Abstract: This article studies a full name, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ), associated with the abridged cognomen Ἀπολ(. ). This name is associated with the landowner who had the largest holdings recorded in the Hermopolite fiscal register (AD 98–101), which is full of gaps and missing lines. The first appearance of this personal name has been dated to P. Stras. X 902 8 2 (AD 100/101). My research encompasses all of the personal names that appear in the abridged form Ἀπολ( ) accompanied by the personal name Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) in papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions. I suggest one cognomen, based on the Hermopolite fiscal register and other evidence.

Keywords: the Hermopolite nome - Large landowners - Roman Egypt
The tria nomina Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) emerged for the first time in one of the columns of the Hermopolite fiscal register dated to the fourth year of Emperor Trajan’s reign (AD 100/101), along with details about his holdings and tax payments in the metropolis bank. He is considered the landowner with the largest amount of property in the village of Σεντρῦφις, which is located in the Κουσσίτης κάτω toparchy, the Hermopolite nome. His cognomen, identity, and possessions in Egypt reward further research. The editor Ruey-Lin Chang specifies that the fiscal register cited above names Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) for the first time. He held katoikic land of 275 ar. γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) ζ(οε, paid in the metropolis bank a naubion-tax of 137 drachmas and 3 obols, and for his private land of 25 ar. ιδιοκτή(του) κε, he paid 13 drachmas and 5 obols. The total thus paid was 151 drachmas and 2 obols. Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) enjoyed additional income from a profitable bath that he owned in the village, for which he paid a tax to the same bank.

Our goal is to look for the full cognomen of Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) which officials abridged in the register, and the identity which it was associated with. We find that the only personal name beginning with Ἀπολ- and written down in the register, in full letters, is Ἀπολλώνιος. This name was mentioned seven times, in different handwritings, and once in its feminine form Ἀπολλωνία. We can notice that the name Ἀπολλώνιος was associated with Greek and Egyptian names. This matches well Van Minnen’s statistics on the top 25 common names in the Hermopolite nome (I-III AD), which showed that the name Apollonius was the most common name beginning with Apol( ).

Among a total of approximately 600 personal names in the register, Ἀπολ appears twenty three times, three of them are followed either by gabs or missing letters, eleven

1 P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 2 (AD100/101) Herm.
2 cf. n. l. 2: “Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) ce civis Romanus n’est pas connu ailleurs”.
3 P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 2- 3: Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) ζ(οε, ν(αυ)β(ίου) ρλζ (τριώβολο ν]). ιδιοκτή(του) κε, (δραχμαί) ιγ (πεντώβολον), (γίνονται) ρνα (διώβολον).
4 P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 7: (τρίτης) βαλ(ανείου) α̅.
5 P. Stras. X 901, col. 16. 15: [ ± 4 Ἀπο]λλόνιο(υ) Τιτκῶιν; col. 28. 19: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς) Ἀχιλ(λέως); 902, col. 12. 2: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς) Ἀχιλ(λέως); col. 13. 8: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς) Η[... ; col. 14. 5: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς) Σαλῦτος; col. 18. 2: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς), l. 8: Ἀπολλόνιο(ς).
6 P. Stras. X 902, col. 21. 8: Ἀπολλώνια Ερμαίω.
7 Peter Van Minnen, “New light on a dark corner of the Hermopolite nome,” Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 52 (2015): 321. I owe a great debt of thanks to Peter Van Minnen, whose detailed comments and suggestions have helped mold this into a stronger piece. I must also extend my thanks to Thomas Kruse for reading my article with incomparable care and for his enriching criticism.

9 P. Stras. X 901, col. 30. 26²; 902, col. 16. 8; col. 19. 7R.
times are associated with nine Egyptian names: Ἀπόλλων( ) son of Pathotes; Ἀπόλ( ) son of Horion; Ἀπόλ( ) brother or sister of Thoteus, son of Inaroys; Ἀπόλ( ) father or mother of Dio( ) alias Papontos; Ἀπόλ( ) father or mother of Papontos; Ἀπόλ( ) father or mother of Pateesis; Ἀπόλ[ο]λ( ) father of Panekhotes; Ἀπόλ( ) father of Papontos; Ἀπόλ( ) son of Koullouthos.

Moreover, Ἀπόλ( ) is associated with only three Greek names in the register (the first one occurs six times): Ἀπόλ( ) son of Achilleus; Ἀπόλ( ) son of Diogenes; Ἀπόλ( ) son of Heras. And, it is associated with only one Roman name in the register: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπόλ( ).. Accordingly, the Hermopolite fiscal register assures that Ἀπολλωνιος was associated with Egyptian and Greek names and was less associated with Roman names.

There is an additional appearance to Apollonius son of Achilleus, whose name was registered once in full letters Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀχιλ(λέως), and six times in the abridged form Ἀπολλ.,. However, can one conclude that every appearance of Ἀπολλωνιος in the register signifies Apollonius, and consequently, that the only name beginning with Ἀπολλωνιος is Apollonius in Σεντρῦφις, Τιτκῶις, and Τερτονκανω villages? Consider that in one column of the register, both the full name ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ and the abridged name ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, in the same handwriting, refer to two different people. We are forced to conclude that they do not refer to the same name; therefore, Ἀπολλωνιος in this register is an abridged form not just of the name Apollonius. Likewise, in the long list of names in

1 P. Stras. X 901, col. 22. 20.<ref>
2 P. Stras. X 901, col. 37. 16, 18.<ref>
3 P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 5, 6.<ref>
4 P. Stras. X 902, col. 24. 13 n. interf.<ref>
5 P. Stras. X 902, col. 23. 6.<ref>
6 P. Stras. X 901, col. 41. 21.<ref>
7 P. Stras. X 901, col. 22. 19.<ref>
8 P. Stras.X 902, col. 23. 6.<ref>
9 P. Stras.X 902, col. 14. 8.<ref>
10 P. Stras. X 901, col. 29.19, col. 40. 15, 16, 21, 25, 26.<ref>
11 P. Stras.X 902, col. 23. 8.<ref>
12 P. Stras.X 902, col. 16. 13.<ref>
13 The other two Roman names in the register are Λούκιος Πτολ(εμαῖος) and Κλαύδιος Θεός Απόλλωνιος Σαλῦτος.
14 P. Stras. X 901, col. 28. 19.<ref>
15 This is because his tax payments were recorded in four columns. The full form of this name appears first, then afterwards in its abridged form. Thus, it makes sense to identify the abridged form Ἀπολλωνιος in this case as Ἀπολλωνιος.<ref>
16 P. Stras. X 902, col. 14. 5: Ἀπολλωνιος Σαλῦτος.<ref>
17 P. Stras. X 902, col. 14. 8: Ἀπολ( ) Κολ[λούθου].
18 In an innovative contribution, Chang added a list of the names mentioned in every column, accompanied by the line number where each name appears. For example: P. Stras. X 902, col. 14: 3 πευ, 4 με, 5 Ππολλωνιος, 6 μερ, 7 με, 8 απο, 9 κολ, 10 φαρμος, 11 καστορ, 12 Ραφος, 13 Καστορος, 14 Ἡμιτος.
The Cognomen and Identity of the Largest Landowner in the Hermopolite Fiscal Register (P. Stras. X 901-903)

another register,1 the abridged name Απολλων2 Απολλων2 του Α[πο]λλων,2 and thus which one signifies the name Apollonius? Moreover, Απολλων3 was the abridged form to: 1. Απολ(λωνος)3 2. Απολ(λόδωρος)4 3. Απολ(λιναριος).5 4. Απολ(λιναρίος).6

These three papyri are now relevant. The provenance of the first, P. Gen. II 97, is unknown. Dating to the second half of the first century AD, it preserves a full cognomen, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος.7 This papyrus is part of the tax register, which is ordered here by letter (Μ). It lists the name of each landowner and the lands of different classes that he owns, along with the tax payments that each provides.8 The name Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος appears among eleven Roman citizens recognizable by their duo or tria nomina, in addition to two Romanized Greco-Egyptian names: Μᾶρκος Ἰούλιος Ῥοῦφος, Μᾶρκος Οὐαλέριος Λόγγος, Μάρκος Ἀττιος Κλήμις, Μάρκος Πετρόνιος Ἀμμώνιος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Τούρβων, Μενέλαος Ζωάνου, Μαρκία Ἰουλία, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος, Μᾶρκος Ὀκταύιος Οὐάλης, Μᾶρκος Οὐαλέριος Βερνεκιανὸς, Μυσθαρίων ό καὶ Μᾶρκος Δ [...], Μᾶρκος Πετρόνιος Κέλερ [...], Μενύκιος.

To determine the provenance of P.Gen. II 97, we looked for further occurrences of the name Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος, and traced the Roman names listed above, in the documents dating to the first two centuries AD. This search revealed that the second appearance of the name Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος, which will be discussed below, originated in the Arsinoite nome.10 Furthermore, both Οὐαλέριος Βερνεκιανὸς (P.Gen. II 97.18) and Πετρόνιος Κέλερ (P.Gen. II 97.22) appear together in two documents from the Arsinoite nome.11 Moreover, a group of documents dating to the second half of the second century AD preserves the personal name Μᾶρκος Οὐαλέριος

1 P. Lond. II 257 (AD 94 - 95) Arsin.
2 P. Lond. II 257. 265: Ἀπολλωνο(ς) Ἀπολ(λωνος) τοῦ Α[πο]λλωνος; I. 267: Λογγινος ο Απολλωνος Απολλωνος.3 O. Bodl. II 1903 (AD 101-300) Thebaid.
4 O. Bodl. II 963. 6, 7 (AD 81), 837. 1 (AD 118) Thebaid.
5 O. Claud. II 390. 9 (AD 100-150), 388. 6 (AD 100-150). The common abridged form of Ἀπολινάριος is attested as: Ἀπολλων(ος), P.Genova V 195 (AD 101 - 300) Arsin., l. 22: Ἀθρῆς Ἀπολλωνίαριος; O. Claud. IV 833 (AD 140-145), l. 5: Ἀρβηκις Ἀπολλωνίαριος; 834 (AD 140-145), l. 9: Ἀπολλωνίαριος Αμμώνιος; P. Mich. VI 395 (AD 183) Kairouan, l. 16: Ἀπολλωνίαριος Ἀμμώνιος; O. Claud. IV 752. 6: Ἀρβηκις Ἀπολλωνίαριος (AD 98-117); SB VI 9017.1, Nr. 17= O. Fawakhir 17: Ἀπολλωνίαριος (AD 1 - 200) Wâdi Fawâkhir.
6 O. Claud. IV 836 (AD 140-145), l. 6: Ἀπολλωνίαριος Χρυσομαλλιάριος.7 P. Gen. II 97. 14 = SB V 7620 (AD 50-99).
10 P. Alex. 622, page 28 (I-IV AD) Arsin., l. 4: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλωνίαριου.
Τούρβων (P.Gen. II 97. 9), and all came from Philadelphia village and Ptolemais Euergetis. Accordingly, we conclude that P.Gen. II 97 originated in the Arsinoite nome. Thus Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος owned a parcel of land in the Arsinoite nome, but the specific area of his holding is still unknown because the right half of the papyrus is missing. We can assume, though, that it ranges between the largest holding, the $9\frac{3}{4}$ arourai of Mystharion, and the smallest, the $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$ arourai of Marcus Iulius Rufus.

Our search for the names of Roman citizens, as listed above, yielded further information. There is a similarity between the names in the Geneva document and those of some military personnel – for example, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Λόγγος (P.Gen. II 97. 3) and the soldier Οὐαλέριος Λόγγος, who served in Berenike; Μάρκος Ἀπολινάριος (P.Gen. II 97. 1) and the soldier Ἐπαφίας Ἀπολινάριος; Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Τούρβων (P.Gen. II 97. 9) and the soldier Marcus Valerius Turbo; Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος (P.Gen. II 97. 14) and the centurion Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος. Thus, there is evidence that individuals of the Geneva papyrus belonged to military families. Taking into account that all the attestations from Egypt to men bear the nomen gentilicium Marcus Antonius, are clearly connected to

---


2 L. 20: Μυσθαρίων ὁ καὶ Μᾶρκος Δ [... κατοικησις] (ἀρουρων) θ zl (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ zl.

3 L. 2: ἐπιβολῆς (ἀρουρων) βLη̅λ̅β̅ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιβ.

4 O. Berenike III 447. 4 (AD 51-100).

5 O. Claud. II 392. 2 (AD 100-150), 393. 3 (AD 100-150), 394. 4 (AD 100-150); O. Krok. I 61 (AD 102-103).


8 O. Claud. II 390. 9 (AD 100-150); 388. 6 (AD 100-150).

the military,\(^1\) except for the imperial official Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Πάλλας, one of Antonia Minor’s freedmen.\(^2\)

The second papyrus relevant to the tria nomina Marcus Antonius Apollinarius is an official fragment preserving the name in the genitive case, Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολινάριου,\(^3\) presumably to indicate that the son, or the freedman, of Marcus Antonius Apollinaris abandoned his land (ἀποκεχώρηκεν), which here spans four arourai, without paying the taxes due on it.

The two documents (P.Gen. II 97 & P.Alex. 622) offer small Roman landowners. It seems unlikely that an ordinary Roman such as Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος in P.Gen. II 97 (in the company of many other small landowners there) could also have been the largest landowner in part of another nome (the Hermopolite nome). Nevertheless, the two documents offer evidence to the association between the nomen gentilicium Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος and the cognomen Ἀπολινάριος which also was associated with soldiers – for instance, G. Iulius Apollinarius,\(^4\) and Tiberius Claudius Apollinaris.\(^5\) On the other hand, the tria nomina Marcus Antonius Apollonius does not appear in documents from Egypt,\(^6\) and the nomen gentilicium Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) was

---


2. After Marcus Antonius Pallas was emancipated by Antonia Minor, he acquired an imperial estate of 57 arourai in the Arsinoite nome, P. Lond. II 195 (a). 15 (AD 1-100) Arsin.; In addition to another large private estate in Lower Leukopyrgite toparchy, in the Hermopolite nome, six Hermopolitan citizens submitted an application to him to lease 1111\(^3\)/\(^1\)6 arourai of it, P. Lond. III 1223 = W. Chr. 370 (6 Oct. AD 121) Herm.; He might have owned more lands in Oxyrhynchus.


3. P. Alex. 622, page 28 (I- IV AD) Arsin. In 1901, Botti dated this document to the Byzantine period, perhaps based on paleography. However, given the dates of P.Gen. 97 (AD 50–99) and the latest evidence for pedion Psenarpsennsis (l. 7), which provides a terminus ante quem of AD 212, that P. Alex. 622 does not refer to III/IV AD: P. Mich. VI 372, ii. 8 (30 Aug. AD 211- 28 Aug. AD 212); P. Gen. III 145. 4-5 (20 Jan. AD 206) Arsin.

4. CIL X 3583(AD 101- 200) Misenum, Napoli: D(is) M(anibus) C(ai) Iulii Apollinaris | natione Aegypti, ((triare)) Herc(ule); | vixit annis XXVIII, | militavit annis VIII.

5. CIG III 4714 (AD 109) Panopolis, Egypt = SB V 8325= IGRR I 1148: Tīβερίου Κλαύδιος Tīβερίου Κλαύδιου Νέρωνος υἱὸς Κουρίνα Απολινάρις ... (έτους) | ζῆσαν κατά τούς Καίσαρας Τραϊάνου Σεβαστού Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ, Παχὼν ιε̅.

6. However, in Rome, a M(arcus) Antoni(us) Apollonius appears during reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Vespasian CIL VI 1 200 (AD 70) Via Appia, Rome, col. v. 14: M(arcus) Antonius Apollonius, soldier.
accompanied by few cognomina that begin with Ἀπολ( ), both in Egypt and in the Roman Empire.\(^1\) In Egypt, it was the cognomen Apol(l)inaris/Apollinarius\(^2\) in the first two centuries AD.

The third papyrus pertaining to one of the Marci Antonii – with his name accompanied by the abridged name Ἀπο\(^5\) – is Marcus Antonius Longus,\(^3\) whose full name was written as Μάρκο(ς) Ἀντώ(νιος) Λόγγο(ς) Ἀπολ( ).\(^4\) However, this Ἀπο\(^5\) is not his second cognomen but rather the abridged form of his father’s name, which might have been registered in full letters in another document.\(^5\) And so the latter name is unrelated to the name Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλινάριος, which was mentioned in P. Gen. II 97.14 & P. Alex. 628. 1 Nor is Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος(ς) Ἀπολ( ) related to P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 2. Marcus Antonius Longus served in Legio X Fretensis under Sextus Hermetidius Campanus and became a veteran in AD 88/ 89.\(^6\) Domitian granted extraordinary privileges to a veteran of legio X, Fretensis and his family. This was likely an exceptional set of benefits, intended only for those who played a role in the fall of Jerusalem.\(^7\) On the other hand, it is possible that Marcus Antonius Longus was the father of Marcus Antonius Serinus.\(^8\) Of this same nomen gentilicium, another Marcus

---

\(^1\) In the Roman provinces, the following names appear: Marcus Antonius Apollonianus, in: Ivo. 99 (after AD 165) Elpis, Peloponnesos, l. 10: Μ(ᾶρκος) Ἀντ(ώνιος) Ἀπολλονιάριος, as well as Marcus Antonius Apollodoros, in an undated inscription from Ionia, Asia Minor. Milet VI, 2 826, l.2-3: Μ(ᾶρκος) Ἀπολλονιάριος (ἑκατονταρχίας) Διδ̣[ ]\(^2\) W. Chr. 463. 10- 20 (AD 87/ 88); Johnson, Roman Egypt, 677.

\(^2\) P. Gen. II 97 (AD 495- 99), l. 14: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Λόγγου \[ ...\].

\(^3\) P. Hamb. I 97 (29 Aug. AD 104 - 28 Aug. AD 105) Philadelphia, ll. 2- 3: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Λόγγου \[ ...\].

\(^4\) CPR VIII 8, col.2 (AD 75-125) Arsin.

\(^5\) P. Hamb. I 97. 1- 3: Μάρκος Ἀντωνίος Λόγγος Ἐρίλης\[ ...\].

\(^6\) ILS III 9059 (2 July AD 94) Arsin., ll. 20- 21: | Μ(ᾶρκος) Αντωνίου Λόγγου \[ ...\]. This wooden copy of a military diploma was copied in AD 94, from a bronze original that was inscribed in the period from 14 Sept. A D 88 to 13 Sept. AD 89. Column I of the exterior face records the names of nine witnesses who observed the copying of the diploma; Marcus Antonius Longus is the sixth. All of the witnesses are described as veterans, indicating that they too had been honorably discharged and received the same privileges to which they were themselves bearing witness. cf. Brian Campbell, The Roman Army 31 B.C.—337 A.D.: A Sourcebook (London: Routledge, 1994), 209- 210.


\(^8\) P. Hamb. I 97, 1- 3: Μάρκος Ἀντωνίου Σερήνου \[ ...\].
Antonius set up a gravestone for his father Marcus Antonius Valens, and two siblings were named Marcus Antonius Heliodorus and Marcus Antonius Aper.

To sum up, in light of our evidence on the cognomen of Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ( ), this article excludes the cognomen Ἀπολλώνιος, and introduces the cognomen Ἀπολλινάρις / Ἀπολλινάριος, which is the attested cognomen beginning with Ἀπολ- in Egypt, associated with the nomen gentilicium Marcus Antonius in: the tria nomina Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλινάριος; the duo nomina Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλινάρις and Μᾶρκος Ἀπολινάρις. Furthermore, it’s attested during the reigns of the emperors Domitian, and Trajan, accompanied by the personal names of auxiliary soldiers.

The largest landowner in the Hermopolite fiscal register was presumably a veteran, like most Roman citizens who bore the nomen gentilicium Marcus Antonius in Egypt, and thus received the usual retirement gratuity. He invested his wealth in lands and baths, which recalls the business of the well-off soldier Gaius Iulius Apollinarius, who also had a variety of holdings, and his business revenues were lands and baths.

---

1 CIL VIII 3405 (Not dated) Numedia: D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Antoni/us Valens vi/xit an(nos) XXIII / M(arcus) Antonius / f(ilius) pio fecit.
2 PSI XIII 1325. 1-2 (AD 172-175); Marcus Antonius Aper holds twenty-four arourai in Philadelphia, in P. Warr. 8 (AD 86) Philadelphia.
3 It can be argued that the cognomen Ἀπολλινάρις / Ἀπολλινάριος, as the Greek cognomen Ἀπολλωνιανός, rather seem to have been conscious Latinizations of Greek names, without a genealogical aspect. Dogaer 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’. cf. Nico Dogaer, “Greek names with the ending -ιανος/-ianus in Roman Egypt”, JJP 45 (2015): 62-3.
4 Richard Alston, Soldier and Society: A Social History (London: Routledge, 1995), 107- 8. The retirement gratuity for the veteran would purchase about forty-seven arourai of grain land or about 17 arourai of higher quality land, and the relative material prosperity of veterans resulted either from property that they had inherited or from the profits and savings accumulated during their service.
Bibliography


Dogaer, N., “Greek names with the ending -ταυος/-ianus in Roman Egypt”, *JJP* 45 (2015): 45-63.


