

# **A Roman in Name Only: An Onomastic Study of Cultural Assimilation and Integration in Roman Spain**

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**Abstract:** *This paper studies the evolution of naming practices in Roman Spain as way to measure the limits of Romanization and determine the persistence of the indigenous culture. Onomastic evidence suggests that the indigenous population actively integrated itself into the Roman culture on its own terms, taking and leaving aspects of the Roman nomenclature at will in order to display romanitas, or Romanness. Upon close inspection, the names of many Hispano-Romans reveal a population that exhibited volition and agency in the process of Romanization. Variations in Roman naming components (e.g. voting tribes, filiations, tria nomina, etc.) show a selective adoption of the Roman nomenclature, while indigenous stems point to the persistence of many aspects of the indigenous culture. While there are many definitions and theories to Romanization, this study adopts what Leonard Curchin has described as the Integration Model, where the exchange between the Roman and indigenous culture produces a third, hybrid culture, or a provincial culture. Naming customs in Roman Spain point to the emergence of this provincial culture, one that adopted many features of Roman society, but equally preserved aspects of native Iberian customs. This study will explore various aspects of this topic, including the history of Roman Spain, the various parts of Roman nomenclature, and the actual onomastic evidence found in the Spanish provinces. To accomplish this goal, this paper will draw upon significant epigraphic evidence consisting of funerary and magisterial dedications, ranging from the second century BCE into the early third century CE.*

## **Introduction**

In antiquity, the nomenclatures used by different societies had a very pragmatic and significant function, often indicating a person's lineage, place of origin, and social status. Customs, heritage, and religion can all contribute to cultural distinction or identity. Names, being one of the most basic components of identity, often find their

inspiration in these societal attributes. The Romans brought their culture with them as they began to spread throughout the Mediterranean in the third century BCE, and interacted with the indigenous cultures that they encountered. While a great deal of cultural exchange certainly took place, victory in war ensured that Roman culture would assume political and legal preeminence. Soldiers, generals, and statesmen provided the opportunity and impetus for the indigenous population to adopt the culture of their Roman neighbours, that is, to Romanize.

Spain provides a perfect opportunity to study the process of Romanization, as the Romans encountered not only the vibrant culture of the Iberian chiefdoms, but also influences from Celtic, Greek, and Carthaginian populations. The Romans were forced to undertake several prolonged campaigns to subdue the indigenous tribes and suppress the subsequent rebellions that followed, and only after 200 years of conquest (ca 196-13 BCE), did Spain finally appear to be completely under Roman control. By the fifth century CE, the provinces of Spain were among the oldest of Roman territories. With this in mind, one might expect Romanization to be completely achieved in Spain, but in reality this is far from the truth. In fact, Simon Keay believes that Spain's long duration under Roman control actually necessitates a closer look at Romanization, in order to better study its subtle nuances and intricacies.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, archeology has shown that many aspects of indigenous Spanish culture continued unabated despite the significant Roman presence. While architecture, settlement patterns, art, industry, and religious practices attest to the persistence of indigenous culture, the growing epigraphic evidence shows that Romanization of onomastics also appears to have been a slow and incomplete process.

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Keay, "Romanization and the Hispaniae," in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, ed. Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato (Oxbow, 2001), 117.

A list of Roman magistrates in Spain in the late second century BCE reveals functioning *tria nomina*, voting tribes, and prominent gentilic lineages that would suggest a thoroughly or progressively Romanized populace. The assumption of the *duo* (two) or *tria nomina* (three names) came to be regarded as the “badge of Roman or Latin citizenship”.<sup>2</sup> E. Badian agrees, saying that, “When a non-citizen became a citizen, the chief mark of the change was the acquisition of a Roman name.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, indigenes began taking Roman names so much that, according to Suetonius, Claudius was inclined to take legal action, saying that, “Persons of non-citizen status he forbade to use Roman names, at least the gentile ones. Those who usurped Roman citizenship he had executed with an axe in the Esquiline field”.<sup>4</sup>

Indigenous cultures, however, had their own naming practices that were distinct from those of the Romans. A closer look at a list of names found in Spain reveals several elements that were not typical of the Roman naming standard, such as lineal suffixes, toponyms, titles of enfranchisement, and overly simplified Roman-style names. The frequent occurrence of these examples suggests that Romanization was not as thorough, effortless, or permanent as initially thought. It seems that the indigenous Iberian cultures persisted and integrated themselves with the Roman culture, producing a hybrid culture, rather than a fully Romanized one.

This paper will use onomastics to contribute to the study of Romanization in Spain, and must proceed in four levels: first, trace the historical narrative of the Iberian Peninsula; next, explore the differing theories of Romanization; third, briefly review

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<sup>2</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 94.

<sup>3</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 253.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. Cl. 25. Suetonius, and Catharine Edwards. *Lives of the Caesars*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000.

Roman naming practices; finally, create a synthesis of the preceding discussions and study the variations of Hispano-Roman nomenclature in order to gauge the nature and extent of Romanization in Spain. For onomastic evidence, the *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* (*OPEL*) provides a broad directory of the different *nomina* and *cognomina* found in the western provinces of the empire. The *OPEL* then supplies the references for the inscriptions where the listed names can be found. For the inscriptions themselves, two compilations, selected from many, were used for this study: the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL II*) (along with variant volumes of the *CIL II*, the *CIL I<sup>2</sup>* 5, 7, and 14, which centered on the *conventi* Agistanus, Cordubensis, and Tarraconensis), and the *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica* (*HAE*), both of which focus on Spain. Together, these various topics provide a thorough overview of Romanization and nomenclature in the context of the history of Roman Spain.

### **The History of Roman Spain**

As a quick note on the cultural variance of Spain, it should be noted that the Iberian Peninsula has been inhabited for 1.4 million years.<sup>5</sup> Scholars have been able to distinguish two basic cultural groups in the original inhabitants, known as the Iberians and the Tartessians. The Iberians inhabited the eastern coast of Spain and has been a bit of mystery to historians, due to their practice of cremation and the inability of modern scholars to translate their language.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the Iberian culture spread throughout the peninsula, becoming the largest cultural body in Spain. The Tartessians, on Spain's southwest coast, may have been the fabled kingdom of "Tarshish" mentioned in the Bible. It exhibited a flourishing urban culture with

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<sup>5</sup> Leonard Curchin, *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

significant Phoenician influence.<sup>7</sup> The Phoenicians themselves arrived in southern Spain around 1100 BCE, originating from modern day Syria and Lebanon.<sup>8</sup> The maritime empire of Carthage, also of Phoenician descent, eventually assumed control of these possessions, holding them until the end of the third century BCE. The Celtic populations crossed the Pyrenees Mountains from Gaul (modern day France), settling in Spain's central plains, the *meseta*, in the eighth century BCE,<sup>9</sup> while around the same time the Greeks founded several trading colonies on Spain's east coast.<sup>10</sup>

Stripped of some of their prime sources of revenue in the First Punic War (264-241 BCE), the Carthaginians turned to further exploit and consolidate their holdings in Spain.<sup>11</sup> Rome soon became aware of Carthaginian efforts there, and the two states were eventually drawn into the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE), following diplomatic maneuvering and Hannibal Barca's attack on the city of Saguntum.<sup>12</sup> Much of the war was fought in Spain, and by 206 BCE P. Cornelius Scipio (soon to be Africanus) had finally pushed the Carthaginians entirely out of the Iberian Peninsula, setting up an *ad hoc* provincial administration in the process. While Rome was eventually victorious in the war with Carthage, the Roman wars in Hispania had just begun. In 197 BCE, the number of praetors in Rome was increased from four to six, with two praetorships permanently allotted to Spain. That year, the first two praetors were assigned to Hispania, C. Sempronius Tuditanus in Hispania Citerior (comprising the lands from Carthago Nova to the Pyrenees Mountains), and M.

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<sup>7</sup> S. J. Keay, *Roman Spain: Exploring the Roman World* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 13, 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Keay, *Roman Spain*, 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>12</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 24.

Helvius in Hispania Ulterior in the south (similar in size to modern Andalusia), with both given orders to establish the boundaries of their provinces.<sup>13</sup> A series of rebellions spread throughout the peninsula, and by 195/194 BCE the consul M. Porcius Cato had put down the first of the major revolts.<sup>14</sup> The most notable native leader, Viriathus, from the Lusitani of the western regions, scored several victories against the Romans in the 140s BCE, before finally being defeated in 140 BCE. The Romans were not finished campaigning, however, and became embroiled in affairs in northern Iberia until 136 BCE, and fighting several Celtiberian tribes of central Spain until 133 BCE.<sup>15</sup>

The praetors assigned to the Spanish provinces continued to focus on forcibly asserting Roman authority, and while intermittent revolts continued in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Lusitanian rebellions of the 110's BCE, Spain's military significance seems to have faded somewhat.<sup>16</sup> J. S. Richardson observes that,

despite the sporadic and occasional warfare that continued in the two provinces in these 50 years, they also saw the beginnings of important changes, both in the development of relations between the senate and the provincial communities, and in the establishment of what might be called a Roman civilian presence, alongside the military presence.<sup>17</sup>

Progressively, the true conflict in Spain began to shift towards the rising tensions within the Roman Republic itself, as Spain became one of the many battlegrounds in two of the Late Republic's civil wars. The first of these conflicts was the Sertorian War (80-72 BCE), which pitted the former Marian general, Q. Sertorius against Sullan governors and generals, only defeated by a combination of treachery and the

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<sup>13</sup> J. S. Richardson, *Hispaniae, Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218-82 BC* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), 75-77.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-94.

<sup>15</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 33-36.

<sup>16</sup> J. S. Richardson, *The Romans in Spain* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 84.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 93

joint forces of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey "the Great").<sup>18</sup> In the decade following the conclusion of the war, the Spanish provinces returned to a state of normalcy, with the usual rotation of Roman administrators, including in 68 BCE a quaestor named C. Julius Caesar.<sup>19</sup>

Caesar went on to serve as governor of Hispania Ulterior in 61 BCE, and launched campaigns into Lusitania and northern Iberia, eventually being proclaimed *imperator* by his troops, which inspired him to make a bid for the consulship in 59.<sup>20</sup> Following the renewal of the political pact known as the First Triumvirate in 55 BCE, Pompey took Spain in the division of territory between himself and the other two triumvirs, Caesar and M. Licinius Crassus.<sup>21</sup> Pompey ruled Spain *in absentia* through subordinates, and during the civil war his faction held the peninsula until Caesar's victory in 49 BCE. Though seemingly victorious, the Caesarian position was unstable in Spain, and Caesar was forced to return in 46 BCE to oust remnants of the Pompeian faction who had re-established themselves in the Spanish provinces.<sup>22</sup> Spain was not a significant theatre of combat in the civil war between Antony and Octavian, though Curchin states that Antony and Cleopatra were planning to seek refuge there after their defeat at Actium in 33 BCE.<sup>23</sup> Octavian was, however, obliged to return to Spain eventually, faced with the task of subduing the regions of Cantabria, Asturias and Galicia from 26-16 BCE. Afterwards, in 13 BCE, Octavian (by this time, Augustus) reorganised the Spanish provinces, dividing Hispania

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<sup>18</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 42-45.

<sup>19</sup> Richardson, *The Romans in Spain*, 105.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>23</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 47-51.

Ulterior into Baetica and Lusitania, and adding Galicia and Asturias to Hispania Citerior.<sup>24</sup>

While Spain occasionally experienced a revolt or served as the base for rebellious generals during civil wars (such as, the ephemeral emperor Galba in 68 CE),<sup>25</sup> the peninsula as a whole entered into a period of relative peace and prosperity beginning in Augustus' reign. Richardson states that it was during the reign of Vespasian that the Spanish provinces began to be regarded as a central and integral part of the empire, and no longer a frontier region.<sup>26</sup> Spain certainly benefited from Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* (Latin right) to many cities, providing several political privileges as well as opportunities for gaining citizenship for native government officials in the cities.<sup>27</sup> The provinces prospered and became valuable sources of revenue for the imperial economy, and Spain produced prominent figures such as Martial, and the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Spain remained entirely under the control of the Romans until the upheavals of the late Empire in the fifth century CE, when the peninsula succumbed to a marauding confederation of Vandals, Alans, and the Germanic Suevi in 411 CE.<sup>28</sup>

### **Theories of Romanization**

As this study attempts to place onomastics in the context of Romanization, it is necessary to thoroughly discuss this acculturation phenomenon. The term, Romanization, by itself, is controversial, and warrants criticism if used too lightly or

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 52-53.

<sup>25</sup> Richardson, *The Romans in Spain*, 181.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 193-197.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 208.

inappropriately, and can tend too far toward oversimplification.<sup>29</sup> This study views Romanization as the process by which native populations integrated selected aspects of Roman culture into their own society. The length of time that Spain remained under imperial control and the relative stability following Augustus' reign

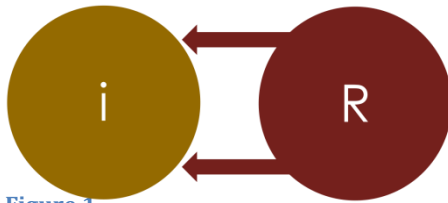


Figure 1

allowed Romanization to progress and develop uninterrupted for hundreds of years, although its success may be overestimated. While Rome imbued the Iberian Peninsula with Latin culture, the legacy of which is seen clearly in the Romance languages of Spanish and Portuguese, the intricacies of this process are still debated. Leonard Curchin has discussed at length the various ways that historians have defined Romanization. The first model discussed is arguably the most common theory, the *Dominance Model* (Figure 1), in which Rome forces its culture upon the conquered populace. This theory harkens to some of the unarguable ethnocentrism that Roman sources displayed when speaking of Rome's cultural superiority. Keay states that this is a common assumption among some archeologists, who view the abundant Roman-style evidence as a sign that "provincial societies were becoming less native and more Roman as they were absorbed within the Roman Empire".<sup>30</sup> He warns scholars, however, not to perceive Romanization as the triumph of a superior culture.<sup>31</sup> What this theory does not address is the frequent *laissez faire* method with which Rome treated many subject peoples, leaving societies to their own devices so long as they behaved in accordance with Roman political and diplomatic requirements.

<sup>29</sup> D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011), 207.

<sup>30</sup> S. J. Keay, "Romanization and the Hispaniae," 122

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

The reverse method, the *Self-Romanization Model* (Figure 2), implies that the subject population unanimously regarded the Roman culture as superior and

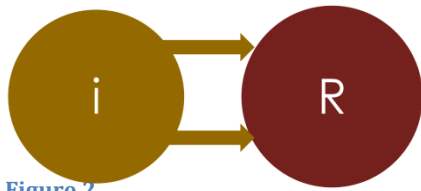


Figure 2

absorbed it with alacrity. While this was certainly the case to a limited degree in many places, this theory underestimates the significance and persistence of

elements of the indigenous population's culture, which they certainly did not reject entirely.<sup>32</sup> Both of these theories carry the inherent danger in overemphasizing the significance of the conquering society. To speak of Romanization as a civilizing affect is a frequent mistake, according to Mattingly, and reminiscent of older models that were a result of the colonial and imperial influences in European thought. For Mattingly, this also "emphasizes conformity, that presents cultural change as a unilateral and hierarchical process, involving the passing down of Roman culture and ideas about identity to grateful provincials."<sup>33</sup> Woolf agrees, stating that older models of Romanization carry two basic tenets: first, a belief that not all races are equal to participate in civilization; second, faith in the absolute validity of European culture, as heir to civilization. In short, Romanization must not be an appraisal of cultures, stacked up against a perceived superior culture.<sup>34</sup> Studies of acculturation must not abandon cultural relativity.

A similar theory, the *Elite Model* (Figure 3), suggests that native elites would assimilate to Roman cultural standards in order to further cement their own positions



Figure 3

and subsequently maintain a grip on the lower-class populace. P. A. Brunt sees two advantages

<sup>32</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity, and Change in a Provincial Hinterland* (London: Routledge, 2004.), 13.

<sup>33</sup> D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 204-206.

<sup>34</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.), 5.

in elites Romanizing themselves. First, citizenship often allowed elites and local magnates to participate in the growing imperial government.<sup>35</sup> Second, Roman citizenship augmented the elites' influence in their hometowns.<sup>36</sup> One needs to look no further than Cicero's *Pro Balbo* for evidence of the prestige attached to foreigners granted Roman citizenship. Again, while this was the case in some areas, it denies the majority of the population sufficient agency by excluding them from the equation. Furthermore, in regards to the *Elite Model* and the *Self-Romanization Model*, Keay warns that neither theory should imply total cultural acquiescence on the part of the indigenes.<sup>37</sup> Mattingly also bears another warning here, saying that we should not replace an elite-centered Romanization with the low-status-centered "creolization."<sup>38</sup>

The *Interaction Model* (Figure 4) is a stronger theory, seeing the Roman and indigenous cultures as equal partners in cultural exchange. The drawback for

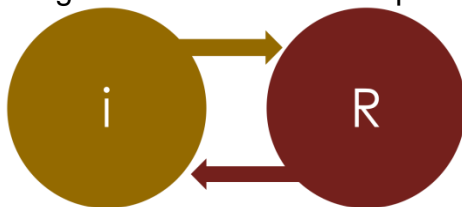


Figure 5

Curchin lies in the emphasis on the two cultures as separate, even if involved in cultural exchange. Romans and indigenous populations were indeed living side by side in many areas and cannot be

viewed as perpetually separated since they lived in such close proximity to each

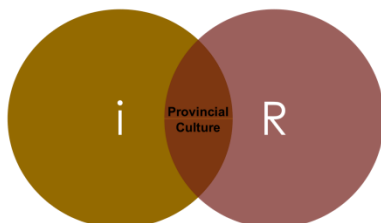


Figure 4

other. Therefore, Curchin advocates the *Integration Model* (Figure 5), where elements of the indigenous and Roman cultures do remain separate, but a

<sup>35</sup> P.A. Brunt, "The Romanization of the Local Ruling Classes in the Roman Empire," in Dionis M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture greco-romaine dans le monde ancien*, (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1974.), 273.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 276

<sup>37</sup> S. J. Keay, "Romanization and the Hispaniae," 122.

<sup>38</sup> D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 203.

degree of exchange does occur, creating a third “provincial culture”.<sup>39</sup> Mattingly sees a similar pattern of development in Roman provinces. He calls this a *discrepant* identity, “the heterogeneity of response to Rome, to culture change and to identity (re-)formation.”<sup>40</sup> He recognizes the similarity to the concept of hybridization, and notes that provincial societies could display both Roman and indigenous traits. Romanization can indeed blur, erase and create new cultural distinctions, especially in the context of Roman provinces. It is true that overemphasizing “perceived” cultural and ethnic distinctions has dangers. Sian Jones has noted that “the adoption of an analytical framework based on bounded socio-cultural units ... obscures the various heterogeneous processes involved in the negotiation of power and identity.”<sup>41</sup> While the Romans were certainly not afraid of placing their neighbors into convenient labels and categories, I do not think these ethnic and cultural distinctions need to be entirely abandoned. Indeed, by using the Roman perceptions of ethnic distinction, historians are better able to observe the emergence of the new provincial culture.

The civil wars of the last century BCE may have expedited the process of Romanization, seen through the recruitment of indigenous troops to fight in Roman legions. Indeed, Sertorius recruited soldiers from among the native population. Caesar also raised troops in Spain, and by his time, as J. B. Tsirkin observes, there were 100,000 Roman citizens in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>42</sup> Much later, in the fifth century CE, the Visigoths would encounter a “provincial culture,” one that considered itself Roman but clearly preserved some indigenous elements. This is certainly true

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<sup>39</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 12-14.

<sup>40</sup> D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 213.

<sup>41</sup> Sian Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, (London: Taylor & Francis Routledge, 1997.), 129-130.

<sup>42</sup> J. B. Tsirkin, “The Veterans and the Romanization of Spain,” in *Gerion*, 7, 1989:140.

in the case of provincials, where indigenes exhibited considerable autonomy in the acculturation process. Woolf cites the example of Roman-style altars set up to worship non-Roman deities as examples of pre-Roman customs consciously being retained.<sup>43</sup> As evidence of this, Dietrich Claude has observed that tribal distinctions still existed even in the seventh century CE, as Isidore of Seville explicitly mentioned the “*Gallaeci, Asturi* and *Cantabri*, to each of whom he attributes special features”.<sup>44</sup>

### Roman Nomenclature

Since the present study centers on the personal names of individuals in the Roman provinces of Spain, it will be helpful to briefly review the intricacies of Roman nomenclature. Appian gives a good, succinct account of the Roman naming system.

As to names, Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery.<sup>45</sup>

In theory, the nomenclature of the Romans was very precise, rigid, and practical, in that every name had a specific function and purpose, indicating lineage and social status. Over time, however, names began to be less practical and were more arbitrarily chosen. Nevertheless, most Roman names had three parts, the *praenomen* (used as a personal name), *nomen* (used as a *gentilic* or clan name), and the *cognomen* (used to show direct filial relations), collectively known as the *tria nomina*.

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<sup>43</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, 20.

<sup>44</sup> Dietrich Claude, “Visigoths and Hispano-Romans in the Seventh Century,” in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, Walter Pohl with Helmut Reimitz, eds, 118. (Leiden; Boston; Köln; Brill, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> Appian. Praef. 1.13. Appianus, Horace White, J. D. Denniston, and E. Iiff Robson. *Appian's Roman history*. London: W. Heinemann, 1912.

The *praenomen* (simply meaning “first name”) functioned as a personal name, much the same as its modern version. The Romans, however, did not originally employ a wide variety of *praenomina*, and out of the thirty that were used only half were common.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Benet Salway has noted that “Ninety-nine per cent of Romans of the regal and republican period shared one of only seventeen praenomina.”<sup>47</sup> Originally, even *praenomina* had meaning, and Wilson states, for example, that Manius could have originally meant *mane* (morning), or that Lucius could have represented *luci* (for light or dawn). Though they were largely used as personal labels, there were some methods for choosing *praenomina*. Sons (both adopted and natural) would take the *praenomina* of their fathers, while freedmen or newly enfranchised citizens would take those of their patrons.<sup>48</sup> *Praenomina* gradually fell into disuse during the empire, being replaced by the *nomen* or *cognomen*.

The *nomen* (simply meaning “name”), or *gentilicium*, was arguably the most important name in the early history of Rome and marked the *gens*, or clan relation, this being the largest unit of the Roman family structure. Unlike the *praenomen*, the *nomina* were often rooted in legend. For instance, Livy states that the name Claudius derives from the Sabine leader, Attius Clausus, who brought his dependants to Rome seeking refuge, eventually becoming “the Old Claudian Tribe”.<sup>49</sup> Hence, Clausus became Claudius. The most famous example, however, would be the legend behind the name Julius. Both Vergil and Livy acknowledge the Iulii’s claim that their clan was descended from Aeneas, the Trojan exile and progenitor of the

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<sup>46</sup> Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe*, (London: UCL Press, 1998), 5.

<sup>47</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 84, 1994:125.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 128

<sup>49</sup> Livy, 2.16.3-5. Livy. *The Early History of Rome. Books I-V of The History of Rome from Its Foundation*. Harmondsworth, Eng: Penguin, 1971.

Roman race.<sup>50</sup> According to Vergil, it is Aeneas' son, Ascanius, who is given the name *Iulus*, which becomes Iulius.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the documented transitions from Clausus to Claudius, and Iulus to Iulius, demonstrate that the *-ius* endings are a key part of the adjectival formation of the *nomen*.<sup>52</sup> Like the *praenomen*, Wilson has shown that some *gentilicia* also had mundane origins, citing examples such as, "Cassius from *cassus* (empty), Fabius from *faba* (bean), or Curtius from *curtus* (short)".<sup>53</sup>

The *nomen* was the most important part of the name in most of Rome's history and was the first step in announcing or tracing a person's descent. Much like the *praenomen*, the *nomen* was passed on in a patrilineal manner. Salway believes that this is associated with the institution of *patria potestas*.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, slaves and newly enfranchised citizens would commonly take the *nomen* of their patron or a significant politician of their time. According to Wilson, "there was a proliferation of persons bearing the great Republican *gentilicia* and especially those of the emperors under whom they had been enfranchised".<sup>55</sup> From the Republican era, ex-soldiers and new citizens would take the names of their old generals and patrons. Curchin shows that 46 magistrates in Spain took the name Cornelius, and it is the most common name found on the inscriptions of magistrates. Not surprisingly, this harkens to memory of the Corneli Scipiones. Valerius occurs 41 times, and refers to

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<sup>50</sup> Livy, 1.3.2. Livy. *The Early History of Rome. Books I-V of The History of Rome from Its Foundation*. Harmondsworth, Eng: Penguin, 1971.

<sup>51</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* I. 267-268. Virgil, Clyde Pharr, and Alexander Gordon McKay. *Vergil's Aeneid, books I-VI*. Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1998.

Vergil also states, "*At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo additur (Iulus erat, dum res stetit Ilii regno)*," alluding to the further connection to Ilium, an alternate name for Troy.

<sup>52</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 125.

<sup>53</sup> Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming*, 7.

<sup>54</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 125-126.

<sup>55</sup> Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming*, 9

C. Valerius Flaccus, the consul and proconsul of Hispania Citerior in the 90s BCE.<sup>56</sup> Names such as Sertorius, Caecilius, and Pompeius demonstrate that Spaniards preserved the names of many powerful generals regardless of their political allegiance or the taint of insurgency attached to the namesake.<sup>57</sup> The problem here is that provincials and former slaves were bearing the names of families to whom they had no blood relation, devaluing, as Wilson says, these previously exclusive and high honored names.<sup>58</sup> As an example of such proliferation, the *OPEL* lists 590 individuals bearing the *nomen* Iulius in Spain alone.<sup>59</sup> Badian clearly states that the use of the *nomina* of famous *gentes* does not infer relation. He says that, "towards the end of the Republic, at least, it had become fairly common for provincials to adopt Roman names as evidence of Romanization, no doubt to impress their less enterprising fellow-citizens and Italian residents."<sup>60</sup> Moreover, we should not even assume that the bearer of the famous name is a citizen. Regardless of their citizenship, provincials in this case were certainly taking the name for the sake of ostentation.

As Roman society grew, a third name was added for further distinction among clans, called the *cognomen*. Originally a nickname, the *cognomina* were passed on to family members and descendants, eventually becoming a part of the family name. Caesar, for instance, could derive from "hairy" or "scarred", while Cicero comes from the word, *cicer*, or "chickpea". Like the *nomen*, the *cognomina* often had legendary origins. One of the most famous examples is that of the Iunii Bruti. According to

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<sup>56</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 93.

<sup>57</sup> J. B. Tsirkin, "The Veterans and the Romanization of Spain," 145.

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming*, 9.

<sup>59</sup> András Mócsy and Barnabás Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum (OPEL)*, (Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, 1994), vol. 2, 201-206.

<sup>60</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 256-257.

Roman legend, Lucius Iunius Brutus earned his *cognomen* from his efforts to appear stupid so that he could pass from the notice of the last Roman king, Tarquin the Proud.<sup>61</sup> As noted, the *cognomina* were at first used in the larger clans where the dearth of *praenomina* necessitated further names for specification. The Corneli family provides a perfect example of this. As the clan grew they branched into several smaller, yet prominent families, including the Corneli Dolabellae, Corneli Scipiones, Corneli Sullae, Corneli Lentuli, and others.

As the number of Roman citizens rose, due to the enfranchisement of Italians and provincials, the *cognomen* became the more important name, because of the number of possible variations. In fact, it is for this reason that the *praenomen* eventually fell into disuse. Consequently, the fading significance of the *praenomen* in the early empire led to the frequent emergence of a new *duo nomina* consisting of the *nomen* and *cognomen*. By the third century CE, however, even the significance of the *nomen* was being diluted, and increasingly formed from *cognomina*. By the fourth century CE, Wilson states that, "the *gentilicium* as such had become almost extinct among the mass of the population", being reserved in use by a small group of elites and magistrates.<sup>62</sup> Salway has shown that the *cognomen* took on both a diacritic and gentilic significance, and he attributes this to the practice of foreign enfranchisees adopting Roman names.<sup>63</sup> In many cases, female *praenomina* began to be used as *cognomina*, also carrying diacritic and gentilic meaning.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Livy, 1.56.8. Livy. *The Early History of Rome. Books I-V of The History of Rome from Its Foundation*. Harmondsworth, Eng: Penguin, 1971.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming*, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 144-145.

<sup>64</sup> Mika Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*, (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 1995), 217, 222

## Onomastic evidence

### *The first duo nomina*

The transition from *duo nomina* to *tria nomina* is significant for observing Romanization in Spain. In *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, Leonard Curchin has compiled a list of magistrates throughout the Hispanic provinces. Though Curchin professes not to have attempted “a precise chronological sequence”, he has provided dates where available, thereby making it possible to create a chronological arrangement.<sup>65</sup> The first appearances of Latin names are Tiberius and Lucius, from Emporion in Tarraconensis, dating from 199-150 BCE. It is important to note that these are *praenomina* and that they are the only portions of the name attested. Furthermore, though they are Latin and Roman names, Curchin notes that they were written in the Iberian script, denoting an imitation of the Roman newcomers.<sup>66</sup> The first Roman names in Latin script appear around 120-90 BCE (see Appendix A), and are all in the form of *duo nomina*, in this case mainly *praenomina* and *nomina*. Examples include Cornelius Niger, L. Aemilius, M. Iunius, M. Fulvius, C. Aelius, and C. Cornelius.<sup>67</sup> Nearly all these names are found throughout the province of Hispania Citerior and held by individuals labeled *magistrati* in one form or another (e.g. *aediles* or *quaestores*). The best explanation is that such figures were indigenous elites, who, as office holders of some sort, dealt with Roman officials and took Roman names. Many of these names bear noble *gentilicia*, such as Iunius, Aemilius, and Cornelius, which would not likely be represented in the form of the *duo nomina*, since these prestigious families would most often bear the *tria nomina*. They would not likely be Italian immigrants, since, as Curchin points out, it was not until after the

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<sup>65</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 86

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 204

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 158, 196

Social War (91-88 BCE) that Roman citizenship was granted throughout the Italian peninsula via the *Lex Iulia* and *Lex Plautia Papiria*. Badian goes even farther, noting that the enfranchisement of provincials does not become common until after the Social War.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, any immigrants to Spain from Italy before 88 BCE would not be Roman citizens as these noble names imply.<sup>69</sup> Curchin and Tsirkin similarly note that there was not a serious amount of immigration to Spain from Italy until the career of Caesar.<sup>70</sup> This leaves soldiers, governors, and generals as the only possible source of Roman citizenry on the peninsula before 90 BCE. As Tsirkin has shown, soldiers are not likely to have been a prime factor in Romanization, since he found that they would often settle in an “already deeply Romanized zone” when discharged.<sup>71</sup> The best explanation, then, is that these magistrates were indigenous elites taking Roman names. This is no surprise to Curchin who observed that local elites would profess their citizenship or *romanitas* by using Roman names.

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<sup>68</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 261-263. According to Badian, the civil wars gave provincials the opportunity to exercise the connections to their patron. The rise of the importance of the Italians provided the opportunity for the rise of the provincials.

<sup>69</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 87

<sup>70</sup> Plutarch does mention in his biography of Sertorius that the Roman general did establish contacts and raise troops from the Roman settlers in Spain. He does, however, reference native Spaniards more so than Roman settlers. While it would be erroneous to go so far as to describe the presence of Roman settlers as negligible, it should be noted that the Plutarch frequently refers to Sertorius' ability to win the loyalty of native Spaniards. (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 6.9) While Sertorius did arm Roman soldiers, Plutarch's description of the Sertorian army in Spain lists “twenty-six hundred men whom he called Romans, and a motley band of seven hundred Libyans who crossed over into Lusitania with him, to whom he added four thousand Lusitanian targeteers and seven hundred horsemen.” (Plut. Sert. 12.2) In none of this does Plutarch explicitly describe Roman troops under Sertorius' command. Instead, these seem to be native troops that Sertorius has trained to fight in the Roman fashion. Furthermore, it should be noted that the vast majority of true Roman troops that Sertorius eventually had at his disposal came from the fifty-cohorts cohorts Perpenna Vento brought across the Pyrenees from Italy. (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 15.2) The scant references to Roman settlers and the prevalent references to Sertorius' relationship with native Spaniards allude to a relatively low level of Rome immigration to Spain at this time.

<sup>71</sup> J. B. Tsirkin, “The Veterans and the Romanization of Spain,” 147

Particularly, as the names Aemilius and Cornelius suggest, native elites were taking the names of powerful Roman generals who served in Spain. As previously mentioned, Brunt agrees with this, seeing local elites as eager candidates for Romanization in an effort to augment their own positions.<sup>72</sup> Also, Badian has noted that some enfranchisees were granted citizenship en masse by commanders without authorization of the Senate, as a way displaying their *auctoritas*.<sup>73</sup>

### *Filiations*

By the early first century BCE a progressive increase in the use of the filiation is apparent, where an individual indicates his or her relation to the father (see Appendix B). An abbreviated form is used, placed after the *nomen*, where the father's name is mentioned in the genitive followed by the abbreviated form of *filius* (son) or *filia* (daughter). As a further mark of specificity, Iiro Kajanto has observed that the use of filiations denote that an enfranchisee that was not a freed slave.<sup>74</sup> For example, a M. Popillius M. f. served as a magistrate in Castulo, Tarraconensis, during the first century BCE.<sup>75</sup> Here, "M. f." would represent M(arci) f(ilius), or "son of Marcus". Filiations on inscriptions with indigenous names are also prevalent in the early first century BCE. In the year 87 in particular there are six magistrates in Contrebria Balaisca bearing purely indigenous names but using the Roman style of filiation.

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<sup>72</sup> P.A. Brunt, *The Romanization of the Local Ruling Classes in the Roman Empire*, 276.

<sup>73</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 259-261

<sup>74</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (Helsinki, Helsingfors: Societas scientiarum Fennica, 1967.), 25

<sup>75</sup> Leonard Curchin. *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 197. Curchin has also noted that some filiations refer the father's *cognomen* instead of his *praenomen*. He says such an occurrence would indicate that the father probably had no *praenomen* to use, thus suggesting that the son or daughter could be among the first generation of Roman enfranchisement for his or her family.

Curchin has noted that indigenous filiations would also reference the *praenomen* of the father, if such a *praenomen* existed. As an example, Segilus Annicum Lubbi f. displays his filiation to his father, Lubbus.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, it is significant to note that all six of the magistrates in Contrebia in the year 87 bore indigenous *gentilium*,<sup>77</sup> which Curchin has indicated by the use of the *-qum/cum* indigenous suffix in the *nomen* (e.g. Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f.).<sup>78</sup> And so, while the names are distinctly indigenous in origin, their arrangement conforms perfectly to the standards of the Roman *duo nomina* and the filiation. Therefore, with the surge of *duo nomina* from 120-90 BCE, the rise of the filiation in the early first century, and the persistence of indigenous names, we are able to perceive a native culture integrating itself into the alien Roman culture, while preserving many indigenous characteristics, thus giving an early indication of an emergent *provincial culture* that was neither Roman nor purely Iberian.<sup>79</sup>

### *Voting Tribes*

In the second half of the first century BCE, there is a veritable explosion of inscriptions of magistrates bearing Roman names (see Appendix C). The aforementioned developments continued here, revealing some magistrates bearing only a *nomen*, a few purely indigenous names, a preponderance of *duo nomina*, and even more filiations. New developments in this half of the century are the rise of the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 202. For five of the magistrates, the names are: Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f., Lesso Siriscum Lubbi f., Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f., Segilus Annicum Lubbi., and Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f. The inscription bearing the name of the sixth magistrate is highly fragmented, but reads, ...atu[s] ...ulovicum Uxenti f.

<sup>78</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 201

<sup>79</sup> It is also worthy to note that the first century BCE mark the first mention of a M. Trahius C.f., which Curchin postulates could be a precursor to Traianus. (Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 234.)

*tria nomina* and the use of the Roman voting tribes. The use of the voting tribe is useful for indicating citizenship, since tribal designations represent incorporation into the Roman voting system. Furthermore, the appearance of Roman tribal names helps establish a chronology for the body of inscriptions, since, for example, the tribe of Galeria may indicate enfranchisement under Caesar or Augustus, both members of the Galerian tribe, while the use of Quirina suggests grants of citizenship under the Flavians. Many magistrates who received citizenship may have displayed their corresponding tribal affiliation as a way to boast of their association with their Roman benefactors. From the years 99-50 BCE, the 23 magisterial inscriptions revealed only two *tria nomina*, and only one name bearing a tribal designation. The two names are L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Niger, bearing the tribal designation Galeria, and L. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Balbus Minor.<sup>80</sup> In the second half of the first century, however, names of ten of the 184 magistrates include voting tribes. Galeria and Quirina are indeed the most commonly attested tribal designations found in Spain, with Galeria appearing 46 times, while Quirina is used 30 times in Curchin's catalog. In regards to their frequent use, Curchin says that it

demonstrates that magistrates were not Italian immigrants but indigenes who were not receiving the citizenship until the Principate. 280 magistrates, or some 28 percent, indicate their tribe. Whether they do so merely by convention, or for ostentation, or as deliberate proof of citizenship, is a moot point. But none of these explanations accounts for those magistrates in cities where Roman citizenship was automatic for magistrates, yet who do not list their tribe. Obviously they had one; their silence suggests that it was not considered necessary to state it.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 146, 164. These two names are L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Niger, bearing the tribal designation Galeria, and L. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Balbus Minor, the nephew of the famous L. Cornelius Balbus, enfranchised by Pompey (Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 42).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 99

As with the prevalent *duo nomina* bearing noble Roman *gentilicia* from 120-90 BCE, the appearance of the voting tribe shows that these bearers of tribal designations were not immigrants, but newly enfranchised citizens.

Of the seventeen appearances of the voting tribe from 49-1 BCE, thirteen are used with the *tria nomina*. The use of the voting tribe together with the *duo nomina* is extremely rare (and never used prior to 49 BCE), but does occur on four instances from 49-1 BCE, thus showing at least the possibility of their combined use. As Curchin has said, the absence of voting tribes in the prevalent *duo nomina* indicates that it was not a requirement; moreover, it would seem not even to be popular. The increase of voting tribes taken in the second half of the first century BCE (especially in regards to those four *duo nomina* bearing tribal designation) and the undeniable variation in their use would denote volition. Curchin has suggested that new citizens by this time preferred to choose their own *nomen* rather than take that of the current emperors. Also, taking the emperor's *nomen* might have otherwise suggested an undesirable servile origin since it was common for freedman or those of the emperor's household.<sup>82</sup> The preceding points demonstrate that provincials took aspects of the Roman nomenclature at will, and furthermore points to certain naming components (e.g. voting tribes) appearing in correlation to periods of enfranchisement, such as with Caesar or Vespasian.

### *The tria nomina*

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<sup>82</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 203-204

Corresponding to the rise in of the voting tribe is the increase in the appearance of the *tria nomina*. Evidence for the first half of the first century BCE is surprisingly sparse in comparison to the plentiful number of inscriptions from the preceding and following 50 years. While there are four instances of *tria nomina* in the years 120-90 BCE, it is difficult to establish a trend due to the paucity of comparable inscriptions of the next 50 years (99-50 BCE). Nevertheless, while the *duo nomina* is still predominant, the second half of the first century BCE (49-1 BCE) reveals 50 uses of the *tria nomina* among the 184 total inscriptions. Again, it is important to remember that, where the voting tribe was used in this period, use of the *tria nomina* seems to rise alongside it. While the nomenclature of the previous two centuries for Spanish magistrates seems rather static or slow in progression, these new changes in nomenclature would likely correspond to the mass grants of citizenship under Caesar and Augustus.

The *tria nomina* significantly rises in frequency in the first half of the first century CE, where, out of 198 magisterial inscriptions found, 125 (around 60%) bear the *tria nomina* (see Appendix D). The *tria nomina*'s newfound preeminence did not preclude the persistence of other onomastic variations, however. During this time, the voting tribe continued to rise in usage, with the tribe of Galeria maintaining the lead, representing all but two other tribal attestations (the two exceptions being that of Sergia and Falerna, each mentioned only once). There was still a rise in the use of filiations corresponding to that of the *tria nomina*. Also, though fewer, there were then still a significant number of *duo nomina*, such as at Calagurris in Tarraconensis, where five out of eight of the magistrates for the first 37 years of the first century CE

bore *duo nomina*.<sup>83</sup> There is also a notable amount of inscriptions bearing only one name, such as Compostus or Marullus in Osca, also in Tarraconensis. From the reign of Augustus to that of Caligula, eight of fourteen magistrates in Osca used only a single name.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, while the different naming components (filiations, voting tribes, *duo/tria nomina*, etc.) continue, there are varying ways in which they are used in combination, with no apparent set standard. As examples, C. Calvisius Aeonis f. Fal. Sabinus uses an indigenous filiation;<sup>85</sup> while L. Octavius M. f. Silvanus does not even use a tribe, sporting a suspiciously noble *nomen*;<sup>86</sup> C. Cornelius Maximus Valentinus uses an *agnomen*;<sup>87</sup> M. Aelius Maxumus uses neither the filiation nor voting tribe, even misspelling "Maximus";<sup>88</sup> C. Valerius Icesta uses an indigenous cognomen;<sup>89</sup> while only Cn. Baebius Cn. f. Gal. Geminus uses the full Roman nomenclature.<sup>90</sup> The variations demonstrate that provincials saw Roman nomenclature as a tool, and chose whichever aspects aided in their (perceived) display of *romanitas*.

In the second half of the first century CE (50-99 CE), the *tria nomina* establishes true dominance. Out of 65 magistraterial inscriptions, 61 bear the *tria nomina*. Many of these inscriptions can be dated to the Flavian period (See Appendix E), with magistrates showing the tribal affiliation of Quirina (the same tribe of which the

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<sup>83</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 192. The magistrates are: L. Valentinus, L. Novus, L. Fulvius Sparsus, L. Saturninus, C. Celer, C. Rectus, L. Valerius Flavius, and T. Valerius Merula.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 216-217. These men bearing one name were: Compostus, Marullus, Sparsus, Caecilianus, Hospes, Florus, Quietus, and Peregrinus.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 155

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 221

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 217

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 187

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 221

Flavians were apart), and many settlements marked as *municipia Flavia*. This would correspond with the Flavian grant in 73 CE of *ius Latii* to many Spanish settlements. As a result of this new avenue for citizenship, Richardson observes a distinct rise in the *tria nomina* and the use of the voting tribes.<sup>91</sup> According to Salway, “the *tria nomina* marked one apart as the possessor of certain privileges, which was motivation enough for the ex-peregrines to hand down their *nomina* like native Italians.” The *tria nomina* remained the chief method for displaying citizenship and *romanitas* until the universal grant of citizenship under Caracalla’s *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE.<sup>92</sup>

#### *Agnomina and Titular Names*

Augustus’ victory at Actium in 33 BCE ushered in the *Pax Romana*, a period of peace and prosperity in the empire lasting for nearly 200 years. While this period of relative tranquility enabled Romanization to progress unabated, allowing for different uses of the Roman nomenclature to evolve, many new naming variations appeared that were not at all part of the traditional Roman nomenclature. One of these variations is the rise of titular names, meaning names that seemingly bear no filial function, but are actual labels describing the name bearer, though used as a name (see Appendix F). In this case, the “titular *cognomen*,” behaves in much the same way as an *agnomen*. As Iiro Kajanto noted, “The term *agnomen* was current in Latin to designate an individual name given to a person later in life for some particular

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<sup>91</sup> J. S. Richardson, *The Romans in Spain*, 195-197. Richardson notes two forms of the *ius Latii* that were granted, the greater Latin right (*Latium maius*) and the lesser Latin right (*Latium minus*). In the greater right, all *decuriones* (city council) and their children were granted citizenship, while in the lesser right only magistrates gained citizenship.

<sup>92</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 133

reason."<sup>93</sup> While *agnomina* could take the form of honorifics, Kajanto shows that they could also serve as labels for occupation, ethnicity, or status. Also, Kajanto has found that 26% of *agnomina* derived from barbarian names, which adds credence to the possible relationship between *agnomina* and indigenes, especially in the provinces.<sup>94</sup> The name Optatus, or "chosen", marks its first appearance in the first century as a *cognomen* for L. Catinius Optatus, a legate for the city of Iptuci, Baetica, 31 CE.<sup>95</sup> Very likely, Optatus could indicate a person "chosen" to receive citizenship. According to the *OPEL*, Optatus appears 66 times in Spain, and indeed seemed to be quite popular, only surpassed in number by the 87 inscriptions bearing the name in Italy.<sup>96</sup> Another titular name that makes its Spanish debut in the first century, is that of Peregrinus, meaning "foreigner", which was found in Osca and dates to the reign of Tiberius. Peregrinus is most commonly found in Spain, occurring 22 times, with its only rival being the 14 appearances in Italy.<sup>97</sup> The word Peregrinus reflects the mentality of "not like us" in a Roman province. Whether the name was used as a label by a Roman to describe a native Iberian, or that of an indigene describing a Roman, the term all the same implies that the Roman and provincial cultures were not synonymous with each other. Furthermore, the examples of Celtiber, Hispanus, and Baeticus demonstrate individuals using the Latin language and Roman nomenclature to indicate that they are not Romans. Hispanus occurs fourteen times in Spain, while Baeticus appears four times.<sup>98</sup> Salway has shown that enfranchised peregrines or freedmen would retain diacritic names in the form of *cognomina*.<sup>99</sup> As

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<sup>93</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina*, 6

<sup>94</sup> *Idid.*, 16

<sup>95</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 150

<sup>96</sup> *OPEL* vol. 3, 116

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 132

<sup>98</sup> Baeticus, *OPEL* vol. 1, 262 and Hispanus, *OPEL* vol. 2, 183.

<sup>99</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 128-130

an example, M. Licinius L. f. Quir. Celtiber shows a full Roman nomenclature, but has no qualms in announcing through his *cognomen* that he is a Celtiberian, even in the second century CE.<sup>100</sup> While Celtiber is certainly not a personal name, it resembles the diacritic as a mark of individual distinction, in this case as a mark of indigeneity.

### *Toponyms*

Kajanto has noted that ethnic labels are often designations of native places. Curchin sees evidence of topographical relationship between some names and cities, citing the example of the Baebii, hailing from Tarraconensis.<sup>101</sup> Another example is that of C. Norbanus Flaccus who founded the colony of Norba Caesarina in 35-34 BCE (see Appendix G).<sup>102</sup> The *CIL* and HAE list 34 individuals bearing the *nomen* Norbanus, attested in many names on inscriptions found on the site of Norba, Hispania Ulterior. Take as examples Norbanus Saturninus (HAE 942) and Norbana Q. f. Secunda (HAE 680). There are several different variations of the names found, ranging from different *cognomina*, lack of *praenomina*, and evidence of indigenous linguistic roots in some names. The one common factor appears to be the *nomen*, Norbanus, and the proximity to the colony of Norba. While names were certainly connected to an individual patron or founder of a settlement, it is nevertheless clear that the inhabitants of these geographical areas began to be associated with their place of origin, and that their names reflected this association. Badian also sees the same

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<sup>100</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 179

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 96

<sup>102</sup> J. B. Tsirkin, "The Veterans and the Romanization of Spain," 142

patterns with some settlements, noting that the *nomina* of the founders of colonies become prevalent in the vicinity of the settlements.<sup>103</sup>

### *Matrilineal Use of the Adoptive Suffix*

The adoptive *cognomen*, represented by the suffix *-ianus*, forms an integral part of this study, as it is frequently used as a matronymic in Hispano-Roman inscriptions (see Appendix H). Curchin notes that the Romans did not even use patrilineal names, relying instead on the filiation.<sup>104</sup> As Salway has noted, the filiation in Roman names always appended to the patronym, and never to the matronym, demonstrating a clear and rigidly established onomastic pattern. Salway also used the example of M. Tullius Cicero, whose name bore no matrilineal onomastic influence, illustrating the exclusivity of patrilineal influence in Roman nomenclature, even late in the Republic.<sup>105</sup> A matronymic cognomen formed by the adoptive suffix, then, denotes a significant deviation from the Roman naming system. At its most basic and traditional use, an adopted person would take the *nomen* and *cognomen* of his new family, and modify his former gentilicium with the *-ianus* suffix. A prime example comes from the Cornelian clan. While Polybius does not specify the date, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of the famous Africanus, adopted the son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (born in 185 BCE). The former son of Aemilius thereafter changed his name to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, and would emerge as a leading member in the opposition against the Gracchi. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, in his *Two Studies in*

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<sup>103</sup> E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 264

<sup>104</sup> Leonard Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 202

<sup>105</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 126-127. Salway goes on to say that the metronymic filiation was common in Etruscan practice. This demonstrates that the Romans were aware of their own cultural distinction in regards to their neighbors. Therefore, deviations from patrilineal nomenclature could suggest the integration of a foreign culture, or the emergence of a new provincial culture.

*Roman Nomenclature*, noted that the aforementioned use of the *-ianus* suffix was common in most adoptions until the second century BCE.<sup>106</sup> According to Olli Salomies, however, the practice of adding an *agnomen* formed with the *-ianus* suffix was the most common form of adoptions.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, by the reign of Augustus this practice was no longer the common standard and certain variations in the use of the adoptive suffix had emerged. Shackleton Bailey notes that adoptive suffixes were also used to denote close friendships, references to patrons by clients, or toponymic references.<sup>108</sup>

Kajanto, in his study of *agnomina* noted that, "in many relevant cases one name came from the mother, the other from the father."<sup>109</sup> Robert Knapp also observed that, while the possibility of adoption is not at all precluded in the occurrences of adoptive suffixes, "the custom of making the mother's *nomen* into the offspring's *cognomen* is well attested". Furthermore Knapp says that, "the *-ianus* ending, then, seems often to be related to the mother's name".<sup>110</sup> Salomies speaks with more certainty, stating that children would often take their father's *nomen* and form a *cognomen* from their mother's *nomen*, and that "*cognomina* in *-ianus* formed from *nomina* are certainly more often maternal (or inherited from some other relative) than

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<sup>106</sup> D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (University Park, Pa., American Philological Association, 1976), 53

<sup>107</sup> Olli Salomies *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*. (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1992.), 11. Salomies has noted several formulae for adoptions in his study. This particular formula appears as "Pad + Nad + Cad + C(ianus)," showing that all names of the adopted father were assumed, while the original *cognomen* could be persevered, yet modified with the *-ianus* suffix.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 54

<sup>109</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina*, 34

<sup>110</sup> Robert C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992), 393-394.

adoptive.”<sup>111</sup> By Augustus' reign, the Romans had held Spain for nearly 200 years. Given this duration then, indigenous practices had the time to adapt to the Roman presence, and native customs had seeped into many Roman practices, at least in regard to Romans living in the provinces. The *CIL* provides an abundance of such evidence, and it will be useful to mention several of these matrilineal instances to prove their significance.<sup>112</sup>

For the purposes of dating, Knapp has found chronological patterns in several dedicatory phrases found on inscriptions. The formula *Dis Manibus Sacrum* (DMS), “sacred to the Infernal Spirits”, began to be used in the Augustan period, became increasingly popular in the Flavian period, but fell out of style around the third century. The variant lacking the word *sacrum* appears near the second century.<sup>113</sup> The phrase, *hic situs/a est* (HSE), “here he/she lies”, would indicate a date of “the first half of the first century (1-49) CE”.<sup>114</sup> While Knapp is admittedly uncertain, he speculates that the formulae *faciendum curavit* (FC), “saw to it that it be made”, *fecit* (F), “made”, *posuit* (P), “placed”, and *poniendum curavit* (PC), “saw to it that it be placed”, could refer to the late second century CE.<sup>115</sup> In each instance it will be important to take note that the child, usually the son, will take the mother's *nomen* (or less frequently, the *cognomen*), modify it with the *-ianus* suffix, and use it as a *cognomen*. While still bearing the father's *nomen*, this new *cognomen* (marked by *-ianus*) preserves the attested relation to the mother as well. This is a distinct breach

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<sup>111</sup> Olli Salomies *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*, 63-65, 85

<sup>112</sup> Geza Alföldy, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* (Berolini: De Gruyter, 1993).

<sup>113</sup> Robert C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, 356-357

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 364

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 364

from the Roman custom, where the son would usually take both the father's *nomen* and *cognomen*.

1. In Eborac, Lusitania, a tomb was dedicated to Canidia Albina, who was the mother of Catinius Canidianus. The formulae DM and F would suggest a date ranging the entirety of the second century CE. (*CIL II* 111)
2. In Olisipo, Lusitania, Q. Cassius Arrianus used the adoptive suffix to preserve the relation to his mother, Arria Avita. The inscription begins with the phrase, *in memoriam*, which Knapp sees as evidence of the fading use of the DM(S) formula, thus suggesting a date of beginning in the third century CE.<sup>116</sup> (*CIL II* 204)
3. In Pollentia, Tarraconensis, Vibius Manilianus took the adoptive *cognomen* of his mother, Manilia Fabiana. The use of the word *posuit* could indicate a date around the late second century CE (*CIL II* 3698)
4. In Iluro, Baetica, C. Fabius Vibianus took the adoptive *cognomen* of his mother, Vibia Lucana. There is no evidence that would suggest a date. (*CIL II* 1947)
5. In Tudae, in the Conventus Bracaraugustanus, on the border of Lusitania and Tarraconensis, T. Cananius Marcellianus took the *cognomen* of his mother, Fabia Marcella. It is significant to note here that Cananius took his mother's *cognomen* as opposed to her *nomen*. The inscription ends with the formula FC, which could indicate a date in the late second century CE. (*CIL II* 5614)
6. In Hispalis, Baetica, Q. Pomponius Sabinianus took the name of his mother, Claudia Sabina. Again, Pomponius took his mother's *cognomen*

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 357

as opposed to her *nomen*. Knapp observed that the mention of the Roman voting tribe in a name, in this case *Sergia*, would indicate a date from the first to early second century CE.<sup>117</sup> (*CIL II* 1188)

Another interesting development is that of the “double *nomen*/adoptive-*cognomen*,” seen in the example, L. Caesius Caesianus (*CIL II* 5190). While this particular example is easily solved, since the mother, Caesia Vernacla Liberta, is mentioned on the dedication, other examples lacking the same evidence can seem anomalous. Olli Salomies has noted that a double *nomen* usually consists of both the maternal and paternal *nomina*, though this does not account for the repetition in the above example.<sup>118</sup> Iiro Kajanto and Mika Kajava have seen, however, that both husband and wife could share the same *nomen* under certain circumstances, such as being slaves who were manumitted by the same master.<sup>119</sup> Kajava has also shown that enfranchised soldiers would pass on their new *nomen* to their wife and children. These observations offer probable explanations to peculiar but frequent examples such as L. Iulius L. f. Gal. Iulianus (*CIL II* 267), L. Herennius Herennianus (*CIL II* 1332), and L. Licinius Licinianus (*CIL II*<sup>2</sup>/5, 733). None of the dedications bearing these names attest to the identity of the mother, but it is likely that the mother and father shared the same *nomen* through simultaneous manumission or enfranchisement, thus enabling the mother to pass on her *nomen* to the son in the of a cognomen with a *-ianus* suffix.

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 384

<sup>118</sup> Olli Salomies *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*, 62-63.

<sup>119</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina*, 63 and Mika Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*: 227

It is necessary to concede that the vast majority of inscriptions studied, which bear the adoptive suffix, do not indicate the proliferation of matrilineal use in Spain, but this is not a detraction. The absence of definitive proof is not due to contradictory evidence, but to the fact that most of the inscriptions studied do not indicate any particular filial relation at all in the adoptive *cognomen*. The lack of conclusive evidence is the norm when examining the inscriptions, thus making any useable evidence a significant occurrence. When evidence did present itself (out of the 750 inscriptions studied), between the use of the patrilineal and matrilineal *-ianus* suffix, the matrilineal occurred more often by a margin of 40%. In such a way, despite the dearth of conclusive evidence in the other inscriptions, this indicates an emergent trend in Spain.

### *Indigenous Names*

Finally, the persistence of indigenous naming customs is best demonstrated by the persistence of indigenous names themselves (See Appendix I). While indigenous names became less common, many did survive, and changed or modified their endings to fit more easily into the Roman nomenclature. Kajanto agrees, stating that, while an individual name may have been retained, it could have been changed in order to make a more outward show of the indigene's Roman nomenclature.<sup>120</sup> As Curchin has already noted, the indigenous Iberian gentilic is marked by the suffixes *-cum*, *-qum*, *-iqum*, or *-oqum*. Upon acquiring citizenship, however, indigenes would often change the suffix of their *nomen*, using the Roman version marked by the *-ius* suffix.<sup>121</sup> Examples include Craegius (though this name has Celtic influence) from

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<sup>120</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina*, 25

<sup>121</sup> Leonad Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 206

Maggava, Tarraconensis in the year 14 CE,<sup>122</sup> and the *aedile*, Bergius Seranus, from Clunia in the early first century CE.<sup>123</sup> James Anderson has noted that the Iberian language was remarkably adaptable, seen in its ability to adopt the Greek script and many Celtic elements.<sup>124</sup> So, while many pure names did change, the Iberian language proved resilient in preserving stems of indigenous names. As examples, we can see Blandus/a, Ambatus/a, and Camalus/a, which have significantly changed form, but are derived from native Iberian names.<sup>125</sup> Anderson has indeed identified these *cognomina* as having indigenous origins, citing the prevalent *Bland-*, *Amb-*, and *Camal-* stems in Iberian writing. For example, according to the *OPEL*, Ambatus appears 70 times in Spain,<sup>126</sup> while Camalus appears 49 times.<sup>127</sup> Other Hispano-Roman names appear to be linked to certain indigenous stems. The *Seg-* stem, for instance, appears in place names such as Segobriga,<sup>128</sup> but also in names such as Segontius Ambati Vecti f. (*CIL II* 2956) or Segontius Obione (*CIL II* 5808). Moreover, the stem *Coss-* forms the basis for varying names, such as Candide Cossouquum (*CIL II* 2847), which retains the indigenous gentilic, or M. Cossutius Macrinus (*CIL II* 174), which adopts the Roman *-ius* gentilic suffix. Another indigenous stem, *Bod-* appears in such names as Boderus Bodives Doideri f. (*CIL II* 5711) and M. Horatius M. f. Gal. Bodonilur (*CIL II* 2114). Elizabeth Richert, citing religious votive inscriptions, has noted that the *Coss-* and *Bod-* stems derived from Iberian warrior deities Cosus and Bodus. Even the *Seg-* stem is related to the

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 215

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 234

<sup>124</sup> James Maxwell Anderson, *Ancient Languages of the Hispanic Peninsula* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988.), 9-11.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 94

<sup>126</sup> *OPEL* vol. 1, 90-01.

<sup>127</sup> *OPEL* vol. 2, 27

<sup>128</sup> James Maxwell Anderson, *Ancient Languages of the Hispanic Peninsula.*, 95

Germanic root *seghos*, meaning “victory”.<sup>129</sup> Such examples demonstrate that, while names did change and adapt over time, many elements of the indigenous culture were preserved and had fully integrated themselves into the Roman naming custom. Moreover, the previously mentioned variations in nomenclature continued. Some indigenous names are incorporated into the *tria nomina*, such as C. Iulius Blandus (*CIL II* 3762) or L. Postumius Ambatus (*CIL II* 4024); some into the *duo nomina* using the filiation, such as Letondo Segossoquum Melmandi f. (*CIL II* 570) or Ambata Albauca Segovetis f. (*CIL II* 2855); while many are used as a single *nomen* with a filiation, such as Camalus Avelli f. (*CIL II* 2550) or Camala Tai. f. (*HAE* 1098).

This study has demonstrated the utility of using onomastics to contribute to existing discussions of Romanization. Anderson has deemed onomastic studies insufficient to prove the persistence of the indigenous culture, pointing to the dearth of linguistic evidence in Roman names. While Anderson is correct in regards to onomastics' inability to provide a complete picture of Romanization, he relies too heavily on linguistic evidence as a component of naming practices. While Salway has stated that the number of *nomina* formed from indigenous elements is small, the spread of famous and noble Roman names is also a useful contribution to a discussion of Romanization.<sup>130</sup> This study has also shown that onomastics goes beyond linguistic stems, instead requiring the examination of elements of hybridization and the actual customs for choosing names. In studying the religious aspects of Romanization, Elizabeth Richert believes that the indigenous deities “persisted with great vitality

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<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth A. Richert, *Native Religion Under Roman Domination: Deities, Springs, and Mountains in the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005.), 12

<sup>130</sup> Benet Salway, "What's in a Name?", 130

into the Roman period".<sup>131</sup> While Richert's study focused on the northwestern portion of Spain, the appearances of the *bod-* and *coss-* stems in personal names throughout the rest of the peninsula (specifically, Baetica and Tarraconensis) demonstrate that indigenous elements persisted through the medium of personal names.

The use of onomastics as a way to view cultural integration is not limited to Spain, however, nor is it limited to the Roman period. Gisela Ripoll Lopez, for example, has seen that, "In the initial stages of Visigothic settlement some Visigothic individuals may well have adopted names of Greek or Latin origin, in view of the cultural superiority and prestige of Roman culture". Such evidence for acculturation was temporary, however, as Germanic names gradually reemerged, "certain signs of identity thus being recovered".<sup>132</sup> In the Seleucid Empire, many local satraps made a conscious effort to take Greek names in emulation of the Macedonian ruling class, such as Anu-uballit, or Nikarchos, the Seleucid governor of Uruk during the reign of Antiochus II.<sup>133</sup> Even in thirteenth century southern Italy, Alex Metcalf sees evidence of the Latinization, or what he calls, "south-Italianization", of some Muslims. The onomastic evidence shows many Muslims adopting Frankish and Christian names, such as Richard, Roger, Matthew, and John, which suggests cultural integration.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Elizabeth Richert, *Native Religion Under Roman Domination*, 17

<sup>132</sup> Gisela Ripoll Lopez, "The Arrival of the Visigoths in Hispania," in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, ed. Walter Pohl with Helmut Reimitz, 166.

<sup>133</sup> Amelie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, *From Samarkand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1993), 153

<sup>134</sup> Alex Metcalf, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.), 290.

And so, as the preceding evidence has shown, local elites in Spain took and left aspects of the Roman name at will in order to meet their own ostentatious desires to display their *romanitas*. These elites in many ways displayed their Romanness more fervently than the Romans themselves. Furthermore, this study has identified the emergence of new names that were certainly not part of the traditional Roman nomenclature, while highlighting further differences in the use of toponyms, lineal suffixes, and persisting indigenous stems. Such evidence shows that Romanization was not an effortless process, and that many indigenes chose aspects of the Roman nomenclature solely for the perceived use in their native society. And so, the selective adoption of Roman names demonstrates that the provincial culture saw the Roman presence as a new, but permanent addition to Iberian society. All of this points to a specific type of Romanization known as the *Integration Model*, where the active cultural exchange between Romans and indigenes is apparent, spawning a third hybrid culture. Some native elements were retained, while others were cast aside, with the same happening in regards to the Roman culture. Kajava states that natives and provincials may have been unfamiliar with Roman naming practices, seen in some of the deviations from traditional nomenclature in the provinces.<sup>135</sup> While the prevalence of literacy is unclear in Roman provinces, A. T. Fear has shown, through examples of *Grammatici Latini* in Spain, that elites even from the time of Sertorius were eager to immerse themselves and their children in proper Roman education.<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, what counted was showing citizenship and sounding Roman. The criteria for this display, however, were not static, but fluid. Subsequently, the new culture that emerged was neither purely indigenous nor

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<sup>135</sup> Mika Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*, 245

<sup>136</sup> A. T. Fear, "A Latin Master from Roman Spain". *Greece & Rome*. 42, no. 1: 58, p. 63-64.

purely Roman, sharing characteristics of each, but standing distinctly on its own. Greg Woolf has noted the relative autonomy that provincial societies held when integrating selected aspects of Roman culture into their own. Romanization, to Woolf, was the process by which people began to see themselves as Roman. Culture is shared to gain meaning and identity, and this sharing occurs through conventions and associations, not rules. Indigenous societies are able to change convention, reform them, accept them, or abandon them at will.<sup>137</sup> Native populations are active participants in this process. This is an aspect of the *provincial culture*, of the Hispano-Romans, a group that seemed to say of itself, "I am both Iberian and Roman".

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<sup>137</sup> Greg Woolf, . *Becoming Roman*, 7-12

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