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## Vocabulary of the Archives in the Ancient Greek Cities Locations of Archives: the case of the γραμματοφυλάκιον Laëtitia Dolne

### Archives in the Ancient Greek Cities

In ancient Greek cities, archives were used to preserve documents for both evidentiary and informatory purposes, in daily practical as well as long-term retrospective uses. They thus contained public and private documents of current use, with temporary lifetime expectancy, and documents with a more permanent value, stored with no time limit. Archives were therefore at the centre of institutional and civic activity and were proof of the increasing importance of writing in a society that had long been dominated by oral transmission of knowledge.

Studying the archives of Ancient Greece has been made difficult by the loss of nearly all primary sources, due to the disappearance of the perishable materials on which documents were kept, such as wooden tablets or papyri. The archival system of the Greek cities can thus only be 'reconstructed' through the traces that it left in ancient testimonies (literary, legal, epigraphical, papyrological, archaeological or iconographic). However, correctly understanding the written sources is particularly tricky, since there are, in these texts, a very large number of technical and polysemous words, which can have many different meanings depending on the context, period and place.

The poster presented here is part of an ongoing PhD thesis project at the University of Liège (Belgium). Its goal is precisely to highlight the various aspects of archiving in the Greek world by developing a lexicon of the technical words related to them in the ancient written sources (Greek literary, epigraphical and papyrological texts from c. 3rd c. B.C. to c. 3rd c. A.D.). The lexicon will be used to identify the components of the Greek archival system, ensuring a better understanding of the features and mechanisms of the Greek cities' archives and their place in the administrative and everyday life in the Roman period.

The technical words encountered in the textual research cover a wide range of different areas regarding archives. For that reason, I have defined generic semantic categories which help me organize them and which will be used for the structure of the thesis (cf. Image [1]). Two of them are closely linked and focus on the numerous terms used by ancient Greeks to refer to the archives, whether talking about the collections of records, the places and buildings where these records were kept or the offices responsible for them (Image [1], 1 and 5). For this poster, I chose to focus on some aspects of one of these words: γραμματοφυλάκιον.

### [1] Semantic Classification

#### 1. Generic words for archives (records and places)

• (δημόσιον) ἀρχεῖον - (δημόσιον) γραμματεῖον - δημόσια (γράμματα) - etc.

#### 2. Generic words for documents

• ἀντίγραφον - ἀντισφράγισμα - αὐτόγραφος - δίπλωμα - ἐκσφράγισμα - etc.

#### 3. Types of documents

• ἄλιασμα - διάγραμμα - περριορισμός - συμβόλαιον - χειρόγραφον - ἄνη - etc.

#### 4. Writing materials

• βιβλίον - δέλτος - λεύκωμα - πίναξ - πινάκιον - σανίδιον - χάρτης - etc.

#### 5. Places, buildings and offices

• ἀναγραφεῖον - βιβλιοφυλάκιον - νομοφυλάκιον - χρεοφυλάκιον - etc.

#### 6. Furniture

• γλωσσόκομον - ζύγαστρον - κιβότιον - κιβωτός - τοῖχος - etc.

#### 7. Actors

• ἀναγραφεὺς - ἀποδέκτης - γραμματεὺς - δημοσιοφύλαξ - μνήμιον - etc.

#### 8. Procedures

- a. Registration
  - ἀναγρῶν - ἀναγρῶν - ἀποκείμεναι - ἐγγράφω - ἐμβάλλω - κατατίθημι - etc.
- b. Protection and sealing
  - διαφυλάσσω - σημάνω - σφραγίζω - etc.
- c. Operations with, on and in documents
  - ἀντιγράφω - ἐγγράφω - ἐξαλείφω - μεταγράφω - παραλαμβάνω - etc.

### Locations of Archives: the case of the γραμματοφυλάκιον

The word γραμματοφυλάκιον (with the rare variant γραμματοφυλάκειον) is mainly attested in inscriptions (39 occurrences in 38 texts, 5 restored but 3 with certainty, cf. *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*), but we find it also in papyri (2 occurrences in 2 texts, cf. *Papyri.info*) and by Greek authors (9 occurrences by 5 authors, 15 in 12 works with later uses, scholia und lexicographical works, cf. *TLG*). It covers a large area of the ancient Greek world (cf. Image [2]) and a time period of about six centuries, all ancient sources combined, but is mainly used from c. the 2nd c. B.C. to c. the 2nd c. A.D. (cf. Image [3]). The term is quite obviously formed by the words γράμμα, 'that which is drawn, written character'; *pl.* documents, and φυλάσσειν, 'guard, keep safe, preserve', and is commonly translated as 'place for keeping records, archive'. But what is a γραμματοφυλάκιον exactly? Which documents were archived there and who was responsible for it? And more importantly: is this archival place different from the others and, if so, in which way? γραμματοφυλάκιον is usually encountered at the end of inscriptions to indicate that a copy (mainly τὸ ἀντίγραφον, cf. [1], 2) of the document in question (whether official ones, as ψήφισμα, 'decree' [ex. *IG XII 7, 49*], ἐπιστολή, 'letter' [*IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 88*] or various lists [of citizens, *LSmyrna 573*; of victors, *IG V 1, 20*; of βουλευταί, *LBeroia 41*], or private ones, as συμβόλαια, 'contracts' [*SEG 19, 854*] or ὄνια, 'manumission acts' [*BGU III, 913*; *F. Delphes III, 6, 31*, etc.]) has been registered in the relevant archives (mainly those of cities, but not only, cf. *infra*). The wording varies, but the idea is essentially the same: τούτων δὲ ἀντίγραφον ἀπόκειται εἰς τὸ γραμματοφυλάκιον, 'a copy of this is registered in the archive'. In two-thirds of its occurrences, γραμματοφυλάκιον is determined by an adjective, a nominal or a prepositional group, which precises its nature or its location: δημόσιον γραμματοφυλάκιον, 'public archive', τὸ τῆς πόλεως γραμματοφυλάκιον, 'the archive of the city (of)' (and variants with ἐν + dat., παρά + dat. and genitives), or both combined, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς δημόσια γραμματοφυλάκια.

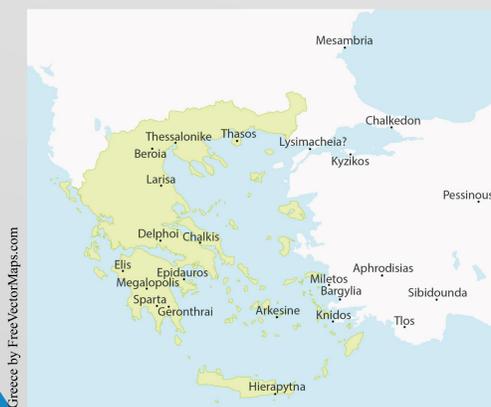
Two other words are linked to the family of γραμματοφυλάκιον: the noun γραμματοφύλαξ, 'keeper of records, archivist', and the verb expressing this office γραμματοφυλάκειν, 'to serve as keeper of records, archivist'. The first one has 34 occurrences in 29 inscriptions (with one uncertain), only 2 occurrences in both papyri and Greek literature, and is mainly used from c. the 3rd c. B.C. to c. the 3rd c. A.D.; the second one is only attested once in an incomplete honorary inscription (imperial, *F. Xanthos VII, 16*). Who was the γραμματοφύλαξ and what were his duties? He has to be distinguished from the γραμματεὺς, 'secretary' (Image [1], 7), as proved by an honorific inscription from Thyateira listing both offices distinctly (imperial, *SEG 49, 1702*). In the sources, he assumes a role of recorder, with the duty of registering and keeping written documents in archives, whether they were public archives of cities, imperial domains or villages (of the different kinds, sometimes difficult to identify, cf. Labarre 2005), or private ones (ex. testament of Epikteta in Thera, 2nd c. B.C., *IG XII 3, 330*).

What may be surprising is that γραμματοφυλάκιον and γραμματοφύλαξ can be found both together in only one text (Megalopolis, 2nd c. B.C., *IG V 2, 433*). Elsewhere, when attested, other officials seem to be responsible for registering documents in the γραμματοφυλάκιον: the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς in Arkesine (1st c. B.C., *IG XII 7, 49*), the γραμματεὺς in Delphoi (cf. *F. Delphes III, 6*, several inscr. from 1st c. B.C. to 1st c. A.D.), the γραμματεὺς in Sparta (2nd c. A.D., *IG V 1, 20*), and the ἐπιμεληταί in Megalopolis (1st c. A.D., *IG V 2, 516*). Perhaps an equivalent of the γραμματοφύλαξ is mentioned in an honorary inscription from Chalkis (imperial, *SEG 51, 1100*): ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ γραμματοφυλάκιου, which mirrors a passage in Flavius Josephus where he speaks about the destruction of the archives in Jerusalem in c. 66 A.D.: φυγόντων δὲ τὸν πρὸς τῷ γραμματοφυλάκειο (*BJ II, 427*). The γραμματοφύλαξ is also associated with other words referring to archival repositories: the τὸ δῆμον ἀρχεῖα in Orkistos (3rd c. A.D., *JHS 57 [1937], p.*

1-10) and the δημόσιον in Magnesia and Smyrna (3rd c. B.C., *LSmyrna 573*) and in Sparta (2nd c. B.C., *BCH 126 [2002], p. 85-90*). In these cases, could these archival repositories be assimilated with a γραμματοφυλάκιον or were there several places recording public documents in charge of which a γραμματοφύλαξ could have been? Flavius Josephus, when mentioning the archives in Tyros, uses once γραμματοφυλάκιον (*AJ VIII, 55*: τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρίων γραμματοφυλάκειον δημοσίον) and three times ἀρχεῖα (*AJ VIII, 144*: τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα; 9, 283 and 287: τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις), though he seems to be referring to the same reality. One explanation could be that the first occurrence refers to the building in itself, and the three others to the sets of documents registered in it. But when talking about the archives in Jerusalem, he also uses the word ἀρχεῖον to designate the building (*BJ VI, 354*) and later articulates both ἀρχεῖα and γραμματοφυλάκιον in such a way that it is impossible for them to refer to the same thing (*BJ VII, 55*: τὴν τετραγώνων ἀγορὰν ἀρχεῖα τε καὶ γραμματοφυλάκιον καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς): whether different offices of archives or, better here, the offices of magistrates and the archives. Were there really multiple archival repositories in these cities and could these be identified through the vocabulary? A funerary inscription from Miletos (imperial, *LMilet 677*) reads εἰς τὸ Μελησιῶν γραμματοφυλάκιον τὸ καλούμενον βασιλειον. βασιλειον can be understood as a variant of βασιλειον (var. -ιον), well attested in other inscriptions from Miletos as a repository for documents (ex. *LMilet 649*: ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ἀπόκειται εἰς τὸ βασιλειον). This could indeed suggest that there were several places for archiving in the city, one of them being the βασιλειον, but it more importantly shows an interesting side of the word γραμματοφυλάκιον: it is here used in a generic sense, not referring to a particular building or office with archival purposes, but to any of them, whereas βασιλειον seems to be a well identified and located archival repository in Miletos.

### [2] Geographical Distribution of γραμματοφυλάκιον in Inscriptions

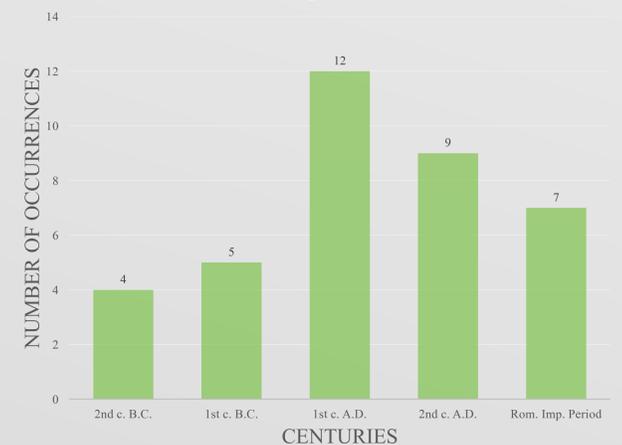
+ one in Oasis Magna (Egypt) and one in Basilica Julia (Rome)



### Perspectives

This brief study of the word γραμματοφυλάκιον brings out a more general issue of the thesis, which is the multiplicity and diversity of terms used in Greek to refer to both archives and officials responsible for them. Even when two words share the same root, it is not sufficient to directly associate them in function. What is the relationship between all these words? Which are more generic and globalizing, which are more specific to a certain type of use or place? If some of them seem to be interchangeable to some extent, they are not all synonymous, and one of my thesis' goals is to highlight these differences by building a lexicon and establishing a typology of all these terms, for the archival repositories and their officials as well as for the other categories of words.

### [3] Chronological Distribution of γραμματοφυλάκιον in Inscriptions



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