

<b>(Gaii) Iulii Sabinus and Apollinarius</b>	
ArchID I 16. Version 2 (2013) W. Graham Claytor and Birgit Feucht	
Place Date Language Material Number of texts Type Collections Find/Acquisition	Arsinoites (Fayum), meris of Herakleides, Karanis AD 70s-147 Greek Papyrus 38 certain (of which 20 unpublished) <b>Family archive (mainly letters)</b> Ann Arbor, University of Michigan; Cairo, Egyptian Museum Found during the Michigan excavations in 1929/30 and 1930/31 in Kom Aushim (Karanis) in structure C123

### Bibliography

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- W.G. CLAYTOR / S. LASH / A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT (eds.), *Papyri from Karanis: the Granary C123 (P. Mich. XXII)*, forthcoming.

The numbers in **bold** refer to *P. Mich.* VIII & IX; "#" refers to the list of texts below.

### Description

This archive consists largely of correspondence related to the family of Gaius Iulius Sabinus and his son Gaius Iulius Apollinarius. Sabinus was a Greco-Egyptian of metropolite status, who obtained Roman citizenship through his service in the legions and passed on citizenship to his son, who followed his father into the army. Sabinus served near Alexandria, where the family lived for a time in the early second century, while Apollinarius' service took him to the newly-created province of Arabia and to Rome itself. Both men eventually returned to their home village of Karanis, where the family's papers were discovered during the

excavations conducted by the University of Michigan.

The papyri belonging to the archive were discovered during the 1929/30 and 1930/31 seasons in a structure known as granary C123.<sup>1</sup> They come partly from the same contexts as the archive of the family of Satabous (ArchID 407), but otherwise no connection between the families has been detected. E.M. Husselman's hypothesis that the families were actually residents of the structure has been challenged; we see both collections of texts rather as 'wastepaper archives' (see the discussion of the archive of Satabous, son of Pnepheros, ArchID 407).<sup>2</sup>

S. Strassi included 16 published texts in the archive<sup>3</sup> and P. Heilporn added P. Mich. inv. 5838d (#18, AD 147) in his republication of that text. Through the identification of the husband of Sambathion (Sabinus' aunt), we have been able to add the property declation **541** (AD 69-79), for a total of 18 published texts. Among the many unpublished papyri from C123 in the Michigan collection, a further 20 belong to the archive, including Sambathion's marriage contract, a report of legal proceedings, a census declaration, three sheets of tax receipts, and fragments of at least 11 more letters. Most of these are being edited for publication in *P. Mich.* XXII, which will also include a re-edition of Sambathion's will **549**. Another 24 texts, most of them unpublished fragments, have various claims of connection with the archive.

Gaius Iulius Sabinus, son of Neilos, was born in the middle of the first century AD<sup>4</sup> into a wealthy Graeco-Egyptian family of metropolite status.<sup>5</sup> His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather all bore the name Neilos, and his mother was named Apollonarion (see family stemma App. 1).<sup>6</sup> Before 75 CE his paternal aunt, Sambathion, married a fellow metropolite named Ptolemaios, son of Apion, and her marriage contract of that year shows that her family brought a large dowry of 1,100 drachmas into the marriage.<sup>7</sup> The family's wealth, their metropolite status, and their later transition to Roman citizenship show clearly that they belonged to the local elite.

Upon joining the legions, Sabinus adopted a Roman name,<sup>8</sup> but probably received

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the structure, see E.M. Husselman, *Karanis Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928-1935. Topography and Architecture*, Ann Arbor, 1979, p. 56-58, and her more wide-ranging and still fundamental discussion of granaries in Roman Egypt: 'The Granaries of Karanis', *TAPA* 83 (1952), p. 56-73. Samantha Lash has recently completed an honors thesis on this structure, 'Text and Context in a Karanis Granary: Reconciling Papyrological and Archaeological Data from Granary C123', which is being revised for the introduction to *P. Mich.* XXII.

<sup>2</sup> See A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris (Pap.Lugd. Bat. 29)*, Leiden, 1998, p. 22-49. Strassi 2002, p. 171, considers this collection of texts to be a dossier (as does Mitthof, p. 339, without discussion), but we consider the deposition of the texts in close proximity to one other to be sufficient evidence that they were purposely collected in antiquity (even if eventually discarded in a secondary deposit) and therefore constitute an archive.

<sup>3</sup> Strassi 2002, p. 172-174.

<sup>4</sup> Strobel 1988, p. 258, estimates ca. AD 60-65 "nach dem vermutlichen Alter seines Sohnes," whose birth year is now known to be AD 85/86 (n. 16). If it is Sabinus who is found as the *kyrios* of Sambathion in her marriage contract (P. Mich. inv. 5896, #35), he was born ca. AD 50. Cf. n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the identification of Sabinus' aunt Sambathion as τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεω[ς] (**549**, 2).

<sup>6</sup> Her name has been recovered from P. Mich. inv. 5864a (#26). Cf. **493**.

<sup>7</sup> P. Mich. inv. 5896 (#35). Ptolemaios' metropolite status is attested in **541**.

<sup>8</sup> **549**, 10-11. His Graeco-Egyptian name is unfortunately lost in the lacuna. Sambathion's *kyrios* in her marriage

citizenship only upon discharge.<sup>9</sup> He married twice, it seems: first to Tasoucharion, with whom he had Apollinarius and at least three other children,<sup>10</sup> then probably to Demetrous (cf. **493**, 26 and comm. *ad loc.*), who is otherwise unattested.

In AD 96 Sabinus was a soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica* when he acknowledged the receipt of a deposit (παραθήκη) of money from a fellow soldier (**571**). This contract was later cancelled by crosshatching and part of the money together with some other items were withdrawn by another soldier (probably the depositor's heir, executor, or creditor).

By 105 at the latest Sabinus reached the rank of *signifer* (**485**),<sup>11</sup> but had in the meantime been transferred from *legio III Cyrenaica*, which had left Egypt, probably to *legio XXII Deiotariana*, stationed outside Alexandria.<sup>12</sup> His son Apollinarius was advancing through the legionary ranks and in the letter **466** (AD 107) he passes on many greetings from active soldiers, probably his father's former comrades of the third legion. This letter and **465** from early the next year show that Sabinus' family was living with him in Alexandria.<sup>13</sup>

By 117-118 Sabinus was discharged from the army and appears with Apollinarius in the will of his aunt Sambathion (**549**).<sup>14</sup> This text refers to proceedings before the *archidikastes* (chief judge) and therefore might relate to **493**, in which Sabinus writes to his mother and to his wife Demetrous in Karanis that he is delayed in Alexandria awaiting the arrival of the new *archidikastes*. **528** is the beginning of a petition to the *archidikastes*, which Husselman speculated might belong to the suit referred to in **493** and **549** (if indeed these were the same).<sup>15</sup> It would not be surprising, however, for such a family to have been involved in

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contract is NN alias Sabeinas, son of Neilos, 25 years old (P. Mich. inv. 5896, #35). He is either Sabinus himself before he joined the army or an older brother of his. Cf. n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> S. Waebens, 'The Legal Status of Legionary Recruits in the Principate: A Case Study (L. Pompeius Niger, AD 31-64)', in C. Wolff (ed.), *Le métier de soldat dans le monde romain (Université Lyon III. Collection du Centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines N.S. 42)*, Paris, 2012, p. 235-253. Cf. below on Apollinarius' *epikrisis* in #18, Heilporn 2010 no. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Pace Husselman (P. Mich. IX, p. 7), Iulia and Sarapias are two different sisters, since **466.43-4** (ἀσπάζου Ἰουλίαν τὴν κυρίαν | μου ἀδελφὴν, ὁμοίως Σαραπιάδα) cannot be interpreted as a double name. It is true, however, that Apollinarius is later living with a women named Iulia Sarapias (with a lost alias), who is likely his wife, and who may also be one of these sisters. This issue will be further explored in the publication of the census declaration P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n (#34) in P. Mich. XXII. The other certain sibling is Sabinianus, as the contents of his letter to Apollinarius make clear (**499**). The Gemellus of **498** might also be a biological brother. P. Mich. inv. 5841 (#24) is a letter from Apollinarius to a sister who appears to be neither Iulia nor Sarapias, although the name is badly obscured.

<sup>11</sup> Strassi 2002, p. 163 suggests that Sabinus may have already been a *signifer* in 96 (**571**), since the control of deposits by soldiers was one of the *signifer's* tasks (cf. Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 51 and 233), but the *paratheke* seems to be of a private nature, such as that attested in the petition *BGU I 4* (copy: *BGU XV 2458*), and unlike those attested in *Rom.Mil.Rec. 74* (= *PSI IX 1063*, *FIRA III 126*, *P.Select II 368* [l. 1-14], AD 117).

<sup>12</sup> Strassi 2002, p. 163, and Strobel 1988, p. 257-258 and n. 35. For 22nd legion, see S. Daris, 'Legio XXII Deiotariana', in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon, 2000, p. 364-367.

<sup>13</sup> Strobel 1988, p. 258 n. 35.

<sup>14</sup> So Strobel 1988, p. 257-258 on the basis of the of the original reading in l. 10: Ἰουλίου Σαβεῖνου τῶν ἀπὸ λε[γι]ῶνος ὡς δὲ | πρὸ τῆς στρατείας. Strassi 2002, p. 166 and 173, n. 57, however, notes that this reading would appear to mean that Sabinus was still an active soldier, as indeed the few (later) parallels for τῶν ἀπὸ λεγεῶνος suggest (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 58 [AD 300], *P.Grenf.* II 74, 2 [AD 302]; though cf. *PSI XII 1256*, 1 [III AD]), with an explicit reference to discharge). In any case, W.G. Clayton and A. Verhoogt, who are preparing a new edition of the text, read τῶν ἀπολελ[υ]μένων instead of τῶν ἀπὸ λε[γι]ῶνος. Parallels show that this ought to be followed by στρατιωτῶν, but there must be some abbreviation because the space allows for only 10-11 letters in the lacuna.

<sup>15</sup> P. Mich. IX, p. 7. The inv. 5894 referred to in connection with **493**, **528**, and **549** is a mistake for inv. 5900.

multiple suits in the provincial capital.

The proceedings in question might be related to those preserved in P. Mich. inv. 5900 (#36), a fragmentary document written in red ink dating to the second year of Hadrian (AD 117/118). It contains Sambathion's request that she be allowed to employ a *hypographeus* (subscriber), probably because of her weak eyesight mentioned in l. 3-4 (cf. **549**), and the decision of the *archidikastes*, who grants the request. Further study will explore the relationship between these proceedings and those reported in the will.

We hear nothing of Sabinus thereafter except that he lived into the 130s, since he is referred to in a letter that mentions Antinoopolis (**486**).

Gaius Iulius Apollinarius, the archive's main character, was born in 85/86<sup>16</sup> and followed in his father's footsteps by enlisting in *legio III Cyrenaica*<sup>17</sup> around 103/104.<sup>18</sup> Shortly thereafter, around 105, Apollinarius reached the rank of *secutor*, as a letter from one Ammonios to his father attests (**485**).<sup>19</sup>

Around this time, his legion left Egypt as part of Trajan's preparations for the annexation of Arabia. In the spring of 107 Apollinarius writes from the old Nabataean capital of Petra to his father in Alexandria (**466**).<sup>20</sup> An interview with the legionary commander and first governor of Arabia, C. Claudius Severus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1023, cos. 112), had gone well: while he was informed that there was currently no vacancy on the governor's personal staff, Apollinarius had become *librarius legionis ad spem promotionis*.<sup>21</sup> He joined the staff of the

<sup>16</sup> P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n (#34) is a copy of a census return from Hadrian's 17th year (AD 132/133) and gives Apollinarius' age as 48; by inclusive reckoning (on which see N. Kruit, 'Age Reckoning in Hellenistic Egypt', in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt / S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt (Pap. Lugd. Bat. 30)*, Leiden, 1998, p. 37-58) this places his birth in 85/86.

<sup>17</sup> After much debate, it is now the *communis opinio* that *legio III Cyrenaica* was part of the first garrison of Arabia. This was already suggested by C. Préaux ('L'annexion de l'Arabie: Pap. Mich. 465 et 466,' *Phoibos* 5 (1950-1951), p. 123-139) immediately following the publication of Apollinarius' Arabian letters in *P. Mich.* VIII, although her argument was partly based on placing *legio II Traiana* in Egypt earlier than the evidence warranted, as G.W. Bowersock pointed out ('The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia', *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 42). The publication of *P. Mich.* IX, however, showed that in AD 119 Apollinarius belonged to *III Cyrenaica* (**562**), which M.P. Speidel immediately used to bolster Préaux's argument ('Arabia's First Garrison', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 16 (1971), p. 111-2; cf. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 8 (1977), 691-697). Bowersock remained unconvinced that the Apollinarius of **562** was the writer of the Arabian letters, ignoring the archaeological underpinning of Husseman's attribution of the text to the archive ('Old and New in the History of Judaea', *JRS* 65 (1975), p. 184). Finally, D.L. Kennedy provided a convincing defense of Speidel's position and a new narrative of the deployment of both *III Cyrenaica* and *VI Ferrata* ('Legio VI Ferrata: the Annexation and Early Garrison of Arabia', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 84 (1980), p. 289-293, with n. 22, accepted by Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Harvard, 1993, p. 81, n. 18). Strobel 1988 expands on Kennedy's position. See further P.-L. Gatier, 'La Legio III Cyrenaica et l'Arabie', and H.M. Cotton, 'The Legio VI Ferrata', in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon, 2000, p. 341-349 and p. 351-357.

<sup>18</sup> Strobel 1988, p. 260.

<sup>19</sup> Strobel 1988, p. 257 n. 35 and p. 260. For a detailed analysis of **485**, see Strassi, p. 164-169. For the rank of *secutor*, see M.P. Speidel, 'Ein Weihinschrift aus Osterburken', *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 6 (1981), p. 569-570 = *Roman Army Studies I (Mavors 1)*, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 165-166.

<sup>20</sup> Strobel 1988, p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> L. 24-32. Apollinarius' ἐφ' ἐλπίδων is clearly a calque of the Latin phrase, as the editors note. This promotion probably already happened the previous year: R.W. Davies, 'Joining the Roman Army', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169 (1969), p. 226; Strobel 1988, p. 258-259; Strassi 2002, p. 163-164. On the position of *librarius*, see K. Stauner, *Das Offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v. Chr.-268 n. Chr.)*, Bonn, 2004, 132-138.

*cornicularius* and was exempt from the hard labor described in l. 21-24.

This letter and a similar one to his mother the next year (465) give us insight into the mindset of a young, ambitious soldier and highlight the importance of personal connections in greasing the wheels of professional advancement (προκοπή). ‘From the whole tone of his voice’, Strassi observes, ‘one can clearly recognize the ease with which Apollinarius acts in his dealings with higher authority; without a doubt, though young, he was perfectly integrated into his environment, confident in himself and what he could obtain’.<sup>22</sup> His rapid climb up the military hierarchy was no doubt at least partly due to the connections of his father,<sup>23</sup> but he seems to have adapted himself well to the competitive world of the Roman military, in which ‘nothing happens without money, and letters of recommendation have no value unless you help yourself’, as a fellow soldier who also settled in Karanis put it.<sup>24</sup>

In the postscript of 466, Apollinarius mentions his impending transfer to a cohort in Bostra, Arabia, where the Romans had established their military headquarters. Early in the next year, now promoted to the rank of *principalis*, he writes from Bostra to his mother Tasoucharion in Alexandria (465, 20 February, 108).

A lease contract from AD 119 (562) shows that Apollinarius was still serving in *legio III Cyrenaica*,<sup>25</sup> but had in the meantime obtained the post of *frumentarius*, a special liaison between Rome and the provinces.<sup>26</sup> Several letters in the archive were in fact sent from or received in Rome or mention the city (487, 500, 501, #28).<sup>27</sup> These letters need not all refer to the same voyage: Apollinarius, as a *frumentarius*, probably travelled regularly to Rome, where the headquarters of the *frumentarii* was situated.<sup>28</sup> Letter 500, a friend’s request to send cotton,<sup>29</sup> was received by Apollinarius in Rome. In letter 501 we can even trace a trip overland from Egypt to Rome via Syria, Asia and Achaëa (and perhaps also the trip back to Alexandria).<sup>30</sup> In 487 Apollinarius writes from Rome to Sempronius with a request to escort

<sup>22</sup> Our translation: Strassi 2002, p. 164.

<sup>23</sup> So Strobel 1988, p. 258, Mitthof 2000, p. 399, and Strassi 2002, p. 164.

<sup>24</sup> *P. Mich.* VIII 468, 38-41.

<sup>25</sup> For an image of this papyrus still in its original cloth wrapping, see App. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Husseman flirted with the idea of connecting this position with the function of the granary C123 (1952, 69-70; 1963-1964, 4; *P. Mich.* IX, 1971, p. 8), but, in addition to the uncertainties surrounding the archive holders’ actual occupation of the structure at any period, *frumentarii* had little to do with food supply in this period; rather, they were detailed for a variety of special projects and missions, especially the conveyance of messages between the provinces and Rome. See N.B. Rankov, ‘Les Frumentarii et la circulation de l’information entre les empereurs romains et les provinces’, in *La circulation de l’information dans les états antiques. Actes de la table ronde: La circulation de l’information dans les structures de pouvoir antiques, Institut Ausonius, Pessac, 19-20 janvier 2002*, Bordeaux, 2006, p. 129-140 and ‘Frumentarii, the Castra Peregrina and the Provincial Officia’, *ZPE* 80 (1990), p. 176-182, along with the new discussion of C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order*, Oxford, 2012, p. 152-155 and 218-219. Rankov discusses the origins of the term in ‘The Origins of the *Frumentarii*’, in *Acta XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona 3-8 September 2002*, Barcelona, 2007, p. 1169-1172.

<sup>27</sup> These letters can thus be dated to after 108 (465), when Apollinarius is stationed in Bostra and refers to himself as a *principalis*, and before his discharge (on which see below). Cf. Strassi 2002, p. 163 and 173.

<sup>28</sup> See N.B. Rankov, *ZPE* 80 (1990), p. 176-182, n. 20.

<sup>29</sup> The sender, Rullius, was clearly at least an equal of Apollinarius, given the tone of the letter and his instructions. In 498, Gemellus calls Rullius the “very good friend” (ἀγαθοτάτω φίλω) of Apollinarius, a sign of Rullius’ prominence and connections (rather than the quality of their relationship).

<sup>30</sup> 501 does not mention Apollinarius’ name, but since it was found together with 500, it almost certainly belongs to the archive.

Eros (a slave/freedman of the family, see below) and an unknown cargo home.<sup>31</sup> When not at the service of the state, Apollinarius made use of his position and connections to further his business interests.

The question of Apollinarius' discharge has been advanced by new joins of fragments under inv. 5838 (#18, HEILPORN 2010, no. 2). The document itself is dated to 147, but attests to the status examination (*epikrisis*) of an Apollinarius under the prefect Petronius Mamertinus (133-137). The findspot in C123 and the text's congruence with a military career beginning ca. 103/104 guarantee that this is the same Apollinarius, now in his 60's. As Heilporn notes, an examination under the prefect Mamertinus does not exclude his having been discharged slightly earlier,<sup>32</sup> which Husselman already assumed on the basis of the contract **572** (AD 131).<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the census declaration P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n (#34), submitted the year after the census of 131/132, records Apollinarius as 'discharged from the army, 48 years old'.<sup>34</sup> Intriguingly, the document of AD 147 originally contained the report of the examination of a second person, as well as another procedure related to civil status: possibly the Roman citizenship of Apollinarius and his family was at issue.<sup>35</sup>

Apollinarius and his family were quite well off, a prosperity that we can now trace back multiple generations thanks to Sambathion's marriage contract (see above). The letter to his mother suggests a taste for luxury items, since he notes the pearls, unguents, and other luxuries being brought to Bostra and hints to her about a 'gift from Tyre' (**465**, 17-22). Other letters talk of cotton (**500**) and purple dye (**501**) crossing the Mediterranean, as well as Marseillan wine for a welcome-home party (**501**, 19-20 with comm. *ad loc.*). The family employed slaves and freedman (see below), but also free clients: **486**, for instance, is from an agent of the family, Sempronius Clemens,<sup>36</sup> writing to Apollinarius to explain a delay in business.

Apollinarius' Arsinoite estate included grain fields and olive groves around Karanis and nearby villages. **562** (AD 119) suggests a hands-off approach to his landed properties, at least during his military service: he was content to lease them out for three years at a presumably reduced rent, since the lessee paid the whole of it in advance and covered 'all expenses, labor, and taxes' due on the land.<sup>37</sup> An unpublished letter to his father concerns

<sup>31</sup> On the various Sempronii connected to the archive, see below, n. 28.

<sup>32</sup> Heilporn 2010, p. 250.

<sup>33</sup> P. Mich. IX, p. 6, followed by Strobel 1998, p. 260; it should be noted that **572** does not explicitly state Apollinarius' veteran status (cf. Heilporn 2010, p. 259, n. 24).

<sup>34</sup> L. 15: ἀπολύσιμος ἀπὸ στρα(τείας) (ἐτῶν) μη.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Heilporn 2010, p. 259-260 and n. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Strassi 2002, p. 163 n. 11, attempted to connect this Sempronius Clemens to the namesake in **571**, but the latter was already a centurion when Apollinarius was still young and seems unlikely to reappear 35+ years later as the family's business agent (**486** has to be dated after AD 130 since Antinoopolis is mentioned). Sorting out the numerous homonyms, including individuals referred to by the single name Sempronius or Clemens, is admittedly difficult. The Sempronius whom Apollinarius addresses from Rome (**487**) is probably be the Sempronius Clemens of **486** because both seem to be agents of the family. A Sempronius appears in **466**, again apparently in the capacity of a family agent, and so may be identical to the sender of **486** and the recipient of **487**. The Clemens of **465** could well indeed be the centurion of **571** (so Strassi), but why not the Gaius Iulius Clemens who makes the withdrawal? For further attestations of the name Sempronius Clemens outside of the archive, see Strassi's note and **486**, 1 n..

<sup>37</sup> Since Apollinarius was not acting through an agent, he was in Karanis when this contract was written (cf. **562**, p. 101) and must have been on leave (Strobel 1988, p. 260).

finding someone to manage (φοροντίζειν) a two-aroura property (P. Mich. inv. 5827+5838t+5925b, #19). This same letter, however, includes a reference to brickmaking and payments for clothing and a weaver,<sup>38</sup> evidence of the family's investment in industry and a more direct management of these activities. The more fragmentary unpublished letters contain other hints of this sort, which will be further explored in *P. Mich.* XXII.

While home in the Arsinoites, Apollinarius spent at least part of his time in the nome capital, where he owned an apartment and was registered in the Sekneptunis quarter.<sup>39</sup> **572** (AD 131) is a *diagraphe* which Apollinarius made through a bank on the Street of the Gymnasium in Ptolemais Euergetis and concerns land he acquired at one of the city's public auctions. But even within the Arsinoites he was a man on the move: when a friend heard that he was in Bakchias he urged Apollinarius to make the short trip to Karanis, quoting the travel time in an effort to win him over (**496**). Apollinarius owned property in Bakchias (**562**) so it is not surprising to find him visiting; in fact, he had a variety of holdings in the general vicinity of his home village and likely visited them on a fairly regular basis, especially after his discharge. Another letter reports a missed connection in Karanis itself: Apollinarius had apparently lingered around the village for the builder Alexandros who only arrived just after he had departed (**497**).<sup>40</sup>

Besides business and military affairs, the letters speak of emotional ties within the family.<sup>41</sup> The young Apollinarius' letters to his parents (**465** and **466**) are prime examples. In both letters, he emphasizes his filial piety, ranking his reverence and care for his parents only 'after the gods'. But it is in the letter to his mother that Apollinarius dwells on the emotional strain of separation: 'whenever I remind myself of you (sc. his parents), I neither eat nor drink, but cry...' (**465**, 9-10). Apollinarius' concern for his siblings comes out in this letter (l. 29-31), as well as in **499**, when his brother Sabinianus thanks him for helping their sister and asks Apollinarius to assist him in becoming her guardian.

The greetings at the end of the family letters suggest that both Sabinus and Apollinarius had large households and circles of friends, even though precise relationships usually cannot be determined.<sup>42</sup> The new fragments of the census declaration P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n (#34, AD 132/133) record a three-year-old child, perhaps Apollinarius' son or daughter, and a Ptolemaios. While largely lost, the listing of the household extends for ca. 20 lines, giving a sense of the extent of Apollinarius' household at the time of his retirement.

The family also owned domestic slaves and retained the services of their freedmen. In AD 117/118 Apollinarius' great-aunt Sambathion freed or bequeathed a 'house-born' slave by the name of Abaskantos (**549**). He must have then have joined Apollinarius' household,

<sup>38</sup> This occupation recalls **497** in which a builder (κτίστης) had wanted to see Apollinarius: cf. *P. Mich.* IX, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n (#34, AD 132/133).

<sup>40</sup> Alexandros 'grieved that he did not find you here and made constant mention of you in our company' (ἐλυπήθη ὅτι | σε οὐ κατέλαβ[ε]ν. καθ' ὅραν δὲ | σοῦ σὺν ὑμείν ἐμέμνητο, **497**, 15-17).

<sup>41</sup> We may compare the so-called 'Happy Family' archive, ArchID 212 (the archive of Saturnila and her sons).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Strassi 2002, p. 162, on the difficulties of identification and p. 168-171 for a masterful evocation of the social world of Sabinus and Apollinarius.

because he is greeted in **499**, while in a new letter to his father, Apollinarius passes along greetings from Abaskantos and one Nikostratos, probably another freedman or slave. Earlier in this letter, Apollinarius informs his father that he freed Eros, the same man referred to as ‘our Eros’ in **487**.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, in a letter home from Alexandria, Sabinus writes that ‘our Antonius’ has been keeping him company (**493**). It is difficult to identify the precise status of most of these men, but one gets the impression that the family oversaw a rather extensive network of slaves and freedmen.

Apollinarius was clearly a man of importance: a Roman citizen who advanced rapidly in the military, his service took him from the frontiers to the imperial capital before he finally settled down in his native Karanis. In his retirement he lived for a time in the nome metropolis from where he supervised his estates and other economic interests in the Arsinoites. His letters suggest a man devoted to his parents, who had set him up for success, and he was ready to use his considerable influence to assist friends and family.

The archive of Sabinus and Apollinarius can be studied from many different angles. It has long held an important position in discussions of the changing disposition of the Roman army in the east in the early second century, while the vignettes in Apollinarius’ Arabian letters give insight into military life at the time. More recently, and with a better appreciation of the archive as a whole, historians have focused on the social aspects of the archive, tracing the networks of friends and family around the father and son soldiers. New discoveries, such as Sambathion’s marriage contract, have shed light on the family’s background and we hope that the texts forthcoming in *P. Mich. XXII* provide a broader foundation for further study.

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<sup>43</sup> P. Mich. inv. 5901+5836 (#37), 32: ἀσπάζε[τε]ράί σε Ἀβάσκαντος καὶ Νικόστρατος; 18: ἐλευθέρωσα (l. ἠλευθέρωσα) Ἐρωτ[α]. Eros is also greeted in **465**, 40.

Archive texts *Published*<sup>44</sup>

	Text	Context	Date (AD)	Contents
1	<i>P. Mich.</i> IX <b>541</b> (inv. 5922)	30-C123-CCJ-A	69-79	Supplementary declaration of property made by Ptolemaios, Sambathion's husband
2	<i>P. Mich.</i> IX <b>571</b> (inv. 5915)	30-C123-CCJ-A	96-98	Contract of deposit with Sabinus, with a later withdrawal
3	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>485</b> (inv. 5840 + 5845)	30-C123-BG-A	ca. 105	Letter from Ammonius to Sabinus
4	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>466</b> (inv. 5903)	30-C123-CCI-A	26 March, 107	Letter from Apollinarius to Sabinus <sup>45</sup>
5	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>465</b> (inv. 5888)	30-C123-CCH <sup>1</sup> -A	19 February, 108	Letter from Apollinarius to Tasoucharion
6	<i>P. Mich.</i> IX <b>549</b> (inv. 5852) (re-edition forthcoming in <i>P. Mich.</i> XXII)	30-C123-BG-A	117/8	Will of Sambathion
7	<i>P. Mich.</i> IX <b>562</b> (inv. 5883), see App. 2. (the back contains an address, unpublished)	30-C123-CG <sup>4</sup> -A	1 September, 119	Lease of grain land and olive groves by Apollinarius
8	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>500</b> (inv. 5638a)	29-132*-DI	108-131	Letter from Rullius to Apollinarius in Rome
9	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>501</b> (inv. 5638)	29-132*-DI	108-131	Letter to or from Apollinarius
10	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>487</b> (inv. 5825)	30-C123-BBJ-A	108-131	Letter from Apollinarius in Rome to Sempronius <sup>46</sup>
11	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>493</b> (inv. 5904)	30-C123-CCI-A	Early II AD	Letter from Sabinus to his mother and his wife Demetrous
12	<i>P. Mich.</i> IX <b>572</b> (inv. 5890)	30-C123-CCH <sup>2</sup> -A	3 October, 131	Loan of wheat by Apollinarius
13	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>486</b> (inv. 5881)	30-C123-CG <sup>4</sup> -A	<i>post</i> 130	Letter from Sempronius Clemens to Apollinarius
14	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>498</b> (inv. 5892)	30-C123-CCH <sup>2</sup> -A	<i>post</i> ca. 130	Letter from Gemellus to

<sup>44</sup> A re-edition of **549** is forthcoming in *P. Mich.* XXII. Date of #3: Strobel 1988, p. 257 n. 35. Date of #5: *BL* VIII, p. 214. #8, 9 and 10 (108-131): these letters should be connected to Apollinarius' post as *frumentarius*, attested for AD 119 (#7) (cf. Strassi 2002, p. 163, n. 20). The *terminus post quem* is his service in Arabia, where he is attested as *principalis* on February 19, 108 (**465**) and the likely *terminus ante quem* is his discharge from the army (on which, see above). Date of #11 (early II AD): the mention of Sabinus' mother (born no later than ca. AD 50 if Sabinus was born ca. 60-65: but cf. n. 4 and 8) limits the date to the early part of the century at the latest; see above for the possible dating to ca. 117/8. Date of #13 (*post* 130): the letter mentions Antinoopolis. Date of #14 (*post* ca. 130): Apollinarius is addressed as a veteran. Date of #15 (ca. 117/8-150): Abaskantos appears as part of Apollinarius' household and thus postdates Sambathion's will (*P. Mich.* IX, p. 70). #16 and 17: we agree with Strassi 2002, p. 163, n. 20 that these likely come from after Apollinarius' discharge.

<sup>45</sup> The hand of this and the following letter exhibit similar traits to #20-22 (Group 1). There is also much stylistic overlap with the group represented by **487** (Group 2: cf. n. 46); both groups may be Apollinarius' own hand, with differences due to change over time, speed, writing equipment, etc. A full graphological study of these letters is forthcoming in *P. Mich.* XXII.

<sup>46</sup> This letter is in a distinctive hand that is marked by the occasional large, rounded epsilon and theta. This hand is readily identifiable in #19, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 37 (Group 2), and also has similarities to Group 1, represented by **466** (see n. 45).

				Apollinarius
15	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>499</b> (inv. 5916+5764)	30-C123-CCJ-A	ca. 117/8-150	Letter from Sabinianus to Apollinarius
16	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>496</b> (inv. 5849)	30-C123-BG <sup>4</sup> -A	ca. 130-150 (?)	Letter from Apol... to Apollinarius
17	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII <b>497</b> (inv. 5846)	30-C123-BG <sup>4</sup> -A	ca. 130-150 (?)	Letter from Theon to Apollinarius
18	HEILPORN 2010, p. 258-61, no. 2 (was <i>SB</i> XXIV 15891; inv. 5838d)	C123-BBJ-A	25 March, 147	Oath attesting to examination of Apollinarius' veteran status

*Note.* The Michigan excavation labels, such as 30-C123-CG<sup>4</sup>-A are read as follows. The first number is the season of excavation (30 = winter of 1930/1); the letter and number following refer to the assigned occupation layer (A through E, latest to earliest) and the structure; the letters following refer to a room within this structure and a superscripted number indicates a section of the room (in these cases bins); the last letter is the number of the 'object' (A-Z, then AI-ZI, then AII, etc.). An 'object' can be a very large group, such as 30-C123-BBJ-A, 'papyrus', which consists of *P. Mich.* inv. 5824-5838. For more information, see *O. Mich.* I, p. xviii-xix.

### Unpublished<sup>47</sup>

- 19 *P. Mich.* inv. 5827+5838t+5925b;<sup>48</sup> 30-C123-BBJ-A/CCJ-A. Letter from Apollinarius to Sabinus. Hand: Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 20 *P. Mich.* inv. 5837a+5838v; 30-C123-BBJ-A. Letter from Apollinarius (based on the hand) with greetings to Iulia, Sarapias, and Thermouthis (cf. **466**). Likely sent to a family member around the same time as **466** and **465**, perhaps also from Arabia. Hand: Group 1 (see n. 45).
- 21 *P. Mich.* inv. 5838i;<sup>49</sup> 30-C123-BBJ-A. Letter from Apollinarius (based on the hand) to his mother or sister.<sup>50</sup> Mentions Saturninus the *signifer* and Iulianus (cf. **466**), probably sent around the same time as **466** and **465**. Hand: Group 1 (see n. 45).
- 22 *P. Mich.* inv. 5838l; 30-C123-BBJ-A. End of letter in Group 1 hand (see n. 45).
- 23 *P. Mich.* inv. 5838w+5925z31; 30-C123-BBJ-A/CCJ-A. Letter in Group 2 hand (see n. 46).
- 24 *P. Mich.* inv. 5841; 30-C123BG-A. Letter from Apollinarius to a sister mentioning 'the gods'. Complete, but much effaced. Hand: Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 25 *P. Mich.* inv. 5855e; 30-C123BG<sup>4</sup>-A. Letter from Tasoucharion to her 'brother' (i.e., husband) Sabinus. Small fragment.
- 26 *P. Mich.* inv. 5864a; 30-C123BBI-A. Small fragment of a letter from (C. Iulius) Sabinus to his mother Apollonarian and another Sabinus.
- 27 *P. Mich.* inv. 5865b; 30-C123BI-A. Small fragment of a letter from Sempronius to Sabinus.
- 28 *P. Mich.* inv. 5869d+z6; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Two small fragments preserving six lines of a letter that mentions Rome. Hand: Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 29 *P. Mich.* inv. 5869z22+z32; 30-C123-CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Letter from Apollinarius probably to Sabinianus mentioning a delivery 'through Ptolemaios'. Hand: Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 30 *P. Mich.* inv. 5869z26; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Letter in which Sabinianus sends greetings.
- 31 *P. Mich.* inv. 5879a; 30-C123CG<sup>2</sup>-A; AD 124-126. Fragmentary sheet of at least four receipts dating to the reign of Hadrian, one for money taxes paid by Γάιος Ἰο[ύλιος Ἀπολλινάριος] (l. 12).
- 32 *P. Mich.* inv. 5879b; 30-C123CG<sup>2</sup>-A; AD 124-125. Sheet of two money tax receipts (with traces of a third) issued to Gaius Iulius Apollinarius.<sup>51</sup>
- 33 *P. Mich.* inv. 5882; 30-C123CG<sup>4</sup>-A; AD 109-110. Receipts for money taxes paid by Sokrates, son of Sarapion, 'through' a Sabinus (his son or tenant, not C. Iulius Sabinus). #31 includes a receipt for taxes paid

<sup>47</sup> All of these texts except for #21 and #22 are forthcoming in *P. Mich.* XXII.

<sup>48</sup> Inv. 5027 in Husselman's list is probably a typo for this fragment (*P. Mich.* IX, p. 5).

<sup>49</sup> Husselman refers to this as 5838e (*P. Mich.* IX, p. 8).

<sup>50</sup> The grounds for Husselman's assertion (*P. Mich.* IX, p. 8) that this is a letter from Apollinarius to his mother Tasoucharion are unclear, although the recipient is indeed a female member of the family.

<sup>51</sup> One more papyrus was found in CG<sup>2</sup>, *P. Mich.* inv. 5880, now in Cairo, which APIS dates to Hadrian's reign. One wonders if this too is a sheet of receipts issued to Apollinarius, or at least part of the archive.

- on land previously belonging to this Sokrates, who is also found in **549**.
- 34 P. Mich. inv. 5894+5869q+5869n; 30-C123-CCH<sup>2</sup>-A; AD 132/133. Census declaration submitted for Apollinarius and Iulia Sarapias through a son of Sokrates, son of Sarapion (cf. **549**).
- 35 P. Mich. inv. 5896; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A; after 75 CE. Copy of a dowry receipt drawn up in 75 CE for Sambathion and her husband Ptolemaios, son of Apion.
- 36 P. Mich. inv. 5900;<sup>52</sup> 30-C123CCI-A. Legal proceedings before the *archidikastes* in which Sambathion requests and is granted the use of a *hypographeus*. Written in red ink.
- 37 P. Mich. inv. 5901+5836; 30-C123-BBJ-A/CCJ-A. Letter from Apollinarius to Sabinus with a greeting to Thermouthis and greetings from Abaskantos and Nikostratos. Hand: Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 38 P. Mich. inv. 5920; 30-C123-CCJ-A. Account mentioning Iulius Apollinarius.

### Uncertain

The texts listed below have various claims to connection with the archive, mostly due to the occurrence of names found elsewhere in the archive. All except *SB XXII 15832* come from structure C123. The published texts are listed first, followed by the unpublished texts in order of inventory number.

- 39 P. Mich. IX **528** (inv. 5868); 30-C123-CCH<sup>1</sup>-A; early II AD. Beginning of petition to *archidikastes*.
- 40 P. Mich. VIII **482** (inv. 5770); 30-132\*-YII; 23 August, AD 133. Letter to a brother, mentions Syria.
- 41 P. Mich. VIII **489** (inv. 5252a); 30-152\*-BI; II AD. Adjacent context to granary,<sup>53</sup> mentions an Apollinarios or Apollinarion.
- 42 *CdE* 85 (2010), p. 261-2, no. 3 (was P. Mich. VIII 509; inv. 5838+5925a); 30-C123-BBJ-A/CCJ-A. Letter of Priscus Apolinaris to his mother.
- 43 *SB XXII 15832* (inv. 6546c); 33-B556-B; AD 133/134 (?). Receipt issued to one Iulius Sabinus. The editor's supplements in l. 1-2 are too bold, even granted that they are *exempli gratia*.
- 44 P. Mich. inv. 5639b; 29-132\*-EI (in Cairo).<sup>54</sup> Money tax receipts in which Ἰούλιος Ἀπολινάριος appears.
- 45 P. Mich. inv. 5639c; 29-132\*-EI (in Cairo). Money tax receipts with Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολινάριος.
- 46 P. Mich. inv. 5774b; 30-132\*-YII. Small fragment mentioning Sokrates, Apollinarios, Philippos.
- 47 P. Mich. inv. 5831; 30-C123BBJ-A. A Sabinus in l. 25. Perhaps the same hand as #49.
- 48 P. Mich. inv. 5852r; 30-C123-BG-A. Accounts. The verso contains the will of Sambathion (**549**).
- 49 P. Mich. inv. 5838j; 30-C123-BBJ-A. Letter from Sempronius Valens to the soldier Saturnilus. Perhaps the same hand as #47.
- 50 P. Mich. inv. 5855f, frag. 2; 30-C123BG<sup>d</sup>-A. Mentions Tasoucharion.
- 51 P. Mich. inv. 5868c; 30-C123CCH<sup>1</sup>-A. Fragmentary letter that may be a smaller version of the hand in Group 2 (see n. 46).
- 52 P. Mich. inv. 5869e+j; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Declaration of unwatered land from a Iulia Valeria (?) alias Apollonaria with her *kyrios* Marcus Sempronius Saturnilus.
- 53 P. Mich. inv. 5869l; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. A badly abraded and fragmentary declaration of uninundated land, with Ἀπ[ολ]ινάρι[ος] mentioned.
- 54 P. Mich. inv. 5869o; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Six fragments of unidentified document of a 12th year, perhaps referring to Gaius Iulius Apollinarius.
- 55 P. Mich. inv. 5869t; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Tiny fragment mentioning [Sam]bathion, perhaps in the Group 2 hand (see n. 46).
- 56 P. Mich. inv. 5869z23; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Multiple fragments of letter. May be a quicker version of the Group 2 hand (see n. 46).
- 57 P. Mich. inv. 5872c; 30-C123CE-A. Mentions a Iulius.
- 58 P. Mich. inv. 5893; 30-C123CCH<sup>2</sup>-A. Contract between the brothers Sabinus and Sarapion, both sons of Sokrates.

<sup>52</sup> Listed at P. Mich. IX, p. 5 after 'connection with archive uncertain', and mentioned in the fourth paragraph of p. 7 (with the incorrect inventory number 5894).

<sup>53</sup> The Record of Objects entry for 30-152\*-QII, for instance, reads, 'papyrus high in filling above east end of C123.' These papyri are inv. 5776-5778 and are in Cairo.

<sup>54</sup> A print in the Michigan Papyrology Collection shows three money tax receipts under this excavation label, which I have labelled a-c from left to right. 5639a was issued to Σαβῖνος Μοῦλ... in AD 161/2 and seems unrelated to the archive. The Record of Objects entry for 29-132\*-EI reads, 'Papyrus found in second vault just E. of stairway', which can be identified with room CCG. The other papyri found in this room are inv. 5878 and 5885, both in Cairo.

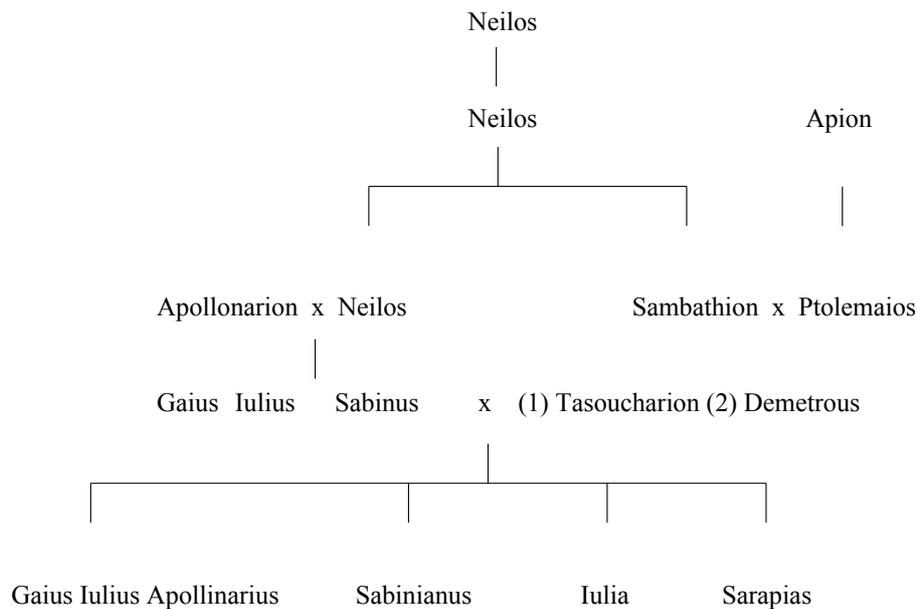
- 59 P. Mich. inv. 5923; 30-C123CCJ-A. *Cheirographon* involving a *signifer* of the 3rd Cyrenaic legion, possibly Gaius Iulius Sabinus.<sup>55</sup>  
 60 P. Mich. inv. 5925e; 30-C123CCJ-A. Application to lease a vineyard/orchard addressed to a woman named Ioulias (= Iulia?).  
 61 P. Mich. inv. 5925f; 30-C123CCJ-A. Three small fragments of a letter to a veteran.

**Text types**

25 letters; a property declaration (**541**); a will (**549**); a lease contract (**562**); a contract for deposit and withdrawal (**571**); a loan contract (**572**); oath regarding veteran status (HEILPORN 2010, no. 2 (inv. 5838d)); receipts (#31-33); a census return (#34); a marriage contract (#35); legal proceedings (#36); accounts (#38).

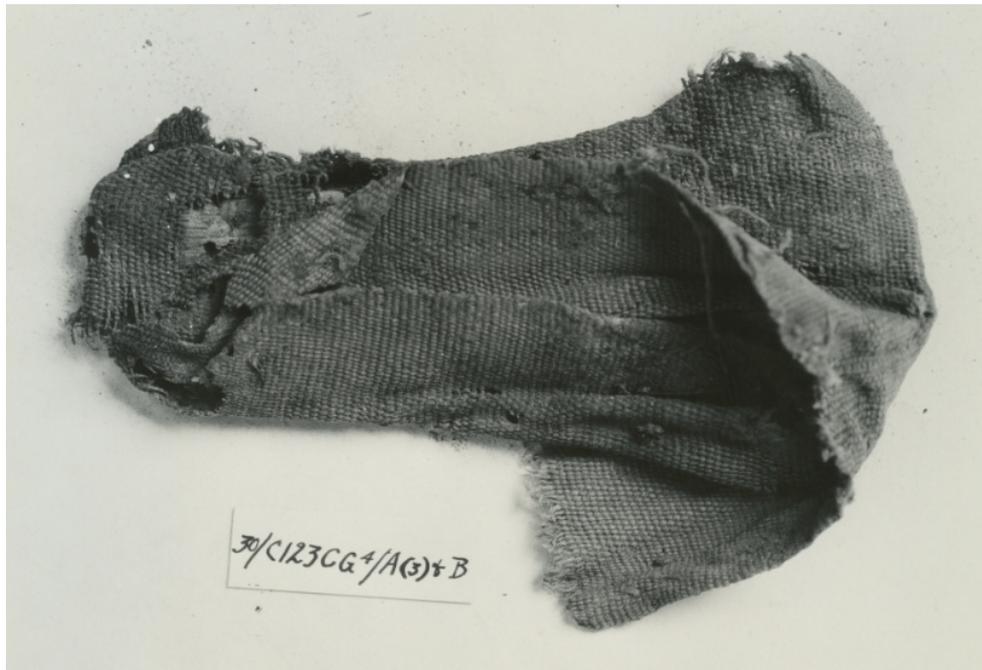
**Appendices**

**App. 1. Stemma of the family**



<sup>55</sup> This text has been edited by Arthur Verhoogt and Samantha Lash and is forthcoming in *ZPE*. I thank the editors for sharing a draft with me.

App. 2. Text wrapped in cloth



**562** was found wrapped in cloth. The Record of Objects entry for 30-C123-CG<sup>4</sup>-B reads, ‘Cloth in which Papyrus A was wrapped’, seemingly referring to the entire find 30-C123-CG<sup>4</sup>-A, ‘Papyrus’ (now P. Mich. inv. 5881-5), but a labelled photograph found in the Papyrology Collection shows that only A(3) (P. Mich. inv. 5883) was wrapped in the cloth. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection. For an image of the papyrus unwrapped, see *P. Mich.* IX, plate X, or the digital image in APIS.