificate)	
TM 78521	AE 1948, no. 161= CPL, no. 235 = P. Mich. VII, no. 436	1. LE	Cairo	Pselchis (Dakka)	96–192 CE	138 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 78522	CPL, no. 225 = P. Mich. VII, no. 437	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	wooden tablet	traces	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 78523	AE 1952, no. 236 = CIL XVI, no. 184 = CPL, no. 119 = P. Mich. VII, no. 441	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Roma	96–192 CE	157 CE	bronze tablet	partial	legal (military diploma)	
TM 78524	ChLA 5, no. 295 = CPL, no. 210 = FIRA III, no. 20 = P. Mich. VII, no. 442	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Caesarea (Cherchell)	96–192 CE	150–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (marrige contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 78525	ChLA 5, no. 286 = CPL, no. 177 = P. Mich, VII, no. 443	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	114 CE–	papyrus	partial	legal? (uncertain)	
TM 78526	CPL, no. 211 = P. Mich. VII, no. 444	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	wooden tablet	traces	legal (marrige contract)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 78527	AE 1952, no. 237 = CPL, no. 226 = P. Mich. VII, no. 446	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 78528	ChLA 42, no. 1215 = CPL, no. 317 = P. Mich. VII, no. 449	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list?)	
TM 78529	AE 1952, no. 238 = CPL, no. 197 = P. Mich. VII, no. 451	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	206 CE	wooden tablet	partial	legal/administrative (receipt/contract)	
TM 78531	CPL, no. 171 = P. Mich. VII, no. 462 = VAN MINNEN/WORP, BASP 46	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	administrative (receipt)	
TM 78569	CEL I, no. 140 = ChLA 3, no. 215 = CPL, no. 111 = P. Oxy. VII, no. 1022	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	103 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	
TM 78573	CEL I, no. 10 = ChLA 47, no. 1420 = P. Oxy. XLIV, no. 3208	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 25 CE	papyrus	complete	letter (private)	
TM 78737	CEL I, no. 4 = ChLA 42, 1227 = P. Rain. Cent., no. 164	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
TM 78797	P. Thomas, no. 20	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	270 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related; petition); letter (official)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 78801	P. Thomas, no. 24	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	375–500 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 78802	ChLA 3, no. 217 = P. Thomas, no. 25	Egypt	Egypt	Arcadia	395–500 CE	401–437 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 78865	CEL I, no. 150 = ChLA 3, no. 203 recto = CPL, no. 114 = FINK, Roman Military Records, no. 80	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	130 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (receipt)	
TM 78966	BAGNALL /SHERIDAN, BASP 31, no. 6 = CEL III, no. 150ter = SB XXII, no. 15377	Eastern Desert	Abu Sha'ar el-Qibli	Abu Sha'ar el-Qibli	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 79037	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., BIFAO 94, no. 4 = CEL III,	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	no. 150quater = SB XXII, no. 15455									
TM 79054	BAGNALL /SHERIDAN, JARCE 31, 159–162	Eastern Desert	Abu Sha'ar	Abu Sha'ar	284–395 CE	309–310 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 79055	BAGNALL /SHERIDAN, JARCE 31, 162–163	Eastern Desert	Abu Sha'ar	Abu Sha'ar	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	stone slab	traces	building inscription?	
TM 79160	AE 1993, no. 1683 = CEL III no. 80septies = KAYSER, ZPE 98, no. 34 = SB XXII, no. 15674	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (uncertain)	
TM 79269	POETHKE, AfP 44 = SB XXIV, no. 15976	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (list)	
TM 79287	FOURNET/GASCOU, BIFAO 98, no. 4 = SB XXIV, no. 16042	2. UE	Edfu	Edfu	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official?)	
TM 80129	AE 1906, no. 22 = CPL, no. 113 = ILS 3.2, no. 9060 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I, no. 457	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–192 CE	122 CE	wooden tablet	complete	legal (*honesta missio*)	
TM 80130	AE 1950, no. 240 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, 61a = CPL, no. 104 = ILS 3.2, no. 9059	Fayum	Philadelphia (Kom Darb Gerza)	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	94 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (birth certificate; *honesta missio*)	
TM 80859	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. Philae II, no. 128 = CIL III, no. 14147[5] = HOFFMANN et al., Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus = PFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 44	1. UE	Island of Philae	Island of Philae	30 BCE – 96 CE	29 BCE	stone slab	damaged	dedication (divine)	Greek (translation); hieroglyphic Egyptian (other text)
TM 80879	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. Philae II, no. 147 = CIL III, no. 74	1. UE	Island of Philae	Island of Philae	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	
TM 80903	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. Philae II, no. 163	1. UE	Island of Philae	Island of Philae	96–192 CE	109–110 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 81074	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 2 = CIL III, no. 6628	Eastern Desert	Phoinikon (El-Laqita)	Phoinikon (El-Laqita)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–72 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g.? (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 81091	AE 1996, no. 1647 = BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 19 = BÜLOW-JACOBSEN et al., BIFAO 95, no. 1 = ILS 3.2, no. 9142	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	106–183 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 81250	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 51, 1 = SB V, no. 8586, 4	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 96 CE	79 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 81268	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 67 = CIL III no. 27	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 81284	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 83	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 81287	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 86 = CIL III no. 28	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 81333	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 150 = CIL III no. 29	Eastern Desert	Wadi Hammamat	Wadi Hammamat	30 BCE – 96 CE	0–50 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 81408	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 163, 1 = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 100, no. 245–246 = SB XXVI, no. 16594(2)	Eastern Desert	El-Buwayb	El-Buwayb	30 BCE – 96 CE	16 BCE – 28 CE	stone rock	partial	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 81429	BERNAND, De Koptos à Kosseir, no. 161 = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 100, no. 249 = SB XXVI, no. 16594(7)	Eastern Desert	El-Buwayb	El-Buwayb	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 37 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 81588	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 23 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 31(62), 358–360	Eastern Desert	El-Hayita	El-Hayita	30 BCE – 96 CE	81–96 CE	stone slab	traces	building inscription?	
TM 81605	AE 1987, 987a–d = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 37 = CIL III, no. 24 = ERISTOV et al., BIFAO 121, 235–237	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	108–109 CE	stone altar	complete	building inscription	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 81612	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 39 = CIL III, no. 25 =	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	105–117 CE	stone altar	complete	dedication (divine)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 26									
TM 81626	AE 1956, no. 54 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 47 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 34	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 81629	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 50 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 37	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	
TM 81632	AE 2001, no. 2036 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 53, 1–6 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 81–88	Eastern Desert	Wadi Samna	Wadi Samna	96–192 CE	150–154 CE	stone slab	damaged	building inscription	
TM 81634	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 54	Eastern Desert	Wadi Samna	Wadi Samna	96–192 CE	138–161 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	
TM 81636	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 55	Eastern Desert	Wadi Samna	Wadi Samna	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	traces	dedication (uncertain)	
TM 81638	BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 56	Eastern Desert	Wadi Samna	Wadi Samna	96–192 CE	131–156 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 81651	AE 1999, no. 1722 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 64a = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 4 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 1a	Eastern Desert	Wadi Minayh	Wadi Minayh	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	Greek (other text)
TM 81655	AE 1999, no. 1720 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 65 = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 2 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), 286	Eastern Desert	Wadi Minayh	Wadi Minayh	30 BCE – 96 CE	6 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*venire*)	Greek (translation)
TM 81657	AE 1999, no. 1725 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 67 = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 7 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 2	Eastern Desert	Wadi Minayh	Wadi Minayh	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 50 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 81659	AE 1956, no. 57 = Bagnall et al., JRA 14, 327–328 = Bernand, Pan du désert, no. 68	Eastern Desert	Aphrodites Orous (Minayh el-Hir)	Aphrodites Orous (Minayh el-Hir)	30 BCE – 96 CE	76–77 CE	stone plaque	damaged	building inscription	
TM 81680	AE 2018, no. 1826 = Bernand, Pan du désert, no. 87 = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 66 = Kayser, in Ripart/Lagorgette, Mélanges offerts à Christian Guilleré 2, no. 3	4. UE	Luxor	Coptos (Qift)/ Eastern Desert?	96–192 CE	–122–123 CE–	stone slab	damaged	dedication (imperial; divine)	Greek (translation)
TM 88367	Bernand, Les portes du désert, no. 56 = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 179 = CIL III, no. 6627 = ILS 1, no. 2483	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Coptos (Qift)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25 BCE – 50 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 88374	Bernand, Les portes du désert, no. 66 = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 59 = CIL XVI, no. 29 = ILS 1, no. 1996	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Roma	30 BCE – 96 CE	83 CE	bronze tablet	damaged	legal (military diploma)	
TM 88376	AE 1896, no. 129 = Bernand, Les portes du désert, no. 68 = CIL III, no. 13580	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Coptos (Qift)	30 BCE – 96 CE	90 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	
TM 88424	Bernand, Les portes du désert, no. 93 = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 158 = CIL III, no. 13574	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Coptos (Qift)	96–192 CE	–125–192 CE	stone slab	complete	dedication (divine)	
TM 88426	AE 1911, no. 88 = Bernand, Les portes du désert, no. 95 = Cuvigny (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 334	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Coptos (Qift)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30–50 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 88634	Cuvigny, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 45	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (official; register of letters?)	Greek (other text)
TM 88640	Cuvigny, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 51	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (official; register of letters)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 88702	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 105	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	–98–117 CE–	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 88705	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 108	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	–98–138 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 88707	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 110	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (notice)	
TM 88708	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 111	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (notice)	Greek (other text)
TM 88709	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 112	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (notice)	Greek (other text)
TM 88710	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 113	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (notice)	
TM 88711	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 114	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (notice)	
TM 88712	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 115	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (notice)	
TM 88713	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 116	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	109 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (notice)	
TM 88716	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 119	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	–98–117 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 88854	BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 227 = CIL III, no. 6026	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 88888	BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 259 = JARITZ et al., MDAIK 35, no. G3	1. UE	Elephantine	Elephantine	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE–	stone wall	traces	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 88904	BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 274 = JARITZ et al., MDAIK 35, no. G21	1. UE	Elephantine	Elephantine	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*προσκύνημα*)	Greek (other text)
TM 88950	AE 1977, no. 838 = BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 321 = CIL I, no. 2937a = ROCCATI, in DE BOER/EDRIDGE (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3, no. 5	1. UE	Island of Philae	Island of Philae	116–30 BCE	116 BCE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*venire*)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 88953	AE 1977, no. 839 = BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 323 = CIL I, no. 2937b = ROCCATI, in DE BOER/EDRIDGE (eds.), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren 3, no. 6, 1	1. UE	Island of Philae	Island of Philae	116–30 BCE	–115 BCE– (?)	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*venire*)	
TM 89148	BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 123	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–75 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (uncertain)	
TM 89237	BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 211	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–75 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 89239	BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 213	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–75 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (notice?; receipt?)	
TM 89253	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 478 = BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 227	Eastern Desert	Wadi Abu Qurayya	Wadi Abu Qurayya	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–75 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 91297	HALLA-AHO, ZPE 213, no. 1	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Alexandria	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 92989	AE 1971, no. 481 = BERNAND, I. Akoris, No. 12	15. UE	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	192–284 CE	203–206 CE	stone column	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 92999	AE 1989, no. 758 = BERNAND, I. Akoris, No. 21	15. UE	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	96–192 CE	–96–125 CE–	stone slab	damaged	dedication (divine)	
TM 93156	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 1 = CIL III, no. 64 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 1	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	20 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*; *gratias agere*)	
TM 93157	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 2 = CIL III, no. 30 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 2	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	65 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93158	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 3 = CIL III, no. 31 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 3	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	71–72 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 93159	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 4 = CIL III, no. 32 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 4	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	72 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93161	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 6 = CIL III, no. 33 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 6	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	79 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93162	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 7 = CIL III, no. 34 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 7	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	81 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93163	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 8 = CIL III, no. 35 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 8	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	82 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93164	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 9 = CIL III, no. 50 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 9	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	83 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93165	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 10 = CIL III, no. 36 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 10	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	84 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93168	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 13 = CIL III, no. 37 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 13	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	92 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*; *honorare*)	Greek (other text)
TM 93169	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 14 = CIL III, no. 55 =	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*auribus capere*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 14									
TM 93170	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 15 = CIL III, no. 38 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 15	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	104 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93171	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 16 = CIL III, no. 39 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 16	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	121 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93172	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 17 = CIL III, no. 40 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 17	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	121 CE	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93179	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 24 = CIL III, no. 41 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 24	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	126 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93180	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 25 = CIL III, no. 42 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 25	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	127 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93181	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 26 = CIL III, no. 59 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 26	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 192 CE	–130 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93193	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 38 = CIL III, no. 43 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 38	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	134 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 93195	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 40 = CIL III, no. 44 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 40	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	134 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93196	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 41 = CIL III, no. 45 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 41	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	134 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93199	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 44 = CIL III, no. 58 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 44	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93200	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 45 = CIL III, no. 57 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 45	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93201	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 46 = CIL III, no. 60 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 46	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93202	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 47 = CIL III, no. 56 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 47	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93203	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 48 = CIL III, no. 46 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 48	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	136 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93205	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 50 = CIL III, no. 48 =	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	117–138 CE	stone statue	traces	visitor's g. (–)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 50									
TM 93209+ 93210	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, nos. 54–55 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, nos. 54–55	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	156 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*; *donare*)	
TM 93211	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 56 = CIL III, no. 49 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 56	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	170 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93212	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 57 = CIL III, no. 51 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 57	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	192–284 CE	196 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93213	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 58 = CIL III, no. 51 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 58	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	192–284 CE	196 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 93214	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 59 = CIL III, no. 53 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 59	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	192–284 CE	198–208 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93215	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 60 = CIL III, no. 52 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 60	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	121 CE–	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93218	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 63 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 63	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 93219	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no.	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	traces	visitor's g. (*audire*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	64 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 64									
TM 93230	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 75 = CIL III, no. 54 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 75	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93231	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 76 = CIL III, no. 61 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 76	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93236	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 81 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 81	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	traces	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93237	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 82 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 82	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93240	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 85 = CIL III, no. 62 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 85	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93241	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 86 = CIL III, no. 63 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 86	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	96–192 CE	125–175 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93242	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 87 = CIL III, no. 65 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 87	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93244	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 89 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 89	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	damaged	visitor's g. (*audire*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 93250	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 95 = CIL III, no. 66 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 95	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	complete	visitor's g. (*audire*)	
TM 93260	BERNAND/BERNAND, I. colosse de Memnon, no. 105 = ROSENMEYER, The Language of Ruins, no. 105	4. UE	Colossi of Memnon	Colossi of Memnon	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone statue	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95041	AE 2010, no. 1744 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 327 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 1	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*laudare*)	
TM 95051	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 338	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 95176	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 468 = CIL III, no. 70	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 95177	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 469	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95293	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 588 = CIL III, no. 69	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	116–30 BCE	116–30 BCE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95402	AE 2010, no. 1747 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 697 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 4a	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95422	AE 2010, no. 1748 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 719 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 4b	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95465	AE 2010, no. 1746 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 763 = KAYSER, in	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*esse*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 3									
TM 95470	AE 2010, no. 1750 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 765 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 5b	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95477	AE 2010, no. 1749 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 769 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 5a	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 95491	AE 2010, no. 1745 = BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 787 = KAYSER, in DELRIEUX/KAYSER (eds.), Hommages François Bertrandy, no. 2	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95670	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 978 = CIL III, no. 73	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	
TM 95675	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 983	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95751	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1064	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95939	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1257	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 95991	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1311	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*ingredi*; *videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 96088	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1404	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	284–395 CE	–371–375 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 96089	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1409	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 96103	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1423	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 96129	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1448 = CIL III, no. 67	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	96–192 CE	168 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*inspicere*; *feliciter*)	
TM 96150	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1470	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 96184	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1504 = CIL III, no. 72	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 96190	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1510	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	traces	visitor's g. (*videre*)	
TM 96219	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1540	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*mirari*)	
TM 96241	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1561	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 96260	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1581	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	96–192 CE	147–148 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (*inspicere*)	
TM 96264	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1585 = CIL III, no. 71	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 96298	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1620	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*videre*; *mirari*)	
TM 96502	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1822b	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*inspicere*; *mirari*)	
TM 96508	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1827b	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*inspicere*; *mirari*)	
TM 96517	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1835	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*videre*)	
TM 96593	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 1915	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 96676	BAILLET, I. Syringes, no. 2004 = CIL III, no. 68	4. UE	Valley of the Kings	Valley of the Kings	116–30 BCE	116–30 BCE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 96921	AE 2013, no. 1735 = BATAILLE, I. Deir el-Bahari, no. 126 = ŁAJTAR, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, no. 208 = RENBERG, ZPE 184	4. UE	Deir el-Bahri	Deir el-Bahri	96–284 CE	117–284 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*ἔρχεσθαι*)	Greek (other text)
TM 97572	CARREZ-MARATRAY, Péluse et l'angle oriental du delta Égyptien aux époques grecque, romaine et	14. LE	Sile (Tell Abu Seifa)	Sile (Tell Abu Seifa)	284–395 CE	288 CE	stone slab	damaged	building inscription; dedication (divine)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	byzantine, no. 396 = CIL III, no. 13578									
TM 97904	ChLA 5, no. 304(school text) = CPL, nos. 18, 60, 315 = P. Tebt. II, no. 686(school text) = SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri Vergilianae, no. 35	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	96–284 CE	150–250 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (school exercise); literary (VERGILIUS, *Georgica* IV, 1–2)	
TM 98517	SB I, no. 4221	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–641 CE	284–641 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (Christian)	Greek (translation)
TM 98546	SB 1, no. 5189 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 69	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 98552	SB 1, no. 5195 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 75	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 98554	SB 1, no. 5197 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 78	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 99306	ChLA 3, no. 213 recto = P. Jördens, 129–139	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	395–500 CE	395–435 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 100062	FOURNET/GASCOU, CRAIBL 152(3), 1066–1069	13. UE	Lycopolis (Asyut)	Lycopolis (Asyut)	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 100124	GASCOU, in LÉVY (ed.), La codification des lois dans l'Antiquité	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	395–641 CE	450–533 CE	papyrus	damaged	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 100125	SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 255–287 = P. Oxy. LXXXII, no. 5302	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 100143	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, no. M356 = SB XXVIII, no. 17105	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	150–175 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (alphabet)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 102271	CIL III, no. 14148[2] = FHN III, no. 220	Dodecaschoenus	Abu Tarfa	Tzitzis? (Qertassi)	96–192 CE	103–107 CE	stone column	partial	milestone	Greek (translation)
TM 102275	AE 1934, no. 229 = BERNAND, I. Delta, 253	Alex.	Canopus (Abu Qir)	Canopus (Abu Qir)	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 102420	CIL III, no 6604 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 76 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 56	1. LE	Cairo	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 102595	AE 2001, no. 2045 = BINGEN/JENSEN, BIFAO 92, no. A = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 65 = SEG 42, no. 1574	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	108–109 CE	stone wall	complete	building inscription	Greek (translation)
TM 102611	CIL III, no. 6588 = ILS 2.1, no. 5483a = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 2 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 46	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	13–12 BCE	bronze support	complete	building inscription	Greek (translation)
TM 102612	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 52a = CIL III, no. 6589 = ILS 1, no. 1920 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 28	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	14–37 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (private)	Greek (translation)
TM 102613	CIL III, no. 1204 = BERNAND, I. Delta, 330–331 = ILS 2.1, no. 5797 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 3bis	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	10–11 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	Greek (translation)
TM 102614	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 484 = CIL III, no. 14131 = SB I, no. 979	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 102615	CIL III, no. 14146[1] = SB V, no. 8804	9. UE	Panopolis (Akhmim)	Panopolis (Akhmim)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 102649	BERNAND, I. Delta, 331–332 = ILS 3.2, no. 9370 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 3	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	10–11 CE	stone column	damaged	building inscription	Greek (translation)
TM 102685	BERNAND, I. Delta, no. 34 = SB V, no. 8799	5. LE	Naucratis (Kom Gajef)	Naucratis (Kom Gajef)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 103026	BERNAND, I. Delta, no. 4 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e	7. LE	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	30 BCE – 96 CE	86–87 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	latine, no. 60 = ILS 3.2, no. 9369 = SB V, no. 8903									
TM 104305	RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 78 = SEG 8, no. 858	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 104924	AE 2008, no. 1584 = BINGEN, CdÉ 56(112), no. 9 = DELATTRE, Latomus 67, no. 1 = SB XXX, no. 17443(9)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 104926	AE 1982, no. 915[10] = BINGEN, CdÉ 56(112), no. 10 = SB XXX, no. 17443(43)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 105712	AE 2001, no. 2051 = BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 325–326 = BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 120 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 59	Eastern Desert	Sikayt	Sikayt	30 BCE – 96 CE	76–77 CE	stone wall	complete	building inscription	
TM 105969	CIL III, no. 13576 = SB III, no. 6248	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone vessel	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106061	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 69 = MILNE, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9307	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	96–192 CE	150–154 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 106062	AE 1909, no. 33a = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 89a = ILS 3.2, no. 8930	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	293–324 CE	stone altar	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106063	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 182	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone	partial	uncertain	
TM 106064	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 486 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 21	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	–125–192 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106065	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 487	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	71 CE–284 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106066	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 488a	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 106067	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 493 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 38	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 106068	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 500 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 25	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	96–250 CE	stone column	partial	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106069	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 501	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 106070	AE 1910, no. 76 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 503	Western coast	Garbaniat	Garbaniat	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106071	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 504 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 37	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 106072	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 568 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 39	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 106128	AE 1974, no. 664 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 70 = SB XX, no. 14376 = ZAWADZKI, CdÉ 44(87)	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	96–192 CE	166 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial; divine)	
TM 106162	AE 1898, no. 91 = BOTTI, BSAA 1, no. 20 = CIL III, no. 14137 = ILS 3.2, no. 8997	7. LE	Fuwa	Fuwa	96–192 CE	117–119 CE	stone column	complete	dedication (private)	
TM 106163	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 84 = CIL III, no. 13575 = ILS 2.1, no. 5483a = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 107	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	192–284 CE	213–217 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (imperial)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106164	AE 1902, no. 53 = Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, no. 316 = CIL III, no. 12075	1. UE	Kannaqah	Kannaqah	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 106165	Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 161 = CIL III, no. 1137 = ILS 2.1, no. 8998 = Kayser, I. Alex. Imp., no. 18	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–192 CE	185 CE–	stone column	damaged	dedication (private)	
TM 106170	AE 1905, no. 40 = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 92 = ILS 3.2, no. 8947	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	364–375 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106171	AE 1905, no. 54 = FHN III, no. 239 = Héron de Villefosse, CRAIBL 49(1), 73 = ILS 3.2, no. 8919	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	192–284 CE	217–218 CE	stone column	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106174	AE, 1906, no. 176 = CPL, 215 = Guéraud, BIFAO 27, 116–117	Fayum	Fayum	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	96–192 CE	170 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	legal (*testamenta* and related)	
TM 106177	AE 1909, no. 108 = Bernand, ZPE 82, 180–181	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	284–395 CE	368–375 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	
TM 106179	AE 1909, no. 107 = de Ricci, CRAIBL 53(2), 147	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	30 BCE – 96 CE	69–81 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (imperial; divine)	
TM 106184	AE 2003, no. 1877 = Kolendo, JJP 33 = Sarduska, Inscriptions latines & monuments funéraires romains au Musée National de Varsovie, no. 27 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 1	Alex.	Nicopolis?	Nicopolis?	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106187	AE 1925, no. 63 = Breccia, BSAA 20, no. 3 = Schmidt, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 113 = Waebens, Picturing the	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 11									
TM 106203	AE 1934, no. 10 = LACAU, ASAE 34, 33–35 = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 2	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	308–309 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106205	AE 1934, no. 9 = LACAU, ASAE 34, no. D = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 81a1 = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 1	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	301 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106206	AE 1934, no. 7 = LACAU, ASAE 34, no. I = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 81b1 = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	302–304 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106228	AE 1954, no. 85 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 53, 7 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 88	Eastern Desert	Wadi Samna	Wadi Samna	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 106235	AE 1980, no. 894 = HEINEN, ZPE 38, no. 1 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 117 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 60	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106236	AE 1980, no. 895 = HEINEN, ZPE 38, no. 2 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 116 =	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	212–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 47									
TM 106237	MARTIN, The Tomb of Hetepka, 121–124	1. LE	Saqqara	Saqqara	30 BCE – 192 CE	1–125 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106238	AE 1985, no. 840 = DEVIJVER et al., OMRO 65	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–192 CE	96–125 CE–	wooden tablet	complete	uncertain	
TM 106239	AE 1986, no. 700 = DAOUD ABDO DAOUD/WAGNER, ZPE 61, no. 1	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	–65 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106240	AE 1986, no. 701 = DAOUD ABDO DAOUD/WAGNER, ZPE 61, no. 2	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106241	AE 1987, no. 974 = GUEY, Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France 1967	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	96–192 CE	161–162 CE	stone slab	damaged	building inscription; dedication (imperial)	
TM 106242	EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, no. 52 = SPEIDEL/PAVKOVIC, American Journal of Philology 110/1	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	293 CE–	stone wall	partial	dedication (imperial); visitor's g.?	
TM 106243	AE 1987, no. 975c = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, no. 51	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	96–192 CE	161–169 CE	stone wall	traces	dedication? (uncertain)	
TM 106245	AE 1989, no. 759 = BERNAND, I. Akoris, No. 172	15. UE	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106249	AE 1996, no. 1648 = CIL III, no. 23 = ZITTERKOPF/SIDEBOTHAM, JEA 75, 177	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	75–125 CE	stone column	complete	visitor's g.? (–)	
TM 106256	AE 2012, no. 1704 = BAGNALL et al., JRA 14, 328–329 = CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. inscr. 1	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	76–77 CE	stone wall	partial	building inscription	
TM 106257+ 874390	AE 2001, no. 2044 = BINGEN et al., O. Claud. I, 11–13	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	30 BCE – 96 CE	85–86 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (uncertain)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106260	CIL I, no. 2267 = DUCROUX, Catalogue analytique des inscriptions latines sur pierre conservées au Musée du Louvre, no. 928	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum	116 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE–	stone slab	partial	funerary? (–)	
TM 106271	CIL III, no. 6578 = ILS 1, no. 373 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 103	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	176 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106272	CIL III, no. 6581 = ILS 1, no. 2543 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 106	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	199 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106273	CIL III, no. 6582 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 106bis	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	193 CE–	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106274	CIL III, no. 6614	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	mosaic	damaged	building inscription	
TM 106275	CIL III, no. 6585	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	–314 CE–	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106276	CIL III, no. 6586	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	–314 CE– (?)	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106277	CIL III, no. 6587 = ILS 1, no. 1273	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	384–388 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (private)	
TM 106278	CIL III, no. 6625 = ILS 1, no. 1046a = LETRONNE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte II, no. 545 = WILHELM VON BOLDENSELE, Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra sancta 3, 226	1. LE	Giza	Giza	96–192 CE	116–119 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 106279	CIL III, no. 22 = ILS 1, no. 617	13. UE	Hieracon	Hieracon	284–395 CE	288 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription; dedication (divine)	
TM 106289	CIL III, no. 6630 = ILS 2.1, no. 4424	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	192–284 CE	201–203 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription; dedication (divine)	
TM 106291	CIL III, no. 12076 = MAIRS, CdÉ 86(171–172)	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	96–192 CE	134 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106292	CIL III, no. 78	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone block	traces	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106293	CIL III, no. 79 = RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 28	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	96–192 CE	127 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*adorare*)	
TM 106294	CIL III, no. 13583	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone	damaged	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 106295	CIL III, no. 13584 = RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 64	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	96–192 CE	157 CE (?)	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 106296	CIL III, no. 82	Dodecaschoenus	Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqa)	Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqa)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	Greek (other text)
TM 106297	AE 2006, no. 1636 = CIL III, no. 83 = FHN III, no. 297 = ŁAJTAR/VAN DER VLIET, ZPE 157 =	Island of Meroe	Musawwarat es-Sufra	Musawwarat es-Sufra	284–395 CE	284–350 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*venire*; *videre*; *feliciter*)	
TM 106308	BOYAVAL, BIFAO 65, 42–43 = CIL III, no. 6606	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	65 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106309	CIL III, no. 6608 = ILS 1, no. 2394	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106310	AE 2018, no. 1823 = CIL III, no. 6632	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–50 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 106311	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 74 = CIL III, no. 6576 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 108	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	211–217 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial; divine)	
TM 106312	CIL III, no. 6577 = ILS 1, no. 2290 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 109	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (divine)	
TM 106313	CIL III, no. 6579 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 112	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	181–185; 213–217 CE	stone slab	traces	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106314	AE 1947, no. 112 = CIL III, no. 6580 = ILS 1, no. 2304 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 105	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	194 CE	stone slab	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106315	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 88 = CIL III, no.	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	305 CE–	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	12049 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 98									
TM 106316	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 494a = CIL III, no. 12061a	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 105 CE	stone slab	traces	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106317	CIL III, no. 6591	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 119 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106318	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 480 = CIL III, no. 6592 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 109 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 4	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106319	CIL III, no. 6593 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 49	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–235 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106320	CIL III, no. 6594 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 34	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106321	CIL III, no. 6594a = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 7	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–235 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106322	CIL III, no. 6595 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 52	Alex.	Taposiris Parva (Mandara)	Taposiris Parva (Mandara)	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106323	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 481 = CIL III, no. 6596 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 104 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 13	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106324	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 494b = CIL III, no. 6597	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106325	CIL III, no. 6598	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106326	CIL III, no. 6599	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	–80 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106327	CIL III, no. 6600	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106328	CIL III, no. 6601 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 14	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106329	CIL III, no. 6602	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106330	CIL III, no. 6603	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	80 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106332	CIL III, no. 6605 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 17	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106333	CIL III, no. 6607 = ILS 1, no. 2247	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106334	Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 485 = CIL III, no. 6609 = Schmidt, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 105 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 19	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106335	CIL III, no. 6610	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106336	CIL III, no. 6611 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 22	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	Greek (other text)
TM 106337	CIL III, no. 6612	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106338	CIL III, no. 6613 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 33	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106339	CIL III, no. 6615 = Schmidt, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 118 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 43	Alex.	Taposiris Parva (Mandara)	Taposiris Parva (Mandara)	192–284 CE	222–240 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106340	CIL III, no. 6616 = Milne, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9279 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 85	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	69–96 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106341	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 498 = CIL III, no. 12062 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 86	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	69–192 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106342	CIL III, no. 6618	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	–238–244 CE–	stone column	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106343	CIL III, no. 6619	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–192 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106344	CIL III, no. 6620	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)
TM 106345	CIL III, no. 6621	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106346	CIL III, no. 6622	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 106347	CIL III, no. 6623 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 67	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	96–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 106348	CIL III, no. 14146 = MILNE, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9225	8. LE	Heroonpolis	Heroonpolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	uncertain	
TM 106350	CIL III, no. 6629	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Coptos (Qift)	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 106351	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 90 = CIL III, no. 6633 = ILS 1, no. 657	8. LE	Patoumos (Tell el-Maskhuta)	Patoumos (Tell el-Maskhuta)	284–395 CE	306–307 CE	stone slab	complete	milestone	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 106374	ALFÖLDY, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom, 38–67 = CIL VI, no. 882 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 4 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43b	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	14–20 CE	stone obelisk	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 106375	CIL III, no. 12047 = ILS 1, no. 175 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 5 = WEINGÄRTNER, Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus, 119–121	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	19 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 106376	AE 1927, no. 96 = CIL XVI, no. 24 = SMITH, JRS 16	Fayum	Fayum	Roma	30 BCE – 96 CE	79 CE	bronze tablet	damaged	legal (military diploma)	
TM 106378	CIL XVI, no. 32	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Roma	30 BCE – 96 CE	86 CE	bronze tablet	damaged	legal (military diploma)	
TM 106379	AE 1931, no. 133 = CIL XVI, no. 122 = CPL, no. 119	Egypt	Egypt	Roma	96–192 CE	166 CE	bronze tablet	partial	legal (military diploma)	
TM 106468	AE 1999, no. 1723 = BERNAND, Pan du désert, no. 64b = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 5 = MEREDITH, CdÉ 29(57), no. 1b	Eastern Desert	Wadi Minayh	Wadi Minayh	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	Greek (other text)
TM 106469	AE 1999, no. 1724 = CUVIGNY et al., BIFAO 99, no. 6 = SB XXIV, no. 16084(5)	Eastern Desert	Wadi Minayh	Wadi Minayh	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*esse*)	
TM 107273	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 96 = CIL III, no. 14138 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 111	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–192 CE	175–192 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 107274	BERNAND, I. Delta, 256–257 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 181	Alex.	Canopus (Abu Qir)	Canopus (Abu Qir)	30 BCE – 284 CE	69–284 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	
TM 107275	AE 1990, no. 1023 = RÖMER, ZPE 82 = ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas III, no. 185	5. UE	Coptos (Qift)	Roma	96–192 CE	179 CE	bronze tablet	damaged	legal (military diploma)	
TM 107330	AE 1987, no. 103 = ALFÖLDY, Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 1 = PFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 43a	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	30–29 BCE	stone obelisk	complete	building inscription	
TM 108866	CARREZ-MARATRAY, Péluse et l'angle oriental du delta Égyptien aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine, no. 404	14. LE	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 108942	CIL III, no. 12051 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 284 CE	73–208 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (imperial)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	latine, no. 95 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 6									
TM 108943	CIL III, no. 12053 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 64 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 17	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–192 CE	100–103 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (private)	
TM 108944	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 160 = CIL III, no. 12052 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 19	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	223 CE–	stone column	damaged	dedication (private)	
TM 108945	KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 22	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–192 CE	169–174 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (private)	
TM 109233	ChLA 12, no. 545	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (accounts?)	
TM 109284	CPL, no. 318	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain)	
TM 110832	ChLA 11, no. 485 = CPL, 314 = P. Freib. I, no. 2a recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 110834	SALATI, ZPE 203	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	30 BCE – 96 CE	1–96 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 111680	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 28	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	–109 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 111681	CUVIGNY, Ostraca de Krokodilô I, no. 29	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	–109 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 112189	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 499 = CIL III, no. 12064 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 87	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112190	AE 2003, no. 1841 = CIL III, no. 12064 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 9	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–235 CE	stone column	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 112191	Breccia, BSAA 24, no. 8 = Schmidt, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 110 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 10	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–235 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112194	AE 2014, no. 1416 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 16	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–235 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112196	Breccia, BSAA 20, nos. 4, 9 = Schmidt, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, nos. 114–115 = Waebens, Tyche 28	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112198	Breccia, BSAA 20, no. 6 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 6	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112199	Breccia, BSAA 24, no. 7 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 8	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112200	Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 482 = CIL III, no. 12054 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 12	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112201	Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 483 = CIL III, no. 12057 = ILS 1, no. 231 = Waebens, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 15	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–222 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 112202	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 491 = CIL III, no. 14132 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 24	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112203	CIL III, no. 14138 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 20	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	–125–192 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112204	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 490 = CIL III, no. 14138 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 112 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 23	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112206	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 8 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 90	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 112208	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 10 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 32	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	–125–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 112209	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 7 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 89	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 112210	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 11 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 113 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Third-Century Egypt, no. 91									
TM 112211	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 504a = CIL III, no. 14140 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 92	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	–125–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112213	CIL III, no. 14155 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 48	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–235 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112215	SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 121 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 62	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–240 CE	stone slab	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 112216	WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 61	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112217	SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 111 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 55	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112218	THOMASSON (ed.), A survey of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone in Swedish collections, no. 134 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Third-Century Egypt, no. 42									
TM 112219	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 1 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 51	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112220	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 496 = CIL III, no. 14156 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 53	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 112221	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 492a = CIL III, no. 14141 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 66	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 112709	AE, 1969, no. 633 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 102	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	156–157 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 113531	SARDUSKA, Inscriptions latines & monuments funéraires romains au Musée National de Varsovie, no. 38 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 1	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	222–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 113869	LOEWE, Journal of Theological Studies 24, 129	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Hebrew (other text); Aramaic (other text); Greek (other text)
TM 115557	P. Worp, no. 27	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	433 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 115845	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 73 = CIL III, no. 12048 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 104	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	174 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	
TM 115846	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 13 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 114	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	
TM 115847	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 159 = CIL III, no. 13577 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 115	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 115849	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 545 = KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., no. 119	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone	traces	uncertain	
TM 115854	KAYSER, I. Alex. Imp., 318, footnote no. 1 = SEG 66, no. 2256	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–192 CE	–175–176 CE–	stone	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 117810	THÜNGEN, Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité 63	15. UE	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	Egypt	395–500 CE	430–460 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (PAPINIANUS, *Definitiones*); subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 118440	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV., no. 788	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	–98–117 CE–	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 118495	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV., no. 843	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	138–161 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (list)	
TM 118497	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV., no. 845	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	138–161 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 118498	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV., no. 846	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	96–117 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 118499	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, O. Claud. IV., no. 847	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	96–117 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 118645	P. Oxy. LXXIII, no. 4955	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	96–192 CE	75–125 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military schedule)	
TM 118681	AE 1998, no. 1481b = DEMOUGIN/LEFEBVRE, Revue des études anciennes 104 = SEG 48, no. 2036	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 118686	AE 2005, no. 1611 = TUCK, Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum, no. 396	3. LE	Terenouthis (Kom Abu Billo)	Terenouthis (Kom Abu Billo)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 118702	CIL III, no. 80 = RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 63	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 119057	PERDRIZET/LEFEBVRE, Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos, no. 569	8. UE	Abydos	Abydos	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 119278	AE 1888, no. 168 = CIL III, no. 12068 = ILS 1, no. 2610	8. UE	Gebel el-Tukh	Gebel el-Tukh	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–96 CE–	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 119279	AE 1888, no. 169 = CIL III, no. 12069 = ILS 1, no. 2611	8. UE	Gebel el-Tukh	Gebel el-Tukh	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–96 CE–	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 119368	BERNAND, I. Delta, no. 16 = CIL III, no. 14148[1]	7. LE	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	stone slab	complete	milestone	Greek (translation)
TM 119913	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 488b	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone slab	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 119925	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 492b = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 54	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 120588	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 91 = CIL III, no. 12050 = LACAU, ASAE 34, no. IVC	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	–324–337 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 120590	CIL III, no. 14144 = BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 176	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	complete	uncertain	Greek (translation)
TM 120591	CIL III, no. 14133	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 120603	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 489 = CIL III, no. 14139	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	150–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (with DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 120605	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 497 = CIL III, no. 14143 = SCHMIDT, Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria, no. 119 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 45	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	damaged	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 120606	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 502 = CIL III, no. 14138[5]	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 120619	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 567	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone	traces	uncertain	
TM 120620	BRECCIA, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 504b = CIL III, no. 14145	Alex.	Nicopolis?	Nicopolis?	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone	traces	uncertain	
TM 121847	AE 1889, no. 152 = CIL III, no. 12073 = ILS 1, no. 701 = LACAU, ASAE 34, no. IVA	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	–324–337 CE	stone slab	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 121986	AE 1892, no. 48 = CIL III, no. 12059 = ILS 1, no. 2274	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 121987	CIL III, no. 12063 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 50	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 121988	CIL III, no. 12065 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 88	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 121989	AE 1893, no. 12 = Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 1892, 183 = CIL III, no. 12074 = DUCROUX,	4. UE	Luxor	Luxor	30 BCE – 284 CE	84–284 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Catalogue analytique des inscriptions latines sur pierre conservées au Musée du Louvre, no. 145									
TM 121990	AE 1896, no. 42 = CIL III, no. 14147[4]	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	96–192 CE	162 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 128274	BONNET et al., Genava 57, no. 2	14. LE	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	192–284 CE	258–260 CE	stone slab	partial	uncertain	
TM 128275	BONNET et al., Genava 57, no. 3	14. LE	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	Pelusium (Tell el-Farama)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 128313	P. Oxy. LXXIV, no. 5007	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Paomis (Ban el-Alam)	192–395 CE	192–395 CE	papyrus	complete	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 128447	AE 1896, no. 41 = CIL III, no. 14147[3] = ILS 3.2, no. 8910	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	96–192 CE	138–140 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 128448	CIL III, no. 6025 = ILS 1, no. 2615 = PFFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 68	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	96–192 CE	138–140 CE	stone slab	complete	building inscription	
TM 128465	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 446 = SB XXVIII, no. 17108	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	96–192 CE	75–125 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Egyptian/Coptic (translation)
TM 128489	RADICIOTTI, Analecta Papyrologica 18–20, 116–118 = SB XXX, no. 17318	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (accounts)	
TM 130149	AE 2010, no. 1751 = CUVIGNY, Chiron 40, no. 1 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 481–482	Eastern Desert	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	96–192 CE	114–115 CE	stone slab	damaged	building inscription	
TM 130151	AE 2010, no. 1753 = CUVIGNY, Chiron 40, no. 3 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 492–493	Eastern Desert	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	192–284 CE	235–250 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 130153	AE 2010, no. 1755a = CUVIGNY, Chiron 40, no. 5 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 494–495	Eastern Desert	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	stone plaque	complete	uncertain	
TM 131574	VAN MINNEN/WORP, BASP 46 = SB XXX, no. 17426	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	wooden tablet	damaged	administrative (receipt)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 131599	BAGNALL et al., O. Berenike II, no. 122	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 133420	KRAFT, AfP 54	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	300 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	
TM 133445	BENAISSA, AfP 56, no. 4	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 139903	Ammirati, JJP 40, 73–74	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (uncertain); legal	
TM 139905	MANFREDI, Quaderni dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno 1	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 140270	CIL III, no. 14142 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 31	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	213–250 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 140298	GASCOU, ZPE 170 = SB XXX, no. 17777	1. LE	Cairo	Egypt	395–500 CE	465–480 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 140560	AE 2016, no. 1804 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 355–358	Eastern Desert	Mons Claudianus	Mons Claudianus	96–192 CE	186–187 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (order)	
TM 141765	BERNAND, De Thèbes à Syène, no. 230, 1 = FOURNET, BIFAO 96, no. 14 = SB I, no. 243, 1 = SEG 46, no. 2163	1. UE	Gebel Tingar	Gebel Tingar	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 143371	P. Scholl, no. 1	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	370 CE	papyrus	damaged	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 144118	WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 5	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	192–284 CE	192–235 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
TM 144613	CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 47	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (travel permit)	
TM 144615	CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 49	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (travel permit)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 144629	Adams/Ast, ZPE 218, no. 9 = Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 63	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 144708	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 142	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	–220–250 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 144710	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 144	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	201–230 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 144782	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 216	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–100–110 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	uncertain	
TM 144783	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 217	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–100–110 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	
TM 144889	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 326	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–85 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 144897	Adams/Ast, ZPE 218, no. 1 = Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 334	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 144898	Adams/Ast, ZPE 218, no. 2 = Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 335	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 144899	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 336	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–77–92 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 144923	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 362	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 144978	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 417	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–120–125 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 144980	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 419	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–115–120 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 144981	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 420	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–115–120 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 144990	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 429	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 192 CE	–96 CE–	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 145016	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 455	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 145017	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 456	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	192–250 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 145018	Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. 457	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	219 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 145033	AE 2012, no. 1775 = Cuvigny (ed.), Didymoi II, no. inscr. 2	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	88–92 CE	stone slab	damaged	building inscription	
TM 154327	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 61.05.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	complete	uncertain	
TM 154328	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 41.06.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154329	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 41.04.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154330	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 41.05.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154331	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 51.16.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154332	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 68.04.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	damaged	uncertain	
TM 154333	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 51.17.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154334	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 51.19.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 154335	Łukaszewicz, JJP 41, no. 41.06.08	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 96 CE	–30 BCE – 14 CE–	stone wall	partial	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 154379	BKT X, no. 16	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	traces	subliterary (uncertain); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 154404	CIL III, no. 6024 = ILS 1, no. 2282	19. UE	Iqfahs	Iqfahs	30 BCE – 96 CE	47–48 CE	stone slab	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 154405	CIL III, no. 12066	8. UE	Gebel el-Tukh	Gebel el-Tukh	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–96 CE–	stone rock	traces	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 154406	CIL III, no. 12070	8. UE	Gebel el-Tukh	Gebel el-Tukh	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–96 CE–	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 154407	CIL III, no. 12071	8. UE	Naga ed-Deir	Naga ed-Deir	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone wall	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 154412	CIL III, no. 13582	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	96–192 CE	108–109 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*esse*?)	
TM 154416	CIL III, no. 14138[3]	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 154417	CIL III, no. 14147[7] = RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 72	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone block	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 154418	CIL III, no. 14148[3]	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	284–395 CE	293–298 CE	stone column	partial	milestone	
TM 154422	RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 14xb	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 154430	RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 91	Dodecaschoenus	Gebel Abu Deruah	Gebel Abu Deruah	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 154431	RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 92	Dodecaschoenus	Gebel Abu Deruah	Gebel Abu Deruah	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 154432	RUPPEL, Der Temple von Dakke III, no. 100	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	96–192 CE	102–117 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 154433	CIL III, no. 13579	15. UE	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	Akoris (Tihna el-Gebel)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	partial	dedication (uncertain)	
TM 154455	AE 1888, no. 167 = CIL III, no. 12067 = ILS 1, no. 2609	8. UE	Gebel el-Tukh	Gebel el-Tukh	30 BCE – 96 CE	–75–96 CE–	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 154456	CIL III, no. 14378	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 154458	CIL III, no. 14136[1]	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	45 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 154463	AE 2003, no. 1868 = CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 75–76 = SB XXVIII, no. 17084	Eastern Desert	Qusur el-Banat	Qusur el-Banat	192–284 CE	202 CE (?)	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 154464	AE 2003, no. 1870 = CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 93 = SB XXVIII, no. 17085	Eastern Desert	Bir el-Hammamat	Bir el-Hammamat	96–284 CE	138–175 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 154465	AE 2003, no. 1873 = MATHIEU, BIFAO 103, 558–559	Eastern Desert	Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad)	Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad)	30 BCE – 96 CE	88–92 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription	
TM 154466	CIL III, no. 14148[5] = LEPSIUS Denkmaeler VI, Pl. 81, no. Lat.225	2. UE	Contra Apollonopolis	Contra Apollonopolis	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone wall	complete	uncertain	
TM 154470	AE 2009, no. 1630 = SCHEUBLE-REITER, Chiron 39 no. 9	7. LE	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	Schedia (Kom el-Giza)	192–284 CE	198–211 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 154475	KAYSER, ZPE 97, 220 = SCHWARTZ, BIFAO 50, no. 2438a	4. UE	Tod	Tod	96–284 CE	161–217 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 154476	KAYSER, ZPE 97, 220, footnote no. 23 = SCHWARTZ, BIFAO 50, no. 2438b	4. UE	Tod	Tod	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 154477	AE 2015. no. 1694 = CHRISTOL, ZPE 195	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	partial	funerary (–)	
TM 154478	AE 1896, no. 39 = CIL III, no. 14147[1] = ILS 3.2, no. 8899 = PFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 52	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	30 BCE – 96 CE	39 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 154479	AE 1896, no. 40 = CIL III, no. 14147[2] = ILS 3.2, no. 8907	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	96–192 CE	98–99 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 171873	ChLA 43, no. 1254	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 171906	P. Oxy. LXXVIII, no. 5161 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–395 CE	250–330 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Grammaticae in frammenti, 470–422									
TM 171907	P. Oxy. LXXVIII, no. 5162	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–150 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 171908	P. Oxy. LXXVIII, no. 5163	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	50–150 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 219245	P. Monts. Roca IV, no. 70	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria	284–395 CE	378–379 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 219285	P. Bagnall, no. 5 recto	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	–213 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military schedule?)	
TM 220339	AE 1909, no. 33b = Breccia, Iscrizioni greche e latine, no. 89b = ILS 3.2, no. 8931	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	293–324 CE	stone altar	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 220340	AE 1934, no. 7 = Lacau, ASAE 34, no. J = Pfeifer, EQÄ 9, no. 81b2 = El-Saghir et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 2	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	308–309 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 220341	AE 1934, no. 8 = Lacau, ASAE 34, no. K = Pfeifer, EQÄ 9, no. 81b3 = El-Saghir et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 2	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	308–309 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 220342	AE 2004, no. 1636 = Lacau, ASAE 34, no. L = Pfeifer, EQÄ 9, no. 81b4 = El-Saghir et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 2	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	308–309 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 220343	Lacau, ASAE 34, no. C = Pfeifer, EQÄ 9, no. 81a2 = El-Saghir et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 1	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	301 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 220344	LACAU, ASAE 34, no. B = PFEIFER, EQÄ 9, no. 81a3 = EL-SAGHIR et al., Le camp romain de Louqsor, 122, no. 1	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	301 CE	stone base	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 220486	CLA 2, no. 205 = P. Lond. Copt. I, no. 48	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (Christian theological text)	
TM 220487	P. Lond. Copt. I, no. 48	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum?	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	damaged	literary (Christian theological text)	
TM 244130	GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, 282 no. 32	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 105 CE–	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 316150	CPL, no. 22 = INTERNULLO, Papyrologica Lupiensia 20–21, 79–94 = P. Ryl. I, no. 61	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* II, 14–15)	Greek (translation)
TM 322177	GASCOU, CdÉ, 89(177), no. 1	9. UE	Panopolis (Akhmim)	Antinoopolis (Sheikh Ibada)	395–500 CE	400 CE–	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 341733	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, no. K688 = SB XXVIII, no. 17106	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	96–125 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	paraliterary (school exercise)	
TM 341734	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, no. M512 = SB XXVIII, no. 17107	Eastern Desert	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	Krokodilo (Al-Muwayh)	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	paraliterary (school exercise)	
TM 369041	CUVIGNY, CRAIBL 157(1), 426–427 = CUVIGNY, Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert, 311	Eastern Desert	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	Dios/Iovis (Abu Qurayya)	96–192 CE	–140–192 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 382597	BRECCIA, BSAA 14, no. 5 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 70	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	partial	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 382598	BRECCIA, BSAA 14, no. 12 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 79	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 382599	BRECCIA, BSAA 14, no. 13 = WAEBENS, Picturing the	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 80									
TM 382600	BRECCIA, BSAA 14, no. 14 = WAEBENS, Picturing the Roman Army in Third-Century Egypt, no. 81	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone wall	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 382601	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 5	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 50 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 382602	BRECCIA, BSAA 20, no. 12	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE–	stone slab	damaged	funerary (–)	
TM 383420	ChLA 45, no. 1357 = SCAPPATICCIO, Artes Grammaticae in frammenti, 423–429	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	papyrus	traces	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (other text; translation)
TM 383476	ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, no. 236	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 383477	SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 790 = ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, nos. 237–238	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	96–192 CE	105–131 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 383478	ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, no. 239	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 383479	SPEIDEL, in TEMPORINI (ed.), ANRW II/10/1, 791 = ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, no. 240	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 383608	ŽÁBA et al., The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia, no. 234	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 383668	SB XXVIII, no. 17067 = SCHWARTZ/WILD, Qasr-Qarun / Dionysias 1948, no. 107	Fayum	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	192–395 CE	192–395 CE	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 383683	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 405 = SB XXVIII, no. 17098	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	96–192 CE	117–138 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	
TM 383684	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, 409 = SB XXVIII, no. 17099	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	30 BCE – 192 CE	75–125 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (official)	
TM 383687	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, no. M1234 = SB XXVIII, no. 17102	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	96–192 CE	150–175 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	Greek (other text)
TM 383688	CUVIGNY (ed.), La route de Myos Hormos, no. M736 = SB XXVIII, no. 17103	Eastern Desert	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	Maximianon (El-Zarqa)	96–192 CE	125–150 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (uncertain)	Greek (other text)
TM 383702	GASCOU, Travaux et mémoires 14 = SB XXVIII, no. 17147	13. UE	Lycopolis (Asyut)	Fayum	395–500 CE	425–475 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 385785	CIL III, no. 86	Sinai	Wadi Mukattab	Wadi Mukattab	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 389951	AE 2019, no. 1814 = BERNINI, ZPE 212	Upper Egypt	UE	UE	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 50 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 495518	P. Genova V, no. 204	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	300–325 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (judicial proceedings)	Greek (other text)
TM 520925	GROFF, ZPE 217	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	96–125 CE–	stone slab	complete	funerary (without DM(S))	
TM 641764	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 275	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641772	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 284	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641778	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 290	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641779	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 291	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 641800	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 312	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641821	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 333	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 641849	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 361	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 641853	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 365	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641880	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 392	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641900	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 412	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641902	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 414	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641904	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 416	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	Greek (other text)
TM 641921	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 433	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 641927	AST/BAGNALL, O. Berenike III, no. 439	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	30 BCE – 96 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	administrative (receipt)	
TM 642457	DEL CORSO et al. (eds.), Nel segno del testo: edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	parchment	partial	literary (CICERO, *In Catilinam* I, 3–4)	
TM 653776	BOTTI, BSAA 4, no. LXXIV	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone	traces	uncertain	
TM 653777	BOTTI, BSAA 4, no. LXXIVb	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–641 CE	313–641 CE	stone?	complete	uncertain	
TM 653778	BOTTI, BSAA 4, no. LXXIVa	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–641 CE	313–641 CE	stone?	complete	uncertain	
TM 653848	MAYER I OLIVÉ, in CASTELLANO et al., *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia*	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 701010	DELATTRE, Latomus 67, no. 2 = SB XXX, no. 17618(1)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 701011	DELATTRE, Latomus 67, no. 3 = SB XXX, no. 17618(2)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 701012	DELATTRE, Latomus 67, no. 4 = SB XXX, no. 17618(3)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	Greek (other text)
TM 701016	DELATTRE, Latomus 67, no. 8 = SB XXX, no. 17618(7)	4. UE	El Qurn	El Qurn	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 701089	NILSSON, Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology 2, no. 1;	1. UE	Gebel el-Silsila	Gebel el-Silsila	30 BCE – 96 CE	2 BCE – 36 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (–)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	NILSSON et al., The Swedish Expedition to Gebel el-Silsila 1, no. 169add									
TM 701163	AE 2011, no. 1510 = CUVIGNY (ed.), Didymoi I, 38, 53	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	176 CE–	stone wall	damaged	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 702271	KOŚCIUK, BSAC 50, 56–57	4. UE	Luxor	Luxor	96–192 CE	177–192 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (uncertain)	
TM 702272	GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, 184 no. 8	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	partial	visitor's g. (*venire*)	
TM 702273	GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, 265 no. 39	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	partial	uncertain	
TM 702317	AE 2013, no. 1736 = COLIN (ed.), Baḥariya I: le fort romain de Qaret el-Toub I, 103–117	Western Desert	Qaret el-Tub	Qaret el-Tub	284–395 CE	288 CE	stone slab	partial	building inscription; dedication (divine)	
TM 702459	BINGEN/CLARYSSE, Elkab III. Les ostraca grecs, no. inscr. 16	3. UE	Eileithyiopolis (El-Kab)	Eileithyiopolis (El-Kab)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	stone block		visitor's g. (–)	
TM 703232	PALME (ed.), Hieroglyphen und Alphabete. 2500 Jahre Unterricht im Alten Ägypten, no.7	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	partial	paraliterary (alphabet)	Greek (translation)
TM 704169	FRESSURA, Vergilius latinograecus I, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	350–450 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 707–708, 714–715); paraliterary (scholia and/or glosses)	Greek (translation)
TM 704273	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in AMDEN et al. (eds.), Festskrift til Christian Marinus Taisbak - 80 år	Eastern Desert	Xeron Pelagos (Wadi Jirf)	Xeron Pelagos (Wadi Jirf)	96–284 CE	175–225 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	uncertain; literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* I, 1–14, 17, 19–20, 66–67, 71, II, 1–2, IX, 367–368)	
TM 704634	P. Oxy. LXXXI, no. 5269	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–500 CE	284–500 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* VI, 493–497, 528–532)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 704687	THÜNGEN, JJP 46	15. UE	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein)	395–641 CE	457–529 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (legal commentary); paraliterary (excerpts); legal	Greek (other text)
TM 704848	P. Köln XV, no. 626 recto	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–500 CE	325–500 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	Greek (other text)
TM 754183	P. Capasso, no. 5	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	395–500 CE	395–500 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (VERGILIUS, *Aeneis* IV, 11–17, 41–52)	
TM 754582	LACAU, ASAE 34, no. IVB	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	–324–337 CE	stone base	damaged	dedication (imperial)	
TM 754597	RIAD, ASAE 60, no. 22	4. UE	Luxor Temple	Luxor Temple	284–395 CE	302–304 CE	stone base	complete	dedication (imperial)	
TM 786137	P. Oxy. LXXXIII, no. 5363	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	192–284 CE	247–249 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 786175	P. Oxy. LXXXIII, no. 5401	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	303–390 CE	wood	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 828781	COLELLA, Tyche 33	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	191 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 832097	BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, 532–533	Eastern Desert	Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad)	Domitiane/Kaine Latomia (Umm Balad)	30 BCE – 192 CE	89–117 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	letter (private)	
TM 832101	IOVINE, in NODAR/TORALLAS TOVAR (eds.), Pap. Congr. XXVIII, no. 3	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	500–600 CE	papyrus	traces	uncertain	
TM 832133	DARIS, ZPE 211, 86–87	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	partial	literary (uncertain)	
TM 832134	DARIS, ZPE 211, 87–88	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	traces	literary (uncertain)	
TM 844316	HALLA-AHO, ZPE 213, no. 2	Fayum	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat)	96–192 CE	–111 CE–	papyrus	traces	administrative? (uncertain)	
TM 851433	DERDA et al., in TOMAS (ed.), Ad Fines Imperii Romani, no. 3	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	damaged	administrative (list)	
TM 874106	HEPA/TORALLAS TOVAR, in AST et al. (eds.), Uniformity and Regionalism in Latin Writing Culture of the	1. UE	Syene (Aswan)	Syene (Aswan)	30 BCE – 192 CE	75–125 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	letter (private)	

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
	First Millennium C.E., no. 1									
TM 874385	BERNINI, ZPE 216	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	182 CE	papyrus	damaged	legal (marrige contract)	Greek (other text)
TM 901140	ANNIBALDI, Notizie degli scavi di antichità 1934, 219	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone	traces	funerary (–)	
TM 901296	P. Messeri, no. 45	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	500–641 CE	590–619 CE	papyrus	partial	legal? (judicial proceedings?)	Greek (other text)
TM 913053	GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, 194, a	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	traces	visitor's g. (–)	
TM 913066	GAUTHIER, Le temple de Kalabchah II, 266 no. 44	Dodecaschoenus	Talmis (Kalabsha)	Talmis (Kalabsha)	30 BCE – 641 CE	30 BCE – 641 CE	stone	traces	visitor's g.? (–)	
TM 913090	MILNE, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9278	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	293–324 CE	stone slab	partial	dedication (imperial)	
TM 913092	MILNE, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9280	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	stone slab	traces	uncertain	
TM 913250	CIL III, no. 76 = DERONNE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques de Kertassi en Nubie, no. 56 = ZUCKER, Debod bis Bab Kalabsche III, no. L Lat 6	Dodecaschoenus	Tzitzis (Qertassi)	Tzitzis (Qertassi)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone wall	complete	visitor's g. (*feliciter*)	
TM 942911	IOVINE/HALLA-AHO, ZPE 222, no. 2	Fayum	Fayum	Egypt	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	paraliterary (school exercise)	
TM 942917	IOVINE/HALLA-AHO, ZPE 222, no. 1	Fayum	Fayum	Egypt	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 192 CE	papyrus	traces	administrative (list)	
TM 942927	BERNINI, JJP 48	Egypt	Egypt	Alexandria?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	traces	legal (birth certificate)	
TM 942930	CLAYTOR/BERNINI, ZPE 224	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	96–192 CE	147 CE–	papyrus	partial	administrative (receipt); letter (official?)	
TM 942936	P. Louvre III, no. 179	Egypt	Egypt	Nicopolis	96–192 CE	162 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (military logbook)	
TM 942941	STORNAIUOLO, Analecta Papyrologica 31	Fayum	Karanis (Kom Aushim)	Crocodilopolis/Arsinoë (Medinet el-Fayum)	192–284 CE	212–250 CE	papyrus	partial	legal (*manumissio*)	Greek (other text)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 942955	BORRELLI, Analecta Papyrologica 32	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	192–284 CE	192–284 CE	papyrus	partial	administrative (list)	Greek (other text)
TM 942966	BERNINI, ZPE 218, 270–275	15. UE	15. UE	Antinoopolis? (Sheikh Ibada)	284–395 CE	368–375 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 942974	IOVINE, Aegyptus 101	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	284–395 CE	301–350 CE	papyrus	partial	letter (official)	
TM 957329	ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, no. 4	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–78–85 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 957330	ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, no. 5	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–78–85 CE–	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 957331	ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, no. 6	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	letter (private)	
TM 957332	ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, no. 7	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–77–92 CE–	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 957333	ADAMS/AST, ZPE 218, no. 8	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–77–92 CE–	pottery ostracon	traces	uncertain	
TM 957501	P. Oxy. LXXXV, no. 5495	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Egypt	500–641 CE	533–600 CE	papyrus	partial	subliterary (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Digesta* I, 2.2.37–43); legal	Greek (translation)
TM 957539	P. Oxy. LXXXV, no. 5529	19. UE	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	papyrus	damaged	letter (official)	Greek (other text)
TM 967241	AE 2018, no. 1824 = KAYSER, in RIPART/LAGORGETTE, Mélanges offerts à Christian Guilleré 2, no. 1 = SEG 68, no. 1729	4. UE	4. UE	4. UE	192–284 CE	193 CE	stone	damaged	dedication (imperial)	Greek (translation)
TM 968593	LOUGOVAYA, in DURAND et al. (eds.), no. D 809	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	30 BCE – 96 CE	–88–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	paraliterary (school exercise)	Greek (translation)
TM 968594	LOUGOVAYA, in DURAND et al. (eds.), no. D607	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–120–125 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise)	Greek (translation)

TM no.	Bibliography[1574]	Localisation			Dating		Medium	State of preservation	Typological classification – class (type)	Bilingualism – language (type)
		Region of discovery[1575]	Site of discovery	Place of origin	Period	Dating range/date				
TM 968595	LOUGOVAYA, in DURAND et al. (eds.), no. 45	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	96–192 CE	–115–120 CE	pottery ostracon	complete	paraliterary (alphabet; school exercise)	Greek (other text)
TM 971749	AST/BAGNALL, Pylon 1, no. 527	Eastern Desert	Berenike (Ras Banas)	Berenike (Ras Banas)	30 BCE – 96 CE	50–96 CE	pottery ostracon	partial	uncertain	
TM 971876	LOUGOVAYA, in AST et al. (eds.), Uniformity and Regionalism in Latin Writing Culture of the First Millennium C.E.	Eastern Desert	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	Didymoi (Khasm el-Minayh)	192–284 CE	250–270 CE	pottery ostracon	damaged	paraliterary (glossary)	Greek (translation)
TM 971910	ChLA 5, no. 297 verso = CPL, no. 195 verso = P. Mich. VII, no. 452 verso	Fayum?	Fayum?	Fayum?	96–192 CE	75–125 CE	papyrus	partial	uncertain	
TM 977564	IOVINE/HALLA-AHO, ZPE 222, no. 3	Fayum	Fayum	Fayum?	96–192 CE	96–192 CE	papyrus	damaged	paraliterary (school exercise)	
NN	ABD EL-GHANI et al., Abgadiyat 8	Alex.	Nicopolis	Nicopolis	96–284 CE	–125–284 CE	stone slab	complete	funerary (with DM(S))	
NN	CIL III, no. 13581	1. UE	Kannaqah	Kannaqah	96–284 CE	96–284 CE	stone rock	complete	visitor's g. (–)	
NN	DERDA et al., Palamedes 13, no. 3	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	partial	letter (private)	
NN	DERDA et al., in CIOŁEK/CHOWANIEC (eds.), Aleksanderia	Lower Nubia	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	Primis (Qasr Ibrim)	30 BCE – 96 CE	25–21 BCE	papyrus	partial	letter (uncertain)	
NN	FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 32 = WHITE, The Classical Review 33(3/4), 49	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 192 CE	30 BCE – 125 CE	stone plaque	partial	building inscription?	
NN	FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia 1909-1910, 29	Dodecaschoenus	Pselchis (Dakka)	Pselchis (Dakka)	30 BCE – 284 CE	30 BCE – 284 CE	stone block	complete	funerary? (without DM(S))	
NN	LAUBE, Excavations in the Basileia of Alexandria, cat. no. 37	Alex.	Alexandria	Alexandria	284–395 CE	284–395 CE	stone slab	traces	dedication? (imperial?)	