ONOMASTIC STUDIES IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE

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INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the single-name system of the Greeks, Latin nomenclature is complicated, for it has a social and political as well as an individual aspect. The gentile name (nomen) or the lack of it, the filiation and the tribus indicated a person's place in society, whereas the cognomen, in most cases freely chosen by parents, distinguished one individual from another. Such a complicated onomastic system was likely to become affected by social and political as well as cultural changes. This is what happened to Latin nomenclature during the Later Empire, that is to say, after the beginning of the third century A.D., through the social and political development of the third century and through the victory of Christianity during the fourth. In the present work, I have set out to discuss all the features in which the Latin nomenclature found in the early Christian inscriptions of the two most important centres of Western Christianity, Rome and Carthage, differs from the nomenclature of the Early Empire.

Because of the double aspect of Latin nomenclature, the present study is divided into two parts. The first is about the name system, the alterations in the number and order of the different elements of a name, and other similar problems; the other concerns the cognomen. Cognomina may also be considered from different points of view, either from a formal one of their origin and formation, or from that of the meaning of the names. As to the former, I have discussed the changes in the proportions of Latin and foreign cognomina and in the use of suffixes. In regard to the latter, the origins of a specific Christian nomenclature have been explored. In each section it has been my purpose to work out the fundamental causes of the changes in Latin nomenclature. In addition to the social and political and cultural causes discussed, one must also consider the influence of purely ono mastic factors, for some of the changes may be the logical outcome of tendencies inherent in the very nature of the Latin name.

As to the material of the study, the early Christian inscriptions of Carthage have all been published (see the bibliography, sources II), whereas the publication of the Christian inscriptions of Rome is far from complete. I have, however, tried to collect as much Roman material as possible (see the bibliography, sources I), and the number of persons whose names form it amounts to a little under 10,000 in the section on the name system, to 11.000 in the section on cognomina (for the explanation of this

¹ Three volumes of the new series of *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae* have so far been published (see bibliography, sources I), but at least eight more are planned, see P. TESTINI, RAC 1956, p. 107.

difference, see p. 56). Besides being more numerous, the Roman material has some other advantages. We have fairly reliable time limits set by archeological and historical evidence, for the majority of the early Christian inscriptions of Rome are taken from catacombs. It is nowadays held that the first catacombs were established at the beginning of the third century A.D.,1 that the time of their greatest importance was the fourth century,2 that after the sack of Rome by Alaric in A.D. 410 the catacombs practically went out of use and that the whole output of Roman inscriptions was almost at an end by the beginning of the seventh century.3 Moreover, about one tenth of the Roman inscriptions are dated, so that in discussing the changes in Latin nomenclature this greatly helps us to arrive at an exact chronology. Many Roman inscriptions also give the names of relatives, thus making it possible to study the transmission of personal names. The Carthaginian material is harder to date, for dated inscriptions are here exceptional. Historical evidence, however, implies that Carthaginian inscriptions on the whole date from a later period than the Roman ones, as the occupation of the city by the Vandals (A.D. 439) and the invasion of the Musulmans (A.D. 695) came later than corresponding catastrophes in Rome. The Carthaginian inscriptions are largely brief, containing only the name of the deceased, and a great number of them are fragmentary. The Carthaginian material has therefore been neglected when discussing a few important problems.

Because the present study is concerned with the changes in the Christian nomenclature in comparison with the pagan one, the pagan inscriptions of a new talso be considered. I have tried to do this, but the vastness of the pagan material of Rome has imposed some practical limits. In discussing all the other problems except the origins of a Christian nomenclature, I have drawn upon the epitaphs published in the two supplementary volumes of CVI: 4, 2—3 (34030—36602 and 37858—39082a). I think they represent the average features of the whole pagan inscriptional material of Rome.

In the present work I have consistently observed the statistical method, which makes it possible to present such vast material in a handy and comprehensive form. Whereas the absolute figures in themselves convey little, the proportions of the frequencies are the decisive point. I think that my material is large enough to give percentages which are not likely to be affected by new discoveries and publications of inscriptions.

¹ DE ROSSI, RS I p. 185, still believed that the first catacombs came into being in the Apostolic age, but STYGER, Die römischen Katakomben, p. 319, puts the establishment of the first catacombs at the middle of the second century A.D., and SCHNEIDER, Die ältesten Denkmäler der römischen Kirche, p. 190, denies the existence of Christian catacombs in Rome before A.D. 200.

² STYGER, op. cit., p. 3.

³ RO p. cvii.

THE LATIN NAME SYSTEM IN THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE LATIN NAME DURING THE EARLY EMPIRE

At the beginning of the Empire, after the final establishment of the cognomen as the individual name, the Roman name had reached its most perfect form. A free man bore *tria nomina* — the praenomen, nomen and cognomen — and a free woman *duo nomina*, women as a rule having no praenomen.

During the Empire, however, the Latin name system underwent great changes. The final phase of this transmutation will be the subject of the subsequent discussion. Its first phase may be summed up by saying that it meant the disappearance of the praenomen and its replacement by the cognomen as the individual name that served to distinguish one person from another. The praenomina had early lost a great deal of their importance through the fact that their number had eventually been limited to about 30, of which only 16—18 were in common use. The importance of the praenomina was further restricted when it became the rule to give all sons their father's, and all freedmen their master's praenomen. This change took place towards the end of the republic and under the Early Empire. The praenomen consequently lost its distinctive function and became superfluous. It began to go out of use during the first and second centuries A.D., though the aristocrats retained it to the end of the fourth century.

¹ For the history of the Latin name system, see Mommsen, Die römischen Eigennamen der republikanischen und augusteischen Zeit; Schulze Eigennamen, p. 487 ff.; Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie latine, p. 37 ff.; Solmsen, Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte, p. 135 ff.; E. Fraenkel, Namenwesen, RE XVI col. 1648 ff. Doer's work Die römische Namengebung is unfortunately marred by a considerable lack of clarity and numerous blemishes in scholarship, see A. von Blumenthal's criticism in Klio 1939. p. 434 ff.

² See SCHULZE Eigennamen p. 487 ff.

³ Inc. auct. liber de praen. § 3: Gentilicia nomina Varro putat fuisse numero (mille), praenomina circa xxx. For the praenomina in general use, cp. Chase, The p. 151 ff.

⁴ THYLANDER pp. 58; 67; 77 ff.

Whereas the general tendency of the Imperial times was towards diminishing the number of names, various causes contributed to a multiplication of names among the aristocracy; this reached its peak with the 38 names of the consul of A.D. 169 (CXIV 3609 = ILS 1104). The numerous adoptions of the Imperial age were one of the causes. The republican practice of tacking the former nomen with the suffix -anus on to the regular three names obtained from the adoptive father was abandoned and new names were simply added to the old ones. Again, it became fashionable to inherit names from the mother as well, and this tended to swell the number of names. It has been suggested that this practice was of Etruscan origin, maternal institutions being a peculiarity of Etruria. Further, many an aristocrat wanted to display the grandeur of his family by combining the names of his illustrious ancestors in his own name.

After this brief outline, we may turn to the changes in the name system found in the Christian inscriptional material.

II. THE DESIGNATION OF THE SOCIAL STATUS

§ 1. The disappearance of the tribus and filiation

In a society based upon human slavery, it was important to know whether a man was free-born, a freedman or a slave. The Latin name system usually gave answers to all these questions. Only a free man could bear the *tria nomina*, and *tria nomina* in fact became a synonym of free status (cf. e.g. Iuven. Sat. 5, 125—27). To distinguish the free-born from freedmen, freedmen replaced the filiation of the free-born by their master's praenomen. Slaves had a single name followed by the genitive of the master's name, with or without the words *verna* or *servus-va*. The stating of the *tribus* fortified the claim to Roman citizenship.

This system, however, was far from being universally adhered to in actual practise. In my material from CVI (see p. 2) the tribus is indicated in 3,5%, and in the pagan material from Carthage in 2,5% of the cases. There is not a single instance of the tribus in the Christian ma-

¹ Cp. Fraenkel, Namenwesen, RE XVI, col. 1662, 41.

² Mommsen, Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius, Hermes 1869, p. 72 ff.

³ Borghesi, Oeuvres complètes III, p. 493.

⁴ DOER, Die römische Namengebung, p. 95 f.

⁵ Cp. DOER's analysis of the names of the consul of the year 169 A.D., op. cit. p. 128 ff.

terial. Its disappearance was due to political factors. The *tribus* implied that a person was a Roman citizen, but after Caracalla had extended Roman citizenship to all subjects of the Empire, that distinction lost its significance, and the *tribus* went out of use after the third century A.D.¹

More importance was attached to the filiation. In republican inscriptions, the names of most free-born persons include that element. I have examined about three hundred inscriptions from Rome and Latium in C I: 22 26-363. The filiation is found in 183 names out of 267, or in 71 % of the cases. Moreover, the grandfather was often indicated too, e.g. 268: L. Samiarius C. f. N. n. In my material from CVI, men record the filiation in 6,5 %, women in 5,5 % of the cases; the corresponding figures for the pagan material from Carthage are 4,5 % and 8 %. The decline of the use of the filiation in Imperial times may ultimately have been due to the fact that it was the rule for father and son to have the same praenomen (see p. 3). It was consequently superfluous to write, e.g., L. Marcius L. f., for the very name L. Marcius implied that the father's praenomen was also Lucius. Women had no praenomen, so this cause of the disuse did not affect them. It is, however, likely that it ex analogia reduced the use of the filiation in women's names too. Fashion is a powerful factor in matters of nomenclature, and when a development has once been initiated, it has a tendency to gather momentum and spread wider and wider. The rapid decline of the filiation in Imperial times is also proved by the distribution of the material in C VI. The name form without a cognomen, which on the whole represents the oldest stratum, gives the filiation for men in 42 % and for women in 43 % of the cases; there are only a few sporadic examples in the much later name forms with the praenomen or the praenomen and nomen lacking.

The same tendency continued in the Christian inscriptions. There are only five examples of the filiation in the Latin material from Rome. The examples from Greek inscriptions are more numerous, but cannot be included here: the ethnic which was often tacked on to the names reveals that the persons were largely of Eastern origin, e.g. SI 2896: ' $H\lambda\iota\delta\delta\omega\varrho\sigma\varsigma$ ' $A\lambda\epsilon\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\varrho\sigma$ ' $A\nu\tau\iotaο\chi\epsilon\acute{\nu}\varsigma$. People coming from the Greek East had retained the traditional Greek nomenclature of a single name followed by the genitive of the father's name. In the Latin examples, the disappearance of the praenomen had made the use of the classical formula for the filiation impossible, and the cognomen was used instead, e.g. SI 4468: Honeratia Sanctipe filia Lepori piscatoris, and the cognomina of both parents could be given, as in RAC 1930, p. 190: Adeodatus filius Erclani et Fortunules.

¹ See CAGNAT, Cours d'épigraphie latine, p. 62.

§ 2. The disappearance of the designation of slaves' and freedmen's status

The *tribus* and the filiation were minor items in comparison with the designation of the status of freedmen or slave, and it is precisely here that the first great difference between pagan and Christian epigraphic practice attracts attention. The frequencies of the designations in our Roman and Carthaginian material are tabulated below:

Table 1. The designation of the social status in the pagan and Christian inscriptions of Rome

	CI	71:4,2-	-3, epita	phs	Christian			
b	men	women	total	%	men	women	total	%
Free Freedmen	1.785	1.467 485	3.252 1.218	71 % 26 %	5.176 12	4.477	9.653 16	99,9 %
Slaves	104	34	138	3 %	1	_	1	_
Total	2.622	1.986	4.608		5.189	4.481	9.670	

Table 2. The designation of the social status in the pagan and Christian inscriptions of Carthage

		pag	gan	Christian				
	men	women	total	%	men	women	total	%
Free	437	352	789	63,5 %	464	376	840	_
Freedmen	41	27	68	5,5 %	_	-	_	-
Slaves	276	112	388	31,0 %	-		_	
Total	754	491	1.245		464	376	840	

Most freedmen's names in our pagan material observed the classical formula of the patron's praenomen and the sigla l. or lib. written after the nomen, but a number omit this, and the real status is betrayed by some such word as *conlibertus* or *patronus*. But there may have been epitaphs of freedmen which, though leaving out the sigla, furnish no clues about the status of the persons. A number of slaves are also probably masquerading as free-born. The slaves as a rule had a single name, and 16.5% of the men and 15% of the women in our pagan Roman material, and 25.5% and 31% in our pagan Carthaginian material bear only a cognomen (see p. 9 f.). Though the cases admit of several explanations (see p. 14), it is likely that a number of them, in particular those in which all the members

of a family bear a single name, can be included in the category of the names of slaves, e.g. $C\ VI\ 34426a$: Antiochianus et Agne Antiochiano filio melleo, has every likelihood of being the epitaph of slaves. But though making allowances for cases of that type, one should be chary of attempting to estimate the size of freedman and slave populations on the basis of inscriptional statistics. This is most obvious in regard to Carthage, for the bulk of the pagan inscriptions of the city comes from two sepulchres of Imperial slaves. The surprisingly high percentage of slaves has thus a natural explanation. But even where, as in Rome, the stones of the free and of slaves have come down to us in like numbers, the inscriptions are far from giving us a correct idea of the actual situation, for different social strata are not equally represented in epitaphs. We can be certain that wealthy freedmen, for instance, were much more often commemorated on sepulchral monuments than common slaves.

The tables above show the enormous difference there is between pagan and Christian inscriptions in regard to the designation of social status. There are no examples of freedmen or slaves in the Christian material from Carthage, and even in Rome the number of cases is insignificant. Moreover, the interpretation of some of them presents difficulties.

There is only one definite case of a slave, SI3679 = Diehl.767A: Notatus servus. The word servus is found in two more epitaphs, SI4486: ...Zoe $con[pari \mid et \ c]onser[vae \ in]$ & and SI6337: ...forus con|serbus bene|merenti. Both epitaphs are fragmentary; in the latter the name is probably [Sym]forus. If we accept the reading [in] & in the former epitaph, the meaning of the term conserva will be quite different from what is usual in pagan inscriptions. The Christians often called themselves servi or ancillae Dei (examples Diehl, 1454-71), and married couples could consequently be called conservi Dei (e.g. Diehl, 1458). Because the terms servus or conservus were accordingly used in these new meanings with the qualifications Dei or in Christo, the meaning of the first epitaph depends upon the supplement of in; though the latter epitaph is fragmentary, it is likely that conserbus should here be taken in the old, pagan meaning.

In the cases of Christian freedmen, the term libertus is unequivocal, e.g. NBull 1902, p. 227 = Diehl 763A: Aur. Sozon Augg. lib. and SI 3818 = Diehl 764: Suagrio liberto. With the exception of Imperial freedmen, who number six in all, the classical formula with the sigla and the patron's name is found only in ARM p. 11 = Diehl 763a: Clodia Ispes lib. Clodi Crescentis. But patronus cannot always be assumed to imply a patronage of freedmen, e.g. SI 2914 = 3771 = Diehl 4127C: Felicitas et Bitalio | Nonio Sabiniano patrono; here the persons who set up

¹ See Mommsen, Ephemeris epigraphica V, p. 105 ff.

the stone may equally be *alumni*, new-born children exposed and rescued by people willing to nurse them. *Alumni*, who were not slaves proper ¹, were in fact more numerous than freedmen in Christian inscriptions (e.g. DIEHL 757—762A), and foster-parents were called *patroni*, e.g. *SI* 2759 = DIEHL 1509adn: *Sozomeneti alumnae* | *audienti* | *patronus fidelis*.

The insignificant percentage of slaves and freedmen in the Christian inscriptional material must have been due to specific causes. One can certainly adduce the fact that slavery was declining towards the end of antiquity, the new caste society replacing it by serfdom.2 But though it is incontestable that the numbers of slaves and freedmen were much smaller than during the Early Empire, it is doubtful whether they were small enough to account for the enormous difference between pagan and Christian inscriptional material in this respect. We have in fact indirect evidence of the presence of freedmen in the population which furnished the Christian inscriptions of Rome, e.g. inscriptions like RS III 22,2 = DIEHL 159: Petroniae Auxentiae c(larissimae) t(eminae) — liberti te[cerunt] imply the continuance of the ancient practices of manumission. One can also refer to the literary evidence of large-scale manumissions in Christian times.4 Further, since Christianity largely began as a religion of the poor and the humble, one would be entitled to expect a considerable percentage of slaves and freedmen in the earliest strata of Christian inscriptions. There are, however, only two instances in the inscriptions mentioned (p. 11 f.) which date from the period before the pax.5

Grossi Gondi ⁶ ascribes the absence of freedmen's and slaves' designations to the desire of the Christians to do away with social distinctions among themselves. But I do not think that the aversion to designating a person as a slave or as a freedman was simply due to the Christian ideal of equality. Grossi Gondi concedes that in the post-Constantinian times — which give us the majority of Christian inscriptions — distinctions of rank were habitually displayed in epitaphs ⁷, and a rapid consultation of DIEHL, suffices to prove this. There are some three hundred inscriptions in DIEHL, in which the members of the higher orders distinguish themselves by the sigla v(ir) c(larissimus), v(ir) p(erfectissimus), v(ir) h(onestus),

¹ See DACL I: I, col. 1291.

² Bury, A history of the Later Roman Empire I, p. 26 f.

³ A similar case is RS III p. 318 = DIEHL, 751: Aurelio Scolacio patrono — — in pace liberti fecerunt.

⁴ DACL I: 1, col. 556 f.

⁵ RO 5 = DIEHL 3332a: M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Prosenes, A.D. 217, and Bull 1886, p. 130 (early Priscilla): . . . Aug. lib . . .

⁶ Trattato pp. 72 and 100.

⁷ Ibid. p. 108 f.

etc., or by some other means (56—346). Tradesmen, doctors and the like did not allow their titles to pass unnoticed (*ibid*. 580—749), and the different grades of clerical hierarchy were conscientiously recorded (*ibid*. 951—1326). The infrequency of freedmen's and slaves' designations cannot, then, be attributed to a tendency to disregard social differences. Nevertheless it is a fact that the attitude of the Church towards slavery differed from that of the pagan world. Though the Church had to adapt herself to the existing world after her victory and to accept slavery as part of the social order, the Fathers recognized that slavery was incompatible with true Christian ideas. It is possible that the rejection of the idea of slavery influenced the etiquette of cemeteries so that it was considered un-Christian to reveal that the deceased was, or had been a slave.

III. FROM THE TRIA NOMINA TO THE SINGLE NAME SYSTEM

§ 1. The proportions of the different name forms in the pagan and Christian inscriptions

Another major difference between pagan and Christian nomenclature will be clear from the tables below, where the material is classified according to the n a m e f o r m s. The Latin and the Greek inscriptions of Rome are tabulated separately in the tables. To make an adequate comparison of the Greek material possible, I have drawn upon the Greek epitaphs of pagan Rome, published in *IG XIV* 1314—2238. For reasons to be set forth in another connection (p. 21), the cases in the Christian material in which a woman bears only a nomen have been included in the cognomen-

	C 1	VI: 4, 2—	-3, epita	phs	Christian			
	men	%	women	%	men	%	women	%
praen. + nomen								
or only nomen	37	1,5 %	45	2,5 %	3			
»tria nomina»	1.792	71,5 %	4		83	2,0 %	7	-
»duo nomina»	268	10,5 %	1.606	82,5 %	729	15,5 %	777	19,5 %
single or double		\ \		, ,		, ,		
cognomen	419	16,5 %	295	15,0 %	3.856	82,5 %	3,232	80.5 %
total	2.516		1.950		4.671		4.016	

Table 3. The name forms in the Latin inscriptions of Rome

¹ See Wallon, Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité III, pp. 2—8 and 299 ff. Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, p. 149 ff., however, thinks that the early Christian condemnation of the idea of slavery has been overestimated; according to him, the Christian attitude was rather that of indifference: »For those converted to the belief in Christ, free or slave status was not a matter of consequence» (p. 156).

Table 4. The name forms in the Greek inscriptions of Rome

	IG	XIV Ron	nan epita	aphs	Christian			
Allegh and the	men	%	women	%	men	%	women	ı %
praen. + nomen								
or only nomen	-		-	-	-	- N	-	
»tria nomina»	110	15.5 %	in the same of	1 200	2	0,5 %		-
»duo nomina» single or double	147	20,5 %	141	35,5 %	65	12,5 %	72	15,5 %
cognomen	460	64,0 %	253	64,5 %	451	87,0 %	393	84,5 %
total	717		394		518		465	

system. In both pagan and Christian groups the names of slaves, because they entirely differ from the general pattern, have been excluded.

A comparison of the two tables shows that there was considerable difference in the name forms between Latin and Greek inscriptions: the cognomen-system was much more frequent in the latter, especially in the pagan material. In the pagan material, the frequency of the single name form must largely have been due to the fact that a large number of peregrini. who were mostly Greek-speaking and had retained the Greek name form, were buried in Rome. As to the Christian material, the significance of the slightly higher percentage of the cognomen-system in the Greek inscriptions is increased by the fact that the Greek epigraphic material on the whole dates from an earlier period than the Latin one. Whereas the persons recorded in Greek epitaphs number 9 % of the total, in the early stratum of Christian inscriptions prior to the pax (see p. 11 f.) the Greek element is as high as 28,5 %. Because the early inscriptions in general show a smaller percentage of the cognomen-system than the later ones (see p. 12), one must conclude that even in the Christian material the cognomen-system was much more frequent in the Greek inscriptions than in the Latin material. To account for this, we may adduce the pagan factor mentioned above: a

Table 5. Name forms in the pagan and Christian inscriptions of Carthage

		ра	g a n		Christian			
ub de la colonia	men	%	women	%	men	%	women	%
praen. + nomen		2 2 27						
or only nomen	4	1,0 %	_	_	-	-	-	-
»tria nomina»	274	57,5 %	_	_	-	-	-	_
»duo nomina» single or double	75	16,0 %	262	69,0 %	9	2,0 %	4	1,0 %
cognomen	121	25,5 %	117	31,0 %	464	98,0 %	372	99,0 %
total	474		379		473		376	

large number of the people recorded in Greek inscriptions must have been *peregrini*. That it in fact was so is shown by *SI-FE*, for instance, where about 70 of the persons recorded in Greek epitaphs indicate a native place in the East.

A comparison of the Roman and Carthaginian tables shows that the nomina were less frequent in the pagan material of Carthage than in the corresponding Roman material, and had all but disappeared from the Christian inscriptions. It has been suggested that in Africa the onomastic tradition of the native population had reasserted itself in a tendency towards simpler name forms. But though this contention is partly true (cf. p. 17), it is unnecessary where pagan Carthage is concerned to adduce the native element to account for the large-scale disappearance of the praenomen and the nomen. The bulk of the epigraphic material of Carthage came from the sepulchres of Imperial slaves which were in use during the second century A.D. (cf. the work of Mommsen cited on p. 7, fn. 1). At this time the Latin name system had already begun to break up. Furthermore, many slaves must have been buried in the Carthaginian sepulchres without the revealing words servus or verna, and this swelled the number of single names (for Christian Carthage, see p. 14).

Both in Rome and Carthage, the differences in the name forms between p a g a n and Christian inscriptions were enormous. Whereas in the pagan inscriptions — with the exception of the Greek epitaphs — the majority of men and women had the classical *tria* or *duo nomina*, in the Christian material praenomina were exceptional and nomina were also in a minority, the prevalent name form being the one composed of a single, sometimes double cognomen or a nomen used as a cognomen.

§ 2. The chronology of the name forms in the Christian inscriptions

The Christian epitaphs, in particular the Roman ones, were often d a t e d, in sharp contrast to the pagan usage. This was probably due to the Christian belief that the *dies depositionis* was the true *dies natalis* of a Christian and should be commemorated.² These dated inscriptions make it possible for us to follow the development of the Latin name system through the different periods of Christian Rome. I have gone through all the dated inscriptions of Rome published in RO and SI-FE, together with a few occasional cases found in AE and RAC. Because the dating of epitaphs did not become common until the fourth century, there is a limited number of dated material from the period before the *pax*. To get more material from this period, I have included the epitaphs found in the most ancient

¹ TOUTAIN, La cité romaine de la Tunisie, p. 188 ff.

² GROSSI GONDI, Trattato p. 186.

stratum of the catacomb of Priscilla 1 , probably dating from the third century A.D. (see p. 2). I give the material in four groups: first, the epitaphs prior to the pax; secondly, the epitaphs from 313 to 410, that is to say, the sack of Rome by Alaric, which marked the beginning of the final decay of the city; the third and fourth groups are formed by the material from the fifth and sixth centuries respectively.

Table 6. Name forms in the different periods of dated Christian inscriptions of Rome

Men

	ante	pacem	A.D. 34	3—410	A.D. 4	10—500	A.D. 5	00—600
»tria nomina» »duo nomina» cognomén	18 54 98	10,5 % 32,0 % 57,5 %	31 292	9,5 % 90,5 %	5 98	5,0 % 95,0 %	- 3 72	4,0 % 96,0 %
total	170		323	4	103	4	75	

Women

»duo nomina»	80	50,0 %	$\frac{28}{245}$	10,0 %	3	3,5 %	1	2,0 %
cognomen	79	50,0 %		90,0 %	82	96,5 %	47	98,0 %
total	159	The same of the sa	273		85		48	1

In addition to the above tables, we may cite DE Rossi, who remarks that in the oldest stratum of the catacomb of St. Agnese the number of the cases of *tria* and *duo nomina* was greater than that of a single cognomen.²

The significance of the findings is enhanced by the fact that whereas the early material is largely composed of the epitaphs of humble people, higher social orders begin to figure in epitaphs after the pax (see p. 8), the material of the latest period being almost entirely formed by the epitaphs of magistrates, priests and members of the nobility. Because the higher orders were more tenacious of the traditional name forms than humble people 3 , the disappearance of the nomen after the pax seems all the more thorough. Again, Greek material formed almost a third of the early inscrip-

² RS I p. 192 f.

¹ DE ROSSI, L'epigrafia primitiva priscilliana, Bull 1886 p. 34 ff.; 1887 p. 109 ff.; 1892 p. 57 ff. Cf. bibliography.

³ In the inscriptions of the Roman magistrates of senatorial rank in C VI 1651—1796, we find one or more nomina followed by one or more cognomina still in common use in the fifth century A.D. It was not until the sixth century that the cognomen-system began to affect the nomenclature of the nobility. In his biographies of the »Last Romans», Sundwall, gives information about c. 375 persons, mostly from the first half of the sixth century (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Römertums, p. 84 ff.). Only about 85 persons have more than a single

tions and this, in the light of what has been previously discovered (see p. 10), must have increased the percentage of the single name system in the early period. It is, then, obvious that the age of Constantine the Great marked the turning-point in the history of the Latin name system. Before that time, the nomen was an inseparable part of the name in half of the cases, after the pax the number of similar cases was less than one tenth. The name forms in the Christian inscriptional material of the early period do not much differ from those in the pagan material. There is, it is true, a considerably larger number of cases in which the praenomen, or the praenomen and nomen are lacking, but most Christian inscriptions of the period prior to the pax date from the third century, while the majority of the pagan material dates from the two first centuries A.D. Moreover, most early Christians were humble people.

The above also gives us useful criteria for the dating, if not of single inscriptions, at least of a sufficient number of them, e.g. the whole of our Christian material from Rome. Because the percentage of the cognomensystem was considerably higher in the whole of the Roman material than in the dated inscriptions of the first period (cf. tables 3-4 and 6), but a little lower than in the inscriptions of the second period, the conclusion seems justified that a minority of the inscriptional material from Christian Rome dates from the period prior to the pax, the majority from the later period, probably from the century between the pax and the sack of Rome by Alaric. This tallies with the archeological criteria (see p. 2). Conversely, most of the inscriptional material containing the nomen must belong to the period before the pax. In regard to tria nomina, considering that no dated inscriptions of the later periods show this name form, the criterion is so reliable that it may even be applied to individual cases. These onomastic criteria may also hold good for the Carthaginian material. Because nomina are found only in 1,5 % of the Christian inscriptions found in the city, it is likely, making allowances for the mutilated state of most of the inscriptions and for the general brevity of the epitaphic style of Christian Carthage, that the bulk of the Christian material from Carthage dates from a later period than the corresponding Roman inscriptions. This again tallies with the historical evidence (see p. 2).

§ 3. The causes of the break-up of the Latin name system

In considering the cases in which the praenomen or the praenomen and the nomen are lacking, one should remember that the disappearance may be only apparent; the praenomen and the nomen may have been left

name, in many cases a conglomeration of cognomina. If a nomen is found, it is mostly *Flavius*. The resistence of the classical tradition had finally yielded to the pressure from below.

out to save space, being easily supplied from the other names on the stone. In an epitaph like $C\ VI\ 35819$:

Martius Alexan[der] — Martia Earine

L. Martius L.f. Alexan[der]

Polytimu[s] — Hermetilla

M. Seius M.t. Secundianus

or C VI 38879:

the praenomina and the nomina of the fathers are easily supplied from the sons' names. I think that cases of this type largely explain the high percentage of single cognomina in pagan epitaphs. While a number of the bearers of single cognomina were no doubt slaves, in particular in Carthage (see p. 11), in not a few cases the praenomen and the nomen had been suppressed to save space, only the individual cognomen being left. It has been suggested that etiquette in the cemeteries required the full name of the deceased, whereas space could be saved by cutting only the individual cognomina of the relatives 1, e.g. CVI 35124: Domitiae Florae | Lais sorori | posuit, where the full name of the sister must have been Domitia Lais. Yet it was not always the name of the deceased that was written in full, e.g. C VI 35119: L. Domitius | Eros | Urbico f(ilio) | Augene | uxs(ori); here the deceased bear cognomina, whereas the name of the father and husband who set up the stone is given in full. Individual cognomina conveyed more affection than the full official name, and this may explain the usage.

But though the omission of the praenomen or praenomen and nomen was not always genuine, the facility with which this was done was symptomatic of the small degree of importance attached to them in comparison with the individual cognomen. The revolutionary changes in the Christian name system were accordingly a consummation of tendencies which were also operative in the pagan material. The cause of the decline in the use of the praenomen has been mentioned (p. 3). The problem which faces us here is the disappearance of the nomen.

A number of the cases in the Christian material in which a nomen is lacking admit of similar interpretations as in the pagan inscriptions. Servile status was reluctantly designated in Christian inscriptions (see p. 9), and this increased the single name category. But the number of slaves was hardly great enough to explain why most persons in Christian

¹ SCHULZE Eigennamen, p. 494 f.

epigraphic material bear only a cognomen. Slavery was on the decline during the Later Empire, and we may safely assume that slaves were fewer in Christian than in pagan epitaphs. Again, in a few cases the deceased or the relatives were designated only by cognomina in a way similar to the pagan usage discussed, e.g. SI 3398 = Diehl, 4124: Flavius Fortunius | et | Lutatia Prisca | Communioni filio, and FE 8792 = Diehl, 2278: Legitimus et Amantia Aurelio Urso | filio dulcissimo, where the missing nomina are easily supplied. However, the number of similar cases is too small to affect the statistics.

Grossi Gondi argues that the prevalence of the cognomen-system was due to the Christian idea of equality: all distinctions between slave and free were abolished even in nomenclature, many Christians of illustrious families designating themselves by a single name, as if they were slaves.¹ Though assigning other causes, too, to the break-up of the Latin name system (see p. 16), Nogara contends that Christianity facilitated it, for being a restricted community, the Christians did not need a complicated onomastic system to know each other.2 Grossi Gondi's and Nogara's explanations may be called respectively ideological and practical. But if the explanations were correct, the omission of the praenomen and the nomen would be most noticeable in the period prior to the pax. The Christian community of these early days was distinguished by a more wholehearted adherence to true Christian ideals than the ecclesia triumphans, and the number of the believers was restricted. Even the epitaphic style of the early period differed from the one in the post-Constantinian days.³ The epitaphs of the early Christians were simple and brief; hidden in the darkness of the catacombs, they were not primarily intended to preserve the worldly memory of the deceased. After the pax, when the Christians were no longer a persecuted sect, they could pay more attention to secular affairs, and their ranks were swelled by converts who did not always share the ardour of the early Christians. This brought about a change in the epitaphic style. Epitaphs became longer, often affected and rhetorical, and the memory of the worldly career of the deceased was conscientiously recorded (cf. p. 8f.). It would accordingly seem justifiable to find single cognomina in the early period and fuller name forms after the pax. But the discussion of the chronology of the name forms in the Christian inscriptions of Rome has proved that the reverse is true.

But if the victory of the single name system was not due to factors specifically Christian, how do we account for it? I think the break-up of the old system was due to at least four main factors.

One of the causes may have been the weakening of the traditional

¹ Trattato, p. 72.

Il nome personale nella Lombardia durante la dominazione romana, p. 106.
 RO p. cx ff.; GROSSI GONDI Trattato p. 403 ff.

unity of the gens. The use of the same nomen implied that its bearers were supposed to be the descendants of a common ancestor, but when the unity was less strongly felt, the desire to indicate it by a nomen also became weaker. Again, during the Later Empire the tria nomina had not the same value as before. The possession of tria nomina was earlier considered an outward token of Roman citizenship (see p. 4); slaves never had nomina, but peregrini had no right to bear them either.2 Roman citizenship, however, largely forfeited its political and social value after the Antoninian constitution of A.D. 212 had granted citizenship to all subjects of the Empire. The real purpose and scope of this measure are disputed; ROSTOVTZEFF asserts that it meant very little in practice; its real importance lay in the fact that it symbolized the death of the old Roman state: because everybody was now a Roman citizen, this title was no longer of any particular importance.3 But as Roman citizenship had lost its value, people certainly no longer took such care to display it through nomenclature as before.

Yet the most decisive factor seems to have been purely on omastic. It will be remembered that the cause of the disuse of the praenomen was the fact that the name had lost its distinctive function after all the sons of a father and all the freedmen of a master began to bear the same praenomen (see p. 3). The decline in the use of the nomen was due to a similar cause. If the majority of people share only a few nomina, the nomina must suffer a loss of their distinctive function. This is what happened to the nomina during the Later Roman Empire. It may be seen from tables 3 and 4 (p. 9 f.) that 1738 persons have a nomen in our Christian material from Rome. The number of different nomina is about 310. Most of them, however, are found only once or twice. If we count the nomina of which there are more than 20 instances, we find that 51 % of the persons with a nomen shared eight nomina between them. The nomina and their frequencies are listed below:

Aelius	84	Flavius	14 9
Antonius	20	Iulius	94
Aurelius	411	Valerius	64
Claudius	52	Ulpius	24

The total is thus 898. With two exceptions, all the nomina had been borne by Roman emperors, the most frequent nomina, Aurelius and

¹ Nogara, *op. cit.* p. 102.

² Cp. Suet. Divus Claudius 25, 3.

³ The social and economic history of the Roman Empire, p. 369 f.

Flavius, being the nomina of the emperors of the Later Empire. Though Antonius and Valerius were not Imperial nomina, they were most common among the Roman nobility (RE gives the biographies of about 400 people belonging to gens Valeria). The frequency of the Imperial nomina was due to the fact that the emperors manumitted a large number of slaves and granted citizenship to peregrini. On being manumitted by an emperor and on receiving Roman citizenship by him, slaves and peregrini adopted the nomen of the emperor.² The singular popularity of Aurelius may be due to the fact that Caracalla, who extended Roman citizenship to all provincials, was an Aurelius. The nomina passed on to the progeny of the freedmen and new citizens. This explains why *Ulpius*, for instance, is found among common people several centuries after Trajan's death.3 When, because of race mixture, the descendants of freedmen and peregrini came to represent the bulk of the urban population, the Imperial nomina began to prevail. A fate similar to the praenomen befell the nomen, and it began to go out of use. The development very likely commenced with people who had a very common nomen, like Aurelius and Flavius, and spread ex analogia to other and less common nomina.

It is also possible that when the status of the nomen had been undermined by the factors mentioned, the victory of the single name system was furthered by a revival of ancient habits of nomenclature among the Easternized urban population, for in the Greek world the single name system had been in use throughout antiquity. Is it any wonder if people coming from the East or the descendants of Eastern slaves and *peregrini* did not care to bear Latin nomina, which no longer had any social value, and preferred to be called in their ancestral manner instead? Similar causes may have been operative in the other Roman provinces (cf. p. 11).

All these tendencies leading to the single name system could not probably have exerted their full influence unless the official control upon nomenclature had been weakened during the Imperial Age. The ancient Roman census was a powerful factor in maintaining the traditional Roman name system. Every Roman citizen had to state his full official name at the census⁴, and the censors allowed little change in the traditional number and order of the Roman name. It has been suggested that the disappearance of their control and the transmission of the registration to minor officials during the Empire marked the beginning of the break-up

¹ Thylander p. 96 comments upon the surprising infrequency of *Flavius* in Christian inscriptions; he must, however, have made a mistake, for in Diehl, upon whose index Thylander has based his calculations, *Flavius* is found c. 400 times.

² Cf. MARQUARDT, Das Privatleben der Römer, p. 26.

³ Cf. THYLANDER p. 97.

⁴ Cf. Lex Iulia municipalis (C I: 2² 593, 145—6).

of the name system. A study of the registration of births during the Later Empire confirms this view. Every citizen had to have his children registered within thirty days of the birth.2 A number of birth certificates found in Egypt show that boys were designated by the classical tria nomina and girls by duo nomina.3 The latest birth certificate is from A.D. 240 (AE 1948) n. 121). Though it is known from other sources that the registration of births continued after that date 4, there is evidence that it was often neglected.5 The last reference to registration is in Justinian's times, Schol. Basilic. 48. 20. 15; ή ἀπογραφη της γενέσεως, πολλάκις γὰο σημειοῦνται τινες πότε $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\vartheta\eta\sigma\alpha v$. Notice that the registration is explicitly stated as taking place »often»: it may be that in most cases it was neglected. Moreover, the remark may hold good only for the Eastern Empire. In any case, the clerks who received the registration were subordinate officials with no right to comment upon the names submitted to be registered. When the official control of nomenclature no longer existed, the factors discussed could more easily bring about the transformation of the Latin name system.

IV. THE USE OF NOMINA AS COGNOMINA

A consequence of the lessening of the importance of the nomen was the extensive use of nomina as cognomina during the Later Empire. The following table gives the frequencies in the pagan and Christian inscriptions of Rome; the Carthaginian material is too small to be considered.

Table	7.	Double and single nomina in the pagan and Christian
		inscriptions of Rome

	C VI:	4,2—3, aphs	Chri	stian
	men	women	men	women
double nomina single nomina total	1 8 9	6 42 48	16 144 160	35 189 224
% of men and women out of the total	0,3.%	2,4 %	3,0 %	5,0 %

¹ GARDTHAUSEN, Namen und Zensus der Römer, RhM 1917/18, p. 366 ff.

² Schulz, Roman registers of births and birth certificates, JRS 1942, p. 78 ff.; 1943, p. 55 ff. Cp. Schulz, Classical Roman Law, p. 75.

³ SCHULZ, JRS 1942, pp. 78—80 and 85—86.

⁴ Implied in Cod. Iust. X 71, 3, A.D. 401.

 $^{^5}$ Cp. Tebtunis pap. II 285 (A.D. 239): παραλιφθεῖσαι τέχνων ἀπογραφαί. Cod. Iust. V 4, 9 (late third century) contains a similar reference.

⁶ GARDTHAUSEN, op. cit., p. 372 f.

In the Christian material the percentage of the cases doubled with women and grew tenfold with men. The figures for women, however, are not comparable, for most women's single nomina in $C\ VI$ belong to the name form prevalent before the entrance into use of the cognomen and were accordingly genuine nomina inherited from the father. Only the frequencies for men and for women's double nomina can be directly compared.

Cases are not included in the statistics in which double nomina are followed by a cognomen, because they are genuine nomina. Consider, for instance, the following family stemmata, $C\ VI\ 36422$:

C. Laelius Alexander — Tetiaena Clara

C. Laelius Tetiaenius Firmus

or from the Christian material, RAC 1936, p. 21:

Flavius Iulianus c.v. — Insteia Cilonis c.f.

|
Flavius Insteius Cilo c.p.

In these examples, as no doubt in the overwhelming majority of other similar cases, the second nomen comes from the mother.

The problem of double nomina is more intricate. It will be seen from the table that this name form was specially favoured by women. Double nomina were found as women's names in the republican period (examples $ILS\ III$: 2 p. 925), but were totally different from later double nomina: the nomen still had an adjectival nature, and the husband's nomen could be added to the wife's to show »belonging to», e.g. Poublilia Turpilia Cn. uxor (C I: $2^2\ 42 = ILS\ 3234.$) Because nomina soon lost their adjectival nature, similar interpretations cannot be applied to the double nomina of the Later Empire. In a number of cases the second nomen may have been taken over from the mother, e.g. $C\ VI\ 7308 = ILS\ 8186$: Volussia Cornelia; her father was $L.\ Volusius\ Saturninus$, the consul of the year $3\ A.D.$, her mother was Cornelia. Double nomina of a similar origin were found in the Christian material, too. $^2\ Men's\ double\ nomina\ sometimes\ admit of a similar interpretation, e.g. <math>C\ VI\ 18150$:

¹ Cf. SCHULZE Eigennamen p. 513.

² F.g. SI 554 = DIEHL 4114: father Aur(elius) Alerius, mother Val(eria) Flaviane, daughter Aur(elia) Valeri[a]. Though Alerius is a rare name (it is once instanced as a nomen, see $Thes\ I$ col. 1524, 61), there is no need to suggest a reading (V) alerius, as DIEHL does. The name may be connected with the name of a Corsican city, Aleria.

T. Flavius Eutactus — Paccia Capriola | T. Flavius Paccius

Yet I do not think that all double nomina can be explained in so simple a way. The very fact that double nomina were much more popular in the Christian than in the pagan material militates against it. Considering the rapid disuse of nomina in Christian times, it would be strange if the practice of inheriting nomina from both parents had gained so enormously in popularity. In a large number of cases the second nomen was very likely nothing but a nomen used as a cognomen. There are examples of this usage in the pagan material. Thus CVI9661 = ILS7517 gives the following family stemma:

Ulpius Eutyches — Ulpia Secundina

Ulpius Secundinus, Ulpia I u l i a, Ulpia Secundina, Ulpius Iustus

Two of the children bear a cognomen taken over from the mother, the others have cognomina different from those of the parents. *Iulia* has here quite as good a right to be considered a cognomen as *Iustus*.

The following example from Gaul is all the more valuable because all the persons recorded were slaves, and slaves did not bear nomina proper 1 , $C\ XIII\ 2533 = ILS\ 7452$:

Valentinus — Sacrobena | | | Valerius

The cognomina of parents and children often belong together etymologically (see p. 52); in the example above the son had been named Valerius to recall the name of his father. I shall give one more case in which a nomen used as a cognomen etymologically belongs together with other cognomina current in a family, $CIII\ 8018 = ILS\ 7247$:

Iul. Herculanus — Iul. Vivenia

Iul. Marcianus, Iul. Marcellinus, Iul. Marcia, Iul. Eraclia

 $^{^1}$ There are not a few cases in which freedmen have a Latin nomen as a cognomen, e.g. C VI 7816: T. Quinctius A. l. Laelius, and 15648: T. Cl. Aug. lib. Petronius may have been called Laelius and Petronius as slaves. Cf. also NBull 1921, p. 44 = DIEHL, 766: Aurelio Onesimo, | Aurelio Papirio, | Aureliae Prim. virg. | Aurelius Felicissimus | fratris (= fratribus) et colibert. b.m.f., where Papirius accordingly must have been a slave name. The Christianity of the inscription is not beyond doubt.

The cognomina of the three first children accordingly derive from the same root, *Marcus*, *Marcius*.

The true nature of double nomina is also proved by the fact that the second nomen does not pass on unchanged to children, as genuine nomina should do. To cite an example, CXIV 2289 = ILS 2427, the father is called Sept(imius) Licinius, the son Sept(imius) Licin[ia]nus. The first nomen was the actual family name and was inherited unchanged by the son; the second was an individual cognomen and passed on to the son after having been extended, as often happened to cognomina (see p. 52), by the suffix -anus. There are cases in Christian inscriptions in which the nomina used as cognomina do not pass on to the sons at all, e.g. CVIII 9973 = DIEHI, 3691Cadn: the father is [Iu]lius Aemiliu[s], the sons Iuliu[s] D[onatus] and Honorius.

Though the use of double nomina was firmly established in pagan times, our statistics suggest that the use became much more general in Christian material. This is quite natural, for after the importance of the nomina had declined, still less reluctance was felt in giving them to children as cognomina. The greater frequency of this form in women's names was due to the fact that a number of the cases were genuine double nomina, with the second nomen inherited from the mother, and these were more popular with women from the very beginning. But even those double nomina in which the second nomen functions as a freely chosen individual cognomen seem to have been more popular with women. Because women had borne double nomina from the very beginning, the use of a nomen as a cognomen originated and was more common in female nomenclature.

The above makes it possible for us to understand the popularity of single nomina in Christian epigraphic material. In pagan inscriptions, women's single nomina could be classed as an early name form (see p. 19), but in Christian inscriptions no similar interpretation is likely. The mere survival, still less a strengthening, of the ancient name system over the centuries is not probable. This is corroborated by the fact that there are only three examples of the masculine equivalent, the praenomen and nomen form, in our Christian material (see table 3, p. 9). Further, single nomina were almost as frequent with men, but cannot possibly be interpreted as an ancient name form. It is, then, probable that apart from a few occasional cases of disputable interpretation is single nomina found in Christian inscriptions were individual cognomina. This is also proved by the fact that like the double nomina, the transmission

 $^{^1}$ C X 603 = DIEHI, 3204, the name Iulia, belonging to the wife of a certain M. Annaeus Agatho — notice the tria nomina — may be a genuine nomen, but it is also possible that it was an individual cognomen.

Though a single nomen may occasionally pass on to children, e.g. $C\ V\ 1631$ = Diehl 4625, where the father is Aurelius, the mother Prima, and the daughter Aurelia, we should remember that cognomina, too, were often inherited unchanged by children (see p. 52). Diehl 4493 is significant in this respect: the father is Ulpius, the mother Felicitas, and the sons Ulpius and Aelianus. Only the elder son bears the same name as his father; had Ulpius been a genuine nomen, designating family relationship, both sons should have borne it. Otherwise a single nomen does not pass on to children, e.g. $C\ VI\ 34728b = Diehl\ 3745$, where the father is Sestiliu[s], the mother [Feli]cissima, the daughter Adeodata, or if borne by a child, is not found as the name of the parents, e.g. $RO\ 1576 = Diehl\ 3253$, where the father is Ursus, the mother Seberane, and the daughter Iulia. Etymology is also observed: a nomen may recall a cognate cognomen borne by the parents, e.g. $C\ III\ 9586 = Diehl\ 1523$: there the father is Flavianus, the mother Archelais, and the daughter Flavia.

The table on p. 18 shows that women bore single nomina slightly more often than men. The explanation of this disproportion is the same as that in regard to double nomina: the origin of the use of nomina as cognomina in female nomenclature.

A few significant facts are revealed by the following table, in which I give the frequencies of the most popular nomina used as cognomina in the Christian material of Rome; the frequencies as family names are given in brackets:

Aurelius	16	(411)	Marcius	16	(11)
Domitius	16	(10)	Petronius	27	(11)
Flavius	12	(149)	Valerius	32	(64)
Iulius	36	(94)			

Four of the names listed as the most popular nomina proper, p. 16, have disappeared, and three new ones have been substituted for them, *Domitius*, *Marcius* and *Petronius*. Again, the most frequent nomina proper are by no means the most popular nomina used as cognomina; a comparison of the frequencies of *Aurelius* and *Flavius* is illuminating.

These differences in the frequencies were probably due to the fact that because the etymology of cognomina was always important, those nomina which suggested a clear etymology became popular as cognomina. *Iulius* is the most frequent nomen used as a cognomen, but *Iulius* was also the name of a month, and names of months were very much used as cognomina, e.g. *Ianuarius*, about 100 examples in *ILS* ¹, *Aprilis*, nine examples,

¹ The particular favour of *Ianuarius* may also have been due to the fact that the beginning of a year being a time of "good omen", the name could be considered similar in meaning to *Felix*, *Faustus*, etc. *Ianuarius* was in particular favour in Africa, where names of "good omen" were popular, cp. Mowat L'élément, RA 1869 I p. 243.

December seven. Valerius became a popular cognomen because it suggested the verb valere and the cognate cognomen Valens with its derivatives. Marcia — almost exclusively the feminine form — was probably used as a substitute for the non-existent female form of Marcus (cf. the examples on p. 20). Domitius again suggested the word domus. All these names, as is proved by a consultation of the index of ILS, were also popular as cognomina in the pagan material. The only exception is *Petronius*. Because it was not very frequent as a pagan cognomen (two examples in ILS) and because it was seldom used as a nomen in the Christian inscriptions, its popularity must be due to other factors. I think the only possible explanation is the fact that the name could be thought to be a derivative of *Petrus*, a biblical name much in favour among the Christians (see p. 96). A good example is SI 4280=DIEHL 694, dated A.D. 522, where the father is Ioannes v(ir) h(onestus), the wife Anastasia h(onesta) t(emina) and the daughter Petrunia. 1 Both parents bore names which were manifestly Christian (see pp. 95; 111), and no doubt wanted to name their daughter in a like manner.

V. INVERSION

In my Christian material from Rome there are 12 cases, 11 women and one man, in which the order of the nomen and cognomen is inverted, the cognomen coming first. This peculiarity is easy to explain in regard to women's names. Though women in general lacked praenomen², they occasionally had one, even in Christian times (see table 3, p. 9). Women's praenomina were often the same as men's and likewise written in an abbreviated form, but could also be names used as cognomina, e.g. numerals — cf. RAC 1936, p. 23: Quinta Mamilia Titiana c(larissimae m(emoriae) t(emina) — and the frequent Polla (see ILS III: 2, p. 925). The inversion of women's names must have originated as an imit ation of this practice, the cognomen being simply put first, e.g. CVI 38214: Caliste Clodia and 38063: Erotis Avi (e) nia, or from the Christian material. SI 4826: Augena Decia and FE 9365: Volusiana Autidia. These cases cannot possibly be confused with genuine women's praenomina. In some cases of double cognomina, too, one cognomen may come before and the other after the nomen, as RO 1855 = DIEHL 1482a: Urania Aur(elia) Domna, and SI 1447 = DIEHL 4339: Veritas Ignatia Gerontia.3

¹ The form *Petrunia* was not due to a desire to make the resemblance to *Petrus* stronger, for the vowel change $\overline{o} > \overline{u}$ was common in vulgar Latin, see Väänänen, p. 30. Diehi, 3550A, dated A.D. 528, is another late example of the form *Petrunia*.

² The causes of the lack of praenomen in female nomenclature have been much debated, but no final solution has been found, cf. Thylander, p. 73 ff.

³ In both cases DIEHI, has interpreted the other cognomen as a common word, writing *domna* and *veritas*; but *Domna* is a very frequent cognomen (see p. 105), and in the latter case the structure of the epitaph does not permit of an interpretation as a common word: *totius pudicitiae Veritas Ignatia Gerontia* . . .

The frequency of inversion seems to have risen considerably in Christian times, for among the 1610 women's **duo nomina** in my pagan material from $C\ VI$ there are four instances of inversion, and 11 among the 856 corresponding cases in the Christian material. This rise in the frequency may have been due to the general confusion in the Latin name system during the Later Empire. In some cases, however, quite a different interpretation is possible. Because nomina were much used as cognomina in Christian times, we may have, instead of a genuine inversion, an instance of double cognomina, e.g. $SI\ 4861$: Barbara Petronia, the latter name being often considered a derivative of Petrus (see p. 23). The only case in our material in which a man's names show inversion, $SI\ 1792 = DIEHI$, 4222adn: Seleucus Iulius, may also be a double cognomen, Iulius being the nomen most often used as a cognomen (see p. 22).

VI. DOUBLE COGNOMINA

There is some difficulty in deciding which names are double cognomina, for some other interpretations are also possible where two cognomina are juxtaposed. Christian epitaphs in general being brief, single cognomen the usual form of the name, and the names of different persons often joined without a conjunction, it is possible that not one but two persons might have been meant by a presumable double cognomen, e.g. two sisters or brothers, or father and son, mother and daughter. Cases in which the names have been cut one below the other may seem particularly suspicious, e.g. SI 622: Prisca | Isidora and 2601=Diehl 3959adn: Cassus | Domninus. DE Rossi, in his RS, considered all similar cases as the epitaphs of two persons, e.g. RS II 43, 46: Fortunata | Secunda, in the index as Fortunata and Secunda. But though we have cases in which the context shows that the cognomina belong to two persons, e.g. SI 1696 = Diehl 3734A: Mercura | Laurentia | se bibas cun|pararunt, the examples in which the context implies one person are more numerous, e.g. $SI~567=\mathrm{Diehl}~4000\mathrm{A}$: Clementina | Furtunia vixit | anos III m. VIII (erroneously considered by SILVAGNI as the epitaph of two persons in the index); SI 2233 = Diehl 4005D: Facundo | Artemoni | q(ui) v(ixit) a. I m. I d. XII; FE 7565: Eustasius | Trancyllianus | te in pace. Unless the context clearly shows that two persons were meant, I have included in the category of double cognomina all the cases in which cognomina of the same gender are juxtaposed.

There are also cases in which the cognomina are separated, one being cut at the beginning, the other at the end of an epitaph, e.g. NBull 1907, p. 227 = Diehl 2279: Iucun[d] e filiae quien/tes parentes posuer/uni qui vicxit annis / octo. Rodope in pace quiesce / dulcis. Though Diehl, for instance, thinks that two persons were meant in the epitaph, it is more

likely that the daughter was called *Iucunda Rodope*, but that in cutting the epitaph the other cognomen was separated to make it possible to have a cognomen in the concluding acclamation, too.¹

Another group of double cognomina which may cause difficulty in interpretation are those in which an ordinary cognomen is preceded by a new one, coined with the suffix -ius -ia from Latin and Greek names or common words, e.g. FE 7695: Eustasius Trancyllianus; SI 2906 = Diehl 3959Aadn: Maxentia Secundina. There are 18 similar cases in the Christian material from Rome. The new cognomina of this type were popular as supernomina and as simple cognomina, too (see pp. 31; 71). But during the Empire new nomina were also often coined from cognomina, especially in Gaul and in soldiers' nomenclature.2 In my Roman material such nomina are FE 9059: L. Palladius Sissinus, and NBull 1907. p. 233 = Diehi, 4004D: M. Pervincius Rodo, coined from the cognomina Pallas and Pervincus. The similarity of the new cognomina and the new nomina argues a common origin. Because the new nomina were found during the Early Empire 3, whereas the new cognomina in -ius -ia first came into use towards the end of the second century A.D. (cf. p. 29), the new nomina were the primary, the new cognomina a secondary phenomenon. It is likely that after the nomina had begun to go out of use, the gentile suffix was used as a suffix of cognomina. The extensive use of nomina as cognomina naturally facilitated the process. The Greek n a mes in -105 may have contributed to the generalization of the new cognomina. This suffix was native in Greek in dedicatory names, e.g. $A\pi o \lambda \lambda \dot{\omega} v \iota o c$. $Anu\acute{n} \tau o \iota o c$. $A\iota o v \dot{\omega} \sigma \iota o c$, but it was also used in other names (cf. RE XVI col. 1640). Particular attention must be paid to the occasional appearance of this suffix in the names which were usually without suffixes but which later became popular new coinages. Bechtel, p. 4, records Εὐαμέριος, Εὐβούλιος, Εὐτύχιος from pre-Christian times, the usual forms before the Later Empire being $E\dot{v}\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma\varsigma$, $E\ddot{v}\beta\sigma\nu\lambda\sigma\varsigma$, $E\ddot{v}\tau\nu\gamma\sigma\varsigma$, and I have found similar examples in literary documents and papyri. Such examples cannot have been without an influence on the formation of the new names. But despite such sporadic instances, the new coinages also began to appear

¹ Another similar case is Bull 1863, p. 82 = DIEHL 2193A: Chresimus and Victorina bury their daughter, cutting Chresime at the beginning, Victoria vivas in deo at the end of the epitaph. The daughter had obviously been called Chresime Victoria; cf. De Rossi's comment, ad loc.

² Schulze Eigennamen, p. 48 ff.

³ SCHULZE, loc. cit.

^{4 &#}x27;Hσύχιος 26 B.C. (SB 4380); Εὐφρόνιος, the teacher of Marc Antony's and Cleopatra's children (Plut. Ant. 72 = PIR III, p. 92 n. 123); Εὐσόιος, the first bishop of Antioch, first century A.D. (Eusebius, hist. eccl., 3,22); Μακεδόνιος A.D.86 (POxy VII 1028, 2); Eutychius Proculus, the grammaticus Latinus of Marcus Aurelius (Vita Marci 2, 3 = PIR III p. 93, n. 131).

and to become frequent in Greek at the same time as in Latin, that is to say, after the beginning of the third century A.D.¹)Whether this was due to the direct influence of Latin nomenclature or, as Fraenkel argues (*RE XVI* col. 1664, 30), to a similarity of taste, cannot be discussed here.

Because of the similarity of the new cognomina and new nomina one could argue, however, that the names in -ius preceding another cognomen were nomina. But apart from soldiers, the new nomina were never very popular in Rome, whereas the new cognomina were frequent as supernomina and simple cognomina; in my Roman material, about one sixth of the cognomina were new coinages. This makes it likely that the new coinages preceding another cognomen were in most cases cognomina and not nomina.²

There are, however, cases in which a double cognomen cannot have been meant. In some cases, the second cognomen is an ethnic, e.g. SI 2444: Vernaclus Carpitanus and FE 8596 = DIEHI, 4451: Ulpius Festus Afer. Again, an epithet may have been tacked on to the name, in particular pius, which was very frequent in the pagan epitaphs of Africa. In my Roman material, FE 8748: A(urelius?) Constantius pius is a similar case. In SI 3678 = DIEHI, 2713B: Niceforus pitinnus, the last word is probably an epithet, a vulgar form for pisinnus, a boys. The cases in which peregrinus is found are difficult, for the word is both an appellative and a very popular cognomen. But because the appellative peregrinus is rare in inscriptions — not a single instance is recorded in DIEHI, index — it is more probably a cognomen, e.g. SI 2274: Honoratus Peregrinus and 3704: Peregrinus Bassus.

After deducting the ethnics and the epithets, the double cognomina found in my Roman and Carthaginian material have the frequencies tabulated in table 8 (next page).

In evaluating the figures, some facts should be taken into account. The difference between the pagan materials of Rome and Carthage was largely due to the fact that the latter included the *tituli* of the aristocracy and the magistrates which were absent from the former, and the multiplication

¹ E.g. 'Αλύπιος, the earliest dated example I have found is A.D. 344 (Flor. I); 'Αμαζονία A.D. 295 (POxy I 43, verso I 22); 'Αθανάσιος A.D. 352 (POxy XII 1431,1); 'Επιφάνιος A.D. 438 (Stud. XX); Εὐδόξιος, fourth century (e.g. Flor. I 74, 307); Εὐγένιος A.D. 295 (POxy I 43 recto II 26); Εὐσέβιος A.D. 295 (ibid. recto V I, 4); Γελάσιος third century (e.g. Flor. II 133); Γεώργιος a popular name in Byzantine times; I have found no examples before the sixth century; Γερόντιος A.D. 316 (POxy VI 896 i 23); Γρηγόριος A.D. 265? (Soc. V 465, 9).

² In SI 1171 = DIEHL 4123C: Claudia Romana Benantio (= Venantio) Florentino coniugi, the first name of the husband, considering that his wife bears "duo nomina", may, however, be a nomen.

³ DELATTRE, L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne à Carthage, p. 89 f.

	Rome		Carthage	
	C VI:4, 2—3	Christian	pagan	Christian
nomen + double cogn.	15	37	16	1
double cogno- mina	11	118	7	6
total	26	155	23	7
% of the total	0,6 %	1,6 %	1,8 %	0,8 %

Table 8. Double cognomina in the pagan and Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage

of names characteristic of the nomenclature of the nobility swelled the category of double cognomina (cf. p. 4). Further, the fragmentary state of the Christian epigraphy of Carthage may have diminished the number of Christian double cognomina. In regard to Carthage, it is accordingly abvisable to suspend judgement. As to Rome, it may be argued that the frequency of double cognomina rose considerably in the Christian inscriptions. My pagan and Christian materials from Rome are fairly equal from a social aspect, the double cognomina of the nobility not being numerous enough in the Christian inscriptions (eight cases) to affect the statistics.1 The causes of this rise in the frequency will be discussed at the end of the present chapter.

In regard to their origin, double cognomina may be divided into two groups: the other cognomen may have been added 1 a ter in 1 if e; or both cognomina were given by the parents at birth. As to the former group, the double cognomina borne by freedmen have often been discussed. If Imperial slaves had formerly belonged to private citizens, they received another cognomen coined with the suffix -anus from the nomen or cognomen of the ex-master.² On being manumitted, the slaves retained their double cognomina. People bearing two cognomina, the second of which ends in -anus, may accordingly be suspected of being or having been Imperial slaves. Cases are not infrequent, for in my pagan material from Rome there are nine, and in the Christian 15 of them. Yet in only two of these, both in the pagan material, are the persons explicitly stated to be Imperial slaves or freedmen.³ It is, then, ill-advised to derive all double cognomina

¹ The cases are SI 175 = DIEHL 135; 1168 = DIEHL 286; 1266 = DIEHL 112 2794 = Diehl, 40b; 3268 = Diehl, 104a; 4789; 4895 = Diehl, 207; Bull 1872, p. 48.

² Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht I p. 323; Lemonnier, Étude historique sur la condition privée des affranchis, p. 176. Examples ILS III: 2 p. 927.

³ C VI 38010: Primus Caesaris N(ostri) ser. Tychicianus; 34057: C. Asinius Aug. lib. Paramythius Festianus.

of the type discussed from the nomenclature of Imperial slaves, least of all in the Christian material, slavery being on the decline during the Later Empire. The cognomina in -anus were very common and could be used as double cognomina independent of any servile nomenclature. The cognomina obtained from nomina with the suffix -anus were used as cognomina of adoption, too (see p. 4), but this practice was largely confined to aristocratic circles and to earlier times. The double cognomina in -anus found in Christian inscriptions are hardly of this origin.

It is also argued that freedmen sometimes added a more respectable Latin cognomen to their original barbaric or Greek name, which inevitably smacked of slavery and foreign extraction. But it is doubtful whether this holds good in regard to our Christian material, where the freedmen cannot have been many. Moreover, Greek cognomina were so extremely common that it is hazardous to consider, even in freedmen's names, the extra Latin cognomen as an attempt at respectability.2 There is, however, one example in which the Latin cognomen may have been given as a translation of the Greek cognomen, ARM p. 262 = DIEHL 4536: Victoria Nice. But because barbarian slaves usually obtained a new Latin or Greek name (see p. 59), barbaric cognomina juxtaposed with Latin or Greek ones may have been the ancient, native names of slaves and freedmen or even peregrini, which they had preserved and which they recorded besides their new names. A good example is Tarbius (= Tarvius) Valens in SI 574 = DIEHL 4128A, the Latin cognomen Valens being a rough rendering of the idea conveyed by his original Celtic name, derived from the Celtic tarvos = Latin taurus.3 The other cases in our material in which one cognomen is barbaric, the other Latin or Greek, may also admit of a similar interpretation.4

It is probable that most of the cognomina which had been later added to the original name were nicknames. This origin is clearest in the names which were otherwise rare or unknown as cognomina. Nicknames may have been given jokingly, as RO 530 = DIEHL 2792: Lepusclus Leo, where the first cognomen may have been given to contrast with Leo, or

¹ Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht III: 1 p. 426; Duff, Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire, p. 54.

² Cf. Lemonnier's criticism of this interpretation, op. cit. p. 179.

³ See HOLDER, sub tarvos.

⁴ SI 69 = DIEHI, 3211D: Septimus Sabras; 588 = DIEHI, 3116A: Gismea Bonifatia (unless corrupt); 5731: Gaudiosa Dudda; 6176: [Euc?]hara Hispartara; RS III 20, 49: Marta Emiliane; RS III 23, 40 = DIEHI, 4372: Nars[alu²]s Stratonicus; probably also RS II 37, 2: . . . ινα "Αδας; RAC 1924, p. 64: Fl. Prima Amevania, the name, unknown in Thes., is probably Celtic, cf. HOLDER, Nachtrage: fontis Amevi; RAC 1925, p. 24 = DIEHI, 2135: Iulia Etelia Antonina, in DIEHI, erroneously Iulia et Elia Antonina; RAC 1930, p. 187: Constantius Salcamarius (?); RAC 4024, p. 24: Parabase 4 deer 1934, p. 24: Brybys Aper.

SI~3666 = Diehi, 3989Cadn: Mercuria~Culina, where the second name, not instanced as a Latin cognomen¹, suggests a female occupation. In SI~1284 = Diehi, 3990A: Augustus~Decembe < r >, it is likely that December~ was the original name and that Augustus, with its double significance of "venerable" and the name of a month, had been added later. Some nicknames imply parental affection. Thus a child, dying at the age of two, is called Matronata~ Matrona~ in SI~1692 = Diehi, 2337. The name Matronata~ is otherwise unknown, but there is a noun matronatus, denoting "the dress of a matron" or "the order of matrons". The child may have been christened Matrona, the cognate name being added as a nickname to strengthen the idea conveyed by her name.

Most of the new coinages in -ius -ius -ia used as double cognomina were probably nicknames. There is a good pagan example in a famous pantomimist called M. Aurelius Augg. lib. A gilius Septentrio (CXIV 2113 and 2977). The first cognomen was presumably a nickname given to him because of his *agility*.2 This is, moreover, the earliest example known to me of a new cognomen in -ius, being dated A.D. 187 or 192. There are 48 double cognomina in my Christian material from Rome in which one or even both cognomina are new formations, i.e. almost a third of the total. If the new coinages all came from the parents, they should only have amounted to a sixth of the total (see p. 71). It seems, then, justifiable to conclude that a considerable number of double cognomina in -ius -ia had been given later in life. As an example we may mention RAC 1931, p. 192:

Phoebus — Festa | Gregorius Phoebus

The son had inherited his second cognomen from his father, whereas the first was probably a nickname. The example also shows that the order of the cognomina did not depend upon their origin, for a nickname could precede the original name. As they were expressive names of clear etymology, the new coinages were very suitable nicknames. Though a few were uncomplimentary, e.g. FE 6547: A logi(u) s Fortutus and SI 18 = Diehl 4103: S tercorius Aly[pius?], most of the names implied good qualities, e.g. FE 6574: Istudius Felix or the frequent Constantius and Gregorius.

 $^{^{1}\,}$ Thes. Onom. II col. 741, 29 records a soldier called Culinus; because there is no corresponding common word in Latin or Greek, the name is probably barbaric.

² Cf. Lemonnier, op. cit., p. 177.

 $^{^3}$ SI 2967: Ulpia Palladia Ursacia; RAC 1925, p. 24 = Diehl, 2135: Dracontius Pelagius, in Diehl, wrongly given as two separate persons.

 $^{^4}$ Constantius in SI 2660; 5986 = DIEHL 2008; NBull 1914, fasc. 2, p. 67; RAC 1924, p. 62; 1930 p. 187; Gregorius in SICV 287; Bull 1868, p. 9.

A special group of nicknames is formed by cognomina with C h r i s t i a n i m p l i c a t i o n s, probably assumed by new converts at their baptism. There are about ten cases, a typical one being e.g. SI~1672 = Diehi, 2630adn: Licinia Aeliodora Adeodata, where the pagan flavour of the original cognomen probably actuated the assumption of a Christian name together with the Christian religion. All the relevant cases will be discussed in detail later (see p. 120~f.)

There are, however, a large number of cases in which neither cognomen resembles a nickname, e.g. SI~2011 = Diehl~2193Badn: Modestina~Secundina; SI~1168 = Diehl~286: Valerius~Victor~Paternus~v.p.; FE~8808 = Diehl~1596: Cassus~Vitalio. In these cases, both names had probably been given a t b i r t h, or, to be more exact, on the Roman day of name-giving, the dies~lustricus, the eighth (for girls) or the ninth (for boys) day after the birth (see e.g. Macrob. Saturn.~1,~16,~36), and may have been inherited from parents or other relatives. There are many examples in pagan epigraphy of double cognomina in which one name comes from the father, the other from the mother. The only example in the Christian material from Rome is the one cited, p. 25, fn. 1, in which a father called Chresimus and a mother called Victoria have a child bearing the double cognomen Chresime~Victoria.

The rise in the frequency of double cognomina observed in the Christian material of Rome may have been due to two causes. On the one hand, the practice of bearing »extra names», or agnomina, came to Rome during the second century A.D. (see p. 48). Because it very often depended upon individual choice whether or not the extra name was added to the original one by some connecting expression, the new fashion must have added to the number of double cognomina. On the other hand, the example of the nomenclature of the nobility was a powerful factor. Because the multiplication of the names of the nobility was largely due to the inheritance of names from both parents (see p. 4), it is likely that even the humble began to distinguish themselves in this way. The predilection for double cognomina seems, however, to have been a passing fashion. The tabulation of the material on p. 27 suggests that double cognomina belonged to the early stratum of Christian epigraphy: the frequency of the nomen (24 %) is here higher than in the Christian material of Rome in general (see p. 9, table 3). The elimination of the double cognomina was no doubt due to the tendency towards greater simplicity in the Latin name form.

¹ THYLANDER, p. 114.

VII. THE PROBLEM OF THE SUPERNOMEN

§ 1. The classification of supernomina

In discussing the supernomina, I shall, because of the complexity of the problem and the relatively low frequency of these names, draw upon all available material from Latin inscriptions and from the Greek inscriptions of the West (see bibliography, sources III). It is also to a large extent necessary to treat the Christian material with the pagan one.

The problem of the supernomen has been much discussed, in particular about the turn of the century, but numerous important questions have been but lightly touched upon. Supernomina are usually divided into a g n o m i n a and s i g n a (thus e.g. ILS III: 2, p. 927 ff.). The terms may be accepted if it is borne in mind that they only designate the different w a y s of adding supernomina to the other names. The term agnomen denotes a name tacked on to the other ones by qui et, e.g. C VI 17398: Euthymus qui et Lupus, or by sive, e.g. C VI 22929: Octavia Rhoia sive Euresis; the term signum denotes a name cut detached from them (»detached signum»), e.g. C VI 3446, the epitaph of an U<1>pius Ursinus, with Arcadi oxa tibi be(ne) cesquant cut below; signum also denotes a name added to the other names by the expression signo (»signum proper»), e.g. C VI 12853: Aufidia Severina signo Florenti. Other terms must be used to denote the origin of supernomina: nickname, cognomen, nomen sodaliciarium.

A large number of supernomina were new coinages in -ius (cf. p. 25). They were not, however, equally divided between the different categories of supernomina, as is revealed by the following table. *Heraclius*, *Leontius*, *Olympius* and *Pelagius*, though ancient Greek personal names ², have been included in the table, together with a few nomina, occasionally used as supernomina (see p. 45):

¹ The first to have dealt with the problem, though from a special point of view, was De Rossi, I collegii funeraticii famigliari e privati, Comment. phil. Mommsen, p. 705 ff. At the beginning of the present century, a few important studies on the problem were published, in particular by Schulze, Graeca Latina; by Mommsen, Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 443 ff.; by Diehl, Signum, RhM 1907, p. 390 ff.; by Lambertz, Supernomen, Glotta 1913, p. 78 ff. and 1914, p. 99 ff.; by Mile Wullleumier, Étude historique sur l'emploi et la signification des signa. In my opinion, the best work is that of Lambertz, but he passes lightly over a few important problems. De Rossi, Schulze, Mommsen and Diehl, advocate a theory which, I think, is rather far-fetched. Wullleumier's work is heavily furnished with facts, but their interpretation is scanty and not always convincing.

² Heraclius and Leontius are from the Hellenistic age, see RE VIII, col. 501 and XII col. 2048, Olympius from the fifth century B.C., see Bechtel, p. 525. Pelagius is a frequent name in C VI, the earliest example perhaps being 8843: . . . cia Pelagia, the wife of a Thyrsus Halys Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici ser(vus), i.e. from the first century A.D.

Table 9. The classification of the supernomina found in the Latin inscriptions and in IG XIV

		рад	a n			Chris	tian	
·	total	fragm.	-ius	-ius %	total	fragm.	-ius	-ius %
detached signa signa proper agnomina	237 37 396	4 2 30	218 27 50	94 % 80 % 14 %	30 16 60		30 6 16	100 % 43 % 27,5 %

The table shows that the most important categories of supernomina were the agnomina and the detached signa, signa proper being of minor importance. Again, whereas the new coinages in *-ius* were not very numerous among the agnomina, the detached signa almost invariably end in *-ius*. The exceptions may be double cognomina, one cognomen being cut detached in imitation of the detached signa, e.g. $C\ VIII\ 9214$, where a certain $[Fl]avia\ Satura\ bears\ [Vi]ctoria\ detached.$ The new coinages were also in the majority among the signa proper, but not to as large an extent, and the percentage falls significantly in the Christian material.

In addition to the preponderance of new coinages among the detached signa, there were a few other important differences between them and the other categories of supernomina. Whereas signa proper and agnomina are rarely found in inscriptions other than epitaphs, and whereas they were almost invariably borne by humble people, the detached signa present a different picture. Deducting the cases in which only the detached signum has come down to us, the main inscription having disappeared, the remaining 233 pagan and Christian signa are divided according to the type of inscription and the social origin of the bearers in the following way:

Type of inscription

epitaphshonorary inscriptionsvotive inscriptions		79 or 34 $\%$
votive inscriptions		21 01 10 70
Social origin of	the bear	ers -

	20 47 0/
senatorial class	39 or 17 %
equestrian class, municipal magistrates	79 or 33 %
equestrian class, minicipal master area	115 or 50 %
others	113 01 00 /0

¹ Other examples, C VIII 5260: Sittia Veneria que et Iuniane, with Nina have cut detached; IX 1826: Fufius Iustinus, with Rusticulus hic detached.

Half the detached signa were thus borne by titled people and more than a third were cut in honorary inscriptions. Moreover, the very fact that an extra name is cut detached from the other names is unheard-of. There are therefore sufficient reasons for considering detached signa as a category of supernomina different from signa proper and agnomina.

§ 2. The detached signa

The detached signa have been shown in the above to be almost equally divided between epitaphs and honorary as well as votive inscriptions. There are, however, variations in the p o s i t i o n of the detached signa in different types of inscriptions:

Table 10.	The position of the detached signum	in the	different
	types of inscriptions		

	epitaphs	honorary in- scriptions	votive in- scriptions	total
above	33	73	11	117
below	68	1 ¹	7	76
in the margins	20	3	5	28
other cases	9 ²	2 ²	1 ²	12

Thus epitaphs and votive inscriptions vary the position, though the signum in the former group is usually cut below, and in the latter above the text of the inscription. The signum in honorary inscriptions is almost without exception cut above the die.

The signa are mostly set in the vocative, the genitive in -ii being confined to late honorary inscriptions. The dative, too, is often found.³ Women's signa almost always have masculine endings (see p. 41).

In e p i t a p h s, the signum belongs to the deceased, as may be seen from the fact that in almost half the cases the signum is included in an acclamatory phrase, such as *Aeoni chaere* (CV 6693), *Aetheri, anima dulcis* (VI 38082a), *Constanti eudromi* (V 5894 = ILS 6732), *Eudoxi eupsychi* (XIV 656), *Eusebi vale* (XIII 2099), etc., and such acclamations normally

¹ C VIII 2393: Panacrius; the signum belongs to the dedicator.

 $^{^2}$ In some cases the signum is cut both below and above the main inscription, e.g. CVI 10268 = ILS 8127, the signum being Argenti. The signum may also appear on the reverse side of the stone, e.g. CXI 863 = ILS 6665, Gregori. Acrostichon is also used, e.g. CXII 1981, Audenti. In a few cases the signum appears in the text of the inscription, but is set in the vocative and is accompanied by an acclamatory phrase, e.g. CIII 5813: Vincenti vive (cf. SI 692) or is written vertically, CVI 11005, Hylochari.

³ For documentation, cf. DIEHL Signum, RhM 1907, p. 400 ff.

refer to the deceased. A double signum could also belong to one person, e.g. CVI 1622 and 21334 = ILS $85\overline{34}$ —5, where, in two separate epitaphs, a brother and a sister are both addressed as Meropi Helladi. It is sometimes argued that double signa belong to other deceased persons or to those who set up the stone. Thus we read SI 3547 = Diehl 2193B: Hilari vivas | in deo \$\frac{1}{8} | Heraclie compa|ri sue beneme|renti fecit que vi|xit anis XXI in pa/ce Liberi vivas in / \$. Silvagni quotes Muratori, who thought that the epitaph had been set up for three persons. This does not seem likely, however, as no age and information about the relationship are given. It is much more probable that the names, included in typical acclamations addressed to the deceased, were the signa of Heraclia. Again, in Bull 1887, p. 20, the epitaph of a certain Κλανδία 'Αντωνία Σεκουνδεῖνα has in the left margin Leonti, in the right Lampadi, both written vertically. Though DE Rossi, ad. loc., argues that the names belong to the sons of the deceased, who would have set up the stone, it is difficult to understand why the names should be in the vocative. Leonti and Lampadi were very likely the signa of the deceased. There are certainly cases in which the signum of the dedicator, too, appears on the stone, but it is always set in the nominative (cf. p. 33, fn. 1), e.g. C XIII 1880: have Dulciti, Gaudentius te salutat.

In honorary inscriptions the signum can only refer to the person honoured, for he is often the only individual person mentioned in the text of the inscription. In the votive inscriptions the signa, with minor exceptions ¹, belong to the dedicators for a similar reason.

Mommsen and Diehl have argued that first signa are from the second century A.D., but on a closer scrutiny the dates are found to be uncertain.² The earliest datable instance is CVI 180 = ILS 3703: Romuli euhemeri — felix Romulius, the detached signum of a certain Antonius lib(ertus) on a marble altar dedicated by him on the safe return of Septimius

 $^{^{1}}$ C IX 2123 = ILS 3718, $\it Verzobi~vivas$ refers to the person $\it "pro"$ whose $\it "salute"$ the stone had been dedicated.

² Mommsen Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 448 fn. 4, contends that a detached signum in C IX 1161 is from the age of Pius (died A.D. 161). But apart from the fact that the signum is fragmentary (Ca. anii), modern scholarship is not sure of the date of its bearer, Betitius Pius Maximillianus (RE III col. 368). Mommsen's dating of Euhodi in an honorary inscription X 5917 = ILS 1909 as being from the time of Commodus is based upon the assumption, rejected by modern scholarship, that Marcia Aurel(ia) Ceionia Demetrias, to whom a similar inscription had been dedicated (ILS 406), and who may have been the former's daughter, had been Commodus' concubine (RE XIV col. 1605, 19). DIEHI, Signum, RhM 1907, p. 392, puts the date of C X 1729, where a certain M. Ulp(ius) Nicephorus Aug. lib. bears Gregorio (dative) detached, as the time of Trajan. But though Imperial freedmen usually assumed the emperor's nomen, and Trajan was the only emperor coming from gens Ulpia, this is an exceptional case, for the man's father, Nicephorus, was obviously a slave, his mother, Ulpia Profutura, a free woman. On being manumitted, he had assumed his mother's nomen.

Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The only date possible is 202 A.D., the year Septimius Severus returned with his sons from the Orient to Rome.¹ Henceforth dated examples become more numerous ², though most of them belong to the fourth century A.D.

§ 3. The origin of detached signa

Most scholars ascribe the origin of the signa to the nomenclature of burial clubs. These clubs flourished during the Empire and, besides taking care of their members' funerals, organized periodical feasts. After the Antoninian era, the clubs were often distinguished by a collective name in -ii, and it is claimed that the individual members bore the club name in the singular as their nomen sodaliciarium, usually written detached from the regular names or added to them by the expression signo, sometimes by qui et.³

It is certainly true that club names of the type mentioned were not rare. I have counted 43 in the pagan inscriptions, and 14 in the Christian ones. Most club names implied a cheerful and confident attitude to life, e.g. Eucherii (C X 2015 = ILS 8235), Eugrafii (VIII 16292), Eutychii (VI 10274 = Diehl 809C), Gaudentii (VI 10276; SI 3522 = Diehl 3536D), Pancratii (VI 10279—80) etc., or embodied religious ideas, e.g. Eusebii (C II 4967, 7; VI 3497 etc.). References to ideas on the after life were also common. The wish of $\lceil A \rceil$ than as iorum C VI 7649 is obvious, but Olyan pii VI 5174 = ILS 7945a may imply a similar idea.4 Naucellii VI 10278 and Pelagii $(VI\ 10283;\ 10284 = ILS\ 7947;\ Diehl\ 809B)$ probably allude to the idea that a bark bore the blessed to the abode of delight.⁵ Only a few of the club names have an obscure etymology, e.g. Brecetii ILS 9021 and Pesidii VI 10285. Such club names may derive from barbaric cognomina, e.g. Duddasi contubernales C VIII 15895 = ILS 7363 from Dudda, a cognomen of African origin. It is worth special attention that though the burial clubs were frequent in Christian inscriptions, there is not a single case in which a Christian burial club bore a distinctively Christian name. It is possible that most Christian burial clubs are from a time when a special Christian nomenclature had not yet come into being (cf. p. 117 f.).

¹ See *RE IIA* col. 1974, 39.

 $^{^{2}}$ C XIV 3553 = ILS 3418, A.D. 224; III 1422 = ILS 3636, A.D. 238, etc.

³ DE Rossi, Comment. phil. Mommsen, p. 707 ff.; Schulze, *Graeca Latina* p. 5 ff.; Mommsen *Signum*, Hermes 1902, p. 451 ff.; Diehl *Signum*, RhM 1907, p. 393 ff.

⁴ Cf. Wull, Leumier, op. cit., p. 64: »qui espérent habiter un jour sur l'Olympe avec les Immortels».

⁵ Cf. Cumont, After life in Roman paganism, p. 155.

⁶ Thes. Onom. III col. 265,30.

These club names were mostly set in the genitive plural, and examples like $C\ VI\ 5174 = ILS\ 7945a$: aeterna domus Oly < m > piorum or $SI\ 3522 = DIEHI,\ 3536D$: sepulcra Gaudentiorum show that they designated the common burial place of a club. Because a standard feature in the inscriptions was the announcement that the builder of the monument had reserved it for himself and his freedmen and for his and his freedmen's progeny 1, the clubs resembled the old-established $c\ oll\ e\ g\ i\ a\ d\ om\ e\ s\ t\ i\ c\ a$, which comprised the members of the same household and which were sometimes distinguished by a name in -anus, e.g. $C\ VI\ 10255 = ILS\ 7343$: collegium Agrippianum or $VI\ 10259 = ILS\ 7344$: collegium Phylletianorum, founded by Annius Phylles. Profession al clubs seldom had the new type of nomenclature; $C\ VIII\ 11549$: Decasi valete et semper harena placete, implies a gladiators' club; ibid. 24532: venator(um) Taelegeniorum, a hunters' club; $XIII\ 2494 = ILS\ 9439$ a boatmen's club is called Tricontii, a suggestive name (derived from contus, a shipping term).

The problem of the origin of this new nomenclature of burial clubs has so far not been decisively solved. Schulze thought that the names had been formed on the analogy of the Greek club names in -elol², but the theory does not explain why it was in the Later Empire that the new nomenclature came into use and why it replaced the older nomenclature. Mommsen argued that the club names were »denatured» by the suffix -ius to differentiate them both from nomina and cognomina³, but the theory is invalidated by the fact that *Leontius* and *Olympius*, for instance, which were old Greek personal names (see p. 31), were popular as club names (ILS 6022 and p. 35 above). Diehl contends that the collective names were secondary masculines from club names derived from abstracts, *Constantii* implying a club called *Constantia*, *Augurii* a club called *augurium* etc.⁴ Considering that we do not have a single instance of a club name of that type, Diehl's theory seems untenable.

The solution of the problem seems to be as follows. The burial clubs which were distinguished by the new type of nomenclature because mostly run in the same household, resembled the ancient gentes to such an extent that the members could refer to their club as familia nostra (e.g. CVI 10284 = ILS 7947). Is it any wonder that there should also have been a tendency to form the names of the clubs on the (a n a logy of the Latin nomina with the gentile suffix? The use of the gentile suffix for this

¹ E.g. C VI 10271: C. Iulius Honoratus et Corn(elia) Sab(ina) / conparavit sibi et filis / filiabusque suis et lib(ertis) / libertabusq(ue) p(osterisque) eorum. / E v e n-t i o r u m.

² Graeca Latina, p. 7.

³ Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 450.

⁴ Signum, RhM 1907, p. 415.

purpose had been facilitated by the decline in the use of the nomen. Though the new club names differed from the nomina in their transparent and often significant etymology (see p. 35), the nomina served as a model here, too, for during the Imperial Age a number of new, *artificial* nomina, coined from cognomina, had come into use (see p. 25).

But though the burial clubs of the Later Empire often had a collective name in -ii, it is another problem whether, and to what extent, the members of such a club bore the singular of the name as their nomen sodaliciarium. Because most detached signa and signa proper ended in -ius, it has been concluded that they were the nomina sodaliciaria of the club members. But I do not think one is entitled to draw such a conclusion without carefully considering the evidence.

There certainly are cases in which a detached signum is a nomen sodaliciarium. The example usually cited is CXIV 3323 = ILS 8090, where a certain Aurelius Vitalio announces that he has built a sepulchral monument to his progeny and his freedmen, who together constitute a sodalitas of Syncratiorum; and he calls himself aego Syncratius. There is another example, so far overlooked, in which the patron of amatores Romulii has Romuli cut above the die of his honorary inscription (CXI 7805 = ILS 7365). Nevertheless it is impossible to interpret all the detached signa borne by patrons of colleges in the same way. In some cases, the college has a name entirely different from the signum of its patron, e.g. CIX 1683 = ILS 6501, the patron of studium Palladianum is addressed as Nebuli, and IX 1685 = ILS 6504, the patron of collegium Martensium infraforanum has Verzobio (dative) cut above the die of his honorary inscription. In CXI 6362 = ILS 7364, the patron of iuvenum forensium and studior(um) Apollinar(is) et Gunthar(is?) is addressed as Zminthi.

There are also cases in which a detached signum is found on a monument belonging to a funeral club of the same name. Thus the epitaph of a certain Vivia Severa, with the detached acclamation Pancrati hic, has been dug up in the same place as the stone of Pancratiorum (C VI 10279, —81). Again, SI 475 we read: Dulcitiorum | depossio Dulci < vies. Because no other name is given, this is somewhat obscure. Dulcitia being a common name in Christian times, it may be mere coincidence. The woman may, of course, derive her name from membership of the club, but it remains enigmatic whether her real cognomen had been suppressed or whether she had been given her name at birth by parents who were members of the same club.

Indirect evidence may also be cited. Because the burial clubs of the type discussed were mainly family organizations, the relatives

¹ The importance of this inscription was first pointed out by DE Rossi, Comment. phil. Mommsen, p. 707.

should bear the same signum. There is a number of such cases, the same signum being borne by father and son 1; by brothers 2; by brother and sister 3; in one case by husband and wife. 4 But though in a few of the cases the signum may derive from membership of a club, other interpretations are also possible: in numerous cases, regular cognomina were cut detached in late honorary inscriptions (see p. 43).

But granting that a number of detached signa were *nomina* sodaliciaria, it is certainly going too far to argue that all of them imply membership of a funeral club. We can in fact cite a great deal of evidence to invalidate this theory.

There is a considerable lack of correlation in the geographic distribution of detached signa and club names of the new type. Detached signa and plural forms are divided between Africa, Rome and the other provinces thus:

	A frica	Rome	other provinces	total
detached signa	89	76	84	249
plural forms	14	32	11	5 7

More than half the club names come from Rome, whereas only a third of the signa are of Roman origin. Conversely, though detached signa are particularly frequent in Africa, club names were not of a corresponding frequency. If detached signa really were nomina sodaliciaria, they should have been much more numerous in Rome. Again, more than half the detached signa belonged to the nobility (see p. 32). Mommsen, and after him DIEHL argued that the burial clubs were popular among the magisterial aristocracy.⁵ This is very unlikely, however. The very character of the clubs, run in households and comprising a large number of freedmen (see p. 36), as well as references to them as collegia tenuiorum (Digesta 47, 22, 1-4), suffice to refute the idea. Finally, though parents and children and husbands and wives sometimes have the same signum, in the majority of the cases members of the same family bear different signa. Thus in CVI 25841 the mother is addressed as Principi, the son as Litori, and the daughter as Pancrati. Symmachus bears the detached signum Eusebii (C VI 1699 = ILS 2946), his father that of Phosphorii

¹ C III 7899 = ILS 3849: Ionius; VI 1723 = ILS 1225 and X 1697 = ILS 1226: Mavorii; VIII 17904—5 and AE 1946, 66: Optantius; C VIII 22673 and IRTr 564, 568: Heraclii, borne by father, son and another relative.

² C VI 1768—69 and 1772: Asterii.

³ Meropi Helladi, see p. 34.

⁴ C VIII 2394—5, 17904 and 2397, 17905: Sertio, Sertiae; moreover, both once call themselves Sertii (ILS 5579).

⁵ Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 452 f.; RhM 1907, p. 391.

 $(VI\ 1698=ILS\ 1257)$. Numerous similar cases can be cited. With the exception of Sertii (see p. 38, fn. 4), husbands and wives always bear different signa. One could argue that detached signa observe the same rules of transmission as cognomina: though children in a number of cases inherit parental cognomina, their cognomina mostly differ from those of their parents (see p. 53); husbands and wives naturally bear different cognomina, cases of the same cognomina being coincidences. But if detached signa really had been nomina sodaliciaria, they should have observed the same family pattern as nomina: all the members of a gens bear the same nomen.

It is because of the facts tabulated that we must give up the theory of detached signa being derived from membership of a burial club. A few of them may have been nomina sodaliciaria, but the majority admit of some other interpretation. I think it only remains to consider them as individual nicknames. But they were not ordinary nicknames, permanently attached to the bearer. Were it so, it would remain unexplained why, with minor exceptions, all detached signa end in -ius, while almost half the signa proper and most of the agnomina were names of another type. The solution of this problem may perhaps be found in the fact that these new coinages often approximated to adjectives in meaning, e.g. C III 3982: memoriae aeternae Aur(elius) Reginus Alexsius. Cara coniux posuit et a m a n t i a, where, whether or not amantia is the wife's name, its adjectival nature is certainly played upon. In C VIII 8530: Antonius sive Sinus sive Oniacus cum omnibus concordius, the last word may be a proper name as well as an adjective. There are a number of other similar cases.3 This use of the new coinages as adjectives suggests that

¹ ILAlg I p. 134 gives a family stemma, in which the father bears the detached signum Iuventi, the eldest son likewise Iuventi, whereas the second son is addressed as Heracli. — C IX 1640—41 = ILS 6494—95 two brothers bear Verzobio (dative) and Navigi, respectively. — ILS 9093: mother Simplici, son Urani. — ILS 9442: mother Memphi, daughter Eugami. — C XIV 418 = ILS 6167: mother Gaudenti, daughter Lampadi.

 $^{^2}$ C V 2044: husband Γρηγόρι wife 'Ορέσι; V 5869 = ILS 6730: husband Innocenti, wife Encratio (ablative); V 7453: husband Euphilius, wife Simplici; XIII 1880: husband Gaudentius, wife Dulciti (cf. p. 34); XIV 2220: husband Sof[e]ni, wife Exuperi; FE 8969 = DIEHI, 895: husband Eustathi, wife Amantia.

³ In the following examples the adjectival character of the names is revealed by the fact that they are placed among other adjectives, C VIII 10504: Iulio Vitaliano fr(a)t(ri) | soror carissima | fecit V i r e n | t i o; 14489: Caelestinus | dulcissimus | N a r c i t h i u s; 21198: ...iciano filio | dulcissimo C r e m e n t i o; ILT 283: parentes | dulcissimo | filio | fecer|unt B y z a c i o, the name of the deceased being given at the beginning; AE 1913, 156 (Africa): P. Magnius | Paulinus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) | C a e l e s t i u s; C XIV 2815 = ILS 1669: Aurelius Alexander prox(imus) ab | epistul(is) Lat(inis) D ig it i u s — notice the suggestive name. VI 10210 we read T. Fl. Maximino, the text then continuing vertically Euvipio (= Euhippio) sumo venatori. The examples could almost be considered as signa, were it not for the fact that they are in the same case as the regular names and not written detached from the text of the inscription.

detached signa may primarily have been i m p r o v i s e d n i c k n a m e s,

similar to epithets.

A number of examples may be adduced in support of this theory. Thus C VI 27140, an epitaph set up to a Telephus by his parents, terminates in the acclamation Telephi Dulciti. This cannot have a meaning other than the usual Telephi dulcis, and Dulcitius had accordingly been created at the moment of setting up the stone. There are other similar cases. The acclamation 'Αρωμάτι ταῦτα, cut on the epitaph of an infant Secundilla, who rapta parentibus reliquit dolorem, ut tan dulcis erat tanquam aromata (C XII 874), was probably written to symbolize her sweet nature; VI 19611: Aeoni gregori, seems to imply a hope of immortality; XIII 2073 = ILS 8141: ⟨H⟩arþagi, tibi terram levem, written on the epitaph of a boy who died at the age of nine, may symbolize a person snatched away by an untimely death (the name is derived from the Greek verb $\delta \varrho \pi \dot{a} \zeta \omega$). In some cases the signum seems to serve decorative purposes, being formed from the cognomen of the deceased. A certain Iul(ius) Kapito sets up a stone to his son of the same name, and cuts above it: Caefalio ex[imi]ae laudis i[uve]ni (C VIII 20758). The name is derived from the Greek equivalent of the son's cognomen, Cephalus. Other similar cases can be cited.1 The allusion made to the cognomen may be very subtle: as in $C\ V$ 7759, where a certain Dionysius lib(ertus) has the detached signum Nebridius, derived from $\nu \varepsilon \beta \varrho i \zeta$, the fawn skin worn by Dionysus. There are also cases in which the signum corresponds to an ethnic. Thus Cart[ilius] Secun[dus], buried in saltus Aurasius, has Aurasi cut below (C VIII 2476). But though this is not the only similar case 2, one must be cautious in regard to signa derived from geographical terms: it is not possible to consider all Dalmatii, Laodicii, etc. as natives of these places. A signum could also commemorate an exploit of its bearer. The most unequivocal example is found in a Greek honorary inscription from Asia Minor: a certain Bryonianos Lollianos, who had provided the sanctuary of the Nymphs with a water supply, is saluted as $K\tau l\sigma \tau l^3$. His wife is for the same reason addressed as $\Pi \eta \gamma a\sigma l$ (»nymph») in another honorary inscription (CIG 4346).4 Again, Dogmatii (derived from the Greek $\delta \delta \gamma \mu \alpha$, »a decree of the senate»), cut on the honorary inscription of C. Caelius Saturninus v(ir) c(larissimus) (C VI 1704 = ILS 1214), may allude to his social position.

¹ C VIII 15630 and 24050, Honori and Fidenti, coined from their bearers' cognomina, Honoratianus and Fidus.

² IAlg I 16—17, Gilventius, coined from the name of the city Gilva in Mauretania Caesariensis, the neighbouring province.

³ Lanckoronski, Niemann, Petersen, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I, p. 185.

⁴ Her signum has been rightly interpreted by Petersen, op. cit. p. 144: »— weniger ihr ständiger Beiname — — als ein improvisierter».

In most cases, however, the implications of a particular signum are only guesswork, and the above examples are not meant to give a complete picture of all the possible interpretations of detached signa.

The model for detached signa may have been the acclamations usual in Greek and Latin inscriptions, in particular in epitaphs, for the principle, the saluting of the subject of the inscription, was the same. There is not much difference between the acclamation alvae gaioe (e.g. IG XIV 1583: 1638) and the one in which the adjective had been replaced by the new form, ἱλεώς σοι, "Αλυπι (IG XIV 1030). Again, an exhortation common in Greek inscriptions was γρηγόρει (e.g. CIG 9570 and 9599, Christian): it does not differ in regard to its significance from the corresponding signum, *Gregori* (e.g. C XI 863 = ILS 6665; XIII 2621 etc.); in C VI 19611: Aeoni gregori, cited above, gregori could almost pass as another signum. This origin of the detached signa also explains why most of them were set in the vocative and why almost half of the detached signa found in epitaphs were included in acclamatory phrases (see p. 33). But though the model was Greek, the detached signa first came into use, and were mostly found, in Latin epigraphic material. This was probably due to the fact that the new coinages, which were used as detached signa, originated in the West (see p. 25). The detached signa are an example of the intimate way in which Greek and Latin were interwoven in the West during the Empire. Greek influence is also revealed by the fact that in a number of cases the acclamations and the signa were in Greek, the main text in Latin (e.g. C V 7380 = ILS 8169; VI 21808 = ILS 8560; VIII 789; XIII 1854), but there are cases of the opposite, too (see p. 34).

The theory outlined above has also the advantage of making it possible to explain why women mostly bore their detached signa in the masculine. This peculiarity is not confined to detached signa, but is found in women's signa proper, agnomina and even cognomina, provided they were new forms in -ius. The material is tabulated in table 11 below. Because women's cognomina in -ia were so very numerous, feminine forms are not registered in the last column.

The masculine predominated among the detached signa and signa proper, whereas the feminine was in the majority among agnomina; the masculine forms were of course only a tiny fraction compared with the vast number of women's cognomina in -ia. It is worth special notice that the n o m i n ative was extremely rare. Among the supernomina the only case is CXIII 25.91: Victoriae L[a]tine que et Simplicius; they are more numerous among cognomina, e.g. FE 8748: A < l > etio Valentinae, the monogram found on

 $^{^1}$ For the infrequency of signa in Greek inscriptions, see WILHELM, EYTYXEI EYTENI, WS 1902, p. 596 ff.

	detached signa		signa	proper	agno	cogno- mina	
	mascul. forms	feminine forms	mascul. forms	feminine forms	mascul. forms	feminine forms	mascul. forms
nominative					1	14	10
-i or fèm. vocative	46	3	6	1	1.1	-	
genii or ae	1			2	_		·
dative	3	1			· 1	2	8
accusative or ablative	1			, —	<u> </u>	1	1
total	51	4	6	3	3	17	19

Table 11. Women's supernomina and cognomina in -i u s

the epitaph giving the form *Alethius*. Most examples of the nominative come from the Western provinces or from Christian inscriptions and, with two exceptions, all the names were Greek.¹

Three explanations have been suggested for these masculine forms. Mommsen and Diehl argued that women bore the names in the masculine because they were nomina sodaliciaria, and masculine was the gender of the plural club name.2 But the argument seems untenable: names referring to both men and women were put in the masculine plural in accordance with a well-known rule of Latin, but when referring to women alone, such names naturally stood in the feminine. One can refer to a similar phenomenon, viz. that if several women and men shared the same nomen, the nomen was put in the masculine plural; there are, however, no examples of women bearing their nomen in the masculine. Further, in most cases in our material in which a presumable nomen sodaliciarium is borne by women, the names are put in the feminine (see p. 37 and p. 38, fn. 4; Pancrati, it is true, is a woman's signum). Kretschmer contends that women had taken their signa from their husbands or fathers with the gender unchanged.3 But in the cases in which women bear their husbands' or fathers' nomina or cognomina as agnomina, the names are always put in the feminine.4 Moreover, we have a number of women's

¹ C XIII 2070: Claudian(a) Dulcitius soror; 3826: Ypsichius — — Archontus coniugi carissime; DIEHL 3539 (Hispania): Rufo — coniugi suo Viventius; С XI 2894 — DIEHL 226ladn: Secunda Ama[z]onius; VI 31950 — DIEHL 279a: Aurelia Amazonius; VI 37170: Chrestina Dorcadius h(onesta) f(emina); DIEHL 315B (Rome): Porfirius c(larissima) f(emina); SI 2463 — DIEHL 2713A: Eutolmius mater; SIC V 178: Flabia Peristerius. RS III p. 342: carissima filia Thalassus, may be incorrect for Thalassius or an example of a similar use of the masculine in names in -us also.

² Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 452; RhM 1907, p. 415.

³ Zu den weiblichen Signa auf -ius, Glotta 1913, p. 207.

⁴ For examples, see LAMBERTZ Supernomen, Glotta 1913, p. 80 f.

detached signa which, as they are different, cannot come from fathers or husbands, but the gender is nonetheless the masculine (see p. 38 f.). Though LAMBERTZ has not worked out his theory with sufficient clarity, I think he is in principle right in giving the phenomenon a linguistic explanation. 1 Because the detached signa were originally vocatives often accompanied by a (vulgar) imperative in -i (see the examples on p. 33 and p. 41), women's signa took the same form, for it would not have been in harmony to write, for instance, eupsychi Amantia instead of eupsychi Amanti. In my opinion, two facts facilitated the use of the masculine. First, because the detached signa were improvised coinages, the use of the masculine was limited to the inscriptions. Further, such forms were not a complete novelty, for many Roman women bore Greek cognomina ending in -ium derived from the same stems as the names in -ius — e.g. C VI 10588: Iulia L.l. Hesuchium or 27248; Terentia M. l. Palladium — with all the cases exactly similar to the masculines of the names in -ius except the nominative, and the nominative was extremely rare among detached signa. The practice which originated among detached signa also influenced the other categories, and women's signa proper, agnomina and even cognomina could be cut in the masculine, especially if the names appeared in cases other than the nominative. This may explain why the masculine was more usual after signo than after quae et, for the genitive was naturally used in the first group. The nominative was more usual among cognomina, but girls may have been given a masculine form of the name at birth, as is the case in a well-known literary example.2

§ 3. Cognomina in -ius cut detached

But though the majority of detached signa were no doubt nicknames, in numerous honorary inscriptions of the aristocracy, in particular in the fourth century, the name in -ius cut detached from the main inscription was not a signum but a regular cognomen. Because honorary inscriptions were usually long, and the multiplication of the names of the aristocrats cumbersome, the best-known cognomen was often cut above the die to show to whom the inscription had actually been dedicated; the cognomen was included among the other names in the text, too, Cognomina in -ius were in general use in the fourth century (see p. 70), and were similarly treated. A good example is Anicius Auchenius Bassus v.c., from the latter half of the fourth century. In an honorary inscription the name cut

¹ Supernomen, Glotta 1913, p. 90 ff.

² The aunt of Ausonius was called Aemilia Hilarius, and the poet explains the origin of the name as follows, Parentalia VI 3—4: Aemilia, in cunis Hilari cognomen adepta | quod laeta et pueri comis ad effigiem.

above the die is Auchenii (C VI 1679 = ILS 1262), in another Bassi (XIV 2917 = ILS 1263). The cognomen Auchenius was in fact hereditary in gens Anicia (see RE I col. 2200). Cases of this type have been excluded from the statistics. In other cases a cognomen in -ius cut detached does not appear among the other names in the same inscription but is treated as a cognomen in some other. C VIII 25525 Ceionius Iulianus v.c., from the latter half of the fourth century, has Kamenii above the die, and this resembles a signum, but we have inscriptions in which the name is written in full, Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius v.c. (C VI 1675 and AE 1953, 238). The name was hereditary, for his grandfather bore it, too (RE III col. 1859, 58; the grandfather is referred to in a Christian epitaph, Bull 1882, p. 92 = Diehi, 96a: Caeionius Camenius). Ammianus refers to him as Camenius (28, 1, 27), which was thus his best-known cognomen. There are other similar cases.²

Mommsen argued that after the general break-up of the Latin name system, the signum (in his terminology, the nomen sodaliciarium) often appeared among the regular names, in part ousting the legitimate cognomen.3 But the interpretation given above seems much simpler. Nevertheless it is likely that cutting the best-known cognomen detached in honorary inscriptions originated as an imitation of the signa. Examples of cognomina cut above the die are few before the fourth century A.D. Moreover, a certain preference was given to cognomina in -ius, for even if they were not the best-known, they were often cut detached. L. Turcius Apronianus v.c., prefect of Rome A.D. 363, has Asterii detached in C VI 1768-69 = ILS 1229, whereas in two edicts issued by him he refers to himself as Turcius Apronianus (VI 1770—71). Ammianus calls him Apronianus (23, 1, 4; 3, 3 etc). His brother, L. Turcius Secundus, has likewise Asterii detached in an honorary inscription (VI 1772 = ILS 1230), but in two inscriptions of opera publica he is referred to as L. Turcius Secundus, Aproniani praet. urb. fil., Asterius (ILS 706 and 729), and in an inscription dedicated by him to his wife he calls himself L. Turcius Secundus Asterius v.c. (VI 1773). Asterius was thus one of the cognomina of the Turcii, but not the best-known. Again, ordinary cognomina, when cut detached, were often furnished with the suffix -ius to make them

¹ Other examples, CVI 1736 = ILS 1256: . . . Iulius Festus Hymetius c.v., the cognomen Hymetii being also cut above the die; XIV 1000, the epitaph of one Faenia Elpidia, bears ' $E\lambda\pi\iota\delta$ ia χ a $\tilde{\iota}$ g ε detached.

 $^{^2}$ C VI 31961 = ILS 8843, Betitius Perpetuus v.c. (latter half of the fourth century) bears Arzygii above the die, whereas in VI 1702 = ILS 1251 his name runs Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius v.c. — IX 1576 = ILS 1239, Clodius Celsinus insignis et c.v., prefect of Rome A.D. 351, has Adelfi cut above, whereas in an epitaph set up by him to his wife he calls himself Clodius Adelfius (VI 1712 = SI 19). Ammianus 16, 6, 2 refers to him as Adelfius.

³ Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 453.

conform with detached signa, e.g. CVI 1722: Honoratianii, the name of the person being Fl. Honoratianus. Examples are particularly numerous in Tripolitania.¹

In a few cases, a nomen could also be cut detached. An example is a fourth century member of the senatorial class, whose full name was Amnius (or Ammius) Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus (CVI 1682 = ILS 1220 2), but who in an honorary inscription has his first nomen cut detached, Amnii iun., the text giving only Anicius Paulinus iun. c.v. (CVI 1683 = ILS 1221). The cutting of the nomina detached was due to the example of the detached signa, for nomina and signa had a similar ending. For a case of a woman's nomen being cut detached, see SICV 177.

Even though a detached name in -ius appearing in a late honorary inscription is not found as a cognomen in other inscriptions, it is still possible that it was one, the absence of cases depending upon chance. Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, prefect of Rome A.D. 342, has Mavortii detached (ILS 1224abc; 1225). Ammianus 16, 8, 5 calls him Mavortius, Firmicus now Mavortius, now Lollianus (see RE XIII col. 1371, 50). His son bears Mavorti iun(ioris) in a similar honorary inscription (C X 1697 = ILS 1226). Though we have no examples of inscriptions in which Mavortius appears among the regular names, the instances of writers preferring that name and the reference to his son as Mavorti iun(ioris) make it likely that the name cut above the die was a hereditary cognomen and not a nickname.

However, all names in -ius cut detached in late honorary inscriptions cannot be interpreted as regular cognomina. If Eusebius, the signum of Symmachus (see p. 38), really had been the cognomen of so well-known a person, we should have more examples of it than the one found in Rome. The name, like the signum of his father, Phosphorius (see p. 38), was very likely a nickname.

§ 4. Detached signa in Christian epigraphic material

A lengthy discussion has been necessary to elucidate the origin and significance of detached signa. The history of the names may be briefly summed up. At the beginning of the third century A.D., the new name-coinages in -ius often appeared as nicknames in epitaphs and in dedicatory and honorary inscriptions. These nicknames, being modelled upon the acclamations popular in Greek and Latin inscriptions, were largely improvised.

¹ IRTr 475: Flavianii, from his cognomen Flavianus; 562—63: Nilii, from his cognomen Nilus; 565 Nepotianii from Nepotianus; 571 [Be]nedictii from [Ben]edi[ctus]; 574 Romulii from Romulus; 588 Quintii from Quintus.

 $^{^{2}}$ RE I col. 2199,61 has erroneously considered the dative *honori*, with which the inscription begins, as a signum, and gives *Honorius* as the last name of the man.

When the fashion had once been established, names other than nicknames also began to be written detached. A number of the names were *nomina* sodaliciaria, and later on regular cognomina were cut detached in honorary inscriptions.

In the above discussion, no distinction has been made between pagan and Christian material. This is so far justified in that the detached signa found in the Christian inscriptions do not deviate from the general pattern. Their frequency does not show any considerable rise in the Christian material (see table 9, p. 32). On the other hand, detached signa went out of use early. The only dated Christian example is CX 4724 = DIEHL 97: Aeterii, A.D. 367, but the name is a cognomen, Minucius Aeterius being given in the text of the inscription. The latest example of all detached signa is a pagan one, Gregarii v.c., dated A.D. 400 or 405 (CVI 1706). Detached signa, then, came into use at the beginning of the third and vanished at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. They were of much shorter duration than agnomina (see p. 48).

Detached signa, as these dates suggest, belong to the early stratum of Christian inscriptions, and this is confirmed by the distribution of the material among different name forms. Only nine out of the 28 unfragmentary cases belong to the single name system; the others belong to the *duo* and even *tria nomina* systems (see p. 12 f. for the chronological significance of the name forms). Most of the detached signa accordingly date from the ante-Constantinian period. A relatively early date also explains why, with the possible exception of *Refrigeri vivas* (SI 4704, see p. 120), the signa have no special Christian flavour, for a Christian nomenclature was late in appearing (see p. 117).

The signa found in the Christian inscriptional material are listed below in alphabetical order. The general brevity of Christian inscriptions makes it sometimes difficult to judge whether or not a name is a signum, e.g. FE 8974: Iustina. Eustorgi; here Eustorgi is obviously a vocative, which implies a signum. Forms in -i could be genitives, too, but the use of the husband's or father's name in the genitive is confined to Greek inscriptions (see p. 5). It is of course possible to argue that both names were vocatives, two persons being meant. Such a use of the vocative is rare, however. I have included all similar cases in the list.

Aeterii, see above Amantia, FE 8969 = DIEHL 895 'Asteglov, FE 7166 Audenti, C VIII 20162 = DIEHL 746

Caenabi Cons[t]an[t]i, a double signum, CVI 37231 = DIEHL 1585 . . . io dulci Constantius suus, the wife's signum being fragmentary,

C VI 2651

Cynegi, CXI 2700 = DIEHL 143

 Δv σκόλι ['A]στίρε, FE 7251, a double signum? cf., however, Ferrua, Epigraphica 1940, p. 12 f.

Εἰναχίω, С V 8766

Euphroni —

Eutroni, ARM p. 152

Eusebi, FE 6681

Eustathi, FE 8969 = Diehl 895

Eustorgi, FE 8974

Εὐστόργιος

Εὐστόργις, FE 7203

Eutropi vivas, DIEHL 1592

Florentio, RAC 1929, p. 217

Gregor[i], CVI 2655 = Diehl 4478

Γρωμά[τι], DIEHL 4037

Hesperi quiesce in pace, RAC 1931, p. 196

Heuresi —

Euresi fid[e]l[i]s maneas dei semper, C IX 1563 = DIEHL 1345

Hilari vivas in deo (Christo) — Liberi vivas in (Christo), a double signum, SI 3547, see p. 34

Leonti Lampadi, a double signum, Bull 1887, p. 20; see p. 34 above

Maurici, SI 602

Paludi dulcis, FE 8877

Pancrati in pace, SI 1380

Paramoni, RAC 1936, p. 215

Refrigeri vivas, SI 4704

Simplici dulcis in aeternum, FE 6769 = DIEHL 896

Σωφρόνι χαῖρε, SI 692

Viventio dulci, RS I 31, 2 = DIEHL, 4644adn.

§ 5. Signa proper and agnomina

It is likely, as LAMBERTZ contends ¹, that the expression signo did not in principle differ from qui et: both tacked permanent »extra names» on to the regular ones. But because the former expression came into use at the end of the second century A.D.², that is to say, at the same time as the new coinages in -ius (see p. 25), it is no wonder that most of the signa proper

¹ Supernomen, Glotta 1913, p. 86 ff.

 $^{^2}$ C VI 34001 = ILS 9022, from the latter half of the second century A.D., is the first instance of the expression signum.

were new coinages. Being fresh and expressive, they made good personal nicknames. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that though the percentage of the names in -ius is smaller among agnomina, the absolute number is double that of signa proper (table 9, p. 32). The new coinages were even more often added to the original names by the familiar expression qui et, but because the majority of agnomina were from a time prior to the coining of the new forms in -ius, the percentage did not become as high. In Christian times the difference between signa proper and agnomina had largely been levelled down (see table 9). The late origin of the expression signo also explains why, in the Christian material, it had become much more important proportionally than in the pagan one: in the latter, signa proper formed 5,5 % of the total of supernomina, in the former 15,0 %.

The curious fact that women mostly had their signa in the masculine has been explained on p. 41 ff.

The agnomina came into being in the East, in particular in Egypt, where native and Greek names were joined by δ κai long before our era. During Imperial Times, the agnomen came to the West. The earliest example, CVI 975 I 45: C. Iulius C.l. Ephesius qui et Mascutius, is from A.D. 136, the latest, XI 941 = DIEHL 253: Gundeberga qui et Nonnica sp (ectabilis) f(emina) from A.D. 570. Agnomina were accordingly in use for a much longer period than detached signa (cf. p. 34 f. and p. 46).

A survey of the agnomina shows that there was in principle nodifference between agnomina and double nomina or cognomina. As stated (p. 30), it often depended upon individual choice whether or not a connecting expression like *qui et* was used.

Though caution is advised in interpreting the cases in which one of the names is L atin, the other Greek, there seems to be one case in the Christian inscriptions in which the Latin cognomen was given as a substitute for the Greek one, SI 1773 = Diehl, 3890C: Tribunicius Bubalus qui et Taurus, the name Taurus being a translation of the Greek cognomen. In the other similar cases in Christian material the Latin cognomen is not a translation of the Greek one and it is not possible to suppose that the new names were meant to serve as substitutes for the original, less respectable cognomina. But if the second of the two cognomina is barbaric, it may have been the original name of the person (cf. similar cases among double cognomina p. 28). There are numerous Christian examples, in particular in Africa.²

¹ LAMBERTZ Supernomen, Glotta 1914, p. 99 ff.

² C VIII 9890: Vipi Serelli (corrupt) qui et Maccal; DIEHI, 3945: L. Maevius Valerianus qui et Moflontius; AE 1917—18, 66 (Africa): L. P(ontius?) Marti«u>s qui et Pattiso; 1946, 114 (Africa): Benenata que et Iambaria Castimonialis; 1953, 39 (Africa): Aelius Equitius qui et Calvaro; RO 117 = DIEHI, 3239: Restituta qui Sarama...; AE 1928, 9 (Rome): Phryne Tertulla qua«e> Sillaria Africana; C XI 941, cited above.

A number of the agnomina were certainly nicknames, but it is mostly impossible to tell which agnomina belonged to this category. DIEHL 4485: Anna Gaudiosa sive Africa, may suggest African origin, though one might have expected Afra or Africana. C V 6093 (Christian): . . . Felix qui et Acutus, may have earned his nickname because of his »acumen», but the fact that Acutus is a common enough cognomen seems to contradict the idea.¹ To cite a further example, DIEHL 4481: Asellus qui et Martinianus, may have been called Asellus in derision or, as is more likely, had received the name at birth, Asellus being a frequent cognomen, especially in Christian times.² These examples may suffice to illustrate the difficulties encountered in trying to decide the origin of a particular agnomen. There is, however, a group which can be classed as nicknames: the agnomina of C h r i s t i a n o r i g i n, e.g. Bull 1867, p. 31 = DIEHL 2952Cadn: . . . sive Anastasia or FE 6600b: Barnab[as] qui et Ase[llus]. Since I shall resume the subject in another connection (see p. 120), I shall here leave it at that.

In most cases the agnomina seem to have been cognomina or nomina given at birth. Though direct evidence is lacking, the frequency of the cases in which a nomen is borne as an agnomen is significant, nomina being unlikely nicknames. Moreover, in all the cases the nomen is borne by a man and accordingly is not acquired by marriage, as women's extra nomina sometimes are. The cases in which the nomen and the cognomen have been separated by qui et are worth special notice, e.g. FE 8598 = Diehi. 2947A: <V>olusius qui et Leoninu<s> and C VIII 8640 = Diehi. 3622adn: Istablicius qui et Donatus. There are about a dozen similar cases in the pagan material. Because it is unlikely that the persons originally bore only the nomen, we must assume that both names had been given at birth, the nomen and the cognomen being separated in inscriptions on the analogy of cases in which double cognomina or double nomina had been treated in a similar way. The cases confute the contention of Mommsen that agnomina were not legitimate names.

¹ Thes. I col. 471, 4.

² Thes. II col. 780, 41.

³ The cases are $C\ VIII\ 23012c = Diehl,\ 3234\ Aadn:\ T.E.D.$ (probably the tria nomina) qui et Evasius; $XI\ 2535 = Diehl,\ 3916$: Quaelius Iulianus sive Aeburius; $XII\ 956 = Diehl,\ 3540$: Ennius Filterius sive Pompeius.

⁴ Lambertz Supernomen, Glotta 1913 p. 80, with pagan examples.

⁵ E.g. C III 14515: Laricia quae et Meter; VIII 18525: Paulus qui et Ovius; X 4969: C. Numisius sive Ratiager.

⁶ Signum, Hermes 1902, p. 451.

VIII. THE TRANSMISSION OF PERSONAL NAMES

§ 1. The transmission of the nomen

Because of the prevalence of the cognomen-system, the examples of the transmission of the nomen are not many. According to Thylander, p. 88 ff., children as a rule inherited paternal nomina, the exceptions being illegitimate children, who bore maternal nomina, and those children who had inherited their grandparents' nomina. Including the cases in which only the father's nomen is preserved, our Christian material from Rome may be tabulated thus:

Nomina of both parents	father's nomen 1	
preserved	mother's nomendifferent	5
Nomen of father	father's nomen 3	4
preserved	different	0

The number of cases in which children bear nomina which do not come from their father is noticeable: 16 out of a total of 64. Because in most of the cases in the first group the nomen which was different from the father's came from the mother, it is very likely to be the same in the cases in which only the father's nomen was preserved.

If we were to accept Thylander's interpretation of the significance of maternal nomina, the conclusion would be that one fourth of Christian children were illegitimate. But apart from the fact that our scanty material is not perhaps sufficiently representative, we have examples of legitimate children bearing maternal nomina, e.g. FE 9363, where the father is Plotius Clemens, and the son Cassius Clemes; the son probably had a nomen from his mother, but he was his father's son, for he bore his cognomen. A still more incontestable example is FE 9342:

Val(erius) Scolasticus — Gavinia . . . Gav(inia) Val(eria) Scolastica

Though double nomina were not uncommon, it was the nomen of the father which was put first, for the first nomen designated the family connection (see examples on p. 19). In our example, the maternal nomen preceded that

of the father, but the daughter had also inherited her father's nomen and bore his cognomen, accordingly being a legitimate child. Thylander, p. 90 f., certainly contends that a child who bore his father's cognomen but his mother's nomen had been born in a slave marriage *sine conubio* prior to the manumission of the parents, but I think this is untenable. Slaves living in a married state certainly belonged to the same household and accordingly bore the same nomen on manumission, which was that of their master.

Because the transmission of maternal nomina to legitimate children was a fact, Thylander's explanation must be rejected. A number of cases may admit of his interpretation, but some other cause must be sought for the majority of them. It is likely, considering the general confusion of the Latin name system during the Later Empire, that the strict rules regulating the inheritance of nomina had broken down, and maternal nomina were passed on to children quite as freely as maternal cognomina (see below). With due allowances for the scantiness of our material, it may be argued that this was fairly common in Christian times.

In a number of cases in which only the mother's nomen is recorded, it is borne by children, too. But despite the commonness of the transmission of maternal nomina, one should be cautious in evaluating cases of this type, for it is possible that the father shared the same nomen. This is no wonder, considering the popularity of a few nomina during the Later Empire (see p. 16). We may adduce e.g. SI 5254, where Aurelius is the nomen of the father, mother and son. Accordingly a case like SI 3564, where mother and son bear the nomen *Iulius*, is not an incontestable example of the transmission of maternal nomina. Even in cases in which mother and children bear some uncommon nomen, e.g. Ilicus (SI 1301 = DIEHL 4129), a name otherwise unknown, and Polclia (SICV 133), a nomen not found in other Christian inscriptions, the possibility of paternal transmission should not be excluded, for there are cases in which husbands and wives share less common nomina, e.g. SI 405 = Dieнц 4127E, Rupilius, a nomen not found elsewhere in our material, borne by father, mother and daughter; SI 3672 = DIEHL 4488, the quite as rare Modius, borne by the parents and their son; Bull 1885, p. 78 = DIEHL 4644, the nomen Lucretius, found nine times in the Christian material of Rome, shared by father, mother and son. In these cases the husband and wife had probably been manumitted or granted Roman citizenship by the same person.1

¹ THYLANDER, p. 84 ff.

§ 2. The transmission of the cognomen

Except for the hereditary cognomina of the nobility, there were never any fixed rules about the transmission of the cognomen, for the cognomen was an individual name and could be chosen arbitrarily. Nevertheless, the cognomina of parents and children often present striking similarities. If transmitted, parental cognomina were most often borne unchanged by children (see the examples on p. 50). The confusion caused by the similarity of father's and son's names was sometimes avoided by tacking the words senior and iunior to the names, e.g. SI 4365: Maximus pater Maximo iuniori.1 One must also consider as »unchanged» those cases of transmission in which a woman's name is the feminine equivalent of a man's name, e.g. SI 434 = DIEHI, 2990E, where the father is Felix, and the daughter Felicitas; SI 1885: the mother is Νεικομηδία, the son Nεικομήδης: SI 460: the mother is Elρήνη, the son Elρηνέος. A connection through suffixes was also common; e.g. SI 2390 = Diehl, 2698adn: the father is Salvius, the son Salvianus; an abbreviated form was less common with children, but was sometimes found, e.g. SI 606 = DIEHL 2709: the father is Maximianus, the daughter Maximina; NBull 1909, p. 214 = Diehl, 4503: the father is *Iustianus*, the son *Iustus*.

The transmission of Greek cognomina, unless similar to the categories above, could show purely Greek features. In Greek, personal names were »compound» or »short». In the transmission of Greek personal names, one element of a compound name could be transmitted, the other being changed; again, a short name could etymologically recall a compound one.2 The Greek cognomina found in the Christian inscriptions of Rome often observed similar rules. In Bull 1886, p. 56 = DIEHL 3574A, where the father is Timo crates, the son Timo theus, and RS III p. 273 = DIEHL 3024, where the mother is Filo mella, the daughter Filo menes, the first element of a compound name is transmitted. In Bull 1886, p. 130, where the father is Chrysomallus, the daughter Chrysis; Bull 1892, p. 105 = Diehi, 4516, where the father is X r u s anthus, the daughter X r v s i s, and Bull 1892 p. 58, where the father is $O v \eta \sigma \iota \mu o \varsigma$, the son $O_{V}(\eta) \sigma \iota \varphi \delta \rho \sigma \varsigma$, compound and short names etymologically belong together. A similar case is once found in Latin cognomina, FE 8458 = DIEHL 4515, where the father is Primus, the daughter Primigenia, but because Latin cognomina were almost always »short», such cases are rare.

There were also other, less obvious modes of transmission. In some cases children's cognomina recalled the parental ones by their meaning,

¹ A similar case SI 5504: [T]heodotus senio[r] and [The]odotus iunior.

² RUNES, Die Vererbung der Personennamen im Griechischen, WS 1924/25 p. 172.

e.g. SI 3564 = Diehl 4523, where the mother is Felicla, the son Furtunatus, and SI 4398, where the mother is Fortunata, the daughter Felicitas. A similar case is in Bull 1886, p. 73 = Diehl 4517, where the father Auspicalis and the daughter A < u > gurina have names suggesting a religious institution of the Romans. In some cases, a Greek cognomen had been substituted for the Latin one of the parents, e.g. SI 57 = Diehl 4145Cadn, where the father is Felicissimus, the son Eutychius. Cognomina could occasionally be connected through assonance, as in NBull 1902, p. 131 = Diehl 3890, where the father Amiantus (from Greek $d\mu (avtos)$, »pure») and the daughter Amias (from Greek $d\mu (as)$, »tunny») bear cognomina beginning with Amia-. A case of this type is scarcely a coincidence.

I shall finally give the statistics of the transmission of cognomina in the Christian inscriptions of Rome. In the transmission through »etymology» there are included, in addition to the connection through suffixes, the Greek modes of transmission discussed and also the cases in which a nomen used as a cognomen recalled a cognate cognomen (see p. 20 and p. 22).

Table 12. The transmission of cognomina in the Christian inscriptions of Rome

		uency of smission	modes of transmission					
Cognomina	total	trans- mitted	total	un- chang- ed	ety- mology	meaning, asso- nance		
of both parents preserved	191	60 or 31 %	father's 42 mother's 18	36 14	5 3	1 1		
Cognomen of father preserved	202	58 or 28,5 %		41	15	2		
Cognomen of mother preserved	143	15 or 10,5 %		9	5	1		

In the cases in which the cognomina of both parents were preserved, the father's cognomen was transmitted more than twice as often as the mother's; in a similar way, if the cognomen of one parent only had been preserved, the father's cognomen showed a frequency of transmission almost three times that of the mother's. The results may be summed up by saying that parental cognomina were transmitted to children in almost a third of the cases, the father's cognomen being passed on more than twice so often as the mother's. In the great majority of cases, the cognomina were transmitted unchanged.

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THYLANDER, p. 115 ff., also discussed the cases in which children's cognomina were different from the parental ones and contended that they had very often been taken over from the grandparents. The general brevity of Christian epitaphs unfortunately makes it impossible to say how often this was the case in Christian times, but among the few examples of grandparents' names recorded there are two in which transmission may be observed, SI 729 = DIEHL 1131, where Leontius, and FE 6791, where Leo is borne by grandfather and grandson alike.

The above discussion has shown that in Christian times the transmission of cognomina within a family was fairly common, perhaps more common than can be established on the basis of epigraphic material. If we had complete family stemmata spanning several generations, it would certainly be found that the same cognomina were borne in some form or other by a large number of the members of a family. The transmission of cognomina was more common in Latin than in Greek, where it is estimated at 4,7 %.¹ The strong family sense of the Latin race may, as has been suggested ², account for the popularity of the transmission of the cognomen.

¹ Runes, op.cit. p. 176, fn. 1.

² THYLANDER p. 121.

ON THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF COGNOMINA IN CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

I. LATIN, GREEK AND BARBARIC COGNOMINA

In Imperial Times cognomina of Greek origin were an important element in Roman nomenclature, and far-reaching conclusions about race mixture, with its implications in political, cultural and religious fields, have been drawn from this. Since the present study is concerned with strictly onomastic problems, we may leave race mixture aside. It suffices for us to establish the proportions of Latin, Greek and barbaric elements in the pagan and Christian inscriptional material of Rome and Carthage, and to work out the causes of the possible changes.

Assessing the Latin and foreign elements in nomenclature is not as easy as it may seem. Though in most cases Latin and Greek cognomina are easily distinguished — there can be no doubt that Firmus, for instance. is a Latin and Symphorus a Greek cognomen —, what about cognomina derived from Greek words which had become old-established 1 o a n words in Latin, e.g. Hilarus? There is vacillation over this in studies on Greek cognomina in Latin, for the name is considered Latin by some, Greek by others.² I think J. MAROUZEAU's definition of a loan-word, in a strict sense, as »un mot perçu comme étranger» 3, can also be accepted in an onomastic study. A cognomen derived from an early and popular Greek loan-word has been classed as Latin. Thus Hilarus, as well as e.g. Leo, Saturus and Siricus, though derived from words not native in Latin 4, have been included in the Latin group. But unequivocal Greek forms of such names have been counted as Greek cognomina. Thus Leontius, derived from the Greek stem leovt-, must be considered as in the Greek group. On the other hand, all cognomina derived from Greek personal names with Latin suffixes, e.g. Eutych-ianus and Olymp-inus, have been counted as Greek

¹ Frank, Race mixture in the Roman Empire, AHR 1915/16, p. 689 ff.; cf. Barrow, Slavery in the Roman Empire, p. 208 ff.

² THYLANDER p. 124.

³ REL 1954, p. 347.

⁴ For the etymology of the words, see Walde-Hofmann.

Similar difficulties are encountered in classifying cognomina derived from geographical names. Because most of the names were ethnics, it could be argued that they had been borne by persons of »foreign» extraction and were accordingly felt as »foreign» names. But the matter is not as simple as that, for Atticus, for instance, was a very frequent adjective in Latin and was also used in senses other than strictly geographical ones, sometimes implying »civilized». I have therefore included Atticus in the Latin group. On the other hand, Asiaticus and Macedo, for instance, have been counted as Greek cognomina, the corresponding adjectives and ethnics being rarer in Latin. As to the cognomina derived from barbaric geographical names, I have put names which belong to the Greek world and which owe their present shape to Greek influence in the Greek group, e.g. Assyrius, Ninus and Syrus 2, and in the Latin group, e.g. Dalmatius, Gaetulicus and Maurus.3 But e.g. Ganga (SI 1632 = DIEHL 4148A) has been included in the barbaric group, because it is derived from a rare geographical term which had largely preserved its original form.

The greatest difficulties are encountered in assessing the barbaric element. Though it is mostly easy to tell whether a cognomen is of an origin other than Latin or Greek, it is often impossible to decide the particular provenance of a barbaric name. Dictionaries of barbaric personal names often disagree upon the origin of a name. Moreover, the language in Christian inscriptions was not as correct as in the pagan ones, and when engraving strange barbaric names, stone-cutters must often have corrupted them beyond recognition. I have therefore given up all attempts at classifying barbaric cognomina according to their provenance.

In the tables below, the number of persons bearing cognomina is higher than that recorded in tables 3-5, p. 9 f. This is due to the fact that in drawing up the former tables, a number of inscriptions had to be disregarded, for only inscriptions preserving the full names in an unfragmentary shape could be used in the statistics illustrating the development of the Latin name system. In the present section no such considerations matter, for the only thing important here is the origin of a cognomen, often to be concluded from a few fragmentary letters; thus, for instance, fragments beginning with Eu- belong to the large group of Greek personal names

¹ Thes II col. 1133, 76.

² See RE II col. 1751, 31; XVII col. 635; IVA col. 1549 ff.

 $^{^3\} RE\ XIV$ col. 2349, 22.

⁴ Some examples. SI 4293 = DIEHL 1736adn, we read the name Addo. This name is considered Celtic by Holder, as Semitic by Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen. Amannus (SI 6478) is Celtic according to Holder and Phrygian according to Sundwall, Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier. More similar examples in Thylander, p. 163.

composed of Ev- and some other word, while fragments like Res- and Cressuggest the popular Latin cognomina Restitutus and Crescens.

Finally, all heterogeneous double cognomina and all cases in which a cognomen seems to have been corrupted beyond recognition have been excluded.¹

Table 13. Latin, Greek and barbaric cognomina in the Latin inscriptions of Rome

		C VI: 4, 2—3, epitaphs					Christian			
ok career	men	women	frag- ment	total	%	men	women	frag- ment	total	%
Latin Greek	1.304 1.728	986 1.364	62 93		41,5 % 56,0 %	i e	2.840 1.223	414 184		66,5 % 30,0 %
bar-	1./20	1.504	90	5.165	30,0 %	1.01/	1.223	104	2.324	30,0 /0
baric				143	2,5 %				361	3,5 %
total				5.680					9.852	

Table 14. Latin, Greek and barbaric cognomina in the Greek inscriptions of Rome

	I(IG XIV, Roman epitaphs					Christian				
	men	women	frag- ment	total	%	men	women	frag- ment	total	%	
Latin	130	108		238	21,0 %	165	172	19	356	31,0 %	
Greek	582	272	_	854	76,5 %	404	297	53	754	65,5 %	
bar- baric		Nisa		27	2,5 %				38	3,5 %	
total	FW 10	1.119							1.148		

The differences in the frequency of Latin and Greek cognomina between Latin and Greek inscriptions were noticeable, the percentage of Latin cognomina being almost twice as high in the Latin inscriptions, both pagan and Christian. The explanation given for the larger percentage of the single name form in Greek epigraphic material also applies here (see p. 10): a considerable number of the persons recorded in Greek epitaphs must have been *peregrini* with their native place in the Greek East. As to the Christian inscriptions, Greek epitaphs are in general from an earlier period than the Latin ones, and the use of Greek cognomina was more

¹ E.g. SI 1538 = DIEHI, 3903B: Baumassa, a name not found elsewhere; DIEHI, suggests Brumasia or Thaumasia. SI 3147 = DIEHI, 3054Aadn, Ipitias, for which DIEHI, suggests Hyptias, an unknown name.

common before the pax than after it (see p. 60); moreover, peregrini were also numerous in the Christian material.

The Carthaginian material may be tabulated thus:

Table	5. Latin, Greek and barbaric cognomina in the pagan	
	and Christian inscriptions of Carthage	

	p a g a n						Christian					
	men	women	frag- ment	total	%	men	women	frag- ment	total	%		
Latin Greek	776 208	410 118	39 8	1.225	77 % 21 %	457 87	365 50	384 57	1.206 194	80 % 13 %		
bar- baric				29	2 %				105	7 %		
total	1.588					1.505						

The tables show that in the pagan material of R o me Greek cognomina were in a slight majority in the Latin, and in a large majority in the Greek inscriptions, while in the Christian material Latin cognomina outnumbered the Greek ones by more than two to one in the Latin inscriptions, their percentage rising in the Greek inscriptions, too, in comparison with the pagan material. In Carthage, Greek cognomina were in a minority even in pagan times, and their proportion further diminished in the Christian material. Both in Rome and Carthage, the proportion of barbaric cognomina was higher in the Christian than in the pagan material.

There were, then, significant changes in the frequencies of the various elements of nomenclature between pagan and Christian inscriptions. The rise in the frequency of barbaric cognomina was solely due to the popularity of a few »Christian» names of Hebrew origin, in particular *Iohannes* and *Paschasius* (see pp. 95; 109). In Carthage, *Paschasius* was one of the most popular cognomina, and this explains the high proportion of barbaric cognomina in that city.

The significance of Greek cognomina in the Latin world has been much debated. The discussion was started by Frank (see p. 55, fn. 1), who argued that Greek cognomina implied Oriental extraction, being largely borne by slaves and freedmen from the East or by their progeny. Frank's thesis was subsequently contested by Gordon, who claimed that Greek names had also been given by Greek slave-dealers to slaves of Western origin ¹, and by Westermann, who contended that the name was of no value in determining the nationality of a slave. Thylander, p. 149 ff.,

¹ The nationality of slaves under the Early Roman Empire, JRS 1924, 104 f.

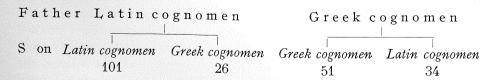
² RE suppl. VI col. 1003.

however, has taken up Frank's thesis by arguing that slaves from the East in general retained their original Greek names, while slaves from countries where neither Greek nor Latin was spoken usually had their original names replaced by Latin ones.

I think it is the theory of Frank and Thylander which best explains the facts tabulated above. A considerable proportion of the persons recorded in the pagan inscriptions of Carthage were slaves and freedmen (see table 2, p. 6), but Greek cognomina were here much less frequent than in Rome. This can only have been due to the fact that Carthaginian slaves, having mostly been drawn from native African stocks, had undergone a change of name, whereas most Roman slaves, coming from the Greek-speaking East, had retained their old Greek names or had been given new Greek names by the Greek slave-dealers of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The great fall in the frequency of Greek cognomina an in Christian inscriptions, above all in Rome, may also be accounted for by the vicissitudes of the slave-trade. Frank and Thylander tabulate some facts to show that people who bore Greek cognomina tended to give their children Latin cognomina in preference to Greek ones. The number of Greek cognomina would therefore have fallen from one generation to another unless the steady flow of fresh supplies from the East had made good the losses. But if the supply of fresh Greek cognomina from the East fell off and the tendency to prefer Latin cognomina continued, the inevitable consequence must have been a fall in the frequency of Greek cognomina. This is what happened during the Later Empire because of the general decline of slavery (see p. 8).

This replacement of Greek cognomina by the Latin ones, however, had been going on for a long time, for there is evidence that Greek cognomina were no longer in disrepute. Whereas in the pagan material the tendency to get rid of Greek cognomina is clear, the available data from Christian inscriptions do not imply any great aversion to Greek cognomina. I have examined all the cases in the Christian epigraphic material of Rome in which the names of father and son are recorded in order to work out the statistics concerning the replacement of Greek cognomina by Latin ones from one generation to another; barbaric cognomina have been included in the Greek group:



¹ Race mixture in the Roman Empire, AHR 1915/16 p. 693; THYLANDER p. 124 f.

The figures suggest that Latin cognomina were still slightly preferred to Greek ones: if fathers have Latin cognomina, sons bear Latin and Greek cognomina four to one, whereas if fathers have Greek cognomina, sons bear Greek and Latin cognomina 1,5 to one. These figures are considerably lower than F_{RANK} 's; in a similar calculation based on the pagan epitaphs of CVI, the corresponding proportions were 8: 1 and 1: 1. It is probable that when slavery declined, Greek and barbaric cognomina were no longer felt to be an indication of the socially inferior status of the bearer, and consequently there was no strong desire to get rid of them.

It is also probable that Christianity contributed to the new respectability of Greek and barbaric cognomina, for many of the Saints revered by the Church bore »foreign» names, and a number of popular cognomina were derived from Greek or Hebrew words embodying Christian beliefs and ideas. A Semitic name in pagan epitaphs argues Semitic extraction, and this is also the case in the Christian material when a person bears names like Malcus (RO 1198 = Diehl, 623), Sabas (SI 3764 = Diehl, 2949A), Samso (SI 1747 = Diehl 3798B) etc. But the most common Semitic cognomina in our material are Iohannes, Maria, Paschasius, Sabbatius and Susanna, and these names were popular among the Christians because of their Christian associations. It is the same in regard to the Greek cognomina Agape, Anastasius, Cyriacus, Petrus. The extent to which the Christian nomenclature influenced the frequency of Greek and barbaric cognomina may be seen from the following statistical table, which gives the frequencies of Latin and Greek or barbaric cognomina in the dated inscriptions of Rome:

Table 16. Latin and Greek or barbaric cognomina in the dated inscriptions of Rome

	ante pacem		A.D. 313-410		A.D. 410-500		A.D. 500-600	
Latin Greek or barb. total	178 165 343	52,0 % 48,0 %	ı	69,5 % 30,5 %	145 86 231	63,0 % 37,0 %	91 68 159	57,0 % 43,0 %

Though the figures should be used with caution — whereas in the earliest period the epitaphs were mostly set up by the low and the humble, during the last centuries few but the wealthy could afford an epitaph—nevertheless they reveal that the frequency of Greek and barbaric cognomina reached the low-water mark during the century from 313—410, whereas their popularity began to rise during the fifth century and almost reached the pre-Constantinian level during the sixth. While other causes, too, may account for the rise — the Eastern influence should be taken into account

at a time when Rome was governed as part of the Eastern Empire — the main cause was the Christian nomenclature, for I have estimated that during the fifth century more than a fifth, and during the sixth almost half of the Greek and barbaric cognomina betrayed Christian influence.

II. THE USE OF SUFFIXES IN LATE LATIN NOMENCLATURE

A comparison of the indexes of personal names in Christian inscriptions and CI will suffice to prove the early origin of a large number of the Latin cognomina frequent in Christian epigraphy. Thus such popular cognomina as e.g. Atticus, Bassus, Celer, Faustus, Felix, Florus, Fuscus, Gallus, Hilarus, Liberalis, Marcellus, Maximus, Montanus, Primus, Priscus, Rufus, Sabinus, Saturninus, Secundus, Silvanus, Tertius, Urbanus go back to republican times; Victor again came into use during the Early Empire (RE VIIIA col. 2057). The cognomina derived from present and past participles, which were frequent among the humble during the Empire and formed a large contingent of Latin cognomina in Christian inscriptions (cf. p. 112), were likewise found during the republic, for C I records e.g. Auctus, Crescens, Fortunatus, Optatus. Many Greek cognomina were even older. Alexander is from the 5th century B.C., Dionysius from the second, Eutyches from the 5th, Irene and Irenaeus from the first and second, Theodorus from the 7th, Theodosius from the 5th, Theodotus from the 4th centuries B.C. (all dates according to BECHTEL).

But though most of the Latin and Greek cognomina found in Christian epigraphic material were of early origin, not a few of them had undergone considerable alterations, the original forms having often been replaced by suffixed ones. I shall give a few examples. One of the most common Latin cognomina was Rufus. But though Rufus was the most common form in pagan inscriptions (in C VI: 4, 2-3 there are 25 examples of the simple form and 11 of its derivatives), in SI-FE there is only one instance of the simple form (5320, fragmentary), suffixed forms being found in all the other cases, the most common of them being Rufinus (51 instances) and Rufinianus (six). Again, in our material from C VI, Maximus provides 22 examples and its derivatives six, the corresponding figures for SI-FE being 72 and 54. Because the Carthaginian material is to a large extent fragmentary, it is difficult to tell how common suffixed cognomina were there. They must, however, have been of noticeable frequency, for a study of the index cognominum of C VIII proves the popularity of suffixed forms in Africa. Morover, African nomenclature had some peculiarities in the use of suffixes. Thus in Rome, even in Christian times, the attachment of suffixes to cognomina obtained from past participles was generally avoided,

whereas in Africa this was rather common; cf. e.g. the derivatives of *Donatus*, *Optatus* and *Restitutus*. Again, a few suffixes were more common in Africa than elsewhere and had probably come into use there, *-icus* and *-osus*.

There were no specific cognomen-suffixes in Latin; on the contrary, those attached to cognomina were also used in appellatives. On the other hand, not all Latin suffixes had been used to coin cognomina. With simple or combined and extended suffixes, a large number of new forms could be obtained from old cognomina. Thus e.g. Secundus has the following derivatives: Secundianus, Secundinus together with the further derivatives Secundinia and Secundinianus, Secundio, Secundius, Secundosa, and two diminutives, Secundula and Secundilla. A name like Ursus has still more derivatives: Ursianus, Ursinus, Ursio, three diminutives, Ursella, Ursilla, Ursulus, and a multitude of derivatives formed with extended or combined suffixes: Ursacius, Ursatius, Ursenia, Ursicius, Ursicius

Most of the suffixes found in Christian inscriptions had been in use in cognomen-coining since republican times, but -ius-ia and -osus-osa were not so employed until the Later Empire. Again, all of the suffixes were not of equal importance, the most frequent being -anus (-ianus), -inus and -ius. Most of the suffixes implied »belonging to», -anus (-ianus), -ensis, -icus, -inus, -ius.¹ It is probable, however, that this function of the suffixes had worn off with time. They were used to obtain new varieties of old cognomina without materially altering their meaning.

The rise in the frequency of the suffixed forms was largely due to the fact that when individual cognomina came into use, the cognomina of the children were often derived from the parental ones with some suffix (cf. p. 52). Though there are examples of parents having the extended, and children the simpler form of a cognomen, the reverse was more often the case. This in the long run swelled the number of forms extended by suffixes. Another factor may have been the desire to renew, with the aid of suffixes, old cognomina which had become hackneyed through long use.²

The simple suffixes found in Christian inscriptions are:

-a n u s - n a, after vowels, -i a n u s - n a, after consonants, the latter having developed from the former by false analogy.³ The suffix -anus is mostly found in cognomina derived from n o m i n a. The number of such

The suffix -alis, frequent in theophoric cognomina, is not found as an independent suffix in Christian inscriptions, for Apollinaris (passim), Cerialis (passim), Martialis (passim), Mercurialis (FE 7707—08), Saturnalis (SI 1748 = DIEHL 4447) were derived from corresponding adjectives. Mercurilis SI 2340 = DIEHL 4234 is probably a mistake for -ialis; if not, an example of a cognomen formed with the suffix -ilis.

² For the use of suffixes in renewing common words, cf. Ernout, Aspects du vocabulaire latin, p. 190.

³ Schnorr, Das lateinische suffix -anus, ALL 1884, p. 183.

derivatives is very great, the most frequent being Aelianus, Aemilianus, Apronianus, Aurelianus, Cassianus, Claudianus, Domitianus, Gentianus, Iulianus (second in regard to frequency), Marcianus (the most common of these cognomina), Quinctilianus, Titianus, Valerianus. It was also attached to cognomina, provided they had a vowel ending: Mercuriana (passim), Venerianus (SI 2175 etc.); in Greek cognomina, Cyprianus (passim), Demetriana (SI 3607 = DIEHL 4272A).

-ianus is usually attached to L, a t i n cognomina, the most usual being Crescentianus, Felicianus, Maximianus, Primianus, Priscianus, Sabinianus, Severianus, Victorianus, Vitalianus; it was, however, rather common in G r e e k cognomina too, e.g. Diocleti[anus] (SI 2805), Eucharistianus (e.g. SI 1984 = Diehi, 4758), Eutychianus (passim), [He]raclianus (SI 2270), Soterianus (SI 1235 = Diehi, 4029A), Sinboletianus = Symboletianus (SI 1462 = Diehi, 3503A), Tryfonianus (SI 3794 = Diehi, 2826adn).

? - ensis is rare as an independent suffix of cognomina. The only relevant example seems to be $SI\ 5407$: Decoresis = Decorensis, derived from the cognomen Decor. But it is also possible that the name had been obtained from the geographical term Decorianensis ($RE\ IV\ co^1$. 2289, 18), the form in the passage cited being a haplology.

-icus-ca was in limited use in Rome, the only name of some frequency being Victoricus. It was sometimes used in cognomina derived from names of animals: Asellicus-ca (passim), Leporice (SI 2311), Lupicus (FE 8900), Sorica (NBull 1900 p. 168 = Diehl 2122), and in some other names: Massuricus (FE 8752 = Diehl 4073A), Natalica (SI 3675), Opilionica (SI 5405), Spenicus (FE 6674 = Diehl 4069B). In Africa, however, this suffix was of greater importance. The limited and fragmentary material from Christian Carthage shows a number of such forms: Maioricus-ca (C VIII 13770; ILT 1147), Merulicus (ILT 1147), Monica (C VIII 25132; ILT 1147), Natalicus-ca (C VIII 13545; 25262; ILT 1147), Sorica (C VIII 25286), Triumfalica (C VIII 13976), Victoricus (C VIII 25300; ILT 1147), Vitatica (C VIII 1094, unless corrupt for Vitalica). Such derivatives were naturally much more numerous throughout African inscriptions. There was a corresponding suffix -ικος in Greek, e.g. Hermicus

 $^{^1}$ Cases like $Hilaranus\ (SI\ 1261=$ DIEHI, 3154) and Severanus-na $(FE\ 6913;\ 7807)$ are probably not old forms derived with -anus from consonantal stems. They are rather Vulgar forms, the disappearance of -i- in -ri- being a common phenomenon, see Svennung, Kleine Beiträge zur lateinischen Lautlehre p. 17 ff.

² In the African inscriptions, the following Latin cognomina in -icus may be found (the names without numbers have been registered in the index of C VIII): Bonica (barb. in Thes. II col. 2072, but cf. Bonus, Bonosus), Cassica (ILT 201), Felicus-ca, Iullica, Lauticus (ILT 1613), Maioricus-ca, Mappalicus-ca, Martialicus, Massuricus, Matronica, Messoricus, Minorica, Monnica, Mundicus, Mustelica, Musticus-ca, Natalicus-ca, Nonnica, Nuptialica, Paulica, Pistoricus, Primulica, Pusinnicus-ca, Salvicus-ca, Spenica, Terticus, Triumphalica, Urbanica, Victoricus-ca, Vitalicus-ca.

(SICV 126), Irenicus (Bull 1894 p. 142 = DIEHL 2706). The similarity of the suffixes was naturally due to the fact that both Latin and Greek had inherited it from the parent language¹.

- in us - na as a suffix of cognomina has been discussed by Leumann, who contends that the cognomina formed with this suffix were in origin patronymic but that during the Empire they possessed a diminutive force, being the masculine equivalents of names in -illa. A similar idea on the diminutive connotation of -inus-ina is held by Olcott. Yet it is doubtful whether the names in -inus or -ina can be considered diminutives. Diminutives were a peculiarity of women's nomenclature, but the names in -ina do not appear to have been in any particular favour among them. Again, Leumann's idea of the names in -inus as the masculine equivalents of those in -illa is invalidated by the fact that the forms in -inus were much more numerous than those in -illa. Altogether it is likely that -inus-na, though retaining its connotation of *belonging to* in names such as Saturninus, Iovinus, Domninus (see p. 105), did not alter the meaning of the original name in the other cases.

The suffix -inus-na is found in a large number of L at in cognomina, the most frequent being Albinus, Augurinus, Augustinus, Capitolina, Celerinus, Constantinus, Crescentinus, Crispinus, Faustinus, Firminus, Florentinus, Gemellinus, Iustinus, Marcellinus, Maximinus, Rufinus, Secundinus, Septiminus, Severinus, Silvinus, Valentinus, Victorinus, Vitalinus. It was relatively rarer than -ianus in G r e e k cognomina, e.g. Castorinus (NBull 1912 p. 183 = Diehl 2827), Cyprin(a) (SI 1 = Diehl 2999B), Chrestinus (passim), Olympina (SI 1708 = Diehl 2799Aadn), Pardinus (NBull 1898 p. 172 = Diehl 3394), Πλατωνεῖνα (FE 7244), Tryferina (SI 2984 = Diehl 2988).

Though -anus was the regular suffix in cognomina derived from nom in a, -inus was occasionally used instead, thus L. Allius Allinus (SI 469 = DIEHL 4070, the cognomen being naturally derived from the father's nomen), Antoninus (passim), Iulinus (SI 6454). In a similar way, it was occasionally attached to a cognomen ending in -ius, thus Ianuarinus (passim).

- $i\ o$ had originated from the suffix -o -onis by false analogy ⁴, but had acquired a diminutive or hypocoristic connotation. ⁵ The influence of Greek diminutives in $-\iota\omega v$, regularly transcribed in Latin as $-io^6$, may have con-

¹ Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, p. 343.

² Lateinische Cognomina auf -inus und -illa, Romanica Helvetica 1943, p. 166.

³ Studies in the word formation of the Latin inscriptions, p. 134.

⁴ STOLZ-SCHMALZ p. 239.

⁵ MEYER, Das lateinische Suffix -o -onis, ALL 1888, p. 230.

⁶ STOLZ-SCHMALZ p. 262.

tributed to the generalization of this connotation in cognomina. This old suffix seems to have been on the decline during the Later Empire, for whereas there are 36 examples among the 2352 Latin cognomina in our material from $C\ VI$, among the 4890 Latin cognomina in SI-FE the corresponding figure is c. 50, the only forms with some frequency being Felicio and Vitalio.

 $-i\ u\ s\ -i\ a$, besides being new as a suffix of cognomina, had some other peculiarities. Whereas the other suffixes were in general tacked on to popular old cognomina, Maximus, Rufus, Secundus, Severus etc., this suffix mostly appeared in names which had not been very frequent, and it was also much used to form new cognomina from words not before used as cognomina. The tendency to renew e w the cognomina was here even more pronounced than in regard to other suffixes. Because of the importance of this suffix, which more than anything else was a distinctive feature of Christian nomenclature, it will be discussed separately in the following chapter.

- o - o n i s, important during republican times, in particular in cognomina derived from names of parts of the body and implying an abnormal largeness¹, had dropped out of use, there being in Christian epigraphic material only fossilized remnants of ancient nomenclature like *Capito* (SI 1286 = Diehl 4067), Cicero (SI 3190 = Diehl 627), Fronto (SI 1417 = Diehl 4667).

- o s u s - s a. According to Mommsen, the cognomina in -osus-sa originated in, and were largely limited to Western Africa; they began to appear in the first half of the second century A.D., and they were derived from other personal names, being primarily hypocoristic in meaning and borne by women.² The material to be gathered from the Christian inscriptions suggests a few corrections. Cognomina of that type had had time to become known in other parts of the Roman Empire. In the Christian material from Carthage cognomina in -osus were borne by 57 persons, or 4 % of the total of cognomina, the corresponding figures for Rome being 110 persons, or 1 %. The names still predominated in Africa, but not to such a degree as earlier. A survey of the material also reveals that there were significant differences in the frequencies of particular names between Rome and Carthage. Veneriosus-sa was very common in Rome (29 cases), but is not known in Carthage and is rare in Africa in general (three cases in CVIII). Exitiosus-sa and Gloriosus-sa, much in favour in Africa and Carthage (in Carthage, 14 and 11 cases, respectively),

¹ MEYER op. cit. p. 223 f.; ZIMMERMANN, Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis, ALL 1904, p. 225 ff.; 415 ff.; 475 ff. has listed all the cognomina in -o -onis or -io found in Latin. A large number of the names included in his list are Greek, however.

² Cognomina Africana, Ephemeris epigraphica IV p. 520 ff.

were unknown or rare in Rome (*Gloriosus* is found once, *Exitiosus* not a single time). This suggests that the cognomina in *-osus* found in Rome were not due to any direct African influence, that is to say, the persons bearing them were not of African origin.

Further, though cognomina derived from a djectives in - osus, e.g. Fructuosus from fructuosus, had been in use long before -osus was used as an independent suffix of cognomina 1, similar names became much more frequent during the Later Empire. In my material from Rome and Carthage, the following cognomina in -osus were obtained from corresponding adjectives: Calumniosus (SI 1471 and 1955), Charitosa (passim), Exitiosus-sa (see above), Fructuosus-sa (Rome, passim), Generosus-sa (passim), Gloriosus-sa (FE 6960, Carthage, passim), Gratiosus-sa (passim), Gulosus-sa (Carthage, passim), Labrosa (SI 6237), Lucrosa (SI 4520 and 5388), [Lum]inosus (SI 3617), Mellosus (Carthage, passim), Pretzios... = Pretios... (C VIII 13854), Studiosus (SI 904 and 2870). Cognomina of the type of Fructuosus had served as a model for those coined with -osus as an independent suffix, but when the latter came into vogue, the former also acquired greater popularity.

Most of the cognomina having -osus as an independent suffix had been coined from older cognomina, Candidosa (C VIII 13541—42), Catosus (ILT 1147), Clarosus (FE 8501), Libosu $\langle s \rangle$ (SI 4776) from *Libonosus $\langle Libo \rangle$ through haplology, Mandrosa (SI 4985), Nonnosa (RO 474), Primosus-sa (NBull 1918 p. 80; ARM p. 149), Secundosa (C VIII 14213), Siricosa (SI 1767), Veneriosus-sa (Rome, passim). But there are cases in which a cognomen in -osus had been coined from a common word, Atberbosa = Adverbiosa, probably from adverbium (FE 6527), Agoniosus from agonia (C VIII 25194), Bonosus from bonus 2 (passim), Φ ol $\delta \omega \sigma a$ from foedus, the adjective (NBull 1914 p. 69), Gaudiosus-sa from gaudium (passim), Micosus (FE 6825d) probably from mica (unless from *Miconosus $\langle Micon$ through haplology). Tucrosus (ILT 1147), unless corrupt or incorrectly transcribed, may be of barbaric origin.

Because the cognomina in -osus were late coinages, many of them were much more frequent in the Christian material than in the pagan one, and a few were exclusively Christian. It is therefore fallacious to argue, as is sometimes done, that such names had been coined or appropriated by the Christians to embody Christian ideas. In another connection I have tried to refute the idea that names like *Calumniosus*, *Exitiosus*, *Iniu-*

¹ Imperiosus, a cognomen of Manlii Capitolini during republican times (RE XIV col. 1165 ff.). Pompeian graffiti furnish the following examples: Copiosus (C IV 989), Fructuosa (5444), Gloriosus (2012), Officiosus (5214), ?Studiosus (875, unless a common word).

² Bonus is attested as a cognomen in late inscriptions only, Thes II col. 2127.

riosus were Christian »names of humility». These, and other similar names, such as Stercorius and Proiectus, though used in a pejorative sense and unknown or rare in pagan documents, were completely in the ancient tradition of »uncomplimentary nicknames».¹ Similarly, one must refute the idea that Gaudiosus (and Gaudentius) was used by the Christians to express »Christian joy».² Gaudiosus is certainly only found in Christian documents and Gaudentius is much more frequent there (see p. 79), but this was due to both being 1 at e coinages. The names suggested exactly the same idea as, for instance, the popular cognomen Hilarus, and were probably coined as new and expressive substitutes for this hackneyed old cognomen.

Diminutive suffix -ulus-la (or -olus-la after vowels) in words of the 1st and 2nd declension, and -culus-la in words of the 3rd, 4th and 5th declension, had suffered a decline because of the competition of the forms -ellus-la and illus-la; the latter forms had originated through phonological changes in stems in ro/a, no/a, lo/a, and had subsequently become independent.3 -culus-la had almost dropped out of use as a suffix of cognomina in Christian inscriptions. Disregarding old appellatives used as cognomina, such as Lepusceuslus (RO 530 = Diehl 2792, cf. p. 28), there is not a single instance of a cognomen formed with this suffix. -ulus-la is a little more productive, but is mostly found in old appellatives. Acutula (FE 6524 = DIEHL 689), Domnula (FE 8849), Formicula (passim), Regulus (FE 8692) etc. As an independent suffix, it is found e.g. in Cicadula (FE 8213b), Fortunula (passim), Marculus (SI 3641), Quintula (FE 9079), Ursula (SI 3888). This suffix could be attached to words which normally should have had -culus, thus Adbentulus (SI 1275 = DIEHL 2799A). The forms -olus-la were used after vowels: Fabiola (SI 4175 = DIEHL, 165), Ianuariola (SI 2608 = Diehl 2997Fadn), Quintiola (SI 4666), Silviola (RO 554 = Diehl 3727B). But there is an exception, Marciulus (SI 820 =DIEHL 3512Badn), which, however, may be due to the Vulgar change o > u.

In the majority of cases, the diminutive suffix was -i l l u s - l a. The other variant, -ellus-la, appears only in old appellatives like Agnellus, Catellus, Gemellus, or in old cognomina like Marcellus. The generalization of the form -illus-la may have been facilitated by the influence of Greek diminutives in $-i\lambda\lambda a$. The suffix -illus-la was mostly attached to L at in

¹ On the problem of »names of humility» in early Christian epigraphy, Arctos N.S. III (1962) p. 45—53.

² LE BLANT, Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule I p. 155.

VÄÄNÄNEN, p. 100 f.
 Ibid. p. 27.

⁵ LEUMANN, Lateinische Cognomina auf -inus und -illa, Romanica Helvetica 1943, p. 171 f.

cognomina, Decimilla (SI 3145 = DIEHI, 3645В), Firmilla (SI 1610 = DIEHI, 4268А), Iuvenil[la] (SI 3015 = DIEHI, 2719), Lupercilla (passim), Maximilla (passim), Primillus-la (passim), Priscilla (passim), Quintilla (SI 3738), Rufillus (ARM р. 406 = DIEHI, 3257А), Ursilla (SI 1795 = DIEHI, 4220С) etc. In some cases it was attached to a nomen, Lucillus-la (passim), Domitilla (SI 4465), Petronilla (SI 943).

Latin diminutive suffixes were in general rarer in cognomina of Greek or barbaric origin. Examples from Greek cognomina are Agapitilla (SI 4858 = Diehl 3532), Leucadiola (RO 177 = Diehl 4689), Petrula (RAC 1927 p. 204), Θεονίλλα (SI 4733), [T]ryphonilla (Bull 1894 p. 17 = Diehl 4528), Stefanilla (NBull 1907 p. 96 = Diehl 136). A few of the forms in -illa may be of Greek origin, however. Saburtilla (FE 8559), Sapertill[a] (8281b) and Suppestilla (7487) seem to be barbaric.

In addition to the simple suffixes, there are a number of combined ones. These had originated through new suffixes being added to cognomina which already had a suffix, e.g. Faustus — Faustinus — Faustinianus. Such combined suffixes could subsequently become independent and be attached directly to simple forms. In the Christian inscriptions, the following combined suffixes are worth notice:

- a n i l l a, from -anus and the diminutive suffix -illa, e.g. Flavianill[a] (SI 2741), Marcianilla (Bull 1881 p. 89 = Diehl 3522A), Mucianill $\langle a \rangle$ (FE 8785 = Diehl 2726adn).
- i с i a n u s, in Lupecianus (SI 2781 = Diehi, 2610adn), combined from -icus and -ianus.
- $i\ c\ i\ n\ u\ s$, from -icus and -inus, found in a few cognomina derived from names of animals, $Lupicinus\ (SI\ 1640={\rm Diehi.}\ 445)$, $Ursicinus\ (passim)$.
- -illia an u s n a, usually -ilianus through the weakening of the gemination ², combined from -illus and -ianus, Bassilianus (SI 3130 = DIEHL 1258B), Maximili[ana] (FE 7449), Priscilianus (ARM р. 284 = DIEHL 2545; SI 4026), Probilianus (RS III 25,4 = DIEHL 2157). NIEDERMANN has contended that these forms had originated from -inianus through dissimilation; he explains the examples in -illianus as phonetic or graphic variations.³ But I think that it is rather the reverse that is true. The forms in -illianus are to be found in inscriptions in which correct language is to be expected,

¹ The diminutive suffix -itta, in our material Gallita (FE 8237), is usually considered to be a suffix borrowed from Etruscan (see STOLZ-SCHMALZ, p. 205 and the literature cited there). It is strange that Mommsen's excellent explanation of this suffix has escaped the notice of the grammarians. In his Cognomina Africana, Eph. epigr. IV p. 523, Mommsen argued that Gallitta, Iulitta, Pollitta, Livilitta had originated from -illa through dissimilation, the preceding consonants being -l- or -ll-.

² For this phenomenon of Vulgar Latin, see Väänänen, p. 58.

³ Notes sur le cognomen latin, Mélanges Ernout p. 271 f.

that is to say, in the inscriptions of the nobility in pre-Constantinian times. Thus in C III 1118 (idem IX 338, 1, 29) and IX 1160 = ILS 6485 members of the nobility bear the name Maximillianus. The first of the bearers is from the beginning of the third century A.D. (IX 338, 1, 29 is from A.D. 223). On the other hand, all the bearers of the form Maximilianus mentioned in RE Suppl. V col. 661 f. are from the fourth century A.D. or later times. The forms in -l- are also to be found in Christian inscriptions, which are late and often incorrect in language. This suggests that the forms in -llwere the original ones and that accordingly they cannot have come into being through dissimilation from -inianus. It is to be noticed that e.g. Maximilla and Priscilla were very common names (see the index in ILS). Because the inheritance of maternal cognomina by sons was frequent (see p. 52), and because the suffix -ianus was often attached to cognomina taken over from parents, the origin of Maximillianus, Priscillianus and other similar names is clear. There is a number of examples to bear this out, e.g. CIII 3998, where the mother is Atticilla, the son Atticillianus; III 14360, where the mother is Lucilla, the son Lucil[l]lianus (the supplement is certain); X 2771, where the mother is Nepotilla, the son Nepotillianus.

- i l i o, from -illus and -io through a similar weakening of gemination, found only in Maurilio (ARM p. 288 = Diehl, 3212A) and Taurilio (SICV 224).

- in i an us-na, from -inus and -ianus, was rather common; the cognomina most often found formed with this suffix are Faustinianus, Martinianus, Paulinianus, Rufinianus, Valentinianus, Victorinianus.

For combined suffixes with -ius as the second element, see p. 77.

Genuine Greek suffixes were exceptional in Latin cognomina. There are sporadic examples, such as Auguris (SI 2434) and Lauris (SICV 202), both formed with the Greek feminine suffix -i.g. Gentianis (SI 2844 = DIEHL 2820) was probably formed with the same suffix from Gentianus; cf. a similar case in CVI 22145: Marcia Montanis. CVI 37122 = SI 1930 = DIEHL 162: Cassia Pisonis c(larissima) f(emina) is interpreted as Cassia Pisonis (uxor) by all the editors and by Grossi Gondi Trattato, p. 74 fn. 1. But because such a use of the husband's name was unknown in late inscriptions — significantly enough, the above is the only example given by Grossi Gondi — Pisonis is more probably to be considered a cognomen obtained from Piso with the Greek suffix discussed. SICV 268: Iugati, dative, suggests a nominative Iugas, probably formed with the Greek suffix -ag from the noun iugum or from Iuga, an epithet of Venus.

¹ ZIMMERMANN, Die griechische Femininenendung -is bei lateinischen Personennamen, ALL 1902, p. 585, gives other examples of Latin cognomina formed with this Greek suffix.

III. THE NEW COGNOMINA IN -IUS-IA

§ 1. The frequency of the cognomina in -ius-ia in pagan and Christian inscriptions

The new cognomina in -ius-ia have earlier been encountered as nicknames in the categories of double cognomina and supernomina. As pointed out (p. 25), the suffix appearing in these names was the old Latin gentile suffix. In deciding which cognomina ending in -ius-ia can be considered as new coinages, one must, however, apply stricter rules than in regard to supernomina. A few supernomina in -ius were old Greek personal names (Heraclius, Leontius, Olympius, Pelagius, see p. 31), and must be excluded here. Again, in Greek, women's names were early on derived from abstracts ending in -1a, popular names of that type being e.g. Euodia and Eutychia.1 Numerous cognomina in -ius had been derived from cognate adjectives used as men's names, e.g. Euodius from Euodus and Eutychius from Eutyches, but the corresponding women's names, because they had long been in use, cannot be included in the category of new coinages. It is not always easy, however, to know which Greek abstracts had been in early use as women's names. The dictionaries of Greek personal names do not record Eugenia and Eusebia, for instance, before the Later Empire, but in Latin inscriptions these names were much more common than the masculine forms Eugenius and Eusebius, and were obviously in use since the Early Empire.2 Names derived from Greek abstracts, being in general favoured by women of the lower orders 3, had a good chance of becoming popular in the West because of the large-scale influx and manumission of slaves. All Greek abstracts in -ια had not, however, been appropriated as early women's names; e.g. there is no record of Eudoxia before the Later Empire and it can accordingly be considered the feminine of the new coinage Eudoxius. Some other Greek words in $-\iota \alpha$ had likewise been in early use as women's names, the corresponding masculines being new formations. Macedonius was a new formation from Macedo, while Macedonia was used as a women's name before our era (Bechtel p. 551). Basilius was likewise a new formation from Basileus, whereas Basilia was an old women's name (BECHTEL p. 523). Similar cases are fewer in the Latin group. Though there were a number of Latin abstracts or divine and geographical names in -ia corresponding to participles and adjectives from which new cognomina in

¹ BECHTEL, Die attischen Frauennamen, p. 129 ff.

² In *C VI Eugenius* is found four and *Eugenia* 13 times, *Eusebius* five and *Eusebia* nine times. Moreover, name forms like 11329: *Octavia C.l. Eusebia* argue a relatively early date.

³ BECHTEL, Die attischen Frauennamen, p. 140.

-ius were derived, e.g. constantia to constans and Constantius, Florentia to florens and Florentius, the only case in which a word of that origin had been used as an early women's name is Concordia, derived from the corresponding divine name.¹

Even after all these deductions, the new coinages in *-ius* were a distinctive feature of early Christian nomenclature. Whereas the new cognomina were rare in the pagan material of Rome and Carthage — in the Roman material, 16 cases or 0.3~%, in the Carthaginian material ten cases or 0.6~% — the frequencies were vastly greater in the Christian material, as is revealed by the following tables:

Table 17. The new cognomina in -ius-ia in the Christian inscriptions of Rome

	men	women	fragm.	total	%
Latin Greek Hebrew	647 396 40	381 142 26	82 21 10	1.110 559 76	63,5 % 32,0 % 4,5 %
total	1.083	549	113	1.745	

Table 18. The new cognomina in -ius-ia in the Christian inscriptions of Carthage

	men	women	fragm.	total	%
Latin	63	37	43	143	67,0 %
Greek	27	6	7	40	18,0 %
Hebrew	11	6	16	33	15,0 %
total	101	49	66	216	

The fact that men bearing new cognomina in -ius considerably outnumber women, in particular in the Greek group, was due to the exclusion of a few women's names from the statistics (see p. 70). The Hebrew cognomina of the new type are represented by *Paschasius* and *Sabbatius*. Because the former was very popular in Carthage (see p. 106), the percentage of Hebrew cognomina became very high there.

Because in the Christian material of Rome 11.000 persons had a cognomen, in that of Carthage 1.505, the percentage of the new cognomina in -ius was 16 % in Rome and 14 % in Carthage. The frequency of the new

¹ Thes. Onom. II col. 558, 58.

cognomina, however, was considerably lower before the pax: out of the 343 cognomina belonging to the first period of Christian Rome (see p. 60) only 13 or 3,5 % were new coinages.

Though it has been maintained that it was the meaning of the new formations which accounts for their popularity in the Christian inscriptions 1, it is unlikely to be so, most of these cognomina having been derived from older names or else having a meaning similar to ancient Greek and Latin cognomina. I have earlier (p. 67) disposed of Gaudentius, a name often put down as »Christian». There are actually few coinages in -ius-ia which can be argued to be »Christian». Anastasius, Paschasius, Sabbatius and probably Innocentius are derived from words which had special Christian meanings or implications, whereas the immense popularity of Laurentius was due to quite other factors than the meaning suggested by the name (see p. 99). Purely onomastic factors suffice to account for the spread of the new formations in Christian times. The main factor was the preference for the suffixed forms during the Later Empire. The popularity of the new formations may at first have been impeded by the fact that while the nomen was still an indispensable part of the Latin name, the cognomen in -ius-ia, especially if used as a single name, always ran the risk of being confused with another element of nomenclature. After the almost total disappearance of the nomen, the last obstacles to the spread of the formations were removed. It is significant that the final disappearance of the nomen and the victory of the new formations were simultaneous, both occurring in the fourth century A.D. The large-scale use of nomina as cognomina may also have furthered the spread of the new coinages in -ius-ia.

§ 2. The origin of the new cognomina in -ius-ia

It is in general held that the supernomina in -ius-ia were the primary, and the cognomina the secondary phenomenon: the cognomina were not only later in appearing, but they were first used as double cognomina or as single names, only later replacing regular cognomina. This theory is, however, invalidated by a number of facts.

First, available chronological data prove that the cognomina in -ius-ia came into use if not prior to, at least contemporary with the corresponding supernomina. The earliest dated example of a cognomen in -ius which I have found is T. Iuni(us) Laurenti(us), A.D. 205 (C VI 1056 iv 93), the earliest dated supernomen being Romulius, A.D. 202 (see p. 34).

¹ DIEHL Signum, RhM 1907, p. 417.

² SCHULZE, Graeca Latina p. 5; MOMMSEN Signum, Hermes 1902 p. 453 f.; DIEHL Signum, RhM 1907 p. 408; the same theory is implicit in LAMBERTZ Supernomen, Glotta 1913 p. 87.

There is a number of other undoubted cognomina in -ius from the beginning of the third century A.D.¹ In all the cases the names in -ius are genuine cognomina, preceded by a praenomen and a nomen.

Again, a large number of cognomina in -ius-ia have not been instanced as supernomina. In our material from the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage there are 303 new cognomina in -ius-ia (see the list on p. 79), but only 97, or a third, of them have been found as supernomina or club names in the Latin inscriptions and IG XIV. It can of course be argued that since the preservation of epigraphic material depends upon chance, a large number of supernomina must have been lost. But it is doubtful whether this argument carries weight, for a corresponding number of cognomina in -ius must also have been lost.

Other arguments to refute the current theory of the origin of the new cognomina in -ius-ia spring from a comparison of the frequencies of cognomina and supernomina in -ius. Table 19 (next page) gives the frequencies of the 17 most popular cognomina in -ius in the pagan epigraphic material (see bibliography, sources III), which, on the whole, represents an earlier period than the Christian material and where the original use of the new cognomina can accordingly be examined. The cognomina are classified according to the name forms, and the frequencies of each name as double cognomina and supernomina are given in other columns.

The table shows that even in the pagan material the frequency of cognomina in -ius greatly surpassed that of the corresponding double cognomina and supernomina, the proportion being about 3,5:1. There was also a considerable lack of correlation between the frequencies of a new coinage as a cognomen and as a supernomen. Bonifatius, Crescentius and Stercorius were not found as double cognomina or supernomina, and the most frequent cognomen, Vincentius, not as often as might have been expected. Conversely, the most popular double cognomen and supernomen in -ius-ia, the Greek Eusebius, is not among the most popular new cognomina. Again, in regard to the name system, the new cognomina observed the same pattern as ordinary cognomina. Deducting the fragmentary cases, there are 250 pagans bearing a cognomen of the new type. Out of them 142, or 56 %, bear a nomen. Most pagan examples must date from the third century A.D., a minority from later times. By the third century, the Latin name system had begun to break up, and the nomen was then considerably less frequent than in the ordinary pagan material,

¹ C VI 1058 iii 118: C. Ligurius Argentius; 1057 ii 80: L. Grescentius Eugenius; 1058 ii 59: Q. Umbric(ius) Nemesius are from A.D. 210; T. Florius Florentius (C XIII 11787) is from the same year, and L. Aurelius Simplicius and P. Bellicius Vi<n>centius (III D XCV 22; 27) from A.D. 254.

Table 1	9.	The most frequent new cognomina in -ius-ia in
		the pagan inscriptions

		cognomen			double cog- nomen		super	nomen		
	total	fragm.	tria nomina	duo nomina	single		plur.	detach- ed	signa proper	адпот.
Amantius-ia Asterius-ia Basilius ¹ Bonifatius-ia Concordius ¹ Constantius-ia Crescentius-ia Eugenius ¹ Eusebius ¹	12 8 14 16 15 28 22 9 12	2 -4 2 3 4 1 2 2	1 - 2 1 - 1 2 1 1 2 1	4 4 2 8 6 13 14 4 3 7	5 4 6 5 4 10 7 2 5 6	1 2 1 1 3		1 2 — 2 — 1 6 — —	1 1 - 1 - - 1	2
Exuperan- tius-ia Florentius-ia Gaudentius-ia Gregorius-ia Simplicius-ia Stercorius-ia Vincentius-ia	8 27 14 9 22 15 43	4 3 1 4 6 —	 3 6 1 3	2 14 4 3 4 8 18	2 7 9 2 6 6 22	1 1 2 4 4 —	1 2 - 2 - -	1 1 4 5 2 —		1 2 4
total	288	38	24	118	108	21	13	26	7	13

which is largely from the two first centuries A.D. The percentage of the nomen — 56 % — among the new cognomina must accordingly fairly well correspond to that for other cognomina in the same period.

The new cognomina also observed the same pattern of transmission as other cognomina: many of the cognomina were the suffixed forms of parental cognomina or had been taken over unchanged (cf. p. 52); $C\ XIII\ 11787$: $T.\ Florius\ Florentius\$ bears a cognomen obviously derived from his father's nomen ²; $XI\ 5772$, where the father is called $Aur(elius)\ Florinus$, the daughter $Aur(elia)\ Florentia$ ³; $C\ V\ 6205 = Diehl\ 4557$, where mother and daughter are Constantia. If the names had been supernomina, they could not have been derived from parental cognomina or nomina.

¹ Only the masculine form is registered here for reasons given on p. 70.

² A similar case CXIII 1945 = ILS 7591, where the son of a certain Constantinius Aequalis is called Constantinius Constantius.

³ Notice the names of the brothers in C VI 38952: Iulii Florentius et Flosculus.

⁴ Cf. C V 7584: mother Eusebia, son Eusebius; FE 7569: father [Ex]uperantius daughter Exuperantia. The examples could be multiplied.

All these facts — the chronology, the majority of the new cognomina not being found as supernomina, the lack of correlation between the frequencies of particular new coinages as cognomina and supernomina, the ordinary pattern of the name system and of the transmission observed by these cognomina — strongly suggest that the new cognomina in a in -i u s - i a could not have originated as supernomina. On the contrary, they were genuine cognomina from the very beginning. This of course does not make it impossible that a number of them had first been used as supernomina.

To sum up the discussion on the new coinages in -ius-ia: after the gentile suffix had been freed for other uses towards the end of the second century A.D., it was exploited as a suffix of cognomina. Names of that type, being new and expressive and often approximating to adjectives in meaning, were also much used as nicknames, either more or less permanent (double cognomina, agnomina and signa proper) or temporary (detached signa).

§ 3. The new cognomina from a linguistic point of view

Attention has been called above (p. 65) to the fact that the suffix -ius-ia was in general tacked on to older cognomina which were not among the most frequent, or put to use to derive new cognomina from common words not before used as personal names. This tendency is most obvious in the L at in group, but the Greek cognomina showed similar features. If we disregard whether or not the common words had been used as older cognomina, the derivation of the Latin cognomina in -ius may be tabulated thus:

Table 20. The derivation of the Latin cognomina in -ius -ia in the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage

I Rome partiadjeccomverbs names 2 total nouns ciples 1 pounds tives names 37 30 2 51 5 18 143 persons 509 156 196 17 66 166 1.110

persons %	45,0 %	15,0 %	17,5 %	1,5 %	6,0 %	15,0 %	
		I	I Cart	hage			,
names	13	10	10	2	2	4	41
persons	43	18	12	23	39	8	143

¹ Among »participles» are classed words like *constans* and *decens*, which could be considered adjectives as well.

16,0 %

27,5 %

8,5 %

12,5 %

² In this category are included Latin cognomina not coinciding with common words, e.g. *Caesar*, and geographical and mythological names.

The compound names were three: *Bonifatius*, very frequent, *Fatibonia* and *Bonemontius*, one example of each (see p. 82). *Bonifatius* is of African origin, and it is claimed to be a translation of some native Punic name of "good omen". The participles were almost invariably present ones. Only *Probatius* and, presumably, *Reiecticia* and *Reposius* were derived from past participles.

Though -ius was normally a denominative suffix, cases like Studius and Refrigerius, which could be considered to have been derived from studere and refrigerare as well as from the corresponding nouns studium and refrigerium, make it seem deverbal stems: Cresconius, Exuperius, etc. (see list, p. 82). There are similar instances in the Greek group, e.g. Gregorius from $\gamma \varrho \eta \gamma o \varrho \epsilon \tilde{\iota} v$, Hyperechius from $\hat{\nu} \pi \epsilon \varrho \epsilon \chi \epsilon \tilde{\iota} v$.

Despite the limited number of examples from Carthage, the differences between Rome and Carthage are too noticeable to be accidental. In Rome, the high percentage of names derived from proper names was solely due to the popularity of *Laurentius*. Conversely, the high percentage of compound names in Carthage was due to the popularity of *Bonifatius*, the frequency of names derived from verbal stems to *Cresconius*, a type of name favoured in Africa (in *C VIII Crescentius* has 29, *Cresconius* 22 instances).

Technically the names in -ius-ia were formed by tacking the suffix to the stem of the original word or name. There are exceptions, however. A few of the names are derived from corresponding adjectives not before used as personal names, e.g. Patricius from patricius and Polychronius from $\pi o \lambda v \chi \varrho \acute{o} v \iota o \varsigma$. In a number of cases the suffix is extended, e.g. the name Nicentius must be derived from the Greek cognomen Nice, but the suffix is extended in -entius, probably by analogy with Vincentius, with which the Greek name agrees in meaning. Again, Auricius is derived from Aura or aurum, but the suffix is augmented by »c». The consonants forming the extended suffixes, and the names derived with them, are tabulated in table 21 (next page).

Most of the cases are formations ex analogia. Thus the suffixes with -nt-were formed on the analogy of names derived from present participles: Constantius, Vincentius, those with -c- on the analogy of names like Salacius, Simplicius, those with -n- on the analogy of Eugenius, Leonius etc., those

¹ See Mowat *L'élément*, RA 1869 I p. 240 f. On the other hand, the fact that most pagan examples of *Bonifatius* are women (six pagan men and ten women bear this name, all of them Africans) and that many of the names were preceded by nomina, which argues a relatively early date, suggests that there may have been an abstract *bonifatia* not preserved in literary sources, which had been first used as a woman's name, the masculine derivative being secondary.

-nt-	-c-	$-ill$ - $\operatorname{diminut}$.	-n-	-8-	-t-
Aur-entia Au <x>-entia Au<x>-entia Barb-entius Hercul- entius Iuven-antius Maur-entia Max-entius Nic-entius Ror-entia Se<v>er- antia</v></x></x>	Aur-icius Laur-icius Prob-icius Procl-ocia Reiect-icia Sc <h>ol- acius T<h>ars- icius Urs-acius</h></h>	Fulgent- illia	Cresc-onius Splend-onius Urs-enia	Brum-asius Com-asius Gel-asius Maur-isius Maxim-asia Pasch-asius Quint-asius Rip-asius	Dulc-itius Marc-etius

Table 21. The extended suffixes in -ius -ia in the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage

with -s- on the analogy of Anastasius, Telesius etc., and those with -t- on the analogy of Mellitius, Syncretius etc. A few of the cases are not analogical formations but combinations of suffixes. Thus -illia in Fulgentillia is a suffix combined from the diminutive suffix and -ia. In some of the instances of the extended suffix -icius, one might also consider the possibility of a suffix combined from -icus and -ius. Such a case seems to be Sapricius, for Preisigke records $\Sigma ang o sigma$ and $\Sigma ang u n sigma$ from papyri. There are a few other names, not included in the table, in which the suffix -ius is attached to cognomina previously furnished with other suffixes: Crescentinius, Glycinnius, Primenius, Telesphorianius, Victorinia. The name Romuliesia seems to have been formed from Romuliensis, a by-form of the more usual Romulensis, the correct form accordingly being Romuliensia.

In a few cases, the original stem is a b b r e v i a t e d. The clearest example is *Maxentius*. The name can only be derived from *Maximus*, the suffix being *-entius*. This derivation is corroborated by the fact that the etymological connection was often observed in the transmission of the name, e.g. the father of the Emperor *Maxentius* was *Maximianus* (*RE XIV* col. 2419, 23). Another example is *Reposius* (*SI* 2378), corrected by DIEHL 3904B to *Repostus*. But the original name seems certain when another example has been found (*C VIII* 7932). There was also a Latin poet called *Reposianus* (*RE IA* col. 611), with a name derived from the same stem.

¹ DIEHI, Signum RhM 1907, p. 409 includes Auxentius in the Latin group, but this is unlikely, the derivation of names from perfect stems (augeo aux-) being unknown. In Greek, there were a number of personal names derived from $a \tilde{v} \xi \eta$ (see Pape-Benseler), and the new form may have been coined on the analogy of the Latin Augentius.

² DIEHL Signum, RhM 1907, p. 396, erroneously considered Sapricius as a barbaric name.

This stem may have been the abbreviated supine of the verb *reponere*. The name *Carthagius* is also an example of an abbreviated stem, for the regular form should have been **Carthaginius*.

Some forms are only apparently abbreviated or extended, the irregularities being due to Vulgar forms. Thus Artemius, from Artemis, and Tychenia, from Tyche, should have run *Artemidius and *Tychia.1 But in Latin Artemis is often declined as a stem in -m (Thes. II col. 681) and Tyche as a stem in - n^2 , and the new forms were derived from these stems.

§ 4. A list of the new cognomina in -ius found in the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage

The Latin cognomina have been subdivided in accordance with their origin (see p. 75); in the column which gives the probable etymology, the initials of the words previously used as cognomina have been written in capitals. In a similar way, the Greek cognomina have been subdivided into those derived from compound names, those derived from short names, and those derived from common words not previously used as names of persons. The last group, as well as similar cases in the Latin material, are of limited value, the lack of instances of personal names often depending upon chance. In any event, such words cannot have been very frequent as names of persons. Conversely, if a word is rarely instanced as a cognomen, it is not certain that the new form was obtained from it instead of from the original word. Thus *Schole* is found as a cognomen only in *C I*: 22 1274 and *C VI* 9544, so that *Scholacius* may have been formed directly from *schola*.

In the Greek group, I have consistently given the name from which the new form had been obtained in its Latin form, if it is found in Latin documents. Only if the corresponding name is not found there, have Greek lexicons of personal names been consulted. This is done because the new cognomina in use in the West had primarily been coined by a Latin-speaking population. However, the considerable number of Greek names in -ius which were derived from words not previously used as names of persons shows that the Greeks also contributed to the coining of these names. One can refer to the papyrological evidence for the popularity of similar names in late Greek (see p. 26).

In the following lists, references to DIEHL have been omitted to save space. An asteric denotes a name also found as a supernomen in Latin epigraphy. Simple *C* stands for *C VIII*. Passages are given if the name is found once or twice; after that, only the frequencies are mentioned.

In Greek, there was a name $Tv\chi los$ (Bechtel p. 577), but it was derived from the verb $\tau ε \dot{\nu} \chi \omega$ (see Liddell-Scott s.v.).

² STOLZ-SCHMALZ, p. 263.

Latin Cognomina

Derived from participles

Rome

2	Carthage
	3

frequency

			K o m c	cartnage
*	*Abundantius-ia	(abundans)	17	
*	*Amantius-ia	(Amans)	19	3
×	*Augentius —	,		
	Äugent	(augens)		ILT 1147
	Aventius-ia	(avens)	8	
	Caelantia	(caelańs)	SI 1010	
k	*Constantius-ia	(Constans)	103	10
	$\lceil C \rceil rescentiniu \lceil s \rceil$	(Crescentinus)		C 13579
	Crescentius-ia	(Crescens)	27	3
	Currentius	(currens)	SICV 258	-
	Dicentius	(dicens)		$C\ 25220$
	[D]onantius	(donans)	SI 411	
	Emerentius	(emerens)	NBull 1901, 224	
*	*Exuperantius-ia	(Exuperans)	58	
	*Fidentius	(Fidens)	3	
	*Florentius-ia	(Florens)	74	$C\ 25232;\ 25324$
		(fulgens, cf. p. 77)	RO 354	
	Fulgentillia		SI 3518	
	Fulgentius	(fulgens)	79	4
•	*Gaudentius-ia	(Gaudens)	SI 3610; FE 9001	4
	Lucentius	(lucens)	SI 1043	
	Nentius	(nens)	RO 64; FE 8165	
•	*Pascentius-ia	(pascens)		1L1 1147
	Perseverantius-ia	(perseverans)	4 CI 9554	
	Potentius	(potens)	SI 2751	
	Praestantius-		DAG 4004 994	
	Prestantius	(praestans)	RAC 1931, 224	
	*Probantius-ia	(probans)	5	
:	*Probatius-ia	(Probatus)	7	
	Providentius	(providens 1)	NBull 1902, 127	
	Pudentius	(Pudens)	SI 1122	
	?Reiecticia ²	(rejectus, cf. p. 77)	SICV 309	
	Reposius	(repositus, cf. p. 77)	SI_{2378}	
	Salventius	(salvens)	SI 175	
	Serpentius-ia	(serpens)	4	
	$\Sigma \pi \eta \varrho a \nu \tau \iota a -$			
	$I\sigma\pi\eta\varrho a u au \iota a$	(sperans)	SI 3139	
	Studentius-ia	(studens)	RO~104;~SI~123	
	Turbantia	(turbans)	RO 43	
	* Valentius-ia	(Valens)	7	ILT 1147, duo
	Venantius-ia	(venans)	4	?ILT 1147: Be-
		•		natius
	Vigilantius	(vigilans)	SI~2454	
	* Vincentius-ia	(vincens)	61	13
	* Viventius	(vivens)	5	C 25302; ? ILT
		•		1147: Vive
	manufacture of the Control of the Co			

¹ The index of CXIII 7272 records Providens, but the name is fragmentary, Provide . . ., and probably ran Provide[ntius].

² The passage runs HICPOREIECTICIA, and the name may be, by way of an anaptyxis, *Preiecticia*.

Derived from adjectives

	Berreed from	aajeenees	
Abundia	(Abundus)	SI~3269	$ILT \ 1147$
Alacrius	(Alacer)	RS III 26, 9	
Annalius	(Annalis)	RAC 1927, 205	
Casarius	(casarius)	RO 1130	
Castellanius —	(Casarras)	110 1100	-
Castelanius	(Castellanus)	SI 470	-
Clementius	(Clemens)	51 170	ILT~928
*Concordius	(Concors, Concordia)	8	
Decentius-ia	(Decens)	13	
Dextria	(Dexter)	SI 5431	
*Dulcitius-ia	(Dulcis, cf. p. 77)	13	C 25098
*Hilarius-ia	(Hilarus)	17	5
*Innocentius-ia	(Innocens)	28	<i>ILT</i> 1147 duo
*Liberius-ia	(Liber)	2 o 5	1L1 114/ au0
*Mavortius	(mayortius)	RAC 1953, 16	— C 25259
Maxentius-ia	(Maximus, cf. p. 77)	8 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	C 25259
Maximasia	(Maximus, cf. p. 77)	SI 2102	According to
Mellitius-ia	(Mellitus)	4	
Memorius	(Memor)	FE~9040	
Natalius	(Natalis)		C 25134
Patricius-ia	(patricius)	7	Management 1
*Placidia	(Placidus)	SI 739	BOOTS NA
Primaevius —			
Primevius	(primaevus)	SI~6295	-
Primenius-ia	(Primenus, cf.		
	p. 77)	7	
Probicius	(Probus, cf. p. 77)	FE 7766	-
Proculocia —			
Proclocia	(Proculus, cf. p. 77)	SICV~220	
Pulcheria —	<u> </u>		
Pulceria	(Pulcher)	Recorded III	C 13866—67
Quintasius	(Quintus, cf. p. 77)		ILT 1147
$ ilde{R}usticia$	(Rusticus)	SI~5224	-
Salaciu[s]	(salax 1)	SI~1173	h
Severantia —	,		
Seberantia	(Severus, cf. p. 77)	ARM p. 290	
*Simplicius-ia	(Simplex)	27	3
Siricius	(Sirica)	\overline{FE} 9162	
Urbanius	(Urbanus)	SI 2463	
Βειταλία	(Vitalis)	\widetilde{SICV} 272	
	()	_	
	T		

Derived from nouns

Alboria	(albor)	Name of the Control o	$C\ 25063$
Arboria	(arbor)		$ILT \ 1147$
Argentia	(argentum 2)	NBull 1909, 141	
Armentius	(armentum)	FE 7434	
Aucupius —			
Acupius	(auceps, aucupium)	SI~3272	-
*Augurius	(Augur)	8	
Aurentia	(Aura or aurum, cf.		
	p. 77)		C 24941a
Auricius	(Aura or aurum, cf.		
	p. 76)	$SI\ 2169$	***************************************
Axungius	(axungia)	SI 183	-
Barbentius	(Barba, cf. p. 77)	SICV 317	

 $^{^{1}\} C\ III\ 12012,\,77$ records Salax, but the editor is doubtful of the form of the name.

² Cf. the old cognomen Argentea.

Brumasius Camasius *Crementius-ia Delicius² ? Desiderius *Eventius-ia Fortunius-ia *Honorius-ia	(bruma, cf. p. 77) (?camasis) (crementum ¹) (delicius, delicium) (desiderium) (Eventus) (Fortuna) (Honor)	SI 2727; 4560 SI 1478 SICV 312 SI 5092 RAC 1929, 204 5 18	— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Iuvenantius Kalendius Lauricius Leonius Leporius *Litorius *Luxurius	(Iuvenis, cf. p. 77) (kalendae) (Laurus, cf. p. 77) (Leo) (Lepos) (litus) (luxuria)	FE 7673 SI 4631 FE 8980 SI 5380 3 FE 7644 FE 7689; NBull 1902, 129	1147
*Mensurius — Mesurius Munerius *Navigius-ia Nepotia Nugasius	(mensura) (munus) (navigium) (Nepos) (nugas)	RS III p. 61 SI 3003; 4839 — SI 593; RAC	
Pecorius Peculius *Praesidius *Principius Probitatia Processius	(pecus) (peculium) (Praeses) (Princeps) (Probitas) (Processus)	1939, 230 4 3 3 $SI 5450$ $SI 5043$	
Provincius *Purpurius *Refrigerius	(Provincia) (purpura) (refrigerium, refri-	RAC 1924, 88 Bull 1886, 113	
Remigia Ripasius Roborius Rorentia *Sagittius-ia Salutius-ia	gerare, see p. 76) (remex, remigium, remigare) (ripa ³, cf. p. 77) (robor) (ros, cf. p. 77) (Sagitta, Sagittus) (Salus)	5 RO 478 RS III p. 293 RS III 17, 1 RO 520 3 13	
Scholacius — Scolacius Soricius Stercorius-ia Storacius — Isttoracius	(Schole, cf. p. 77) (Sorex) (stercus) (Storax)	RS III p. 318 SI 2410 57	
Studius — Istudius	(studium 4)	— FE 6574	C 20040

¹ Thes. Onom. II col. 488, 36 puts Crementius down as an incorrect form of Clementius. This is unlikely, however, the change l > r being rare in Vulgar Latin (SOMMER p. 168). It is also significant that there are no examples of Clemens written Cremens. Thes. Onom. II col. 483, 63 certainly records two instances of Cremens, but these are the cases from C VIII given above; both are fragmentary, Crement..., and with all probability ran Crement[ius-ia]. The name Crementius is similar in meaning to Crescentius and Cresconius.

² Delicius may here be a common word as well.

³ Cf. the old cognomen Ripanus.

⁴ The name may, however, be derived from the corresponding verbal stem as well.

Ursacius-ia

14

(Ursus, cf. p. 77)

Ursenia Ursenia	(Ursus, cf. p. 77)	FE 8970	
Victorinia — Bictorinia	(Victorinus)		<i>ILT</i> 1147
Victorius	(Victorius)	SI 2797	ILI 1147
Vigilius	(Vigil)	SI 2793; FE 9242	
Vindemius	(vindemia)	SI 3265	
*Vindicius	(Vindex)	SI 613 duo	_
	Derived from a	verbal stems	
Cresconius-ia	(crescere, cf. p. 77)	_	22
*Exuperius-ia	(exuperare)	13	
Proficius	(proficere)	FE~7765	ILT 1129
Reticius	(reticere)	SI~2786	-
Splendonius	(splendere)	SI 2323	_
?Subicius ¹	(subicere)	SI~3819	
	Compound	l names	
Bone montius	(bonus, mons)	SI~6155	
$*Bonifatius ext{-}ia$	(bonum, fatum)	65	38
Fatibonia	(fatum, bonum)		C 25321
Derived from	geographical and mythological	ogical names or from ol	d cognomina
*Caesarius-ia	(Caesar)	7	_
Carthagius	(Carthago, cf. p. 78)	FE~7399	
*Dalmatius	(Dalmatia)	9	C 13603; 14144
Herculanius —			
Herclanius-ia	(Herculanus)	11	$C \ 25243$
Herculentius	(Hercules, cf. p. 77)	SI 2218; RO 726	
Herculius-ia *Laurentius-ia	(Hercules) (Laurens,	15	
Lauremnus-ia	Laurentum 2)	110	4
M arcetius	(Marcus, cf. p. 77)	FE 9016	
?Marsius 3	(Marsus)	RS III p. 362	-
Mauventia	(Maurus of p. 77)	FE.8592	

 $FE \ 8592 \ SI \ 5401$

SI 2163

RO~275

FE 9084

SI 3752

C 13499

(Neptunus)

(Nuceria 4)

(Populonia)

(Romulus)

(Picens 5)

(Maurus, cf. p. 77)

(Maurus, see p. 77)

Maurentia

Maurisius

Neptunia

Nucerius

Picentius

*Romulius

*Populonius

Romuliensia -

¹ The stone is fragmentary: ... SVBICIVS, and the name accordingly not certain.

² Though Diehl, Signum, RhM 1907 p. 416, and Schrijnen, Namengebung, Mn 1935, p. 277, by considering the name as coming from a gymnastic or artists' club, imply an etymology from *laureus* (as a token of victory), the use of the cognate form *Laurentinus*, originally the name of the inhabitant of Laurentum, as a popular cognomen corroborates my derivation. Cf. similar cases Nucerinus — Nucerius, Picentinus — Picentius, Telesinus — Telesius.

³ Only the genitive Marsi is found on the stone, the ending of the nominative thus being uncertain.

⁴ Cf. the cognomen Nucerinus.

⁵ Cf. Picentinus.

Romuliesia	(Romulus, cf. p. 77)	SI~2027	
Surrentius	(Surrentus 1)	$SI \ 4405$	-
Telesius	(Telesia²)	$FE~7825\mathrm{b}$	

Greek Cognomina

Derived from compound names

A podemius Calipodius-ia	(Apodemus) (Calopus)	SI 2604 5	 ILT 1147
Calliphronia —	(Caropus)	ŭ	
Ca[ll]ifronia	(Calliphro)	$FE \ 8148$	_
Epiphanius	(Epiphanes,	120110	
Epiphanius	Epiphania)	3	3
Epipodius	(—, formed like	o .	o .
Lpipoaius	Calopus		
	> Calipodius)	6	Noncommittee
Euangelius-ia	(Euangelus)	SI 2439; 5305	Account of the Contract of the
Eubulius —	(Hadiigeras)	01 2100, 0000	
Eubolius	(Eubulus, Εὐβουλία,		
Luovius	BECHTEL)	SI~3451	
*Eucharius	(Eucharus)	4	
*Eucherius —	(Edenards)	*	
Hcherius —	(Eucherus)	SI~63	
*Eudoxia	(Eudoxus)	SI 331; 4855	
	(Eugamus)	SI 1595	
*Eugami[a] *Eugenius	(Eugenes, Eugenia)	16	ILT 1147
*Eugraphius —	(17tigenes, 17tigenia)	10	ILI 1147
	(Eugraphus)	SI~2222;~FE~7470	
Eugrafius Euhippius ³	(Εὔιππος, ΒΕCHTEL)	RS III p. 390	
Eulalius-ia	(Eulalus)	3	ILT 1147
	(Eulogus)	RO 817	1L1 1147
*[E]ulogius	(Ediogus)	10 017	
Εὐνάπιος —	(—, cf. Ποονάπης,	FE~7201	
Εὐνάπις	PAPE-BENS.)	FE 7201	_
*Euodius	(Euodus, Euodia)	5	
*Euphronius —	(15dodds, 15dodia)	U	
Eufronius —	(Euphron)	RS III 21, 46	
*Eusebius	(Eusebes, Eusebia)	23	C 13644; ILT
Luseotus	(Eduscoes, Eduscoia)	23	1147
*Eustathius-ia	(Eustathus)	6	
*Eustochius-ia	(Eustochus)	3	
Eutherius	$(E\mathring{v}\vartheta\eta\varrho\circ\varsigma,$	3	
Buttleritus	BECHTEL)	SI~4099	Name of the last o
Euthymius	(Euthymus,	SI 4905; NBull	
	Euthymia)	1902, 225	
*Eutropius-ia	(Eutropus)	6	ILT 1147
*Eutychius	(Eutychus,	G.	ILI III
	Eutychia)	20	$C\ 25224-25$
Hermogenius	(Hermogenes)	FE 8939	
*Pancharius	(Παγχάρης,	1 2 0000	
	PAPE-BENS.)	6	$C\ 25267$
*Pancratius	(Pancrates)	5	
Socratia	(Socrates)	FE 8722	
*Sophronius-ia	(Sophro)	9	_
Syagrius	(Syagrus)	SI 3339; 3818	<u> </u>

¹ Cf. Surrentum, the town name, and Surrentinus.

² Cf. Telesinus.

³ Because the stone gives only the genitive Euhippi, the ending of the nominative is uncertain.

	Derived from sh	nort names	
Acacius —			
A cacis	(Acacus)	FE 7390	
'Αχιλλία	(Achilles)	SI~3978	Minimum
*Adelphius —			
Adel fius	(Adelphus)	SI 19	
Agapius	(Agape)	3	
' Αγέλιος —			
'Αγέλις	(Agele)	RS II 37, 5	-
Agroecius —			
Agricius	(Agroecus)	$FE \ 8747$	-
Alethius ¹	(Alethes, Alethia)	SI 1775; FE 8748	-
A l e x i u s	(Alexus)	5	
*' Αλύπιος	(Alypus ²)	SI 4441; RAC 1931,	-
	, , ,	226	
*A mazonius	(Amazon)	SI 839; 2946	management of the second
Ampelius-ia	(Ampele étc.)	5	
A natolius-ia	(Anatole)	11	
An themius	(Anthimus etc.)	SI~5725	
A pollinaria	(Apollinaris)	SI 98	-
*Arcadius	(Arcas, 'Αοκαδία,		
	BECHTEL)	3	
?Archontia —			
Arcontia 3	(Archo)	RO~710	Terrorina de la constanta de l
Artemius-ia	(Artemis, see p. 78)	4	
Αστακιος	, 1		
Αστακις	(Astacos, myth.,		
	geogy.)	FE~7439	
*A sterius-ia	(Aster)	10	
Augenius	(Auge)		$ILT \ 1147$
Basilius	(Basilia; cf. Basileus)	14	
Boethius —	(=,		
Boetius	(Boethus)	SI 4187	Process
Calchedonius-ia	(Calchedon)	7	C 13533; 24901
$\lceil C \rceil$ all in ius	(Callinus)	SI~6159	
*Castorius-ia	(Castor)	8	-
Celadia	(Celadus)	RAC 1933, 198	
Chelidonius —	(551-445)	,	,
Celidonius	(Chelido)	<i>RS III</i> p. 414;	
	()	Bull 1892, 100	Moramone
Χορτάσιος	(Χόρτασος,	SI~568788	Professional Control of the Control
1100143105	PAPE-BENS.)	51 000, 00	
Comasius	(Coma, cf. p. 77)	FE~7502	AND
*Dardania	(Dardanus)	SI 3133; 5294	Minimum and a second a second and a second a
Deuterius-ia	(Deuter)	3	C 13620; ILT
Denierius-iu	(Deuter)	o .	1147
*Dracontius	(Draco)	RAC 1925, 24	
Dynamius	(Dynamis)	FE 8488	ILT 1147
*Dyscolius	(Dyscolus)	10	
'Επανόδιος	(Epanhodus)	SI 414	watersame
Eustasius	(Eustasia)	FE 7565	Account of
Georgius	(Georgus)	SI 4142; 6449, 20	Personal
Georgius	(Georgus)	O1 1112, 0110, 20	

¹ Notice that both bearers of the names are women.

 $^{^2}$ CVI 24925 records Pretiosa Alypia, daughter of Alypus and Meroe. Because the Greek abstract $\grave{a}\lambda v\pi \acute{a}$ is not instanced as a women's name in Bechtel, it remains uncertain whether the name can be put down as an old example, similar to Eugenia and Eusebia (see p. 70), or whether it belongs to the era of the new formations in -ius-ia. The first cognomen in -osa, however, argues the latter alternative, the names in osus-sa being in general late (see p. 65).

³ Schulze Eigennamen p. 126 and Thes. II col. 469, 7 consider Archontius as a nomen, but it hardly can be, considering the Greek etymology.

Gerontius-ia	(Geron)	19	<i>ILT</i> 1147
Gigontia —			
Gicontia	$(?\Gamma i\gamma ovv^1$		
	Bechtel)	FE~8242	
Glycinnius —	(01 1 74 -		
Glicinnius	(Glycinna, Γλυκῖνος,	D. 4. G. 4. G. 4. G.	
***	BECHTEL)	RAC 1940, 18	
*Gorgonius-ia	(Γοργόνα, ΒΕСΗΤΕL)	20	
*Helladius	(Hellas)	4	
*Helpidius-ia	(Helpis)	10	ILT 1147
Heresius	$(Alge\sigma\iota_{\mathcal{S}}, BECHTEL)$	SI 1225	
*Hesperius	(Hesper)	SI~1426	and the same of th
*Hesychius	(Hesychus,	9	
* //	Hesychia)	3	
*Heuresia — Euresia	(TTommonia)	EE SCOS	
Iconia	(Heuresis)	FE 7637	Account of the Contract of the
Iconia	(Icone, Iconium,	DC 111 to 240	
*Ionius	Iconio)	<i>RS III</i> p. 316	
Tonius	(Ionia, cf. <i>adj</i> . Ionius)	SI 4947	
* Καρτερία		31 4947	
Παψιεψια	$(Ka \varrho \tau \varepsilon \varrho \delta \varsigma, \ { m PAPE-BENS.})$	SI 4435	
*Lampadius-ia	(Lampas)	3	4
Limenius-ia	(Limen, Limene)	5	·±
Macedonius	(Macedo, Macedonia)	3	
Mandronius-ia	(Mandro)	SI 1480	\overline{ILT} 1147
?Melanius ²	(Melanus)	SI 2960	
Methius	(Methe)	Bull 1886, 42	
Μουσεικία	(Musicus)	3	
Nemesius-ia	(Nemesis)	8	
Nicentius	(Nice, cf. p. 76)	RO 375; SI 296	$ILT \ 1147$
Oenanthius —	(, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
Hoin anthius	(Oenanthe)	SI~2273	
*Palladius-ia	(Pallas)	5	C 13816
*Paregorius	(Paregorus)	3	
*Peristerius	(Peristera)	SICV 178, a woman	
Petrius	(Petrus)	FE 8421; SICV 117	
Pharetrius —	,		
Faretrius-ia	$(\Philphaarrhoarepsilon auarrholpha,$	RS II 55, 2;	
	Pape-Bens.)	ARM~276	
Pierius	(Pierus)	FE 7750; $SICV$ 200	
*Poemenia	(Poemen)	SI 4679; FE 9080	
Porphyrius-ia	$(\Pi \delta \varrho \varphi v \varrho o \varsigma,$		
	BECHTEL)	3	ILT 1147 duo
*Procopius	(Procope)	<i>RS III</i> p. 49	
*Sapricius-ia	(Σαποικός,		
F 1/	see p. 77)	9	
Σκυλάκιος —	(0.1.)	DD	
'Ισκυλλάκις	(Scylace)	FE 9328	
Stephania	(Stephanus)	3	
Symposius —	(\(\sigma \)		
Simposius	(Σύμποσις,	61.005	
Talashhavianina	BECHTEL)	SI~907	
Telesphorianius —	(Tolosphorionus)	SICV 999	
Telesporianius Tharsicius —	(Telesphorianus)	SICV 222	National Printer
Tarsicius —	(Tharsus ³ cf. p. 77)	SI 2419	
	(Indians Ci. p. //)	SI 4TIJ	

 $^{^{1}}$ Because the name is a stem in - ν , the etymology is uncertain.

 $^{^{2}}$ The case is uncertain, for the stone gives only the genitive Melani.

³ DE Rossi, Bull 1886, p. 98 derives *Tarsicius* from the name of the native city of St. Paul, *Tarsus*, but since the aspirated form is found in *C VIII* 13328: *Tharsicius*, my derivation seems more probable.

Thalassius-ia	(Thalassa, Thalassus)	4		
Tychenia — Tycenia Tvράννιος —	(Tyche, cf. p. 78)	SI 1674	-	
Τυράντιος — Τυράντος	(Tyrannus)	RS I 21, 8	—	
Derived from common words not instanced as names of persons in extant documents				
$?A\ catius^1$	(ἄκατος)	SI 4143		
*Acholi[us]	(ἄχολος)	SI 4906		
A comius 2	(ἄκομος)	$FE\ 6497$		
Adolius	$(\ddot{a}\delta o\lambda o\varsigma)$	SI~1800	- Contracting	
Aerius	(ἀέριος)	NBull 1897, 179		
Agenius	(ἀγένειος) 3		ILT 1147	
*Alogius	(ἄλογος)	$FE\ 6547;\ 7415$	$?C\ 13452$	
A machius	(ἄμαχος)	SI 81		
A $nagius$	(ἀναγής)	SI 4374		
*Anastasius-ia	(ἀνάστασις)	51	4	
$A\varphi a\sigma ia$	$(\dot{a}\varphi a\sigma ia)$	SI 6196		
*Athanasius-ia	$(\dot{a}\vartheta a v a \sigma i a)$	6	C 13469; 13680	
Auxentia4 —	,	_		
Ausentia	$(a\ddot{v}\xi\eta, \text{ see p. 77})$	$RS~III~22,~2; \ SI~5255$		
*Balsamius Cataphronia —	(βάλσαμον)	SI 6151		
Cat[a] fronia	(καταφρονέω)	SI 794	-	
Climatius	$(\varkappa\lambda i\mu a)$	RAC 1926, 83; 1931, 217		
Endelechius —		100- , 1		
Endelecius — Endelecius	(ἐνδελεχής, ἐνδελέχεια)	SI~2216	—	
	(εὐμήκης)	NBull 1917, 118		
Eumecia * Euchhagaig	(εὐφρασία)	3		
*Euphrasia	(εὔστολος) ⁵	SI 4166		
Eustolius	(εὐτολμος, εὐτολμία)	SI 2463, a woman.		
Eutolmius	(γελάω, cf. p. 77)	3	$C\ 25238;$	
Gelasius-ia	(yenaw, cr. p. 77)	o .	ILT 1147	
*Cuagavina ia	(γρηγορέω)	31	$ILT \ 1147$	
*Gregorius-ia	(ύπερέχω)	SI 1441; Bull		
*Hyperechius-ia	$(vneve\chi\omega)$	1892, 62	Water Comments	
*Martyrius-ia	(μάρτυς)	28	-	
	(μάψι ος) (μέγεθος)	6		
*Megethius-ia	$(\mu e \gamma e \sigma \sigma \varsigma)$	•		
Μετρίκιος —	(uszawós)	SI 1883	-	
Μετρίκις	(μετοικός) (μέτοιος)	RAC 1929, 210		
Metrius	(παράβασις)	SICV 22	_	
Parabasius	(παθαρασις) (πολυχρόνιος)	11		
Polychronius-ia		SICV 188		
Problepius	(ποοβλέπω)	SI 2647	-	
Syncretia	(συγκρίτος)	D1 2047		
Hebrew Cognomina				
*Paschasius-ia	(pascha)	36	33	
*Pascnasius-ia Sabbatius-ia	(Sabbatis)	40		
	(Dabbacio)	= -		

¹ The stone is fragmentary: ... ACATIVS.

³ Cf., however, the geographical name Agennum.

⁵ Cf. the late Εὐστόλιον (PAPE-BENS.).

 $^{^2}$ Thes. I col. 419, 54 records Acomius Tertullius from C III 633, 3, 10, considering it a nomen. I think, however, that the name is rather an instance of a double cognomen.

⁴ SILVAGNI suggests the reading Augentia, but this is unlikely, the writing of s pro \varkappa being frequent in Vulgar Latin (Väänänen p. 65).

THE ORIGINS OF A CHRISTIAN NOMENCLATURE

I. THE CRITERIA OF A »CHRISTIAN» NAME

In the classical period, the meaning of a personal name — in Latin, that of the individual cognomen — was a matter of more importance than it is nowadays. To cite a few examples, the vast group of the ophoric names, such as $A\pi o\lambda \lambda \omega v_{io}$ and Iovinus, testifies to the piety of the ancient man; names embodying some praiseworthy moral or physical quality, such as $K\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau_{ij}$, $E\ddot{v}vov_{ij}$, Blandus, Celer, were expressions of parental hopes; in a like manner, numerous popular names, such as $E\ddot{v}o\delta_{ij}$, $E\ddot{v}\tau v\chi_{ij}$, Faustus, Felix, implied the hope that the bearer of the names would enjoy good luck in life. On the other hand, popular humour coined large numbers of uncomplimentary names, such as $K\acute{o}\pi\varrho_{ij}$, $A\gamma\varrho_{ii}$, Balbus, Proiectus, Stercorius.

Because Christianity was a force that affected almost every aspect of ancient life and thought, it is a priori likely that it also left traces upon nomenclature. The influence of Christianity was seen both in aversion to pagan the ophoric cognomina and in the creation of a specific Christian nomenclature. The elimination of pagan theophoric nomenclature was not so early and thorough as might have been expected. As late as A.D. 268, a pope was called *Dionysius*, and in the Christian epigraphic material there are a large number of the ophoric cognomina: Aphrodisius, Apollinaris, Artemidorus, Cerialis, Dionysius, Eros, Heliodorus, Hermes, Iovinus, Martinus, Mercurius, Saturninus, Venerius, Zeno etc. Still in the fifth and sixth centuries, such cognomina could be borne by the Christians: Dionisius A.D. 498 (RO 1050) and Apollo A.D. 527 (DIEHL 344). Nevertheless it is a fact that the frequency of pagan theophoric cognomina was lower in the Christian material than in the pagan one. I shall give as examples the pagan and Christian frequencies of the most important Latin theophoric cognomina: Apollinaris, C VI 65—SI-FE five; Cerialis, C VI c. 65—SI-FE two; Martialis, C VI c. 170—SI-FE four; Mercurius-ia, C VI 75—SI-FE 35; Saturninus-na, C VI c. 500—SI-FE 27; Venerius-ia, C VI c. 160—SI-FE 32. Considering that the number of in-

¹ Cf. in general HIRZEL Name, passim.

² See Hug, Spitznamen, RE IIIA col. 1821 ff.; cf. p. 67 above.

scriptions was c. 40.000 in CVI and c. 9400 in SI-FE, it will be seen that, with the exception of Mercurius, the frequency of these cognomina had greatly fallen in Christian inscriptions. As another example of the aversion to pagan theophoric cognomina we may refer to the cases in which a name of Christian origin was used to replace a pagan theophoric name, e.g. Ioannes iunior qui et Mercurius, pope A.D. 532—535 (Liber pontificalis p. 141), or Licinia Aeliodora Adeodata (SI 1672 — DIEHL 2630 adn). For the problem, see p. 120. It should, however, be noticed that those pagan theophoric cognomina which had come 1 at e in use showed a higher frequency in the Christian material than in the pagan one. Thus Iovinus-na, Iovianus-na and Iovinianus-na were found 22 times in C VI and 33 times in SI-FE; the corresponding figures for Martinus-na and Martinianus are 36 and two in C VI, 19 and five in SI-FE. Veneriosus-sa was found once in C VI and 24 times in SI-FE. The names had been formed with suffixes and were thus coinages popular during the Later Empire (see p. 61).

The partial survival of pagan theophoric cognomina was due to the fact that the legacy of pagan nomenclature was too large to be reshaped in a short time; it will be remembered that most of the cognomina found in Christian inscriptions were an ancient inheritance (see p. 61). Moreover, the meaning of a personal name was never of the same importance as that of an appellative, and the pagan world of gods could live on in nomenclature long after the final victory of Christianity.

The problem of a specific Christian nomenclature has often been treated. As early as the eighteenth century Cannegieter drew attention to the fact that numerous personal names of the Later Empire expressed ideas peculiar to Christianity. During the following century the problem was often discussed in works upon Christian epigraphy and Christian antiquities. During the present century the problem has been dealt with by Moffat³, Harnack, Schrijnen, Ferrua, and Testini, for instance.

There has been no systematic discussion of the problem, however. When reading the lists of Christian names in previous studies, one has the impression that numerous names have been declared Christian without sufficient reason. I shall quote a few examples. Martigny, Kraus and Schrijnen give a long list of presumably Christian names, among

¹ De mutata Romanorum nominum sub principibus ratione, p. 75 ff.

² LE Blant, L'épigraphie chrétienne en Gaule et dans l'Afrique romaine, p. 90 ff.; RO p. cxiii; Martigny p. 513 ff.; Kraus, Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer II p. 481 f.; Grossi Gondi Trattato, p. 80 ff.

³ Names (Christian), ERE IX p. 145 ff.

⁴ Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums I, p. 436 ff.

⁵ Namengebung, Mn 1935, p. 271 ff.

⁶ Epigrafia sicula pagana e cristiana, RAC 1941, p. 229.

⁷ Archeologia cristiana, p. 369 f.

them e.g. Felix, Victor, Vitalis, Viventius. According to MARTIGNY, the first name implies »spiritual joy», the second »the victory of a Christian over sin», the last two »spiritual life» 1; SCHRIJNEN, on the other hand, considers the first two as »christlich umgedeutete Wunschnamen», the last two as baptismal names.² But since Felix, Victor and Vitalis are extremely common in pagan inscriptions, and Viventius rare both in pagan and Christian epigraphic material, it is ill-advised to count the names as Christian. The cases in which a personal name is derived from a word which had become a Christian term are more insidious. There seem to be good reasons to think that Elpis and Irene, two popular cognomina, are names with Christian implications. 3 $E\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$ was a very important Christian notion and was counted among the three cardinal virtues of the Christian (I Cor. 13, 13). The expression $\dot{\epsilon}v$ $\epsilon io\dot{\eta}v\eta$, and its Latin equivalent, in pace, were a standard feature of Christian epitaphs and were derived from a similar Hebrew expression; it was a wish concerning the well-being of the departed in the other world. Though Elpis and Irene were frequent cognomina in Christian inscriptions (19 and 73 instances in SI-FE, respectively), this does not entitle us to conclude that the Christians had assumed the names because of their Christian suggestiveness. If names of that type are frequent in the pagan world, it is more likely that the Christians had inherited them from the pagans without attaching any great importance to them. This is the case with Elpis and Irene. In C VI the names are very frequent (about 400 and 150 instances, respectively), Elpis had in fact become rarer in Christian times, whereas the frequency of *Irene*, considering the relative sizes of C VI and SI-FE (40.000 and 9.400 inscriptions) had remained fairly constant.

In the above cases, a presumably Christian name has been found not to be one because it was quite as common in the pagan material. But even if a name which has been considered Christian is rare or not found at all in pagan inscriptions, it is not certain that the name had Christian implications. To have them, a name should have a meaning unequivocally calling up Christian associations. This is in particular true in regard to the new names which had come into use during the Later Empire. I have earlier drawn attention to names like *Gaudentius* and *Gaudiosus*, which, in spite of the fact that they were rare or unknown in pagan documents, cannot be counted as Christian, there being nothing specifically Christian in the meaning conveyed by them (see p. 67).

¹ Op. cit., p. 513.

² Op. cit., p. 275.

³ These names have been counted as Christian e.g. by Martigny, Kraus, Grossi Gondi, Schrijnen (only *Irene*) in the works cited.

⁴ Frey I, p. cxxxii f.

The above demonstrates the absolute necessity of reliable criteria to decide whether or not a name is Christian. The cases discussed above have shown that two requirements had to be met: a name must call up Christian associations because of its meaning, and it must be of much rarer occurrence or not occur at all in the pagan material. The first requirement must be clarified by remarking that not only the names which suggest Christian ideas belong here, but also the names which had become »sacred» because famous saints and martyrs had borne them. As to the second requirement, a problem at once arises: it is a fact that many names which we shall claim as Christian (e.g. Agape, Cyriacus and Redemptus) were also found in the pagan material, though with a frequency insignificant in comparison with that in the Christian inscriptions. It might be argued that the names cannot have implied Christian ideas and that the frequency of the names in the Christian inscriptions must have been due to some other factor. The objection can be refuted. During the last decades, Christian Latin has been eagerly discussed, in particular by Dutch scholars, of whom Schrijnen and his pupil Mohrmann are among the most famous.1 The school of SCHRIINEN argues that the early Christians were a closely knit social group held together by a set of ideas sharply in contrast with the outlook of the pagan world. As is always the case, from a linguistic aspect the result was differentiation and the development of Christian Latin as a special language. Leaving aside the other aspects of the problem, what mostly interests us here is the means resorted to in order to express things Christian. Besides borrowing Greek terms and coining new Latin ones, the meaning of numerous Latin words was twisted so as to express Christian ideas.2 It is these semantic shifts that are important from our point of view, for personal names derived from words subject to semantic shifts may also have acquired new Christian associations. Extreme caution is of course advisable. A personal name is never the same thing as a common word, which always stands for a thing or idea. The »meaning» of a name is not usually thought of unless special circumstances draw attention to it. It is accordingly only in cases in which a name popular in Christian inscriptions is derived from an important Christian term, which had undergone a semantic shift, that we are entitled to conclude that the name had been deliberately chosen, at least originally, because of its associations.

It is particularly important to bear in mind that the great majority of Christian inscriptions, in particular in Rome, are from the fourth century

¹ Schrijnen, Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein, passim; Mohrmann, Altchristliches Latein, in Études, p. 3 ff.

² See the general discussion in Teeuwen, Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian, p. 11 ff.

and from the period anterior to the pax, a minority from the fifth and sixth centuries. The present study, largely based upon a comparison of pagan and Christian frequencies, exhibits the Christian names which had come into use before the last two centuries. But because Christian names did not come into use until the middle of the fourth century (see p. 117), the later material, though limited in amount, is richer in Christian nomenclature. Not only are the names which had come into use earlier much more frequent, but some names which in the great mass of Christian inscriptions do not show any rise in frequency were apparently used in a Christian sense in the late period. Such a name is Stephanus, so usual in the pagan material that the relative frequency actually falls (in C VI 1-11.307 I have counted 44 examples, but only 28 in the fairly equal number of the Christian inscriptions of Rome). But examples are particularly numerous during the latest period, for ten of them are from the fifth and sixth centuries. Moreover, an example like SI~5087 = DIEHI, 3819, from A.D. 544, where a brother and sister are called Stefanus and Thecla, the latter an unmistakable Christian name (see p. 99), illustrate the Christian character of Stephanus during the latest period of Christian Rome, the cognomina current in a family often belonging together through their meaning or associations (cf. p. 52 f.).

The chronological period must also be taken into account in considering the names which had become Christian through a semantic shift. It is unlikely that the names were used in a Christian sense in very early inscriptions. Agape is found in the most ancient stratum of Priscilla (Bull 1886, p. 96 = Diehl 2194; NBull 1900, p. 339 = Diehl 2392), but may have been a pagan inheritance. It is the same in regard to some names of saints. Paulus and Susanna were also borne by pagans and Jews, and in some of the earliest Christian examples the names may have been a pagan or Jewish inheritance 1, whereas in the examples from the latest period, the Christian implications seem incontestable.²

Occasional uses of a name in a Christian sense cannot be taken into account in the present study. Pistis is rare both in pagan and Christian material, and Spes shows a fall in frequency (in CVI there are nearly a hundred examples, in SI-FE less than twenty), but in RSI p. 262 = DIEHL 4104D, where two sisters are called Piste and Spes, the Christian flavour is patent. The parents had named their daughters with a clear reference to the Christian cardinal virtues, Piste being sufficiently rare to exclude the possibility of a coincidence.

 $^{^{1}\} Paula,\ {\rm A.D.}\ 234\ (RO\ 6={\rm Diehl.}\ 2807);\ Susanna,\ {\rm early\ Priscilla}\ ({\rm Bull\ 1886},\ {\rm p.\ 103}).$

 $^{^2}$ E.g. pr(es)b(yter) Paulus, A.D. 528 (SI 6088 = Diehl 3768); Susanna, A.D. 408 (RO 587 = Diehl 808B).

In accordance with the general principles laid down above, I shall compare the frequencies of each name in the Christian and pagan inscriptions of Rome and Carthage. To eliminate the influence of »statistical chance», always present when names with a relatively low frequency are considered, the pagan frequencies have been counted throughout CVI and CVIII. Because the number of persons recorded in CVI is about four times larger than that in the Christian material, and that in CVIII vast in comparison with the Christian material from Carthage, any absolute rise in the Christian frequency implies a still larger relative rise, and thus our first criterion of a Christian name is met.

When comparing the use of a name in Christian and pagan inscriptions, it is important to consider the Jewish inscriptions too. Though limited in number (Frey gives about 530 Jewish inscriptions from Rome), the numerous links between Christianity and Judaism make them important to us. The Jewish element was considerable in the first Christian communities, in particular in Rome 1, and the Jewish legacy in nomenclature must accordingly be taken into account. This is of particular importance in studying the biblical names of Hebrew origin. Though the Jews of Rome had largely adopted pagan nomenclature, Hebrew names were an important element, for about a seventh of Roman Jews bore a cognomen of Hebrew origin, *Iuda*, *Maria* and *Sabbatis* heading the list.² The doctrinal links between Jews and Christians must also be taken into account in considering the origin of names expressing Christian ideas.

I have divided the Christian names into four classes. The first comprises the names of saints, whether biblical figures or martyrs, the second Christian theophoric names, in which the name of Christ or God is the divine element, the third date names of Christian origin, the fourth class containing names expressive of Christian ideas. In the tables, passages from Christian material will be given if a name is found once or twice.

II. NAMES OF SAINTS

§ 1. The ideas of the Fathers on the adoption of the names of saints

The names of saints used as personal names with Christian implications are the only class of Christian names upon which we have the comments of the ancients themselves. The earliest mention is found in Eusebius, who quotes the remark of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (who died A.D. 265)

¹ See BARDY, La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne, p. 81 ff.; Mohr-Mann, Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome, VChr 1949, p. 67 f.

² Leon, The names of the Jews of ancient Rome, TAPhA 1928, p. 205 ff.; Frey p. lxvi ff.

on the adoption by the early Christians of the names of apostles. The bishop gave two main reasons for the adoption of the names, one rational, the other what may be called mystic: the names were borne either because of simple veneration or because they were thought to assure divine protection. Both these explanations are to be found in the writings of the Fathers. Chrysosthomus and Eustathius take the rational view, whereas Theodoretus declares that parents give their children names of martyrs to assure them divine protection. It is likely that both these ideas determined the choice of sacred names, and the idea of divine protection or intercession is not to be minimized. Mystical ideas, in a time of religious fermentation, certainly affected nomenclature, and the ancients had always been conscious of the principle momen est omen.

§ 2. Biblical names

Personal names of Hebrew origin which were derived from the O1d Testament were uncommon in early Christian nomenclature. The cases are listed below:

Rome	Carthage	
	Carthage	
I = Unristian	VIII Christians gans Carthage	
' A δάμ — SI 1899, 4		
Danihel — SI 4199 -		
Elias-sa FREY, 1 SI 2410;		
2675 -		
Moyses 4 6 -		
Reb b>ecca Frey, 2 SI 6056 -		
Susanna — 21 -	_	

Table 22. Names derived from the Old Testament

¹ Hist. eccl. 7, 25, 14: πολλοὺς δὲ ὁμωνύμους Ἰωάννη τῷ ἀποστόλω νομίζω γεγονέναι, ὅι διὰ τὴν πρός ἐκεῖνον ἀ γ ά π η ν καὶ τῷ θανμάζειν καὶ ζηλοῦν ἀ γ α π η θ ῆ ν α ί τε ὁμοίως βούλεσθαι ὑπὸ τοὺ Κυρίον, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἠσπάσαντο, ὤσπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος — —

² Homil. XXI in Genesim, PG 53, col. 179. Delehave Origines p. 138 thinks that the passage implies the idea of intercession, but this is a minor item. Chrysosthomus advises the parents to give their children the names of των ἀριων ἀριων ἀριων ἀριων ἀριων αριων αριων

 $^{^3}$ Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur II: 4, p. 61: a name has no power to make anyone virtuous.

⁴ Graecarum affectionum curatio (RAEDER) VIII, p. 67.

⁵ Cp. Kroll, Alte Taufgebräuche, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 1905, Beiheft, p. 50.

⁶ The correct form is found only in RS II 39, 10: $Mov\sigma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$. SI 2012 (= DIEHL 2986) the name is written Mosses, RS II 40, 11 Muses.

The only name of some frequency is thus Susanna. Though the Jewish legacy may have contributed to its spread, it is unlikely that a mere transmittance of a Jewish name, which was never very popular among the Jews (two Italian examples in FREY, none from Rome), suffices to account for its frequency in Christian epigraphic material. A Roman martyr certainly bore the name Susanna (BHL 7937). But though the martyrdom of Susanna may be historical¹, she cannot have been one of the most famous ones, as her name does not appear in the depositio martyrum (see p. 97). Since only a few of the martyrs recorded in that very ancient document of the cult of the martyrs of Rome were of sufficient fame to have their names in current use among the believers, it is unlikely that the frequency of the name Susanna was due to the martyr. The right explanation is to be found in the Bible. The name is found in the New Testament in Luc. 8, 3, where a certain Susanna is mentioned as one of the followers of Christ, but such a casual passage cannot be of any significance. It was in the Old Testament that the name was important, Susanna being the heroine of the famous story concerning a false accusation of adultery, which in the Vulgate preceded or followed the Book of Daniel. The story came to have considerable significance to the Ancient Church as a symbol of a soul saved from the machinations of Satan, and the story is illustrated in numerous paintings in the catacombs as well as in other works of art2. It was obviously for the very same reason that the name was borne by a number of Christian women.

Names derived from the New Testament were naturally of much greater importance in early Christian nomenclature. The cases are listed in table 23 (next page).

The list reveals that only three or four biblical figures were of importance in early Christian nomenclature. The others provide sporadic examples or, like *Andreas*, are also found in the pagan material, though less frequently. It is remarkable that though Christian nomenclature was in general much more conspicuous in Carthage than in Rome (see p. 116), biblical names, with the exception of *Iohannes*, were not very frequent there. That this was not an African peculiarity is shown by the fact that *Paulus* and *Petrus*, for instance, were popular Christian names elsewhere in Africa (12 examples of each). The only explanation we can give is the one often to be resorted to in an onomastic study: a regional peculiarity.

¹ DELEHAYE, Comment. mart. Hieron. p. 435.

² See Leclerco, DACL XV: 2, p. 1742 ff.; WILPERT, Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms I, p. 363 f.

n a m a s	R o m e		Carthage	
n a m e s	C VI and FREY	Christian	CVIII pagans	Christians Carthage
Andreas	7	10		
Barnabas	_	SI 2697; FE 6600b		
?Bart[holomaeus]	_	SI~5256		
Iacob, Iacobus	FREY, 1	3 1		
Iohannes-na		52		12
Maria	5 +			
	FREY, 9	22	-	ILT 1129; 1146
Nazarius	_ '	SI 2345; RAC		
		1926, 75		
Paulus-la	51	81	38	8

Table 23. Names derived from the New Testament

I shall discuss the most important New Testament names in detail in what follows.

SI 2250; 2588

60 ²

I oh annes-na, a name of Hebrew origin, was one of the most obvious Christian names and an almost infallible proof of the faith of its bearer. But because it is of Hebrew origin, it is occasionally borne by Jews; Frey 717 gives an example from Achaia.

The name Maria is in fact two names of totally different etymology: the female of the Latin nomen Marius, and a Hebrew name, transcribed in Latin Maria. The cases in which Maria is a nomen must naturally be excluded. Such a case is $SI\ 3268 = Diehl\ 104$: $Accia\ Maria\ Tulliana$; because the woman's grandfather was called $Marius\ Victorinus\ (RE\ VIIA\ col.\ 794,\ 21)$, it is certain that she bore $Maria\ as\ a\ nomen.^3\ But\ excluding\ cases of that type, it is not at all certain that the cognomen <math>Maria\ should\ be\ considered\ biblical$. For one thing, nomina were often used as cognomina during the Later Empire; for another, $Maria\ was\ also\ one\ of\ the\ most\ common\ Je\ w\ is\ h\ names,\ and,\ when\ found\ as\ a\ slave\ name\ in\ pagan\ inscriptions,\ may\ be\ Jewish.^4\ Nevertheless\ Maria\ is\ far\ too\ common\ in\ the\ Christian\ material\ for\ the\ explanations\ suggested\ to\ appear\ exhaustive.$ $Maria\ being\ a\ major\ figure\ of\ Christianity,\ it\ would\ have\ been\ strange\ if$

Petrus

Thomas

 $\langle Ph \rangle ilemon$

¹ The form [I]acobus is found in SI 5348; in two fragmentary Greek inscriptions we have 'Iax. . . (SI 4941 and 5680); 'Iáx[ωβος] seems a likely supplement, simple 'Iaxώβ being the Old Testament form.

² There are, moreover, two examples of *Petrius* (see p. 85) and one of *Petrula* (RAC 1927, p. 204). For *Petronius* as a derivation of *Petrus*, see p. 23.

³ Another similar case is SI 1040 = DIEHL 172adn: Maria Sicula c.f.

⁴ E.g. C VI 14025: Caesonia P. et O. l. Maria; 27948: Valeria L. O. l. Maria.

her name had not been borne by Christian women at least as often as *Iohanna* and *Paula*. Most Christian examples of *Maria* must accordingly be put down as biblical, and the later the material, the more likely is this interpretation (cf. p. 91).

Nazareth; it must have had implications similar to the adjective Nazarenus, indicating its bearer as an adherent of the doctrine of the Man from Nazareth.

Paulus - la, in older times Paullus and Paulla or Polla, the name by which the apostle of the Gentiles was generally known, was originally a hereditary cognomen in the gens Aemilia (RE XVIII col. 2362). During the Empire the name was much used as an individual cognomen by common people, as is revealed by our list (from which the senatorial class is excluded). The frequency of Paulus in the pagan material makes it difficult to decide in a particular case whether the name had been given in honour of the apostle or used as a pagan inheritance. The considerable rise in the Christian frequency, however, suggests the latter alternative.

It is in general argued that Petrus, a common Greek word used to translate the Aramean $K\eta\varphi\tilde{a}\varsigma$ (John 1, 42), does not occur as an extrabiblical name 2, the pagan examples being ascribed to inheritance from Christian relatives.3 I do not think, however, that the pagan instances can be explained away. It is doubtful whether M. Aurelius Petrus, a governer of Arabia (PIR I p. 321, 1570), could have borne his cognomen in A.D. 278, before the official recognition of Christianity, if the name had really been exclusively Christian. It is also likely that we must consider as pagan a famous epitaph found at Ostia, where a father called M. Anneus Paulus sets up a stone to his son, M. Anneus Paulus Petrus (C XIV 566 = DIEHL3910). Though DE Rossi argues that the name of the son was an unmistakable reference to the two apostles and father and son were thus Christians 4, the stone is more likely to be pagan — the letters D.M. are revealing and the double cognomen Paulus Petrus a coincidence. The son had inherited his father's cognomen, but bore another cognomen, too, which may have been a nickname, πέτρος perhaps implying »hard and reliable as a stone». Another similar case is CVI 10882 = 21034: Acilius Primigenius Petrus.

Though we must give up the idea that *Petrus* was exclusively Christian, the pagan examples were few, whereas in the Christian epigraphic material

 $^{^1}$ Though most bearers of the name were free-born, there were five examples from the freedman class; *Paulus* was particularly common among the military (14 examples).

² BAUER, s. v.

³ DE Rossi, Bull 1884—5, p. 77 ff.

⁴ Bull 1867, p. 6.

Petrus was one of the most popular cognomina. There is evidence that the name had come into use earlier than the specific Christian nomenclature in general, for in the most ancient stratum of Priscilla there are four examples of the name (Bull 1885, pp. 77; 78 duo; 1886, p. 103). Though it may be argued that in some of the early cases Petrus was not a biblical name but the pagan cognomen which has been discussed, the frequency of the cases seems to make that interpretation unlikely.

§ 3. Names of martyrs

Because the devotion to, and the cult of martyrs was a significant feature in the life of the ancient Church ¹, it is important to investigate to what extent the names of the martyrs became popular among the early Christians. As far as I know, similar studies are few.²

The point of departure is the names of popular martyrs. Special caution is certainly advisable. It is not possible to draw conclusions from later legends as to the popularity of a martyr in early times, most hagiographical legends being devoid of historical truth.³ As to R o m e, we fortunately possess an early and genuine document of the veneration of Roman martyrs, the local calendar of martyrs, *depositio martyrum*, published together with some other historical documents in A.D. 354, but in existence since 336 A.D.⁴ A similar C a r t h a g i n i a n calendar is from the following century.⁵ The martyrs recorded in the Roman calendar, some fifty in all, were thus the objects of a cult and venerated during the fourth century. If names of martyrs were assumed by the early Christians, we should find a rise in the frequency of the names recorded in the calendar.

I have chosen a number of the Roman martyrs for this study. Leaving aside the martyrs buried in the neighbourhood of Rome, as well as martyrs having some very common name, such as Felicitas, Felix, Hermes, Ianuarius, the martyrs chosen include Abdos and Sennes (BHL 6); Agne (BHL 156); Callistus, a pope (BHL 1523); Fabianus, a pope (BHL p. 423); Hippolytus (BHL 3960); Laurentius (BHL 4752); Parthenius and Calocaerus (BHL 1534); Pontianus, a pope (BHL p. 1002); Protus and Hyacinthus (BHL 6975); Sebastianus (BHL 7543); Xystus, a pope (BHL 7801). The most famous of the martyrs were Agne, Hippolytus — the schismatic anti-pope —

¹ See Doerfler, Die Anfänge der Heiligenverehrung, and Delehave Origines, passim.

 $^{^{2}\,}$ Cf. Delehave $Origines,\,p.$ 139, where a few studies on Sts. Cosmas and Damias are cited.

³ DELEHAYE, Les légends hagiographiques, p. 104; 203 f.

⁴ AIGRAIN, L'hagiographie, p. 253.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20 f.

Laurentius, Sebastianus and Xystus, as the fact that their names had also been included in the Carthaginian calendar witnesses; Xystus, moreover, was the only Roman martyr to figure in the breviarium Syriacum, the first universal martyrology.¹ Other early evidence, archeological, liturgical and literary, also confirms the fame of these martyrs.² I have included in the study two famous Carthaginian martyrs, Cyprianus (BHL 2037) and Perpetua (BHL 6633), registered in the Roman calendar and so venerated in Rome. Moreover, two martyrs not mentioned in the calendar but who enjoyed very great popularity, Stephanus, the protomartyr, and Thecla, the heroine of a famous apocryphal story (LThK X p. 29), have also been considered.

But if we compare the frequencies of these names in the pagan and Christian inscriptional material, the result is that $m \circ st$ of the names recorded in the depositiom martyrum do not appear to have become popular among the Roman Christians. Thus the names of Abdos and Sennes, being Persian, were unknown in CVI. If the names were found in the Christian inscriptions of Rome, they had probably been adopted in honour of the martyrs. But though Abdos and Sennes were by no means unknown martyrs 3, there are no examples of these names in the Christian inscriptional material. It is the same in regard to most other names: there is no considerable rise in the frequency, in a few cases actually a fall.4

Excluding these cases, the names of martyrs which show a rise in their relative frequency are listed in table 24, next page (I include *Martyrius*, to be discussed later).

Only the most famous martyrs, irrespective of whether or not they were local, thus attracted the popular imagination sufficiently for their names to become popular. Moreover, the rise in the relative frequency of Agne, Hippolytus and Sebastianus was so small that were it not for the general fall in the popularity of Greek cognomina (see p. 57), no rise in their frequency could be established. We may further notice that those martyrs who had held official positions in the Church had more of a chance of becoming popular in nomenclature than simple martyrs; a comparison of Cyprianus and Laurentius with Agne and Sebastianus is revealing.

¹ AIGRAIN, L'hagiographie, p. 25.

 $^{^2}$ For this kind of evidence, I have in general consulted Delehaye's Comment. mart. Hieron.

 $^{^3}$ They had two churches bearing their name in Rome, Delehave Comment. $\it mart.\ Hieron.\ p.\ 405.$

⁴ Giving the frequency in C VI first, the list runs as follows: Callistus c. 200—300—15; Calocaerus 17—2; Fabianus 20—2; Hyacinthus 25—4; Parthenius 13—7; Pontianus 15—6; Protus 55—3; Xystus 18—8.

4

7

10

4

Rome Carthage CVIIIChristians CVIChristian pagans Carthage 20 13 6 20 15 12 5 110

Table 24. Names of martyrs

3

p. 91

28

32

SI 269: 1411

names

Cyprianus-na

?Hippolytus-ta

Laurentius-ia

Stephanus-na

Martvrius-ia

3

1

see

Perpetua

Thecla

?Martvr

?Sebastianus

?Agne 1

A few of the names need onomastic comment. Laurentius was a new formation in -ius-ia (see p. 82), and this may have contributed to its popularity, but not decisively; the name in itself does not suggest a clear etymology, as most of the popular cognomina in -ius do. Cyprianus and Thecla are only found in the Christian material. The former is the suffixed form of Cyprius, a name which itself is rare in Latin.3 The origin of the name Thecla is somewhat enigmatic, and seems to be bound up with the problem of the authenticity of the legend. Earlier scholars, like Sir William RAMSAY, thought most of the legend was true, and following LE BLANT's method of »verisimilitude» tried to work out the original story.4 RAMSAY contended that the name Thecla was barbaric, and her mother's name Theocleia a Grecized form of the name. Modern hagiographical criticism, however, has recognized the futility of the efforts to discover historical truth in the »verisimilar» features of ancient legends 5, and I think one must, with Delehaye, dismiss the legend of Thecla as a »fabula».6 Because the story is not authentic, the name cannot be historical. It is of course possible that the writer of the legend had given his heroine a name current in Asia Minor, but no onomastic dictionary covering the area records Thecla or a similar name. The name seems to be wholly fictitious, and

¹ The name was, however, most often written *Hagne*. For the form of the name, cf. Ferrua, Civiltà Cattolica 1939 I p. 122.

² The cases recording the form Martyr, FE 7700; 8539; 8597 are all uncertain, however.

³ Thes. Onom. II col. 800, 23 records two bearers of that name.

⁴ The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170, p. 375 ff.

⁵ See Delehaye, Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique, p. 20 ff.

⁶ Comment. mart. Romanum, p. 412.

⁷ Sundwall, Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier; Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen.

it was probably created by the author out of the common Greek woman's name $\Theta \varepsilon \acute{o} \varkappa \lambda \varepsilon \iota a$, which he used as the name of the girl's mother.

We have to discuss one more name pertaining here: $M \ a \ r \ t \ y \ r \ i \ u \ s - i \ a$. The name was coined from the common Greek word $\mu \acute{a}\varrho \tau v\varsigma$, which later became a specific Christian term for those who had given testimony of their faith by preferring death to apostasy. The much-debated problem of how this word came to have this specific Christian meaning is not of interest to us here. The name Martyrius is an expression of the veneration of all the martyrs.

There are eight cases in our material of Martyra, Martyrus, but these are unlikely to be independent formations; they are rather to be considered as Vulgar forms, the disappearance of i in -ri- being very common.³ There is certainly an early example of Martura in C I: 2 1110, but it is doubtful whether this is a Greek name derived from $\mu \acute{a} \rho \tau v_s$. It seems to be of Celtic origin; cf. the frequent Celtic name Martus or Marthus in Holder. The similarity to the late form Martura— the change y > u was of course wide-spread— was thus accidental.

Though *Martyrius* is a name with an undoubted Christian flavour and though it was fairly popular in Rome, it is almost unknown in Carthage and Africa. Similar cases will come up in what follows (see pp. 104 and 114). This was probably due to the fact that *Martyrius* and other similar names which were derived from Greek stems had less chance of becoming popular in Africa where Greek cognomina had always been relatively rare (see p. 58). Moreover, the African Church underwent latinization at an earlier date than the Roman Church, and this may also have handicapped the spread of Christian names of Greek origin (see p. 103).

III. CHRISTIAN THEOPHORIC NAMES

§ 1. The classification of theophoric names

Theophoric names were one of the earliest and most important categories of pagan nomenclature. The names were of two types; they were either »dedicatory names», such as *Apollonius* and *Saturninus*, derived from the name of a deity with a suffix and bringing out the idea of a human being belonging to, or supposed to enjoy the protection of the deity. 4 On

¹ Cf. the discussion in Delehaye, Sanctus, p. 74 ff.

² DELEHAYE Origines, p. 139.

³ SVENNUNG, Kleine Beiträge zur lateinischen Lautlehre, p. 17 ff.

 $^{^4}$ Fick-Bechtel p. 300 ff.; Schulze $\it Eigennamen$ p. 464 ff. Usener, $\it G\"{o}tternamen$ p. 349 ff. seems to exaggerate the importance of the theophoric element in ancient nomenclature.

the other hand, divine names as such began to be borne by human beings about the beginning of our era, e.g. *Hermes* and *Mercurius*, though mostly by humble people; it is likely, as has been suggested, that divine names could not be used as personal names until the period of religious decay.¹

Because theophoric names were such a distinctive feature of ancient nomenclature and because the Christians were the inheritors of pagan onomastic traditions, it is reasonable to expect theophoric names to be a significant element in Christian nomenclature. Theophoric names are in fact the largest category of specific Christian names and their importance is enhanced by the fact that most of the names were unknown to the pagans. Yet there is a great difference between pagan and Christian theophoric names. Because the Christians naturally could not use divine names as such as personal names, it is only the first, the »dedicatory» group, which is represented here. Again, whereas pagan divinities were innumerable and the number of different theophoric names consequently very great, the Christians had not many to choose from Christ was called *Christus*, the name Jesus being rare (cf. Diehl III p. 195). God was naturally called Deus and Θeός. Moreover, there were the Greek and Latin equivalents of wthe Lord», Kύριος and Dominus.

No personal name was derived from Jesus. The only name in which Christus is an element is Christophorus (see table 25, next page). But because the name is found in a late graffito in Commodilla, it is possible that it refers to the famous Christian martyr of the same name $(BHL\ 1764)$. The word $X\varrho\iota\sigma\tau\delta\varphi\varrho\varrho\varsigma$ was originally an appellative, implying »das wahre Christsein des Christus in sich tragenden» 3, and it was also a frequent proper name of Christians, especially in Egypt (cf. Preisigke Namenbuch). Some other Christian and not the martyr may thus have been meant in the graffito. In any case, the example is too late and too rare to be of any importance. All the other terms were used in deriving Christian theophoric names, in particular Deus, see next page.

§ 2. Names derived from Deus and $\Theta \varepsilon \delta \varsigma$

The word *Deus* is contained in all the other names except the rare *Quodiubet*, where it is implied as the subject, however. The idea conveyed by the names is either that of a child as a gift of God — *Adeodatus*, *Deusdedit*, *Deusdona* — or that of the power of God in human affairs — *Deushabet*,

¹ USENER Götternamen p. 358; FICK-BECHTEL, p. 304; MEYERSAHM, Deorum nomina hominibus imposita p. 30.

² This martyr seems, however, to be a creation of hagiographical imagination, see Delehaye *Comment. mart. Hieron.* p. 396.

³ A. HERMANN, RAntChrist II col. 1243.

Table 25. Christian theophoric names

	tamos	Rome		Carthage		
07. 4	names	C VI	Christian	C VIII pagans	Christians Carthage	
Christus	C <h>risto<ph>orus</ph></h>	-	SI 6449, 7			
Deus	A deodatus-ta		45		17	
	Deogratias	-	SI 5297		20	
	Deusdat		RS III p. 141			
	Deusdedit	-	9		12	
	D(eu)sdona		SI 6449, 10; 11	-		
	Deushabet		_	***************************************	3	
	Habetdeus		SI 20; 5215		3	
	Quodiubet	-		***************************************	ILT 1147	
	Quodvultdeus		18		30	
	Spesindeo	-	SI 6334; FE			
			9168		ILT 1147 duo	
	Vincetdeus	-		_	ILT 1147	
Θεός	Theodulus-le	1	21	1		
Κύφιος	Cyriacus-ce	9	113	1	ILT 1147 duo	
Dominus	Dominicus-ca		6		4	
	Domninus-na	1	19			

Quodvultdeus, etc. A few inscriptions in which the meaning of the names is referred to, though not quite in the original sense, bring out their Christian character; SI 4926 = Diehl 1196, on a levite: A Deo sic datus altaris fuit ille minister | nomen ut aequaret vita decora viri; the priest was called Adeodatus; in Diehl 1195 we read about another levite: ecce Deusdedit nomen qui forte gerebas, | ecce Deus dedit regna beata tibi. Again, Deogratias has a very specific Christian flavour, Deo gratias being the watchword of the Catholics in opposition to the Deo laudes of the Donatists (see the comment on ILT 1202).

These names have an alien look at first sight. With the exception of *Adeodatus-ta*, they are in principle indeclinable. Moreover, most of them are sentence-names foreign to Greek and Latin nomenclature. It has been argued that the names originated in North Africa as translations of current Punic (Semitic) names: »sentence-names» were a

 $^{^1}$ There were, however, some attempts at declination; SI 5744 we have Deusdecd>itis as the genitive of Deusdedit; SI 3396: Cobuldeo = Quodvultdeo is the dative; SI 6305 = DIEHL 3789adn and ILT 1147: Quodvuldeonia and Covuldonia are the feminine forms of the same name.

distinctive feature of Semitic nomenclature. Adeodatus and Deusdona may, however, be translations of Greek personal names $\Theta \epsilon \delta \delta \sigma \tau \sigma \varsigma$ and $\Theta \epsilon \delta \delta \sigma \sigma \sigma \varsigma$ as well. The other names, in which a subject and a predicate are expressed or implied, are probably of Semitic origin. The names came into being in Africa and in particular in Carthage, as may be seen from a comparison of Roman and Carthaginian frequencies. The coining of the names may be explained as follows. In North Africa, especially in Carthage, the Puniclanguage of an guage persisted alongside the official Latin²; when Christianity conquered North Africa, the Punic-speaking population was also affected. Because Latin early became the language of the African Church, Greek being the language of the Roman Church down to the middle of the third century 4, it is possible that a need was felt in Africa to venerate God even by the names borne by the Christians, and this need was met by translating current Semitic (or Greek) names familiar to a population in which the native element was strong.

There are a large number of personal names derived from $\Theta_{\epsilon}\delta_{\varsigma}$, Theodotus, Theodosius, Theodorus, etc., many of them in use from the earliest times (see p. 61). Though it might be contended that the $\vartheta_{\epsilon}\delta_{\varsigma}$ of the names was now the God of the Christians and that the names had accordingly acquired a new, "Christian" sense, the names were so extremely common in pagan times that it is questionable whether the Christians were able to create anything fresh out of them (for the pagan interpretation of the rare Theoctistus see SICV 152 idem 204).

One Christian theophoric name is derived from $\Theta \epsilon \delta \varsigma$, Theodulus ($\Theta \epsilon \delta \delta ov \lambda o \varsigma$). Though the name is not wholly unknown in pagan documents (CVI 11762: Annius Theodulus; other cases II 2142 and VIII 23011a), it is likely that, the idea of hierodulia being foreign to the Greeks and Romans, the pagan $\Theta \epsilon \delta \delta ov \lambda o \varsigma$ was due to Oriental influence⁵. Yet it was only in Christian times, as our list reveals, that the name became really frequent. The idea of a human being as the slave of God was popular in early Christianity; one need only recall the numerous inscriptions in which the epithets servus Dei and ancilla Dei are included (examples in Diehl 1454—57 and 1465—68). The name Theodulus became popular among the early Christians because it corresponded to this Christian idea.

¹ Mowat L'élement, RA 1869 I p. 246 ff.

² Cp. e.g. Oxf. Class. Dict. p. 18.

³ LIETZMANN, Geschichte der alten Kirche II p. 221.

⁴ Ibid., p. 220 f.

⁵ SITTIG, De Graecorum nominibus theophoris, p. 164; REINACH, Sur une classe de noms grecs théophores, RA 1924, p. 154.

⁶ There are no incontestable cases of the corresponding Latin expressions, servus Dei and ancilla Dei, used as personal names. SILVAGNI certainly inserted in his index of personal names a few Servi dei (3798; 6324; 6325). All the cases are, how-

§ 3. Names derived from Kúquos and Dominus

Cyriacus-ce (less correctly Quiriacus-ce) is one of the most common cognomina in the Christian inscriptions of Rome. Though the name is found in the pagan material, too, its frequency in the Christian material is many times larger. The significance of this rise in frequency is all the greater considering the general decline of Greek nomenclature in Rome (see p. 57). Some special circumstances must account for the rise. I think we have here a very clear example of a semantic shift in a personal name. For the pagans the Greek adjective zυριαχός, from which the name is derived, suggested »belonging to the $K\'v\varrho\iota o\varsigma$, i.e. the master», and so Cyriacus was an appropriate name for a slave. But for the Christians the name suggested »belonging to Kύριος, i.e. the Lord» (see Liddell-Scott), and it was no doubt this new connotation, which so well corresponds to the idea of man as the slave of God, that explains the popularity of the name in Christian times. We have, moreover, an unequivocal example that Cyriacus was considered a Christian name in the ancient Church: in the legend of Iudas qui et Cyriacus, written about the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, Iudas, a Jew, was said to have assumed the name of Cyriacus at baptism, that is to say, as a mark of his conversion to Christianity.1

Though the ophoric names were numerous in the Christian material from Carthage, *Cyriacus* is not found; the name is also rare elsewhere in Africa (two examples in *CVIII*). It is the same in regard to *Theodulus* (see the table). The phenomenon is to be explained along the lines suggested on p. 100: the general paucity of Greek nomenclature in Africa, and the early latinization of the African Church.

The number of Latin cognomina which were derived from dominus is considerable. The very word was used as a women's name, though mostly in the syncopated form, $Domna.^2$ Other derivatives, all of them syncopated forms, were that formed with the suffix -io, Domnio, and that with the

ever, fragmentary, and it is more than likely that $servus\ dei$ was an epithet preceded by the real name. Moreover, SILVAGNI's supplements do not always look correct: in 6325 he has supplemented Serbu[sei], but Serbu[s] and Serbu[lus] seem more likely supplements. DIEHL has also included one $Servus\ dei$ in his index, but given it a question mark; in this example (1454) a coppar collar of a slave bears the inscription $servus\ dei\ fugitivus$. It is probable that Fugitivus was the proper name and $servus\ dei\ an\ epithet$. In $SI\ 3194\ =\ DIEHL\ 1464$ we certainly have $ancilla\ dei\ in\ place\ of\ the\ name\ the\ epitaph\ being\ undamaged,\ but\ the\ real\ name\ had\ probably\ been\ suppressed,\ there\ being\ examples\ of\ epitaphs\ in\ which\ the\ name\ of\ the\ deceased\ is\ lacking\ (Grossi\ Gondi\ Trattato\ p.\ 77\ f.).$

¹ Liber pontificalis (ed. Mommsen) p. 45: . . . et baptizatus est Iudas qui et Quiriacus; Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. I 34 (PL 71, col. 179): . . . prodente Iuda Hebraeo, qui post baptismum Quiriacus est vocitatus. Cf. p. 119 below.

 $^{^2}$ A sporadic masculine is found in $\stackrel{\circ}{SI}$ 3434 = DIEHL 2809adn: Donnus, i.e. Donnus.

suffix -inus, Domninus, and the diminutive Domnula. There is also a name derived from the corresponding adjective, Dominicus. The last name is found only in Christian inscriptions, whereas the others figure in the pagan ones, too. There was a slight rise in the frequency of Domna (five examples both in $C\ VI$ and in SI-FE), the relative frequency of Domnio remaining fairly constant (seven examples in $C\ VI$ and two in SI-FE); Domnula is rare (the only example is $FE\ 8849$). On the other hand, Domninus was so rare in the pagan material that both it and Dominicus must be considered Christian (see table 25 p. 102).

The derivations of dominus seem to have come into use late in the Empire ¹, the point of departure perhaps being the extensive use of dominus as a title.² Though the Christians, too, made use of the title in addressing the saints and the clergy ³, there was nothing specifically Christian in this usage. The slight rise in the frequency of Domna was thus rather due to its late coming into use than to any Christian associations. One might also ascribe the popularity of Domninus in the Christian material to its being a suffixed form in favour during the Later Empire (cf. p. 64). Vet even granting this, Domninus is far too frequent in the Christian material for this interpretation to appear acceptable. Considering examples like Iov-inus and Saturn-inus ⁴, it is more likely that the name had come to possess a Christian connotation: »belonging to Dominus», that is to say, to »the Lord». Domninus had thus undergone a semantic shift similar to Cyriacus.

Dominicus, »belonging to the Lord» ⁵, came into use late. ⁶ It may also have originated as the Latin translation of *Cyriacus*. For another interpretation of the name, see p. 107.

IV. DATE NAMES OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN

§ 1. The Christian reshaping of the Roman calendar

Among the Greeks and Romans, it was a general practice to give a child a name recalling his or her time of birth. In Greek, it was the names of festivals that were most often used, but also the names of days and

 $^{^1}$ The earliest bearer of the simple form $\it Domna$ is Caracalla's mother, see $\it Thes.$ $\it Suppl.$ Onom. $\it III$ col. 215, 69.

² Thes. V col. 1924, 77.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 1929, 61; 1930, 66.

⁴ SCHULZE Eigennamen, p. 467.

⁵ Thes. V col. 1888, 83.

⁶ Three of the Roman examples are very late, SI 4949: A.D. 465; RO 1068 = DIEHL 3727Fadn: A.D. 533/44; SI 6449, 14: seventh century.

⁷ HIRZEL Name p. 37 ff.

months.¹ In Latin, the most important group was represented by the cognomina obtained from the names of months, with *Ianuarius* and *December* heading the list (see p. 22). A few names, such as *Kalendinus*, were derived from Roman designations of days.² Matters are a little more complicated in regard to cognomina recalling Roman festivals, for most of them, e.g. *Neptunalis*, *Saturnalis*, etc., could be considered theophoric as well.³

With the coming of Christianity, a number of changes took place in the calendar, and it is natural to expect a corresponding reshaping in nomenclature. Though the seven-day week had become common property through the medium of astrology 4, the names of the days were subjected to important changes. The ancient dies solis became the day of rest and was renamed dies dominica ($\varkappa v \varrho \iota \alpha \varkappa \dot{\eta} \ \dot{\eta} \mu \dot{e} \varrho a$). The Jewish Sabbath, largely observed during the Empire by non-Jews as well, became the last day of the week, partly replacing the earlier name of the day, dies Saturni. Both innovations were late in appearing. Pagan festivals went out of use during the fourth century 6 and were replaced by Christian ones, especially by Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter and Pentecost. The names which by our criteria may be considered as Christian date names are included in the following statistical table:

Table 26. Christian date names

		R o m e		Carthage	
	names	C VI and FREY	Christian	C VIII pagans	Christians Carthage
names of		19 +			
days	Sabbatis	FREY, 17		1	
	Sabbatius-ia		40 8		
Christmas	?Natalicus-ca		SI~3675	4	3
Epiphany	?Epiphanius-ia	see p. 108	5		3
Lent	Quadragesima		4		
Easter	Paschasius-ia		36		33
Pentecost	Πεντηκοστή	_	RAC 1931, 191		_

¹ Fick-Bechtel, p. 295 ff.

² GOTTANKA, Epigraphische Beiträge, p. 33 ff.

³ GOTTANKA, op. cit. p. 57 ff., though admitting the theophoric interpretation, considers a derivation from names of festivals as more likely, whereas SCHULZE Eigennamen, p. 486 f., regards cognomina derived with the suffix -alis and -aris as theophoric; cf. p. 62 fn. 1 above.

⁴ See Kubitschek, Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung, p. 31.

⁵ In Codex Theod., the expression dies solis was usual during the fourth century (II 8, 1a; 8, 18; 8, 19; 8, 20); dies dominica is first referred to in A.D. 386 (II 8, 18), but begins only to dominate after A.D. 399 (II 8, 23). In DIEHL, there are 13 examples of dies solis, the latest of them in A.D. 608 (1148); dies dominica is found ten times,

§ 2. Names derived from names of days

Though *Cyriacus* and *Dominicus* are derived from adjectives used as Greek and Latin terms for S u n d a y (see above), it is unlikely that, apart from exceptions, the names could be considered as date names. Were it so, *Dominicus*, the Latin term, should outnumber *Cyriacus*. Moreover, both names came into use considerably earlier than the Christian terms for Sunday.

The name Sabbatius-ia, common in Christian Rome, was a new form, obtained through the suffix -ius-ia, of the woman's name Sabbatis, which was frequent in Jewish and pagan inscriptions. Sabbatis is in turn derived from sabbatum or sabbata, the Hebrew word for the day of rest. It is problematic whether Sabbatius-ia was a name of distinctive Christian character. The Christians did not observe the Sabbath as a festal day, on the contrary, celebrating the Sabbath was considered judaizing and condemned.1 The frequency of the name in the Christian inscriptional material may have been a Jewish legacy. The Sabbath was a distinctive Tewish institution, and the personal name commemorating it, Sabbatis, is characteristically Jewish; considering the limited number of Jewish inscriptions from Rome (five hundred odd), the frequency of the name and its derivatives 2 is considerable. As to the examples in the pagan epigraphic material, it has been suggested that these bearers of the name Sabbatis were non-Jewish semi-proselytes.³ However, not a few of them must have been Tewish slaves and freedmen or their descendents. It is possible, then, that the Christians had inherited the name Sabbatius from the Jews, continuing to use it with little regard for its religious significance.

§ 3. Names commemorating Christmas and Epiphany

Numerous scholars argue that there were Christian names commemorating Christmas. The names suggested include *Natalis*, *Genesius*, *Natalilicus*, and *Natalius*. To decide whether or not this is so, one must first

the earliest in A.D. 404 (659adn). In DIEHI, there are also 11 examples of dies Saturni and nine of dies Sabbati, the earliest of them dated A.D. 449 (1706).

⁶ Prohibited in Codex Theod. II 8, 22 (A.D. 395).

⁷ For the importance of these festivals, see Codex Theod. II 8, 24 (A.D. 400).

 $^{^8}$ SI 5470: Sabatian . . . may be a form coined with the suffix -anus, Sabbatianus.

¹ Cf J. G. CARLETON, Festivals and Fasts (Christian), ERE V p. 844.

 $^{^2}$ Εὐσαββάτις (379); ?Σαββάσα (396). The new form Sabbatius is also found (153; 263 etc.).

³ GOTTANKA, Epigraphische Beiträge, p. 81 f.

⁴ Natalis is considered Christian by Martigny p. 513, the other names by Schrijnen Namengebung, Mn 1935, p. 275; Genesius is also counted as Christian by Hirzel, Name, p. 42.

consider the institution of the festival and the terms denoting it. Christmas seems to have originated in Rome, and the earliest mention of it is found in the depositio martyrum of A.D. 354. The Latin term for the festival was natalis or natale, a term probably taken over from the natalis Solis Invicti which was replaced by Christmas. The Greek term for Christmas being τὰ γενέθλια, the Greek cognomen commemorating Christmas should be Genethlius and not Genesius. But though there are a few examples of Genethlius in the pagan material, it is unknown in Christian inscriptions. Natalis must also be dismissed: the name is frequent in pagan inscriptions (C VIII alone gives 47 examples) and not very common in the Christian ones (two cases in SI-FE, one in Carthage). Only Natalius and Natalicus are left. Natalius is not a common name, the only example coming from Christian Carthage (C VIII 25134). It is unlikely to be anything but a late derivative of Natalis (see p. 80). A better case could be made out for Natalicus, which, though without significance elsewhere in the Roman Empire, is sometimes found in Africa and shows a rise in relative frequency in Christian Carthage (see table 26, p. 106). But though one could argue that the pagan name Natalicus had been appropriated by the Christians because it suggested their great festival, it is also possible to consider the name as a variety of Natalis, coined with the suffix -icus popular in Africa (cf. p. 63), the rise in Christian frequency being due to the lateness of the formation. The Christian character of Natalicus is therefore not incontestable.

It is also consistently held that *Epiphanius-ia* was a Christian name commemorating E p i p h a n y 2 (lat. *Epiphania*, Greek 'Eπιφάνεια). But because the feast, which originated in the East and only spread to the West during the fourth century, was still fairly unknown in contemporary Rome 3, its influence upon Roman nomenclature must have been still less than that of Christmas. There are certainly examples of *Epiphanius* (see table 26, p. 106), but the name was a derivative in -ius of the ancient Greek cognomina *Epiphania* and *Epiphanes* (in C VI there are ten and two examples, respectively). Because the pagan name implied "fame" and "famous", whereas the name of the Christian festival developed from quite another meaning of the word ἐπιφάνεια, "divine manifestations" it is unlikely that the new form *Epiphanius* suggested the Christian festival, least of all in Rome. In C a r t h a g e, considering that the pagan names are not found in C VIII at all, the three instances of *Epiphanius* may attest Christian influence.

¹ Mohrmann Études, p. 267.

² Martigny p. 513; Moffat, ERE IX p. 147; Schrijnen Namengebung, Mn 1935, p. 275.

The depositio martyrum of A.D. 354 records Christmas but not Epiphany.
 MOHRMANN Études, DD. 250 and 261.

§ 4. Names commemorating Lent, Pentecost and Easter

Only when we approach the most important festival of the ancient Church, Easter, do we find unequivocal examples of Christian names obtained from the Calendar. The period of fasting before Easter, L, ent, originated in the East and was first mentioned in A.D. 325.1 In the Western Church the Latin equivalent, Quadragesima, was substituted for the Greek name of the festival, $\tau e\sigma\sigma a \rho a \kappa o \tau \dot{\eta}$. The four Roman women bearing the name were certainly so named in regard to the festival — they had probably been born during Lent — for so high a number was unlikely to be used as a cognomen without special reasons. It is the same with the sporadic $\Pi e \nu \tau \eta \kappa o \sigma \tau \dot{\eta}$, derived from the Greek term for the festival of Pentecost, $\pi e \nu \tau \eta \kappa o \sigma \tau \dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\eta} \mu \dot{e} \rho a$.

In the ancient Church, fifteen days, seven after and seven before Easter Sunday, were included in the E aster period.³ The importance of the feast was increased by the fact that catechumens were generally baptized on Easter Day.⁴ The Greek and Latin name of the feast was derived from the corresponding Hebrew name, in Greek transcription $\pi \acute{a}\sigma \chi a$, in Latin pascha. The personal name obtained from pascha was Paschasius-ia, clearly a new formation in -ius-ia (see p. 86).

Considering the double significance of Easter to the ancient Church—as a religious festival and as a time of the baptism of catechumens—it is possible to explain the name Paschasius in two ways. Either it was, as Schrijnen argues,⁵ a baptismal name given to catechumens, or it was the name of Easter children. There is little evidence to support the first contention. The only example that might be adduced is CXII 956 = Diehi. 3540: Optatina Reticia sive Pascasia, where the agnomen may have been assumed at baptism. SI 3722: Paschasia Veneranda, might be quoted as another similar case. But since we lack examples in which Paschasius is explicitly stated to have been given at baptism as the new, Christian name, the problem must remain unsolved (see p. 119).

On the other hand, there are a few epitaphs which show that E as ter children were often called by the name Paschasius. The most important of them is RO~810 = Diehl~1541: Natu(s) Severi nomine Pascasius dies pascales prid. no[n]~April[es]~---. The child had been born on the 4th of April, 457 and died on the 28th of April, 463, eight days after receiving baptism on Easter Day, the 21st of April. In 457 Easter was celebrated

¹ ODCC p. 797.

² MOHRMANN Études, p. 43.

³ Codex Theod. II 8, 19 (A.D. 389).

⁴ ODCC p. 432.

⁵ Namengebung, Mn 1935, p. 274.

on the 30th of March, so that the 4th of April falls within the *dies paschales*. In the inscription, *dies pascales* stands for the ablative of time of classical Latin, and the text may be interpreted: an Easter child (*Pascasius*), with the (real) name *Severus*, had been born during the Easter days — —.

Further, if we find epitaphs in which both the exact age and the *dies depositionis* are given, it is easy for us, supposing that the *dies mortis* and *dies depositionis* coincide,² to reckon the time of birth. If it falls within the period of *dies paschales*, the conclusion that the child bore the name to commemorate his time of birth seems justified. There are a few such cases. In SI 5791 = DIEHL 4146Cb, a Pascasius was buried on the 4th of December, 382 at the age of four years, eight months and four days. The child had thus been born on the first of April, 378, which was the Easter Day of that year.³ Another case is C XIII 2353 = DIEHL 2901: a Pascasia was buried on the 29th of July, 422 at the age of two years, three months and ten days, with the time of birth consequently about the 19th of April, 420. Because Easter was celebrated on the 18th of April that year ⁴, the time of birth falls within the period of the fifteen dies paschales.

Since in all the cases in which we possess clear indications of time, the time of the birth of persons bearing the name *Paschasius-ia* falls within the *dies paschales*, or even on Easter Day itself, it is legitimate to assume that the name was primarily given to children born during Easter time.

V. Names expressive of Christian ideas

§ 1. A general note

We have so far had reliable criteria in deciding the Christian character of a personal name: the names of saints and the Christian terms for God and Christ as well as for Christian festivals could be used as the point of departure. Matters are much more complicated if we look for names expressing Christian ideas. Whereas names embodying Christian dogmas are somewhat easier to lay hold of, names expressive of Christian virtues are quite misleading, the virtues of piety», pfaith, phope, etc. being known to the pagans also. This is why I have been cautious in regard to names of the latter type. Names which, by the criteria of connotation and frequency, can be argued to express Christian ideas are listed below:

¹ For the comments, see RO and DIEHL ad loc.

² This was usually the case, see H. Nordberg, Biometrical Notes, p. 53.

³ See Schwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln.

⁴ Ibid.

Rome Carthage names $\overline{C\ VI}$ and CVIIIChristians Christian FREY pagans Carthage dogmas Anastasius-ia FREY, 4 51 4 Redemptus-ta 31 6 15 10 Refrigerius-ia 2 6 C 25349b ?Renatus-ta 12 19 9 C 14195—96 Renovatus-ta 4 Reparatus-ta 1 4 4 virtues Agape 661 1 4 ___ Agapius 3 Innocentius-ia 2 28 3 ILT 1147 duo

Table 27. Names expressive of Christian ideas

§ 2. Names embodying Christian dogmas

The most important of these names is A n a s t a s i u s - i a. The name was derived with the suffix $-\iota o \varsigma - i u s$ from the Greek term for the resurrection from the dead, $a v a \sigma \tau a \sigma \iota \varsigma$ (see p. 86). Though the term had occasionally the same meaning in older Greek, it first became important in the New Testament, especially in the meaning of whe future resurrection on Judgement Day» (Bauer s.v.). The Christian character of the name is further proved by a few epitaphs in which the meaning of the name is alluded to; $IG\ IV\ 412$: 'Avastasía arastasías $\tau \tilde{\eta} \times \delta$ ' 'Arquilov, where, however, it is not the exact theological meaning of the name to which allusion is made; in $SI\ 6130 = Diehi\ 3341$, it is the exact meaning of the name which is referred to: Anastasiasm secundum nomen credo fut[uram].

Nevertheless, one must disclaim that the Christians had priority in the use of the name. Though there were no examples in the pagan material, the name was not at all uncommon among the Jews (see table 27). The popularity of the name which was derived from the term $\dot{a}v\dot{a}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Jewish epigraphic material was due to the fact that about the beginning of our era the Jews, with the exception of the Saducees, believed in the resurrection, and after the Fall of Jerusalem this belief further grew in importance. The significance of this article of faith to the Jews explains the coining of the corresponding personal name. It is likely that the

 $^{^1}$ The diminutive Agapetilla is found $SI~4858=\mbox{Diehl,}~3532$ and ARM p. $16=\mbox{Diehl,}~1465.$

² See e.g. Frey, Les Juifs avaient-ils des dogmes? Gregorianum 1927, p. 497 ff.

³ Cp. Frey 211: [Anas]tasius; »il constitue une belle profession de foi en la résurrection des corps». Frey's supplement is, however, uncertain, [Eus]tasius being also possible.

Christians took over the name from the Jews, which, because of a similar belief, became a very important Christian name.

The four names beginning with Re-, Redemptus, Renatus, Renovatus, Reparatus, all imply the idea of redemption. The first of them, Re-demptus, all imply the idea of redemption which were frequent in pagan documents and which should accordingly be treated with caution. Re-demptus, as well as the other three names, is a cognomen derived from a past participle, and like other similar names seems to have been borne primarily by humble people. Though the rise in the Christian frequency might be ascribed to the general popularity of cognomina derived from past participles during Imperial Times 2, it is more likely that, the verb redimere having undergone a semantic shift and expressing the idea of redemption (Blaise s.v.; cf. Diehl, III p. 396), the personal name obtained from the verb had acquired a new, Christian connotation.

 $R\ e\ n\ a\ t\ u\ s\ -t\ a$ is a name generally claimed as Christian.³ It is derived from the past participle of the verb renascor, and it is the importance of this verb in Christian Latin that has made Renatus seem a Christian name. In Christian terminology the verb denoted »to be reborn, scil. through baptism» (Blaise s.v.; cf. Diehl III, p. 397, for epigraphic material). One might therefore expect Renatus to be a distinctive baptism a 1 name. There are few examples to prove this, however. A neophyte of five years certainly bears the name Renata in $SI\ 6100 = Diehl\ 1489B$. But though Marucchi argues that the girl had been given the name at baptism 4, it remains uncertain, as no other name is given, whether the girl had been called so from her birth or whether her original name had been replaced by the Christian one at baptism. In addition to the fact that there is little evidence that Renatus was a baptismal name, the rise in the Christian frequency is not as high as that of Redemptus, for instance (see table 27). The Christian character of Renatus is therefore somewhat open to doubt.

Two other similar names, Renovatus-ta and Reparatus-ta have better claims to be considered Christian. Both are derived from verbs which had acquired new, Christian meanings similar to renascor (Blaise s.v.; for renovare in inscriptions, cf. Diehl, III p. 397). Both names seem to have originated, or at least acquired a Christian connotation in Africa. Renovatus is only Christian; besides being found in Carthage, it is twice found in CX; Reparatus is borne by nine other Christians in

Six of the cases in CVI belong to slaves, freedmen, peregrini and soldiers.
 Cf. Otto, Nomina propria Latina oriunda a participiis perfecti, Jahrbücher

für Klassische Philologie, Suppl. XXIV, 1898, p. 743 ff.

³ Martigny p. 513; Grossi Gondi *Trattato*, p. 82; Schrijnen *Namengebung*, Mn 1935, p. 275; Testini, *Archeologia cristiana*, p. 370.

⁴ Le catacombe romane, p. 120.

Africa 1 , and in other volumes of C it is borne by three Christians and three pagans.

There is one more name which may be taken as expressing a Christian article of belief, Refrigerius. The name is derived with the suffix -ius from the noun refrigerium or the verb refrigerare (see p. 81). In CVI 22028 the name is found as a detached signum. Though these facts suggest that the slight rise in the Christian frequency was due to Refrigerius being a new formation, some special circumstances seem to argue in favour of the Christianity of the name. Both refrigerium and refrigerare had acquired new connotations in Christian Latin: **eternal bliss** and **to enjoy heavenly joy** (see Blaise s.v.). The name Refrigerius may have been given as an embodiment of the parental hopes that their child would in time enjoy celestial bliss.

§ 3. Names suggestive of Christian virtues

I am certain of only two names expressive of Christian virtues, *Agape* and *Innocentius*.

The name $A g a \phi e$ is derived from the Greek word $\partial \phi a n$, which, according to St. Paul, was the highest Christian virtue (I Cor. 13, 1 ff.). Here it is not the much-discussed meaning of the Christian agabe that is of interest to us²; we have only to find out whether, and to what extent, the Christians utilized Agape as a personal name. Though the idea that $dy d\pi \eta$ was a specific biblical word first coined by the translators of the Septuaginta still finds supporters 3, most modern scholars agree that ἀγάπη existed in the koine before the translators of the LXX appropriated it.4 In profane Greek, however, $\partial \gamma \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta$ stood for »love» in general, whereas the special Christian meaning of the word, though foreshadowed by the LXX and subsequent Jewish writing, is to be ascribed to St. Paul.⁵ This discussion of the origin of the word $\dot{a}y\dot{a}\pi\eta$ has special significance for us because the use of Agape as a pagan name has been cited as evidence for the extrabiblical origin of the word.6 Petersen has tried to refute this argument by contending that a few of the instances were Christian and that in the others the name Agape was not certain. Petersen's attempt to prove ἀγάπη

 $^{^{1}}$ In addition to the examples in $C\ VIII$, AE 1946, 27 and 35 record two members of the clergy bearing the name Reparatus.

² See e.g. Lietzmann, Handbuch zum neuen Testament IX, p. 66 f.

 $^{^3}$ Petersen, ἀγάπη, Biblische Zeitschrift 1932, p. 378 ff. The writer of the article »agape» in ODCC (1957) considers it a specific biblical word, too.

⁴ DEISSMANN, Licht vom Osten, p. 57 ff.; LIETZMANN, op. cit., p. 68; BAUER s.v.

 $^{^5}$ For a good history of the word, see Ceresa-Castoldo, dyá $\pi\eta$ nei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento, Aegyptus 1951, p. 269 ff., continued in RFIC 1953, p. 347 ff.

⁶ LIETZMANN, op. cit., p. 68.

⁷ Op. cit.

a biblical word has misled him, however. In all the volumes of C there are ten cases of the name Agape which are considered pagan by the editors, but in none of them can the bearer of the name be considered Christian or the form of the name be questioned. It is not difficult to understand why Agape was used as a pagan personal name. As a Greek abstract, $d\gamma d\pi \eta$ found its way into pagan nomenclature (cf. p. 70), but because the noun was not very common, Agape was not as frequent a personal name as Elpis and Irene, for instance.

In Christian times Agape was a very popular name (see table 27 p. 111). This enormous rise in its frequency can only be due to the fact that $d\gamma d\eta \eta$ had become an important Christian notion. Whereas $d\gamma d\eta \eta$ for the pagans denoted ordinary human love, for the Christians it suggested aloving-kindness, alove of God, and God's love. Numerous inscriptions in which the expression in agape is found attest the familiarity of the term in early Christian times (Diehl, 2723 ff.). A similar change of meaning must have taken place in the personal name, and Agape acquired a strong Christian connotation.

It may be seen from list 27, p. 111, that whereas Anastasius and Agape are frequent in Christian Rome, they are rare or unknown in Carthage. While in regard to Anastasius the same is true as in regard to Martyrius and other similar names (see p. 100): as a Greek cognomen it had less chance of becoming popular in Latin Africa, Agape seems to be rare outside Rome, the only non-Roman examples coming from Latium and from Ostia (C XIV 1897 and 4810). There are, moreover, two cases in Hadrumetum (ILT 201). The popularity of Agape thus seems to have been a Roman peculiarity.

The slight rise in the frequency of the cognate name A g a p e t u s (in C VI there are 12 and in the Christian material 17 cases) may have been due to the fact that when Agape became a very popular Christian name, Agapetus also acquired greater popularity because of the etymological connection.

Apart from Agape, I can only vouch for the Christianity of one name expressive of »virtue», I n n o c e n t i u s - i a. The name is rare in pagan inscriptions.² Though it may be objected that Innocentius belongs to the

 $^{^1}$ The cases are C III 2104: Vettia Agape (the husband an Augustalis); V 1260 Iulia Agapae (the domus aeterna figuring in the inscription is not a specific Christian feature); VI 3491: Cosconia Agape (notice D.M.S.); VI 13785: Manlia Agape (the epitaph terminates in a typical pagan formula libertis libertabusque etc.); VI 16805: Agapeni (notice D.M.); VI 21527: Lucceia Agape (though the members of the family are referred to as Lucceii and filii, it is impossible to argue that the bearer of the name was a man and the name Agapetus); VIII 20956: Claudia Agape (notice the figures of **canis** and **infans uvam tenens**, which argue paganism); X 2505: Flavia Agape (notice D.M); X 3674 = ILS 6335: Aemil(ia) Agape (the brother an eques Romanus and decurio); XIV 1064: . . . inia Agape (a sarcophagus).

 $^{^2}$ Both examples, $\it C~VI~1663$ and 19941=22628, are very late and may have been Christian.

new formations which did not become popular until the Later Empire, some facts seem to prove the Christianity of the name. First, the simple form Innocens was also rare in pagan documents (in C VI only 9285 and probably 38467a). Again, innocens was a term popular among the early Christians, referring to infantia quae arbitrii expers peccare nescit 1, whereas in pagan use it had the more general meaning of »innocent», referring to children and adults alike. The idea that innocens for the Christians suggested the specific notion quoted is strengthened by the fact that though innocens is a popular epithet in Christian inscriptions according to DIEHL III p. 539, out of the twenty odd examples cited by him only one pertains to an adult. Though innocentissimus, the superlative, is a term occasionally found in pagan epitaphs too 4, and though in accordance with this pagan use it is applied to children and adults alike in Christian inscriptions (half the cases recorded by Diehl III p. 539 belong to adults), in less stereotyped passages the new, Christian meaning of the term leaps out, e.g. SI 2615 = Diehl 4662: innocentissimae aetatis dulcissimae țiliae Marciae. It is likely, then, that Christian parents called their children Innocentius-ia with reference to the current Christian connotation of the term innocens

VI. SUMMARY OF CHRISTIAN NOMENCLATURE IN ROME AND CARTHAGE

The total number of the examples, as well as the percentage, of different categories of Christian names in Rome and Carthage are listed below.

	Rome		Carthage	
Old Testament names New Testament names names of martyrs	$30 \\ 238 \\ 184$	3 % 24 % 19 %	${26}$	 12 % 21 %
theophoric names date names names expressive of	240 87	24 % 9 %	95 39	42 % 14 %
total	208 987	21 %	27 23 2	11 %

Table 28. Christian names in Rome and Carthage

¹ Thes. VII: 1 col. 1703, 7.

² Thes. VII: 1 col. 1701, 51.

³ In 4141 the parents put up a stone for a *iubeni innocenti* of 28; parental affection may account for the inaccurate use.

⁴ Thes. VII: 1 col. 1702, 8.

Though the Christianity of a few of the names is uncertain — Agne, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Natalicus, Renatus — this does not materially affect the statistics.

The table once again emphasizes the points commented upon in the previous chapters: in Rome, names derived from the Bible were twice as numerous as in Carthage, whereas theophoric names dominated in Carthage. Names expressive of Christian ideas were much more popular in Rome, but this was largely due to the popularity of *Agape*.

The above differences in the frequencies of the various categories do not entitle us to draw conclusions about differences between Roman and Carthaginian Christianity, purely onomastic factors largely accounting for the differences in nomenclature. The relative paucity of Greek cognomina in Africa accounts for much. Again, Latin theophoric names, being of African origin, were naturally more numerous in Carthage. The infrequency of biblical names in Carthage may have been a regional peculiarity, biblical names being found elsewhere in Africa.

On the other hand, Christian nomenclature was much more significant in Carthage, for about 15% of the persons having cognomina bore Christian names, the corresponding figure for Rome being about 9%. Moreover, most of the Christian names popular in Carthage were exclusively or almost exclusively Christian, whereas not a few of the Christian names frequent in Rome were also found in pagan inscriptions. This difference in frequency and significance may have been due to the fact that the Carthaginian material is on the average from a later period than the Roman one (see p. 2), but it also testifies to the firm hold of Christianity on the Carthaginian population.

I shall finally give a list of the names which were unknown in pagan or Jewish documents and which accordingly prove the Christianity of their bearers:

Adeodatus
Barnabas
Christophorus
Cyprianus
Deogratias
Deusdedit
Deusdona
Deushabet
Dominicus
Habetdeus

Martyrius
Paschasius
Πεντημοστή
Quadragesima
Quodiubet
Quodvultdeus
Renovatus
Spesindeo
Thecla
Thomas
Vincetdeus

Moreover, *Iohannes* and *Petrus* are so very rare in pagan or Jewish inscriptions that they are practically of exclusive Christianity. *Anastasius* is relatively as frequent in Jewish material but is unknown in pagan documents.

VII. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

After this survey of Christian nomenclature, a number of special problems must still be discussed. First of all, we should determine the time at which specific Christian names came into use; further, the important problem of a baptismal change of name should be tackled; and the social aspect of Christian nomenclature is also worth attention.

§ 1. The chronology of Christian names

In defining the time when specific Christian nomenclature came into use, we should disregard those names which, though frequency and semantic development argue them Christian, were used by the pagans and the Jews. What we need are names which were exclusively or almost exclusively Christian and which were moreover found in sufficient numbers to make reliable conclusions possible. Such names are Adeodatus, Anastasius, Domninus, Iohannes, Martyrius, Paschasius, Petrus, Quodvultdeus, Theodulus. Owing to the brevity of the Carthaginian epigraphic material, the following study is based solely upon Roman inscriptions.

The most reliable criterion in defining the chronology is of course the dated epitaphs. Moreover, the frequency of nomina is a chronological criterion, for nomina were found in almost half the cases before the pax, all but disappearing during the fourth century (see p. 12). If we apply these criteria to our material, we find that the first dated epitaphs in general go back to the middle of the fourth century. The second criterion also establishes a late date. Whereas in all the Christian material of Rome, nomina were found in 17—19 % of the cases (see p. 9), the specific C h r i s t i a n names are preceded by a nomen in 8 % of the cases and the nine exclusively Christian names in only 3 %. In the light of the above we may conclude that, though there are a few sporadic examples of incontestable Christian names before the pax (see p. 97), in R o me s pecific C h r i s t i a n n o me n c l a t u r e d i d n o t c o me in t o

¹ Adeodatus A.D. 366—80 (SI 1934); Anastasius A.D. 355 (FE 8420 = DIEHL 2451); Iohannes A.D. 383 (SI 4818 = DIEHL 3499); Domninus A.D. 502—18 (SI 3247); Paschasius A.D. 348 (SI 887); Petrus A.D. 348 (RO 97 = DIEHL 1267), but cf. p. 97; Quodvultdeus A.D. 367 (SI 1401); Theodulus A.D. 398 (SI 4834 = DIEHL 4164); Martyrius gives no dated example.

use until about the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is also likely that those names which were used by Jews or pagans — Agape, Cyriacus, Laurentius, Maria, Paulus, Sabbatius, Susanna — came to possess Christian associations or implications at the same time (cf. p. 91).

The late development of a specific Christian nomenclature was no doubt due to the fact that before the pax the Christians, living in a hostile world, had no reason to attract attention by bearing names which might expose them to danger. It was only after the pax, when specific Christian features of religious and social life began fully to develop, that nomenclature, too, was partially renewed in a Christian spirit.

§ 2. The problem of a baptismal change of name

In the ancient Church, infant baptism was general from the third century onwards if the parents were Christian 2, whereas converts received baptism at a later age. It has been contended that the assumption of a Christian name was common at adult baptism 3, and some scholars even make lists of specific »baptismal names». 4 Roman Law allowed a change of name (Digesta IX 25, A.D. 293), and this made it possible to replace the old pagan name by a Christian one at baptism as an outward token of the new faith. However, the evidence must be carefully considered before deciding upon this important point.

First, there does not seem to be any early evidence of a change of name at baptism. There is certainly a passage in hagiographical literature which is often cited, the legend of *Petrus Balsamus* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 501 f.). When asked his name, he is alleged to have said: *nomine paterno Balsamus dicor*; *spirituali vero nomine*, *quod in baptismo accepi*, *Petrus dicor*, but according to modern hagiographical criticism the legend of *Petrus Balsamus* belongs to the category of historical novels devoid of truth. Such passages in hagiographical legends reflect the practice of the Middle

¹ Cf. Moffat, Names (Christian) ERE IX p. 145.

² ODCC p. 689.

³ E.g. Kroll, *Alte Taufgebräuche*, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 1905, Beiheft, p. 47; Schrijnen, *Namengebung*, Mn 1935, p. 273 f. Both adduce as testimony the passages from hagiographical legends which I have discussed above.

⁴ SCHRIJNEN Namengebung, p. 275, gives a long list of »baptismal names», among them such incontestable pagan cognomina as Athanasius, Restitutus, Servandus, Vitalis.

⁵ DELEHAYE, Les légendes hagiographiques, p. 114; cf. p. 108. — Still less can any historical truth be attached to Acta Sanct. Aprilis II p. 483: Derivato a patre vocabulo Quintius appellabatur; nomine autem proprio, quod in baptismi gratia acceperat, Innocentius dicebatur, for the passage is found in a legend which had never been classed as »genuine».

Ages, for in the Middle Ages the old name was often replaced by a Christian one at baptism or confirmation. 1

Though no early instances of a change of name at baptism can be cited. some evidence is to be had from a later period. The earliest example is perhaps the legend of *Iudas qui et Cyriacus* written about the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries (see p. 104). Though the legend is fictitious, the man could not have been represented as assuming a new. Christian name at baptism unless this was a contemporary practice. There is also some epigraphic evidence. AE 1951, 172 (Aquileia) records Petrus qui <et> Papario fil(ius) Olimpii Iudaei solusque ex gente sua ad (Christi) meruit gratiam pervenire. The man was a Jew converted to Christianity, and had doubtless assumed the venerable name of Petrus together with the new religion. Because the epitaph is dated by the method of *nindictiones*»: ind(ictione) quarta, it is probably late. The first explicit statement of the assumption of a Christian name at baptism goes back to the seventh century. DIEHL 55 reproduces an epitaph of Cedual qui et Petrus, rex Saxonum, A.D. 689. His new name was given at baptism (lines 10-13): barbaricam rabiem nomen et inde suum | conversus convertit ovans, Petrumg(ue) vocari | Sergius antistes iussit ut ipse pater | tonte renascentis.

The above does not mean that the assumption of a Christian name at baptism was only customary in later times; early documents may simply have been lost. To decide the question, indirect evidence must also be considered.

First, the names of neophytes should be examined to find out whether they attest a baptismal assumption of a Christian name. There are certain names which, if a baptismal change of name was general, should often be borne by neophytes. Such names are above all *Paschasius*, catechumens usually receiving baptism on Easter Day, and *Renatus*, which suggests the idea of rebirth at baptism. It has, however, been proved that *Paschasius* was a name given to Easter children (see p. 110 f.) and that *Renatus* was scarcely a Christian name at all (see p. 112). Further, Christian names in general were rare amongst neophytes. Among the considerable number of neophytes recorded by Diehl. 1477—1507, only *Anastasius* (1507), *Cyriace* (1489D), *Innocentius* (1484 = SI 3552), and *Paulus* (1504) bear Christian names. *Paulus* must be dismissed, for it was also a common pagan cognomen. The first example, *Anastasio innocenti neophytes in Cristo*, cannot be used as proof of a baptismal change of name. *Anastasius*

¹ Kroll, op. cit., p. 48.

 $^{^2}$ RO p. xcvii f.: epitaphs dated by <code>indictiones</code> without the accompanying consular date are from the sixth century. — A case similar to the one discussed may be Bull 1890, p. 15 = DIEHL, 4993A [<code>Paschap]sii</code> / . . . <code>qui</code> nomen habuit <code>Iuda</code>. The name <code>Iuda</code> was popular among the <code>Jews</code>, but naturally looked at askance by the Christians.

was obviously a child (innocens, cf. p. 115), probably borne to Christian parents, and may have had the name from the very beginning. This view seems to find support in the fact that Anastasius was only a petens, i.e. a catechumen, and may have been called a neophyte only by way of anticipation (see Diehl ad loc.). Cyriace and Innocentius were adults (20 and 23, respectively). Though the names may be Christian ones assumed at baptism, one might expect that the old name would also have been given, especially as the death took place so soon after their baptism. Even in later times the old name was retained, as the examples discussed show (see below). But as the old name is not given, the real origin of the names remains a mystery. Cyriace and Innocentius may have had Christian parents and received their names at birth, infant baptism not always being practiced. Again, the names were not exclusively Christian (see pp. 104 and 114), and may have been given by pagan parents as well.

The only indirect evidence we thus have of a possible assumption of a Christian name at baptism are the double cognomina and supernomina in which one name is pagan, the other Christian. The examples to be gathered from the whole of Latin epigraphy are numerous. Cases in which a Christian name is substituted for a mythological one are particularly important. SI 1672 = Diehl. 2630adn: Licinia Aeliodora Adeodata, is an obvious example, even the etymological implications being retained (Aeliodora = gift of Helius), but NBull 1903, p. 21 = Diehl. 3979G: Alfenia Narc[issa] sig(no) Martyri, and SI 3698: Paulus Asclepius, belong to the same group. In the other cases a Christian name is tacked on to ordinary Latin and Greek cognomina. The Christian names represent every category: Agape three cases², Anastasius two³, Barnabas one⁴, Cyriacus two⁵, Domninus one⁶, Iohannes two⁷, Nazarius one⁸, Paschasius two⁹, Petrus two¹⁰, Quadragesima one¹¹, Refrigerius one¹², Susanna one¹³, Theodulus two.¹⁴

¹ JEREMIAS, Die Kindertaufe in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten, p. 102 ff.

 $^{^2}$ SI 2603 = DIEHL 4535: Vitalis Agape; SI 4346: Irene Agape; RAC 1931, p. 227: Creste quae et Agape.

³ Bull 1867, p. 31 = DIEHL 2952Cadn: . . . sive Anastasia; С III 9587 = DIEHL 4484: Anastasia qui et Verula.

⁴ FE 6600b: Barnab[as] qui et Ase[llus].

 $^{^5}$ SI 5249: Aurelius Atticus Cyriacus; C V 6260 = DIEHL 1368: Quirace supernomen Micines.

 $^{^{6}}$ SI 2601 = DIEHL, 3959adn: Cassus Domninus.

⁷ FE 9307: ' $I\omega$ áv η 5 "A< δ >ovv; C V Suppl. Ital. 26 = DIEHL 1878: Iohannis Romeus.

⁸ RAC 1926, p. 75: Nαζάριους 'Iννοκέντιους. The names may, however, have been given at birth by Christian parents.

⁹ C V 1692 = DIEHL 2687B: Felix Pascasius; XII 956 = DIEHL 3540: Optatina Reticia sive Pascasia.

¹⁰ SI 3859 = DIEHL 2709A: Petrus Victorrinus; for Petrus qui Papario, see p. 119.

¹¹ SI 1947 = DIEHL 4384: [Quadr]agensima [Ianu?]aria.

While a few of the double names may have been given by parents at birth (see p. 30), there can be no doubt that most of them were nicknames which were later attached to the original ones. The most likely moment for the assumption of a Christian name was the Christian baptism. Though nothing certain can be said about the chronology of baptismal names, the appearance of a nomen in a few of the examples quoted argues not too late a date.

One must concede, then, that in the early Christian Church the assumption at baptism of a new, Christian name was actually practiced. The names represented every class of Christian nomenclature, no preference being given to names which recalled baptismal ideas. There is no evidence that the new name entirely supplanted the old one; on the contrary, the old name seems in general to have been retained, the new name being added as a second cognomen or as a supernomen.

§ 3. The social aspect of Christian nomenclature

In pagan Roman nomenclature, certain names, e.g. Felix, Hilarus and Salvius, as well as Greek cognomina in general, being often borne by slaves and freedmen, had a servile stigma and were for this reason avoided by free citizens. It may be of interest to see whether there was any similar class division in Christian nomenclature. Though our evidence, which is solely derived from Roman inscriptions, cannot be conclusive, some facts of interest nevertheless emerge. There were certain names which were never or extremely seldom borne by titled persons, the nobility and the clergy, viz. Agape, Cyriacus, Martyrius, Theodulus, whereas the frequency of Adeodatus, Anastasius, Deusdedit, Iohannes, Paulus and Petrus among the upper class was above the average.

This obvious class division of Christian names is difficult to explain in terms other than simple f as hion. Pagan tradition may also account for something, for, with the exception of *Anastasius*, the names avoided by the nobility and the clergy were Greek. *Agape* and *Cyriacus* had been cognomina of humble people (see pp. 114 and 104) and continued to be such in Christian times. *Anastasius*, on the other hand, was a new coinage; moreover, it suggested a very noble and important Christian idea.

¹² SI 4704: Bitalio, with Refrigeri vivas cut below.

¹³ DIEHL 2514h (Africa): Sussanna que et Lolliana.

¹⁴ RAC 1926, p. 74: Φίλανδερ Θεόδουλ(ος); 1929, p. 214: Theodulus sive Leontius.

¹ Frank, Race mixture in the Roman Empire, AHR 1915/16, p. 692.

² Including in the upper class all the higher magistrates and in the clergy fossores, virgines and the like, the material may be tabulated as follows: Adeodatus is borne by two members of the aristocracy and six members of the clergy out of a total of 45; the corresponding figures for Anastasius are 5-2-51; for Deusdedit 0-2-9; for Iohannes 8-8-52; for Paulus 6-6-81; for Petrus 0-14-60.

SUMMARY

Of the changes suffered by Latin nomenclature during the Later Empire such as they appear in the early Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage, the most radical were the disappearance of freedmen's filiation and the decline in the use of the praenomen and nomen, the result being a single name system prevalent from the beginning of the fourth century. The disappearance of freedmen's filiation was primarily due to the decline of slavery and to the Christian reluctance to make a distinction between bond and free, the decline in the use of the nomen to the loss in value of Roman citizenship, formerly symbolized by the right to bear Roman nomina, and to the enormous popularity of a few Imperial nomina, in particular Aurelius and Flavius, which damaged the distinctive function of the nomen. Because nomina did not function as family names as much as before, they were often used as cognomina. The popularity of double cognomina was again partly due to an imitation of the practice of the aristocracy of inheriting cognomina from both parents or other relatives, partly to the growing liking for nicknames. Nicknames, however, were most often added to the original name as supernomina, either as agnomina connected with qui et, as signa proper connected with signo, or as detached signa cut apart from the text of the inscription. The detached signa, which were almost invariably new names coined with the old gentile suffix -ius, were usually set in the vocative or genitive, women also having the masculine form of the name; they were largely extemporized nicknames, much resembling epithets, but a number of them were nomina sodaliciaria, indicating membership of a funeral club with a collective name of the same type. Finally, the transmission of cognomina was rather common, a third of the parental cognomina being transmitted to children, that of the father three times as often as that of the mother. Cognomina were most often transmitted unchanged, but parental and children's cognomina were sometimes suffixed forms of each other or corresponded to each other through meaning or assonance.

Whereas in the pagan inscriptions of Rome cognomina of Greek origin were borne by 56 % of the persons, in the Christian inscriptions the percentage had diminished to 43 %. This was due to the decline of slavery, Greek cognomina being primarily imported by Greek-speaking slaves from the East. In Carthage, where slaves, being drawn from native stocks, largely bore Latin names, Greek cognomina were in a minority

in the pagan inscriptional material too, and the decline of their number in the Christian inscriptions was not as radical as in Rome. Most of the cognomina found in Christian inscriptions were old-established, but they were extended with s uffixes much more often than in the pagan material. Moreover, two new suffixes had come into use towards the end of the second century A.D., — o s u s - s a and - i u s - i a, the former, with a more restricted use, originating and prevailing in Africa, the latter, the old gentile suffix, being more common and more universal. About a sixth of the persons in the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Carthage had new coinages in -ius-ia, a considerable number of which were derived from words not before used as cognomina.

About the middle of the fourth century, a specific Christian n o m e n c l a t u r e came into being. Many Christian names were either old pagan cognomina which had become sacred because famous saints had borne them or which had acquired a new, Christian connotation through a semantic shift in the original word. Names derived from the O1d Testament were exceptional; New Testament names were more popular, but only the names of the four greatest figures, Iohannes, Maria, Paulus and Petrus were really frequent. Biblical names were more popular in Rome than in Carthage, where they were exceptional. The cult of martyrs also influenced nomenclature, but even here only the very greatest names, in particular Cyprianus and Laurentius, attained real popularity. The most important group of Christian names were represented by Christian theophoric names. Most of the names of this type were derived from the word Deus and were indeclinable sentence-names which originated in Carthage probably as translations of native Punic names. In Rome, the most important Christian theophoric name was Cyriacus, the Christian sense of which was due to a semantic shift in the original word χυριαχός from »belonging to the master» to »belonging to the Lord». Christian date names were not many, Paschasius being the most important of them. There were a number of names expressing Christian dogmas and virtues, too, in particular Anastasius and Agape.

In regard to the chronology, a study of the nomenclature in the dated inscriptions of Rome confirms the archeological findings that the period of the greatest activity in the Roman catacombs was the fourth century. The Christian inscriptions of Rome which are derived from the period before the pax, present some striking differences from the above picture of early Christian nomenclature: a nomen was found in half the cases, and 10 % of the men had, moreover, a praenomen; Greek cognomina were as frequent as Latinones; the new coinages in -ius-ia were borne by only 3,5 % of all the persons who had cognomina; there were only a few sporadic examples of specific Christian names.

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