

The Cognomen and Identity of the Largest Landowner in the Hermopolite Fiscal Register (P. Stras. X 901- 903)

Hanan M. Ismail Ismail.

Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, Egypt.

Hanan.ismail@art.asu.edu.eg

Abstract: This article studies a full name, Μάρκος 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 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, 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

لقب وثروة أكبر ملاك الأراضي في السجل المالي لهرموبوليس

(P. Stras. X 901- 903)

حنان محمد إسماعيل إسماعيل

كلية الآداب، جامعة عين شمس، مصر

Hanan.ismail@art.asu.edu.eg

المخلص: يقدم البحث تحليلاً للصيغة المختصرة Ἀπολ الواردة بلقب المواطن الروماني Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) ()، والذي يُعد مالكاً لأكبر مساحة أرض فيما يُعرف بالسجل المالي الهيرموبوليتي، والمؤرخ بفترة حكم الإمبراطور تراچان، حيث يُغطي الفترة من 98 – 101م، ويعتقد ناشر الجزء العاشر من مجموعة بردي جامعة ستراسبورج، أنها الإشارة الأولى بالوثائق لهذا الاسم الثلاثي (tria nomina)، وعلى ذلك تدرس هذه الورقة البحثية الشكل المختصر Ἀπολ لأسماء الأفراد الواردة بالسجل المذكور، وكذلك في الوثائق المؤرخة بالقرنين الأول والثاني الميلاديين، وذلك عن طريق إجراء مسح شامل لجميع حالات الأسماء التي ورد اختصارها بهذه الشكل، إلى جانب حالات اقتران اسم العشيرة (nomen gentilicium) "ماركوس أنطونيوس" بالاسم الثالث أو الألقاب (cognomina) التي تبدأ بـ Apol- في وثائق مصر خلال تلك الفترة، ويقدم البحث رأياً علمياً لاستكمال أحرف الاسم الثالث أو اللقب لهذا المواطن الروماني محل البحث، وذلك وفقاً للأدلة الوثائقية من البردي والشققات والنقوش لتلك الفترة داخل مصر.

تسعى هذه الورقة البحثية أيضاً إلى تكوين تصوّر عن الحياة المهنية لماركوس أنطونيوس أبول() ومصادر ثروته، بصفته ينتمي إلى طبقة المواطنين الرومان، وهي طبقة لها أثرها الإقتصادي في الأقاليم المصرية والمدن الإغريقية بمصر خلال الحكم الروماني الباكر.

الكلمات الدالة: الإقليم الهيرموبوليتي – كبار ملاك الأراضي – مصر الرومانية.

The Cognomen and Identity of the Largest Landowner in the Hermopolite Fiscal Register (P. Stras. X 901- 903)

The *tria nomina* Μάρκος 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.¹ He is considered the landowner with the largest amount of property in the village of Σεντρῶφισ, 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 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ() for the first time.² He held katoikic land of 275 ar. γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) ς[οε, paid in the metropolis bank a naubion-tax of 137 drachmas and 3 obols, and for his private land of 25 ar. ἰδιοκτη(του) κε, he paid 13 drachmas and 5 obols. The total thus paid was 151 drachmas and 2 obols.³ Μάρκος 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.⁴

Our goal is to look for the full cognomen of Μάρκος 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,⁵ and once in its feminine form Ἀπολλωνία.⁶ 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().⁷

Among a total of approximately 600 personal names in the register,⁸ Ἀπολ appears twenty three times, three of them are followed either by gabs or missing letters,⁹ eleven

¹ P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 2 (AD100/101) Herm.

² cf. n. l. 2: “Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ() ce civis Romanus n'est pas connu ailleurs”.

³ P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 2- 3: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ() γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) ς[οε, ν(αυ)β(ίου) ρλζ (τριώβολο ν)]. ἰδιοκτη(του) κε, (δραχμαὶ) γ (πεντώβολον), (γίνονται) ρνα (διώβολον).

⁴ P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 7: (τρίτης) βαλ(ανείου) ᾱ.

⁵ P. Stras. X 901, col. 16. 15: [± 4 Ἀπο]λλωνί(ο) Τιρκῶιν; col. 28. 19: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Ἀχιλ(λέως); 902, col. 12. 2: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Ἀμμω[νίου]; col. 13. 8: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Η[... ; col. 14. 5: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Σαλῦτος ; col. 18. 2: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς), l. 8: Ἀπολλώνι[ο]ς.

⁶ P. Stras. X 902, col. 21. 8: Ἀπολλωνία Ἐρμαίου.

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.

⁸ Ruey-Lin Chang, *Un Dossier Fiscal Hermopolitain d'Époque Romaine. Conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (P. Strasb. inv. gr. 897-898, 903-905, 939-968, 982-1000, 1010-1013, 1918-1929) [= P. Stras. 901 903]*, Bibliothèque générale 46, (Cairo: IFAO, 2014), 370- 86.

⁹ P. Stras. X 901, col. 30. 26^R; 902, col. 16. 8; col. 19. 7^R.

times are associated with nine Egyptian names: Ἀπολ() son of Pathotes;¹ Ἀπολ() son of Horion;² Ἀπολ() brother or sister of Thoteus, son of Inaroys;³ Ἀπολ() father or mother of Dio() alias Papontos;⁴ Ἀπολ() father or mother of Papontos;⁵ Ἀπολ() father or mother of Pateesis;⁶ Ἀπ[ο]λ() father of Panekhotes;⁷ Ἀπολ() father of Papontos⁸; Ἀπολ() son of Koullouthos.⁹

Moreover, Ἀπολ() is associated with only three Greek names in the register (the first one occurs six times): Ἀπολ() son of Achilleus;¹⁰ Ἀπολ() son of Diogenes;¹¹ Ἀπολ() son of Heras.¹² And, it is associated with only one Roman name in the register: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολ().¹³ Accordingly, the Hermopolite fiscal register assures that Ἀπο^λ 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 Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Ἀχιλ(λέως),¹⁴ and six times in the abridged form Ἀπο^λ Ἀχι^λ.¹⁵ However, can one conclude that every appearance of ἀπο^λ in the register signifies Apollonius, and consequently, that the only name beginning with Ἀπολ- is Apollonius in Σεντρῶφις, Τιτκῶις, and Τερτονκανῶ villages? Consider that in one column of the register, both the full name [Ἀ]πολλωνι^ο¹⁶ and the abridged name Ἀπο^λ,¹⁷ in the same handwriting, refer to two different people.¹⁸ We are forced to conclude that they do not refer to the same name; therefore, Ἀπο^λ 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^R.

² P. Stras. X 901, col. 37. 16, 18^R.

³ P. Stras. X 902, col. 8. 5^R, 6^R.

⁴ P. Stras. X 902, col. 24. 13^{n. interl.}.

⁵ P. Stras. X 902, col. 23.6.

⁶ P. Stras. X 901, col. 41. 21^R.

⁷ P. Stras. X 901, col. 22. 19^R.

⁸ P. Stras. X 902, col. 23. 6.

⁹ P. Stras. X 902, col. 14. 8^R.

¹⁰ P. Stras. X 901, col. 29.19, col. 40. 15^R, 16^R, col. 41. 21^R, 25^R, 26^R.

¹¹ P. Stras. X 902, col. 23. 8^R.

¹² P. Stras. X 902, col. 16. 13^R.

¹³ The other two Roman names in the register are Λούκιο(ς) Πτολ(εμαῖος) and Κλαύδιο[ς] Θεόδω[ρ]ο(ς).

¹⁴ P. Stras. X 901, col. 28. 19.

¹⁵ cf, n. 19. 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 ἀπο^λ in this case as Ἀπολ(λόνιος).

¹⁶ P. Stras. X 902, col. 14. 5: Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Σαλῦτος.

¹⁷ P. Stras. X 902, col. 14. 8^R: 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^ο 4 με^λ 5]πολλωνι^ο 6 μερ^ο; 7 με^λ 8 ἀπο^λ; κο^λ 9]ο 10 φαρμου^ο 13 καστορ^ο 14]ε^λ.

another register,¹ the abridged name Απο^λ appears between two names: Απολλων^ο Απο^λ του Α[πο]λλ^ω,² and thus which one signifies the name Apollonius? Moreover, Απο^λ was the abridged form to: 1. Απολ(λωτος)³ 2. Απολ(λόδωρος)⁴ 3. Απολ(λινάρις).⁵ 4. Απολ(λινάριος).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, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος].⁷ This papyrus is part of the tax register, which is ordered here by letter (M). 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 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος] appears among eleven Roman citizens recognizable by their duo or tria nomina, in addition to two Romanized Greco-Egyptian names: Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Ῥούφος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Λόγγος, Μάρκος Ἄττιος Κλήμης⁹, Μάρκος Πετρώνιος Ἀμμ[ώνιος], Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Τούρβω[ν], Μενέλαος Ζωΐλου, Μαρκία Ἰουλ(ία), Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος], Μάρκος Ὀκταύσιος Οὐάλης, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Βερνε[κιανός], Μυσθαρίων ὁ καὶ Μάρκος Δ [...], Μάρκος Πετρώνιος Κέλερ[...], Μενύκιος.

To determine the provenance of P.Gen. II 97, we looked for further occurrences of the name Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος], 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 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος], which will be discussed below, originated in the Arsinoite nome.¹⁰ Furthermore, both Οὐαλέριος Βερνε[κιανός] (P.Gen. II 97.18) and Πετρώνιος 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 Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος

¹ P. Lond. II 257 (AD 94 - 95) Arsinoite.

² P. Lond. II 257. 265: Ἀπολλώνος(ς) Ἀπολ() τοῦ Ἀ[πο]λλώ(νος); l. 267: Λογγίνος ο^κ Απολλ^ω Απο^λ.

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: Ἀπολι and Ἀπολινα, P.Genova V 195 (AD 101- 300) Arsinoite, l. 22: Ἀθρη^ς Ἀπολι(ναρίου); O. Claud. IV 833 (AD 140- 145), l. 5: Ἀρβητικ^ς Ἀπολι(ναρίου); 834 (AD 140- 145), l. 9: Ἀπολι(ναρίου); P. Mich. VI 395 (AD 183) Karanis, Arsinoite, l. 16: Ἀπολι(ναρίου); O. Claud. IV 752. 6: Ἄγρις Ἀπολινα(ριου) (AD 98- 117); SB VI 9017.1, Nr.17= O. Fawakhir 17: Ἀπολινά(ριος) (AD 1- 200) Wādi Fawākhir.

⁶ O. Claud. IV 836 (AD 140-145), l. 6: Ἀπολ(λινάριος) Χρυσομά(λου).

⁷ P. Gen. II 97. 14 = SB V 7620 (AD 50- 99).

⁸ Victor Martin, "Propriétaires Romains en Égypte sous l' Empire," in: *Mélanges Gustave Glotz II*, ed. Gustave Glotz (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1932), 549- 53.

⁹ Μάρκος Ἄττιος Κλήμης was linked by the editor Claude Wehrli with Attius Clemens, who was addressed in two letters of Pliny the younger (AD 62–113) "C. *Plinius Attio Clementi*". cf. Adrian Nicolas Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 1966), 108, 740.

¹⁰ P. Alex. 622, page 28 (I-IV AD) Arsinoite, l. 4: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλιναρίου.

¹¹ P. Diog. 6 (26 Mai- 3 Aug. AD 142) Arsinoite, l. 28: Οὐαλέριον Βερνικιανόν, ll. 28-29: Πε[τρ]ώ[ν]ιον Κέλερα; P. Diog. 7 (26 Mai-3 Aug. AD 142) Arsinoite, l. 30: Οὐ[α]λέριον Βερνικιανόν, l. 31: Πετρώνιον Κέλερα.

Τούρβω[ν (P.Gen. II 97. 9),¹ 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 Ἀπολινάρ[ιος 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,² and the smallest, the $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$ arourai of Marcus Iulius Rufus.³

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 Λόνγος, who served in Berenike;⁴ Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Ῥοῦφος (P.Gen. II 97. 1) and the soldier Ἰύλις Ῥοῦφος;⁵ Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Τούρβω[ν (P.Gen. 97. 9) and the soldier Marcus Valerius Turbo;⁶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος (P.Gen. II 97. 14) and the centurion Μ(άρκος) Ἀπολινάρις;⁷ the soldier Ἀντ(ώνιος) Ἀπολ(λινάρις).⁸ 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,⁹ are clearly connected to

¹ BGU VII 1565 (28 Oct. AD 169) Philadelphia, Arsin.; 1574 (AD 176) Philadelphia; 1662 (29 Sep. AD 182) Ptolemais Euergetis, Arsin.

² L. 20: Μυσθαρίων ὁ καὶ Μάρκος Δ [...] κ(ατ)οι(κικῆς) (ἀρουρῶν) θ zl (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ zl].

³ L. 2: ἐπιβολ(ῆς) (ἀρουρῶν) βLηλβ (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).

⁶ BGU VII 1565 (28 Oct. AD 169) Philadelphia, Arsin., l. 6: παρὰ Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου Τούρβωνος στρατιώτου περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν σιτικάς.

⁷ SEG XXXVIII 1860(a) (I-III AD) Dendera, Nubia; Valerie A. Maxfield, “The Deployment of the Roman Auxilia in Upper Egypt and the Eastern Desert during the Principate,” in *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Géza Alföldy, Brian Dobson and Werner Eck, Heidelberg Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 31 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 416.

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

⁹ In the second half of the first century BC, the *nomen gentilicium* Marcus Antonius could have been adopted by those recruited in the east by Mark Antony during the second Triumvirate (43–33 BC), since soldiers who received citizenship adopted the praenomen and *nomen gentilicium* of their general. In the first half of the first century AD, the name Marcus Antonius was also given to the freedmen of Antonia Minor (35 BC- AD 37), the daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia. Later she became the mother of the emperor Claudius. cf. Bradley Hudson McLean, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Konya Archaeological Museum*, Biia Monograph 29, Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor 4, (Ankara: British institute of Archeology at Ankara, 2002), 8; Sophia Zoumbaki, “The Colonists of the Roman East and their Leading Groups: Some Notes on their Entering the Equestrian and Senatorial Ranks in Comparison with the Native Elites”, *Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 23 (2008): 167; Stewart Irwin Oost, “The Career of M. Antonius Pallas,” *American Journal of Philology* 79, no. 2 (1958): 113- 39; Ilona Zager, “The Political Role of Women of The Roman Elite: With Particular Attention to the Autonomy and Influence of The Julio- Claudian Women 44 BC- 68 AD,” (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 2014), 67–75.

the military,¹ except for the imperial official Μάρκος Ἀγτωνίος 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 Ἀγτωνίου Ἀπολλιναρίου,³ presumably to indicate that the son, or the freedman, of Marcus Antonius Apollinarius 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 Ἀπολινάρ[ιος 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 Apollinarius.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

¹ W. Chr. 463 (AD 87/ 88) includes M(arcus) Antonius Celer vet(eranus), M(arcus) Antonius Longus vet(eranus), M(arcus) Antonius Germanus vet(eranus); P.Hamb. I 4 (AD 87) Arsin: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Τιτουλήγιος; P. Oxy. 1022 = Sel. Pap. II 421 (AD 103): Marcus Antonius Valens; CIL X 3461: M. Ant. Longus; Nr. 55= CIL X 3592: M. Ant. Valens; Nr. 57: M. Ant. Capito; CIL X 3378: M. Ant. Gemellus & M. Ant. Priscus (postea apud Aegyptium); CIL X 3385: D(is) M(anibus) / M(arci) Antoni Apol[(?) / gubernato[ris] / centur(ia) Ar[ri(?)---]; Lloyd Hopkins, "Fleets and Manpower on Land and Sea: the Italian "classes" and the Roman Empire 31 B.C. – A.D. 193," (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2014), 79, n. 332.

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 111¹³/₁₆ arourai of it, P. Lond. III 1223 = W. Chr. 370 (6 Oct. AD 121) Herm.; He might have owned more lands in Oxyrhynchus.

cf. George Michael Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology XVIII (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1978), 65; Josiah Osgood, *Claudius Caesar. Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2011), 38–40, 203–5; Alfred Tomsin, "L' Ousia de Pallas dans P. Lond. 195, 15-19 (vol. II, p. 127)," *Chronique d' Egypte* 46 (1971): 352- 55; Allan Chester Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, in: T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. II, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins press, 1936), 131- 32, 521- 22.

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, ((triere)) Herc(ule); | vixit annis XXVIII, | militavit annis VIII.

⁵ CIG III 4714 (AD 109) Panopolis, Egypt = SB V 8325= IGRR I 1148: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος υἱὸς Κουρίνα Ἀπολλινάρις ... (ἔτους) ιβ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανῶ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ, Παχὼν ιε̄.

⁶ However, in Rome, a M(arcus) Antoni(us) Apollonius appears during reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Vespasian CIL VI¹ 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/Apollinarius² 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^λ – is Marcus Antonius Longus,³ whose full name was written as Μάρκο(ς) Ἀντώ(νιος) Λόγγο(ς) Ἀπολ().⁴ However, this Ἀπο^λ 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 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάριος, which was mentioned in P. Gen. II 97.14 & P. Alex. 628. 1. Nor is Μάρκος Ἀντώνιο(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

in (centuria)) L(uci) Rubri Secundi. His epitaph dates to AD 70, CIL VI² 4485 (AD 31- 70) Rome, ll. 1-3: M(arcus) Antonius Apollonius, decurio; Antonia Fausta. On the other hand, in evidence from Egypt, we excluded from analysis the name Antonius son of Apollonius Ἀντώνιο(ς) Ἀπολλωνίου, because it is not duo nomina: P. Hib. II 218. 23 (AD 76- 175) Herakl.

¹ In the Roman provinces, the following names appear: Marcus Antonius Apollphanes, in: IvO 99 (after AD 165) Elis, Peloponnesos, l. 10: Μ(ᾱρκος) Ἀντ(όνιος) [Ἀπολλ]οφάν[ης], as well as Marcus Antonius Apollodoros, in an undated inscription from Ionia, Asia Minor. Milet VI, 2 826, ll.2-3: Μ(ᾱρκος) Ἀν[τώνιος Ἀπολλό]δωρος.

² P. Gen. II 97 (AD 50- 99), l. 14: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολινάρ[ιος]; P. Alex. 622, page 28 (AD I- IV) Arsin., l. 4: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλινάριου; The duo nomina: Μ(ᾱρκος) Ἀπολινάρις (ἑκατονταρχίας) Διδ[], whose name appears on an inscription from Dodekaschoenus, SEG XXXVIII 1860(a).1 (AD I-III) Dendera, Nubia; Maxfield, “The Deployment of the Roman Auxilia,” 416; and the soldier Ἀντ(όνιος) Ἀπολ(ινάρις) in: O. Claud. II 390. 9 (AD 100-150); 388.6 (AD 100-150).

³ W. Chr. 463. 10- 20 (AD 87/ 88); Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 677.

⁴ CPR VIII 8, co.ii.19 (AD 75-125) Arsin.

⁵ P. Hamb. I 97 (29 Aug. AD 104 - 28 Aug. AD 105) Philadelphia, ll. 2- 3: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Λόγγου [.].

⁶ ILS III 9059 (2 July AD 94) Arsin., ll. 20- 21: | M(arcus) Antonius Longus Pull(ia) vet(eranus) |. 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. AD 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.– 337AD.: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1994), 209- 210.

⁷ Edward Dąbrowa, *Legio X Fretensis: A Prosopographical Study of its Officers (I – III c. A. D.)*, Historia Einzelschriften 66 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 33- 34, 52-53.

⁸ P. Hamb. I 97. 1- 3: [ὁ δέινα] Μάρκω Ἀντωνίω [Σ]ερίνω ἀφήκει[τι] [- ca.12 - δια τ]οῦ πατρὸς Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Λόγγου [.] χάριεν.

Antonius set up a gravestone for his father Marcus Antonius Valens,¹ and two siblings were named Marcus Antonius Heliodorus and Marcus Antonius Aper.²

To sum up, in light of our evidence on the cognomen of Μάρκος 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* Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλινάριος; the duo nomina Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλινάρις and Μάρκος Ἀπολλινάρις. Furthermore, it's attested during the reigns of the emperors Domitian, and Trajan, accompanied by the personal names of auxiliary soldiers.³ 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.⁴ 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,⁵ 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.

⁵ William Graham Claytor & Birgit Feucht, "Gaii Iulii Sabinus and Apollinarius", *ArchID* 116, version 1 (2013): 5- 6. <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/116.pdf>. Accessed July 11, 2023.

Bibliography

- Alston, R., *Soldier and Society: A Social History*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- Campbell, B., *The Roman Army, 31 B.C– 337AD.: A Sourcebook*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Chang, R., *Un Dossier Fiscal Hermopolitain d' Époque Romaine. Conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (P. Strasb. inv. gr. 897-898, 903-905, 939-968, 982-1000, 1010-1013, 1918-1929) [= P. Stras. 901 903]*, Bibliothèque générale 46, Cairo: IFAO, 2014.
- Claytor, W. G. and Feucht, B., Gaii Iulii Sabinus and Apollinarius, *ArchID* 116.1(2013): 1- 11. <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/116.pdf>. Accessed July 11, 2023.
- Dąbrowa, E., *Legio X Fretensis: A Prosopographical Study of its Officers (I – III c. A. D.)*, Historia Einzelschriften 66, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993.
- Dogaer, N., “Greek names with the ending -ιανος/-ianus in Roman Egypt”, *JJP* 45 (2015): 45-63.
- Hopkins, L., *Fleets and manpower on land and sea: the Italian "classes" and the Roman Empire 31 B.C. – A.D. 193*, PhD diss., Oxford: Oxford university, 2014.
- Johnson, A. C., *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, in: T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. II, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936.
- Martin, V., “Propriétaires Romains en Égypte sous l' Empire”, in: *Mélanges Gustave Glotz II*, 549-53, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1932.
- Matei-Popescu, F., *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, The center for Roman Military Studies 7, Bucharest: Conphys Publishing House, 2010.
- Maxfield, Valerie A., “The Deployment of the Roman Auxilia in Upper Egypt and the Eastern Desert during the Principate.” In *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, edited by Géza Alföldy, Brian Dobson and Werner Eck, 407-44 Heidelberg Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 31. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000.
- McLean, B. H., *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Konya Archaeological Museum*, Biiia Monograph 29, Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor IV, Ankara: British institute of Archeology at Ankara, 2002.
- Oost, S. I., “The Career of M. Antonius Pallas”, *American Journal of Philology* 79/ 2 (1958), 113-39.
- Osgood, J., *Claudius Caesar. Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2011
- Parassoglou, G. M., *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt, American Studies in Papyrology, XVIII*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1978.
- Sherwin-White, A. N., *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford university press, 1966.

The Cognomen and Identity of the Largest Landowner in the Hermopolite Fiscal Register (P. Stras. X 901- 903)

- Tomsin, A., “L’ Ousia de Pallas dans P. Lond. 195, 15-19 (vol. II, p. 127)”, *Chronique d’ Egypte* 46 (1971): 52- 55.
- Van Minnen, P., “New light on a dark corner of the Hermopolite nome”, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 52 (2015): 315-24.
- Zager, I., *The Political Role of Women of The Roman Elite: With Particular Attention to the Autonomy and Influence of The Julio- Claudian Women 44 B.C. - 68 A.D.*, PhD diss., Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2014.
- Zoumbaki, S., “The Colonists of the Roman East and their Leading Groups: Some Notes on their Entering the Equestrian and Senatorial Ranks in Comparison with the Native Elites”, *Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 23 (2008): 159- 79.