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THE NOMINA OF THE SAMNITES. A CHECKLIST

OLLI SALOMIES

There have been scholars who have expressed the opinion that it might be a good idea to establish a catalogue of all family names (referred to as "nomina" in the title of this article and in the following) attested for Samnites.¹ It is true that there is the book *L'anthroponymie osque* (1976) by M. Lejeune and the long article by V. Slunečko, "Beiträge zur altitalischen Onomastik. 1. Das osko-umbrische Personennamen-material", *LF* 115 (1992) 36–109. However, Lejeune's book is a bit difficult to use, and the paper of Slunečko considers only names attested epigraphically (it ends with the observation "Fortsetzung folgt", but there does not seem to be a sequel). Moreover, new finds and especially the publication in 2011 of the monumental volumes of the *Imagines Italicae* (but note also F. Murano, *Le tabellae defixionum osche*, Rome: Serra 2012, referred to as "forthcoming" by F. Murano, *AJPh* 133 [2012] 654) seem in any case to make a new treatment of the subject desirable, and this in fact is the aim of this article, which is essentially a checklist of all Oscan family names which appear in epigraphical and literary sources. Various observations based on the checklist will appear in a later article.

I must already point out at this stage that I am interested not only in the Oscan names themselves but also in their Latin equivalents and in general in their survival and fortunes in the Roman period; this is why Latin inscriptions will be quoted almost as often as Oscan ones. The use of the term "Samnites" in the title of the article means that I am dealing with the names of those peoples who spoke Oscan, "Oscan" here referring (as in Lejeune's work) to "central" and "southern" Oscan, that is, to the language written in the north (in Samnium, Campania, etc.) with the Oscan alphabet, and normally with the Greek alphabet in Lucania, Brutium and Messana. It follows that Umbrians, the "Sabellian" peoples (Paeligni,

¹ T. Sironen, in H. Rix (ed.), *Oskisch-Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Società Italiana di Glottologia ... in Freiburg* (1993) 282; cf. Untermann 9.

etc.) and some other "Italic" peoples that have left us some traces of their existence (Marsi, Hernici, etc.) will be excluded here. "Sabellian", especially Paelignian, names will, however, be mentioned now and then in order to illustrate a particular phenomenon.

In compiling the checklist, I have considered the following nomina as "Oscan":

- (a) nomina of Samnites, Campanians, etc. appearing in inscriptions using the Oscan language (as defined above);²
- (b) nomina assigned to Samnites, Campanians, etc. in literary sources dealing with the period when Oscan was still spoken (e.g., Pacula Cluvia from Capua in 210 BC);
- (c) nomina attested in combination with Oscan praenomina in Latin and Greek inscriptions – normally dating to the Republican period – from the Oscan-speaking area (e.g., M. Aesquilli(us) Paq(ui) f. Ruf(us) in *CIL* I² 1685 from Tegianum; Πάκιος Καλόνιος in *SEG* IV 76 from the *ager Teuranus*). It will be assumed here that the use of an Oscan praenomen in an inscription from the Oscan area indicates that we are dealing with a person with an Oscan (or Samnite) background, if his/her nomen is not patently non-Oscan.³ As for the praenomina seen here as "Oscan", I have considered all non-Roman praenomina attested in Oscan inscriptions and which seem typical of the Oscan area as defined above. I have thus considered, e.g., *Ep(pius)*, *Paquius* and *Trebius* but not *Salvius* or *Statius* which are mainly found in, and are typical of, regions outside the Oscan area, the country of the Marsi, Umbria, etc. The praenomen *Vibius* is also often found outside the Oscan lands, but can be considered an Oscan praenomen indicating an Oscan background if attested in an inscription from the Oscan country. As for *Numerius*, this is a praenomen which is indeed typical of the Oscan area and which in my view can, if attested in inscriptions from the same area combined with a suitable nomen (cf. n. 3),

² However, *Romans* appearing in Oscan inscriptions – cf. now the inscription of the consul L. Mummius, *Imag.* 615f. Pompei 1 – obviously do not qualify.

³ I say this because an Oscan praenomen in an inscription from the Oscan area is not always a certain indication of Oscan origins; note, e.g., the *duovir* N. Antonius C. f. in Saepinum (*AE* 1927, 118), whose nomen does not suggest an Oscan background, or (if the reading is correct) a certain N. Cassius in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 1482). One concludes that immigrants to the Oscan world – e.g., an Antonius perhaps coming from Rome itself – might take over onomastic habits that obtained in their new environment (cf. also the Claudii in the checklist).

be seen as definitely pointing to an Oscan origin. However, *Numerius* is problematic inasmuch as it is a fairly common praenomen also attested in inscriptions of imperial date and outside the Oscan territory. This is why I have decided to consider the nomina of Numerii attested only in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan area, but to present them in a separate Appendix attached to the checklist (Numerii in Latin inscriptions with nomina also attested in Oscan inscriptions – e.g., N. Audii in Capua – will, of course, be adduced in the checklist); this Appendix also contains a number of nomina which are attested exclusively or almost exclusively in Oscan cities (e.g., *Digitius* in Paestum, *Holconius* in Pompeii) and which one could thus suspect as being of Oscan origin.

- (d) finally, I have included some further nomina, e.g., those of persons with a nomenclature of the Italic type (with at least a praenomen and a nomen) appearing in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, to whom an origin in the Oscan-speaking area is assigned (e.g., Νόυιος Λατίν<ι>ος Ούίου Μαμερτίνος).

The checklist includes only names which I think that one can assume with some confidence that we are dealing with nomina;⁴ at the end, there is a section with "uncertain cases" in which I list a few names which do seem to be nomina but which are of uncertain interpretation.⁵

⁴ Thus I have omitted **anus(i)eís** ("Ansii") Sa16 = *Imag.* 1159f. Terventum 9 (c. 125), **avusas** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), †**diufaris** Cp40 = *Imag.* 470 Capua 48 (350–300) ("*Diufaris*", "a theophoric nomen (?"), **lavs** ("Lavius") Cm38/9 = *Imag.* 608ff. Herculaneum 2 (c. 100), **mamertieís** tCp1 = *Imag.* 475 Capua 52 Stamp (c. 300–200) and **mamertiúí** tCm7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 Stamp (n. d.) (cf. n. 55), *muttnium* Ps19 = *Imag.* 375 Campania (?) 1 (500–450), νιυ]ν{π}ψηδ[ις *Imag.* p. 1406 Potentia 26 ("[Nu]mpsid[ius]"), *venileis* Cm30 = *Imag.* 376 Campania 2, φερεκο(-) tLu9 = *Imag.* 1497 Vibo 3 (taken for a nomen by Lejeune 26 no. 288, cf. p. 42). I have also omitted the names in the striking inscription *CIL* I² 400 = *Imag.* 529 Falernus ager 1 [Francolise] (c. 300), which, although found in the *ager Falernus*, seems to record persons alien to this area (note that each of them seems to have a nomen not found anywhere else, and that the nomina – *Racectius*, etc. – do not at all seem Oscan).

⁵ For nomina the reading of which appears in a corrected form in *Imagines Italicae*, note **akkiis** (Lejeune 14 no. 61; but the reading is **makkiis** in Vetter, *ST* and *Imag.* 380 Campania Coinage 1); **asillii(s)** (Ve 37), now interpreted as **sillii(s)** (tPo4; *Imag.* 821 Pompei 131 (where, however, the reading **g. asillii(s)** is apparently not altogether ruled out); καλαίιος (P. Poccetti, in *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di L. Gasperini* [2000] 762ff.), now read as καίλιος (*Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4); **kavkdis** Cm14,11 corrected to **kavkeis** and interpreted as a praenomen in *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8; **φαδις** Lu63, now corrected to **αδις** (*Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3); **lare(-)** tPo6, now read as **rar(iis)** (*Imag.* 819 Pompei 130); σταφις Lu63 (now read as [σ]τατις, *Imag.* 1348f.

In citing Oscan inscriptions, I refer to both Rix' *Sabellische Texte* of 2002 (but normally not to older publications) and to *Imagines Italicae* (abbreviated *Imag.*). Texts in Rix are cited as (e.g.) "Cm2" (without "Rix" or "ST"). In references to *Imag.*, I have added the page numbers (e.g., "*Imag.* 426f. Capua 25"), as it can take some time to locate inscriptions referred to simply as "Capua 25" or the like. Vetter's collection is referred to as "Ve", but that of Poccetti as "Poccetti" (not as "Po", as "Po" is attached to inscriptions from Pompeii in Rix). For Latin inscriptions, I normally follow the abbreviations used in the *Année épigraphique* (sometimes with some modifications).

In the case of most nomina, there follows some information on their attestations in Latin inscriptions, mainly in Latin inscriptions from the Oscan area in order to illustrate the survival of nomina from the Oscan to the Roman period. It must thus be noted that if I say that the nomen *Afinius* is attested in Saepinum, Aesernia, Beneventum, Aeclanum and Abellinum (cf. below), this does not mean that *Afinius* might not be also attested elsewhere; but in this context, attestations from (say) Rome, Etruria or Spain are of lesser interest. In order to save space, I normally only mention the city in which a particular nomen is found (e.g., "attested in Capua and Pompeii" or simply just "(Capua, Pompeii)"), an exact reference (e.g., *NSA* 1894, 67 n. 40) being given only if the references are not easily found in the epigraphic database Clauss-Slaaby (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>). Those wishing to find out (e.g.) the attestations of *Asellius* in Latin inscriptions only have search for "*Aselli*" in the said database which will produce the attestations in an instant.

Checklist of Oscan Nomina

- + attested also in "Sabellian" (as contrasted to Oscan) inscriptions (Pa-eligni, etc.)
- * attested in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan-speaking region (Samnium, Lucania, etc.)
- attested in Latin (or Greek) inscriptions only outside the Oscan-speaking region
- † not attested in Latin (or Greek) inscriptions

Laos 3). For words or names interpreted as nomina in previous editions of Oscan inscriptions but now interpreted as something else, note **nive(IIIEIS)** Cp34, for which the reading now offered (but not explained) is **minive** (*Imag.* 423ff. Capua 24), **pask(iis)** tPo26, now analysed as **pa(kis) sk(-)** (*Imag.* 808 Pompeii 123), **púpeIIIS** Sa2 (a completely different interpretation in *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36). For nomina the reading of which seems debatable cf., e.g., below s. v. **auril(iis)**, **βοφοντ[υ]**, **puinik(iis)**.

- ***abutis** *Imag.* 972 Aeclanum 14 (n. d.): *Abuttius*, attested in Nola (*AE* 1994, 414) and Abellinum (*CIL* X 1141 cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 19 [1985] 204f.).
- ***aboliies** (Latin alphabet) = **αβολιιε[σ]** *Imag.* 1362f. Numistro 2 (200–100): *Abullius*, attested in Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2653ff., 2690f. etc.).⁶
- ***aadiieís** gen. Sa31 = *Imag.* 1132f. Saepinum 2 (c. 150–90), αδισ Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (with corrected reading; c. 300): *Adius* (attested at least in Pompeii and in Larinum)⁷ *Addius*.
- †**aadirans** Po3 = *Imag.* 656ff. Pompei 24 ("after 123"), cf. K. McDonald, *JRS* 102 (2012) 40–55. This is clearly a nomen with the ending *-anus*, and a comparison with **aadíriis** = *Atrius* indicates that the Latin form of this name would be **Atranus*.⁸ The presence of this name, possibly with an Etruscan background (see n. 8), in Pompeii is notable inasmuch as nomina ending in *-anus* concentrate in, and thus seem typical of, the Sabine area, Umbria and Picenum,⁹ whereas they seem to largely absent from Oscan territory. (For a nomen ending in *-ianus* cf. below **Pettianus*.)
- ***aadíriis** Po34 = *Imag.* 617f. Pompei 2 (91–89), **aadiríis** Po35 = *Imag.* 619f. Pompei 3 (91–89); cf. *Átria V. f.*, *CIL* X 1288 (Nola)¹⁰ (cf. also **adaries** gen. Ps5 = *Imag.* 861f. Surrentum 2 [575–500?]): *Átrius*¹¹ (Aequum Tuticum, Pompeii, Nola, Salernum, Potentia); **Adrius* is not attested.

⁶ Note also *Abullia* N. f. *Nigella* in Corduba (*CIL* II² 7, 397).

⁷ N. Stelluti, *Epigrafi di Larino* (1997) no. 103, 213.

⁸ In *CIL* I² 508 = XV 6909 ("in ventre lucernae ... rep. in necropoli Esquilina"), the reading may possibly be *Atran.*; Etruscan names such as *atrane* (for instances, see H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* I [1991] 76, in the index) are adduced as possible parallels by the Italian scholar E. Lattes quoted in the commentary.

⁹ Cf., e.g. the attestations (outside Rome) of nomina like *Cardanus Furfanus Rantifanus Refanus Tebanus Tebedanus Tifanus Tuticanus*.

¹⁰ The inscription still exists; in contrast to the reproduction of the text in the *CIL*, the <a> (as reported by H. Solin) does have an apex, thus confirming that the [a] is long.

¹¹ Lejeune 145 thinks that the identification of **aadíriis** with *Atrius* is "douteuse", saying that "[u]n passage (sporadique) de *-tr-* à *-dr-* entre voyelles en osque n'est pas établi par des exemples relevant du lexique"; he adds that the existence of the name **aadirans** does not favour the view that the <í> in **aadíriis** is due to anaptyxis. However, the fact that **Adrius* is not attested whereas *Atrius* (with long *a*) is found in Pompeii (the city where **aadíriis** is attested) and in other Oscan cities, combined with the fact that **sadiríis** (attested in Pompeii) must be identical with *Satrius* (also attested in Pompeii and in many other Oscan cities; **sadri(is)** and Paelignian *sadries*, continued by Latin *Sadrius*, may reflect both the original form and the form with anaptyxis and the accompanying development [tr] > [dr]), makes it, in my opinion, clear that **aadíriis** must be identical with *Atrius*.

- *M. *Aesquilli(us)* Paq. f. Ruf(us) *CIL* I² 1685 (Tegianum); cf. Aesquillia C. f. Polla *AE* 1911, 71 (Pompeii).
- ***afillis** Po43 = *Imag.* 704 Pompei 47 (c. 150–100); cf. **af(-)** tHi5 = *Imag.* 952 Abellinum 6 (n. d.):¹² *Afilius* (Puteoli) *Afillius* (Pompeii).
- ***aphinis** (a nomen?) Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla");¹³ cf. **af(-)** (above); N. Afinii in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1567. 1638. 1689; *EE* VIII 96): *Afinius* (Saepinum, Aesernia, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum).
- ***ahiis** tCm1 = *Imag.* 844 Stabiae 3 (n. d.), tSi1 = *Imag.* 982f. Venafrum 5 (c. 300), **ah[iis]** tPo40 = *Imag.* 782 Pompei 107 (c. 150–100); *C. V. Ahies* *CIL* X 8042, 103; M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana* (2006) 138 no. 4 (on brick stamps from Pompeii and Stabiae; for the reading – not "*C. Vahies*" – cf. Vetter p. 62);¹⁴ N. Ahius Successus, *Augustalis Nuceriae* *CIL* X 452 (Eburum): *Ahius* (attested also in Aesernia, Venafrum, Abellinum) *Aius* (attested at least in Nuceria [*CIL* X 1087] and Puteoli [*AE* 2005, 346]; Lejeune 141).
- ***aallasis** tPo2 = *Imag.* 812 Pompei 126 (c. 150–100): surely this must be identical with *Alsius* (attested in Herculaneum [L. Alsius Verecundus, *CIL* X 1403, d, 11] and possibly in Pompeii [*CIL* IV 1738]; thus Slunečko) rather than with **Alasius* (*Imag.*), not attested.
- +***αλαφιομ** acc. Lu43 = *Imag.* 1478 Teuranus ager 1 (presumably before c. 200), *αλαφιομ* nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300), Marius Alfius (?), *meddix tuticus* in Capua in 215 BC (Liv. 23, 35, 13. 19; at § 13 the *nomen* appears – as reported by Walters–Conway, but not by Dorey and Jal – as *Alpius*, at § 19 as *Alfio*); Alfia N. f. Servilla, *EE* VIII 320 (Pompeii); cf. *alafis* Pg2 = *Imag.* 246 Superaequum 4 (c. 125–100): *Alfius* (attested at least in Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Caiatia, Trebula Balliensis, Capua, Nola, Pompeii; cf. Lejeune 141); **Alafius* is not attested.
- +***Alpius**: cf. *Alfius*; and *alpis* Pg5 = *Imag.* 301f. Sulmo 2 (c. 200–125): *Alpius* (attested in Aeclanum, *CIL* IX 1227).

¹² This might, however, also be *Afinius* (cf. below) or even *Afarius*, a nomen attested as *afaries* in Lu48 = *Imag.* Italia 5 (cf. Crawford 2010) and in Latin inscriptions from Potentia and apparently from somewhere in Lucania, *CIL* X 146, 504.

¹³ For the orthography <ph> cf. Lejeune 144f., T. Sironen, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 112, Stuart-Smith 2004, 136 (but surely *Afinius* cannot be regarded as a name of Greek origin, although the person who painted this inscription may have thought that he was reproducing Greek Ἀφίνιος rather than Oscan **afiniis*).

¹⁴ M. Steinby, in F. Zevi (ed.), in *Pompei 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana* (1979) 269, speaks of this stamp as one of the "più antichi".

- †*Andripius* Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50).
- +**anniēi(s)* gen. Cp28 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [cf. p. 29]); ?*an(-)* tSa46 = *Imag.* 1078 Bovianum 82 (c. 125–100); Paculla Annia from Capua, Liv. 39, 13, 9; L. Anni(us) V. f. *CIL* I² 3163c (Copia Thurii); cf. *ania* Pg 15 = *Imag.* 305f. Sulmo 4 (c. 200–150), Pg33 = *Imag.* 279 Corfinium 16, *anies* Pg40 = *Imag.* 297 Corfinium 34: *Annius* (Saepinum, Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Salernum, Volcei, Potentia, Grumentum; cf. Lejeune 141).
- (*?) C. *Aplonius* Mi. f. *AE* 1995, 391 = *Suppl. It.* 22 (2004) Aufidena 17. *Aplonia* is also the reading in *CIL* IV 2197 cf. p. 215 (Pompeii), but the correct reading may in fact be *Apronia* (H. Solin).
- appúllis* Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100): *Apulius* *CIL* I² 2683 (Minturnae), etc.?
- akviiai* (nomen?) dat. fem. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), line 10: *Aquius*, attested in Italy in Amiternum (*Epigraphica* 72 [2010] 375), in the country of the Marsi (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 113 = *AE* 1975, 326) and in Tarentum (*NSA* 1894, 67 n. 40).
- **αρριεσ* Lu4 = *Imag.* 1360f. Numistro 1 (300–275); [Πό]κκιος Ἄρριος Νοοῦίου *IG* XIV 886 = *Imag.* 462f. Capua 44 (c. 250?); C. Arri(us) V. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua); N. Arrii or Arrii *N. f./l.* attested in Allifae (*CIL* IX 2374), Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1091. 1148. 1222) and Capua (*CIL* I² 675, 2947):¹⁵ *Arrius* (Aeclanum [many inscriptions], Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Atella, Volturnum, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Muro Lucano, Volcei, Potentia, Atina, Grumentum).
- **arruntiis* Po58 = *Imag.* 688 Pompei 40 (c. 225–200), *αρροντιες* tLu1 = *Imag.* 1431f. Potentia 44: *Arruntius* (Bovianum, Capua, Atella, Pompeii, Surrentum; cf. Lejeune 141).
- [**[α]ρτορ[ιμ]*] (?) acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300) (but we are more probably dealing with *Hortorius*, *q.v.*).
- **Ἀσέλλιος* *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300); N. Asellii in Telesia (*CIL* IX 2246): *Asellius* (attested also at least in Allifae, Puteoli and Pompeii).
- +**asinis* Po86 = *Imag.* 760f. Pompei 95 (n. d.), Sa20 = *Imag.* 1036 Bovianum 40 (n. d.); cf. Herius Asinius, *praetor Marrucinorum* in the Social War (*RE* Asinius 5): *Asinius* (Beneventum, Puteoli, Pompeii, Salernum).
- **atiniis* Po4 = *Imag.* 650f. Pompei 21 (150–100), Po16 = *Imag.* 642f. Pompei 16 (225–200): *Atinius* (Telesia, Nola, Cales, Herculaneum, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).

¹⁵ N. Arrii are also attested in Luceria (*CIL* IX 835) and Rome (*CIL* VI 30936).

- αυδαισ**, αυδαϛϛο (? , corrected from αυδαδο) nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): probably *Audaeus* (thus *Imag.*), otherwise attested only in Regium Lepidum (*NSA* 1940, 288); αυδαϛϛο, if this is the correct emendation, it recalls Paelignian forms of the type *Annavus Annava* which seem to be variants of *Annaeus Annaea*.
- ***αφδειςσ** Lu8 = *Imag.* 1367f. Potentia 3 (200–100): *Audeius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1752f.).
- ***avdiis** Po8 = *Imag.* 647 Pompei 19 (150–100), **ahvdiú** fem. Po51 = *Imag.* 558f. Teanum Sidicinum 24 (c. 200?), **ahvdiis** *Imag.* 379 Campania (?) 5 (300–200), **[ah]vud(iis)** (?) tSa34 = *Imag.* 992 Bovianum 4 (c. 200–100); N. Audii in Capua (H. Solin, *Oebalus* 5 [2010] 252): *Audius* (attested also at least in Pompeii [add Audia Cn. f., *NSA* 1961, 191 no. 1] and Herculaneum; Lejeune 141).
- +***Aufidia** St. f. Maxima *CIL* X 1273 (Nola);¹⁶ cf. *aufidis* Pg44 = *Imag.* 266 Corfinium 5: *Aufidius* (Capua, Liternum, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Petelia).
- ***avrijs** (?) Po70 = *Imag.* 720 Pompei 59 (c. 150–100): probably *Aurius*, attested in Larinum (*Cic. Clu.*).
- †**avksii(s)** Ineditum from Cumae (communicated by G. Camodeca). In Latin, this would surely be **Auxius* (cf. **avdiis** = *Audius*), cf. *Auxilius* (*CIL* V 5788; *ILNovae* 1 = *AE* 1994, 1520), the relation of **Auxius* to *Auxilius* being the same as that of (e.g.) *Maecius* to *Maecilius*. There is, however, the problem that *Auxilius* may be a nomen of late origin derived from *auxilium*.¹⁷
- ***auril(iis)** (?) Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89), suggesting **auril**. ("*Aurelius*") instead of the earlier reading (Vetter [Ve 28], Rix) **puril**. which, however, still seems preferable.
- ***αφελιοςσ** *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): *Avelius*, attested in Terventum (*AE* 1991, 537) and several times in Corfinium.
- ***avia(-)** (?) tPo15 = *Imag.* 814 Pompei 127 (c. 150–100): if the reading is correct, this will surely be *Avianius*, attested in Abellinum, Atella, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii and Paestum.

¹⁶ N. Aufidii are attested in Teate Marrucinatorum (*CIL* IX 3029) and in Histonium (*AE* 2004, 464).

¹⁷ I suggest this possibility because the man in *CIL* V 5788 (Mediolanum), L. Auxilius Mercator, makes a dedication to the *Matronae*, which in addition to his cognomen *Mercator*, points to Gaul or Germany. The inscription from Novae is not of any use in this context.

- ***b^ra^rbbiis** (in the 19th-century copy, the *A* was mistakenly interpreted as *N*) Hi2 = *Imag.* 968f. Aeclanum 10 (n. d.): *Babbius*, attested in Aeclanum (*AE* 1997, 394 = 1998, 378), Cumae and Puteoli (Lejeune 141).
- ***bak(-)** (?) Po88 (reading **bad.**) = *Imag.* 749 Pompei 86 (n. d.): possibly *Bacculeius* (thus *Imag.*), attested in Pompeii, *CIL* IV 9256?
- ***bad(iis)** (?) Po88 = *Imag.* 749 Pompei 86 (reading **bak.**; n. d.); *Badius Campanus* in 212 BC (Liv. 25, 18, 4 etc.): *Badius* (Saepinum, Ligures Baebiani, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Telesia, Allifae, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***baibiis** *Imag.* 480 Calatia 2 (before c. 300) (cf. **bai^rbⁱ(is)** – for transmitted **bairi**. Fr3 = *Imag.* 1282f. Larinum 2 [c. 100]?);¹⁸ N. Baebii and Baebii N. f. attested in Saepinum and Allifae (*CIL* IX 2466; 6304), P. Baebius N. l. in Capua (*CIL* I² 2947): *Baebius*, also attested in other inscriptions from Capua, and in Larinum, Saepinum, Allifae, Abellinum (*AE* 1981, 231), Puteoli, Pompeii (*TPSulp.* 5), Volcei, Grumentum, Petelia.
- Νόυτιος Βάννιος *SEG* 29, 1026 cf. *Imag.* 1528 Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia no. (1); c. 330); [β]αντις (?) Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.): surely **Bannius* (cf. *Banius* *CIL* XIV 3951 [?], *CIL* III 5076).¹⁹
- ***βαραβιεσ** *Imag.* 1498 Vibo 4 (presumably before c. 200): probably *Barbius* (thus *Imag.*), attested in Puteoli (*CIL* X 2162, an earlyish inscription) and a few times in Misenum.
- ***bassiis** Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?), Herenn{i}us Bass<i>us from Nola, 215 BC (Liv. 23, 43, 9; 44, 1):²⁰ *Bassius*, attested in Nola also later (P. Bassius (mulieris) l(i)bertus) Barn(aeus?), *NSA* 1900, 103]).²¹
- ***bení(ieís)**, **ben(iieís)** gen. tSa27, 28 = *Imag.* 1125ff. Bovianum 119 (c. 150–100); μι(νιος) βε(νιος?), N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2295 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (but this might some other nomen beginning with *Be-*); N. Benius M. f. Rufio in Aeclanum (*AE* 1997, 395): *Benius* (attested also at least in Capua, *CIL* X 4042), *Bennius* (Aesernia, Cumae [cf. Camodeca 2008, 19f.], Puteoli [Camodeca 2008, 20 n. 67], Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum).

¹⁸ Cf. perhaps also *kri(-) ba[---]*, *Imag.* 1286 Larinum 5.

¹⁹ For the suggestion of G. Colonna that we should be dealing with a Fannius (rather than with a Bannius), cf. *Imag.*

²⁰ It seems obvious to me that we cannot deal with a Herennius with the cognomen *Bassus* in 215 BC. – **basías** Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 is considered a feminine genitive singular of this nomen by Rix p. 138, but as nominative singular of a term indicating "*parentela* or similar statuses" in *Imag.* p. 1623.

²¹ There is also a Bassius in Misenum (*CIL* X 3549), but this is a veteran.

- beriiis** Si21 and 4 = *Imag.* 567f. Teanum Sidicinum 29f. (c. 300), **beriiis** gen. Si5 = *Imag.* 563f. Teanum Sidicinum 26 (c. 300), **berium** gen. pl. Si6 and 20 = *Imag.* 565f. Teanum Sidicinum 27f. (c. 300), 21: *Berius Berrius* (attested in Ostia, Aquileia, etc.).
- ***betitis** Sa25 = *Imag.* 1095 Bovianum 97 (c. 200–100?), Sa36 = *Imag.* 1097f. Bovianum 98 (300–200), **bet(-)** tSa18 = *Imag.* 994 Bovianum 6 (c. 200–100); *Betitia Pontina N. liberta* in Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1235): *Betitius Betutius* (attested in Beneventum, Aeclanum [many instances], Cales, Capua, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).
- ***bivellis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200): *Bivellius* (Capua, Abellinum [cf. *Camodeca* 2008, 36, 51f.]; Lejeune 141).
- †**βιφιδισ** Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300), [βι?]φιδισ Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.); ?βι(-) *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC). The name must surely be understood as representing **Bividius*; cf. *Bivius Biveius Bivellius* (attested also in Oscan) *Bivonius*.
- ***blaisiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 40; N. Blaesii attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1850), Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1403, d, 2, 15 and in *tabellae Herculanenses*: *AE* 1993, 462b; 2002, 344; 2006, 305; cf. G. *Camodeca*, *CronErc* 36 [2006] 205) and Pompeii (Castrén no. 74, 1): *Blaesius*, attested also in Puteoli (cf. Lejeune 141).
- blan(iis?)** tPo16 = *Imag.* 796 Pompei 115 (c. 150–100) (cf. **bla(-)** tPo17 = *Imag.* 793ff. Pompei 114 [c. 150–100]?): possibly *Blannius*, attested in *CIL* IX 5611 (Picenum).
- ***blússii(eis)** gen. Cp24 = *Imag.* 400f. Capua 11 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]); Marius Blossius, *praetor Campanus* in 216 BC (Liv. 23, 7, 8); C. Blossius, the philosopher from Cumae (*RE* Blossius 1; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* II 116f. B 40): *Blossius*, attested also later in Cumae (*CIL* I² 3129; *AE* 1980, 242), in Capua (*CIL* I² 682, 688; *CIL* X 4045; *AE* 2008, 1743), Puteoli (*CIL* I² 698 of 105 BC), Herculaneum (cf. Lejeune 141).
- †**βοφονι[v]** (?) acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320). In Lu46, the reading is **βοθροvi(ov)** (see below), but the name has also been read as βoφ{+}ovi[v], a reading now reintroduced in *Imag.* and interpreted as **Bufonius*, which would be plausible alongside *Bufilius* (cf. *Pomponius* : *Pompilius*). However, the reading βoθροvi(ov) seems preferable to me (thus also McDonald 2012, 50), especially as the letter interpreted as a φ does not seem to bear much resemblance to the letter φ in other Oscan inscriptions using Greek letters; instead, it does seem a relatively clear rendering of a θ.

- βοθρονη(ον)** (?) acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); the name has also been read as **βορονη[v]**, but the reading **βοθρονη** seems preferable (cf. above), especially as we may well be dealing with a rendering of the nomen which in its Latin form is attested as *Butronius* in Tarracina (*CIL* X 8397).
- O. **Bracio(s)** V. f. *CIL* I² 3151 = *I. Paestum* 140: *Brac(c)ius*, attested in Fundi (*CIL* X 6233–35 = I² 1557a–c) and in Athens (*IG* II/III² 1754, 7803).
- ***briṭ(iis)** (a nomen?) Cm21 = *Imag.* 513f. Cumae 12 (200–100, with the interpretation "a Brettian"), **bri(tiis)** (?) *Imag.* 1229ff. Fagifulae 7, (3) (n. d.) (cf. **bruties** gen. Ps4 = *Imag.* 909f. Nuceria Alfaterna 3 [550–525?]): *Brittius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Cubulteria, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii) *Brutius* *Bruttius* (Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum, Abellinum, Cumae, Pompeii, Eburum, Volcei, Potentia, Tegianum, Grumentum; for the identification of *Bruttius* with *Brittius* cf. below **siuttiis**, with n. 96).
- ***buk(iis)** *Imag.* 917 Nuceria Alfaterna 9 (n. d.): *Bucius* *Buccius* (attested in Pompeii).
- ***burris** Si10 = *Imag.* 557 Teanum Sidicinum 23 (c. 200?): *Burius* *Burrius* (Herculaneum, Pompeii [Camodeca 2008, 213]).
- ***buttis** Cm4 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 35: *Buttius* (Larinum, Beneventum), cf. *Bottius* (Allifae).
- *+**καιδικισ**, **καιδικ(ι)ω** (?) and **και̣δ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣(ι)ω**²² nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300), *Caedicius* Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50) (cf. **kai(-)** tPo18, 32, 33, 34 = *Imag.* 815ff. Pompei 128, 134 [c. 150–100]; **ḳạị(-)** tHi1 = *Imag.* 970 Aeclanum 12 [n. d.]?); cf. *caedcies* Lu56 = *Imag.* 75f. Italia 2 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Caedicius*, attested in Cumae (*ILS* 9511a), ?Neapolis (Camodeca 2008, 366) and Petelia (*CIL* I² 3164; *EE* VIII 261).
- kaísillieís** gen. Cp25 = *Imag.* 415f. Capua 20 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]): *Caesilius*, attested in Ostia, Tibur, Oriculum, Aquileia, etc.
- *L. **Cai(us)** Tr. f. *CIL* I² 1685 (Tegianum): *Caius* *Caius*, attested in Beneventum (*RIGI* 8 [1924] 148 no. 11), Telesia (*CIL* IX 2232), Abellinum (see A. Simonelli, *Arch. Class.* 47 [1995] 154 no. 14).
- ***καλιος** *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300) (**kai(liús?)**) nom. pl. tPo32–34 = *Imag.* 815ff. Pompei 128 [c. 150–100?]: *Caelius* (Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abella, Paestum).

²² The reading in fact seems to be **καιαιδω**, but in view of the presence of a **καιδικισ** and a **καιδικ(ι)ω** in the same *defixio*, the correction to **και̣δ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣(ι)ω** seems acceptable. However, if **καιαιδω** (= **καιαιδιω**) were the correct form, this nomen could perhaps be compared with *Caedia* in Pg17 = *Imag.* 307 Sulmo 5 (c. 125) and *Caedius* in *CIL* I² 1774 = IX 3087 (Sulmo).

- ***kalaviis** Sa22 = *Imag.* 985f. Bovianum or Saepinum 1 (c. 300), **kala[v]iis** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), **kalauiiúm** acc. Cm13 = *Imag.* 507f. Cumae 9 (125–50); **[kala]vii(úm)** (?) gen. pl. Cp34 = *Imag.* 423ff. Capua 24 (B); cf. **kal(-)** tPo21 = *Imag.* 803 Pompei 119 (c. 150–100); Calavii from Capua in literary sources (Lejeune 155); N. Calavius Eusebes in Puteoli (*CIL* X 2202); N. Calvius Rufus in Locri (*CIL* X 19):²³ *Calavius* (Beneventum, Nuceria, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii; Lejeune 141) *Calvius* (Cales, Puteoli, Locri).
- ***καλινισ** Me1 cf. Me2 = *Imag.* 1515ff. Messana 4, 5 (c. 250): *Calinius* (*CIL* X 2204, Puteoli).
- Πόκιος **Καλόνιος** *SEG* IV 76 cf. *Imag.* 1530 Teuranus ager no. (1): this must be **Calonius* or possibly **Calunius* (cf. *Calusius*, etc.).²⁴
- ***kaluvis** Cp39 = *Imag.* 471 Capua 49 (before c. 300), **kalúvis** *Imag.* 497 Cumae 4bis (c. 100), **kalúvieis** Cp30 = *Imag.* 426f. Capua 25 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), Cp29 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]): *Calovius*: L. Calovii, freedmen of a Lucius, are now attested in Cumae (G. Camodeca, in L. Chioffi [ed.], *Il Mediterraneo e la storia* [2010] 60).
- ***kamp[aniis]** Po14 = *Imag.* 653ff. Pompei 23 (c. 140), **kam[paniis]** Po62 = *Imag.* 721 Pompei 60 (c. 125–100) (**kam(-)** tSa2 = *Imag.* 987f. Bovianum 1 [c. 200–100], *Imag.* 1026 Bovianum 30 [c. 200–100]?): *Campanius*, attested in Capua.
- (*)**Cantilia** St. I. Argyris *CIL* X 4116 (Capua); *Cantilius* is otherwise attested only in Aquileia and in Spain.
- ***kanuties** gen. (a nomen?) Cm24 = *Imag.* 597f. Saticula 4 (325–300); N. Canutius Auctus in Capua (*AE* 1982, 175): *Canutius Cannutius*, attested also in Salernum (*CIL* X 570; cf. also below s.v. **utiis**).
- kar(iis)** (?) tSa3 = *Imag.* 989f. Bovianum 2 (c. 200–100); **καρ(ιες?)** tLu10 = *Imag.* 1428f. Potentia 42: this could be *Carius* (attested in Rome, Fanum, Ariminum, etc.).
- *Πάπελος **Κασίν(ν)ιος** *Jdl* 118 (2003) 211f. no. 2, 217–20 no. 5 etc. (Paternò in E. Sicily), cf. *Imag.* 1532 Paternò (1): *Casinius*, attested in Volcei (*CIL* X 407 [*fundus Casinianus*]. 422. 8108. 8114).
- ***kastrikiíeis** gen. Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89); N. Castricius Agathopus in Puteoli (*TPSulp.* 64): *Castricius* (Beneventum, Caiatia, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).

²³ For a Severan *vigil* N. Calab(ius) Trophim(us), see *CIL* VI 1058, II, 113.

²⁴ Cf. perhaps *Q. Calo(nius?)*, VIII *MGR* [1982] 572f. no. 141 (Minturnae, brick stamp) and *CIL* XI 6705,4 (Caere).

- +***kattiis** Si11 = *Imag.* 555f. Teanum Sidicinum 22 (c. 200); Catia Vibi f. *CIL* I² 1727 (Beneventum); cf. *catis* MV11, 12 = *Imag.* 221 Incerulae 2: *Catius* (Pompeii) *Cattius* (Puteoli).
- *N. **Cei**us Per. f. *CIL* IX 2610 (Terventum); *Cei*us *quidam Samnis* Cic. *Clu.* 162: *Cei*us (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***keliis** (?) Cm36 = *Imag.* 911 Nuceria Alfaterna 4 (c. 150): if the reading is correct, we are probably dealing with *Cellius*, attested in Pompeii and Atina Lucana.
- *?**kepiis** ?Cm36 ("vel **keliis**") = *Imag.* 911 Nuceria Alfaterna 4 (c. 150), reading **keliis**, κε[πιεσ (?)] Lu2 = *Imag.* 1353f. Atina Lucana 1 (c. 150): if the reading **kepiis** is correct, the nomen must be identical to *Cepius Ceppius* (*I. Paestum* 111 [framm. E]. 196. 202, *EE* VIII 288 cf. *I. Paestum* no. 196, note 3).
- *Minius and Herennus **Cerrinius** from Capua in 186 BC (Liv. 39, 13, 9 etc.): *Cerrinius* (Saepinum, Larinum, Bovianum, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Messana).
- kid(iis?)** (?) (or **kud(iis?)**) Sa56 = *Imag.* 1225ff. Fagifulae 5, (1) (n. d.): *Cidius* (*CIL* X 6026, Minturnae)? Or perhaps rather *Codius*, also attested in Minturnae (*CIL* I² 2702),²⁵ *Cudius* (*BACTH* 1909, 235 no. 1 from Thysdrus)?
- ***kiipiis** Po42 = *Imag.* 706 Pompei 49 (c. 150): *Cīpius* (Beneventum, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***κλαφδισ** Me4 = *Imag.* 1519f. Messana 6 (c. 275); L. Claudio(s) Tr. f. *CIL* I² 3152 (Paestum, dated to the 3rd century in *I. Paestum* 139, but placed among the inscriptions "bello Hannibalico recentiores" by A. Degrassi in *CIL* I²); A. Claudius C. (f.) *Imag.* 575 Cales 1 (n. d.): *Claudius*.
- ***klí(piis)** tSa10 = *Imag.* 998f. Bovianum 10 (c. 200–100; a new instance in Soricelli 2011, 56 no. 1); Κλέππιος (Κλεπίτιος the ms.), a Lucanian commander in the Social War (Diod. 36, 8, 1; 37, 2, 11; cf. T. Sironen, *Arctos* 25 [1991] 136f.): in view of the nomen of the Lucanian commander, **klí(-)** must surely be understood as representing *Clep(p)ius* (thus Slunečko no. 111; Poccetti no. 40, commentary; Campanile 2008, 985), attested at least in Bantia and Aequeum Tuticum, and cf. *CIL* X 8059, 119, a *signaculum* observed in Naples with *N. Cle()* *Felicitis*; and *Cleppiana* *CIL* IX 1792 from Beneventum (*Imag.* suggests "*Clippius*"; this nomen does not seem to be attested).
- ***kluvatiis**, **kluvatiium** acc., **kluvatiui** dat. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), lines 2. 9. 10, **kluvatiium** gen. pl. Cp11 = *Imag.* 388f. Capua 4 (c.

²⁵ *Codius* is also attested in Rome, *CIL* VI 729. 1018. 15946.

- 325–300? [p. 29]), cf. Cp10 = *Imag.* 396f. Capua 9, Cp12 = *Imag.* 390f. Capua 5; cf. **klú[-]** tCm6 = *Imag.* 896 Abella 4 (n. d.): *Clovatius* (Allifae, Pompeii; Lejeune 141) *Cloatius* (Saticula, Puteoli) *Cluatius*.²⁶
- *L. **Cluentius**, a commander of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Cluentius 1, cf. Suppl. III 254), perhaps from Campania (Salmon 1967, 366) or Samnium (Keaveney 1982, 217); N. Cluentius, *eques Romanus*, from Larinum (Cic. *Clu.* 165): *Cluentius*, attested especially in Larinum (Cic. *Clu.*; *AE* 1997, 335; *RIB* 1545); cf. *Cloventius*.
- +*Pacula **Cluvia** from Capua in 210 BC (Liv. 26, 33, 8; 34, 1; Val. Max. 5, 2, 1); N. Cluvii in Puteoli (*CIL* I² 1619f.; X 2511); cf. perhaps *statis cloiis* ("Cluvius") on a bone tessera of uncertain origin, *Imag.* 209 Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni, Marsi (?) 1: *Cluvius* (Allifae, Caudium, Caiatia, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nola), *Cluius*.
- kud(iis?)** (?) (or **kid(iis?)**): cf. above s.v. **kid(iis)**.
- ***kúrel(ieís)** gen. Sa33 = *Imag.* 1111f. Bovianum 107 (c. 125–100): *Corelius* (Pompeii) *Corellius* (Nola).
- βαντινω **κωσσανω** nom. fem. *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2: the nomen may well be identical with *Cosanus*, a nomen found in Pinna Vestinorum (*CIL* IX 3359 = I² 3270) and (as a result of early Italian immigration) in Spain.
- ***kvíntieís** gen. *Imag.* 1259 Pallanum 5 (c. 200): *Quintius*.
- *Μίνατος **Κόρουιος** Μαμερτίνοϛ *SEG* 30, 1121, 27–8 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (3) (3rd c.): *Corvius* (cf. *k(asa)* *Corviana* in Volcei, *CIL* X 407, 4, 9), *Curvius* (Pompeii, Salerno).
- ***κοττειηϛ** gen. tLu3, 4, 5 = *Imag.* 1499f. Vibo 5 (presumably before c. 200): probably *Cotius* *Cottius*, attested in Teanum Sidicinum, Linternum, Capua, Abellinum, Vibo (Lejeune 141); cf. M. Cottius N. f. on Delos, *CIL* I² 2504 = *ID* 1753.
- *[Μί]νατος **Κρίττιος** Μινά[του Μ]ατίλαϛ, Μάρκος Κρίτ[τιος] Μινάτου *IG* XIV 637 (Petelia) cf. *SEG* 57, 941 (*Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. (1)) (cf. **kr(-)** tSa3 = *Imag.* 989f. Bovianum 2 [c. 200–100]; N. *Cri(-)* *Her(-)* on a *signaculum* in Naples [*CIL* X 8059, 131?]: *Critius* (*CIL* IX 1064 from Frigento) *Crittius* (Aequum Tuticum, Aeclanum, Teanum Sidicinum, Puteoli).²⁷
- ***kurt(iis)** *Imag.* 749 Pompei 87 (n. d.); N. Curtii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 143, 2. 3): *Curtius* (Cales, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Volcei).

²⁶ Cf. Camodeca 2008, 313 n. 83.

²⁷ Cf. Camodeca 2008, 349.

- +*Numerius **Decirius** (codd.; *Decimius* edd.), a Samnite from Bovianum, 217 BC (Liv. 22, 24, 11); cf. *decies* Pg34 = *Imag.* 321f. Sulmo 15 (c. 200–125): *Decrius* (Aesernia, Neapolis [*AE* 1905, 190; 1913, 215]), *Decirius* (attested several times in Capua).
- ***dekitis** Sa24 = *Imag.* 1179f. Terventum 20 (200–100), **dekitiúd** abl. Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"); *Cn. Decitius* (thus the *cod. Laurentianus* saec. XI; *Decidius* or *Decius* later mss.), *Samnis*, Cic. *Clu.* 161, cf. Tac. *dial.* 21, 6; N. Decitii in Terventum (*AE* 1997, 437) and Capua (H. Solin, *Oebalus* 6 [2011] 122f. no. 4): *Decitius*, also attested in Aesernia and often in Terventum (*CIL* X 2596. 2611. 2612 in addition to *AE* 1997, 437); note also N. Decitius N. 1. Sabellio *mimus* in *CIL* VI 10108.
- +***dekkiis** Sa59 = *Imag.* 1136f. Saepinum 4 (n. d.), **dek.** tSa2 = *Imag.* 995 Bovianum 7 (c. 200–100), **de.** Sa18 = *Imag.* 1237f. Aufidena 2 (c. 125–100), [δ]εκκιο[σ] *Imag.* 1410 Potentia 29 (300–200); cf. *decies* Lu54 = *Imag.* 81 Italia 7 (cf. Crawford 2010):²⁸ *Decius* (Puteoli, Pompeii) *Deccius* (Cumae, Puteoli, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***díidiis** ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300); N. Didi around Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1470, 1524):²⁹ *Didius* (Larinum, Beneventum, Venafrum, Pompeii).
- *Mar. **Deinius** C. f. *CIL* I² 3162 (ager Volceianus): *Dinius* *Dinnius*, both attested in Lucania (*CIL* X 185; *Inscr. It.* III 1, 117).
- ***διπιος** (nom. pl. or sing.?) Lu2 = *Imag.* 1353f. Atina Lucana 1 (c. 150): *Dirius*, attested in Neapolis (*CIL* X 1502f.).
- ***duiíeis** gen. Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 (c. 150–90); N. Doius N. f. Clemens in Bovianum (*AE* 1996, 490): *Doius*, also attested in Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4796).
- eburis** Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50): *Eburius*, apparently attested in Italy only in the north (but note the presence of a certain *Eburio-lus* in Pompeii, *CIL* IV 8227).
- ***ega(natiis?)** tSa12 = *Imag.* 996 Bovianum 8 (c. 125–100); Gellius Egnatius, *Samnitium dux* in 296 BC (*RE* Egnatius 9); Marius Egnatius, a *dux* of the Samnites during the Social War (*RE* Egnatius 10); N. Egnati(us) C. 1. Anavos in Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1407, surely a Republican inscription): *Egnatius* (Beneventum, Allifae, Capua, Pompeii, Nuceria, Abellinum, Vibo, etc.).

²⁸ Note also a N. Decius in Rome, *CIL* VI 16782.

²⁹ Cf. N. Didi(us) N. f. Ar. Vatia, *mil(es) in prae(torio) spec(ulator)*, *CIL* VI 2777.

- ***epidiis** Po15 = *Imag.* 640 Pompei 14 (225–200), **epid[-]** Po30 = *Imag.* 661 Pompei 26 ("perhaps c. 200–100"), **epid.** Si18 = *Imag.* 539 Teanum Sidicinum 8 (c. 300 suggested, but probably a bit later), **epi[-]** tCm3 = *Imag.* 845 Stabiae 4 (n. d.); N. Epidii in Capua (*CIL* X 4124):³⁰ *Epidius* (Terventum, Bovianum Vetus, Beneventum, Telesia, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).³¹
- ***ερουκῖ τῆ<ι>σ** (?) (ερουκτησ on the stone) gen. Lu23 = *Imag.* 1468f. Crimisa 1 (300–200): *Erucius*, attested at least in Puteoli.
- †**ev(iis)** (?) tPo30 = *Imag.* 797 Pompei 116 (c. 150–100); the abbreviated nomen **ev(-)** is interpreted as Latin **Evius* by Slunečko 146 and in *Imag.*; this nomen does not seem to exist,³² but would be plausible alongside *Eveius*, *Evatius*, *Evilius*, etc.
- †**fassii[s]** (?) ZO1 = F. Poli, *SE* 72 (2006) 290–2 = *Imag.* 372f. Campania or Samnium 6 (c. 300): this must be the equivalent of **Fassius* (Rix, Poli) which is not attested but plausible in view of the existence of *Fas(s)idius*³³ (cf. *Allius* : *Allidius*, etc.). However, some scholars prefer the reading **frssii[s]** (thus Vetter, *Ve* 177, interpreting this as "Frensius";³⁴ *Imag.*, with the interpretation "*Frusius* (?)").³⁵
- ***φεστιεσ** Lu19 = *Imag.* 1317 Lucania 1 (c. 350); N. Festius Ampliatus in Pompeii (Castrén no. 166, 1): *Festius*, attested also in Herculaneum (cf. *Fistius* [*CIL* X 8351f. in Pompeii, 3978 as the cognomen of a freedwoman in Capua?]).
- †**fisanis** Po37 = *Imag.* 623 Pompei 5 (91–89) (**fis[aniium]** (?) gen. pl. Cp15 = *Imag.* 395 Capua 8? But see below). In Latin, this would be **Fisanius* (thus Slunečko no. 149, *Imag.*; cf. *Fisius Fisidius Fisevius*) or possibly, if the <ι> goes back to a long [ē], **Fesanius* (cf. **Fesius*³⁶ *Fesedius Fesinius Fesonius*³⁷).

³⁰ An [E]pidia N. f. [--] is attested in Iuvanum (*CIL* IX 2959).

³¹ Cf. Lejeune 141; Camodeca 2008, 344.

³² In *CIL* VI 838 the correct reading is not *Evia* but [*N*]aevia *Helpis*, see *AE* 1999, 195.

³³ *AE* 1911, 187 (brick stamp from Rome); *CIL* XI 2679 (Suana), 2765 (Volsinii).

³⁴ Not attested, but cf. *Frensedius Frensidius*. Lejeune (23 no. 240; 109) also has **frssiis**.

³⁵ For the omission of the vowel of an accented first syllable cf., e.g., **g(a)v(is)** (Hi1 = *Imag.* 961 Aeclanum 4), **p(e)rk(ens)** (Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5), etc.; but these names are praenomina and are thus, of course, not suitable parallels as praenomina tend to be abbreviated.

³⁶ This nomen can be reconstructed on the basis of the cognomen of *Maria Q. f. Fesiana* (S. Panciera, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti* [2006] 301).

³⁷ P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum* [2005] no. 53 (Salla); *RIB* 563.

- ***fis[iium** (?)] gen. pl. Cp15 = *Imag.* 395 Capua 8 [c. 325–300, cf. p. 29]?). Rix (in the text and in the index, p. 139) suggests that one should understand **fis[aniium]** and that we would be dealing with the nomen **Fisanius*/**Fesanius* (cf. above), but in *Imag.*, the name is translated "Of the Fisii (or Fisidii)". *Fisius* (*Fīsius*, cf. Schulze 475) seems plausible, as this nomen is attested not only in Saepinum, Aeclanum, Nola and Puteoli, but also in Capua itself in inscriptions of Republican date (*CIL* I² 678, 685) and also later (*CIL* X 4244, 4343).³⁸
- C. **Fladius** Ban. f. *CIL* I² 1758 (Bovianum vetus; the only other attestation is *CIL* XV 8218).
- **flaviies* gen. Ps14 = *Imag.* 880f. Nola 11 (c. 450–400 "or later"): *Flavius*.
- ***fuvfdis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 34, **fufid[iis]** tSa30 = *Imag.* 1083 Bovianum 83 (n. d.); N. Fufidii in Puteoli (*CIL* I² 698, 105 BC) and in Pompeii (Castrén no. 174, 3. 4): *Fufidius*, attested also in Terventum, Saepinum, Teanum Sidicinum; Lejeune 142.
- †**γαυκίεσ** Lu13 = *Imag.* 1424ff. Potentia 40 (250–200). This nomen was interpreted in 1966 by M. Lejeune as corresponding to **Gaucius* (M. Lejeune, *REL* 44 [1966] 177; thus also Del Tutto Palma 154; *Imag.*); however, in 1970, Lejeune suggested **Gavicius* (M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 [1970] 286; accepted by Slunečko no. 157), apparently assuming that we have here another instance of the syncope of the type **pupdiis** for **pupidiis** and that <αυ> is here written instead of <αϜ> (cf. *αυδαίεσ* "*Audaeus*" ~ *αϜδειεσ* "*Audeius*").
- ***gaaviis** Cm6 = *Imag.* 864f. Nola 3 (150–90), **gaaviis** Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100), **gaviis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33, Sa44 = *Imag.* 1220f. Fagifulae 2: *Gavius* (Aesernia, Beneventum, Caiatia, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Salernum; Lejeune 142).
- *Staius **Gellius**, *imperator Samnitium* 305 BC (Liv. 9, 44, 13): *Gellius* (Aeclanum, Puteoli, Nuceria, Surrentum, Atina Lucana, Cosentia).
- ***gnaivii(s)** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), *cnaiviies* gen. Ps13 = *Imag.* 870f. Nola 6 (c. 450); N. Naevii or Naevii *N. f.* in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 6308) and Puteoli (*CIL* X 1807 from Puteoli);³⁹ cf. the poet Cn. Naevius, who wrote an epigram *plenum superbiae Campanae* (Gell. 1, 24, 1): *Naevius* (Terventum, Saepinum, Telesia, Teanum Sidicinum, Cales, Capua, Atella, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nola, Muro Lucano, Petelia).

³⁸ *Fisidius* seems less plausible, as this nomen is attested only in Luna in northern Etruria (*CIL* XI 1355).

³⁹ N. Naevii are also attested in Teate Marrucinum (*EE* VIII 124) and Rome (*CIL* VI 22819).

- gusies** (?) Fr10 = *Imag.* 1287 Larinum 6 (c. 200–100): this could perhaps be *Gussius* (*CIL* III 2839).
- †**Harines** (Latin alphabet) Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50). This is surely the nomen of an immigrant, possibly from somewhere in Etruria.
- ***hegi(is?)** tPo5 = *Imag.* 762 Pompei 96 (n. d.): *Hegius*, attested in Pompeii. *Hegius* must be in the same relation to *Heius* (also attested in Pompeii) as *magis* is to *maius* (**mag-yos*), *Magius* to *Maius*, and **ieñis** to *Iegius*; cf. Leumann 126; Lejeune 80f.⁴⁰
- ***heñis** Cm5 = *Imag.* 493f. Cumae 3 (presumably before 180), **heñi(s)** Cm4 = *Imag.* 491f. Cumae 2 (presumably before 180), Cm20 = *Imag.* 512 Cumae 11 (c. 200?), **eiúm** gen. pl. tCm2 = *Imag.* 524 Cumae 20 (c. 200?); Δέκμος Ἐίος Πακίου *IG* XIV 861 (Cumae);⁴¹ Heia Papi f. *NSA* 1961, 200 (Pompeii): *Heius* (Saepinum, Cumae [*CIL* I² 3129; *Camodeca* 2008, 18]).
- +***heleviis** Sa36 = *Imag.* 1097f. Bovianum 98 (300–200), ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300), **helevi(is)** Cp27 = *Imag.* 432f. Capua 28 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **heleviieñs** gen. Cp28 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **helleviis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **helvi[-]** ZO3 = *Imag.* 364f. Campania or Samnium 1 (before c. 300), ἐπὶ ... Νούϊου Ἐλε(φίου?) Poccetti 201 = *Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. 2; *Helvii N. f.* in Capua (*CIL* I² 2944f.). Cf. *helevis* Pg37 = *Imag.* 281 Corfinium 18, Pg41 = *Imag.* 282 Corfinium 19: *Helvius* (Aesernia, Saepinum, Bovianum, Compsa, Beneventum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Potentia, Atina Lucana, Grumentum, Vibo).

⁴⁰ Lejeune, however, only speaks of *Magius/Maius* (and mentions the possibility that **ieñis** might have something to do with *Iegius*; no mention of a possible connection of **hegi(is)** with **heñis**), but explains the difference between *Magius* and *Maius* by observing that *Magius* is a nomen and *Maius* a praenomen (thus ignoring the existence of the nomen *Maius*), and saying that, in the instance of the nomen with the suffix *-iyo-*, the "radical", being followed by a vowel, stayed "inaltéré", whereas in the case of the praenomen there followed, "devant yod, altération" (**magyo-* > **mayyo*). In the following, he explains the possible identity (problematic, according to his view) of **ieñis** with *Iegius* by saying that one would have to postulate that the nomen had been "secondairement refait à partir du pronom [understand prénom] correspondant". However, this theory seems a bit too complicated and ignores the existence of the nomen *Maius* and of the nomina *Hegius* and *Heius*. For further nomina in *-gius* which must – or at least may – be closely related to nomina in *-ius* cf. *Caius Cagius*, *Raius Ragius* (*CIL* X 5915), *Reius Regius* (*CIL* VI 21199 etc.), *Roius Rogius* (*CIL* IX 6083 etc.), *Seius Segius* (*CIL* X 5523), *Staius Stagius* (*CIL* VI 38929), *Veius Vegius* (*CIL* XI 380).

⁴¹ One wonders how one should interpret the fact that in Greek inscriptions from Greece and Asia, this nomen is regularly written Ἐίος (*IG* II/III² 2098. 7624; *IG* V 1, 659; *ID* 1754. 2612, etc.).

†N. *Herclidius* Pac. f. *CIL* I² 3598a (Volcei).

–**hereiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 39, a man from Saepinum: this could be *Hereius* (attested in Ostia: *CIL* XIV 1029, 1104); but this may be an error for **heriis** (cf. line 42).

***herenni(is)** Po41 = *Imag.* 671f. Pompei 31 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), **heirennis** Cm6 = *Imag.* 864f. Nola 3 (150–90);⁴² T. Herennius, a commander of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Herennius 15), perhaps from Campania (Salmon 1967, 356), but assigned to Picenum by Keaveney 1987, 217, to the Paeligni by M. Buonocore, in A.M. Dolciotti & al. (eds.), *L'ombilico d'Italia* (2007) 71; N. Herennii in Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4792) and Pompeii (Castrén no. 191, 4. 6ff. 12f. 15f.): *Hērennius* (Beneventum, Caudium, Compsa, Caiatia, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abellinum, Paestum, Volcei, Grumentum, Tegianum).

***heri(is)** tSa13+36 = *Imag.* 997 Bovianum 9 (c. 200–100), **heriieis** gen. Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 42 (cf. line 39 and above **hereiis**), ερηις (probably for *heriης*)⁴³ gen. Lu24 = *Imag.* 1470f. Crimisa 2; N. Herius Deuterus in Larinum (*CIL* IX 2831 = I² 1760): *Hērius Herrius* (attested in Aesernia, Venafrum, Allifae, Capua, Puteoli, Petelia).

–**οριουμ** acc. Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250; "<h>οριουμ"⁴⁴); ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ὀρ(ίου?) Poccetti 201 = *Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. 2: this could be *Horius* (Slunečko 183, *Imag.*; cf. *CIL* III 2356 [Salona] *Horia M. l. Prima*).

⁴² For <ei> cf. also the praenomen **heirens** ("Herennus") ZO1 = *Imag.* 372f. Campania or Samnium 6, Fr8 = *Imag.* 1278 Histonium 10 (gen. **heirene(is)**), ηηρενς Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1; but note also the Greek rendering of its feminine form as Ἡρέννη (*IGI Napoli* II 124; this inscription is not normally cited in the discussions of *Herennius*). Now the first *e* in *Herennius* is short (Schulze 82), and because of <ei> in **heirennis** and **heirens**, these names are normally regarded as not deriving from the same root as *Hērennius* (Schulze 82; Untermann 323). The form Ἡρέννη seems to indicate that there was also a name **Hērennus* **Hērennius*; but <ei> is normally used to reproduce the diphthong [ei] which in later Latin usually appears as <i> ([ī]; cf. **deikum** "dicere", **diúveí** "Iovi", etc.), and there is certainly no trace of a name **Hīrennius*. Taking into account the fact that G. Meiser (in F. Heidermanns & al. [eds.], *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums. Festschrift für J. Untermann* [1993] 257) has produced an explanation for <ei> (this could be a reproduction of the "palatale Qualität" of [r'] based on original -ry-, that is from the root **herye/o*), it seems permissible to see **heirennis** as identical to Oscan **herenni(is)** and Latin *Hērennius*. As for as Ἡρέννη, perhaps one could assume that the <η> is an error of some sort.

⁴³ For the orthography without <h>, cf. Stuart-Smith 2004, 95.

⁴⁴ Cf. n. 43.

- ***húrtiis** Sa23 = *Imag.* 1211f. Terventum 38 (n. d.), ορτηις⁴⁵ gen. tLu6 = *Imag.* 1503 Vibo 8 ("presumably before c. 200"): this must be *Hortius*, attested in Aquileia (*CIL* V 916 = *I. Aquileiae* 2859) and in Tarraco (*CIL* II² 14, 1300 = *RIT* 397).
- ***húsiis** Sa43 = *Imag.* 1038 Bovianum 42 (300–275), **húsiis** Fr1 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 1 (c. 200–100): *Hosidius*, attested at least in Puteoli (Lejeune 142)⁴⁶ and often in Histonium.
- †**húsinies** gen. Ps11 = *Imag.* 874f. Nola 8 (c. 450): surely this must be **Hosinius*, not otherwise attested (but cf. *Hosidius*).
- +**ieíis** nPg8 = N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 406 (a *dux* of the Italians during the Social War, *RE* IX 920; assigned to the Pentri by Salmon 1967, 337 n. 1, cf. 369), **?iegies** gen. Ps5 = *Imag.* 851f. Surrentum 2 (575–500?); cf. *iegie[s]* Pg11 = *Imag.* 318f. Sulmo 13 (c. 200–125): *Iegius*, attested in Cliternia in the country of the Aequi and in Amiternum.⁴⁷
- ***illippii[s]** Si14 = *Imag.* 540 Teanum Sidicinum 9 (n. d.), **illip[-]** Si13 = *Imag.* 552 Teanum Sidicinum 20 (c. 200): *Ilippius*, attested in Rufrae, a *vicus* probably of Teanum (*CIL* X 4837; for Rufrae see n. 92).
- †**ιμεσ** = ιμ<ι>εσ? Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250); "we can think of no plausible conjecture for ιμεσ" (*Imag.*), but this word appears in a *defixio* between a praenomen in the nominative (μοις) and a praenomen and a nomen in the accusative (μοιομ ποπεδ[ιομ]) and must thus be a nomen in the nominative (i.e., that of the person who is the author of a curse); assuming that the <ι> has been left out by mistake seems to me an acceptable solution;⁴⁸ ιμ<ι>εσ could be interpreted as **Imius* **Immius*, although this nomen does not seem to be attested.⁴⁹
- †**isei(is)** (?) *SE* 59 (1993) 320f. = *Arch. Class.* 46 (1994) 364 (Pompeii; on a bronze statuette from Torre Annunziata); but note that the inscription is

⁴⁵ For the omission of <h> see n. 43.

⁴⁶ The *Hosidius* in *CIL* X 1401 (Lejeune 142) is the consul Cn. *Hosidius* Geta appearing in the consular date, not a *Hosidius* from Herculaneum.

⁴⁷ For the identity of **ieíis** and *Iegius* see n. 40. "*Ieius*" in *CIL* III 3952 is in fact *Heius*, see *AlJug.* 532.

⁴⁸ Thus Poccetti no. 189, Rix, Tikkanen 2011, 50. However, it must be noted that there does not seem to be a parallel for a nominative appearing as –εσ instead of –ιεσ.

⁴⁹ In *CIL* XII 5210 (Narbo), with *[-]immius (mulieris) l. Rufio*, the beginning of the nomen must be missing.

called a "nonsense text" in *Imag.* 59 no. 12, a "forgery" *ibid.* 1584. If genuine, the nomen could be interpreted as **Iseius*, which could be compared to *Isedius* and *Isellius* (*AE* 1996, 570 from near Nursia; cf., e.g., *Vibeius* : *Vibedius* : *Vibellius*). For the ending –**ēiis** cf. **heīis** **ieīis**.

***īst(akidiis)** tPo22 = *Imag.* 785 Pompei 109 (c. 150–100); N. Istacidii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 204, 7f. 10. 12ff.): *Istacidius*, a nomen attested only in Pompeii.

–**laí(niis)** (?) (thus Slunečko 195) tSa5 = *Imag.* 1000f. Bovianum 11 (c. 200–100): if the interpretation **laí(niis)**⁵⁰ were correct, then we would be dealing with *Laenius* (a nomen typical of Brundisium), but of course one could also think of other nomina (*Laelius Laevius*, etc.).

*M. **Lamponius**, commander of the Lucanians in the Social War (*RE* XII 582f.):⁵¹ *Lamponius*, attested in Muro Lucano (*AE* 2009, 260).

–**λανφιηισ** gen. (a nomen?) Cm31 = *Imag.* 927 (Picentia) 3: this could represent *Lanivius Lanuvius* (attested in Rome and Hispellum [*CIL* XI 5321, *Lani-*, 5322 *Lanu-*], cf. *Lanuius* *CIL* VI 21086f. and *AE* 1988, 488 from Plestia).

***lap(iis)** (?) tSa42 = *Imag.* 1124 Bovianum 118 (n. d.): probably *Lappius*, attested in Larinum and Puteoli.

***lass(iūs)** nom. pl. tPo12 = *Imag.* 827f. Pompei (?) 137 (c. 150–100): *Lassius* (attested in Pompeii and Surrentum).

*Νόυιος **Λατί<ι>ος** Ούίου Μαμερτίνοϋ *SEG* 53, 546 (decree from Larisa) = B. Helly, *Topoi* 15, 1 (2007) 229–35 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (5, reading **Λατίνοϋ**): *Latinius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1856f.), Atina Lucana (*Inscr. It.* III 1, 126, 177) and Volcei (*Inscr. It.* III 1, 113).⁵²

***lev(iis)** (?) *Imag.* 1296f. Teanum Apulum 3: perhaps *Levius* (attested in Puteoli and Pompeii).

+***lík(-)** tPo24 = *Imag.* 804 Pompei 120 (c. 150–100), **lí(-)** tPo25 = *Imag.* 805 Pompei 121 (c. 150–100); cf. *licina* (for *licinia*?) MV7 = *Imag.* 234 Teate Marrucinatorum 3?: perhaps one could think of *Licinius* (but *Imag.* offers only the interpretation "Lic.(?)" and – in the case of Pompei 121 – "Li(?) or Le(?)").

+***Loesius (Lusius Lysius)**. Seppius Loesius, Liv. 26, 6, 13 (*meddix* in Capua 211 BC); N. Lusii in Herculaneum (*AE* 1978, 119a; 2006, 301); cf. *loisies*

⁵⁰ *Imag.* opts for *Laius*, but this nomen does not seem to be attested.

⁵¹ There seems to be no need to emend the nomen (thus T. Sironen, *Arctos* 25 [1991] 134–7), especially as the nomen "αλαπονιες" now turns out to be non-existent (see below **σκαλαπονιες**).

⁵² Cf. also N. Latinius Anteros in Rome, *CIL* VI 21159.

- MV8, 9 = *Imag.* 237ff. Teate Marrucinum 6, 7 (c. 150): *Loesius* (*RE* Loesius 2, a man with the praenomen *Tr(ebius)*) *Lusius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aeclanum [*CIL* IX 6279], Venafrum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria) *Lysius*.⁵³
- ***Λόλιός** τις ἀνὴρ Σαυνίτης in 269 BC, Zonar. 8, 7, 1 (from Dio); N. Lollius N. f. in Frigento (*CIL* X 1060): *Lollius* (Beneventum [common], Aeclanum, Venafrum, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Paestum, Croto, etc.).
- +***λύνκι(ι)s** nPg7 = N. K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 410 (a commander of the Italians in the Social War, thought to have been a Lucilius by some scholars for no valid reason; cf. *RE* Lucilius 14, Salmon 1967, 359), **λύνκιίύι** dat. Cm1 = *Imag.* 887ff. Abella 1 (c. 100), A4, **λύνκι-ιύ** nom. fem. Si8 = *Imag.* 549 Teanum Sidicinum 18 (c. 200); N. Lucius Cyricius in Cumae in AD 251 (*CIL* X 3699).⁵⁴ Cf. *loucies* Pg21 = *Imag.* 325f. Sulmo 18 (c. 150), Pg46 = *Imag.* 327f. Sulmo 19 (c. 125), *loucia* Pg29 = *Imag.* 330 Sulmo 22 (before c. 100 ?): *Lucius*, attested in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2439), Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2728), Bovianum (*CIL* IX 2574), Allifae (*I. Allifae* 175), Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abellinum, Paestum, Atina Lucana, Vibo.
- ***makkiis** *Imag.* 380 Campania Coinage 1 (265–240), **m[a]kíis** tPo38 = *Imag.* 765 Pompei 98 (n. d.), **m(a)k(kiis)** (?) *Imag.* 974 Aeclanum 16 (n. d.), *Imag.* 1231 Fagifulae 9 (c. 100), **m(a)k(kiús)** (?) nom. pl. tPo27+37 = *Imag.* 807 Pompei 122 (c. 150–100); L. Maccius Papi f. *NSA* 1898, 422 (Pompeii): *Maccius*, attested at least in Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1288) and in Pompeii also in later inscriptions.
- ***[m]aiinis** (?) Sa47 = *Imag.* 1114 Bovianum 109 (c. 100?): perhaps *Maenius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1868f.) and Voltturnum (*CIL* X 3727 = I² 1608).
- ***magiis** Hi1 = *Imag.* 961f. Aeclanum 4 (c. 150–90), **magiú** nom. fem. Hi4 = *Imag.* 959f. Aeclanum 3 (c. 150?), **magium** gen. Cp8 = *Imag.* 406f. Capua 15 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), **mageis** (?) gen. (a nomen?) Cm23 = *Imag.* 599 Saticula (?) 5 (350–300); Decius Magius, *princeps Campanorum* in 216 (Liv. 23, 7, 4, Vell. 2, 16, 2, etc.); Cn. Magius, *Atellanus, meddix tuticus* in 214 (Liv. 24, 19, 2); Minatus Magius *Aeculanensis* Vell. 2, 16, 2, cf. *CIL* I²

⁵³ For *Lysius* (*CIL* X 1512, 2683 etc.) representing original **Loisius Loesius* (and not **Lousius*) cf. Schulze 184. For *Lusii* in Campania, cf. Camodeca 2008, 211f.

⁵⁴ For N. Lucii in Rome, see *CIL* VI 283, 21614; *AE* 1980, 54.

1722 (Aeclanum) M. Magi(us) Min. f. Surus (for the Magii cf. also Campanile 2008, 982): *Magius*, also attested in other inscriptions from Aeclanum and in Terventum, Saepinum, Bovianum Vetus, Beneventum, Venafrum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Atina Lucana, Grumentum, Thurii. For the relation of *Magius* to *Ma(h)ius*, cf. n. 40.

***mahii[s]** Sa14+37+40 = *Imag.* 935ff. Atina 1 (200–100), μαυεσ nLu4 = *Imag.* 381 Campania Coinage 2 (c. 275–240), μαηισ gen. *Imag.* 1501 Vibo 6 (presumably before c. 200); C. Maius N. f. *CIL* I² 674 (Capua, 110 BC): *Mahius* (*I. Allifae* 84), *Maius* (Bovianum [*AE* 1996, 486], Frigento [*CIL* IX 1027 = I² 1719], Volturnum [*AE* 2002, 393], Puteoli [*CIL* X 1983]; cf. Lejeune 142)].

***μαισιμ** acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300): *Maesius*, attested at least in Potentia (*CIL* X 136) and in Suessa Aurunca west of Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4760).

***μαμερεκιεσ** Lu18 = *Imag.* 1312 Lucania etc. 3 (c. 375–350):⁵⁵ *Mamercius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum [cf. Camodeca 2008, 38], Vibo; Lejeune 142).⁵⁶

***maamiis** Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?), **maamiieis** (originally probably **-iieis**) gen. Po55 = *Imag.* 685f. Pompei 38 (150–100); C. Mamius Mar. f. *CIL* I² 3207 (ager Terentinus); cf. also Tr. Mami(us) Mai f. attested in Praeneste (*CIL* I² 193): *Mamius* (Aesernia, Beneventum, Caiatia, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Potentia, Grumentum), *Maamius* (*CIL* I² 1549, Aquinum).

+†**marahii(s)** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), **maraiieis** gen. Sa4 = *Imag.* 1156ff. Terventum 8 (c. 125) (**mar[aiis]** [?]) Po2 = *Imag.* 635f. Pompei 12 [c. 200–100?]); cf. *maraiies* Lu49 = *Imag.* 78 Italia 4. This is surely **Maraeus* (cf. **melissai[s]** = *Melissaeus*), attested (as far as I can see) only as Greek Μαραῖος as a rendering of the praenomen **marahis**.

⁵⁵ **mame(-)** Cp43 = *Imag.* 436 Capua 10, thought by Rix to be an abbreviation of the nomen, is better understood as **mame(rteí)** "Marti" (*Imag.*). **mamertieis** gen. tCP1-3 = *Imag.* 465ff. Capua 52 and **mamertiui** dat. tCm 7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 seem to be praenomina (thus *Imag.* in the index p. 1610) rather than nomina (**mamertiui pettiannui** would thus be a combination of a praenomen and a nomen); in Latin, this praenomen would be **Mamertius* (note that a nomen **Mamertius* is not attested).

⁵⁶ Oscan *Mamers* being the equivalent of Latin *Mars*, one wonders whether some Mamercii might not have started to call themselves *Marcii* in a Latin-speaking environment; there are *Marcii* with the praenomen *Numerius* in Abella (*CIL* X 1202) and in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 7425 = *AE* 2009, 219).

- ***mari[is]** (?) Si15 = *Imag.* 537 Teanum Sidicinum 6 (regarding this as a praenomen) (cf. **mar(-)** *Imag.* 846 Stabiae 5 [n. d.]?); C. Marius No. f. *CIL* I² 3201 (Aesernia); N. Marii in Trebula Balliensis and Salernum (*CIL* I² 3119; *Inscr. It.* I 1, 70): *Marius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aufidena, Aesernia, Venafrum, Allifae, Bovianum, Aequeum Tuticum, Aeclanum, Beneventum, Caiatia, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Petelia, Locri).
- ***matj[is]** (?) Po2 = *Imag.* 635f. Pompei 12 (c. 200–100?); if this is the correct reading, we would be dealing with *Matius* (apparently attested in Pompeii by *CIL* X 8059, 187), *Mattius*. However, one wonders whether the reading might not be **matej[i(i)s]** (there is in fact not much to be seen in the photo after the *t*), for *Mateius* is attested at least three times in Pompeii (*CIL* X 4916; *TPSulp.* 67; 91⁵⁷) and (as *Matteius*) once (perhaps) in Herculaneum (*CIL* X 2722).⁵⁸
- ***melíssai[s]** Po56 = *Imag.* 707f. Pompei 50 (c. 150–100), with the reading **[kl]emens melíssai`e`[ís]** ("Clemens (the slave) of Melissaeus"):⁵⁹ *Melissaeus*, attested only in Pompeii; Lejeune 142.
- +***metiis** Sa32 = *Imag.* 370f. Campania or Samnium 5 (before c. 300), **me(tiis?)** tSa19 = *Imag.* 1013 Bovianum 20, ?**meziis** Po15 = *Imag.* 640 Pompei 14 (taking this to be equivalent to *Messius*; 225–200);⁶⁰ Sthennius (= *Stenius*) Mettius, the *princeps* of Samnium during (apparently) the First Punic War (Festus p. 150 L.); Staius Mettius,⁶¹ a Campanian in 214 BC (Liv. 24, 19, 2); N. Mettius {S}Treb. f. Men. *AE* 1964, 221bis (Pompeii). Cf. *Vibea Metia T. anacetha Ceria*, M. Buonocore, in A. Donati & G. Poma

⁵⁷ J. G. Wolf, *Neue Rechtsurkunden aus Pompeji* (2010) TPN 58; 74.

⁵⁸ The inscription (now in Gorizia) has been placed by Mommsen under Puteoli, but its origin is given either as the Regnum Neapolitanum (which could mean anything) or Herculaneum.

⁵⁹ However, the nominative **melíssai[s]** seems quite all right, cf. the Latin type *Apollonius Laelius Q(uinti) s(ervus)* (type "II" in A. Mau, "Zur älteren Nomenklatur der römischen Sklaven", *RhM* 59 [1904] 108–40).

⁶⁰ One wonders, though, whether it would not be preferable to assume (with Poccetti 1979 no. 108; Campanile 2008, 986 with n. 32) that **meziis** is a palatalisation of *Met(t)ius*, although it must be admitted that a palatalization of this type seems to be attested only in southern Oscan and in a much later period, namely in the *tabula Bantina* (Lu1 = *Imag.* 1437ff. Bantia 1), with *bansae* (for **bantiae*); cf. M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 (1970) 311f. (but cf. also, e.g., *Martses* [from **Martieis*] in *CIL* I² 5 = Ve 228 a from the country of the Marsi).

⁶¹ Thus in the edition of Dorey with no indication of variant readings; *Metius* Walters & Conway.

- (ed.), *L'officina epigrafica romana* (2012) 211f. (Sulmo):⁶² *Metius* (Capua, Potentia) *Mettius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum [CIL IX 1412. 1416], Puteoli, Nola, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Volcei, Potentia, Vibo; cf. Lejeune 142).
- +***Mevia** Pac. f. NSA 1949, 172 (Neapolis); cf. *mevies* Fr16 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 12 (n. d.): *Mevius* (Terwentum, Saepinum, Cumae, Neapolis [also in CIL X 1480], Pompeii, Stabiae).
- ***minatis** (2x) Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?) (the reading of the nomen does not seem absolutely certain), **miinatúí** (for **-tiiúí** and a nomen?) Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (c. 200); Staius Minatius, a Samnite in 296 BC (Liv. 10, 20, 13; but we may in fact be dealing with a Minatus Staius, cf. Salomies 1987, 79 and below **staiis**); Arte(mo?) Min(atius?) Tr. 1. CIL I² 3163 (Casilinum): *Mīnatius* (Aufidena, Allifae, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Muro Lucano, Atina Lucana, Tegianum, Grumentum; Lejeune 142).
- †**minatlais** Si12 = *Imag.* 553 Teanum Sidicinum 21 (125–100). In Latin, this could be **Minatulaeus* (thus *Imag.*, comparing *Petruculaeus*). The relation of **Minatulaeus* to *Minatius* would be the same as that of *Petruculaeus* to *Petrucius*.
- ***μινηιο** (a nomen?) gen. *Imag.* 1323 Paestum 2 (c. 300): *Mīnius*, attested at least in Beneventum (CIL IX 2102), Herculaneum (CIL X 1403, d, 2, 17) and Nola (AE 1971, 84).⁶³
- ***minutihes** gen. *Imag.* 925 (Picentia) 1 (c. 500–475): this may well be *Minutius* (attested almost exclusively in Cales).⁶⁴
- múlúkiis** Cm7 = *Imag.* 862f. Nola 2 (200–100): surely *Mulcius* known from CIL IX 4072 = CIL I² 1826 (Carsoli).
- ***ἠ[ut]ῥillis, mut[t]illi[s], mutillieis** gen. Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), lines 3, 33, 41: *Mutilius Mutillius* (attested in Stabiae).
- ***νανονιο** Lu 6, 7 = *Imag.* 1375ff. Potentia 9, 10 (200–175): *Nanonius* (Atina Lucana, Tegianum [Lejeune 142], Sinuessa [AE 1991, 497]).
- ***naseni(eis)** gen. Cp19 = *Imag.* 386f. Capua 3 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); N. Nasennii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 266, 1. 2): *Nasennius* (Beneventum, Capua, Herculaneum; Lejeune 142).

⁶² A C. Metti(us) N. f. Qui. is attested in Rome (CIL VI 22475 = I² 1338).

⁶³ A. Giannetti, *Notiziario archeologico. Ciociaria e zone limitrofe* II (1988) 537f. suggests that CIL X *169 from Abella (mentioning a certain Minius Proculus) might be genuine. Note also N. Minius Hylas from Thessalonica (CIL XVI 1).

⁶⁴ CIL X 4683; EE VIII 544, 554; AE 1973, 135.

- ***neriis** *Imag.* 1217 Terventum 43 (n. d.); M. Nerius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua); N. Nerius Hyginus in Pompeii (Castrén no. 267, 2): *Nerius* (Venafrum, Trebula Balliensis, Beneventum, Capua, Pompeii).
- nim(miis)** Sa49 = *Imag.* 1227ff. Fagifulae 5, (21) (n. d.), tSa8 = *Imag.* 1002f. Bovianum 12 (c. 125–100); *CIL* I² 2238 = *I. Délos* 1750 N. Nimmius No. f. This nomen is otherwise unknown; one wonders, however, whether it is possible that *Nimmius* might be in some relation to *Nummius*, a nomen widely attested in the Oscan lands.⁶⁵
- ***ninium** gen. pl. Cp26 = *Imag.* 404f. Capua 14 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); Ninnii in Capua in 216 BC (Liv. 23, 8, 1): *Ninnius* (Saepinum, Puteoli, Pompeii; Lejeune 142).
- ***niume^rd^riis** Sa27 = *Imag.* 1121f. Bovianum 116 (c. 325); the inscription is known from a copy made in 1777, in which the reading of the nomen is in fact **niumeriis**; this has been corrected plausibly (as Oscan <d> can easily be taken for <r>) by M. Lejeune and R. Antonini, a reading supported in *Imag.*; **niume^rd^riis** is probably identical with *Numīdius* (attested in Capua).⁶⁶
- ***νομψις** Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300), νοψις acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320) (cf. νοψ(-) (?) Lu61 = *Imag.* 1457f. Heraclea 2, but with the reading ν. οψ(ιεσ); before c. 275?); this is the nomen corresponding to the popular praenomen **niumsis**, the Oscan form of the nomen being ***niumsiis**; the epenthetic <p> in νομψις and in the Latin forms below is also attested in Greek renderings of the praenomen, cf. Salomies 1987, 41; 2008, 28f.: *Numsius* (*CIL* X 4605 from Caiatia), *Numpsius* (*CIL* X 4251 = I² 1595 from Capua), *Nympsius* (*N. Nympsius N. f. Fronto*, unpublished inscription in the Museum of Naples);⁶⁷ cf. *Numisius*, *Numerius*.

⁶⁵ The variation between <i> and <u> would then be comparable to that which we can observe in *Bruttius* = *Brittius*, *Suttius* = (probably) *Sittius*. For a *Nummius N. f.* in Bovianum Vetus, cf. below in the Appendix.

⁶⁶ The variation between <e> and <i> (representing [ě] and [ī]) would then be the same as in *Camedius Camidius*, *Titedius Titidius*, etc. The original reading **niumeriis** (which would be a rendering of the Latin form *Numerius*, not of the expected Oscan version ***niumsiis**) and the corrected version of Slunečko no. 255, **nium^rsd^riis** (said to be the equivalent of **Numisdius* [this may be an error for **Numisidius*]), are not plausible.

⁶⁷ For *Nympsius* cf. Νύμψιος, a common rendering of the praenomen **niumsis** in Greek inscriptions (Salomies 1987, 41), this reflecting an evolution [u] > [ü] for which see M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 (1970) 396–9.

- ***núvellum** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200, a curse tablet), probably (thus *Imag.*) to be interpreted as gen. pl. of the nomen ***núvelliis**: *Novellius* (Capua [*domus Novelliana*, *CIL* X 3799], Pompeii, Nuceria).
- ***núv(iis)** tPo14 = *Imag.* 825 Pompei 135 (c. 150–100), **nú(viis)** Po29 = *Imag.* 689f. Pompei 41 (after c. 300), **nu[viis]** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 2 (**nuís** [?] tSa38 = *Imag.* 1081 Bovianum 85 [n. d.]?): *Novius* (Venafrum, Compsa, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Salernum).
- ufiis** Cm33 = *Imag.* 518f. Cumae 15 (320–300): this must be *Ofius*, attested only in *CIL* X 5416 from Aquinum.
- ***úhtavis** and **uhtavis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **úhtavis** Fr1 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 1 (c. 200–100); cf. **úht(-)** Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (but this is more probably a praenomen), **úh(-)** tPo31 = *Imag.* 759 Pompei 94 (n. d.); Cn. Octavi(us) N. l. in Capua (*CIL* I² 677): *Octavius*⁶⁸ (Venafrum, Allifae, Telesia, Beneventum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Surrentum, Salernum, Muro Lucano, Atina Lucana, Petelia, Locri, etc.).
- ***úpfalliu** nom. fem. *Imag.* 1090 Bovianum 93 (c. 300); ?Οφάλλ[(λ)ιος ---?] (ἐμ Πετελῖαι), *SEG* 22, 455 (Delphi, list of θεωροδόκοι; M. Nocita, *Italiotai e Italikoi* [2012] p. 246) cf. *Imag.* 1530 Petelia no. (4) (220–210; but we might also be dealing with a praenomen used as a single name); cf. *uφᾱliies* gen. Ve. 138a (Etruscan inscription on an oil-flask found nr. Salernum): *Ofalius* (*CIL* I² 2440 from Rome, *No. Ofalius No. f.*; *AE* 2008, 1206 from Samothrace), representing **Offalius*, the cluster [pf] having evolved into [ff]; *Ofalius* again must be identical with *Ofelius Offelius Ofellius Ofellius*⁶⁹ (Aesernia, Beneventum, Capua, Herculaneum), for which forms Schulze 452 compares *fallo fefelli*. For the praenomen **úpfalls** see Weiss 2010, 367–71.
- ***úfniú** (?) fem. Po49 = *Imag.* 714f. Pompei 54 (c. 150–100): this is surely *Ofinius* (*CIL* IX 2824, from Quadri/Trebula south of Iuvanum in the country in the Carricini).

⁶⁸ For <ht> representing [kt] cf. Stuart-Smith 2004, 95f.

⁶⁹ That these are all different renderings of the same name appears, e.g., from the fact that we find both *Offellii* and *Ofellii* in Beneventum (in the same inscription: *CIL* IX 1914 = I² 1736). There are, of course, also *Ofillii* (and *Ofilii*, etc.), who have a nomen which must be in some relation to *Ofellius* (in *CIL* III 12263 = R. A. Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia* (2001) no. 66 from Kos, a [P.] *Ofillius* appears in the Greek text as Πόπλιος Ὀφέλλ[λιος]).

- [o]πιλιε[σ] (?) *Imag.* 1415 Potentia 32 (300–200). If this is the correct reading and the correct interpretation, one might think of *Opilius Opillius* (cf. the existence of the praenomen **úpils**: Salomies 2008, 29), although these nomina do not seem to be found in Latin inscriptions of the Oscan area (cf. also *Upellius*, below).⁷⁰
- ***upii[s]** (a nomen?) Po92 = *Imag.* 745 Pompei 82 (on an amphora, not datable); Vestia Oppia from Atella (but living in Capua) in 210 BC (Liv. 26, 33, 8; 34, 1; Val. Max. 5, 2, 1); N. Op(p)ii in Larinum (*CIL* IX 6247), Saticula (*CIL* IX 2150), Capua (*CIL* I² 2949), Pompeii (Castrén no. 290, 4); Oppia N. libert(a) Restituta in Potentia (*CIL* X 134); cf. perhaps οπιεσ Lu40 = *Imag.* 1356f. Cosilinum 2:⁷¹ *Opius Oppius* (Aufidena, Aesernia, Saepinum, Compsa, Aeclanum, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Saticula, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae, Paestum, Volcei, Tegianum).
- ***upsiis** nSi3g = *Imag.* 586ff. Phistelia 1, 11 (325–275), **úpsiúí** dat. Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (c. 200), ?**úpsim** acc. Cm41 = *Imag.* 500f. Cumae 6 (c. 200?) (interpreted as "I am present" rather than as a name), οπιον acc. (2x) Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); οπι(ος) (or οπι(ου)) N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2305–7 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1; οπιεσ (?) Lu61 = *Imag.* 1457f. Heraclea 2 (before c. 275): *Opsius* (Cales, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Grumentum).
- urugieis** (?) gen. *Imag.* 853 Surrentum 3 (using alphabet of Nocera; 525–500).⁷² This name – one hopes that this is indeed the correct reading (cf. n. 77) – is regarded as a nomen in the index (p. 1621) and said to be the equivalent of *Orc(h)ius*, a nomen attested once in Puteoli (*AE* 2007, 407) and a few times elsewhere;⁷³ however, one wonders whether it would not be preferable to consider *Urgius*, a nomen which seems to be attested in *CIL* XI 6689, 265,⁷⁴ and which may possibly be postulated on the basis of *Urgulanius*

⁷⁰ Note that the reading "**úpil[iú]m**" (acc.) of Po45 has been disposed of by the new reading in *Imag.* 669 Pompei 30, where the reading is **úvii<s>**.

⁷¹ The interpretation of οπιεσ (preceded by a lacuna) here is not clear; *Imag.* understands it as a cognomen.

⁷² Note that Triantafillis PI 10 (and in *SE* 73 (2007 [2009]) 452 no. 1) read **urufieis** (*pafieis*) (**urufis** = *Orfius*).

⁷³ *CIL* VI 23573ff., 23696, 37643; *AE* 1988, 884 (surely from Rome); *CIL* XIV 4569, XV, a, 7; *CIL* I² 430 (?) (Praeneste), 2675a (in the Sabine country).

⁷⁴ Cf. perhaps also the cognomen *Urcianus* in *AE* 1972, 515, which might in fact represent

(cf. *Canius* ~ *Canulanius*, etc.).⁷⁵

***urufiis** Cp38 = *Imag.* 468f. Capua 47 (before c. 300), [**uru**]fiis Sa60 = *Imag.* 1037 Bovianum 41 ("perhaps before 300"), **uru**[fiis] (?) Sa14+37+40 = *Imag.* 935ff. Atina 1 (200–100), ?úr(-) tCm5 = *Imag.* 897f. Abella 5 (n. d.); and cf. also n. 72: *Orofius* (Cales, Capua), *Orfius* (Telesia, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Abella; Lejeune 142).

***ορτοριεσ** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300), [ο]ρτορ[ιομ] (?) acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300): *Ortorius* (Larinum, Terventum, Regium [K. Ὀρτώριος/Ορτώριος K. υ. Βάλβιλλος, *IG XIV 617 = IGI Reggio 8*]; cf. *Hortorius*).

Numerius **Otacilius** from Maleventum around 300 BC (*Lib. praen.* 6; Festus p. 174 L.; *RE* 6): *Otacilius* (attested in Puteoli, Pompeii and several times in Lucania, but apparently not in Samnium).

***úviis** Po46 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), tPo3 = *Imag.* 826 Pompei 136 (c. 150–100), **úviú**⁷⁶ nom. fem. *Imag.* 1239f. Aufidena 3 (c. 100), **úvii(s)** Po45 = *Imag.* 669f. Pompei 30 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), **úvi(is)** Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"), **úvis** Fr6 = *Imag.* 1250 Frentani 1 (c. 125–100), **úvies** Cm38–39 = *Imag.* 608ff. Herculaneum 2 (c. 100): *Ovius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aesernia, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Capua, Nola, Cumae, Pompeii, Surrentum, Salerno; cf. Lejeune 142).

***πακιδιεσ** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Pacidius*, attested at Larinum (*Epigr. Larino I* [1997] 78 = *AE* 1966, 78); *ibid.* p. 344 no. 24, IV).

+***pakíu** (a nomen?) nom. fem. Po87 = *Imag.* 756 Pompei 91 (n. d.), *pacieis* Ps6 = *Imag.* 843 Stabiae (?) 2 (c. 500–475); M. Paccius Ep. f. Cilo (unpublished inscription from Pompeii); N. Paccius N. f. Chilo in Pompeii (*CIL X 885f.*); C. Paccius Ovi f. Bantius, *Ter(v)entinus* (*CIL XI 5758*); cf. *pacia* Pg4 = *Imag.* 303f. Sulmo 3 (c. 150): *Pacius*, *Paccius* (attested often in Samnium and Campania, but apparently not in Lucania/Bruttium).

–**pakulliis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8, 5 (200–150), **p(a)k(u)l(iis)** (?) *Imag.* 752f. Pompei 88 (125–100): *Pacullius* (attested only in *CIL XII 699*).

Urgianus.

⁷⁵ There is also the nomen *Orgius*, but this name seems to be attested only in Gaul (*CIL XIII 2608/9 = ILS 4631/2* [the same man appears in *CIL XIII 1462 = ILS 7037*, where he describes himself as *Aeduus*]; cf. (*centuria*) *Orgi*, *AE* 1996, 1124 from Vindonissa, and perhaps also *CIL XIII 1992*), and may well be of local origin.

⁷⁶ Not **uviú**, as in *Imag.* (cf. the photo). For this inscription, cf. also P. Poccetti, *REL* 88 (2010) 41–52.

- ***pakkviis** Si19 = *Imag.* 571 Teanum Sidicinum 33 (c. 200–100), $\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon\omega$ nom. fem. (?) (nomen?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): *Pacvius* (*CIL* X 883, Pompeii) *Paquius* (Allifae, Pompeii, Nuceria, Copia, Vibo) *Pacuvius* (Ligures Baebiani, Pompeii; Lejeune 143).
- pagieis** (?) gen. *Imag.* 853 Surrentum 3 (using alphabet of Nocera; 525–500).⁷⁷ In the index (p. 1613), this name appears among instances of *pakis pacis*, etc. as a praenomen, but I wonder whether it would not be preferable to consider it as a nomen and equivalent to *Pagius*, a nomen found in an early inscription from Supinum in the country of the Marsi (*CIL* IX 3847 = I² 389 = *ILS* 3817 = *Epigrafia dei Marsi* 134), and in any case plausible because the existence of *Pagidius* (*CIL* VI 4496) and *Pagisius* (*CIL* VIII 27105 = *Mourir à Dougga* [2002] 927).
- +***paapii(s)** Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"), N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 424 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73, **paapií(s)** *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 425 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73,⁷⁸ **paapi(is)** *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 426, 427, 428 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73f., Soricelli 2011, 58 no. 3 (stamp), **papiis** Ps15 = *Imag.* 913f. Nuceria Alfaterna 6 (c. 500), **papi.** tSa24 + 4 = *Imag.* 1021f. Bovianum 27 (c. 200–100), $\pi\alpha\alpha\pi[-]$ (?) tMe2 = *Imag.* 1523 Messana 8, **paap.** tSa1 = *Imag.* 991 Bovianum 3 (c. 200–100), *Imag.* 1025 Bovianum 29 (c. 200–100), **pap.** tSa23 + 25 = *Imag.* 1020 Bovianum 26 (c. 200–100; a new instance Soricelli 2011, 61 no. 5), *Imag.* 1039 Bovianum 43 (n. d.), **pap[-]** Si16 = *Imag.* 539 Teanum Sidicinum 10 (n. d.), **p(a)p(iis)** tPo29+41 = *Imag.* 786 Pompei 110 (c. 150–100); Brutulus Papius, a Samnite in 322 BC (*Liv.* 8, 39, 12: *vir nobilis potensque*); C. Papius Mutilus, the Samnite general in the Social War, apparently from Bovianum, mentioned in several sources (*RE* Papius 12); N. Papii in Bovianum Vetus and Venafrum (*CIL* I² 1757; X 4908);⁷⁹ cf. *papia* Pg28 = *Imag.* 320 Sulmo 14 (c. 150): *Pāpius* (Larinum, Terventum, Bovianum Vetus, Aufidena, Aesernia, Saepinum,

⁷⁷ Note that Triantafillis PI 10 (and in *SE* 73 [2007 (2009)] 452 no. 1) read (*urufieis*) *pafieis*.

⁷⁸ In *Imag.*, the name is assumed to be in the genitive. The genitive **kastrikiíeís** in Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 is adduced as a parallel, but this is a (painted) inscription and thus not necessarily a very good parallel; and the names we find on Oscan coins normally seem to be in the nominative. For nominatives ending in **-iis**, cf. **aadiriis atiniis kiipiis sehsímbríis [s]puriis viinikiis**.

⁷⁹ Cf. N. Papius M. f. Hor. and his son L. Papius N. f. Bass(us) in Venusia (*Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 175).

Venafrum, Cales, Capua, Nola⁸⁰).

- †**paaristís** (?) Po57 = *Imag.* 709f. Pompei 51 (the name has also been read as **paarkṫís**). If this were **Paristius* (*Imag.*), one could perhaps compare *Par-ius* (*CIL* IX 2553 [Fagifulae] and elsewhere) and, e.g., *Antius* : *Antistius*.
- ***perk{e}en[iis]** acc. Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"); Minius Percennius from Nola (Cato *agr.* 151, 1); Τρέβιος Περκέννιος *IG* XIV 2402,3, etc., cf. *Imag.* 1530 Teuranus ager no. (2): *Percennius* (Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Bovianum, Allifae, Aquilonia, Capua; cf. *fundus Percennianus* in Caposele in N. Lucania, *CIL* X 444 = *ILS* 3546 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 7).
- †**perḱium** (?) gen. pl. Cp41 = *Imag.* 464ff. Capua 45 (c. 275). The reading is a bit uncertain, but **Percius* would, alongside *Percennius* (cf. *Vibius* : *Vibennius*), be plausible.
- ***πετιδις** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Petidius Pettidius*, attested in Capua (*CIL* VI 32526, a III, 32 C. *Petidius C. f. Fal. Felicissimus Cap(ua)*).
- †**pettiannuí** (a nomen?) dat. tCm 7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 (n. d.). This brick stamp has the text **mamertiuí pettiannuí**; as **mamertiuí** seems to be a praenomen (above n. 55), it seems best to take **pettiannuí** as a nomen (thus apparently *Imag.* in the index p. 1614; but Rix suggests this might be a cognomen, *ST* p. 144) which in Latin would surely be **Pettianus* (although one wonders about the double <n> in **pettiannuí**). For an Oscan nomen ending *-anus*, cf. **aadirans**; for nomina in *-ianus* attested in Latin inscriptions cf. *Arctos* 18 (1984) 97–104.
- ***pettieis** gen. Cp30 = *Imag.* 426f. Capua 25 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **pettiē[iis]** gen. Cp29 = *Imag.* 428f. Capua 26 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]); Herius Pettius from Nola in 215 BC (*Liv.* 23, 43, 9); N. Pettii in Abella (*CIL* X 1208 [AD 155]; 1216): *Pettius* (Aesernia, Teanum Sidicinum, Abella, Grumentum; Lejeune 143).
- ***pinni[is]** (?) Po61 = *Imag.* 723 Pompei 62 (c. 100?): *Pinnius*, attested in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 2807, cf. X 8047, 9) and Nola (*NSA* 1929, 205; 1932, 314).
- ***pítakiis** Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100): *Petacius* (attested exclusively in Pompeii).
- †**planilies** gen. *Imag.* 876f. Nola (?) 9 (c. 450). This could be **Planilius* (cf. *Planius* and, e.g., *Campilius Pupilius* : *Campius Pupius*).
- †**ποκιδ(ιες)** Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1 (125–100). This is surely **Pocidius* or **Pucidius* which could be compared to *Poccius* (*CIL* V 420) and

⁸⁰ In addition to *NSA* 1900, 101 also in *NSA* 1932, 313.

Puccius (L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita* [1973] 358), although one would like to see these nomina attested in Central Italy.

†φοινι[κι(ε)σ] (?) (with <φ> for <π>?) Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.); being preceded by the praenomen [γ]αφισ, φοινι[---] seems to be a nomen (thus in *Imag.* with the interpretation "Phoenicius"; cf. the index p. 1622),⁸¹ and could be identical with **puinik(iis)** (but the reading may in fact be **pumik(iis)**, cf. *Imag.*) Cp1 = *Imag.* 460f. Capua 43 (c. 250?). φοινι[κι(ε)σ] could perhaps correspond to **Poinicius* **Poenicus*⁸² (cf. *Poinisius*, *CIL* I² 2115 from Asisium).

+*πολλιεσ Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250), Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n.d.); N. Pollii in Cumae in AD 251 (*CIL* X 3699);⁸³ cf. *polies* Triantafillis SG 12 = *Imag.* 78 Italia 4 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Pollius* (Beneventum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola).

+*[p]úmpunis tLu15 = *Imag.* 1327 Velia 1 (c. 200–100), πωμπονισ Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1 (125–100); *Pomponius* (a nomen?) Cm7 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50); N. Pomponius N. f. Scaeva *CIL* IX 1621 (Beneventum); C. Pomponius V. f. *CIL* I² 3201 (Aesernia); cf. perhaps *peumpuni(es)* Pg 26 = *Imag.* 250 Superaequum 6 (c. 150): *Pomponius* (Terventum, Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum, Saepinum, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Stabiae, Salernum, Paestum, Atina Lucana, Teagianum).

†πομπτιεσ Me1 = *Imag.* 1515f. Messana 5; Πακία Πομπτία, *SEG* 44, 773 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (1) (c. 300); cf. below **púmt(iis)**. This must, of course, be **Pomptius*⁸⁴ (cf. *Pomptin(i)us*).

⁸¹ Of course, however, there are also scholars who see this man as a Phoenician (E. Campanile, *SE* 58 [1992] 369–71 = Campanile 2008, 975–7). See also McDonald 2012, 53.

⁸² *Punicus* in *CIL* XIII 8727 (from Noviomagus = Nijmegen) is probably a recent formation (from *Punicus*) of the type common in Gaul and Germany.

⁸³ Cf. [.] Pollius N. l. Stabilio in Rome (*CIL* VI 24407).

⁸⁴ **Pompt-ios* is normally seen as identical with **Pont-ios*, **Pompt-ios* (from the ordinal **pompto-*) representing the original form, **Pont-ios* (with <nt> for <mpt> as in *lanterna* for **lampterna*; cf. Leumann 150, and note intermediate stage as represented by **púmt(iis)**) its later evolution (thus Leumann 151, Untermann 604; Lejeune, on the other hand, seems to assume that **Pontio-* is the original form derived from **ponto-* "cinquième", "éventuellement remanié en *pompto-* à l'analogie du cardinal **pompe*", this resulting in **Pomtio-*). Schulze 212 questions the "traditionelle Identificierung" of *Pontius* and **Pomptius*.

- +***púntiis** Po1 = *Imag.* 637ff. Pompei 13 (c. 200–100?), **pun(tiis)** Sa46 = *Imag.* 1040 Bovianum 44 ("probably before 300"), **puntieis** (?) gen. Cm28 = *Imag.* 602f. Saticula 7 (c. 300; reading **puntr^rieis^r**), **púmt(iiis)** tSa9 = *Imag.* 1007 Bovianum 15 (c. 125–100) and **púm(tiis)** tSa11 = *Imag.* 1006 Bovianum 14 (c. 125–100; for **púmt-** cf. n. 84); Herennus Pontius, the Samnite philosopher (*RE* Pontius 4; P. S. Horky, *Class. Ant.* 30 [2011] 119–147); C. Pontius Herenni filius, the Samnite general in 321 BC (also *RE* Pontius 4; cf. D. Briquel, in G. Van Heems [ed.], *La variation linguistique dans les langues de l'Italie préromaine* [2011] 31–8); Pontius Telesinus, *dux* of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Pontius 21); C. Pontius Mari f. *CIL* I² 1716 (ager Compsinus); freedmen of a N. Pontius in Bovianum Vetus (*CIL* IX 2790; cf. on the Samnite Pontii, also Campanile 2008, 984f.); cf. *ponties* Pg5 = *Imag.* 301f. Sulmo 2 (c. 200–125): *Pontius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Frigento, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Stabiae, Surrentum).
- †**puntr^rieis^r** (?)⁸⁵ gen. Cm28 (reading **puntieis**) = *Imag.* 602f. Saticula 7 (c. 300). If this reading is correct, the name should probably be interpreted as **Pontirius* (*Imag.*) which could be in the same relation to *Pontius* as *Decirius* to *Decius*.
- +***púpidiis** Po5 = *Imag.* 631f. Pompei 9 (150–100), Po6 = *Imag.* 628ff. Pompei 8 (200–150), Po12 = *Imag.* 691f. Pompei 42 ("before c. 130–120"), **púpid.** Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89), Po91 = *Imag.* 633 Pompei 10 (n. d.), $\pi\pi\epsilon\delta[\iota\omicron\mu]$ acc. Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250), **pupdiis** Cm34 = *Imag.* 943 Caudium (?) 3 (c. 320–300); V. Popidius Ep. f. *CIL* I² 1627 (Pompeii); a number of N. Popidii in Pompeii (Castrén 1975, 207f.); cf. *popdis* Pg1 = *Imag.* 261 Corfinium 1 (200–150): *Popidius* (Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii [Castrén no. 318; add *CIL* IV 6719]; Lejeune 143), *Pupidius* (*CIL* X 8370 from Puteoli).
- †**pupiedis** (Latin alphabet) Po64 = *Imag.* 836 Pompei 144 (c. 90–80?), **púpie.** tPo7 and 9 = *Imag.* 770ff. Pompei 101 (c. 125–100) (2), (3), (4), (6), (7), (10), (11), (13), (14), (15), **pupie.** tPo8 = *Imag.* 770ff. Pompei 101 (c. 125–100) (1), (5), (8), (9), (12), (16). This could be **Popiedius* **Poppiedius*, which, again, could be compared to *Popius* *Poppius*, cf. *Allius* : *Alliedius* *Staius* : *Staiadius* *Vibius* : *Vibiedius* etc.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The last four letters as corrected represent "little better than random scratches". The fifth letter can hardly be anything other than an <r>.

⁸⁶ Note the suffix *-iedius*, typical of the "Sabellian" regions (Marsi, Paeligni, etc.) and of

- †**Ποππαλαῖος** *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300): **Poppalaeus*; cf. *Poppalenus*.
- ***ρύστη(iis)** (?) Po48 (with the reading **ρύγι**) = *Imag.* 711 Pompei 52 (c. 150–100): *Postumius*? (cf. a N. Postumius in Pompeii, Castrén no. 322, 2; for Postumii in Campania in general, cf. *Camodeca* 2008, 288).
- †**ρῦμικ(iis)** (?) Cp1 (with the reading **puinik(iis)**) = *Imag.* 460f. Capua 43 (c. 250?). This could correspond to **Pumicius* which, again, could be compared to *Pumidius* (attested, e.g., in Capua and Pompeii), cf. *Fuficius* : *Fufidius*, *Murricius* : *Murridius*, etc.
- ***[πο]υπιεσ** (?) *Imag.* 1393 Potentia 18 (200–100): *Pupius*? (Beneventum, Telesia, Atella, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***puríl(iis)** (?) Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89; reading **auríl.**): this may well be the equivalent of *Purellius* (*CIL* IX 2368 from Allifae).
- †**Ποτίλιος** (?) Zonar. 8, 11, 8 (a Samnite, 215 BC): **Potilius* **Putilius*?
- ***kuiirinis** Po60 = *Imag.* 722 Pompei 61 (c. 150–100): *Quirinius* (attested at least in Salernum, *CIL* X 628).
- ***rahiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150) (several times), **rahiieis** gen. *ibid.* line 41, **Ραίου** *Imag.* 1454 Orlandoi 1 Coinage (215–204); C. Raius N. f. Vol. Perulla in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2532): *Raius Raius* (Larinum, Terwentum, Aeclanum, Aesernia, Caiatia, Capua, Herculaneum, Vibo; Lejeune 143).
- rar(iis?)** (?) tPo23 + 6 = *Imag.* 819f. Pompei 130 (c. 150–100), **ra(riis?)** (?) tFr1 = *Imag.* 1300 Teanum Apulum 5 (n. d.): cf. perhaps *Rarius*, attested in Spain (*CIL* II 2472)?
- +***rufriis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 40; cf. *rufries* Pg47 = *Imag.* 288 Corfinium 25; M. Rufrius N. f. Cimber in Trebula Balliensis (*CIL* I² 3119): *Rufrius* (also attested in Beneventum and Caiatia; Lejeune 143).
- +***σαβιδιον** and **σαβιδι(ον)** acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); cf. *sabdia* Pg53 = *Imag.* 272 Corfinium 10: *Sabidius* (Terwentum, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Pompeii, Nola, Stabiae, Capua, Grumentum).
- +***sadiriis** Po11 = *Imag.* 645f. Pompei 18 (n. d.), **sadri(is)** tSa7 = *Imag.* 1008 Bovianum 16 (c. 200–100), N. Satrii in Aesernia, Teanum Sidicinum and Tegianum (*CIL* IX 2744; *AE* 1908, 218; *CIL* I² 1685);⁸⁷ cf. *sadries* Pg1 =

Umbria, but which is also attested, in the case of *Oviedius* and *Vibiedius*, in Campania and Lucania (see A. Schulten, *Klio* 2 [1902] 461ff.).

⁸⁷ For N. Satrii outside the Oscan area, cf. *CIL* X 5047 (Atina in Latium), 5521 (Aquinum); *CIL* VI 25877; 25882.

- Imag.* 261 Corfinium 1: *Sadrius* (*CIL* X 388 = I² 1684 from Atina in Lucania), *Satrius* (Aesernia, Saepinum, Beneventum, Telesia, Cales, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Vibo), ?*Satirius* (*FIRA* II² p. 662, AD 225).⁸⁸
- saidiieis** gen. Cp9 = *Imag.* 408f. Capua 16 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]): *Saediis*.⁸⁹
- +***salaviis** Cp3 = *Imag.* 456f. Capua 40 (c. 300); cf. *Salvius Paelignus* in 168 BC, Frontin. *strat.* 2, 8, 5 (although the praenomen rather than the nomen may be meant): *Salavius*,⁹⁰ *Salvius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Capua, Pompeii, Nola, Potentia, Locri; Lejeune 143).⁹¹
- ***sattiieis** gen. Sa35 = *Imag.* 1186f. Terventum 25 (c. 100); Οὔλιος Σάπτιος *Imag.* 1529 Genusia no. (1): *Satius* (attested in Venafrum [*CIL* X 4989a] and Cales [*EE* VIII 529]) *Sattius* (with attestations concentrating in the Oscan area: Beneventum, Venafrum, Rufrae,⁹² Volturnum, Capua, Puteoli, Nola).
- †**σκαφιριω** nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300). The Latin equivalent could be **Scafirius* or **Scafrius* (possibly to be compared with *Scafius*),⁹³ cf. *Decius* : *Decirius Decrius*.
- ***σκαλαπονιες** Lu41 = *Imag.* 1358f. Tegianum 1 (100–90), [σκ]αλαπονις Lu40 = *Imag.* 1356f. Cosilinum 2 (c. 100); *A. Scalponi(us) Paq. l.* *CIL* I² 1683 (Paestum) (**sk(-)** tPo26 = *Imag.* 808 Pompei 123 [c. 150–100]?): *Scalponius*, otherwise attested only in *CIL* VI 5143 and *AE* 1977, 675 (Cappadocia).
- †**sehsímbrriis** Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89). **Sexembrius* according to Vetter (Ve 25) and Slunečko no. 382, **Sextembrius* in *Imag.*⁹⁴ This is one of the Oscan nomina which apparently cannot be illustrated by any nomina attested in Latin inscriptions.
- +***seis** (a nomen?) Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"); N. Seius N. 1. Aesci[nus] in Capua (*CIL* X 4335); cf. *seio(s)* Pg6, 7 = *Imag.* 244 Superaequum 3: *Seius* (Larinum, Bovianum, Venafrum, Capua, Cumae, Pompeii, etc.).

⁸⁸ For the forms **sadiriis**, **sadri(is)**, *sadries* and *Sadrius* (with <d> for <t>), cf. above n. 11. *Satirius* (if the reading is accepted) may reflect the anaptyctic form but with the retention of the original <t>.

⁸⁹ Attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 19305), Gaul, Africa and Athens (*IG* II/III² 1817, 35; 2228, 42).

⁹⁰ Attested in Corfinium and Sulmo (*CIL* IX 3119, *Suppl. It.* 3 Corfinium 75, *ibid.* 4 Sulmo 63).

⁹¹ Cf. N. Salvius Pistus in Rome (*CIL* VI 34458).

⁹² Probably belonging to the territory of Teanum (Camodeca 2008, 352 n. 105).

⁹³ M. Rostowzew, *Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbi plumbeorum sylloge* (1903) 1313.

⁹⁴ However, "Sextembrius" is perhaps an error. Cf. on **sehsímbrriis**, also P. Poccetti, "Nomi personali, numeri e computo calendariale nell'Italia antica", in *AION ling* 17, (1995) 246f.

- ***seppiis** Po8 = *Imag.* 647 Pompei 19 (150–100), **sep(iis)** Po59 = *Imag.* 724 Pompei 63 (c. 100); N. Seppius A. f. Secun(dus?) in Frigento (*CIL* IX 1064): *Sepius* (*CIL* IX 2535 from Saepinum) *Seppius* (Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Telesia, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Pompeii; Lejeune 143).⁹⁵
- ***sillii(s)** tPo4 = *Imag.* 821 Pompei 131 (c. 150–100), **silli(is)** Cm19 = *Imag.* 517 Cumae 14 (c. 200?), **silie** voc. Cm18 = *Imag.* 515f. Cumae 13 ("surely earlier ... than Poccetti's 200–100"); N. *Sillius* N. (f.) on Campanian brick stamps (*CIL* X 8042, 96, 97a–n): *Sillius* (apparently not otherwise attested in the Oscan area); *Sīlius* is probably a separate name.
- ***siuttiis** Po1 = *Imag.* 637ff. Pompei 13 (c. 200–100?): this must be *Sutius Suttius* (cf. Osc. **tiurrí** for *turrim*, etc.); however, one wonders (with Castrén no. 381) whether *Sut(t)ius* could not be identical with *Sittius* which is a common nomen in Campania and attested at least in Nuceria (P. Sittius from Nuceria, *RE* 3), Cales (Appian *BC* 4,47), Capua, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii and Salernum (*EE* VIII 304 = *Inscr. It.* I 1, 76, a *Nymerius* [sic] *Sittius*); the variation between <i> and <u> in an accented first syllable would then be the same as the one we can observe in *Bruttius Bruttii* names which are often rendered as *Brittius Brittii* (cf. Greek Βρέττιος, etc.) especially in the later period:⁹⁶ *Sutius* (*CIL* IV 10189, Pompeii) *Suttius* (attested in the Oscan area only in *CIL* X 3372, but this is a marine *natione Cilix*; but cf. n. 98) *Sittius* (?).
- ***siviiú** (a nomen?) nom. fem. Hi4 = *Imag.* 959f. Aeclanum 3 (c. 150?): *Sēvius*⁹⁷ (Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***?slabiis** Cm10 = *Imag.* 605ff. Herculaneum 1 (c. 150–90), **σλαβιες** Lu57 = *Imag.* 1411f. Potentia 30 (300–200), **sl(abiis)** (?) *Imag.* 754 Pompei (?) 89 (150–100): *Stlabius* (*CIL* X 3633, from Misenum, but this is a marine) *Slavius* ?*Labius* ?*Lavius*.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Cf. N. Seppius Polus in Rome (*CIL* VI 26219).

⁹⁶ *Bruttius* is already rendered as *Brittius* in Pompeii, Q. Bruttius Balbus, aedile in 56/7, appearing both as *Bruttius* (*CIL* X 826 = *ILS* 6383, *CIL* IV 935g. 3159, etc.) and as *Brittius* (*CIL* IV 3340, 56. 74; 5783 = 6581). By the 4th century, the region Bruttii in S. Italy was constantly referred to as *Brittii* (*CIL* VI 1699 [= *ILS* 2946], 41332; *CIL* X 4, 212f., 519, etc.), the senatorial family of the Bruttii Praesentes as *Brittii Praesentes* (*CIL* VI 2153, *CIL* X 468, *AE* 1978, 262). For the variation <i>/<u> in this position. cf. also Leumann 89f. and perhaps *Nimmius* which could be in some relation to *Nummius* (see above).

⁹⁷ Schulze 223 adduces documents showing that the *e* is long.

⁹⁸ **slabiis** must be identical with *Slavius* (the diploma *CIL* XVI 9 of AD 68 mentioning among

- smintiis** Cp4, Cp5 = *Imag.* 450ff. Capua 36, 37 (c. 330). This is surely *Smintius* which is so far attested only as a cognomen in inscriptions from Etruria (*CIL* XI 1616 = *ILS* 7683 [Florentia]; *AE* 1987, 366 [Clusium]).⁹⁹ This nomen must be of Etruscan origin, but may well ultimately derive, in one way or another, from the surname of Ἀπόλλων Σμινθεύς (Schulze 473, cf. Lejeune 1976, 122, although the author seems to go too far when he ascribes "origine grecque" to this name).¹⁰⁰
- *Μαράϊου **Σοντίου** *Imag.* 1531 Vibo Valentia (3): *Sontius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1540), Allifae (*CIL* IX 2358), Teanum Sidicinum (*AE* 1993, 493); also in Teate Marrucinorum (*CIL* IX 3032).
- *N. **Spedius** Vib. f. Cor. Dexsanicus *CIL* IX 1310 (Aeclanum); cf. *Q. Spedius Q. CIL* IV 595 = *Imag.* 837 Pompei 145 (c. 190–80?; "not fully Latin"): *Spedius* (Terwentum, Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Pompeii, Eburum, Cosilinum; Lejeune 143).
- ***σπελιν**, σπελ(ι)ων acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); σπελ(-) N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2289 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC); Spellia Ovi f. *NSA* 1898, 422 (Pompeii; this seems to be the only attestation of this nomen – otherwise found, e.g., in Atina and Casinum in Latium – in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan area): *Spelius Spellius*.

the witnesses a certain *M. Slavius Putiolanus Caralitanus*, surely a former marine from the naval base at Misenum) and *Stlabius* (also attested in Africa [*CIL* VIII 27216] and in Ephesus in the Greek inscription *AE* 1999, 1537), the relation of *Stlabius* to **Slabius Slavius* being that of *stlis* to *slis* (*CIL* I² 15 [*Xvir sl(itibus) iudik(andis)*], *CIL* I² 583, 8 [*slitisque aestumatio*]); cf. Leumann 189). Furthermore, as *stlis* later appears as *lis*, one could consider *Labius* (e.g., *CIL* IX 1425, Aequum Tuticum) and possibly also *Lavius* (e.g., N. Stelluti, *Epigrafi di Larino* I [1997] 146quater) as later developments of *Stlabius* (for *Labius* cf. Lejeune 128). As for both *Stlabius* and *Slavius* being attested for marines from Misenum, there are some reasons to believe that some marines chose as their nomina names in use among the local population in the area (see O. Salomies, *Arctos* 30 [1996] 184f.), which would mean that *Stlabius* and *Slavius* could be considered Campanian names only by chance not attested for persons of local origin in Latin inscriptions from the Imperial period.

⁹⁹ Q. Vibius L. f. Sca. Maximus Smintius; Larcia L. I. Hilara Tutili Smint(i) (the husband was thus called Tutilius Smint(ius)). For these name types, with a nomen being used as a cognomen, cf., e.g., L. Calventius Vetus Carminius, P. Sulpicius Quirinius.

¹⁰⁰ By the way, one wonders whether *Mintius*, attested only in Etruria (*CIL* XI 7264 = *ILS* 9194 from Saturnia; *Suppl. It.* 16 Rusellae 44; note also *Minthius*, attested for a *vigil* in Rome under Severus, *CIL* VI 1056, 2, 35) might not be a further development of this nomen (for **sm-* > *m-* see Leumann 190).

- *[s]puriís Po9 = *Imag.* 648f. Pompei 20 (c. 200–100?), **spuriíeís** gen. Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89), *spuriíeis* gen. Cm27 = *Imag.* 600f. Saticula 6 (350–300); Cn. Spurius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 3130 (Cumae); N. Spurius D. f. *CIL* I² 2947 (Capua): *Spurius* (Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Velia; Lejeune 143); cf. *vicus Spurianus* in Atella (*CIL* X 3750 = *ILS* 8351).
- ***staiís** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 (c. 150–90), Sa10 = *Imag.* 1171f. Terventum 16 (c. 100?), Sa11 = *Imag.* 1170 Terventum 15 (c. 100?), Sa12 = *Imag.* 1173 Terventum 17 (c. 100?), Sa24 = *Imag.* 1179f. Terventum 20 (200–100), **staiís** Sa21 = *Imag.* 1152f. Terventum 5 (c. 175), **stai(ís)** tSa 16, 21, 32 = *Imag.* 1015ff. Bovianum 22, 23, 24 (a new instance of tSa21 = Bovianum 24 in Soricelli 2011, 58 no. 2), **staiíiús** (*sic*) nom. pl. Sa26 = *Imag.* 1207 Terventum 35 (c. 200–125), **staiis** Sa3 = *Imag.* 1150f. Terventum 4 (c. 175), **stai(is)** tSa26 = *Imag.* 1023f. Bovianum 28 (c. 200–100), **sta(iis)** tSa2 = *Imag.* 987f. Bovianum 1 (c. 200–100), tSa 14, 17, 20, 31, 32 = *Imag.* 1009ff. Bovianum 17ff., 21f.; ?"Staius Minatius", a Samnite, 296 BC (Liv. 10, 20, 13), who might in fact be a Minatus Staius (cf. above *Minatius* and Min. Staius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2239 [Delos], Γάιος Στάιος Ούίου *I. Délos* 1734); N. Staii in Aeclanum and Capua (*CIL* IX 1311; X 4353; and cf. on the Staii, also Campanile 2008, 982–4): *Staius* (Minturnae), *Staius* (attested also in Larinum, Terventum, Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum [Camodeca 2008, 351 with n. 104], Pompeii, Nola, Atina Lucana, Tegianum; Lejeune 143).
- ***σταλλιεσ** Lu16 = *Imag.* 1384f. Potentia 13 (325–275), [στ]αλλιεσ Lu22 = *Imag.* 1408f. Potentia 28 (300–200); Stenius Stallius, a Lucanian in 285 BC (Plin. *nat.* 34, 32): *Staius* (*CIL* IV 3340, 138) *Stallius* (Puteoli, Pompeii).
- *Staius **Statilius**, *dux* of the Bruttians and Lucanians in 282 BC (*RE* Statilius 9); Marius Statilius, a Lucanian commander at Cannae in 216 BC (Liv. 22, 42, 4 and elsewhere; *RE* Statilius 7): *Stātīlius* (Abellinum, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii; and according to many scholars, the senatorial Statilii Tauri were also from Lucania, possibly from Volcei; cf. G. Camodeca, in *Epigrafiā e ordine senatorio* II [1982] 155f.).
- +***staatiis** Sa13 = *Imag.* 1165ff. Terventum 12 (c. 100), **staiis** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300), **staattieís** gen. Cm3 = *Imag.* 894f. Abella 3 (c. 100?), **staa.** tSa1 = *Imag.* 991 Bovianum 3 (c. 200–100), **sta[tiis]** Sa15 = *Imag.* 1219 Fagifulae 1 (n. d.), στατιν acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320), στατιο and στατιω nom. fem. (?), στατιεσ *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300); Στάτιος ...

- ὁ Σαυνίτης who became a senator after the Social War, Appian, *civ.* 4, 25, 102 (*RE* 1; T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* [1971] 263 no. 414); cf. *staties* Lu55 = *Imag.* Italia 2 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Stātius* (common in the Oscan area, cf. Lejeune 143) *Staatius* (*CIL* I² 1824f.).
- *Treb. *Statorius* Tr. 1. Terminalis *CIL* X 1403, g3, 43 (Herculaneum): *Stātōrius*, also attested in Telesia (*CIL* I² 3200a).
- *M'. *Statuleius* Mar. f. F. Miele, in *Italica Ars. Studi in onore di G. Colonna* (2005) 542ff. no. 9 cf. G. Camodeca, EDR112897 (Teanum Sidicinum); cf. *fundus [S]tatuleianus* in Caposele in N. Lucania, *CIL* X 444 = *ILS* 3546 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 7: *Statuleius*.¹⁰¹
- *συριεσ (2x) Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Surius* (attested in the Oscan area apparently only as the name of the *fundus Surianus* in Ligures Baebiani, *CIL* IX 3814, 2, 30), cf. *Syrius* (*CIL* VI 1601, 27078; *ICVR* 4466).
- †tantrnnaiúm gen. pl. Cp31, 32 = *Imag.* 417ff. Capua 22, 21 (c. 300–250). **Tanterna* according to Slunečko no. 427, but the suggestion **Tanternaeus* (thus *Imag.*; **Tanterneus* Vetter, Ve 87) seems more plausible; the name has an Etruscan ring but the suffix (if correctly identified) seems to point to the Sabellian lands and to Umbria.
- [t]arút(iis) (?) Po47 = *Imag.* 712f. Pompei 53 (c. 150–100). The reading *arút(-)* has been interpreted as representing as such an (abbreviated) nomen, and identified with *Arruntius* (thus Lejeune 108),¹⁰² but it seems that a letter or two must (in addition to the praenomen of the man) be missing in the beginning. *Imag.* suggests the reading [t]arút(iis), this nomen being identified with *Tarutius* (a nomen found in the area of *CIL* IX–X only in Barium [*CIL* IX 301]). However, one could perhaps also consider other nomina ending in *-ar(r)utius*.¹⁰³
- **tedis* (nomen?) nSa4 = *Imag.* 383 Campania Coinage 4 (265–240): *Tēdius* (Puteoli, *AE* 1999, 453), *Tēdius* (Beneventum and the *ager Beneventanus* [*CIL* IX 2103]).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ A certain N. Statuleius Paulus from Scupi, but perhaps with a Samnite background, is attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 26831).

¹⁰² *Arruntius* is in fact attested in Pompeii (cf. above). Vetter (in the index p. 385) also takes this name (which is followed by the filiation *ni.*) to be a nomen; but Rix (in the index p. 138) defines it as a praenomen.

¹⁰³ E.g., *Barrutius Marrutius Sarutius* (*CIL* VI 19165) *Varrutius*.

¹⁰⁴ For [ē] in *Tedius* cf., e.g., *I. Creticae* IV 214; *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 116. That *Tedius* is identical with *Teidius* (*Tēdius*, cf. *Τηίδιος*, *I. Kyme* 16) emerges, e.g., from the fact that the consul (suffectus) of AD 31, Sex. Te(i)dus Valerius Catullus, is called both *Teidius* (the *Fasti*

- *Μίνωτος Μινάτου **Τήιος** ἐκ Κύμης *I. Délos* 442, B, l. 147; 443, Bb, l. 64f. (179–178 BC): *Teius*, attested in Venafrum (*CIL* X 4917 and 4997), Allifae (*CIL* IX 2385) and Puteoli (*CIL* X 2467). However, note that it is suggested in *Imag.* 1526 Cumae no. (2) that *Heius* may be meant; and that there are also scholars who assume that Τήιος is an error for Στάιος (e.g., Salomies 1987, 79; Campanile 2008, 983; M. Nocita, *Italiotai e Italikoi* [2012] 241).
- †M. **Teroni(us)** Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua).
- ***tirentium** gen. pl. Cp8 = *Imag.* 406f. Capua 15 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]): *Tērentius* (Larinum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Trebula Balliensis, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Capua, Atella, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Velia; Lejeune 143).
- †**tetineis** gen. (a nomen?) Cm29 = *Imag.* 604 Saticula 8 (c. 300). In Latin, this would surely be **Tet(t)inius* (Vetter [Ve 129], *Imag.*), no doubt in some relation to *Tet(t)ius Tet(t)idius*, etc. (cf. *Alfius* : *Alfidius* : *Alfidius*, *Ovius* : *Ovidius* : *Ovinus* etc.).
- ***tintiriis** Fr7 = *Imag.* 1247 [Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni 1] (c. 250?); *M. Tintrius* (sic) *N. f. Graicanicus Nucrinus* (clearly a visitor from Nuceria), *CIL* I² 2937b (Philae); *N. Tintirius Rufus* in Pompeii (Castrén no. 411, 2): *Tintirius*, attested in Ligures Baebiani (*CIL* IX 1480) and Pompeii,¹⁰⁵ *Tintrius*; and surely *Titirius* (*CIL* X 3947 from Capua; 83 from Vibo) is another rendering of the same name.¹⁰⁶
- †**titaies** gen. *Imag.* 878f. Nola 10 (325–300). This could be **Titaeus*, the relationship of which to *Titius* would be the same as that of *Annaeus Bassaeus*, etc. to *Annius Bassius*, etc.
- ***τιτιδιεσ** Lu15 = *Imag.* 1391f. Potentia 17 (300–275 according to Lejeune, but "probably later in the century", *Imag.*), Lu27 = *Imag.* 1382f. Potentia 12 (300–200): *Titidius* (attested in Paestum, *I. Paestum* p. 329).
- ***titti(is)** tPo13 = *Imag.* 809 Pompei 124 (c. 150–100); cf. *titis* Pg45 = *Imag.* 328 Sulmo 20 (c. 150), *titieis* gen. He3 = *Imag.* 357 Anagnia 14: *Tītius* (Beneventum, Telesia, Pompeii, etc.) *Tittius* (Capua, Puteoli); cf. Lejeune 143.

Nolani, Inscr. It. XIII 1, 261; the *Fasti Arvalium*, *ibid.* 299) and *Tedius* (*CIL* XIV 2466; the *Fasti Ostienses*, ed. Vidman², 42). Similarly, *Vēdius* is identical with *Veidius* (the equestrian friend of Augustus, P. Ve(i)dus Pollio, is referred to as both *Vedius* [*I. Ephesos* 19a; *AE* 1996, 1727a] and *Veidius* [*CIL* IX 1556 = *ILS*, 109, etc.]), and *Heidius* (*CIL* I² 686 from Capua, etc.) is surely identical with *Hēdius* (Herculaneum, etc.).

¹⁰⁵ To those listed by Castrén no. 411 for Pompeii, add *CIL* X 1071 and an ineditum.

¹⁰⁶ For the suppression of the nasal cf., e.g., Buck § 108.

- ***τρεβάτιος** Lu43 = *Imag.* 1478 Teuranus ager 1 (presumably before c. 200); Τρεβάτιος, στρατηγός of the Samnites in the Social War (*App. civ.* 1,228; *RE* Trebatius 1): *Trēbātius*, attested in Aeclanum (common), Abellinum, Capua; cf. Lejeune 143.
- ***trebiis** Po7 = *Imag.* 634 Pompei 11 (200–100?), **tre.** tPo19 = *Imag.* 766f. Pompei 99 (c. 150–100), tPo20 (= tCm4) = *Imag.* 810f. Pompei 125 (c. 150–100), **tr.** (?) Sa52 = *Imag.* 1041 Bovianum 45 (n. d.): *Trēbius* (Frigento, Aeclanum, Capua, Nola, Pompeii, Nuceria; Lejeune 143).
- ***τουρειειος** gen. tLu7 = *Imag.* 1502 Vibo 7 (c. 300–275): *Tureius* (Slunečko 446), attested in *CIL* X 4261, an inscription which is not from Capua but from near Catanzaro, i.e., a bit to the north of Vibo.¹⁰⁷
- *L. **Upellius** Mami f. Men. *NSA* 1961, 199 no. 1, cf. L. Upellius L. f. Men. *ibid.* no. 2 (Pompeii). *Upellius* (otherwise attested only in *CIL* III 1921) is probably identical with *Opellius*, a rare nomen apparently not found in the area of *CIL* IX–X, Oscan <ú> (cf. the praenomen **úpils** [Salomies 2008, 29]) here being represented by <u>.
- ***utiis** (or perhaps [-]utiis?) *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 12: *Utius*, attested at least in Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2655, 2691) and Venafrum (S. Capini, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. Venafrum* [1999] 210).¹⁰⁸
- ***valavennis** Sa15 = *Imag.* 1219 Fagifulae 1 (n. d. [but with <ú> in l. 2]): *Valvennius*, attested in Allifae and Luceria (*CIL* IX 2420, 896) and for a centurion of the 22nd legion in Egypt.
- ***variis** tSa45 = *Imag.* 1244f. Aufidena 7 (n. d.), φαριεσ (but interpreted as φαριε(τ)σ and as a gen. of *Varus* in *Imag.*), φαριαν acc. fem. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320), φαριος *Imag.* 1350 Laos 4 (c. 300): *Varius* (Terventum, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Aeclanum [cf. Lejeune 144], Capua, Nola, Liternum, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Vibo).
- vaaviis** tPo1 = *Imag.* 783 Pompei 108 cf. 108bis (c. 150–100): *Vavius* (attested only in *ICUR* 9400 (?); cf. *Vavidius Vavilius*).
- veat[iis]** (?) Po44 = *Imag.* 705 Pompei 48 (c. 150–90). Vetter (Ve 30c) suggests *Viatorius*,¹⁰⁹ *Imag.* (with a reference to *CIL* XII 4423) *Veiatius*.

¹⁰⁷ Information from M. H. Crawford (via H. Solin).

¹⁰⁸ Note also Mefitis *Utiana* in Potentia (*CIL* X 131ff., etc.) and the nomen *Utianus* attested in Lucania (*CIL* X 332; *Inscr. It.* III 1, 113).

¹⁰⁹ But this is a nomen attested only in the northern provinces (*CIL* III 4859; *CIL* XIII 11709a; *AE* 1993, 1245 [Virunum]).

- ***veela(siis?)** tPo10, 11 = *Imag.* 798ff. Pompei 117 (c. 150–100). This is surely *Velasius Velassius* which is attested at least three times in Latin inscriptions from Pompeii (note especially N. Velasius Gratus in *CIL* X 1041) and perhaps nowhere else.¹¹⁰ *Imag.* suggests "Vela(eus) (?)".
- ***vele[iis]** Hi3 = *Imag.* 945 Abellinum 1 (c. 200–100); N. Velleii in Herculaneum (Camodeca 2008, 205f.): *Veleius* (attested in Aquinum¹¹¹ and Aquileia), *Velleius* (Abellinum, Capua – including the family of Velleius Paternulus –,¹¹² Puteoli, Pompeii).
- ***veliieis** gen. Cm22 = *Imag.* 593f. Saticula 1 (350–300): *Velius* (attested in Neapolis, *NSA* 1892, 55: *Velia Rufina*).
- vesideis** gen. (a nomen?) Si17 = *Imag.* 542 Teanum Sidicinum 11 (300–275). If this is a nomen, it should probably be identified with *Vesidius* (apparently not attested in the Oscan area; for an attestation from Aquinum, see *Rend. Linc.* 29 [1974] 45f.).
- vestirikiis** Cm3 = *Imag.* 894f. Abella 3 (c. 100?), **vest[irikiis]** (?) Cm8 = *Imag.* 893 Abella 2 (c. 100?), **vestirikiíúí** dat. Cm1 = *Imag.* 887ff. Abella 1 (c. 100), A1: *Vestricius* (apparently not attested in the area of *CIL* IX–X).
- *N. **Vesvi(us)** N. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua): *Vesvius Vesbius Vesuvius* (these forms being attested in Pompeii) *Vesubius* (*CIL* VI 24364).¹¹³
- †**vesulliaís** Sa7 = *Imag.* 1174ff. Terventum 18 (c. 150–100). This nomen must apparently be interpreted as **Vesulliaeus* (Vetter, *Ve* 150; Slunečko no. 463; *Imag.*). Its relation to *Vesullius* (attested, e.g., in Beneventum and Histonium, *CIL* IX 2023, 2910) would be the same as that of *Anniaeus* (*AE* 1975, 328 [Supinum], *Imag.* 277f. Corfinium 14. 15) and *Septimi(a)eus* (*Suppl. It.* 3 Corfinium 36) to *Annius* and *Septimius*.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ For an uncertain instance in Genusia, see *CIL* IX 6172.

¹¹¹ *Rend. Linc.* 25 (1970) 424 no. 6.

¹¹² M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (1982) 83f.

¹¹³ Mount Vesuvius is also known as *Vesvius* (Colum. 10, 133 and other poets) and as Βέσβιον ὄρος (Strabo, Appian, Dio; cf. G. Radke, *RE* VIIIA 2434f.).

¹¹⁴ *Anniaeus* is attested among the Marsi (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 122) and the Paeligni (*Imag.* 277f. Corfinium 14. 15), *Septimi(a)eus* (but *Septimieus* could in theory also stand for **Septimieus*) also in Corfinium (*Suppl. It.* III Corfinium 36; and cf. also [–]iaeus in *CIL* IX 3345 from Angulus in the country of the Vestini); **Vesulliaeus* has thus a "Sabellian" ring, which makes one wonder whether it might not be of "Sabellian" origin. It might be derived from the Umbrian theonym *vesune* (dat.), cf. Lejeune 68; 82; Untermann 852. Note that nomina ending in *-iaeus* should be kept separate from nomina ending in *-aeus* of the type

- +*L. **Vettius** Min. f. Vol. Ursulus *CIL* IX 2809 (Aufidena);¹¹⁵ cf. *vetis* MV11 = *Imag.* 254 Interpromium 3 (200–150), *ibid.* 255f. Interpromium 4, *vetio*. MV5 = *Imag.* 224 Incerulae 4; P. Vettius Scato, commander of the Marsi in the Social War (and surely of Marsic origin, cf. M. Buonocore, in A. M. Dolciotti & al. [eds.], *L'ombilico d'Italia* [2007] 71), although said (in Macrob. *sat.* 1,11,24) to have been a Paelignian (*RE* Vettius 16; cf. Vettius 17); Q. Vettius Vettianus *e Marsis*, Cic. *Brut.* 169: *Vetius Vettius* (Bovianum Vetus, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Atella, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Grumentum).
- *Decius **Vibellius**, *praefectus* of a *legio Campana* in 280 (Liv. *per.* 12); Cerrinus *Vibellius*, *cognomine Taurea* from Capua, 215 BC (Liv. 23,46,12): *Vibellius* (attested in Puteoli, *CIL* X 3100).¹¹⁶
- +***vibiiai** (nomen rather than praenomen?) dat. fem. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), lines 3 & 8; N. Vibius Nov. f. Pom. Flaccus *CIL* I² 1691 (Potentia); L. Veibius Of. I. Trypho *CIL* X 5118 (Atina);¹¹⁷ N. Vibii in Capua (*CIL* X 4327), Abellinum (*CIL* X 1174), Cumae (*CIL* X 3699 of AD 251) and Herculaneum (*AE* 1978, 119b);¹¹⁸ cf. *vibies* MV12 = *Imag.* 221 Incerulae 2: *Vībius* (common in *CIL* IX–X).
- *L. **Villius** V. f. *CIL* I² 1695 = *Imag.* 83 Italia 9 (cf. Crawford 2010, 277) (cf. Οὐίλ(λίου) on coins from Neapolis, *Imag.* 1526 Neapolis no. (19)?): *Villius* (Pompeii, Volceii).
- ***viinikiis** Po3 = *Imag.* 656ff. Pompeii 24 ("after 123"): *Vīnicius* (Aeclanum, Nola, Cales [Tac. *ann.* 6, 15, 1, the senatorial Vinicii], Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum) *Vīnucius* (Telesia, Beneventum); and cf. *Vincius* (*CIL* VI 28961 = *ILMN* 402, mentioning also a *Vinicus*; *CIL* XIV 258, etc.).
- ***viniies** gen. *Imag.* 941 Caudium 1 (c. 450–350): *Vīnius*, attested at least in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2544) and Pompeii.
- †**Ϝυνλενιο** Lu64 = *Imag.* 1401f. Potentia 23 (125–100). We are surely dealing with **Vinilenius* **Vinulenius* (*Venulenius* is suggested in *Imag.*), cf. *Vinilei-*

αυδαιος "Audaeus" **maraei(s)** "Maraeus" **meliíssaiis** "Melissaes" etc.

¹¹⁵ Note also Q. Vettius N. I. [---]s in Rome (*CIL* VI 33968).

¹¹⁶ Otherwise there are attestations only from Rome (*CIL* VI 3491; cf. *ICVR* IV 10141a), Venusia (*CIL* IX 490) and Pisae (*CIL* XI 1500 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 67).

¹¹⁷ This is Atina in Latium, not Atina in Lucania as some sources would have it, but the patron of this freedman must have been of Oscan origin, as the abbreviation *Of.* must represent a rendering of the Oscan praenomen **úpfals**.

¹¹⁸ Note also the Tiberian senator N. Vibius Serenus (*RE* VIIIA 1983f. no. 54; for the praenomen cf. the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone* [*AE* 1996, 885, etc.]).

us Vinuleius and, e.g., *Vibuleius* : *Vibulenus* (*AE* 2006, 1766) *Vibulenus*. The orthography <υ> indicates that the [i] is long, as it is known to be in *Vīnius* (see Schulze 380).

***Ϝιρινεισ** gen. (a nomen?) Cm16 = *Imag.* 854ff. Surrentum 4 (325–300): this seems to correspond to *Virnius*, a nomen apparently attested in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 5712, 10194b); but there is also *Vīrīnius*.¹¹⁹

***virriis** and **virriiis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **virriiéis** Cp24 = *Imag.* 434f. Capua 29 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **virriiéis** Cp27 = *Imag.* 432f. Capua 28 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **virriium** gen. pl. Cp20 = *Imag.* 403 Capua 13 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp21 = *Imag.* 400f. Capua 11 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp22 = *Imag.* 402 Capua 12 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp23 = *Imag.* 398f. Capua 10 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); Vibius Virrius from Capua, attested in 216 and 211 BC (*RE* Virrius 1); Virria Ov. (?) [f. ---] *AE* 1993, 557 (Aesernia): *Virrius* (attested in Larinum, *AE* 1997, 359); *Vīrius* is probably better kept separate.

N. **Vitellius** Pac. f. *CIL* I² 1692 (Potentia): *Vitellius*, attested in Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii.

***vuliieis** gen. Ps12 = *Imag.* 872f. Nola 7 (c. 450): *Vulius*, attested once in Pompeii, Castrén no. 427.

Uncertain names:

- **aie(-)** Po89 = *Imag.* 668 Pompei 29 (n. d.) (cf. *Aiedius Aienius Aienus Aietius Aiezius?*).
- **aim(-)** tSa15 = *Imag.* 993 Bovianum 5 (c. 200–100) (*Aemilius?*).
- **κϜτ.** (?) *Imag.* 1453 Metapontum 2 (c. 300 BC; "*Cafat(ius)* (?)").
- **δα(-)** *Imag.* 1314 Lucania etc. 4 (75 BC; "*δα(τιεσ)*").
- **ha(-)** *Imag.* 544 Teanum Sidicinum 13 (c. 300).
- **μο(-)** *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC).
- **ppa.** tSa6 = *Imag.* 1004 Bovianum 13 (c. 200–100), suggesting "**p(ú)pa(ús)**".
- **pu(-)** (?) tPo36 = *Imag.* 818 Pompei 129 (c. 150–100).
- **trbl.** *Imag.* 1319 Lucania 2 (c. 200 (?); "*Trebellius*").
- **veinav.** *Imag.* 382 Campania Coinage 3 (265–240).

¹¹⁹ *AE* 1967, 444 = *ILGR* 250 (Samothrace); *IG* X 2, 1, 127 (Thessalonica: Οὐερινίου); *ILAlg* II 4580.

- [2–3]αλανισ Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300); this could be [–]alanius,¹²⁰ unless one assumes that one of the two αs (the first rather than the second) is an anaptyctic vowel which might indicate a nomen of the type *Sclanius (not attested, but cf. perhaps *Sclavius* [*CIL* VI 26012]).
- [–]illiunīs Cm42 = *Imag.* 611 Herculaneum 3 (c. 150–100?), suggesting that this could be "[Op]illionius"; but one could perhaps also think of *Milionius* (attested in Rome, Spolegium, Hasta and on two Cycladic islands)¹²¹ or *Filionius* (attested in Tuder, *CIL* XI 4693).

Appendix

Nomina of Numerii (or sons or freedmen of Numerii) attested in Latin inscriptions from the Oscan area, and some nomina attested exclusively or almost exclusively in Oscan cities (cf. above at n. 3).

- M. *Acca*[–] N. I. Sidonius *AE* 1978, 119c (Herculaneum)
- N. *Accius* N. I. Philonicus *CIL* IX 2559 (Fagifulae)
- N. *Acerro*[n]ius Puteo[I]anus *Coll(ina)* *CIL* X 142 (Potentia)
- N. *Aeserius* Rufus *Inscr. It.* III 1, 91 (Atina)
- N. *Agrestinus* Equitius Pulcher Castrén no. 16 (Pompeii; a nomen not found elsewhere)
- Aletia* N. f. *CIL* IX 2694 (Aesernia)
- L. *Amio*(s) N. f. *CIL* IX 1636 = I² 1731 (Beneventum)
- N. *Arcaeus* N. f. Arellian(us) Caledus *CIL* X 793 (Pompeii)
- N. *Arellius* N. I. Primogenes *CIL* X 2098 (Puteoli)
- N. *Avillius* *AE* 1981, 213 (Abellinum)
- N. *Blasius* (the brother of C.M.P.Q Blas(s)ii), *CIL* IX 1016 = I² 1717 (Frigento)
- N. *Bovius* N. et M. I. Hilaru[s] *CIL* IX 1048 (Frigento)
- N. *Cadius* N. [I.] Stepanus H. Solin, *Oebalus* 6 (2011) 120f. no. 2 (Capua?)
- Calatorius*: found exclusively in Pompeii, Salernum and Herculaneum (with quite a few attestations; cf. Camodeca 2008, 175f.)

¹²⁰ For nomina ending with *-alanius*, note *Calanius* (*CIL* XV 8137), *Palanius* (*CIL* III 12065), *Salanius* (*CIL* XIV 3504; IX 3261, etc.), *Talanius* (*CIL* IX 848, etc.). But it seems that more than just letter is missing before [–]αλανισ.

¹²¹ *CIL* VI 34; *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, p. 285f.; *CIL* XI 4892; *Suppl. It.* 10 Hasta 8; *IG* XII 5, 143 (Paros), 660 (Syros).

C. Carponius N. (filius) *CIL* X 3787 (Capua)

Casineius: attested almost exclusively in Beneventum and environs (*CIL* IX 1714. 1780. 2094; G. Camodeca, in M. L. Caldelli & al. [eds.], *Epigrafia 2006: atti della XIVe Rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera* [2008] 948)

N. *Celerius Rufus* *CIL* X 1403, d, 1, 7 (Herculaneum)

N. *Charapaeus* N. f. Men. Secundus *AE* 1978, 119a (Herculaneum)

Crassius: attested only in Pompeii and Herculaneum (cf. Camodeca 2008, 200)

L. *Decumius* N. f. Stab(ilio) *CIL* X 3783 = I² 686 (Capua)

[*Del*]lia N. l. [The]ophila, N. *Dellius* N. l. Menocrates *CIL* X 4108 (Capua)¹²²

Dentatius: attested only in Pompeii and once in Rome

Digitius: very common in Paestum and already attested there in the 2nd century BC, only very rarely found elsewhere

Egnius: known only from two inscriptions from Paestum

N. *Eprius* Nicia *CIL* IV 3340, 45 = *AE* 1993, 454¹²³

Faecius: attested only in Pompeii, Puteoli and Syracuse

N. *Fafini(us)* N. f. *CIL* X 1589 = I² 1618 (Puteoli)

N. *Firvius* N. f. Fal., N. *Firvius* N. f. Flaccus *CIL* IX 2182 = I² 1746 (Caudium);

N. *Firvius* N. f. Gal. Maximus *CIL* IX 1018 (Frigento)

Flurius: attested only in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1823) and Caiatia (*AE* 2008, 384) and once in Rome

C. *Freganio(s)* N. f. *CIL* IX 1636 = I² 1731 (Beneventum)

N. *Fufius* Modestus *CIL* IX 1895 (Beneventum)

N. *Granii* (or *Granii* N. l.) attested in Capua (*CIL* I² 3121) and Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1403, b, 5; *AE* 1978, 119c)¹²⁴

Holconius: attested only in Pompeii

Limbricius: attested, in addition to Rome, only in Capua and Pompeii and in Ha-laesa in Sicily (combined with the Campanian tribe *Falerna*: *CIL* X 7460)

N. *Magnius* (freedman of Magnia Ironia) *CIL* X 2694 (Puteoli)

[. *M*]agullius N. f. Cor. Fl(accus?) *AE* 1997, 391 (Aeclanum)

Megonius: typical of Petelia, but also found in an early inscription from Paestum (*I. Paestum* 140)

N. *Modius* N. f. Primus, N. *Modius* N. f. Paulus *CIL* IX 1412 (Aeclanum)

¹²² Note also N. *Dellius* N. l. Cerdo in Rome (*CIL* VI 16799) and N. Δέλλιος Ἐπίγονος in Leukopetra (Macedonia) in AD 171/2 (*I. Leukopetra* 7).

¹²³ For this rare nomen, note the consul *Eprius* Marcellus from Capua (*PIR*² E 84).

¹²⁴ For a N. *Granius* N. l. in Herdoniae, see *AE* 1982, 211.

Q. *Monnius* N. f. *CIL* X 3778 = I² 678 (Capua); N. *Munnius* N. l. Antiochus *CIL* X 3772 = I² 682 (ibid.)

L. *Naevius* N. f. Pansa *CIL* IX 6308 (Saepinum); N. *Naevius* N. f. Palat. Vitulus, N. *Naevius* Moschus *CIL* X 1807 (Puteoli)¹²⁵

Neratius: the attestations show a heavy concentration on Saepinum and on some other cities in the neighbouring area¹²⁶

N. *Nigidius* (?) *CIL* IV 3785

N. *Numestius* Callistratus I. *Paestum* 80¹²⁷

Numisia N. fil. Marcella *CIL* IX 2614 (Terventum); cf. N. Numisius N. f. Vol. Labeo in Rome (*CIL* VI 23116a, with a tribe common in Samnium)

Numistrius: attested only in Pompeii

[.] *Nummius* N. f. Sucrinus *CIL* IX 2787 (Bovianum Vetus)

N. *Obulcius* (mulieris) l. Pharnaces *EE* VIII 536 (Cales)

Orfellius: found only in Aeclanum and Pompeii

Ovilonius: found only in Teganum (*CIL* X 307. 308)

N. *Pedius* N. l. Onesimus *CIL* IX 1923 = *EE* VIII 93 (Beneventum)

Petronia N. f. *CIL* IX 2522 (Saepinum)

Piricatus/Pericatus: attested only in Pompeii

N. *Pisurius* Ianuarius *CIL* X 1321 (Nola)

N. *Pontilius* [---]mus *CIL* X 363 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 159 (Atina Lucana); N. *Pontili[us]* Campanus *Inscr. It.* III 1, 158 (ibid.)

Pullia N. l. Epicaris, N. *Pullius* N. l. Faustus *CIL* X 4309 (Capua); cf. Q. Pulli(us) V. f. *CIL* IX 726 = I² 1711 (Larinum)

N. *Pumidius* Q. f. *CIL* C 3776 (and 3777) = I² 675 (Capua)

N. *Rubrius* M. f. *CIL* X 3780 = I² 679 (Capua)

P. *Servius* N. l. *CIL* I² 2947 (Capua)

Socil[i]a N. f. Prisca *CIL* X 1137 (Abellinum)

N. *Stenius* [--] Saturnin[us] *CIL* IX 1926 (Beneventum; cf. perhaps N. Stenius M. f. on Delos, *CIL* I² 2504 = *ID* 1753)

¹²⁵ N. Naevii are also attested in Teate Marrucinorum (*EE* VIII 124) and Rome (*CIL* VI 22819).

¹²⁶ Saepinum: *CIL* IX 2440. 2447. 2450ff., 2484f., 2511ff., 2531; *AE* 1927, 117. 118. 120; 1968, 145; 1978, 287; 1990, 217. 218. 220; 1997, 423. Aesernia: M. Buonocore, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. Le iscrizioni. Aesernia* (2003) 160; Beneventum: *CIL* IX 1901. It may also be of interest to note that **gaavieís ne[raatieís]** (one should perhaps rather expect **ne[raatieís]**) was the reading originally proposed by A. La Regina (in E. Mattiocco [ed.], *Frammenti del passato. Archeologia e archivistica tra Castel di Sangro e Sulmona* [2010] 49; *SE* 84 [2008 (2011)] 439) for the inscription *Imag.* 1239f. Aufidena 3.

¹²⁷ A N. Numestius also in *Cic. Att.* 2,22,7.

Stlaborius attested only in Pompeii and Herculaneum

Stronnius: attested only in Pompeii

Vagellius: attested outside Rome almost exclusively in Bruttium in Locri, Vibo and Regium

N. *Veius* Barcha in Pompeii (Castrén 1975, no. 434, 6, cf. 7, 13)

N. *Veratius* Atictus (sic) *CIL* IV 3340, 26 (Pompeii)

Vistuleia N. f. *Lupula* *CIL* IX 2423 (Allifae; note also N. *Vistuleii* in Rome, *CIL* VI 5139, 29057)

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