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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME NAMES OF SAILORS SERVING IN THE FLEETS AT MISENUM AND RAVENNA

OLLI SALOMIES

During the principate, the Roman navy, in addition to smaller fleets stationed in naval ports all around the empire, consisted mainly of the two *classes praetoriae*, of which one was stationed in Misenum, the other at Ravenna on the Adriatic.¹ The internal organisation of the two fleets is known mainly from inscriptions, usually funerary inscriptions of sailors. Most of them have been found in and around the two naval bases, although there are also quite a few inscriptions from elsewhere because detachments from the two fleets, especially from that based at Misenum, were stationed, sometimes for lengthy periods, outside the bases. In addition to texts from Misenum and Ravenna one thus finds inscriptions referring to the two fleets mostly from Rome, but also from Centumcellae in Etruria, Piraeus, Seleucia in Pieria, etc.²

Besides giving information on various aspects of the navy, inscriptions of sailors of course also offer information on the sailors themselves, for instance on their names. Since hundreds of sailors are known by name - besides normal inscriptions, sailors also appear in some military diplomas issued to them - we are dealing with onomastic material of useful proportions. Now, the sailors' names, especially their nomina, present some peculiarities if compared with the names attested in other military formations consisting mainly of soldiers of non-citizen background, and so the names do raise some questions, especially questions concerning their origin. In some cases there seems to be a possibility of finding an explanation for the names. The aim of this paper is in fact to

¹ For the relevant bibliography on various aspects of the Roman navy see the recent paper of A. Parma, 'Classiari, veterani e società cittadina a Misenum', *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 43 (-59), n. 1 and 2.

² Cf. A. Parma, *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 44 n. 7.

present observations on the origins of some of the names attested for sailors, although I must confess that for much of the time we shall not be advancing much above the level of speculation.

The problems with sailors' names come from the fact that sailors serving in the Roman fleets belonged to the lowest social classes, being in the beginning of the imperial period often freedmen.³ Later, when there was (as it seems) some organized recruitment, sailors were recruited mainly in poorly Romanized areas such as Sardinia, Corsica, parts of Africa, Dalmatia, Egypt and Scythia Minor, the last mentioned country furnishing a great number of *Bessi*, no doubt men of great nautical skills, for the two fleets.⁴ Even more important, however, is the fact that the men enlisted for service in the navy were mostly *peregrini*, i.e. men without Roman citizenship, and thus people normally using names of the peregrine type, consisting of one name followed by the filiation, although there were (besides the freedmen of the early empire) always also some recruits in possession of citizenship.⁵

From inscriptions of the first century, and even more clearly from military diplomas from the same century, it appears that peregrine sailors in this period used the single name + filiation-type nomenclature during service and, if awarded diplomas conferring citizenship, were designated by the same nomenclature in the diplomas. (Of course, becoming citizens, they had to find themselves a name of the Roman type, but the new name is not mentioned in the diplomas.) However, at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century the situation changes in that from now on sailors to whom diplomas are awarded regularly appear in the diplomas with a name of the Roman type, but without a tribe, the earliest diploma

³ On the question whether there were also slaves among the sailors in the beginning see S. Panciera, in: *Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 313-30.

⁴ On all this cf. D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1966) 9-29; on the *Bessi* see J. Kolendo, *Les Besses dans la flotte romaine de Misène et de Ravenne*, *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/89) 77-86.

⁵ Kienast, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 25f.; cf. e.g. CIL III 14394 and CIL X 8119, mentioning both a sailor *natione Italicus*; CIL X 3474, an *optio* at Misenum *n(atione) Italus, domu Nol(a)*; cf. CIL XI 96 (add. p. 1228), *Sestiae Fuscinae nat. Italica* (sic) ... *C. Sestius Capito vet. filiae*.

mentioning a recipient with the *tria nomina* being from the year 100.⁶ In the same period peregrine names disappear also from the funerary inscriptions; there is at least one inscription of a sailor with the *tria nomina* which may be as early as Flavian.⁷

It used to be thought that the nomenclature consisting of the *tria nomina* could be explained by assuming that, at some point, it became customary to award Latin Rights to sailors at the time of their enlistment.⁸ But in more recent scholarship this notion has generally - but observe n. 8 - been abandoned, and it is now usually thought that the sailors with the *tria nomina* were in fact *peregrini* who were, as many others in the Roman empire, simply using names of the Roman type without being citizens (but who of course continued to use the same names after having become citizens).⁹ This is no doubt correct, although the reasons adduced in the relevant literature do not all seem very impressive; the best reason for not thinking of Roman sailors as *Latini* is in my view the fact that a Latin personal citizenship most probably did not exist at all.¹⁰

But whatever the status of Roman sailors, this is not a problem that needs to be discussed at length in a paper on nomenclature, for it has already long ago been established that anyone could, if he liked, start to use a name of the Roman type during the Empire; in fact, *peregrini* with the *tria nomina* are attested already during the late Republic.¹¹ Let us thus

⁶ M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas (quoted in the following as 'RMD') 1985-1993 (1994) 142, awarded to *L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza Delmat(a)*; further diplomas awarded to sailors, all with the *tria nomina*, from the earlier second century are CIL XVI 72 (AD 127), 74 (129), 79 (134), RMD 38 (139), RMD 44 (145), CIL XVI 177 (149).

⁷ CIL XI 3526, cf. M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 524.

⁸ This was the theory notably of Th. Mommsen (*Gesammelte Schriften* 5 [1908] 411ff.). Some scholars still accept this view (see A. Parma, in: *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* [1992] 216).

⁹ C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy* (1941) 71ff.; D. Kienast, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 26ff.; G. Forni, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 273; *id.*, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (1986) 310; A. Mócsy, *ibid.* 442f.; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 526.

¹⁰ Cf. the literature cited in O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 244 n. 250 and by S. Dusanic, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects* (ed. A. Rizakis, Athens 1996 [Meletemata 21]) 33 n. 17.

¹¹ Salomies, *op. cit.* (n. 10) 242 n. 238 (for the Empire, *ibid.* 244 n. 250).

move on to the sailors' names.¹²

It is a general, and no doubt correct, assumption that in the period when all sailors, regardless of their status, seem to have used the *tria nomina* (i.e., from the end of the first century onwards, cf. above), those sailors who did not already have a name of the Roman type took one at the time when they were enlisted. All scholars adduce at this point the famous papyrus letter BGU 423 (dated in the *editio princeps* to the second century), according to which the Egyptian Apion, having been enlisted to the navy at Misenum, now called himself Ἀντώνι(ο)ς Μάξιμος. It is sometimes thought that recruits did not choose the names, or at least the nomen, themselves, but were given new names by navy officials, which is possible, although there seems to be no substantial evidence that could be cited in favour of this view (note Kienast, *op. cit.* [n. 4] 27 n. 74, assuming that Antonius Maximus had been given his name on the basis of the "unpersönliche Form der Mitteilung und die unrichtige [sic] Wiedergabe des Namens Antonius"). The fact that there are, among the sailors at Misenum and Ravenna, brothers with different nomina could be interpreted this way.¹³ However, this presupposes that semibarbarians from the lower Danube or elsewhere would have known that, in the Roman system of names, brothers were supposed to have the same nomen, which is in my view not at all certain. The fact that there are brothers who have identical or almost identical names (e.g. the two M. Aurelii Romani from the fleet at Ravenna, CIL VI 3151; or the two brothers from Syria, G. Iul[ius] Marinus and M. Iulius Marinus, CIL X 3450) may perhaps rather imply that recruits chose their names themselves, because the best explanation seems to be that in these cases two brothers, not familiar with Roman-type names but facing the situation of having to choose one simply could not think of anything else but the same name.¹⁴ Furthermore, there are in fact some other observations pointing in the same direction, which,

¹² Cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 306ff.; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 527ff.; A. Parma, *art. cit.* (n. 8) 215ff.; *id.*, *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 47f. n. 24.

¹³ Thus M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 527; A. Parma, *art. cit.* (n. 8) 216. For examples, see M. Bollini, *Antichità classiarie* (1968) 110 (add CIL X 3443; CIL XI 110).

¹⁴ Cf. Salomies, *o. c.* (n. 10) 358ff., with further examples of brothers with identical or almost identical names, all no doubt new citizens, attested in the Roman army. See also G. Forni, in: *Actes du VIIe Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine 1977* (1979) 212. Note also e.g. the brothers C. Seren(i)us Apollinaris and C. Dionysius Apollinaris (CIL XI 94).

however, will be discussed later in this paper.

In any case, from my point of view it is not really important to know who actually chose the names taken into use by peregrine sailors; perhaps it was sometimes the recruit himself, sometimes a navy official. What is more interesting is the origin of the new names. Here, there is something to be said especially on the nomina; but let us start with cognomina, making in passing a quick observation concerning praenomina, namely that the repertoire of praenomina attested among sailors is remarkably varied and offers many points of interest; cf. below n. 29 on the praenomina among the Iulii, and observe moreover for instance that *D(ecimus)*, found both at Misenum and at Ravenna, seems to be more common than one would perhaps expect.¹⁵ (There are also some cases of interesting combinations of cognomina and nomina, but these will be dealt with later in the section on nomina.)

As for the cognomina, a recruit could choose between two possibilities, the first being that of starting to use his original individual name as a cognomen, a practice which both inscriptions and diplomas, which abound with Greek and barbarian cognomina, show to have been common. Thus for instance the Dalmatian sailor known from RMD III 142 (referred to above in n. 6), L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza, was no doubt originally called Beuza Liccai f.¹⁶ On the other hand, there was also the possibility to choose a new cognomen, which would in most cases have been a respectable Latin one in no way resembling or related to the old individual name (but observe L. Antonius Leo *q(ui) et Neon Zoili f.*

¹⁵ Cf. D. Annius Rufus, *mil. cla. prae. Ravenatis natione Dalmati*. (AE 1988, 1138); D. Arruntius Clemens (CIL X 3535); D. Caesernius Florus (CIL X 3493); D. Iuli[us --] (AE 1985, 401, Ravenna); D. Iulius Doles (CIL X 3409); D. Numitorius Agisini f. Tarammon *Fifens. ex Sar(dinia)* (CIL XVI 79, AD134); D. Publicius Aper (CIL X 3405); D. Tullius Aelianus .. *natio(ne) Bessus* (CIL X 3374). Perhaps D. Annius Rufus chose his praenomen because it began with the same letter as his native country, D. Iulius Doles because it began with the same letter as his cognomen (cf. freedmen choosing their praenomina on the basis of the first letter of their nomina: Salomies, o. c. [n. 10] 236ff.). For variation in the use of praenomina note also for instance that the three Masurii who appear in the list of sailors serving in Ravenna, AE 1985, 401, all have different praenomina (C., M., T.); or that of the two Fabullii of the Misenum fleet - the only Fabullii attested in the Roman empire - one is a Lucius, the other a Gaius (CIL X 3504; CPL 120).

¹⁶ Cf. A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443.

natio(ne) Cilix in CIL X 3377).¹⁷ This is exactly what we saw the Egyptian Apion doing, when he became Antonius Maximus (cf. above), and the same procedure is attested in many inscriptions either from Misenum or (as CIL VI 3165) from elsewhere referring to sailors from the fleet in Misenum, in which a Roman name is followed by a peregrine name formula introduced by the phrase *qui et*, e.g. C. Ravonius Celer *qui et Bato Scenobarbi (f.) nation(e) Dal[m(ata)]* (CIL X 3618 = ILS 2901).¹⁸ As one would expect, the new Latin cognomina are most often of the usual type, names referring to existing or sought-for moral and physical qualities or other common Roman cognomina; there is thus the usual collection of Valentes, a good number of Celeres,¹⁹ there are Bassi, Firmi, Vitales.²⁰

But there are also some cognomina which make one think that their selection must have been based on some special reason. For instance, there are two sailors at Ravenna who have the cognomen *Seneca*, C. Cassius Seneca (CIL XI 49) and the Dalmatian M. Pompeius Seneca (CIL XI 90). Now, *Seneca* is not that rare,²¹ but the majority of the attestations come from the Celtic regions (so that we are in fact in these cases dealing not with the Latin, but with a local, Latinized, name), and it is in any case not a name which one would *a priori* think of as popular with sailors. And so one starts to think about the prefect of the Ravenna fleet in the time of Hadrian, M. Calpurnius Seneca (PIR² C 318): what if the two sailors had simply chosen the cognomen of the prefect in office?²² Of course this is just a guess, but perhaps it is not such a bad guess, for there might well be a parallel in the cognomen *Albanus*. This, too, is a cognomen which is not

¹⁷ For another Leo at Puteoli cf. L. Acutius Leo *lib(urna) Clementia* (CIL X 3511); on the other hand, M. Lollius Neo from Pamphylia (RMD 38) was content with his original cognomen.

¹⁸ Further instances are quoted by G. Forni, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 312 n. 52 (add CIL X 3289 [cf. AE 1990, 150]. 3492. 3593. 3666. 8374a)

¹⁹ CIL VI 3103. 3126; CIL X 3408. 3519. 3557. 3572. 3615. 3618. 3666; CIL XI 135; CIL III 557; EE VIII 711; AE 1912, 184; 1979, 160; 1985, 401 (twice).

²⁰ Cf. on the cognomina of sailors M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 530f.

²¹ See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 301.

²² The other Seneca commanding in Ravenna, Vibius Seneca in the time of Philip (AE 1968, 189; I. Ephesos 737), seems a bit late.

extremely uncommon,²³ but in spite of that one is surprised to find it used by two sailors in Misenum, one from Corsica (AE 1979, 166), the other from Nicaea in Bithynia, of whom we know for certain that *Albanus* is not his original name (T. Suillius Albanus *qui et Timotheus Menisci f. natione Nicaens.* CIL X 3406; called T. Sullius Albanus in 3553). In AD 127 the fleet at Ravenna was commanded by L. Numerius Albanus (see PIR² N 200); it having been very common for commanders at Ravenna to go on to command the fleet at Misenum,²⁴ one would not be surprised if the man was promoted from Ravenna to Misenum. If this was in fact the case, this prefect could have offered some inspiration when the two sailors were thinking about their future cognomina.

But besides navy prefects there were of course also other high Roman officials whose nomenclature navy recruits could have had in mind when choosing their Roman names, for instance the governors of the sailors' native provinces. The cognomen *Colo* might be an example. There is a note on this most uncommon cognomen by S. Panciera of fairly recent date;²⁵ according to Panciera, this cognomen is attested only four times, twice at Rome (*Colo* AE 1985, 78 = (later, as freedman) *L. Orbius L. l. Colo* *ibid.* 88; *L. Cassius Colo*, CIL VI 32764b) and twice elsewhere (*Camurius Colo*, CIL X 3395; *Q. Numisius C. f. Arn. Colo Helvacianus*, CIL VIII 15472 *cf.* p. 2610). As this was not important from his point of view, Panciera did not point out that, of the total of four *Colones* known throughout the Roman world, two are sailors serving in Misenum, namely *Camurius Colo* and *L. Cassius Colo* attested in the inscription from Rome, but surely this must be regarded as a most singular onomastic coincidence. Now, this brings us back to the attestations of *Colo*; in fact, there is a fifth example of this cognomen: in AD 70, Egypt was governed by the prefect *L. Peducaeus Colo*.²⁶ Combining this with the extreme rarity of *Colo* and the fact that a very large number of sailors were recruited in Egypt, one could arrive at the tentative conclusion that the two sailors were Egyptians and that they had chosen the cognomen of a prefect they happened to

²³ Kajanto, *op. cit.* (n. 21) 181.

²⁴ See H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960-61; Supplément 1982) no. 39, 105bis (and no. 211, with addenda, Supplément p. 32f.), 107, 139, 180, 184, 234, 307A.

²⁵ S. Panciera, in: *Studia in honorem I. Kajanto* (Arctos Suppl. II, 1985) 171f. with n. 59.

²⁶ RE Suppl. XV 296 no. 7b; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum I* (1984) 345 no. 31.

remember.²⁷

But let us now move over from *cognomina* to *nomina*. Studying the *nomina* attested for sailors both at Misenum and at Ravenna (and remembering that they appear mainly in sources later than the first century), and comparing them with the *nomina* of other soldiers of generally non-citizen background, especially the auxiliaries and the *equites singulares*, attested in the same period, one makes some interesting observations. One would expect to find a rather uninteresting repertoire consisting mainly of the imperial and the usual non-imperial *nomina* (such as *Antonius* and *Valerius*), but in fact things are a bit different. Both at Misenum and at Ravenna about 20% of all the *nomina* are imperial ones,²⁸ but in both places about half of those with imperial *nomina* are *Iulii*, who because of chronological reasons should not be connected with the Julio-Claudian emperors - and who in many cases have unexpected *praenomina*.²⁹ Moreover, it is certainly striking that there are almost no *Ulpia* and only a minimal number of *Aelia*.³⁰ As for other common *nomina*, it is true that one finds quite a few *Antonii*, *Cassii*, *Valerii* etc.,³¹ but the overall impression one gets from a look at the *nomina* is that of a striking variety. A student of the material encounters large numbers of different *nomina*, many of them of great rarity and interest. And even in the case of *nomina* which are in general rather common, there are some which are interesting in that they seem to be more common among sailors than one would expect; for instance, there are quite a few *Didii*,³²

²⁷ On the other hand, the possibility that *Peducaeus Colo*, of whose career only the prefecture of Egypt is known, had been prefect of the fleet at Misenum earlier in his career cannot perhaps be excluded.

²⁸ For some observations on the *nomina* see M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 528ff.; A. Parma, in: *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (1992) 215f. (according to whom about 25% of the *nomina* are imperial).

²⁹ A.: CIL X 8374a; D.: CIL X 3409; AE 1985, 401 (Ravenna); Q.: CIL XI 3533; AE 1939, 220; Sex.: CIL X 3636; T.: CIL X 3579.

³⁰ According to Reddé, o. c. (n. 28) 529, there are two *Ulpia* and five *Aelia* among 113 sailors (both at Misenum and at Ravenna) with an imperial nomen.

³¹ Some calculations are given by Reddé, o. c. (n. 28) 529.

³² Ravenna: CIL XI 55, 85, 135 and three instances in AE 1985, 401; Misenum: CIL XI 3535; RMD 74 (AD 212); and cf. EE VIII 429 and CIL XIII 6830 (a soldier of the *legio I Adiutrix* and thus probably an ex-sailor; cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* [1986] 299).

surprisingly many Epidii³³ and Laelii,³⁴ a good number of Marii (which is not a typical military name such as *Valerius*) and (but only in Misenum) Naevii.³⁵ However, it is the collection of uncommon or even singular names which is of especial interest. Let us start with a simple list enumerating some of the more striking names, an asterisk being attached to those nomina which are attested only once (at least in that form in which it appears in the nomenclature of a sailor) or (in the case of more than one inscription being cited in the following list) only among sailors: *Acuius* (CIL VI 3148), *Aesius* (CIL X 3512), *Aetatus* (CIL XI 3525 = 7583), *Aeternius* (CIL X 3387), (*H*)*ammonius* (attested many times, although only at Misenum), **Amydius* (CIL VI 3094),³⁶ *Anarius* (C. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militaris* [1987] 60f. no. 39; Ravenna), *Anteius* (CIL X 3518), *Apollonius* (CIL X 3504), **Archibius* (AE 1988, 312; the reading is not altogether certain), *Arenius* (CIL XI 113), *Arule(nus?)* (CIL X 4322), **Augusius* (CIL X 3351), *Babbius* (CIL X 3546), *Basilius* (CIL X 3645), *Bassius* (CIL X 3548f., AE 1947, 141), **Bifonius* (CIL X 3550), *Bombius* (CIL XI 106), *Braecius* (CIL XI 6736), *Burius* (AE 1985, 401), **Calentius* (CIL VI 32777), *Camurius* (CIL X 3395; AE 1988, 1138), *Casto[---]* (CIL X 3464), *Caltius* (CIL X 3642), *Charius* (AE 1985, 401), *Cogitatus* (CIL X 3569), **Congenius* (CIL XI 7584),³⁷ *Crispius* (CIL X

³³ Misenum: CIL X 3576, 3615, 7592; Ravenna: two in AE 1985, 401; and cf. RIB 486 (with the observation of A. Mócsy, o. c. [n. 32] 299).

³⁴ Misenum: CIL X 3468, 3597; Ravenna: CIL XI 70, 109; two in AE 1985, 401.

³⁵ Naevii in Misenum: CIL X 3036, 3391, 3411, 3478, 3492, 3611, 8119; EE VIII 440; AE 1983, 187; 1990, 153. L. Nevius Nicator, a navy *med(icus) dupl(icarius)* attested in Teate Marrucinatorum (Suppl. It. 2 Teate no. 9 = AE 1984, 337) also no doubt belongs to the Misenum fleet (cf. the almost identical formulations of the inscription of another navy doctor at Misenum, CIL X 3441).

³⁶ *Amudius* or *Ammudius* is also unknown.

³⁷ This is a name patently of Celtic origin; for similar names beginning with *Congen-* cf. A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz I* (1896) 1099f.; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904) 22. How this can be explained in the case of a sailor who is *natio(ne) Bes(sus)* is not clear to me, although it seems possible that some sailors chose themselves nomina used by fellow sailors coming from other provinces; cf. the *Bessus* with (probably) a Dalmatian nomen (below n. 61), the German sailor T. Tarquinius Iuvenalis (CIL XI 99), whose nomen could be Sardinian (see below n. 64) and the case of the Pannonian sailors called *Cogitatus* and *Superinius* (CIL X 3569; XI 97 = NSA 1908, 164), which are nomina typical of Gaul and Germany, not of Pannonia (cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* [1968] 307). See also below at n. 70.

3447; CIL XI 52), *Dassius* (CIL X 3661; AE 1992, 136), *Deccius* (AE 1954, 270; 1985, 401 [two instances]; cf. CIL X 3400), *Demetrius* (CIL VI 3153 = AE 1992, 302), *Dinnius* (CIL X 3572f., VI 3164), *Dionysius* (CIL X 3574, XI 94, III 2020), *Eppius* (AE 1968, 457), **Epulanius* (CIL XI 352), **Fabullius* (CIL X 3504; CPL 120; cf. n. 15),³⁸ *Frontinius* (CIL VI 3154), *Furnius* (CIL XI 60), *Fusius* (CIL XVI 72), *Gaius* (CIL XI 352), *Gentius* (AE 1949, 206), *Germanius* (CIL VI 3113), *Iust(i?)us* (CIL X 3577), *Longin(i)us* (many instances), *Maecenius* (CIL X 3664 = AE 1988, 319),³⁹ *Maetilius* (AE 1985, 401), *Masurius* (three times in AE 1985, 401; cf. n. 15), *Matonius* (CIL VI 32761), *Maximius* (CIL X 3518, EE VIII 429, AE 1939, 219), *Mettenius* (CIL X 7595), **Muacidius* (?) (AE 1985, 401), *Mus(s)idius* (CIL X 3387, 3610), **Ottius* (G.A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate* [1967] no. 67; cf. *Uttius*, CIL X 3667), *Panentius* (CIL X 3486, cf. CIL XI 93), **Penenius* (?) (CIL XI 67), *Pinnius* (CIL XI 340), *Plarentius* (CIL X 3486, VI 3125), *Priscius* (CIL XI 6736), *Ravonius* (CIL X 3618), **Safenius* (?) (CIL X 3626), **Sced[.]ius* (CIL X 3600), *Scentius* (EE VIII 710), **Sedatinus* (CIL VI 32771), *Seisitianus* (?) (AE 1946, 145), *Semonius* (CIL VI 3131 = 7465), *Silanius* (CIL X 3627), **Stlabius* (CIL X 3633),⁴⁰ *Suillius* (CIL X 3406), *Superinius* (CIL XI 97 = NSA 1908, 164), *Sutti(u)s* (CIL X 3372), *Tamudius* (CIL X 3636f.), *Taronius* (CIL XI 98; III 557), *Tarconius* (AE 1916, 52), *Tarcutius* (CIL XVI 127), *Tarquinius* (CIL X 3562; XI 99), **Tarul(l)ius* (CIL X 687, 3387, 3600), *Tarutius* (CIL XI 3535), *Timinius* (CIL X 3603), **Tonatius* (AE 1949, 206), **Urbatius* (CIL XIV 242), *Urbinius* (CIL X 3389; AE 1979, 166), *Ursinius* (CIL XI 113), *Uttius*

³⁸ In the two other possible instances of this nomen the first letter is missing, so that we might in fact be dealing with *Abullii* or *Babullii* or the like: NSA 1913, 243 no. 3 from *Fabrateria Nova*; HAE 1579 = AE 1981, 585 from *Saguntum*, quoted under '*Fabullius*' by J.M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (1994) 137; but see the republication by G. Alföldy, ZPE 41 (1981) 234 no. 14 (AE 1981, 585).

³⁹ Many rare nomina being attested both at *Misenum* and at *Ravenna* (cf. below), I must note here the fact that there is one attestation of a nomen spelled *Mecennius*, namely AE 1977, 265B. Now this is an inscription of Diocletianic date registering patrons of some *collegium* from nowhere else but *Ravenna*, and so I think that this *Mecennius* could be a descendant of a sailor serving in *Ravenna*, and that this sailor could have had the same nomen as his colleague in *Misenum* (the difference in spelling does not seem an obstacle).

⁴⁰ However, note the Oscan nomen *slaabiis* (E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte I* [1953] no. 107, *Herculaneum*; transcribed by Vetter as '*Stlabius*') and the nomen *Slavius* (CIL XVI 9); cf. below at n. 68.

(CIL X 3667), *Velonius* (CIL X 3376; VI 3142; IX 3993 = AE 1991, 568), *Vicerius* (CIL XI 109), **Virridius* (CIL X 3666),⁴¹ *Volceius* (CIL X 3472).

Though the above list represents only a selection even of the less common names, it certainly gives a picture of the richness and the variety of the onomastic material offered by the soldiers; one observes for instance that the list presents an interesting mixture of recent nomina of provincial or barbarian origin (cf. n. 37 on *Congenius*, *Cogitatus* and *Superinius*; and note the 'military' nomina such as *Demetrius*, *Dionysius*, *Germanius*)⁴² and old Italian names (such as *Stlabius*, cf. n. 40). Before we go into the question of how sailors could have come to choose, or at least to have, such nomina (the origin of which must in many cases remain a mystery), I would like to point out the observation that also many of the rare nomina are attested both at Misenum and at Ravenna,⁴³ which is a fact that may be of significance, although I find it difficult to interpret; but in any case it is another reminder of the close contacts between Misenum and Ravenna.⁴⁴ In the above list, *Crispius*, *Deccius*, *Dionysius* and *Velonius* belong to this category (and cf. n. 39 on *Maecenius*); other not extremely common nomina which one finds at both places are *Artorius*, *Atinius*, *Caninius*, *Epidius*, *Laelius*, *Mesius*,⁴⁵ *Mucius*, *Novellius*, *Saenius*, *Serenius*, *Sosius*, *Tarquinius*, *Turranius*.

But how did the sailors come to use these nomina? Let us from now on concentrate on this question. Now it has been said that we simply do not know by which criteria the nomina were chosen, and that there is for

⁴¹ But cf. *Virridius* (CIL V 4522 = Inscr. It. X 5, 319 from Brixia; not in CIL XII 5246, cf. *ibid.* p. 855).

⁴² cf. Schulze, o. c. (n. 37) 152 n. 3, 294 n. 7, 522 n. 1; and below n. 62 on *Longinus*, n. 63 on *(H)ammonius*.

⁴³ On the other hand, note that there seem to be *(H)ammonii* and *Naevii* only at Misenum.

⁴⁴ There are some interesting similarities between Misenum and Ravenna; for example, the inscriptions have some common features such as the tendency to use unusual abbreviations (*natio(ne)*, the type *Apollinari(s)* etc.), not to mention other details (which would be out of place in this paper; on the other hand note that only inscriptions from Misenum seem to mention earlier peregrine names of sailors). Obviously there was much movement between Misenum and Ravenna, and not only by the prefects (cf. n. 24) but also by other personnel (for sailors of the Ravenna fleet at Misenum see CIL X 3486. 3524. 3527. 3645).

⁴⁵ Misenum: CIL VI 3122; Ravenna: CIL IX 82. To judge from their cognomina (*Mucia(nus)*, *Vitus*), both should be Thracians. The nomen could stand for either *Messius* or *Maesius*.

instance no connection between the nomina of sailors and the navy prefects in office at the time of the enrolment of the sailors.⁴⁶ It is certainly true that in most cases one cannot even guess how sailors have come to use these nomina. On the other hand, it seems that in some cases there is at least something to be said. As for navy prefects, it was suggested above (in the discussion of *Seneca* and *Albanus*) that their cognomina might in some cases have been chosen by sailors, but it is true that a comparison of the nomina of sailors and prefects (and *subpraefecti*) does not lead to much. One might of course for instance think that Artorii⁴⁷ could be connected with L. Artorius [Iu]stus, *praepositus classis Misenatium* (CIL III 1919); and many other nomina of navy prefects are attested among sailors, e.g. *Annius, Aquilius, Calpurnius, Cominius*,⁴⁸ *Furius, Lucilius, Marcius, Pontius*. But these are nomina which one would expect to find in any list of names, and one could think of adducing them only if rare nomina of prefects, which could be of some significance, were also to be found among sailors; but no Baieni, Caecii, Cornasidii, Flavidii, Numerii, Plinii or Tutican(i)i seem to have served as sailors in Misenum and Ravenna. It is thus no doubt correct to say that sailors choosing nomina would not generally turn to prefects in search of ideas (perhaps this is in fact not in need of much explanation); on the other hand, it seems that some recruits chose themselves nomina of fellow sailors, coming from other provinces (cf. above n. 37).

But what about other Romans? Now, it was suggested above that two sailors called *Colo* might have chosen the cognomen of a prefect of Egypt, and as for nomina, there seems to be another possible connection between a sailor and a prefect: C. Aeternius Rufus, serving in Misenum (CIL X 3387), has a nomen for which there is, in the whole of the Roman world, only one other attestation, that being C. Aeternius Fronto, prefect of Egypt in AD 70.⁴⁹ I think that it is hard not to postulate a connection, and so we

⁴⁶ S. Panciera, in: Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe (1968) 312. For lists of prefecti and *subpraefecti* see M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 673ff.

⁴⁷ CIL X 3462, 8208; CIL XI 3524 (the last two both from Alexandria). In Ravenna: AE 1985, 401.

⁴⁸ CIL X 3576; AE 1985, 401.

⁴⁹ PIR² L 287; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum I* (1984) 346 no. 35 (for the inscription see now F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (1993) no. 16). In the case of *Aeternius miles*, known from a rescript of Gordian (Cod. Iust. 6, 21, 8), we are perhaps not dealing with a nomen.

should perhaps think of the sailor as another recruit from Egypt who had a prefect in mind when choosing his cognomen.

This brings us for a moment to a certain Fronto, governor of Galatia in the time of Tiberius (PIR² F 485). Although the cognomen is not at all uncommon, many scholars have thought that the governor might be identical with the senator [.] Octavius C. f. Ste. Fronto, attested as an ex-praetor in AD 16.⁵⁰ Although I am perhaps exceeding the limits of permissible speculation, I cannot resist adducing here the existence of C. Octavius Fronto from Cilicia, serving in Misenum (CIL X 3443; his brother is called C. Iulius Fabianus). Although the sailor no doubt lived later than the governor, and although it is quite possible that no part of Cilicia belonged to the province of Galatia during the time of the Julio-Claudians, perhaps one could think that the names of the governor had become part of the onomastic repertoire of the area (there are many instances of this in Asia Minor), or that he was otherwise known there even after his departure, and that the sailor had chosen himself a name known to him from home, which, again, would then mean that his nomenclature could perhaps be used to show that the governor was indeed identical with Octavius Fronto.

But among sailors there are also some other combinations of nomina and cognomina which seem to reflect the nomenclature of Roman senators. Observe the following cases:⁵¹ M. Marius Celsus, a *Bessus* serving in Misenum (CIL X 3602) ≈ A. Marius Celsus, consul in 69, legate of Germania inferior and Syria (PIR² M 296); M. Arrius Antoninus, an Egyptian serving in Misenum ≈ Cn. Arrius Antoninus cos. 69 (PIR² A 1086; for the praenomen, see G. Camodeca, *CronErc* 23 [1993] 115-9) and

⁵⁰ Cf. PIR² O 34 and L. Sensi, in: *Tituli* 4 (1982) 516 (with references to predecessors). B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie* (1989) 139f. no. 102 remains unconvinced.

⁵¹ There are also Cassii Longini at Ravenna (AE 1978, 242; 1985, 401; and observe C. Cassius C. f. Cla. Longinus Sav(aria) in CIL XIII 6829, a soldier of the legion I Adiutrix and thus probably an ex-sailor; cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* [1986] 300), who have a cognomen chosen also by other low-class Cassii in imitation of the senatorial family (CIL IX 2383; IGLS 9176). Note also P. Iuventius Celsus (reminding one of the jurist, cos. II in 129), the son of P. Naevius(?) Asper (EE VIII 440), probably a sailor (thus A. Parma, *Puteoli* 12-13 [1988-89] 226 n. 4). Cf. *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 201 with n. 133, with further examples of people imitating Roman nobles (both republican and imperial) in their choice of cognomina.

later Arrii Antonini (PIR² A 1087ff., cf. 1513); C. Domitius Lucanus, an Egyptian veteran at Misenum (CIL X 8374) ≈ Cn. Domitius Lucanus, consul in the time of Vespasian (PIR² D 152); Q. Arruntius Aquila, a *Bessus* serving in Misenum attested at Rome (CIL VI 3163) ≈ M. Arruntius Aquila, consul in the time Vespasian (PIR² A 1139, cf. 1137f. for earlier Arruntii Aquilae); Q. Lus[ius] Quiet[us], a *Bessus* serving in Ravenna (G.A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate* [1967] no. 107) ≈ Lusius Quietus, an officer of Trajan and later senator (PIR² L 439); Titius Aquilinus, a sailor at Misenum (CIL X 3615) ≈ L. (Epidius) Titius Aquilinus, cos. 125 (RE VIA 1565-7 no. 27; cf. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 97); Staius Quadratus, a sailor from the Misenum fleet attested at Rome (CIL VI 3094) ≈ L. Staius Quadratus, cos. 142 (RE IIIA 2221-3 no. 21). There are also some other cases which may be relevant, but they can be relegated to a footnote,⁵² for I think that the material presented above speaks for itself and can, as a whole, be taken to show that some sailors kept an eye on well known Roman families when they were choosing their names. Although it is possible that in some cases we may deal simply with coincidences, it seems quite impossible that an Egyptian could have come up with a name such as 'Arrius Antoninus' or 'Domitius Lucanus' just by chance.

But then there is group of nomina for which one can offer the explanation that they are simply (to use a phrase of Quintilian's) 'domo allata', i.e. they are names which the sailors had been using - as peregrines or in some cases as citizens - in their home provinces before they joined the navy, or at least names known to them from home. This is especially

⁵² The Dalmatian Laecanius Largus, serving in Ravenna (CIL XI 69), has an interesting name; it seems to reflect the relations between the Laecanii from Pola and the Caecinae from Volaterrae, which produced the senator C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus (cos. probably in AD 70), a son probably of A. Caecina Paetus cos. 37 adopted by C. Laecanius Bassus cos. 64 (see O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 114ff.). Now the most typical cognomen of the Caecinae was *Largus*, and it seems in fact possible that C. Caecina Largus cos. 42 (PIR² C 101) was A. Caecina Paetus' brother. C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus had a son, C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Flaccus (cf. Salomies, l. 1.); perhaps one could think that there was at some time also a C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Largus, who provided the inspiration needed when the Dalmatian sailor was thinking about his name. Because of his tribe, C. Vettius C. f. Claud. Gratus, *archit. class. pr. Mis.* (CIL X 3392), who makes one think of the Vettii Grati of the 3rd century (the earliest consul being C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus cos. 221, RE VIIIA 1858f. no. 31), should not be thought of as a new citizen imitating in his nomenclature a senatorial family (and the senators are of course much too late).

clear in the case of Africans and Dalmatians. To start with the former, there are sailors called *Gargilius*, *Silicius*, *Surdinius*, *Urbinius*,⁵³ who all mention Africa as their home and happen to have nomina which are especially frequent, or at least well attested, in Africa.⁵⁴ The implication is obviously that these men already had their nomina already before their military service. No doubt there were many similar cases; for instance Bifonius Celestinus *nat. Afer* (CIL X 3550): the man has a nomen which is otherwise absolutely unknown, but which I should think he has brought from home, for Africa is well known for its remarkable collection of rare or unparalleled nomina which reflect early immigration from remote parts of Italy.⁵⁵ And there is also M. Bombius Saturni(nus) at Ravenna (CIL XI 106; the nomen is mishandled by Bormann): though no *patria* is mentioned, this is no doubt an African with a local nomen, because *Bombius* is hardly known outside Africa (and the cognomen also points in that direction).⁵⁶

As for Dalmatians, we find Dalmatian sailors called *Bennius*, *Dasumius*, *Gentius*, *Oculatius*, *Panentius*, *Ravonius*;⁵⁷ these are either

⁵³ *Gargilius*: CIL X 3400a (for another, without a *patria*, see CIL X 3466). *Silicius*: CIL X 3630 (and CIL X 3629, 3631 without a *patria*). *Surdinius*: CIL X 3634. *Urbinius*: CIL X 3389 (and AE 1979, 166).

⁵⁴ *Gargilius*: a nomen typical of Africa (about 120 instances in CIL VIII). *Silicius*: very common in Africa (25 instances in CIL VIII; add ILaAlg. I 404. 2699f. 2960; ILaAfr. 27 i 4, ii 20; S. Gsell, Rech. archéol. en Algérie (1893) 176 no. 187; G. Charles Picard, Castellum Dimmidi (1944) 202 no. 30; AE 1020, 46; 1962, 184; 1987, 1061; 1989, 893 (cf. X. Dupuis, ZPE 93 [1992] 124). *Surdinius*: CIL VIII 5860, 10523; PFOS 748; perhaps PIR S 291 (otherwise there is only CIL V 6104, AE 1985, 485 from Carales, mentioning a centurio *coh. I Sard.* and a *villa Surdinianain* Sinuessa, CIL X 4734). *Urbinius*: of this spelling, there is only one other instance, CIL V 7769; but *Urbinius* seems to be identical with *Urvinius*, a rare nomen of which there are some attestations in Africa: CIL VIII 1440. 4176. 26241. 26388.

⁵⁵ Cf. R. Syme, Roman Papers I 275; III 1115. 1132 (with n. 69).

⁵⁶ *Bombii* elsewhere: CIL I² 2246 = Inscriptions de Délos 2392; CIL XIV 256, 1. 263 (perhaps also IPO A 310, cf. A. Helttula, Arctos 24 (1990) 19 no. 4); in Africa: 12 instances in CIL VIII; ILaAlg. II 961. 2298-2323. And the equestrian M. Bombius Rusticus (PIR² B 143; RIT 156) is no doubt also an African. - *Saturninus*: cf. I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (1965) 55, 213.

⁵⁷ L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza Delmat(a), RMD 142 (AD 100; cf. CIL XI 46; AE 1985, 401). *Dasumius*: CIL XI 53. 54. 3530 (cf. CIL XI 72. 118). *Gentius*: AE 1949, 206. *Oculatius*: AE 1979, 160 (cf. CIL X 3036). *Panentius*: CIL X 3486 (from the Ravenna fleet; cf. CIL XI 93). *Ravonius*: CIL X 3618 (*qui et Bato Scenobarbi (f.) nation. Dal[m.]*).

Illyrian names or nomina attested in Dalmatia⁵⁸ and so it seems that these men might have brought them from home when they came to Misenum or Ravenna (C. Ravonius Celer, it is true, was originally called *Bato Scenobarbi (f.)*, but perhaps he chose a name known to him from home). And note [-]aucius [V]alens *nat. Delmat.* in CIL X 3642: [*Mis]aucius*, a Dalmatian name (CIL III 9740 cf. 13185) is surely a likely restoration of the nomen (Alföldy 100). Furthermore, one finds among sailors not mentioning their *patria* the nomina *Das(s)ius*, *Masurius*, *Plarentius* (in CIL X 3486 a *subheres* of a Dalmatian), *Sced[.]Jius*,⁵⁹ which all either point or at least may point to Dalmatia,⁶⁰ so that one could think of them as another group of sailors equipped with a nomen before entering the navy.⁶¹

There is also a Sardinian who is no doubt using a nomen of Sardinian origin. L. Tarcunius Heraclianus, a Sardinian sailor belonging to the Misenum fleet attested at Rome (AE 1916, 52) has a nomen which is otherwise unknown. Now, names beginning with *Tar-* are in general quite common in Sardinia, but among them one finds *Tarcunus* which so closely resembles the nomen of the sailor that it seems quite certain that he is using a Sardinian nomen.⁶² This makes one think of other sailors'

⁵⁸ *Bennius*: G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia (Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Beiheft 4, 1969 [quoted in the following as 'Alföldy'] 67; ILJug. 2098. 2143. *Dasumius*: cf. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (1904) 44f.; H. Krahe, Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen (1929; quoted in the following as 'Krahe') 35; id., Die Sprache der Illyrier I (1955) 79; Alföldy 81. *Gentius*: cf. Krahe 53f.; Alföldy 210 (for the Illyrian king, RE VII 1198ff.). *Oc(u)latius*: Alföldy 104; CIL III 3845. 3890; AIJug. 218; ILJug. 1836; N. Cambi, VAHD 86 (1994) 165. *Panentius*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 44; Krahe 84; Alföldy 106. *Ravonius*: Alföldy 115; ILJug. 1895. 2568. 2884 (= CIL III 2951).

⁵⁹ *Das(s)ius*: CIL X 3661 (*Vene[ti f.] Venetus*); AE 1992, 136 (cf. AE 1990, 302). *Masurius*: cf. n. 15. *Plarentius*: CIL X 3486; CIL VI 3125. *Sced[.]Jius*: CIL X 3600.

⁶⁰ *Das(s)ius*: cf. Krahe 37f.; Alföldy 81, 185f.. *Masurius*: Alföldy 98; ILJug. 652. 2733; *Masurianus* in AE 1991, 1289. *Plarentius*: cf. Schulze o. c. (n. 37) 32, 44; Krahe 92; Alföldy 267. As for *Sced[.]Jius*, known from CIL X 3600 (of which I have seen a good photo), the name sounds Illyrian (but may of course be anything).

⁶¹ But observe that L. Scentius Valens, who has a nomen which is almost certainly of Dalmatian origin (cf. Krahe, Lexikon [n. 57] 101; id., Die Sprache der Illyrier I [1955] 59), is in spite of this *nat(ione) Bessus* (EE VIII 710; cf. CIL X 2938. 3368. 8211). Cf. above n. 37.

⁶² For *Tarcunus Fili f. Neroneius* see G. Sotgiu in ANRW II 11, 1 (1988) 569 n. A209. Other Sardinian names beginning with *Tar-*: *Targuro* (CIL X 7874), *Tarammon* and *Tarpalaris* (CIL XVI 79), *Tarcutius* (cf. n. 63) and *Tarsalia* (CIL XVI 127), *Taretius* (Sotgiu, *ibid.* 568 no. A207).

nomina beginning with *Tar-*; *Tarul(l)ius* is a nomen otherwise unknown, but attested for three sailors, one of whom is known to have been a Sardinian (CIL X 687; the others in CIL X 3387. 3600); then there is C. Tarcutius Tarsaliae fil. Hospitalis, no doubt a sailor and from Sardinia (CIL XVI 127 found in Sardinia).⁶³ *Tarutius* (CIL XI 3535) may perhaps also be considered a nomen of Sardinian origin. Finally, *Tarcunius* reminds one of *Tarquinius*, the nomen (in general a rare one) of two sailors, one serving at Misenum, the other at Ravenna (CIL X 3562; CIL XI 99); perhaps this is not the same name as that of the Etruscan kings, but rather a Sardinian name related to *Tarcunius*; however, things are complicated by the fact that the man at Ravenna calls himself a German.⁶⁴

Then there are also quite a few Egyptian sailors who have distinctively Egyptian nomina, and who thus either had a nomen at the time of the enrolment or at least thought of home when choosing a nomen: there are Egyptian sailors called (*H*)*ammonius*, *Longin(i)us* and *Seren(i)us*,⁶⁵ which are all nomina clearly pointing to Egypt.⁶⁶ Further instances of nomina which sailors may have brought with themselves from home are not easy to come by; but it is certainly remarkable that two sailors from Bithynia, one serving at Misenum, the other at Ravenna,

⁶³ It has also been said that this man chose his nomen because it resembled his father's name (A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443), but it seems more likely that he has simply chosen a Sardinian name. For the date of the diploma (between 192 and 218) see M. Roxan, RMD 1985-1993 (1994) 248 n. 78.

⁶⁴ But one could perhaps think of the possibility that he has chosen himself the nomen of a Sardinian colleague at Ravenna (cf. above n. 37).

⁶⁵ (*H*)*ammonius*: sailors calling themselves Egyptians: CIL X 3381. 3514; CIL VI 3093 = 7463 (Hammonii without a *patria*: CIL X 3467. 3528. 3612). *Longin(i)us*: Egyptians in G.A. Mansuelli, Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate [1967] no. 70 and BGU 326 (others, not mentioning a *patria*: CIL X 3418. 3578. 3589; CIL XI 74. 6738a; note, however, that *Longin(i)us* was a nomen found not only in Egypt, but also among soldiers in general, this explaining the presence of a C. Longinus Maximus from Pamphylia: EE VIII 430). *Seren(i)us*: CIL X 3481; CIL XI 94 (both specifying Egypt as the *patria*).

⁶⁶ *Ammonius*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 121f.; R. Cavenaile, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 218ff. no. 85ff. (used as a nomen 219 no. 104, 106-8). This nomen is often used also by Egyptian soldiers other than sailors. *Longin(i)us*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 59-61; R. Cavenaile, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 271ff. no. 1342, 1359ff. *Seren(i)us*: cf. R. Cavenaile, ibid. 295ff. no. 1930ff. (for a L. Serenus Ammonianus from Alexandria cf. IG X 2, 1, 38, B, 8).

should both have the nomen *Laelius*,⁶⁷ and that two Thracians (to judge from the cognomina), one at Misenum, one at Ravenna, should both have a nomen spelled *Mesius* (cf. n. 45).⁶⁸ And there is also M. Stlabius Felicissimus at Misenum (CIL X 3633); this spelling of his nomen is unparalleled, but *Slavius* may well be the same nomen. The latter name is also attested only once, in the case of a man from Carales (CIL XVI 9 from AD 68, one of the witnesses), so perhaps the sailor is another Sardinian, using a local name. On the other hand, the cognomen *Putiolanus* of the witness of the diploma, and the fact that this is a diploma issued to a soldier of the legion I Adiutrix - and thus an ex-sailor - take us back to the area of Misenum, and this, again, reminds one of the existence of the nomen *slaabiis* in Oscan Herculaneum (cf. n. 40). Could it be after all that the sailor had chosen himself a nomen with which he had become acquainted only after he had arrived at Misenum?

There are in fact some other rare nomina of sailors which happen to be attested among the local population in the neighbourhood of both Misenum and Ravenna and which make one think that some sailors may have chosen names which they learned to know, in some way or other, at Misenum and Ravenna. For instance, one finds *Suttii* and *Tamudii* both among sailors at Misenum (cf. above) and among other people in the area,⁶⁹ and for *Anarius*, the nomen of a sailor at Ravenna, the only other attestations in the Roman world are at Pisaurum and Aquileia, not in the immediate neighbourhood of Ravenna, it is true, but, on the other hand,

⁶⁷ CIL X 3597 (T. Laelius Crispus); CIL XI 70 (Q. Laelius Alexander). I do not seem to be able to find Laelii in Bithynian inscriptions, but there are many Laelii elsewhere in Asia Minor (not too far from Bithynia e.g. at Cyzicus [CIG 3663, B, 11 cf. AM 6 (1881) 52], at Appia in N. Phrygia [SEG XXVIII 1105] and at Amastris [IGR III 87]).

⁶⁸ Note also the interesting case of the *Velonii*; there are two *Velonii* serving at Misenum, both *Bessi* (CIL X 3376; CIL VI 3142), and one *Velonius* (without a *patria*, but perhaps another *Bessus*) is attested as a sailor serving in the fleet at Ravenna (CIL IX 3993 = AE 1991, 568). Now this is a very rare nomen for which there are attestations, in addition to a *vigil* in the time of Septimius Severus (CIL VI 1057, 3, 66 = 1058, 3, 16) only from Thuburnica in Africa (CIL VIII 25785-88; but the man in 25787 may have come from Bononia); perhaps, one cannot help thinking, the *Velonii* had somehow acquired the nomen at home.

⁶⁹ *Suttius*: Vetter, o. c. (n. 40) no. 8 (Pompeii); CIL X 8059, 388 (signaculum at Naples). Also in CIL X 6184 (Formiae). Otherwise there is not much (CIL XI 1108. 6178; CIL V 1779). *Tamudius*: AE 1951, 217 (Herculaneum); cf. the cognomen *Tamudianus* in CIL IV 1493 (Pompeii). There are more *Tamudii* in Umbria and Picenum (especially at Auximum).

not too far from there.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the fact that there are at Misenum two sailors called *Dinnius*, one from Corsica, the other *natione Bessus* (CIL X 3572f.), and that there are at Ravenna two sailors called *Taronius*, one from Dalmatia, the other another *Bessus* (CIL XI 98; CIL III 557), seems to imply that these sailors may have chosen their nomina from someone they had learnt to know in Misenum and Ravenna, perhaps from someone also serving in the navy (cf. above n. 37). But of course there are also problems; for instance, there are in Misenum sailors called *Deccius* and *Epidius*, which are both names which one finds in the area around Misenum - but also among sailors in Ravenna (cf. above); and if there are two *Lusii* at Misenum, one from Egypt, the other from Dalmatia (CIL XIV 239; AE 1892, 140), there is a *Lusius* also at Ravenna, a *Bessus* (with the cognomen *Quietus*; cf. above). Another problem is that, if one finds the same nomina both among sailors and among civilians in the same area, this may in some cases come from the fact that it was only through the sailors that a nomen was diffused in the region, for funerary inscriptions of sailors at Misenum and Ravenna frequently mention wives, children and freedmen, which shows that many sailors settled in the two cities after their military service. Accordingly, one often finds nomina no doubt imported by sailors among civilians in and around the two naval bases.⁷¹

But let us get back to the subject, and finish it. There is still a smallish group of nomina for which one might find an explanation, namely those nomina which seem to have been formed from, or at least with an eye on, the cognomina of the sailors (or of their fathers). Those of *M. Numisius Saionis f. Nomasius Corsus Vinac.* (CIL XVI 74 of AD 129)⁷² and *C. Terentiu[s] Teres* (AE 1985, 401) seem to be clear cases, and the

⁷⁰ CIL XI 6712, 36 (signaculum at Pisaurum); I. Aquileia 2241. Observe also that *Arenius*, the most uncommon nomen of T. Arenius Cordus of the Ravenna fleet (CIL XI 113) is attested at Pisaurum (CIL XI 6374a and in a votive inscription from a sanctuary of Minerva near Placentia (CIL XI 1293; otherwise there is only CIL IX 4109 [Aequiculi] and a number of attestations in Africa).

⁷¹ For instance, there are civilian (H)ammonii at Puteoli (CIL X 2495. 3013) and a *Panentia Placida* in Ravenna (CIL XI 93), this no doubt somehow connected with the fact that a sailor called *Panentius* is attested in the Ravenna fleet (cf. above n. 57). Furthermore, the existence at Centumcellae of a *Longinia Procla* has no doubt something to do with the fact that Centumcellae was a base used by the Misenum and Ravenna fleets (M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* [1986] 197ff.). Cf. above n. 39 on *Mecennius* at Ravenna.

⁷² Originally no doubt called *Nomasius Saionis f.* (A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443).

nomina of L. Geminius Gemellus (AE 1985, 401) and C. Lucilius Lucianus (CIL X 3402, a *Cilix*) may perhaps be explained in the same way.⁷³ M. Lollius Lolli f. Neo *Laerta ex Pamphylia* (RMD 38 of AD 139) no doubt took the (single) name of his (peregrine) father as his nomen; finally, it has also been suggested that Sex. Memmius Clearchi f. Mannis *Oniando ex Lycia* (CIL XVI 177, AD 149) chose his nomen because it resembled his cognomen (this, however, does not seem much more than a guess).⁷⁴

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⁷³ But note that other Gemelli do not have the nomen *Geminius*: there is also a L. Deccius Gemellus (AE 1954, 270) and a C. Iust(i?)us Gemellus (CIL X 3577).

⁷⁴ A. Mócsy, *ibid.* (n. 69) 443 (Lollius; this is a common nomen in Asia Minor) and 443f. n. 31 (Memmius).