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Kantola, Urpo

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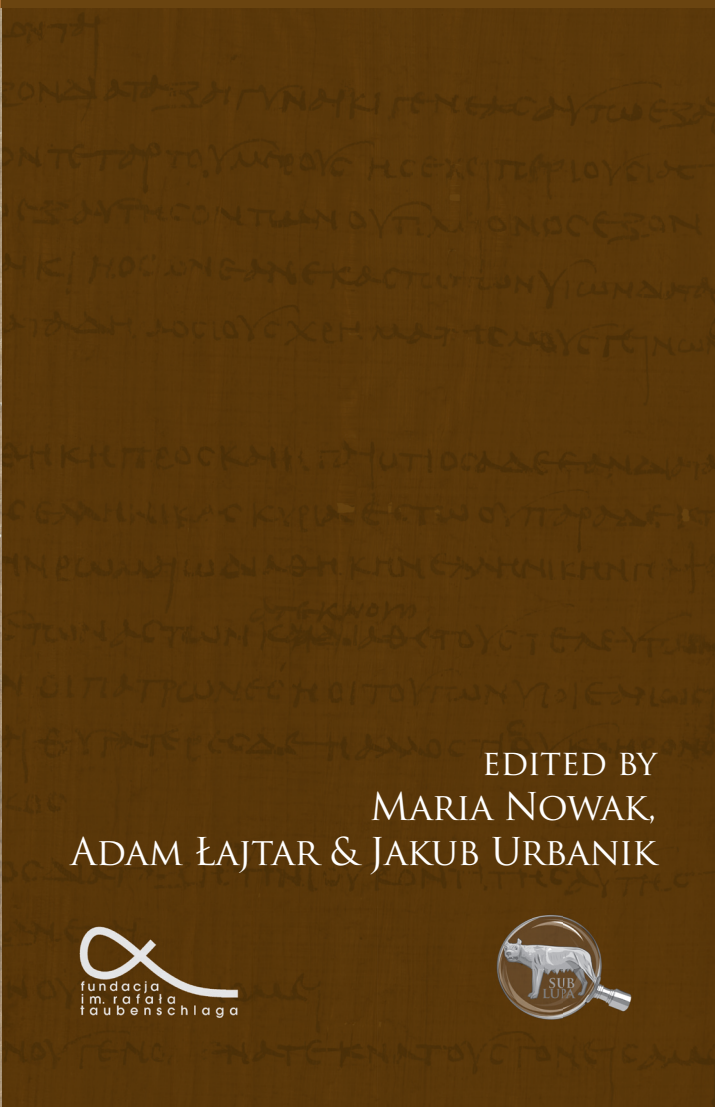
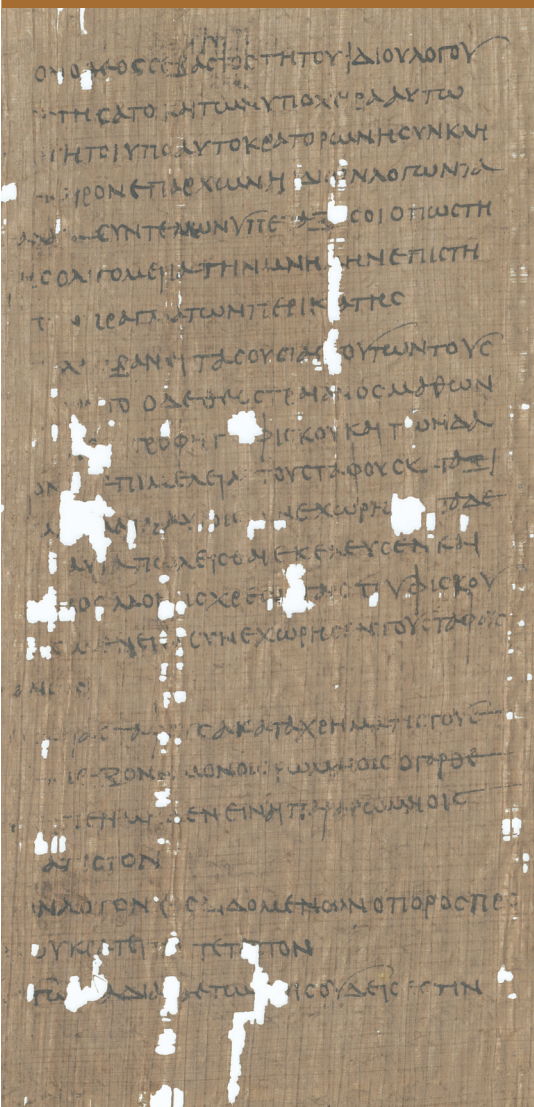
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# TELL ME WHO YOU ARE: LABELLING STATUS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

16 (2017)

U SCHYŁKU  
STAROŻYTNOŚCI  
STUDIA ŹRÓDŁOZNAWCZE



EDITED BY  
MARIA NOWAK,  
ADAM ŁAJTAR & JAKUB URBANIK



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*Paweł Nowakowski*

‘And there, unworthy as I was, I wrote the names of my parents’:

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Urpo Kantola

SOCIAL STANDING AND LATIN NAMES IN GREEK: CASE STUDIES ON  
NAME CATALOGUES OF THE EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD\*

In comparison to the written primary sources in Latin, the Greek ones vary considerably more in how names of Roman citizens were recorded. The variation manifests itself e.g. in the inclusion/omission and the order of the name elements, in the use and lack of abbreviations,<sup>1</sup> and in the pres-

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\* I express my gratitude to the foundation Emil Aaltosen Säätiö for funding my work. Also, I thank professor Olli Salomies for useful suggestions, and professor Athanasios Rizakis, whose comments on a presentation I held at the Finnish Institute at Athens in March 2017, dealing with some of the same material as here, have been helpful for this paper. *IG* refers to *Inscriptiones Graecae*, *LPGN* to the volumes of *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987–, and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> to the volumes of *Prosopographia Imperii Romanii*, Berlin – Leipzig – New York 1933–2015. Other publications of the main material here are: MIGEOTTE, *Réparation = L. MIGEOTTE, 'Réparation de monuments publics à Messène au temps d'Auguste', BCH 109 (1985), pp. 597–607; I. Ephesos Ia = H. WANKEL, Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. Ia [= Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien XI], Bonn 1979; I. Ephesos V = H. ENGELMANN, D. KNIBBE & R. MERKELBACH, Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. V [= Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien XV], Bonn 1980; I. Rhegion = L. D'AMORE, Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Reggia Calabria, Rome 2007; I. Iasos = W. BLÜMEL, Die Inschriften von Iasos [= Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien XXVIII], Bonn 1985. I use the following abbreviations in presenting name combinations: *P* = *praenomen*, *N* = *nomen (gentilicium)*, *C* = *cognomen*, *G* = genitive attribute (filiation, patronym, or patron's name), *I* = Greek individual name. Latin *praenomina* and Greek individual names as genitive attributes are indicated respectively as *G(P)* and *G(I)*; likewise a Greek individual name used as a *cognomen* is *C(I)*, whereas a Latin *cognomen* is *C(L)*. A 'plain *tria nomina*' denotes a *nomenclature* of *P+N+C* without any further elements. With 'Roman' persons I refer here to Roman citizens regardless of their geographical origin.*

<sup>1</sup> In order to illustrate this, I have not resolved the abbreviated *praenomina* in the citations of the source material.

entation of a genitive attribute (filiation or, with freedmen, patron's name). In addition, Roman names were eventually taken in use as individual names by persons of non-citizen (peregrine) status.

In this paper, I examine the use of these name combinations in a selection of illustrating inscribed name catalogues, and discuss the factors that influenced the choices made with them, and what they eventually tell of social status.<sup>2</sup> Special attention will be paid to the use of genitive attributes, *praenomina* and *cognomina*, and peregrine nomenclatures that include Latin parts. In this paper I am not trying to produce any large-scale observations, because the selected material (see below) does not suffice for this, but rather to explore the problems of varying nomenclatures that emerge from the material. A more general analysis is intended to be included in my dissertation.

In selecting the sources, I have left the abundant material of Athens aside because, in presenting Roman names, the local practice of not recording Roman *nomina* in official documentation was kept for a long time, up to the 40s CE,<sup>3</sup> which naturally renders Athens to a less straightforward counterpart to other regions. I have chosen the material from 173 early imperial name catalogues from other areas, focusing on inscriptions that show internal variation in documenting Roman citizens. The selected 27 inscriptions pertain to roughly four contexts: 1) religious offices (Samos, Kos, Rhegion), 2) gymnasium and ephebes (Kos, Iasos), 3) public spending (Messene, Ephesos), and 4) associations (Ephesos, Parion).

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<sup>2</sup> A note on possible *Latini Iuniani*, or their Latin descendants: In connection to *I. Ephesos* 20 (see below), S. R. LLEWELYN (*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 6, North Ryde 1992, p. 151) has questioned the universal interpretation of persons carrying *tria nomina* as Roman citizens, since the *Latini Iuniani* had the nomenclature but lacked of the citizenship proper. Of course, this is to be acknowledged, and only the tribe ascertains the citizen status. However, it must be taken in account that, in Greek sources, trying to discern them from properly manumitted freedmen may be often next to futile, as already the distinction between freedmen and freeborn is frequently difficult to establish, to say the least. Moreover, the question is not of the greatest importance, because after all the *Latini Iuniani* had more of a foothold in the Roman citizenship, in comparison to the most other non-citizens. Therefore I will use expression 'Roman citizen' for all these for convenience, even though there may be Latins hiding behind some of these names.

<sup>3</sup> S. G. BYRNE, *Roman Citizens of Athens* [= *Studia Hellenistica* XL], Leuven 2003, pp. XII & XIV.

The likeliness of different interpretations for why nomenclatures vary in one catalogue naturally depends on the context. We may assume that in a list of religious officials, the need to ‘get the names right’ according to some standard would be more probable than in, say, an ephebic context, which in the imperial period was less official by nature than earlier, and thus it is more likely to find nomenclatures one was known with, and recorded in a more casual way. In addition, the function in which a person appears may be relevant: especially officials appearing in captions, as will be seen, often show a different nomenclature than the persons in the actual catalogue.

Needless to say, a Roman male citizen of the early imperial period had a *praenomen*, a *nomen*, a father or a patron, a tribe (for freeborn men), and optionally a *cognomen*. Still, for clarity’s sake, it is needful to note that I am primarily interested in the way a person is recorded, which naturally does not exclude the possibility of other names the person used. Furthermore, we will be dealing with material from the first century CE, the approximate period when the *cognomen* took the function of the main diacritical element of the Roman nomenclature, which then diminished the role of the *praenomen*.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, for instance, in the times before this shift was completed, a man appearing with only *praenomen* + *nomen* may have used a *cognomen* in some other circumstances. But what is essential here is which nomenclatures were chosen for the sources, i.e. which were thought sufficient or suitable for the context in question. If no *cognomen* is given in a nomenclature, whereas it is found in other nomenclatures in the same document, I regard that the person in question does not have a *cognomen*, unless there is further evidence. All in all, as the recorded nomenclatures are an amalgam of tradition and pragmatic purposes, I only search for recognisable patterns, which I think there are to some extent, but without pretending there was a ‘system’ in these. There were, after all, no generally applicable ‘rules’ how to present a Roman citizen’s name in Greek (or in Latin, for that matter).

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<sup>4</sup> O. SALOMIES, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung* [= *Commentationes humanarum litterarum LXXXII*], Helsinki 1987, pp. 430–431; B. SALWAY, ‘What’s in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700’, *JRS* 84 (1994), pp. 124–145, esp. pp. 128–130.

## 1. TEMPLE CURATORS ON SAMOS: IG XII 6.1, NOS. 186–187, 189, 190, AND 192

To begin with a rather simple case for comparison to the next one, a Samian set of official inscriptions presents separately made records of yearly νεωποῖαι (temple curators). The records that are relevant here span from 28/7 BCE to 14/5 CE, and IG XII 6.1, no. 192, is from an unknown year some time after Augustus' death.

- 186.IV Λεύκιος Πάπιος Δέκμ{ν}ου υἱός  
 186.VI Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Λευκίου υἱός Ῥούφος  
 186.VIII ἐπὶ Γαΐου Σκριβωνίου Φιλοποίμενος  
 186.XI Λεύκιος Ποπλίου  
 187 Γάιος Σκριβώνιος Ἀνδρονίκου υἱός Ἡρακλείδης  
 189 Αὔλος Γράνιος Αὔλου υἱός  
 190 δημιουργοῦ Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἴσοκράτους  
 Γάιος Τυσκήνιος Στράτων  
 192 Λεύκιος Σ[αφίν]ιος Ἀλέ[ξανδρ]ος  
 Μάρκος Οὐψάν[ιος] Ζήνων

All the Augustan period νεωποῖαι with Roman citizenship appear with *duo* or *tria nomina* with a filiation written out in full,<sup>5</sup> and one man of peregrine status shows a simple Greek combination of individual name and patronym.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, one eponymous official with Roman citizenship, Γάιος Σκριβώνιος Φιλοποίμην appears without a filiation, although he belongs to a prominent local family,<sup>7</sup> whereas his father, a Roman citizen and νεωποίης himself, shows a filiation typical to members of local elites with the citizenship: Γάιος Σκριβώνιος Ἀνδρονίκου υἱός Ἡρακλείδης.<sup>8</sup> Two

<sup>5</sup> IG XII 6.1, no. 187 (20/19 BCE or *paulo post*): Γάιος Σκριβώνιος Ἀνδρονίκου υἱός Ἡρακλείδης; IG XII 6.1, no. 186.IV (18–3 BCE): Λεύκιος Πάπιος Δέκμ{ν}ου υἱός; IG XII 6.1, no. 186.VI (3/2 BCE): Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Λευκίου υἱός Ῥούφος; IG XII 6.1, no. 189 (Augustan period, see IG XII 6.1, p. 159): Αὔλος Γράνιος Αὔλου υἱός.

<sup>6</sup> IG XII 6.1, no. 186.XI (14/15? CE): Λεύκιος Ποπλίου. One may speculate if his father is the P. Cornelius L. f. Rufus in the previous note, which could be chronologically possible.

<sup>7</sup> See the stemma at IG XII 6.1, p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> Cit. n. 5. On one hand, this filiation indicates the family tradition, and on the other hand

further cases contrast to these. *IG XII 6.1*, no. 190, inscribed on a column, records that having finished his duty as νεωπόιης, Γάιος Τυσκήνιος Στράτων erected an unspecified object ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: here, as with the eponymous official Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἴσοκράτης,<sup>9</sup> the filiation has been omitted. Likewise, in *IG XII 6.1*, no. 192, a record similar to the first ones but from post-Augustan time, two Roman νεωποῖαι lack the filiation.<sup>10</sup>

The observation seems to be that the filiation was included in the νεωποῖαι records of the Augustan period, but that it was omitted firstly with a νεωποίης in an inscription of another function, secondly in the nomenclatures of the eponymous officials in both of these contexts, and thirdly with the νεωποῖαι in a later period.

## 2. KOAN PRIESTS OF APOLLO: *IG XII 4.1*, NO. 365

A catalogue of priests of Apollo from Halasarna on Kos presents a more convoluted case. It was originally composed around 21 CE,<sup>11</sup> listing the previous priests of Apollo up to that date from 27 BCE, but after this it was supplemented more or less annually until 105 CE. Romans citizens occupied the priesthood frequently, beginning from the first occurrence in 11 BCE, and in the latter half of the first century CE roughly two thirds of priests

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distinguishes the person from Hellenized Roman citizens, or descendants of freedmen who may have a Greek *cognomen*, but a filiation with a Roman *praenomen*.

<sup>9</sup> For the person, see commentary in *IG XII 6.1*, *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> Λεύκιος Σ[αφίν]ιος Ἀλέ[ξανδρ]ιος and Μάρκος Οὐψάν[ιος] Ζήνων. The date has been reconstructed as [ἔτους - - - τῆς τοῦ] Σεβαστ[οῦ ἀπ]οθ[εώσεως], K. HALLOF, ‘ad primos post Augusti mortem annos etiam M. Vipsanii Zenonis nomen spectat convenitque scriptura’. The only known subsequent record of a Roman νεωποίης is significantly later (182/3 CE): *IG XII 6.1*, no. 193.II: Οὔλ(πιος) Χεῖ[λων] Πελωπίδης, also without filiation.

<sup>11</sup> The exact year remains unfixed. For the discussion, see S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos: An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period* [= *Hypomnemata* LI], Göttingen 1978, pp. 147–148, and K. BURASELIS, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome: Studies on the Political, Institutional, and Social History of Kos from ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. Until Late Antiquity* [= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* XC.4], Philadelphia 2000, pp. 41 & 143. Here it suffices to note that the chronology assuming the starting year as 21 CE serves our discussion well enough, since the margin of error is no more than a couple of years, and we are not particularly interested in the exact years here.

held Roman citizenship; furthermore, from 85 CE on, three peregrines with individual names of Roman origin appear in the list, one of them twice.

**Date Line Name**

-11	32	Μάρκος Σθένιος Λευκίου υ(ί)ό(ς)
-9	34	Γάιος Ίούλιος Εὐαράτου υἱὸς Εὐάρατος
-5	40	Γάιος Τρέβιος Ἀλαφαῖς (?)
2	46	Γάιος Μάρκιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Κράσσος
4	49	Λεύκιος Αὐρήλιος Εὐδάμου υἱὸς Διδύμαρχος
5	51	Κοῖντος Πομπήιος Κοίντου υἱὸς Φλάκκος
7	54	Πόπλιος Ῥοπίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λονγεῖνος
12	60	Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
26	75	Μάρκος Κοίλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
29	79	Γάιος Κάσιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
32	84	Λεύκιος Στάτιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
36	90	Μάρκος Κοίλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς πρεσβύτερος
38	93	Γάιος Ἐτερήιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λαῦτος δήμου υἱὸς ἥρωας νέος φιλοσέβαστος
39	97	Μάνιος Σπέδιος Φαῦστος
47	107	Μάνιος Σπέδιος Φαῦστος τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ Ἀσκλάπια τὰ μεγάλα
53	116	Μα. Κοίλιος Μα. υἱὸς Καπίτων
56	123	Γάιος Βετληνὸς Γα. υἱὸς Βάσσος
58	126	Κο. Πλώτιος Κο. υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
59	128	Αῦλος Μανίλιος Ἀγαθ[η]μέρου υἱός
60	130	Πο. Γράνιος Πο. υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
62	132	Μαρ. Ἀντώνιος Μ[αρ.] υἱὸς Κό[γνι]τος
63	136	Μαρ. Κοίλιος Μαρ. υἱὸς Λονγίνος
67	144	Αῦλος Μανίλιος Αὔλου υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
68	147	Πο. Τερέντιος Ἀγαθοκλήης
69	149	Γαι. Κάσιος Γα. υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος
70	151	Λεύκιος Ἀντών[ι]ος Λευ. υἱός
73	156	Γαι. Κάσιος Γα. υἱὸς Νίγρος
75	159	Γαι. Κάσιος Γα. υἱὸς Ῥοῦφος <u>νε</u> (ώτερος)
76	161	Λευ. Ἀντώνιος Λευ. υἱὸς Βάσσος
77	163	Λευ. Σέργιος Λευ. υἱὸς Πωλλίων

78	165	Γαι. Κάσιος Γα. υἰὸς Ποῦλχερ
79	168	Πο. Ἐτερήιος Ἰλαρίων
80	172	Κοι. Πλώτιος Γα. υἰὸς Ῥούφος
82	176	Μ. Σερβύλιος Ῥούφος [[πρεσ[βύτερος]]]
83	178	Γα. Κάσιος Γα. υἰὸς Νίγρος
85	180	Ῥουφίων Ἀγαθαγγέλου
88	183	Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἡγουμενός
89	184	Γάιος Βίβιος Γαίου υἰὸς Κλωδιανός
90	185	Ἀῦλος Πακώ(νιος?) Αὔλου Νεικα (?)
91	186	Μαρ. Ἀντόνιος Μαρ. υἰὸς Κόγνιτος νεώτερος
92	188	Πο. Ἐτερήιος Πο. υἰὸς Φιλόξενος
93	189	Γάιος Κάσιος Γαίου υἰὸς Νίγρος
95	191	Πο. Ἐτερήιος Πο. υἰὸς Γληνός
96	192	Πωλλίων β' Σεργιανός πρεσβύτερος
97	193	Λου. Οὐψτάνιος Λου. υἰὸς Φιλόφρων
99	197	Μαρ. Σεπτικός Μαρ. υἰὸς Ἐρμέρωτος
100	198	Μαρ. Σεπτικός Μαρ. υἰὸς Ἀλέξανδρος
101	199	Γάιος Πετικός Γα. υἰὸς Ῥούφος
102	200	Κο. Καίσιος Κο. υἰὸς Κλόυεντος
103	201	Πωλλίων β' Σεργιανός ἱερεὺς τὸ β'
104	204	Πο. Ἐτερήιος Πο. υἰὸς Φροῦγι
105	206	Εὔβουλος Φαύστου

The first eight Roman citizens mentioned, who were the ones included in the original list, emerge as a distinct group: all belong to different *gentes* – and, curiously, not a single one of these *gentes* appears later in the list. Some are attested in Koan epitaphs but not in public life, except for the Rupil(l)ii: nine of them show up in two public inscriptions and seven epitaphs of our period, and in a number of later epitaphs, too.<sup>12</sup> However, for some reason,

<sup>12</sup> Πόπλιος Ῥοπίλλιος Ποπλίου υἰὸς Λονγεῖνος (7 CE). Other Rupil(l)ii on Kos, 17 persons in total: Non-funerary: IG XII 4.2, no. 447 (1st c. BCE/CE); 473 (see below): two men, one also P. Longinus (50–100 CE); 474 (end 1st c. CE); 492D (1st c. CE). Funerary: 1st c. BCE/CE: IG XII 4.3, no. 1827; 1985 (date: M. ΚΑΪΑΒΑ, *Roman Female Praenomina. Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* [= *Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* XIV], Helsinki 1994, p. 63); 1st c. CE: 1318:

they did not hold this priesthood again at least in the next hundred years. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Εὐάρατος υἱὸς Εὐάρατος (9 BCE), is not known to be related to any of later C. Iulii of Kos, especially because the name Εὐάρατος does not seem to occur there after him.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, apart from this one, no other so called imperial names are to be found, not even in the later additions, even though certain Tiberii Claudii (see below) and Titi Flavii are otherwise well attested in prominent local positions. On the other hand, later on we can discern certain *gentes* that produced more than one priest.<sup>14</sup>

Let us, then, examine the *cognomina* of the whole inscription. As such, they are rather generic and present nothing of particular interest, although

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bilingual, two persons; 2277; 3014; 50–100 CE: 2955; 1st–2nd c. CE (or 1st c. BCE/CE?): 1872; 2nd c. CE: 1382; 1968; 2003; 2007.

<sup>13</sup> According to *LGPNI* volumes, the name seems to occur most frequently on Kos. *LGPNI*, s.v. [11], and D. BOSNAKIS & K. HALLOF (*IG XII 4.1*, p. 321) accept this man as the Εὐάρατος mentioned by Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* 16, 312; *Bell.* 1, 532). The only Εὐάρατος after him, as recorded in *LGPNI* volumes, is *LGPNI*, s.v. [20], from Rhodes and considerably later (a Koan one, s.v. [10], has lately been given an earlier date: *SEG XLVI 1107*; M. SEGREGRE, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, vol. 2 [= *Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente VI*, 2], Rome 2007, no. EF 750). As a side note: Εὐάρατος of Kos mentioned by Josephus at *Bell.* 1, 532 was edited by B. NIESE (*Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 6, Berlin 1895) as Εὐάρεστος; both readings are attested in manuscripts. In light of our then recently published inscription, E. SCHÜRER (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig 1901<sup>2</sup> [repr. Hildesheim 1970], vol. I, p. 395) opted for Εὐάρατος, followed at least by A. SCHALIT (*A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, Suppl. 1: *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*, Leiden 1968, p. 46), and in *LGPNI* and *IG* (see above). Yet Εὐάρεστος has been chosen for some editions (e.g. A. PELLETIER, *Guerre des juifs*, vol. 1: *Livre I* [= *Collection des universités de France*], Paris 1975). In the view that *LGPNI* does not give a single attestation of Εὐάρεστος on Kos, it seems indeed preferable to read the name as Εὐάρατος.

<sup>14</sup> By *gentes*: Antonii (4): M. Antonius M. f. Cognitus, L. Antonius L. f., L. Antonius L. f. Bassus, M. Antonius M. f. Cognitus iunior; Cas(s)ii (7 or 5?): C. Cassius C. f. Rufus, C. Cassius C. f. Rufus, C. Cassius C. f. Niger, C. Cassius C. f. Rufus iunior, C. Cassius C. f. Pulcher, C. Cassius C. f. Niger, C. Cassius C. f. Niger; Coelii (4): M. Coelius M.f. Rufus, M. Coelius M. f. senior, M. Coelius M.f. Longinus, M. Coelius M.f. Capito; Heteri (5): P. Heterius P. f. Lautus, P. Heterius Ἰλαρίων, P. Heterius P. f. Φιλόξενος, P. Heterius P. f. Γληνός, P. Heterius P. f. Frugi; Manilii (2): A. Manilius Ἀγαθημέρου f., A. Manilius A. f. Rufus; Plotii (2): Q. Plotius Q. f. Rufus, Q. Plotius C. f. Rufus; Septicii (2): M. Septicius M. f. Ἐρμῆροτος, M. Septicius M. f. Ἀλέξανδρος. In *IG XII 4.1*, p. 321, the three C. Cas(s)ii C. f. Nigri are considered the same person, and thus thrice a priest (73, 84, 93 CE). On one hand, in that case an expression τὸ δεύτερον *vel sim.* would be expected, but on the other, perhaps different persons ought to have been indicated with *πρεσβύτερος*–*νεώτερος* *vel sim.*; this stands unresolved.



some families appearing in the later additions clearly circulate certain Latin *cognomina*.<sup>15</sup> Most of the listed priests with the Roman citizenship had a *cognomen*, but four men do not show one: namely in the years 11 BCE, and 32, 59 and 70 CE. The priest of 59 CE, Αὔλος Μανίλιος Ἀγαθ[η]μέρου υἱός,<sup>16</sup> requires a closer look. Usually, new citizens of free Greek birth placed their Greek individual name as the *cognomen*,<sup>17</sup> but this is not the case here. From the epigraphic material, I have found thus far four direct parallels for this peculiar combination, one other from Kos, and three from Delos,<sup>18</sup> and in addition two other comparable cases.<sup>19</sup> I can think of two possible interpre-

<sup>15</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>16</sup> A connection with Ἀγαθήμερος Ἐπιγόνου (13 CE) is possible, yet speculative; a more probable one is Αὔλος Μανίλιος Αὔλου υἱός Ῥοῦφος (67 CE), as suggested in *IG XII 4.1*, p. 321. Should the both connections exist, this would present an interesting example of an onomastic shift from a fully Greek name to a fully Roman one in two generations.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the Scribonii Φιλοποίμην and Ἡρακλείδης above, and others below.

<sup>18</sup> P. ROUSSEL & M. LAUNEY, *Inscriptions de Délos*, vol. 4: *Décrets postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C.* (nos. 1497–1524). *Dédicaces postérieures à 166 av. J.-C.* (nos. 1525–2219), Paris 1937, no. 1758, l. I.2: Αὔλος Κλαύδιος Βακχίου υἱός, & l. I.4: Λεύκιος Σολπίκιος Λυσιμάχου υἱός (dedication by members of cult associations, 74 BCE); M.-Th. LE DINAHET, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* [= *Exploration archéologique de Délos XXX*], Paris 1974, no. 239: Αὔλος Σολπίκιος Λυσιμάχου υἱός νεώτερος (in my opinion, this is the brother of Λεύκιος, and νεώτερος refers here to Aulus being the younger brother, and not to that he was homonymous with his father); *IG XII 4.3*, no. 2759: Δέκμος Κλώδιος Δημητρίου υἱός (epitaph, 1st c. CE). The last one serves as the best comparison, since earlier onomastic and different social conditions apply on Delos. The three men there could well be new citizens, who either had no *cognomen*, or did not use one in order to indicate their freeborn status. In ROUSSEL & LAUNEY, *Inscriptions de Délos* (cit. above), no. 1758, this view receives support from the two other comparable men with  $P+N+G(P)+\text{υἱός}$  (no C), and eight others with  $P+N+G(P)+C$  (no υἱός) (1 Latin *cognomen*, 7 Greek ones) – apparently freedmen. (One of these is yet a third Sulpicius: Αὔλος Σολπίκιος Σερούιου Ὀνησᾶς.) I wonder if these three Delian cases might attest nomenclatures resulting from intermarriage (the mothers being Claudia and Sulpicia) in conditions previous to *lex Minicia*, dating perhaps from some time before 90 BCE, which denied the Roman citizenship from the offspring of mixed marriages (see e.g. D. CHERRY, ‘The Minician law: marriage and the Roman citizenship’, *Phoenix* 44.3 [1990], pp. 244–266); before this, the children would perhaps have inherited the status of their mother.

<sup>19</sup> ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Réparation*, pp. 597–607 (see below), and *IG XII 4.3*, no. 1386: Αὔλος Κομ[έ]-ν[ι]ο[ς] Φ]ιλοθῆου Κώ[ου] κ]αὶ [..]ίας Κώα[ς] υ]ιός. Regarding women, the ones in P. FRISCH, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* [= *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien III*], Bonn 1975, no. 85a, L. MORETTI, *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, fasc. III: 1142–1490 [= *Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica XXVIII*], Rome 1979, no. 1303h, and *SEG XXXIII 1461* (Cyrene),

tations: either Aulus decided, for an unknown reason, not to use his Greek name in his Roman name formula<sup>20</sup> – or, as I think is more likely, his individual name was Αὐλος in the first place. Roman *praenomina* used as individual names by Greeks is a phenomenon attested in Attica already in the late second century BCE,<sup>21</sup> and soon thereafter in other areas as well.

Now, from the cases of Koan priests in which *cognomina* are used, the nomenclature usually consists of  $P+N+G(P)+\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma+C(L)$ .<sup>22</sup> The remaining occurrences of *tria nomina* fall into three typological categories<sup>23</sup> which mostly correlate with chronology: 1)  $P+N+G(I)+\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma+C(I)$ ; 2) plain *tria nomina* without a genitive attribute; 3)  $P+N+G(P)+\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma+C(I)$ . The only two men in the first category, both in the original list, are the Γάιος Ἰούλιος Εὐάρατου υἱὸς Εὐάρατος mentioned before, and a Λεύκιος Αὐρήλιος Εὐδάμου υἱὸς Διδύμαρχος (4 CE), the origin of whose citizenship is unclear.<sup>24</sup> As has been discussed already, they are either free Greeks who were granted the Roman citizenship, or descendants of such men, and probably belong to the local elite.<sup>25</sup> Jumping briefly to the third category, the two P. Heterii P. f. (92 and

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simply lack an individualising *cognomen* (or *praenomen*), and L. VECCHIO, *Le iscrizioni greche di Velia* [= *Velia-Studien III = Archäologische Forschungen X = Denkschriften / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse CCCXVI*], Vienna 2003, no. 32, is from a very different context and not comparable. See also M. GUARDUCCI, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. 3: *Tituli Cretae Orientalis*, Rome 1942, no. iii.22 for a freeborn man without *praenomen*, and no. iii.15 for a freedman of a M. Antonius Θεόπομπος without *cognomen*.

<sup>20</sup> Comparing this to ROUSSEL & LAUNAY, *Inscriptions de Délos* (cit. n. 18), no. 1758, this seems possible, but less likely since at this point of time the *cognomen* was becoming universal for Roman citizens (see note 18). Thus not using a *cognomen* would not have created a similar distinction from freedmen as in the earlier context of *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1758.

<sup>21</sup> See S. G. BYRNE, 'Early Roman Athenians', [in:] D. R. JORDAN & J. S. TRAILL (eds.), *Lettered Attica: a Day of Attic Epigraphy: Actes du Symposium d'Athènes / Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 8 mars/March 2000* [= *Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens III*], Toronto 2003, pp. 1–20, esp. p. 5 with n. 9 (with further references).

<sup>22</sup> A noteworthy feature is that from 53 CE on, *praenomina* mostly are abbreviated, although not systematically: the abbreviations vary, and still in 101 CE we encounter a fully written *praenomen*.

<sup>23</sup> I will ignore here the Paconius (?) of 90 CE because of the problematic reading.

<sup>24</sup> Lucii Aurelii are known from the senatorial families of Aurelii Cottae and Orestae, but, to my knowledge, they show no obvious connection to the region.

<sup>25</sup> This is certain for Εὐάρατος, since he was in the position to spend time in the court of king Herodes (see note 13).

95 CE) and two M. Septicii M. f. (99 and 100 CE) certainly have been born free, but they may be either descendants of freedmen, or of free Greeks as in the first group but having a more Romanized filiation, or perhaps offspring of Western immigrants but Hellenized enough to take a Greek *cognomen*.<sup>26</sup> The last option has been suggested plausibly by Kostas Buraselis for Λου. Οὐψτάνιος Λου. υἱὸς Φιλόφρων (97 CE).<sup>27</sup>

However, the second category of six men without a genitive attribute is more complicated: Γάιος Τρέβιος Ἀλαφαῖς (?)<sup>28</sup> (5 BCE) appears in the original list, and the rest are considerably later: Μάνιος Σπέδιος Φαῦστος (twice: 39 and 47 CE), Πο. Τερέντιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς (68 CE), Πο. Ἐτερήιος Ἰλαρίων (79 CE), Μ. Σερβίλιος Ῥοῦφος (82 CE), and Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἡγουμένος (88 CE). As they appear next to contemporary citizens with a filiation, always unmistakably with the word υἱός, and usually with a *cognomen*, the omission of filiation is striking. My first supposition would be that they are freedmen. This seems somewhat unlikely at first thought, given that the priesthood had been a prestigious post in the Hellenistic period, but further support comes from two of the above mentioned men.

First, Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἡγουμένος, marked with a *caduceus*,<sup>29</sup> is certainly somehow connected with the famous Koan Gaius Stertinius Ξενοφῶν, the personal physician of Emperor Claudius and a very prominent man on his native island – richly attested in the Koan epigraphy. His relatives went by

<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, persons of non-Italic or unfree descent could well make use of a ‘good’ Latin *cognomen*.

<sup>27</sup> BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), p. 148.

<sup>28</sup> The name remains obscure, but in any case no filiation is to be seen. I wonder if the composer of the list had somehow defective information on this person.

<sup>29</sup> D. BOSNAKIS & K. HALLOF (commentary to *IG XII 4.1*, p. 320) think that the symbol, which is found after six names, indicates physicians *ex Asclepiadarum gente*; BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), p. 149, proposes on the one hand that, in our list, it ‘is the professional mark of these persons, probably in their dual function as [doctors and] Asclepiads’, but on the other hand he notes rightly that we should not ignore the three men with Roman-only names bearing the same symbol (58, 67, 78 CE), from which he sets forth that ‘the appeal of medical education in a milieu of Asclepiads should probably be seen as a factor in Roman immigration or sojourn on Kos’ (see also *ibid.*, p. 84). The evidence of Ἡγουμένος is problematic, as I will discuss below, and the ‘dual function’ relating to Asclepiads and the medical profession remains somewhat cryptic to me. On grounds of this and the men with Roman-only names, I am inclined to think the symbol here as primarily pointing at the profession.

the name of Tiberii Claudii,<sup>30</sup> and no immediate offspring is known, if not for Ἰγουμενός, of whom Buraselis opines that he ‘should be one of the few later direct members of Xenophon’s family’.<sup>31</sup> However, in the light of one inscription, a freedman of Xenophon’s is, of course, a C. Stertinus.<sup>32</sup> One or more persons honoured in four very fragmentary inscriptions might be Xenophon’s later descendant(s),<sup>33</sup> but otherwise, not one of other Koan Stertini boasts any lineage to the famous man, as I think one would expect, if there was such.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the name Ἰγουμενός is unattested before first century CE and more in use only in the next two centuries,<sup>35</sup> which perhaps suggests not the highest status. These factors given, I incline to see him as a freedman, probably of Xenophon himself, and a medical professional, too.

Second, a manumitted Manius Spedius Faustus would fit in the ‘humble origins’ of the later prominent Koan, Manius Spedius Rufinus Φαῖδρος, investigated by Kostas Buraselis.<sup>36</sup> As he duly notes, the recurring pair of  $P+N$

<sup>30</sup> Stemma in *IG XII 4.2*, p. 556.

<sup>31</sup> BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), p. 149 (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 78).

<sup>32</sup> *IG XII 4.2*, no. 956 (before 54 CE), mentions Xenophon himself and a Γάιος Στερτε[ίνιος] | [θρεπ]τὸς καὶ ἀπελεύθερος – who, interestingly, seems to appear here without a *cognomen*. As he with all probability should have had one, this leaves room to speculate if he could even be the same person as Ἰγουμενός.

<sup>33</sup> *IG XII 4.2*, nos. 968–970 and 1184 (all 2nd c. CE). The first three could perhaps be descendants of Xenophon’s brother or cousin, seen that the name goes in the family (above n. 30), but in the last mentioned inscription, ll. 3–4 with the restored ἀπό[γονov] seem to point at a direct connection.

<sup>34</sup> Other Stertini on Kos, mostly with Greek *cognomina*, are: *IG XII 4.2*, no. 827 (2nd c. CE): Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ζώσιμος; 966 (c. 50–200 CE): [---] Στερτινν[---]; *IG XII 4.3*, no. 1665.II (1st c. CE?): Στερτιννία Ἐλενοῦς; 1673 (2nd–3rd c. CE?): Στερτινία Συνέτη; 1773 (c. 50–100 CE): Στερτινία Γαίου θυγάτηρ Φορτουναῖα; 1869 (1st–2nd c. CE): Στερτινία Ἐπίκτησις; 2346 (c. 33–100 CE): Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἀγαθόπους; 2360 (2nd c. CE): Στερτίνιος Ἐπαφρόδιτος; 2390 (1st–2nd c. CE): Στερτίνιος Ἐπαφρόδιτος; A. MAIURI, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence 1925, no. 672 (1st c. CE?): Γάιο[ς] Στερτ[ί]νιος Εὐφράνωρ; SEGRE, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (cit. n. 13), no. EF 360 (2nd c. CE or later? 1st c. CE, comm. ad *IG XII 4.3*, no. 1303): Στερτινία Μακαρία.

<sup>35</sup> 10 examples + 1 female counterpart in the published *LPGN* volumes, and 5 more in H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch* [= *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Series nova II*], Berlin 2003<sup>2</sup>, p. 1078.

<sup>36</sup> For Rufinus Φαῖδρος and other prominent Spedii and their relatives on Kos, see BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), pp. 111–120 (for the inscriptions in ‘Appendix 4’, pp. 161–162, see now *IG XII 4.2*, nos. 810–813). In addition, a 2nd-c. ἱεροφύλαξ M. Spedius Rufus (*IG XII 4.2*, nos. 619–620) may be related. Apart from these, more Spedii on Kos are known from epitaphs

strongly suggests a relation between the two men,<sup>37</sup> especially as Manius is a relatively uncommon *praenomen*. As a third point, some of very prominent local families from the Claudian period on are conspicuously absent among the priests.<sup>38</sup> Men of the original list show connections to the past, and still the priest of 38 CE, Γάιος Ἐτερήιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λαῶτος, has been object of ample public honours;<sup>39</sup> then again the priest of 97 CE held the position after being the eponymous *μόναρχος*.

These factors lead me to suggest that around the mid-first century CE, this priesthood did not necessarily attract the Koan *crème de la crème*, and that there were two social shifts, first opening of the position to Roman citizens around 11 BCE,<sup>40</sup> and then – if my theory holds – to their freedmen some time after the composition of the original list. Even these probably entered freedom equipped with advantageous contacts: one was connected to Stertinius Xenophon, and another to a previously priest-producing family, the Hetererii.<sup>41</sup> These may sum up the Roman priests after the beginning of the first century CE: The recently mentioned distinguished C. Hetercius P. f. Lautus of 38 CE is with all probability a freeborn son of a family originating from the West. Then, 79 CE there is a possible freedman showing no genitive attribute, whereas the next two, 92 and 95 CE, have same *praenomen* as their fathers, and a Greek *cognomen*. And lastly, in 104 CE the circle closes with one more Latin *cognomen* and filiation, from which it is impossible to deduce

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dated to the 1st and 2nd c. CE: *IG XII 4.3*, nos. 1305.II, 1358, 1828, 1999, 2373, 2437 (2nd–3rd c.), 2847, 3038 (two persons); for 2373 and 3038, see BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), pp. 120–121. No further Manii Spedii are known to me on Kos or elsewhere.

<sup>37</sup> BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), p. 120 n. 46.

<sup>38</sup> Apart from the relatives of Stertinius Xenophon (above n. 30), the other family tracing their lineage to Asclepius, the Claudii Iuliani, and their relatives by marriage, the L. Cossinii (stemma: *IG XII 4.2*, p. 520); see also the later 1st-c. *μόναρχοι* of Kos, Flavius Κλωδιανός (M. SEGRE, ‘Tituli Calymnii’, *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 22–23 (1944–1945 [1952]), nos. 167–172; *IG XII 4.2*, nos. 587, 1120, 1146.I; *IG XII 4.3*, no. 1544), and Baebius Δημήτριος (connection to Xenophon’s wife, Baebia Rufina, is uncertain; BURASELIS, *Kos* [cit. n. 11], p. 79), who also acted as ἀσιάρχης (SEGRE, ‘Tituli Calymnii’ [cit. above], no. 197; *IG XII 4.2*, no. 1120; *IG XII 4.3*, no. 2881).

<sup>39</sup> Recorded with the honorific titles δήμου υἱός, ἥρωος νέος, φιλοσέβαστος.

<sup>40</sup> See BURASELIS, *Kos* (cit. n. 11), pp. 146–148.

<sup>41</sup> See above n. 14.

whether the man belongs to a freeborn line, or descends from a freedman in an advanced generation.

### 3. KOAN GYMNASION CATALOGUE IG XII 4.2, NO. 472A

As a short bridge to the fourth document, a fragmentary catalogue of a less official nature records ‘nobiles palaestranesque’, from the reign of Claudius or slightly later. On ll. 3–8 we find the Greek elite, including the previously mentioned famous Stertinius Xenophon himself, and two relatives, always with a Greek father’s name, and a Greek *cognomen*.<sup>42</sup> Further down on ll. 9–10, a [- - -] Χαρμύλου υἷος Φιλόφρ{τ}ω[ν]<sup>43</sup> may well have had a similar nomenclature. Three other men show a *praenomen* in filiation: Γα. Βετλι(νός) Γα. [υἷος Βάσσο] (l. 9) is possibly the same man as the priest in 56 CE. [- - -]ς Λευ. υἷος Ἡράκλειτος (ll. 11–12) has a Greek *cognomen*, but a Latin filiation – notably some three decades earlier than the first similar nomenclature in the previous document.<sup>44</sup> For the third man the *cognomen* is lost.<sup>45</sup>

### 4. KOAN GYMNASION CATALOGUE IG XII 4.2, NO. 473

This longer name list of similar purpose, from the latter half of the first century CE, raises again the question about lack of filiations. Here we have a majority of men with plain *tria nomina*, with Latin *cognomen* (28 men) or Greek (7), but only seven people carry a filiation, including one woman: Two of them appear in the caption, ll. 1–2: γυμνασιάρχου Τιβερίου

<sup>42</sup> [Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἡρ]ακλείτου υἷος Ξενοφ[ῶν φιλόκαισαρ, φιλοσέβα]στος, φιλοκλαύδιος, φ[ιλόπατρις, εὐσεβής, εὐεργέ]τας τᾶς πατρίδος, Τιβ. Κ[λαύδιος Ξενοφῶντος υἷος] | Φιλείνος, Τιβ. Κλαύδιο[ς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου] | Νικαγόρα υἷος Ἀλκίδαμο[ς Ἰουλιανός].

<sup>43</sup> Φιλοφρίων would be a *hapax* name, and Φιλόφρ{τ}ων is suggested in *LGPNI*, s.v. The correction seems highly likely: Φιλόφρων is a well enough attested name on Kos too, as is Χάρμυλος, cf. *LGPNI*, s.vv. ‘Φιλόφρων’ [8–13] and ‘Χάρμυλος’ [5–29]. According to the commentary of *IG*, ‘at nomen [Φιλοφρίων] defendit Bechtel’, the precise source of which remains unclear to me.

<sup>44</sup> *IG XII* 4.1, no. 365 (92 CE).

<sup>45</sup> l. 13: Πο. Γαλέριος Πο. υ[ἷος - - -].

Κλαυδίου Ἀλκιδάμου υἱοῦ Ἀλκιδάμου, ἐπιμελητῆ Σέξτου Ποπιλλίου Σέξτου υἱοῦ Λωρεΐκα, and the rest, in the catalogue proper, are l. 12: Πο. Γράνιος Σέξτου υἱός; l. 19: Κο. Τερέντιος Κο. υἱός; l. 22: Γαι. Ἰούλιος Σέξτου υἱός Βάσσος; l. 27: Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Νικομήδους υἱός Στράτων; l. 36: Ἐτερηΐα Γα. θυ. Προκίλλα.

In this gymnasial context it is highly unlikely that the men with a plain *tria nomina* without a genitive attribute were freedmen. This is further suggested by prosopographic considerations: at least an emissary to Claudius,<sup>46</sup> and the latter of two Clodii who seem to be father and son must be free by birth.<sup>47</sup> The situation clears up further by looking at the persons with filiations. In three cases, the reason lies with the different *praenomen* of the father: 1) The solitary woman, Hetereia Procilla, who does not have a *praenomen*, has her father's name mentioned. 2) P. Granius Sex. f. and C. Iulius Sex. f. Bassus<sup>48</sup> do not share the *praenomen* with their fathers. 3) Apart from these, the two Tib. Claudii are once again relatives of Xenophon, and presented in the manner of the Greek elite. The *epimelete* Sex. Popillius Sex. f. Lorica is mentioned in the caption, that is in another context than the actual list, and thus has his name written out in full. Yet Q. Terentius Q. f. is left over: the reason for including the filiation is less obvious, since he has his father's *praenomen*, but perhaps it has been added there to compensate for the shortness of his cognomenless nomenclature. To conclude, it seems that the reason for omitting filiations in this document may be that most fathers had the same *praenomen* as their sons.<sup>49</sup> However, this was not a general practice even in the Koan gymnasial context since it was not applied in *IG XII 4.1*,

<sup>46</sup> l. 25: Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Ζώπυρος = Κλαύδιος Ζώπυρος in *IG XII 4.1*, no. 255. In our catalogue, a Φλάμμας Ζωπύρου appears three lines below: perhaps this is his son of peregrine status, resulting from a relationship with a woman without Roman citizenship (cf. *lex Minicia* above, n. 18). The individual name of the son clearly indicates understanding of Latin in the family, since the both names relate to fire.

<sup>47</sup> l. 18: Πο. Κλώδιος Βάσσος, and l. 21: Πο. Κλώδιος Βάσσος νε(ώτερος).

<sup>48</sup> Compare to Γαι. Ἰούλιος Βάσσος on l. 8.

<sup>49</sup> This follows the general pattern in the use of *praenomina* in the imperial period; see SALOMIES, *Vornamen* (cit. n. 4), pp. 430–431, and SALWAY, 'What's in a name?' (cit. n. 4), pp. 128–130. For comparison, in the priest catalogue a minority of 4/37 men, who have a *praenomen* in filiation, have a different *praenomen* than their fathers: 11 BCE, and 12, 38, and 80 CE.

no. 474, a somewhat later catalogue of similar purpose, where the filiations are always included.

### 5. A PUBLIC BUILDING PROJECT IN MESSENE<sup>50</sup>

Moving back to more ambiguous cases of plain *tria nomina*, another source of interesting documents is Messene in Peloponnese. The selected inscription, probably dating from the late Augustan period,<sup>51</sup> is a honorific decree for individuals who contributed to the restoration of public buildings after an earthquake, containing a list of the honorands and their contributions. Our attention turns here to the ten men with names of Latin origin.

16	Λεύκιος Βέννιος Γλύκων
18	Πόπλιος Ουαλέριος Ἄνδρων
21	Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Πρόκλος
23	Πόπλιος Λυκκήιος
24	Πόπλιος Λικίνιος Κέλερ
25	Πόπλιος Φλαμίνιος
26	Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βουκκίων
30	Τίτος Νίννιος Φιλιπίων
33	Δομέτιος
34	Μηνᾶς καὶ Λεύκιος Σάλβιος οἱ Ζωπόρου

The two men with only *P+N* are with all probability freeborn citizens; but less can be said about the six men with a *cognomen*, three of both Latin and Greek ones, as their name formulas do not include any genitive attribute and suit both freeborn and freedmen. Ti. Claudius Βουκκίων could perhaps be connected to later emperor Tiberius from the time before his adoption, directly or through someone who received citizenship through him.<sup>52</sup> L. Bennius

<sup>50</sup> The complete text only in ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Réparation*, pp. 597–607. Cf. SEG XXIII 205 & 207; SEG XXXV 343.

<sup>51</sup> For a more recent dating to the early Augustan period by A. SPAWFORTH, cf. SEG LXII 225.

<sup>52</sup> One such man connected to Tiberius before his adoption is known from Olympia: Ti. Claudius Ἀπολλώνιος (see LPGN IIIa, s.v. [65]). Our man's *cognomen* Buccio is, according to



Γλόκων was a lavish contributor with a sum of 1000 denarii, whereas the others spent sums ranging from 50 to 300 denarii, but this tells only of his wealth.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, it is not safe to determine social statuses from these matters, since freedmen, too, could make a considerable fortune and join in public spending – perhaps aiming to elevate one’s status in the community. Thus nothing definitive may be said from these six men.

Then, an obscure Δομέτιος, who has restored a temple at the gymnasium, appears on line 33 without any further attributes. In an unpublished ephebic catalogue, a Δομέτιος appears as the father of one Ἔρωος.<sup>54</sup> Using a Roman *nomen* as an individual name is by no means unheard of, and our Δομέτιος may be an instance of this, especially if it is the same person in both inscriptions. Even so, the more puzzling feature in our list is the omission of a patronym, which one would expect to find as in the case of others with a Greek nomenclature. Otherwise, it cannot be excluded that our man was a

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I. KAJANTO (*The Latin Cognomina* [= *Commentationes humanarum litterarum* XXXVI.2], Helsinki 1965, p. 225) of probable Celtic origin, and attested in servile use in the 1st c. BCE – early 1st c. CE, Rome. H. SOLIN (*Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: ein Namenbuch*, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 43–44) lists Buccio under Latin names.

<sup>53</sup> This Bennius is obviously related to two or three other Bennii in an ephebic catalogue from Messene, c. 35 CE, which is however still unpublished, as far as I know: see A. RIZAKIS, S. ZOUMBAKI & C. LEPENIOTI, *Roman Peloponnese, II: Roman Personal Names in Their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)* [= Μελετήματα 36], Athens 2004, p. 575, nos. MES 345: Λ. Βέννιος Κόσμος; MES 347: Λ. Βέννιος Λότος; and MES 344: Λ. Βε[- -] Μάχηρ. A minor detail: these are listed under letter V. Both Ben(n)ius and Ven(n)ius are known *nomina* in: H. SOLIN & O. SALOMIES, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim – New York 1994<sup>2</sup>, pp. 33 & 201. Elsewhere Ούέννιοι are attested in R. MERKELBACH & J. NOLLÉ, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. VI [= *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* XVI], Bonn 1980, no. 2219; *IG IX 2*, no. 832; and L. MORETTI, *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, fasc. I: 1–263 [= *Studi pubblicati dall’Istituto italiano per la storia antica* XVII], Rome 1968, no. 237, whereas Βένιοι appear in R. CAGNAT *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, t. 1, Paris 1911, no. 1243; and M. & E. LEVENSOHN, ‘Inscriptions on the south slope of the Acropolis’, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), pp. 63–74, esp. p. 65 no. 4. (A 4th-c. CE Βεννιαός from Rome – cf. L. MORETTI, *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, fasc. II,1: 264–728 [= *Studi pubblicati dall’Istituto italiano per la storia antica* XXII,1], Rome 1972, no. 306 – is not relevant here, since at its time β for Latin V was already standard.) But in our inscription, we have Ουάλέριος (Valerius) and Βουκκίων (Buccio) too, which suggest Bennius, although discrepancy is possible. (Beta in Σάλβιος ~ Salvius appears in another position, and does not contribute to the argument.)

<sup>54</sup> A. RIZAKIS *et al.*, *Roman Peloponnese* (cit. n. 53), p. 531, no. MES 180.

Roman citizen belonging to *gens Domitia* after all, and that his *praenomen* was omitted, perhaps in error. In any case, no other Domitii are attested in Messenia, which leaves these two occurrences even more difficult to clarify.

Yet the last nomenclature is highly unusual and without an exact parallel: on line 34, Μηνᾶς καὶ Λεύκιος Σάλβιος οἱ Ζωπύρου includes what seems to be a Lucius Salvius without a *cognomen*, who shares a Greek father Ζώπυρος with a brother referred to only as Μηνᾶς, apparently not a Roman citizen. The lack of *cognomen* resembles the case of A. Manilius Ἀγαθημέρου υἱός in the Koan priest catalogue above: thus I suggest a similar explanation: either he did not want his Greek name in his Roman nomenclature, or perhaps more likely his individual name was Λεύκιος in the first place and taken in as a *praenomen*.<sup>55</sup>

#### 6. ANOTHER BUILDING PROJECT: THE ‘GROSSE SPENDERLISTE’ OF EPHEOS<sup>56</sup>

An inscription of comparable nature is the Ephesian ‘Große Spenderliste’, dating from the reign of Tiberius, and known from numerous fragments. The catalogue records individuals alone or jointly with family or freedmen,<sup>57</sup> and the sums they donated for a building project, the exact nature of which is uncertain. The surviving number of persons counts up to around 250 (118 with Latin name elements), and the attested amounts of money vary considerably: from 2500 denarii down to 10. This furnishes us with an opportunity to compare persons of different social status, although in more than a fourth of the cases the sum is lost. Even though wealth does not necessarily connect with upper-class origin, this is more probable than not – and, in this

<sup>55</sup> See above nn. 18 & 20.

<sup>56</sup> To my knowledge, there is no joint publication of all the fragments; for all of them, see e.g. C. MAYER, ‘Ephesos: Die Schrift der „Großen Spenderliste“ aus der Zeit des Tiberius (IvE V 1687)’, *Tyche* 18 (2003), pp. 77–90 + pl. 8–12, esp. pp. 77–78. I cite the relevant parts, published in three separate instances, as follows: *I. Ephesos* V 1687 with ‘*I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. [fragment number], [column, if known].[line]’, to *SEG XXXIX* 1176 with ‘*SEG XXXIX* 1176, l. [fragment letter], [column].[line]’, and to *SEG L* 1133 with ‘*SEG L* 1133, l. [column].[line]’.

<sup>57</sup> This is in most cases by one primary person with family members (marked with σύν/μετά), or by a primary person for himself and with a separate sum for a family member (ὑπέρ); rarely by two people mentioned in equal position (brothers Λεύκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πακτομήϊοι, *SEG XXXIX* 1176, l. a, 2.10).

case, the comparison lends support for this. Those who have spent thousand denarii or more show two general features: none of the Roman citizens here has a Greek *cognomen*, and the non-citizens include several members of the local elite,<sup>58</sup> rarely found among lesser spenders.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, Greek *cognomina* are found with two out of six Romans donating 250 denarii,<sup>60</sup> and with numerous donors of minor or unknown sums.

Most male Roman citizens show *tria nomina*, but four appear without a *cognomen*.<sup>61</sup> One man seems to lack a *praenomen* (*I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 1, 3.4: Πονπήιος Πολύγν[ωτος<sup>62</sup> - - - δη. - ]), but he could be a peregrine with patronym Πολύγν[ώτου] as well.<sup>63</sup> Peregrine nomenclatures containing Latin names are rare in the surviving fragments, with only one certain case.<sup>64</sup> Filiations are rare as well: one is a Σπορίου υἱός,<sup>65</sup> and two have their Roman tribe included. The first one bears a Roman nomenclature at its fullest,<sup>66</sup> but the other, Λεύκιος Πλαιτώριος Γαίου Παλατίνα Μάγνος, appears without qual-

<sup>58</sup> Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπολλωνίου Πασσαλάς πρεσβύτερος (*SEG* XXXIX 1176, l. a, 2.5), who obviously belongs to a Ephesian family prominent in the early imperial period, and one Ἀριστεας (a, 2.10) carries both patronym and papponym, a matter which obviously relates to a more proud family tradition. For both features, there are parallels in the more fragmentary first column of the same fragment: four men with papponyms, and – partially overlapping with the former – four cases of an additional family-related name comparable to Πασσαλάς. More of these are found in *SEG* XXXIX 1176, l. a, 2 (donation sums are lost), and in fr. h in the part of the inscription that does not list donors, but who ‘[haben] irgendeine offizielle Funktion bei der Spendenaktion bekleidet’ (D. KNIBBE, H. ENGELMANN & B. İPLİKÇIOĞLU, ‘Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI’, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 59 [1989], Beiblatt, p. 208).

<sup>59</sup> Two examples at *I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 3, 1.12, and 7, 2.6.

<sup>60</sup> Besides four Greek donors, two of which hold an office: *I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 1, 2.1: Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου νεώτερος ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς τοῦ χρεοφυλακίου with wife and son, and on l. 2.13–14: an Ἀντίγονος σκηπτούχος with son Εὐσεβής (why he is without a genitive attribute is peculiar; cf. p. Error: Reference source not found below). In addition, the same sum is given collectively by two villages, Βωνεῖται and Ἀκηνοί.

<sup>61</sup> Κοῖντος Κουπένκος (*I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 14.6); Πακτομήτιοι (above n. 57); [- - - Ἀ]λφῆνος Γαίου υἱός (*SEG* XXXIX 1176, l. c, 1.3).

<sup>62</sup> Recorded as such in *LGPN* Va, s.v. [4].

<sup>63</sup> Note that five lines later (l. 3.9) there is one Γάιος Πονπή[ιος - - -].

<sup>64</sup> *I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 10, 2.4: Πρεῖμος Ἀρτεμιδώρου [-?]. See also below for possible cases.

<sup>65</sup> *SEG* L 1133, l. 1.5.

<sup>66</sup> Λεύκιος Γερύλλανός Λευκίου υἱός Παλατίνα Κέρεν (*I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 1, 2.7). The *cognomen* is odd.

ifier υῖός, but in *SEG XXXIX 1176*, l. h, 2.10 as an official, not donor<sup>67</sup> – the differences may be attributed to the diverging circumstances of appearance. Except for perhaps this and the *Spurii filius*, the reasons behind recording the father only for these men and the remaining two,<sup>68</sup> but not for the most, remain unknown.

In a handful of cases a son, and once a freedman, is mentioned as a secondary donor and by name. One Κοῖντος Καπίτων (*SEG XXXIX 1176*, l. b, 2.2) is recorded after his father, [- - -] Ἄλφιος Καπίτων: in my opinion it is relatively safe to suppose that the son was a Roman citizen, i.e. Q. Alfius Capito, and his *praenomen* is mentioned because it differs from the father's. This applies, too, to the four sons of a [- - -] Γερύλλανος Φίλιππος who are all Π(όπλιος) (*I. Ephesos V 1687*, l. 2, 1.4–5), and three have a Latin *cognomen* (the fourth has been lost). However, elsewhere two sons, Rufus and Bassus,<sup>69</sup> appear only by a *cognomen*: here we cannot be certain if it denotes the *cognomen* of a *tria nomina* otherwise identical with the father's, or acts as an individual name, because the mother was not a Roman citizen – and, accordingly, neither was the son.<sup>70</sup> The latter case is stronger with Bassus since his mother is mentioned by name, too: only Ζωσίμη. In one further case a prominent local Γ. Σεξτίλιος Πρόκλος (*SEG XXXIX 1176*, l. a, 2.6) gives 2000 denarii for his own part, 1000 for his unnamed wife, and 500 for his son Πωλλίων (a, 2.8); the adoptive father of Πρόκλος is Γ. Σεξτίλιος Πωλλίων on line a, 2.4.<sup>71</sup> Even here, despite a high local status, the use of only a *cognomen*

<sup>67</sup> See above n. 58. I will discuss the omission of a qualifying word (υῖός, ἀπελευθέρως, etc.) in genitive attributes in another occasion.

<sup>68</sup> *I. Ephesos V 1687*, l. 1, 2.4; Alfenus (above n. 61).

<sup>69</sup> *SEG XXXIX 1176*, l. b, 2.4: [- - -]ς Ὀρτήσιος Νεικηφόρος σὺν υἱῷ Ῥούφῳ; ll. d, 2.9–10: Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Βάσσος καὶ γυναῖκός | Ζωσίμης καὶ υἱ[οῦ] Βάσσου (*sic* in genitive).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *lex Minicia* above n. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Πρόκλος has been identified as the same person as C. Ofillius A. f. Proculus (*PIR<sup>2</sup> O 89*; *LGN Va*, s.v. 'Πρόκλος' [25]), whom C. Sextilius Pollio (*PIR<sup>2</sup> S 653*; *LGN Va*, s.v. 'Πωλλίων' [28]), the second husband of Proculus' mother Ofillia Bassa (*PIR<sup>2</sup> O 90*; *LGN Va*, s.v. 'Βάσσα' [7]) as it seems, adopted, perhaps after the mother's death. Despite this, Pollio refers to Proculus as his son already before adoption. See D. KNIBBE & M. BÜYÜKKOLANCI, 'Zur Bauinschrift der Basilica auf dem sog. Staatsmarkt von Ephesos', *ÖJh 59* (1989), Hauptblatt, pp. 44–45, and for the other inscriptions the cited lemmas of *LGN Va*. As a side note: KNIBBE & BÜYÜKKOLANCI think that Ofillia 'war, wie ihr Gentilname zeigt, welcher der Name ihres früheren

with Πωλλίνων the son does not allow us to define him as a Roman citizen. All in all, these cases result in the rather peculiar situation that we cannot be positively sure if the sons are Roman citizens, whereas of the one freedman<sup>72</sup> mentioned in a similar manner we can be.

#### 7. OFFICIALS OF A GREEK CULT IN THE WEST: I. RHEGION<sup>73</sup> 8 AND 9

Before moving to a more complicated case, I take two catalogues from the West, from Rhegion, as an example of a more straightforward situation, with special attention to slaves. A Roman colony was established in Rhegion in 36 BCE, bringing Latin language administration to the town, but Greek cults were operated in Greek well into the imperial period. From this sphere we have a small number of name catalogues, listing the cult personnel in a hierarchical order. And luckily for us, the two best preserved ones are probably from the Julio-Claudian period:<sup>74</sup> *I. Rhegion* 8 and 9.

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Mannes gewesen sein muß (da ja auch Proculus so heißt), nicht in die Familie bzw. Rechtsgewalt des Sextilius Pollio übergetreten, vielleicht aus vermögensrechtlichen Gründen'. This may be true otherwise, but not having the second husband's *nomen* does not serve as grounds for this, since usually women did not take their husbands' *nomen*, and Ofillia could well have had the *nomen* from birth.

<sup>72</sup> *I. Ephesos* V 1687, l. 2, 1.9: [.] Σκριβώνιος Ἰλαρος μετὰ ἀπελευθέρου Οὐάλητος. At the beginning, the edition indicates only one letter missing; the same applies to men on ll. 6 & 10. I wonder if the reading is correct, or if each of these men have an abbreviated *praenomen* missing. The only surviving abbreviation is found in the same fragment l. 4, but otherwise all *praenomina* are written in full.

<sup>73</sup> Cit. n. 1.

<sup>74</sup> This is the date given by the editor, who bases herself on the Roman onomastics and palaeography. She dates the remaining, more fragmentary cult catalogues, *I. Rhegion* 10–14, to the same period as well, but, on the same grounds, some of these seem to present features that rather suggest later dates.

	<i>I. Rhegion 8</i>	<i>I. Rhegion 9</i>
πρύτανις	(ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ ἄρχων πενταετηρικός) Σεξ. Νουμώνιος Σεξ. υ. Ματούρος	(καὶ ἄρχων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων) Γ. Ποπίλλιος [. υ. Ἰ]ουλιανός
συνπρύτανις	Κ. Ὀρτώριος Κ. υ. Βάββιλλος  Μ. Πετρώνιος Μ. υ. Ποῦλχερ Μ. Κορνήλιος Μ. υ. Μαρτιάλις	Γ. Ποπίλλιος Γ. υ. Φρε[κουεντ]εῖνος Τ. Βέττιος Δομιτιανός Γ. Νουμό[νιος Κε]- ρεάλης
ἱεροσκόπος	Μάνιος Κορνήλιος Οὐήρος Γ. Ἀντώνιος Θύτης	
ἱεροσαλπιστής	Γ. Ἰούλιος Ῥηγῖνος	
ἱεροκῆ(ρυξ)	Γ. Καλπούρنيος Οὐήρος	Γ. Ἰούλιος Συντροφιανός
ἱεροπαρέκτης ταμίας	Κ. Καικίλιος Ῥηγῖνος Μελίφθογγος Ματούρου	Ἐπιτύχανος Ἰουλιανοῦ <sup>75</sup>
σπονδαύλης καπναύγης	Νατάλις Ἐλίκων Ματούρου	Κτήτος Βρύανθος Φῆσ[τος]
μάγυρος	Ζώσιμος	

In both inscriptions the πρυτάνεις<sup>76</sup> are freeborn Roman citizens with abbreviated Roman style filiations, and in *I. Rhegion 8* all the συνπρυτάνεις as well, but in *I. Rhegion 9* two out of three of them, and all the middle-ranking persons (ἱεροκήρυκες etc.) have no genitive attribute. Moreover, among this group we encounter Greek *cognomina* and two C. Iulii, the only ones with an ‘imperial name’. This, and the hierarchical order of appearance seem to suggest that the men with plain *tria nomina* were of a humbler status. But

<sup>75</sup> [ταμίας]; placed in the end after the καπναῶγαι.

<sup>76</sup> Here the title has departed from its former civic context, and belongs solely to the religious function, according to D’AMORE, *I. Rhegion*, p. 35.

the exact nature of this remains unclear, and it cannot be inferred from the present evidence if, for instance, some or all of them were freedmen.

The most interesting feature is, however, that at the end of the text the persons have been plausibly identified as slaves:<sup>77</sup> two of them are only recorded with a personal name and a post, but Μελίφθογγος, Ἐλίκων, and Ἐπιτόνχανος are slaves of the πρύτανις, which is indicated by the patron's *cognomen* in genitive. The result, of course, looks the same as any Greek nomenclature consisting of an individual name and a patronym, but even though in most contexts such nomenclature belongs to freeborn persons, a servile status remains as a possibility which we may keep in mind regarding the next case.

#### 8. DEDICATION OF A FISHERMENS' ASSOCIATION: I. PARION<sup>78</sup> 5

Another catalogue with a descending order comes from Parion in Troad, a stele with a dedication to Priapos by a fishermen's association, most likely from the first century CE.<sup>79</sup> Apart from a priest of the imperial cult, Λεύκιος Φλάβιος (no *cognomen*!), the persons seem to appear in a hierarchical order

<sup>77</sup> For the servile implications of these and the stand-alone names Βρύανθος, Ζώσιμος, Κτήτος, Νατᾶλις, and Φῆστος, see D'AMORE, *I. Rhegion*, pp. 36 & 38. In *LGPN* IIIa 'slave?', s.vv. 'Βρύανθος' [1], 'Ἐπιτόνχανος' [5], 'Ζώσιμος' [60], 'Κτήτος' [4], 'Μελίφθογγος' [1], 'Νατᾶλις' [1] (Ἐλίκων is omitted, probably unintentionally); G. KAIBEL (*IG* XIV 617–618) holds Ἐπιτόνχανος and Μελίφθογγος for slaves, but is silent about the others.

<sup>78</sup> P. FRISCH, *Die Inschriften von Parion* [= *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* XXV], Bonn 1983.

<sup>79</sup> I. DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*. Teil A: *Untersuchung*; Teil B: *Inschriften* [= *Theorie und Forschung* 895 = *Geschichte* 16], Regensburg 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 121. This receives support from the imperial priest without a *cognomen*, and from comparison to *I. Parion* 6, a fragmentary inscription related to fishermen as well, which shows abbreviated *praenomina* and is thus likely later than this. A 2nd-c. date for *I. Parion* 6 agrees with the prospect that its eponymous priest is probably connected with two Parian delegates to Claros in 145/6 CE (J.-L. FERRARY, *Les mémoires de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après la documentation conservée dans le Fonds Louis Robert* [= *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* XLIX], Paris 2014, vol. 1, p. 340–341, no. 90, with n. 80). Nonetheless, the editor of *I. Parion*, P. Frisch, dates this to the 2nd c. CE. See further references at A. HÜBNER, *Repertorium der griechischen Rechtsinschriften*. Fasz. 1: *Troas–Mysien*, Munich 1993, p. 83, no. 174, who leaves the date ambiguous.

of their posts, and they are recorded in genitive absolute after a participle describing the post. The whole is ‘signed’ by the dedicating part, συνναῦται, in nominative at the end (line 16).

ἀρχωνοῦντος	Ποπλίου Ἄουίου Λυσιμάχου
δικ[τ]υαρχούντων	Ποπλίου Ἄουίου Ποπλίου υἱοῦ Ποντικοῦ Μάρκου Ἀπικίου Κουαδράτου Ἐπαγάθου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ποπλίου Ἄουίου Βεΐθουδος
σκοπιαζόντων	Ἐπαγάθου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ποπλίου Ἄουίου Βεΐθουδος
κυβερνώντων	Σεκο[ύν]δου τοῦ Ἀ[ο]υίου Λυσιμάχου Τυβελλίου Λ[.]ΛΑΙΤΟΥ
φελ[λο]χαλαστοῦντος	Τονγιλίου Κόσμου
ἐφημερεύοντος	Κασσίου Δαμασίππου
ἀντιγραφομένου	Σεκο[ύν]δου τοῦ Ἀ(ο)υίου Λυσιμάχου
λεμβαρχ[ούν]των	Ἀσκλη[πί]δου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιδίου Ἐρμαΐσκου τοῦ Ἄουίου Λυσι[μάχ]ου Εὐτύχου τοῦ Αὐουίου Βεΐθουδος Μενάνδ[ρου τοῦ] Λευκίου Ἰλάρου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου

Notably, the only man with a Roman style filiation, Πόπλιος Ἄουιος<sup>80</sup> Ποπλίου υἱὸς Ποντικός, is the only indisputably freeborn Roman in the association, but he is found in the second category, δικτυαρχοῦντες. Instead, a Πόπλιος Ἄουιος Λυσιμάχος is the most prominent figure, mentioned first and having two posts (ἀρχωνῶν, δικτυαρχῶν); besides, he appears in two other persons nomenclatures as the genitive attribute (see below). His nomenclature is paralleled by the δικτυαρχοῦντες Πόπλιος Ἄουιος Βεΐθου and Μάρκος Ἀπίκιος Κουαδράτος. Furthermore, Βεΐθου also defines one person as genitive attribute, and acts with one more δικτυαρχῶν, Ἐπάγαθος

<sup>80</sup> Recurring in the inscription, the *nomen* appears (in genitive) also as Ἀυίου (l. 12) and Αὐουίου (l. 14).



Ἄρτεμιδώρου, as σκοπιάζων. The Avii are obviously in some familial relation. The editor, Peter Frisch, has suggested that Βεΐθους and Λυσίμαχος were sons of Ποντικός, but there is no evidence for this. The other way around, him as the son of one of the two, would be no less speculative but more likely, since Ποντικός is explicitly a legitimate son. Imogen Dittmann-Schöne even opines that all three are brothers,<sup>81</sup> which is not plausible because of Ποντικός's filiation. This question cannot be settled, but we should, in any case, not consider civil status and rank in this association as mutually dependent, and therefore I find it fully conceivable that, for instance, a freedman acted at the head of fishermen, and a freeborn man held a post secondary to that.

Moving downwards, three men, one appearing twice, interconnect with Βεΐθους and Λυσίμαχος, recorded as Σεκούνδου and Ἐρμαΐσκου τοῦ Ἄουίου Λυσίμαχου, and Εὐτύχου<sup>82</sup> τοῦ Ἄουίου Βεΐθουδος. The latter two are among λεμβαρχοῦντες, the lowest category mentioned, but Secundus is one of two κυβερνῶντες, and ἀντιγραφόμενος. There are two possible interpretations: either these men were slaves, as Dittmann-Schöne suggests,<sup>83</sup> or they were sons of Βεΐθους and Λυσίμαχος, as Frisch thinks,<sup>84</sup> but in this case they must have been born to a peregrine mother and were, accordingly, no Roman citizens themselves.<sup>85</sup> In comparison, three other λέμβαρχοι have combinations of an individual name and a genitive attribute marked with τοῦ.<sup>86</sup>

A yet more puzzling nomenclature is the sole *N+C*<sup>87</sup> of three men, situated between the ones with *tria nomina* and the λέμβαρχοι, although Secundus

<sup>81</sup> DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, *Die Berufsvereine* (cit. n. 79), p. 122.

<sup>82</sup> This suits both Εὐτύχης and Εὔτυχος.

<sup>83</sup> DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, *Die Berufsvereine* (cit. n. 79), p. 122.

<sup>84</sup> *I. Parion*, loc. cit.

<sup>85</sup> FERRARY, *Les mémoires* (cit. n. 79), pp. 51–52, discusses men with nomenclatures comparable to these as sons, which is undoubtedly correct in the context of prestigious delegations to the oracle. Nevertheless, this needs not to be the same among Parian fishermen.

<sup>86</sup> Ἀσκλη[πί]δου τοῦ Ἀσκληπίδου, Μενάνδ[ρου τοῦ] Λευκίου, Ἰλάρου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου.

<sup>87</sup> These cannot be combinations of a *nomen* acting as an individual name and the other name as a genitive attribute, since this should be marked with τοῦ (apart from Ποπλίου υἱός). Note, however, that in other contexts, such nomenclatures emerge, but usually as practiced in a more uniform manner, and fitting to the circumstances. For instance, a long Rhodian name catalogue (*IG* XII 1, no. 4 + *SEG* III 675; late 1st c. CE) records nearly fifty Roman citizens, most of whom are Greeks and recorded with an imperial *nomen* Iulius, Claudius, or

ranks equal to the other κυβερνῶν, Τυβέλλιος Λ[.]ΛΑΙΤΟΣ(?). These are followed by φελλ[λο]χαλαστῶν Τονγίλιος Κόσμος and ἐφημερεύων Κάσσιος Δαμάσιππος, before Secundus comes in for the second time. Apart from Cassius, Tongilius is a rare *nomen*, and Tubellius a *hapax* – unless this is Turellius, as Ronald Syme has suggested<sup>88</sup> – both in any case unattested elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. Be that as it may, the most interesting feature is the lack of *praenomen*. What does this tell of their status in comparison to the ones showing a *praenomen*? In the order of appearance, they are higher than most of those with individual names. Even with a genitive attribute, which usually marks a patronym, these – or some of them – could be slaves after all, as we have witnessed in Rhegion.<sup>89</sup> But without further evidence the matter must remain open.

#### 9. A BUILDING PROJECT OF A FISHERMEN'S ASSOCIATION: I. EPHESOS 20

Certain similar elements may be observed in an Ephesian inscription of a fishermen's association, dating from 54–59 CE. It records a building project of a toll house (?) for fish products, with a dedication to the imperial family, and a catalogue of persons – some of them not necessarily associates<sup>90</sup> – contributing building material or money. G. H. R. Horsley has analysed the

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Flavius +C(I)+G(I), in this order. Here the *nomina* primarily act only as indicators of Roman citizenship, the individualising elements being the Greek names, presented in the traditional way (compare to Salway, 'What's in a name?' [cit. n. 4], pp. 134–135); thus the *praenomina*, foreseeable from the *nomina*, have been regarded unnecessary to write down. In addition, two Veranii and one Libuscidius show similar nomenclatures, but on l. B.2.37 one Γάιος Σαβίδιος Λα(δάριμος), certainly a resident of Rhodes because of the deme mentioned, appears with a non-abbreviated *praenomen* but without a *cognomen*. (Same may apply also to one Τίτος [- -], l. B.4.59.) Similarly, the context defines the omission of *praenomina* in a Claudian imperial letter on Kos, IG XII 4.1, no. 255, where names of certain emissaries are listed.

<sup>88</sup> Expressed in L. ROBERT, *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, vol. X, Paris 1960, p. 280 n. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Another, perhaps far-fetched possibility might be that N+C were in inverted order, and these men would actually be slaves. This would explain the lack of *praenomen*, but not fit in the order of appearance.

<sup>90</sup> See E. LYTLE, 'A Customs house of our own: infrastructure, duties and a joint association of fishermen and fishmongers (IK, 11.1a-Ephesos, 20)', [in:] V. CHANKOWSKI & P. KARVONIS (eds.), *Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques. Actes du colloque d'Athènes, 16–19 juin 2009*, Bordeaux – Athens 2012, pp. 213–224, esp. p. 220.

names featuring in this catalogue in comparison to those of persons connected to Paul the Apostle, making a number of sound observations, but some problematic generalisations as well.<sup>91</sup>

Persons are presented in an order according to their contributions, the highest being building elements, and the monetary sums ranging from fifty denarii to five (or less?). As an exception from this, the project's overseer has his family's contribution recorded in a separate passage (ll. A.2.67–71). One solitary Roman with a genitive attribute appears among the more generous contributors, Πο. Ἀνθέστιος Ποπλίου υἱ[ός]<sup>92</sup> (l. A.1.35), but for the rest, the male nomenclatures mostly<sup>93</sup> constitute of *P+N* (6); *P+N+C* (23); *N+C* (12); *I+G(I)* (28), the same with a second individual name (2); *I + patronym + papponym* (2); single *I* (2 or 3?); *I+I* (2);<sup>94</sup> *I* with genitive attribute by *P+N* (1); and

<sup>91</sup> G. H. R. HORSLEY, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 5, North Ryde 1989. The problems I discern concentrate on pp. 108–109: 1) Horsley categorizes the Roman citizens of our list roughly to those of Italic descent, to free Greeks with citizenship by 'an honorific grant', and to manumitted or military-originating citizens. He bases this on Latin and Greek *cognomina*, and whichever are 'attested as of servile currency', even though he admits that names 'attested in Rome in I AD of high servile frequency do not mean that every instance of the name elsewhere must be servile'. The use of various *cognomina* is, indeed, far less straightforward, especially with the later offspring of both new citizens of Greek extraction, and of western immigrants integrated into a Hellenic society (cf. above p. 10 with n. 26). 2) Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Μητροδώρος (l. A.1.19) is not at all necessarily an imperial freedman. 3) p. 109: 'Those thereby attaining to high rank in a formal sense will mostly have gained it via manumission or military service'. This is a problematic assertion, because Ephesos had been teeming with Romans already for some time – not the least attested in the previously discussed 'Große Spenderliste', which even documents several *gentes* that appear in both inscriptions: Antonii, Clodii, Cornelii, Fabricii, Gerillani, Licinii, Lollii, Vedii. Any general patterns do not emerge in how these *gentes* appear in the respective catalogues. Fabricii and Vedii, though, appear in both lists among the top spenders (in the 'Große Spenderliste' both are actually women, and Vedia acts on her own behalf).

<sup>92</sup> Note that his *praenomen* is abbreviated as with the others, but the filiation is written out in full.

<sup>93</sup> There are some unclarities on side B of the inscription. LYTLE, 'A Customs house' (cit. n. 90), p. 213, expects that the readings could be improved by a renewed autopsy.

<sup>94</sup> Ἀντίοχος Ψυχᾶς (l. A.2.63), [...]έρως Σηκρήτος (l. B.29). Although HORSLEY, *New Documents* (cit. n. 91), pp. 98–99, and DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, *Die Berufsvereine* (cit. n. 79), pp. 152–153, interpret the former as '(also called) Psychas' / 'auch Psychas genannt', they present the latter as '- - - -eros, son of / Sohn des Sekres', whereas this is recorded correctly as Σηκρήτος in LGPN Va, s.v.

a few uncertain, fragmentary cases. Additionally, although family members are referred to in many contributions, they are left anonymous, apart from one wife who appears with *N+C*.

The one Ποπλίου υἱός should not distract us from supposing that the most Roman citizens have their fathers' or patrons' *praenomina* omitted, rather than indicating any clear social differentiation. More interesting are the single individual names: Φόρβος<sup>95</sup> and Σεκοῦνδος who are παραφύλακες (Il. A.2.32 & 34), have been plausibly attributed to a servile status by Horsley, because of one name and the post mentioned.<sup>96</sup> In addition, he tentatively analyses some persons with *I+G* as possible slaves, but the evidence remains thin.<sup>97</sup> With equal caution I might also think of Ζώσιμος Γαΐου Φουρίου (I. A.2.52); Γάιος Φούριος appears on his own previously (I. A.II.18). Otherwise, the Parian counterparts draw our attention to the men with *N+C*, but little more can be said: they appear in all parts, i.e. with various sizes of contribution, but with an increasing proportion towards the smaller amounts.<sup>98</sup>

## 10. THE EPHEBIC CATALOGUES OF IASOS

A considerable number of ephebic lists are known from the Carian town of Iasos, and 13 of these documents list Roman names either as ephebes or gymnasiarchs.<sup>99</sup> Among these, the catalogues with surviving year dates,

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<sup>95</sup> A *hapax* name on its own (composites Θεό-, Κλειό-, Ἄνδρό-, Λεώ-, Σώ-φορβος are found with one attestation for each in the available *LGN* volumes, but Ἐϋφορβος is recorded 30 times), and perhaps not a particularly pleasant one by its meaning, as it refers to feeding – and thus more likely for a slave (theoretically, one could also think of Latin *furvus* which, however, is not attested as a name).

<sup>96</sup> HORSLEY, *New Documents* (cit. n. 91), p. 109, who also suggests [Π]αυλῖνος [- - -] (I. B.45). Others do not have their positions recorded, except for the overseer.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>98</sup> The one on I. A.1.43 donates a column, whereas the ones on Il. A.2.41, 49 and 61 spend 15–20 denarii; the remaining seven men on side B contribute unknown, but lower sums. HORSLEY, *New Documents* (cit. n. 91), p. 109, reasons that ‘we may infer that the shortening on the name from the standard *tria nomina* was done in view of the more limited space available’, but then again these do appear on side A as well, and on side B some names are not especially short (e.g. Il. B.22–23).

<sup>99</sup> *I. Iasos* 275–276 (84 and 87 CE), both fragmentary, probably had Romans, but the names have not survived; *I. Iasos* 283 is fragmentary (no date, no Roman names), and 284 shows no

*I. Iasos* 269–274, 277, and *SEG LIX* 1203–1204, range – assuming the Sullan era<sup>100</sup> – from 5/4 BCE to 94/5 CE.

*I. Iasos* 269, year 80: 5/4 BCE (or 48/9 CE?)

Μάρκος Κέρβιος Μάρκου υἱός

*I. Iasos* 270, year 88: 4/5 (or 56/7 CE?)

gymnasiarch: Κοί[ν]του Λεχαίου Μ[ε]λ[ί]τωνος

Σαμιάριος Σατορνείλος

*I. Iasos* 271–273, year 120: 35/6 (or 88/9 CE?)

gymnasiarch: Γαίου Πομπηίου Γαίου υἱοῦ

Κολλίνα Πείσωνος

(271, 272, [273])

date, but one Λεύκιος Διονυσίου (*I.* 21).

<sup>100</sup> For the era used there, yet to be resolved, the Sullan and the Actian ones seem to be by far the most plausible options, in light of the featuring Roman onomastics (see below, and compare to SALOMIES, *Vornamen* [cit. n. 4], and SALWAY, ‘What’s in a name?’ [cit. n. 4]). For the discussion, cf. SALOMIES, *Vornamen* (cit. n. 4), p. 235 with n. 222; W. LESCHHORN, *Antike Ären: Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 346–348; O. SALOMIES, review of the latter in *Arctos* 30 (1996), p. 286; P. HERRMANN, ‘Eine „pierre errante“. Ephebenkatalog aus Iasos in Milet’, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (1995), pp. 93–99, esp. pp. 96–97; S. AKAT, ‘New ephebic list from Iasos’, *Epiigraphica Anatolica* 42 (2009), pp. 78–80, esp. p. 79; O. SALOMIES commenting on the latter in *AE* 2009, no. 1447 (p. 534). The others, all ignorant of SALOMIES’s earlier arguments, favour more or less the Sullan era, whereas SALOMIES argues for the Actian one (although in *AE* 2009 [*loc. cit.*] he accepts the Sullan era). His line of reasoning is valid, but the same points could be explained with the Sullan era, too: 1) The orthography of the *cognomen* of Σαμιάριος Σατορνείλος (*I. Iasos* 270) is found already in the 1st c. CE: CAGNAT *et al.*, *Inscriptiones* (cit. n. 53), no. 1332 (81 CE); S. CHARITONIDIS, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου. Συμπλήρωμα [= Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας LX]*, Athens 1968, pp. 19–21, no. 18 (the date, which is to be discussed elsewhere, should be around late 1st c. BCE – mid 1st c. CE); *IG XII* 4.3, no. 1536 (1st c. CE); also in at least 14 papyri or ostraca, the earliest ones being *SB XIV* 11414 (33 CE) and *P. Oslo II* 33 (29–34 CE). 2) The lack of *praenomen* with the same man is indeed striking, but this may be due to some misunderstanding, perhaps not the only one in the same inscription (cf. Λεχάιος [?] below). 3) For the L. Tampii in the catalogues, acquisition of citizenship through L. Tampius Flavianus (cos. 43–45, II 74–76; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 9) is an alluring suggestion, but not at all necessary, since other Tampii are known from Italy as well, some also earlier (e.g. *CIL XI* 6215). Besides, the Iasian Tampii bear Latin *cognomina*, which might suggest a free-born origin. 4) The Iasian Mussii need to have been around already in the 1st c. CE, because of the ephebe M. Mussius Ἀπολλώνιος in *I. Iasos* 278–279 (for the date, see below). All in all, I am inclined to the Sullan era because of the occasional lack of *cognomina*, but neither can the Actian option be discarded.

Γάιος Πομπήιος Καπίτων	
Κοῖντος Σαμιάριος Νάσων	(271, 272, [273])
Λούκιος Τάμπιος Λιβερῶλις	(271, 272)
= ? [Λούκιος?] Τάμπιος	(273)
Αὔλος Κλώδιος Βάθυλλος	(271, 272, [273])
Τίτος Κορνήλιος Κέλαδος	
<i>SEG LIX 1203*–1204*</i> , year 12[1?]: 36/7 (or 89/90 CE?)	
Κοῖντος Σαμιάριος Ῥοῦφος	
Νεμέριος Σθένιος Βάθυλλος	(1203, [1204?])
<i>I. Iasos 274*</i> , year 140: 55/6 (or 108/9 CE?)	
Μᾶρκος Σαμιάρ[ι]ο[ς]	
Πόπλιος - - -]νιος	
Λού[κιος] Τάμπιος Κέλερ	
[- - -]εῖλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Παῦλλ[ος]	
Ποι[νί?]σιος(?) Κλᾶρος (see below n. 103)	
<i>I. Iasos 277*</i> , year 178: 93/4 (or 146/7 CE?)	
Κοῖντος Γράνιος Καπίτων	
Μάνιος Λωρέντιος Καπίτων	
Κοῖντος Ἐλβιος Ῥηγῖνος	
Αὔλος Μούσσιος Ἔσπερος	
Μᾶρκος Οὐήδιος Παυλῖνος	
Λεύκιος Οὐετύριος Βάσσο	
<i>I. Iasos 278, 279* &amp; 280*</i> , probably early (or mid) 1st c. CE	
Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος Γαίου υἱός	(278, 280)
Δέκμος Λαίλιος Γναίου υἱός	
Λεύκιος Μουνάτιος Μάρκου υἱός	(278, [280])
Πόπλιος Γέσ(σ)ιος	(278, 279, [280])
Γάιος Κάλτιος	(278, 280)
Μᾶρκος Ἄννιος Πωλλίων	(278, 279, [280])
Γάιος Φορβήιος Πακάτος	
Γάιος Ἰούλιος Λαῖτος	
Μᾶρκος Λεῖβιος Βάσσο	(280)
Μᾶρκος Μούσσιος Ἀπολλώνιος	(278, 279)
Κοῖντος Σαμιάριος Χρῦσερμος	
Γάιος Κατέλλιος Φ[- -]	(278, 280)

- Αὔλος Κλώδιος Γ[- - -] (280)  
 I. Iasos 282\*, 1st c. CE?  
 [- - -] Φάβιον Α[- - -]  
 [- - -] Ἰούλιον [- - -]  
 [- - -] Μούσσιον [- - -]  
 [- - -] Οὐετύρ[ιον - - -]  
 Μᾶρκον Σπ[- - -]  
 Γάιον [- - -]  
 Πόπλιον [- - -]  
 I. Iasos 281\*, 2nd c. CE?  
 Π. Φλάβιος Ἄνουβᾶς

From these we can discern that the ones from the Augustan period record only one or two Roman citizens, and from the 30s' of the first century CE on, more Romans appear. From the catalogues with dates lost, *I. Iasos* 278–280 perhaps date from early (or mid?) 1st c. CE, because five out of eleven Romans lack a *cognomen*; 281 is from imperial period but probably later than the others, because it is the only one with an abbreviated *praenomen*.<sup>101</sup>

Among the ephebes, different name combinations are not put in any apparent order, and the combinations vary until the list with the latest date, number 277 (93/4 CE) where everyone has *P+N+C*. I will not discuss every aspect again here, but the gymnasiarch of 35/6 CE is referred to with a Roman name formula at its fullest with filiation and tribe; on the other hand, thirty years earlier a gymnasiarch with the Roman citizenship in *I. Iasos* 270 does not even show a filiation, and has a peculiar *nomen*.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, we

\* Inscription is incompletely preserved, and the total number of names is unknown.

<sup>101</sup> Besides these, there is also one fragmentary list of names in accusative, and thus of some other function (honorific?); it is of the same period and contains some same *nomina* (*I. Iasos* 282; probably 1st c. CE).

<sup>102</sup> *I. Iasos* 270, ll. 2–3: ἐπὶ γυμνασιάρχου Κοί[ν]του / Λεχάϊου Μ[ε]λ[ί]τωνος. As L. ROBERT (*Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 296) has noted about Λεχάϊος, 'on attendrait un nomen romain'. To me, the most obvious explanation of the name would seem to be something like *Liccaeus*, for which SOLIN & SALOMIES, *Repertorium* (cit. n. 53), p. 104, record a singular occurrence in a *defixio* found in Dalmatia (*AE* 1921, no. 95). However, this has been read otherwise later (*AE* 2008, no. 1080). Be that as it may, names close to this are attested among Illyrians (see W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*,

have once again men with a defined genitive attribute and others without, and ones lacking a *cognomen* and with one – mostly Latin, some Greek, but without any distinguishable pattern. Within this context, freedmen are out of question, and because rather many of the ephebes do not show a genitive attribute, I find once again plausible that the filiations were omitted when the *praenomen* did not differ from the father's. At least in the case of *I. Iasos* 278–280, the three men with filiations are not homonymous with their fathers. Nevertheless, in the probably earliest list *I. Iasos* 269 the solitary Roman ephebe M. Cervius M. f. has his father's *praenomen*, as does C. Pompeius C. f. Collina Piso in 271–273 who sports a full Roman nomenclature with tribal affiliation, but once again this is the gymnasiarch and thus not entirely comparable to the ephebes.

However, as with the Parians, the omission of *praenomen* in one case (or two?<sup>103</sup>), *I. Iasos* 270, Σαμιάριος Σατορνείλος (4/5 or 56/7 CE), remains obscure. The man is the only Roman ephebe in his list, although the gymnasiarch (with the peculiar *nomen*) has the citizenship, too. It might be conceivable that in this context the ephebe was referred to with the names he was casually known. But since there are oddities in both men's names, some confusion with Roman names seems a valid possibility in this document, even though nine years earlier there was an ephebe with a completely normal *P+N+G(P)+viός*.

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Berlin 1904 [repr. Hildesheim 1991], p. 31 n. 3), although as such *Lic(c)aeus/-a* is an individual name found only in Venetia (see *CIL* V and *I. Aquileia*), and encountered there and in Rome as a *cognomen* or a slave name (for slaves, see SOLIN, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* [cit. n. 52], p. 6). ROBERT (cit. above) speculates on a connection to the harbor of Corinth, Λεχαῖον, but – rightly – remains sceptical; another improbable option is that the name would be a patronym (a local individual name?), and Μελίτωνος a papponym, but one would expect to find the genitive article preceding them. In my opinion we deal here with a Roman *nomen* (and thus *tria nomina*), which is either a *hapax* (e.g. *Liccaeus*), or a corrupted form of some other *nomen* (e.g. *Liccus*).

<sup>103</sup> *I. Iasos* 274, l. 16: Ποι[...]σιος Κλάρος, ed.pr. S. REINACH, 'Inscriptions d'Iasos', *REG* 6 (1893), pp. 192–193, no. 39; Πόπ[λιος Μούσ?]σιος W. BLÜMEL (*I. Iasos*). If the lacuna does not fit such a long reconstruction as BLÜMEL suggests (cf. REINACH), could one perhaps think of Ποι[νί?]σιος, which would correspond to a *hapax nomen* Poenisius (SOLIN & SALOMIES, *Repertorium* [cit. n. 53], p. 145: Asisium, 1st c. BCE, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2115 = XI 5512)?



## CONCLUDING NOTES

From the selected material it may be inferred that similar nomenclatures in different contexts may well carry diverse implications of status: Among the Koan priests and the cult officials of Rhegion, the lack of a genitive attribute stands out as a possible indicator of social differentiation, whereas in the most cases its disuse is explained by probable homonymity with the father. The priest list, the Rhegine case and the Ephesian ‘Große Spenderliste’ seem to show some patterns in how Greek *cognomina* appear, but elsewhere inquiry into them produces thin results at most. Persons with a peregrine nomenclature including Latin name elements, showing an undefined genitive attribute, are of course mostly free, but with the men subject to Rhegine *πρυτάνεις* this is not the case, and the Parian fishermen raise certain doubt. Nevertheless, two features recur in the selected material: first, Romans citizens, when acting as eponymous officials, appear with distinct nomenclatures,<sup>104</sup> second, absence of a *praenomen* near to nomenclatures presenting one evades clear interpretation. The material presented here does not suffice on its own to make any broad generalizations, but I think it shows that a systematic, large-scale analysis of different name combinations with Latin elements could be desirable.

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<sup>104</sup> In addition to the ones discussed, the decree for erecting the original catalogue in *IG* XII 4.1, no. 365, bears the year dating ἐπὶ μονάρχου Ῥηγίλλου: whether this is *cognomen* Regillus of a Roman or an individual name of Latin origin remains undecided.

SOCIAL STANDING AND LATIN NAMES IN GREEK: CASE STUDIES ON NAME CATALOGUES OF THE EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD

**Abstract**

The varying presentations of Roman names in Greek primary sources reflect the depth of the Roman cultural impact on Greek-speaking communities. However, this variation also may render it more difficult – and sometimes impossible – to firmly establish the social standing of the Roman citizens in these records. This article explores problems related to this through ten selected name catalogues from the early imperial period. Geographically the catalogues range from Magna Graecia to Western Asia Minor, and they differ from each other in social context and purpose. In some catalogues certain patterns seem to emerge in the use of *cognomina*, *praenomina* or genitive attributes, or the hierarchical nature of a catalogue may facilitate interpretation; however, in many cases the lacking evidence leaves the social standing of some persons ambiguous or unknown.

**Keywords:** onomastics, Roman personal names, Greek epigraphy

STATUS SPOŁECZNY A IMIONA ŁACIŃSKIE ZAPISANE PO GRECKU: STUDIUM PRZYPADKU KATALOGÓW IMION Z OKRESU WCZESNEGO CESARSTWA

**Abstrakt**

Zróżnicowane sposoby prezentacji rzymskich imion w greckich źródłach historycznych odzwierciedlają głębokość wpływu kultury rzymskiej na społeczność greckojęzyczne. Ta różnorodność może jednak także utrudnić, a czasem uniemożliwić, jednoznaczne ustalenie pozycji społecznej obywateli rzymskich wzmiankowanych w tych zapisach. Niniejszy artykuł bada związane z tym problemy na podstawie dziesięciu wybranych katalogów imion z okresu wczesnego Cesarstwa. Pod względem geograficznym obejmują one obszar od Wielkiej Grecji po zachodnią Azję Mniejszą i różnią się między sobą kontekstem społecznym oraz przeznaczeniem. W niektórych z nich wydają się pojawiać pewne wzorce w zakresie używania *cognomina*, *praenomina* oraz przydawek dopełniaczkowych. Być może jednak są one efektem hierarchicznej natury katalogu. W wielu przypadkach jednak brak dowodów sprawia, że pozycja społeczna niektórych osób pozostaje niejasna lub nieznana.

**Słowa kluczowe:** onomastyka, rzymskie imiona osobowe, epigrafika grecka



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