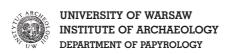


EDITED BY
TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
JAKUB URBANIK

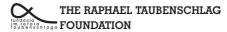
VOL. XLV (2015)







UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
CHAIR OF ROMAN LAW AND THE LAW OF ANTIQUITY



# THE JOURNAL OF JURISTIC PAPYROLOGY

FOUNDED BY
RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

EDITED BY
TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
IAKUB URBANIK

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

VOL. XLV (2015)

#### SCIENTIFIC BOARD

Roger S. Bagnall (New York University), Benedetto Bravo (Uniwersytet Warszawski), Willy Clarysse (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski (Université Paris I – Sorbonne/École pratique des hautes études), Dorothy Thompson (Girton College, Cambridge University), Jacques van der Vliet (Universiteit Leiden/Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), Ewa Wipszycka (Uniwersytet Warszawski)

#### LANGUAGE CONSULTANTS

English: Giovanni R. Ruffini (Fairfield University), French: Chris Rodriguez (Université Paris I), German: Martin Lemke (Uniwersytet Warszawski), Italian: Fabiana Tuccillo (Università degli studi di Napoli «Federico II»), Spanish: José Luis Alonso (Universidad del País Vasco/Uniwersytet Warszawski)

- © For the book by Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga
- © For the constituting papers by the authors

Computer design and DTP by
Tomasz Derda, Grzegorz Ochała, and Jakub Urbanik

Cover design by
Marvna Wiśniewska

Warszawa 2015

ISSN 0075-4277

This publication has been published with financial support from the Institute of Archaeology and Faculty of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw

Wydanie I (wersja pierwotna) Nakład: 200 egz.

Druk i oprawa: Sowa Sp. z o.o., ul. Raszyńska 13, 05-500 Piaseczno

## The Journal of Juristic Papyrology vol. XLV (2015)

#### **CONTENTS**

Abstracts and keywords	VII
From the Editors	xv
Constantinos Balamoshev P. Iand. inv. 398: A fragmentary Ptolemaic prosangelma	1
Anne Boud'hors  Réclamation pour le paiement de coupons de papyrus:  Le témoignage d'une lettre copte	9
Andrew Connor  Royal temple land?  Temple land management strategies in the Ptolemaic Fayum	25
Johannes Diethart Die mutterlosen weinenden Kinder: zu Adam Łajtar in Journal of Juristic Papyrology 37 (2007)	41
Nico Dogaer Greek names with the ending -ιανος/-ianus in Roman Egypt	45
Christel Freu Vignes d'Égypte: Extension et exploitation des vignobles sous l'Empire romain. Retour sur les contrats de μίσθωσις τῶν ἔργων	65

VI CONTENTS

Fritz Міттноғ & Amphilochios Раратномаs	
Ein Sklavenkauf aus der Zeit des Decius in Form der Synchoresis	93
Paweł Nowakowski The so-called Anatolian saints in Egypt. The Egyptian and Anatolian patterns of selective transmission of cult 1	121
Johannes Platschek  Nochmals zur Petition der Dionysia (P. Oxy. II 237)	145
Markus Resel  Zahlungsanweisungen für Weizen aus dem Tempel des Soknobkonneus  in Bakchias. Das Archiv des Sitologen Akousilaos	165
Patrick Sänger  Military immigration and the emergence of cultural or ethnic identities:  The case of Ptolemaic Egypt	229
Joanne Vera Stolk Scribal and phraseological variation in legal formulas: ὑπάρχω + dative or genitive pronoun	255
Uri Yiftach  From Arsinoe and Alexandria and beyond: Taxation and information in early Roman Egypt. A discussion of P. Bagnall 70	291

### The Journal of Juristic Papyrology vol. XLV (2015), pp. 45-63

Nico Dogaer

## GREEK NAMES WITH THE ENDING -IANOΣ/-IANUS IN ROMAN EGYPT\*

NE OF THE DISTINCT FEATURES OF ONOMASTICS in the eastern Roman Empire is the popularity of the naming suffix  $-\iota a\nu \delta s$ . It is generally understood that this was the Greek rendering of Latin -ianus, which was first used to signal adoption, then to indicate filiation, and was ultimately attached to other names to form new ones in general. This practice was not only applied to Latin names but also to Greek and 'indigenous' names. These forms are of particular interest, as they are examples of

<sup>\*</sup> The data used for this article is partly drawn from my master's thesis under the supervision of Mark Depauw. I should like to thank him, as well as Yanne Broux, and particularly Willy Clarysse for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For earlier discussions of -ianus-names, see G. Daux, 'L'onomastique romaine d'expression grecque', [in:] H.-G. Pflaum & N. Duval (eds.), *L'onomastique latine. Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris du 13 au 15 octobre 1975*, Paris 1977, pp. 405–417; O. Salomies, 'Beiträge zur römischen Namenkunde', *Arctos* 18 (1984), pp. 93–104; and T. Corsten, 'Names in -ιανός in Asia Minor. A preliminary study', [in:] R. W. G. Catling & Fabienne Marchand (eds.), *Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, Exeter 2010, pp. 456–463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was probably not a linear development, and the situation was more complex than this.

cross-cultural contact.<sup>3</sup> Thus far, however, they have not been systematically studied for any part of the Empire. In this article, the case of Roman Egypt is examined.<sup>4</sup> The documentary papyri preserved in this region offer us a comparatively large onomastic dataset.

Latin derivations of Greek names with -ιανός can be considered cultural 'hybrids', and as such, they raise a number of questions.<sup>5</sup> Their origin should be traced, and the linguistic milieu in which they figured should be examined with attention for their mixed composition. In addition, the relation of these Latinized names to Roman citizenship will be investigated, mainly by considering their relative frequency in *duo* and *tria nomina*.<sup>6</sup> Before turning to the actual analysis of the material, a statistical overview of the data regarding the -ianus-names is presented.

The data used in this study is derived from the Trismegistos database.<sup>7</sup> The core of Trismegistos consists of the 'Texts' database, which aims to incorporate the metadata of all sources dating from 800 BC to AD 800 and provide them with a stable identifier, the so-called 'TM number'.<sup>8</sup> Numerous databases with related information are linked to the 'Texts' database in

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  - $\iota\alpha\nu\delta s$  was a Greek suffix as well, although far less common than the Latin -ianus. For my reasons to suspect that the forms are indeed intended Latinisms, see section 2 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> An empire-wide survey of the naming type would undoubtedly provide a more nuanced understanding and this would be an interesting subject for further research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For studies on other types of hybrid names, see N. Dogaer, 'Egyptian names derived from foreign elements: Innovation in Egyptian onomastic practice after the Roman conquest', *Chronique d'Égypte* 90 (2015), pp. 360–370, and N. Dogaer & M. Depauw, 'Horion & Co. Greek hybrid names and their value for the study of intercultural contacts in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *Historia* 66.2 (2017), pp. 1933–215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The linguistic origin of a name should be strictly separated from its place in the Roman naming system with the *duo* and *tria nomina*. This article deals with *cognomina* and single names, in contrast to much of the earlier research, which focused primarily on *nomina*. In Egypt, however, hybrid *nomina* ending in -ianus are rare, cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Available on-line at <www.trismegistos.org>. See M. Depauw & T. Gheldof, 'An interdisciplinary platform for ancient world texts and related information', [in:] Ł. Bolikowski et alii (eds.), Theory and Practice of Digital Libraries – TPDL 2013 Selected Workshops [= Communications in Computer and Information Science 416], Cham 2014, pp. 40–52.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  In this study, only texts dated to the first century BC and the first four centuries AD are considered.

a relational structure. Among those is 'Trismegistos People', containing all attestations of persons ('REF'), where every attested individual is also assigned a unique number ('PER'). The 'NAM'-database, covering the information on the names of all the attested people, is equally a part of this. 11

Currently, Trismegistos does not yet contain all textual sources from Antiquity, although it is gradually expanding towards an almost universal coverage. For Egypt, however, almost all published Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic texts have been incorporated.<sup>12</sup> In the 'People'-database, there is at present a clear bias towards Greek papyrology, but this is not a major problem, as the majority of the sources for Roman Egypt belong to this category.<sup>13</sup> In the Roman period, the use of Demotic was largely confined to bilingual mummy labels and tax receipts.<sup>14</sup> Latin, on the other hand, was limited to the army and the highest echelons of the administration, resulting in very few preserved documents.<sup>15</sup> However, they are of importance for the study of Latinized names, and therefore they have been processed manually.<sup>16</sup>

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  For more information, see <www.trismegistos.org/about>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In this article, references to individuals will be supplied in the 'TM Per #' format. On the basis of this stable identifier, which is a randomly assigned number, the reader has access to all attestations of a given person, along with all the corresponding publication numbers. To obtain this information, one has to enter the Per ID-number in the quick-search section of <www.trismegistos.org/ref/index>. If a person is not yet included in Trismegistos People, I will refer to the publication in which he figures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For more information, see <www.trismegistos.org/ref/about>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For more information on the coverage of 'Trismegistos Texts', see <www.trismegistos. org/about\_coverage>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For more information on the coverage of 'Trismegistos People', see <www.trismegistos. org/ref/about\_coverage>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Penelope Fewster, 'Bilingualism in Roman Egypt', [in:] J. Adams, M. Janse & S. Swaine (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford 2002, pp. 220–245, at 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> M. Depauw, 'Language use, literacy, and bilingualism', [in:] Christina Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2012, pp. 493–506, at 501.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Specifically the documentary Latin papyri stored in the *Papyrological Navigator* (<papyri.info>) and the Latin inscriptions found in Egypt in the *Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (<www.manfredclauss.de>).

#### 1. THE NAMES

In all, 52 different Latin derivations of Greek names are attested 708 times, corresponding to 494 individuals.<sup>17</sup> The most popular names were Ammonianus (196 attestations), Nemesianus (150), Heraclianus (72), Apollonianus (52) Herodianus (33) and Isidorianus (34). Other derivations are attested less than 25 times. In theory, names like Ammonianus or Nemesianus might be directly derived from deities, but as this is unparalleled in other parts of the empire, this possibility is rather unlikely.

Fig. 1 shows the chronological distribution of the attestations. <sup>18</sup> It has been generated using a 'weighed dates' technique, which takes imprecisely dated sources into account. <sup>19</sup> The bars on the primary axis represent the absolute number of attestations for each decade, while the line graph on the secondary axis displays the relative evolution, that is the proportion of Latin hybrid derivations among all name attestations. The names appear rather late in the source material: there are no attestations BC and the first century AD produced very few examples. <sup>20</sup> In the second century AD, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Last consulted March 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Based on the 'REF'-component of Trismegistos People, that is attestations of names, not of individuals bearing the names. People mentioned more than once thus figure more than once in the data. The main reason for this lies in the fact that prosopographical identification in Trismegistos is still a work in progress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Each attestation of a Latin derivation is assigned a relative weight according to each year the text in which it occurs can be dated in. E.g. a text dated 'AD 301–305', receives a relative weight of 0.2 for each of the five years, whereas a text dated exactly to AD 305 receives the maximum weight of 1 for the year AD 305 only. See B. VAN BEEK & M. DEPAUW, 'Quantifying imprecisely dated sources: A new inclusive method for charting diachronic change in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *Ancient Society* 43 (2013), pp. 101–114. This data was then grouped by decade to smooth out major fluctuations by year. The graph is thus an accurate representation of the source material. The fragmentary nature of the sources themselves might distort the picture, however, and short-term fluctuations are often the result of a prominent figure in a papyrus archive bearing a certain name. The peak in AD 261–270, for example, is amplified by a division of property dated to AD 269 which contains fourteen references to a certain Isidorianus (TM Per 268872). Careful interpretation is therefore required, and any distortions will be commented upon when relevant.

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  If BGU IV 1013 (TM 9433), written under Claudius or Nero, really contains the name Chaeremonianus, it would be the earliest attestation of a Latin hybrid derivation. How-

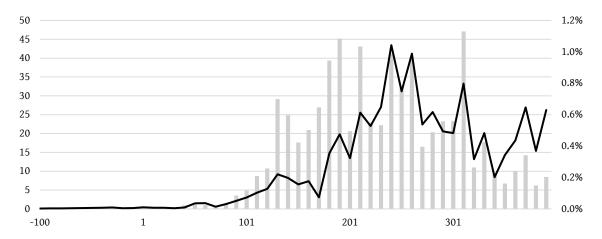


Fig. 1. Weighed dates chart of attestations of Latin hybrid derivations

proportion of Latin hybrid derivations remained limited, although it began to pick up at the very end of the century.<sup>21</sup>

The apogee of the popularity of the names is situated in the third century AD, when more than 0.5% of all people mentioned in the papyri bore a Latin hybrid derivation.<sup>22</sup> When taking into account the 'delay' of at least two decades between the moment a name is bestowed and the moment the person bearing the name appears in the source material, it is clear that this coincides with the mass grant of citizenship of the Consitutio Antoniniana of AD 212. At the end of the third century, percentages decline,<sup>23</sup> only to pick up again around AD 350. The name type persisted

ever, the suffix  $-\iota a\nu \delta s$  is supplemented. In light of the chronological evolution outlined above, this reconstruction is unlikely. Perhaps the women's name Chairemonis is meant, possibly of a slave, given the presence of  $\tau o\hat{v}$   $\kappa v \rho i o v$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The apparent popularity in the middle of the second century AD is inflated by 15 attestations of an Ammonianus *curator* in ostraka from the eastern desert (TM Per 144345) and 21 attestations of an Annius Ammonianus in his capacity of *praktor argyrikon* (TM Per 155496).

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  The peak in the second decade of this century is amplified by seven attestations of the same Nemesianus in BGU II 362 (TM Per 161328).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The apparent interruption of this decline in the early fourth century is the result of

well into the Byzantine era, even producing new forms derived from the names of emperors and saints. <sup>24</sup>

Latin derivations are attested across the whole of Egypt. In absolute terms, most instances stem from documents found in the Oxyrhynchite nome (207), the Fayum (201), and Alexandria (43). Relatively speaking, however, they were most popular in Alexandria, and the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes. They were somewhat more common in Lower Egypt (0.24% of all names attested there) than in Upper Egypt (0.19%). The popularity of these names in Lower Egypt and in Alexandria in particular is significant, as it suggests a connection with the centre of political and military power.

#### 2. THE ORIGIN OF THE NAMING TYPE

The chronological distribution of the attestations demonstrates that in Egypt -ιανός-names were an innovation of the Roman period. In itself, however, this does not prove the intended Latinized character of these names, nor the origin of the naming type. Did the custom originate in Egypt or was it imported from elsewhere? And, most importantly, is there a clear connection with Roman milieus in the early periods? If so, can a specific source for the emergence of the naming type's popularity be pinpointed, for example the military or the administration? To answer these questions, the documents dating to the first and the second century need to be examined in more detail.<sup>25</sup>

The Latin hybrid derivations were almost certainly not an internal Egyptian development. Regular Latin names with the suffix -ianus were a feature of the Italian onomastic pool as early as the Republic, and in the

26 attestations of a *logistes* of the Oxyrhynchite nome with the name Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontios (TM Per 182751)

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  New names continued to appear up until the seventh century, e.g. Hieracianus in *SB* VI 8987 (TM Per 134805).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In all, these documents yield 126 individuals bearing a Latin hybrid derivation ending in -ianus (5 from the first century, 2 from either the first or the second century, and 119 from the second century).

Imperial period their popularity spread to the eastern part of the Empire. Their hybrid counterparts are attested at roughly the same time in the Near East. A consul suffectus of the year 116 bore the hybrid name Berenicianus, as well as two other second-century senators with no obvious connection to Egypt. The development of the naming type in Egypt followed a different course than in other provinces, however, notably Asia Minor studied by Thomas Corsten. He stresses the initial genealogical meaning of -ianus-names, but in the Egyptian material, only a handful of examples have a demonstrable link with the names of parents. Nor are these cases the earliest known examples. Furthermore, the hybrid -ianus-names are almost exclusively *cognomina* or single names, whereas elsewhere, they are frequently attested as *nomina*. Page 128

Of the 126 people bearing hybrid Latin derivations dated to the first and second centuries, 74 figure in a clearly identifiable 'Roman' context. For example, some of the people bearing these names had siblings or parents with proper Latin names. Others bore the *duo* or *tria nomina*, which may not be decisive proof of Roman citizenship, but at least a strong indication in that direction. Many early attestations are also situated in a military context (cf. below), the area of Roman influence *par excellence*. In other cases, a Roman context is suggested by the large amount of Latin names belonging to other people in the document. Furthermore,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> H. Solin, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom [= Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Societas Scientiarum Fennica 48], Helsinki 1971, pp. 140–143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Apollonianus alias Dionysios, son of Dionysios and Apollonia (TM Per 182277); Eutychianus alias Theodotos, son of Eutychos, grandson of Eutychos (TM Per 84138); Nemesianus, son of Nemesion (TM Per 261217); Ammonianus, grandson of Ammonios (TM Per 138882); Ammonianus, son of Ammonas (TM Per 373680). See also the network in fig. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The same seems to be true for regular Latin -ianus-names: Trismegistos contains 107 attestations of those names as *nomina* (corresponding to 52 individuals) and 2,547 as *cognomina* or single names (corresponding to 1,571 individuals). A more detailed analysis of those forms is required, as these figures include the Byzantine period, but they suggest a clear pattern. Some of the names used as *nomina* could in theory have expressed a genealogical relation (as observed in Asia Minor by Corsten), but the patronymics and metronymics of the people bearing them are unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For Latin in the army, see, e.g., J. N. Adams, 'Romanitas and the Latin language', *Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003), pp. 184–205, at 186.

the absence of a clear Roman context for some attestations does not mean that they were per definition unconnected to the Roman sphere, as some documents are only partly preserved or are of a neutral character (e.g. lists, short receipts, or graffiti consisting of only the name of the inscriber).

This Roman connection strongly suggests the Latinate character of the suffix  $-\iota a\nu \acute{o}s$ /-ianus, at least in the first and second centuries. The *Epitome de Caesaribus* 39.1 implies that this could still be the case at the end of the third century, at the height of the naming type's popularity: according to the author, Diokles changed his Greek name to Diocletianus upon becoming emperor, *in Romanum morem*. The same procedure may have been applied by new citizens. They were free to choose a *cognomen* and they often retained their original Greek or 'indigenous' name for this. Some of them might have attached  $-\iota a\nu \acute{o}s$ /-ianus to their original name to give it a Latin touch. The model for such names was ubiquitous in dating formulae on documents or in monumental inscriptions: many consuls and prefects had names ending in -ianus, as well as some emperors (since Vespasianus and Domitianus). In addition, day-to-day contact with people bearing Latin -ianus-names probably played an even more important role.

There is one milieu where such conversions certainly happened: among recruits of the Roman army.<sup>31</sup> Incidentally, a considerable part of the names attested in the early period belonged to soldiers, veterans, or people otherwise associated with the military. This is true to such a degree that the military milieu may have been the main factor in the emergence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Katelijn Vandorpe, 'Identity', [in:] Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook* (cit. n. 15), pp. 260–276, at 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> R. Haensch, 'The Roman army in Egypt', [in:] Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook* (cit. n. 15), pp. 68–82, at 73, remarks that in Egypt, far more recruits immediately received Roman names than in other regions of the Empire. At p. 77 he adds that those Latin and Latinized names 'should not deceive us', and that culturally, the soldiers were predominantly Graeco-Egyptian. Pat Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History*, Oxford 2007, p. 137, defines those 'Romanized names' as 'indoctrination'. Since, however, many other soldiers used Greek *cognomina*, the addition of -ianus was in my view a deliberate act by the bearer himself.

and the spread of this naming type in Egypt. Of the 126 attestations of people with hybrid -ianus-names dating to the first and second centuries, no less than 32 (one in four) are connected to the Roman army. Although this figure might not seem spectacularly high, we must keep in mind that soldiers are not always identified as such in every document. Numerous texts under consideration here are of a sort where such information is unexpected: for instance private letters between family members, receipts, or tax lists. In addition, some of the sources are fragmentary. Finally, some of the names are attested in the identification cluster of other people, as patronymics, papponymics, or husband's names. In such cases, usually only the *cognomen* or single name is used, without further information.

Of the people figuring in a military context, 22 were serving soldiers at the time they are attested. Among them is the earliest exactly dated attestation of a Latin hybrid derivation: Tiberius Claudius Berenicianus, who represents the cohors II Ituraeorum in a dedication to the emperor, erected in the second consulship of Trajan (AD 98-99). 32 At this very early date, we are probably dealing with a foreigner, as Egypt only became the major source for recruitment in the second century.<sup>33</sup> The combination of the name of this soldier and the ethnic designation of his cohors also indicates an origin outside Egypt: Berenice was not only an Egyptian place and queen's name, but it was also popular among Jews and specifically during the dynasty of Herodes, which ruled over part of Ituraea.<sup>34</sup> In one other instance this seems to be the case as well, viz. a graffito by Marcus Ulpius Antiochianus, tribunus militum of legio VII Gemina and legio III Augusta, who probably came to Egypt as part of his military duties.<sup>35</sup> The other people with a military background under consideration here are attested after AD 140 or in documents dated to the second century in general, so that immigration is less of an issue for those cases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> TM 154479 (Année épigraphique 1896, no. 40).

 $<sup>^{33}</sup>$  Haensch, 'The Roman army in Egypt' (cit. n. 31), p. 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> K. Bieberstein, 'Ituraea', [in:] Der Neue Pauly V, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 1183–1184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> TM Per 114715.

Some of them are explicitly identified as cavalrymen or soldiers: two Antonii Heroniani and two Ammoniani. Others are known through the indication of a *centuria* or *turma*: Lucius Aurelius Chaeremonianus, Flavius Philippianus, and Callistianus. Sometimes the soldier's rank or function is indicated: an *actuarius* is called Lucius Valerius Ammonianus, a *custos armorum* Aurelius Herminianus, a *curator* Iulius Ammonianus, two *duplicarii* Antonius Heraclianus and Ammonianus, and several *decuriones* Aponius Didymianus, Iulius Heronianus, Aelius Antiochianus, and Aelius Heraclianus respectively. Finally, some people are attested in lists of soldiers: Cassius Heronianus, Iulius Ammonianus, Nemesianus, and Didymianus.

Five people bearing hybrid -ianus-names were veterans at the time they appear in the sources: Dionysios (*sic*) Amyntianus, Marcus Gabinius Ammonianus, Titus Aurelius Chaeremonianus, Gaius Valerius Chaeremonianus, and Ammonianus.<sup>40</sup>

The remaining five attestations, though not explicitly identified as soldiers or veterans, are clearly connected to the military. A certain Nemesianus and a certain Heraclianus are attested in an archive with a military character and a military dossier respectively. A man called Ammonianus was in close contact with soldiers, but he is only attested in a letter to his father, in which he is not explicitly identified as a soldier himself. A Marcus Sempronius Heraclianus is called  $\varphi i \lambda o \nu \kappa a i d \xi i \delta \lambda o \gamma o \nu$  in the will of a known veteran, which includes other members of the military.

 $<sup>^{36}\,\</sup>mathrm{TM}$  69901 (CbLA V 503), TM 20991 (P. Fouad I 45), TM Per 123596 and TM Per 2766667.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 37}$  TM Per 394321, TM Per 394278, and TM Per 243528.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  TM Per 264909, TM Per 395837, TM Per 144345, TM Per 110983, TM Per 158252, TM Per 123574, TM Per 394147, TM Per 394152, and TM Per 394160.

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  The first two in TM 21330 (ChLA V 283), the latter in TM 69978 (ChLA XI 491).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> TM Per 259848, TM Per 394276, TM Per 394280, TM Per 124889, and TM Per 279223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> TM Per 274081 and TM Per 148581.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> TM Per 274593.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> TM Per 197463.

Finally, the addressee of a very fragmentary letter concerning military matters bore the name Heraclianus.<sup>44</sup>

The fact that many recruits took on a Latin name upon their enrolment suggests that the people under consideration here added the suffix -ianus to their pre-existing names themselves. The potential models for this have been discussed above, and with evidence for daily contact with proper Latin -ianus-names. Consider for example TM 106272 (I. Alex. Imp. 106), a dedication to the emperor figuring the decuriones Iulius Heronianus, Aelius Heraclianus, and Aelius Antiochianus mentioned above. The number of regular Latin names ending in -ianus among the other soldiers is striking: Messius Furianus, Ulpius Marcianus, Aelius Martianus, Aelius Hadrianus, and Antesstius (sic) Numisianus are all mentioned on the stone. A similar abundance is found in TM 106314 (I. Alex. Imp. 105), another dedication by soldiers containing a few of the cited examples of Latin hybrid derivations. Clearly, Latin -ianus-names were popular among soldiers, where they served as an inspiration for their hybrid counterparts.

The military thus played a considerable role in the propagation of this naming type. This parallels James Adams' observations on the adoption of the suffix by Greeks for the formation of words, such as  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\nu\delta$ s: 'The suffix will have become known through Latin technical terms to Greek speakers in contact with the Roman army and administration, and then been adopted (though not extensively) to form Greek technical terms'. <sup>45</sup>

The specific circumstances of the Roman army should, however, not be generalized to Roman Egyptian society as a whole. There is no evidence that changing one's name was a widespread practice outside the military, <sup>46</sup> and even new citizens often retained their Greek name as *cognomen* (cf. above).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> TM Per 276347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, p. 495. On the same page he also remarks that 'it is also possible that the suffix was easily accommodated because Greek itself had words in  $-a\nu \acute{o}s$ '. This may have also facilitated the adoption of -ianus-names. Some Greek names ended in  $-a\nu \acute{o}s$  as well, e.g. Stephanos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> One papyrus listing people with Greek names who may have changed their names from similar Egyptian ones to reflect a change in their status (P. VAN MINNEN, 'A change of names in Roman Egypt after AD 202? A note on P. Amst. 172', Zeitschrift für Papyrologie

It can therefore not be assumed that all or even most instances of -ianusnames were freely chosen by their bearers. Rather, the suffix probably became part of the onomastic repertoire available to parents when picking names for their children. The case of Eutychianus mentioned above is revealing in this regard. Both his grandfather and his father were called Eutychos, indicating that the name belonged to a family tradition. At one point, a Latinized form of the name appears. Interestingly, Eutychos junior, the man who presumably bestowed the name, was an imperial official. This may explain the Latinization of the family tradition. In reality, both situations probably coexisted: sometimes people bestowed Latin hybrid derivations on their children because of a perceived link with or benefit from the Latin language, while others altered their own name themselves, perhaps as a result of a change in status. In the remainder of the article, I will explore both aspects. First, I will examine the linguistic or cultural background of the known parents of all attestations. I will then consider the possible link with Roman citizenship, mainly on the basis of the occurrence of the Latin hybrid derivations in the Roman naming structure.

#### 3. IDENTITY OF THE PARENTS<sup>47</sup>

Names are the main and in many cases the only source of information regarding the parents who possibly bestowed Latin hybrid derivations. When formal identification was required, people often included their patronymic, and sometimes also their metronymic.<sup>48</sup> An analysis of these names contributes to a better understanding of the Greek names combined with Latin -ianus. In view of this linguistic mixture, the language of

und Epigraphik 62 [1986], pp. 87–92) remains fairly isolated. For name change in Roman Egypt in general, see Yanne Broux, 'Explicit name change in Roman Egypt', *Chronique d'Egypte* 88 (2013), pp. 313–336.

 $<sup>^{47}\</sup>mbox{Genealogical}$  information is stored in the 'PER' component of Trismegistos People.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> For more information regarding this practice, see Yanne Broux & M. Depauw The maternal line in Greek identification. Signalling social status in Roman Egypt (30 BC – AD 400), *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 64 (2015), pp. 467–478.

their names might reveal something about their cultural background.<sup>49</sup> However, the relation between the language of a name and the cultural identity of its bearer is not straightforward. Especially since the 1980s, scepticism has been the dominant current in this debate.<sup>50</sup> Trying to draw definite conclusions regarding individuals is indeed rather precarious, but patterns on a statistical level enable us to see broader trends in society.

The available dataset consists of 64 patronymics and 2 metronymics of people bearing a Latin hybrid derivation. As stated before, mainly single names and *cognomina* are taken into account here, as these are the data supplied by the bearers themselves. These naming elements are also the most relevant, as *praenomina* and *nomina* were either hereditary or adopted from the person bestowing citizenship. In the Roman identification cluster, however, the stock patronymic formula consists of the *praenomen* of the father combined with 'filius'. As to not exclude this body of material, the *praenomina* attested in such constructions are included. There are two *nomina* in the data as well, because in those cases, the bearer of the ianus-name did not supply a *cognomen*.

This kind of onomastic analysis lends itself well to a network approach and the data under consideration here are thus presented in that form below (fig. 2).<sup>51</sup> The building blocks of a network are nodes (circles), connected by edges (lines). In this network, the nodes represent names, the -ianus-names as well as the names of the associated parents. The nodes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The status of the parents would of course be significant as well, but the indication of a patro- or metronymic is almost always limited to only one name, usually the *cognomen* or single name. Thus, the available material does not lend itself to an analysis of these issues.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> W. Clarysse, 'Ethnic identity: Egyptians, Greeks and Romans', [in:] Katelijn Vandorpe (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt* (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> For an accessible introduction to the subject of network analysis, see A.-L. Barabasi, Linked: The New Science of Networks, Cambridge MA 2002. For a comprehensive overview of the possibilities network analysis has on offer for onomastic research, see Yanne Broux, 'Graeco-Egyptian naming practices: A network perspective', Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 55 (2015), pp. 706–720. The network presented in fig. 2 is generated through Gephi, open source software specifically designed for the purpose of network analysis (http://gephi.org)

are linked by an edge when someone with a certain name has given the other name to one of his or her children. In the network, this is represented by an arrow, that is a directed edge. Nodes can also be connected to themselves, when, for example, a man called Nemesianus has a son who is also named Nemesianus. This so-called self-loop is visualized as an arrow encircling the node.

Network analysis also offers the possibility to incorporate additional information about the nodes (attributes). In this case, the attribute is the language of the name. In the medium of print, the use of color is fairly limited, but a full-color version of the network is available online. For the sake of intelligibility, I have opted to leave all minor categories white, and to highlight Greek patro- and metronymics (light grey) and Latin patronymics (dark grey). The -ianus-names themselves are plain grey. The size of the nodes is determined by the so-called out-degree (i.e. the number of edges starting from that specific node), so that the nodes of names that occur more often as fathers' or mothers' names are bigger. This out-degree is also weighted, which means that the frequency of the connections between nodes is taken into account. The edge weight corresponds to the number of times a certain combination occurs in the sources and a higher weight is represented in the network as a thicker arrow.

The general outline of the network shows the dominance of Greek names (light grey) among the parents' names. Egyptian and even Latin names (dark grey) play but a minor role. The most common patronymics are Sarapion, Apollonios, Didymos, and Dionysios, all Greek names. The different clusters visible in the network consist of a Latin hybrid derivation and the associated patronymics and metronymics. In particular Apollonianus, Nemesianus, and Ammonianus are frequently attested in combination with a parent's name. Table 1 presents the same data in a more traditional way. 68% of patronymics and metronymics are Greek. Latin names are a minority (13.5%). Parents with an Egyptian name represent only 7.5%. Greek hybrid derivations (e.g. Horigenes, consisting of Egyptian Hr – Horus – and Greek  $-\gamma \acute{e}\nu \eta s$ )<sup>53</sup> account for 6% of all

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$  At <www.trismegistos.org/network/lat\_derivations>; the version is also fully searchable.

 $<sup>^{53}</sup>$  Cf. Dogaer & Depauw, 'Horion & Co.' (cit. n. 5).

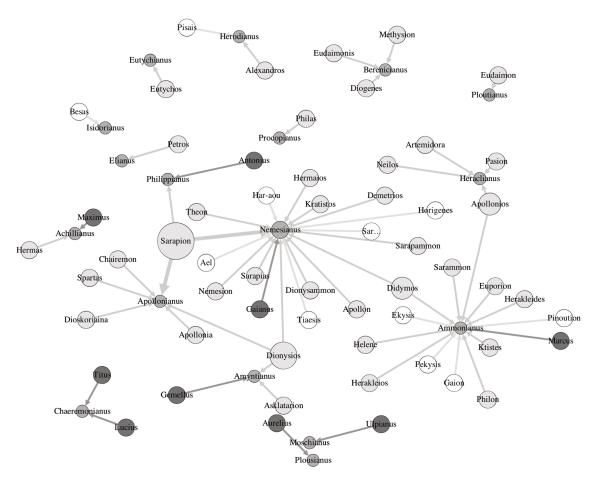


Fig. 2. The network of Latin hybrid derivations and the associated parent's names

patronymics and metronymics. One person called Nemesianus passed this hybrid Latin derivation on to his son. Finally, one man bearing the Semitic name Ael bestowed a hybrid Latin derivation.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The figures generated by Trismegistos for proper Latin names differ: 50.5% of patronymics and metronymics are Greek, 21.4% Latin, 21.7% Egyptian, 3.6% hybrid, and 2.7% other. In particular the higher Latin and the much lower Greek share are significant.

Table 1. Patronymics and metronymics
of bearers of Latin hybrid derivations

Language of the name	Frequency	
Greek name	45	68%
Latin name	9	13.5%
Egyptian name	5	7.5%
Greek hybrid derivation	4	6%
Latin hybrid derivation	I	1.5%
Semitic (?)	I	1.5%
Unknown	I	1.5%

In general, Latin hybrid derivations were thus primarily a feature of the segment of the outwardly 'Greek' part of society. This suggests that the naming type had spread beyond the distinctly Roman milieu where it originated in the second century. Possible explanations for this expansion are manifold and not mutually exclusive. To start with, the prestige of the Latin language might be at play here. Secondly, given the popularity of the naming type in Alexandria and the example of Eutychianus son of Eutychos, some newly appointed officials might have wished to display their new status in the names they gave to their children. The same may apply to people who received Roman citizenship. However, at the peak of this naming type's popularity, most free inhabitants of Egypt were Roman citizens. Another possibility may therefore lie in a greater association of the 'Greek' segment of the population with Roman practices. Perhaps the suffix became a productive naming element in Greek, as suggested by Clive Cheesman in his review of Thomas Corsten's paper. <sup>55</sup>

A simple search in the database can of course only give a general idea, and a comprehensive study of naming patterns in different traditions remains a desideratum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> C. Cheesman, review of Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews, Bryn Mawr Classical Review (2011.10.51).

However, the remark considering Diokles and Diocletianus cited above seems to contradict this.

In any case, the naming type spread beyond its initial Roman context, and the reasons for this are linked to issues of status. A caveat here is that the extent to which people with -ianus-names changed their names themselves is unknown. In practice, however, this does not matter greatly, as it does not alter their cultural background outlined in this section. The most obvious status connected to the -ianus-names is of course Roman citizenship, which will be treated in the following section.

#### 4. ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

Closely linked to the issue of citizenship, the frequency of the Latin hybrid derivations as *cognomina* in the Roman naming system constitutes a significant part of the investigation into these forms. Trismegistos People contains several name-fields for each individual, to allow for the incorporation of the distinct structure of the Roman-style naming cluster, consisting of a *praenomen*, a *nomen*, and a *cognomen*, or a combination of two of the three. In the first two centuries of Roman rule, Latin names were dominant in Roman-style attestations.<sup>56</sup> After the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212, however, the system lost its earlier coherence, as new citizens attached the *nomen* Aurelius to their Greek or Egyptian single name, as a kind of pseudo-name.<sup>57</sup> Mainly the situation preceding this reform is of interest.<sup>58</sup>

In all, 24 individuals bore the *tria nomina* and 100 the *duo nomina*. However, in 51 of the latter cases, the *nomen* is Aurelius, which is rather

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> M. Depauw, 'Roman influence on rituals of identification in Egypt', [in:] J. A. Zuiderhoek & W. Vanacker (eds.), *Imperial Identities in the Roman World*, London 2016 (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> B. Salway, 'What's in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c. 700 BC to AD 700', *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), pp. 124–145, at 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> As many of the people bearing the *duo* and *tria nomina* were officials, and the prosopographical identification for this group has largely been completed in Trismegistos, the 'PER' component has been used for the following calculations.

insignificant, as in theory all free citizens could choose to add or omit this pseudo-nomen. Moreover, the fact that a person is not attested with *duo* or *tria nomina* does not necessarily mean that he did not possess a Romanstyle name. These general figures are therefore only included for completeness' sake. Before AD 212, however, the possession of the *duo* or *tria nomina* was significant. Of the 138 people bearing hybrid -ianus-names attested in this period, 18 bore the *tria nomina*. Further 31 possessed either a *praenomen* or a *nomen* in addition to their *cognomen*/single name. Although these figures are by no means spectacular, they do suggest a link with citizenship in the first and second centuries AD. This confirms the impression that the naming type originated in the Roman sphere (cf. above).

From AD 212 onwards, most free inhabitants of Egypt were Roman citizens. As stated before, a similar investigation of the frequency of the names in the full Roman identification cluster for this period would be pointless. Almost everyone had a *nomen*, and its possession no longer distinguished people associating with Rome and people without such feelings or aspirations. In addition, the use of the *tria nomina* was in decline. Not everyone had a Latin *cognomen*, however. This could still distinguish people identifying as Romans from others. The Latinate names in -ianus could serve this purpose as well, while simultaneously preserving a connection with Greek culture or traditions. The chronological evolution of the naming type suggests a link between the growing popularity of this practice and the mass grant of citizenship in AD 212, implying an association between the dissemination of Roman citizenship and a desire to appear Roman.

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

Hybrid names ending in -ianus seem to have developed differently in Egypt compared to other parts of the Roman Near East. They were mainly used as *cognomina*, as opposed to *nomina* in other provinces. Furthermore, only very rarely a patronymic or metronymic can be discerned as a basis for the name. The hybrid forms rather seem to have been conscious Latinizations of Greek names, without a genealogical aspect. The

chronology suggests that this phenomenon was linked to the dissemination of Roman citizenship and resulted from a desire by parents who recently became citizens, or by the bearers themselves to express an association with 'Romanness'. The network presented in section 3 demonstrates that the families of many bearers had previously identified themselves as Greek. Latin hybrid derivations offered the possibility of retaining this aspect of their identity while simultaneously appearing Roman.

This is the situation at the apogee of the naming type's popularity, the third century. A detailed analysis of the earlier periods, however, shows the 'genuine' Roman roots of the hybrid -ianus-names. In the first and second centuries, many of these names are attested in a distinctly Roman context. The army in particular seems to have played a considerable role in the emergence and the diffusion of this naming type. In this military context, recruits were exposed to regular Latin names ending in -ianus, which served as an inspiration to Latinize their own Graeco-Egyptian single names. Although it is possible that the suffix then simply became productive in Greek, without any Latin or Roman connotation, the remark by the author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* suggests otherwise.

#### Nico Dogaer

KU Leuven Ancient History Blijde Inkomststraat 21 bus 3307 3000 Leuven Belgium

e-mail: nico.dogaer@kuleuven.be