

PhD Thesis

Anastasia Poulou

Supervisor: Prof. dr. A. Papatomas, Ass. Prof. dr. J. Klooster (University of Groningen), Associate Prof. dr. P. Karpouzou

FORMAL AND INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE SOCIETY OF PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

i. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The goal of the present doctoral thesis is to investigate and examine the way people dealt with the judicial system, whether it was inclusive or exclusive and by what other means people could resolve their interpersonal disputes in the society of Ptolemaic Egypt through the lens of papyrology, and specifically: petitions, official correspondence and reports of court proceedings. These questions will lead to important insights into the society of Hellenistic Egypt as regards to the distribution of power, whether other networks -such as family, religion, work and age hierarchies-imposed social control on the people's lives and which was the place of the poor, the peasants and women in the legal system and further within the community.

ii. METHODOLOGY

The approach that will be used departs from Benjamin Kelly's marvelous "*Petitions, Litigation and Social control in Roman Egypt*"¹. In the words of Kelly this approach can be named 'social control' approach, because it seeks to define the place of the legal system into various systems of social control that are formal as well as informal. It does not merely answer how the legal system resolved the disputes, as the 'dispute-resolution' approach².

Benjamin Kelly draws from James Chriss, who defines 'social control' as "*all those resources available by which members of society attempt to assure the norm-conforming behavior of others*"³. Concerning the society of Ptolemaic Egypt, these resources are informal control and legal control.

Legal control is the criminal justice system and its three main 'subsystems': police, courts and law and correctional procedures and institutions. Informal control is the mechanisms and practices of everyday life that impose the group's will on the will and the behavior of the individual⁴. These mechanisms are systems as the family, religion, age and work hierarchies as well as ideological systems. In a few words, informal control is comprised of the practices that these institutions and ideological systems use in order to control the deviant behavior of their members and avoid violent and destructive conflicts"⁵.

All in all, I will examine the mechanisms of social control that existed in Ptolemaic Egypt. As stated above, these mechanisms vary from formal (viz. petitioning and litigation) to informal ones (viz. family, religion, working and age hierarchies) and I will shed light on various aspects of this society's everyday life.

¹Kelly B. *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt*. Oxford University Press; 2011.

²Kelly 2011, p. 16

³Chris 2007, p. 41

⁴ibid., p. 44-5

⁵Kelly 2011, p. 17

iii. THE THESIS' STRUCTURE

A. INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: The time limits of papyrology, papyri in Greek, introductory facts concerning the field of papyrology⁶.

CHAPTER 2: The chronological and geographical span of our investigation. The documents that will be used.

CHAPTER 3: Status Quaestionis (=the state of the investigation). Imposing modern questions on ancient material⁷, juristic papyrology and its contribution in the examination of Ptolemaic society.

CHAPTER 4: Methodological tools that will be used. Methodological challenges.

B. FORMAL CONTROL

CHAPTER 1 – The administrative system and the legal procedures in Ptolemaic Egypt

In this chapter, I will analyze the administrative system and the legal procedures of Ptolemaic Egypt. Some of the questions that I will answer are: Who were the representatives of the state? Which role did they play and what kind of matters did they address? How are they linked with the judicial system? Were they or not in direct contact with the king? To whom they gave account? Were they easily accessible by the people or not?

CHAPTER 2 – The efficiency of the legal system and its impact on the people's lives

Questions to be answered: Did the complaints filed to the authorities eventually come before a court? Did the petitions end in firm judgments which were then successfully imposed? Was the criminal justice system efficient? Did the people trust in it and tend to use it or was it the last refuge when all the other means of resolving disputes had proved inefficient? The answer in these questions would definitely lead us to examine the distribution of power in these societies, whether the judicial system was efficient or other social networks (e.g. the family, religion, working and age hierarchies) tended to exercise social control on the people's lives.

CHAPTER 3 – The profile of the petitioners and litigants

Questions to be answered: which crimes did they perform and whether the language of their petition depicts their social and economic status

Sub-chapter a: Who were the petitioners and litigants? Where they come from, their origin, ethnicity and economic status. Is any ethnic or economic group over- or underrepresented?

Sub-chapter b: Are the litigants' profile real or many of the details they give for themselves are made up? Do their stories depict what actually happened or are they a narration constructed for the sake of the judges?

⁶For extended introduction on papyrology viz. Παπαθωμάς 2016 and Turner 1968

⁷Viz. Bagnall 1995

gender, civic statuses, occupations, land tenure, domiciles and details about their previous engagement with the justice system are largely accurate while the narratives concerning the motivations, the circumstances of the wrong and the values assigned to property are likely to be inaccurate⁸. We shall see if the same is true for Ptolemaic Egypt.

Sub-chapter c: What do the litigants complain about? Is there a strong linkage between the type of complain with the litigant's social status and gender?

Sub-chapter d: The language of the papyri. Does the language used by those having the same background share some common characteristics? Is the language used by the poor, the peasants and women essentially different from those representing the higher social and economic strata?

CHAPTER 4 – The rhetoric of the papyri as a means of perpetuating the Ptolemaic ideology

What certain phrases and the way the speeches are structured can reveal us about the state's concern to impose social control on the individuals?

C. INFORMAL CONTROL

CHAPTER 5– Social control imposed by informal networks

Some people submitted petitions not in an attempt to resolve their private matters but on behalf of groups of which they were a part. Did this practice help to reinforce the solidarity among these groups and thus resolve the interpersonal disputes? Could we support that this was a way to maintain and perpetuate the established social order?

CHAPTER 6 – The informal network's functionality and effectiveness

Do the social networks mentioned above function as the catalysts of resolving disputes? Is the legal system the last refuge when the social networks could not address the problem? Can we support that by going to the law, there were better chances of a problem to be solved within the social networks?

D. CONCLUSION & COMPARISON

CHAPTER 7 – Conclusions

CHAPTER 8 – Social control in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: similarities and differences

Comparison of my conclusions about social control in Ptolemaic Egypt with Kelly's conclusions. Is distribution of power and the role of formal and informal control essentially the same in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt or are there any differences? How does this affect the everyday life of the people?

iv. **TIMELINE**

1st year: Research on and gathering of the papyrological material that will be used as primary sources.

2nd year-3rd year: Research on the secondary literature concerning the combined study of papyrology with modern social theory. Writing of the thesis.

⁸
Kelly 2011, p. 38

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Παπαθωμάς, Αμφιλόχιος. 2016. 'Εισαγωγή στην Παπυρολογία'. Τρίτη επαυξημένη έκδοση, Αθήνα.
- Allam, S. 1991. 'Egyptian Law Courts in Pharaonic and Hellenistic Times', *JEA* 77.
- Alston, R. 1994. 'Violence and Social Control in Roman Egypt', in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists: Copenhagen 23–29 August 1992*. Copenhagen.
- Ammar, H. 1954. *Growing Up in an Egyptian Village: Silwa, Province of Aswan*. London.
- Ando, C. 2000. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Bagnall, R. S. 1988. 'Greeks and Egyptians: Ethnicity, Status, and Culture', in R. S. Bianchi (ed.), *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*. New York.
- 1989. 'Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 26: 201–16.
- 1993b. 'Managing Estates in Roman Egypt: A Review Article', *BASP* 30.
- 1995. *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*. London and New York.
- 1988b. 'Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C.–297d.C): Addenda (1973–1985)', *ANRW* II 10.1.
- and Gallazzi, C. 1990. 'P.Tebt. NS inv. 88/3: petizione agli epistatai del 45 d.C.', *ZPE* 81.
- Bauschatz, J. 2007a. 'Archiphylakitai in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Hierarchy of Equals?' *SyllClass* 18.
- 2007b. 'Ptolemaic Prisons Reconsidered,' *CB* 83.
- (p.383) Bell, H. I. 1949. 'Philanthropia in the Papyri of the Roman Period', in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*. Brussels (Collection Latomus, vol. 2).
- Berger, A. 1952. Review of E. M. Husselman, A. E. R. Boak, and W. F. Edgerton, *Michigan Papyri, Vol. 5: Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*, *JJP* 1.
- Biezuńska-Małowist, I. 1957–8. 'La famille du vétéran romain C. Iulius Niger de Karanis', *Eos* 49.1.
- 1985. 'L'esclavage dans l'Egypte greco-romaine: Quelques observations en marge de publications récentes', *BASP* 22.
- Biscottini, M. V. 1966. 'L'archivio di Tryphon, tessitore di Oxyrhynchos', *Aegyptus* 46. Bowman, A.
- K. 1976. 'Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960–75', *JRS* 66.
- 1985. 'Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome in the Fourth Century AD', *JRS* 75.
- 1986. *Egypt after the Pharaohs 332 BC–AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest*. Berkeley.
- 1996. 'Egypt', in A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, and A. Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 10: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69*. 2nd edn. Cambridge.
- 2005. 'Egypt from Septimius Severus to the Death of Constantine', in A. K. Bowman, A. Cameron, and P. D. A. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12: The Crisis of Empire, AD 193–337*. 2nd edn. Cambridge.
- (eds.) 2007. *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*. London. Brunt,
- P. A. 1975. 'The Administrators of Roman Egypt', *JRS* 65.

- Bryen, A. Z. 2008a. 'Visibility and Violence in Petitions from Roman Egypt', GRBS 48.
 — 2008b. 'Violence, Law, and Society in Roman and Late Antique Egypt'. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Camiñas, J. G. 1994. 'Régimen jurídico del iusiurandum calumniae', SDHI 60.
- Capasso, M., Messeri Savorelli, G., and Pintaudi, R. (eds.) 1990. *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*. Florence. 2 vols (Pap.Flor., vol. 29).
- Casarico, L. 1987. 'Per la storia di un toponimo: Ptolemais Euergetis-Arsinoiton polis', *Aegyptus* 67.
- Chriss, J. J. 2007. *Social Control: An Introduction*. Cambridge and Malden, MA.
- Clarysse, W. 1985. 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration', *Aegyptus* 65.
- 2009. 'House of Sokrates, Son of Sarapion, Tax-Collector', *Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives*, [http:// www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/109.pdf](http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/109.pdf) (accessed 12 March 2011).
- and Thompson, D. J. 2006. *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*. Cambridge. 2 vols.
- Cockburn, J. S. 1978. 'Trial by the Book? Fact and Theory in the Criminal Process, 1558– 1625', in J. H. Baker (ed.), *Legal Records and the Historian*. London.
- Cohen, D. 1991. *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*. Cambridge.
- 1995. *Law, Violence and Community in Classical Athens*. Cambridge. Coles, R.
- A. 1966. *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*. Brussels (Pap.Brux., vol. 4).
- De Ligt, L. 2008. Review of D. Kehoe, *Law and the Rural Economy in the Roman Empire*, JRS 98.
- Evans Grubbs, J. 2002. *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*. London and New York.
- Fakhouri, H. 1972. *Kafr el-Elow: An Egyptian Village in Transition*. New York.
- Foucault, Michel. 2018. *The order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Routledge.
- Gagos, T. and van Minnen, P. 1994. *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt*. Ann Arbor.
- Koenen, L., and McNellen, B. E. 1992. 'A First-Century Archive from Oxyrhynchos or Oxyrhynchite Loan Contracts and Egyptian Marriage', in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a MultiCultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. Chicago (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, vol. 51).
- Goudriaan, K. 1988. *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Amsterdam (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology, vol. 5).

- Haensch, R. 1992. 'Das Statthalterarchiv', ZRG 109.
—— 1994. 'Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus', ZPE 100.
- Harper, R. R. I. 1997. 'The Forensic Saviour: Petitions and Power in Greco-Roman Egypt'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sydney.
- Hunter, V. J. 1994. *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420–320 B.C.* Princeton, NJ.
- Kelly B. 2011. *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in RomanEgypt*. Oxford University Press; 2011.
- Modrzejewski, J. 1952. 'Private Arbitration in the Law of Greco-Roman Egypt', JJP 6
—— 1995. 'Law and Justice in Ptolemaic Egypt', H. Maehler and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*. London.
- Morris, R. L. B. 1981. 'Reflections of Citizen Attitudes in Petitions from Roman Oxyrhynchus', in R. S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology: New York, 24–31 July 1980*. Chico, CA (Am.Stud.Pap., vol. 23).
- Oates, J. F. 1975. 'Ptolemais Euergetis and the City of the Arsinoites', BASP 12.
- Parca, M. 2002. 'Violence by and against Women in Documentary Papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', in Melaerts and Mooren 2002.
- Riess, W. 2008. 'Private Violence and State Control: The Prosecution of Homicide and its Symbolic Meanings in FourthCentury BC Athens', in C. Brélaz and P. Ducrey (eds.), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes*. Geneva (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, vol. 54).
- Roberts, S. 1979. *Order and Dispute: An Introduction to Legal Anthropology*. Oxford.
—— 1983. 'The Study of Dispute: Anthropological Perspectives', in Bossy 1983.
- Roodenburg, H. 2004. 'Social Control Viewed from Below: New Perspectives', in Roodenburg and Spierenburg 2004: 1.145–58.
- Rowlandson, J. 1996. *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*. Oxford.
—— 1998. *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge.
- Snyder, F. G. 1992 [1981]. 'Anthropology, Dispute Processes and Law: A Critical Introduction', in P. Sack and J. Aleck (eds.), *Law and Anthropology*, New York.
- Swarney, P. R. 1970. *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*. Toronto (Am.Stud.Pap., vol. 8).
- Thompson, D. J. 2001. 'Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt', in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Washington, DC.
- Turner, E. G. 1968. *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*. Oxford.