

INTRODUCTION

A CATALOG OF NAMES

The original impetus for this study was an attempt to discover the names of unknown governors of Creta-Cyrenae by collecting and analyzing the Roman names of Cretans, whose citizenship could have been sponsored, brokered or mediated by a proconsul. Over the course of more than 40 years, this study evolved from one that looks downward from the top to one that looks upward from the bottom, to trace the Italian origins or connections of Cretans who bore non-imperial Roman nomina, and to trace those who bore imperial nomina and cognomina without associated nomina, in their social and economic context.

The ideal date range for such a study extends from the beginning of the Roman presence in Crete in the second century BCE to the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, which forever changed the significance of Roman names in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹ Such precision is not possible when the evidence is not always precisely datable; in the interests of completeness names as early as the 3rd century BCE and as late as the 3rd century are included, with the exception of Cretan Aurelii, as it is not possible to distinguish between those who share the nomen of M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus and those who bore this nomen as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana*.²

The evidence for this study is dominantly epigraphical, including a significant number of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, whether found on or beyond Crete.³ Most recently, the publication of the inscriptions commemorating delegations to the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros in Asia Minor contributed a great many Roman names for choirs and their leaders from Crete, particularly from

1. All dates are in the common era unless so designated (BCE).

2. Compare Salomies 2006, 91, and Camia 2013, 168.

3. Roman names were cataloged through 2022; names published after that date will be mentioned in the text, when appropriate, but not included in the catalog.

Hierapytna but also from Lappa and Kydonia.⁴ In addition to the epigraphical evidence there is a significant amount of information derived from the field of numismatics, most recently the first three volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage*.⁵ Ancient literary sources and modern prosopographical studies further contribute to the assembly of a catalog of Roman names for Crete and Cretans.

In the catalog below, shared nomina and cognomina are listed together, regardless of gender, to facilitate comparison; non-Cretans are listed before Cretan men and women, in alphabetical order;⁶ entries for non-Cretans are marked by an asterisk (*). In order to facilitate onomastic comparisons, Roman officials and administrators who are not attested on or in connection with Crete appear in an Appendix. References to the Catalog and Appendix take the form of bold numbers, the Appendix distinguished as below. Emperors and members of the imperial family bear – in chronological order – the nomina Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Ulpus, Aelius, Aurelius, and Septimius; the trusted lieutenant and heir of Augustus (325), Agrippa, was a Vipsanius (624); women of the imperial family are listed as the sources name them, with their full name given in parentheses.⁷ Roman officials and functionaries, both republican and imperial, include those active on Crete before Augustus;⁸ proconsuls of the imperial period⁹ and their legates,

4. Ferrary 2014.

5. *RPC* I, II, and III.

6. Non-Cretans whose names are not even partially preserved are not included in the catalog below, as they cannot make any contribution to the onomastic arguments to follow.

7. Iulii: Augustus **325**, Agrippa Postumus **324**, Caligula **323**. Claudii: Tiberius **117**, Claudius **118**, Nero **119**. Flavii: Vespasian **249**, Titus **250**, Domitian **248**. Ulpus: Trajan **601**. Aelii: Hadrian **5**, Antoninus Pius **6**. Aurelii: M. Aurelius **65**, L. Verus **66**, Commodus **67**, Caracalla **68**. Septimius: Septimius Severus **554**. Vipsanius: Agrippa **624**. Women of the imperial family: Domitia **221**, Faustina **236**, Iulia Domna **321**, Lucilla **380**, Marciana **408**, Matidia **426**, Paulina **464**, Plotina **473**, Sabina **540**.

8. Aemilius **21**, Ancharius **28**, Antonius **33-34**, Autronius **70**, Baebius **74**, Caecilii **76-77**, Claudius **116**, Cornelii **203-07**, Dometius **222**, Fabii **232-33**, Fannius **235**, Fulvius **299**, Gallius **306**, Iulius **322**, Lepidius **361**, Lepidus **362**, Licinii **363-65**, Lollius **375**, Luci(li?)us **381**, Lucius **384**, Marcilius **410**, Minucius **433**, Octavius **450**, Plotius **474**, Rotilius **527**, Sentius **553**, Sulpicius **572**, Valerius **607**.

9. Atilius **59**, Caecilii **78**, Cestius **114**, Clodius **195**, Cornelius **202**, Elufrius **229**, Furnius **304**, Laches **347**, Laecanius **348**, Lucanius **377**, Lucius **383**, Modestus **435**, Munatius **439**, Nonius **442**, Occius **448**, Plotius **475**, Pomponius **485**, Rubellius **528**, Silius **562**, Silo **563**, Silvinus **564**, Suellius **568**, Turpilii **598**, Vibius **620-21**, Viriasius **629**, [---]econius **639**.

quaestors, and *comites*;¹⁰ imperial freedmen and legates, procurators, and an *advocatus fisci*;¹¹ and persons whose exact position is not known.¹² Private individuals include *proxenoi* and/or *politai*;¹³ persons with entrepreneurial interests, patrons, and foreign landowners;¹⁴ and even one man named on a sling bullet as well as an imperial exile to Crete.¹⁵

A total of 659 named individuals are catalogued below, 141 of whom are non-Cretans while 518 are Cretans named on Crete or elsewhere in the Roman world. In the catalog of names on which this study is based, some entries for Cretans are marked with a question mark (?) as they name possible Roman emperors,¹⁶ Roman officials;¹⁷ names that could be Greek rather than Roman, at an early date;¹⁸ cognomina derived from ethnics that may well reflect Cretan or even Knossian origins;¹⁹ members of elite families;²⁰ the wife of a Cretan abroad;²¹ and Christian martyrs.²²

When non-imperial names are borne by private individuals and Cretans, onomastic comparanda are presented in a textbox that suggests their possible Italian origins or connections and the spread of their names in the Eastern Mediterranean; special attention is paid to shared praenomina, in order to

10. Asellius/Asilius **58**, Fulvius **300**, Paconius **458**, Papirius **461**, Septimius **555**, Turdus **597**, [---]tinus **654**.

11. Aelius **4** and **7**, Licinius **366**, Messius **432**, Ulpus **602**, Vedius **616**. Officials active in Cyrenaica rather than Crete are not included in the catalog below.

12. Asiatica **57**, Flavius or Flavianus **247**, Valerius **606**, *fragmentum* **648**.

13. Babullius **73**, Caecilius **79**, Caesonius **88**, Furius **303**, Gavius **307**, Granius **308**, Livius **370**, Lutatius **399**, Mamilius **405**, Marcius **411**, Minucius **434**, Munatidius **437**, Octavius **451**, Porsennius **487**, perhaps Proc(u?)lus **502**, T(e)idius **581**, Tudicius **596**, Vipstanus **625**, [---]ius **646**.

14. Commercial interests: Larcus **349**. Patrons: Munatius **438**, *Ignotus* **637**. Foreign landowners: Claudius **120**, Flavius **259**.

15. Sling bullet: Ofellius **454**. Exile: Cassius **112**.

16. Aelius **3**.

17. Ti. Claudius Nero **115** or Ti. Sempronius Gracchus **550**.

18. Aulus **64**, Gaius **89**.

19. L. Tatinius Cnosus **580**. M. Papinius Creticus **460**, Porcius Felix (sic) Kresis **486**.

20. [Cor]nelia Plautilla **213**, A. Larcus Priscus **359**, L. Marcius Insulanus **416**, Iulia L.f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla **340** and her son Cn. Suellius Cn.f. Rufus Marcianus **571**, [T. Flavius?] Claudius Sulpicianus **262**.

21. Donata **223**.

22. Pompeius **482**; Saturnilus **544**.

strengthen the possibility of an onomastic and historical connection.²³ First, we can take account of the commonness of non-imperial nomina in the Mediterranean-wide Roman world, from the commonest nomina to those that are very common, common, rather common, not so common, uncommon or even rare.²⁴

Second, we can consider the distribution of non-imperial nomina in the Italian peninsula in particular, by examining the indices of the volumes of *CIL* that are devoted to the Italian peninsula;²⁵ such nomina can be characterized as those attested throughout the Italian peninsula, widely attested, well attested, attested, uncommon or rare, or completely unparalleled.²⁶ Such patterns serve to contextualize regional and other studies that provide focused information about the Italian distribution of these nomina. Regional and other evidence for possible Italian origins or connections – from members of the senatorial and equestrian orders to municipal elites and members of the propertied segment of society – is drawn from Wiseman's study of new men in the Roman senate between 139 BCE and 14;²⁷ the proceedings of an international congress on epigraphy and the senatorial order together with an update 30 years later;²⁸ Rauh's dissertation on senators and business in the

23. See Salomies for the importance of studying the distribution of nomina, rather than their etymology, as a criterion for suggesting their origin(s) in Italy, as well as their distribution in the Eastern Mediterranean in general (2006, 96 and 99).

24. See Salomies 1998 for the commonest nomina (Group I), those that are very common (Groups G and H), common (Groups E and F), rather common (Groups C and D), and not so common (Groups A and B); nomina that do not appear in Salomies 1998 will be considered uncommon or even rare.

25. Let me thank O. Salomies for this suggestion. It is beyond the scope of this study to compile an up-to-date account of the distribution of non-imperial nomina in the Italian peninsula.

26. Volumes of *CIL* plus regional and other studies cover eight regions or cities of the Italian peninsula: northern Italy, including Cisalpine Gaul, Venetia, and Istria; Etruria, Umbria, and Aemilia; Latium; Rome in particular; Campania, southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia; Pompeii in particular; southeastern Italy; and Picenum. Nomina are characterized as attested throughout the Italian peninsula when they appear in seven or eight regions or cities; widely attested when they appear in five or six; well attested when they appear in three or four; uncommon when they appear in two; and rare when they appear in one.

27. Wiseman 1971.

28. *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL*, 14-20 Maggio 1981, 2 vols., Rome 1982, cited in entries for individual authors; *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 30 anni dopo, ed. M.L. Caldelli and G.L. Gregori, Rome 2014, cited in entries for individual authors.

Roman Republic;²⁹ D'Arms study of Romans on the Bay of Naples;³⁰ studies of municipal elites from the Gracchi to Nero, in Latium and Campania from the second Punic War to Augustus, and from the death of Caesar to that of Domitian;³¹ the proceedings of an international congress on the propertied segment of society in Italian towns and cities in the second and first centuries BCE;³² and regional onomastic studies, particularly well covered in Italy south of Rome.³³

Third, we can consider evidence for the spread of non-imperial nomina in the Eastern Mediterranean, beginning with their appearance on Delos and among traders active in the Eastern Mediterranean or otherwise present there. Some evidence for the spread of Italian nomina in the Eastern Mediterranean benefits from articles presented in the proceedings of the 1981 conferences on epigraphy and the senatorial order and on the propertied segment of society in Italian towns and cities.³⁴ But it is largely the result of more than a century of research on Italians attested on Delos³⁵ and in the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁶ Roman onomastics in the Eastern Mediterranean have been the particular focus of a series of monographs devoted to Athens, Patras, Achaia, the northern and southern Peloponnese, Macedonia,

29. Rauh 1986.

30. D'Arms 1970.

31. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996, 1998, 2000.

32. *Les «Bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.*, Centre Jean Bérard. Institut Français de Naples, 7-10 décembre 1981, Paris and Naples 1983, cited in entries for individual authors.

33. Istria: Tassaux 1990. Campania: Frederiksen 1984. Pompeii: Castrén 1983. Capua: Frederiksen 1959; D'Isanto 1993. Naples: Leiwo 1994. Puteoli: Camodeca 2018. Southern Italy: Silvestrini 2005.

34. Egypt, Crete and Cyrenaica: Reynolds 1982. Greece and Macedonia: Oliver 1982. Thessaly: Helly 1983. Asia Minor: Halfmann 1982. Propertied segment of society in Italian towns: *Les «Bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.*, Centre Jean Bérard. Institut Français de Naples, 7-10 décembre 1981, Paris and Naples 1983, cited in entries for individual authors.

35. Hatzfeld 1912; Rauh 1993; Baslez 1996; Le Dinahet 2001; Ferrary, Hasenohr and Le Dinahet 2002.

36. Hatzfeld 1919; *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects*, ed. A.D. Rizakis, Athens 1996, cited in entries for individual authors; Zoumbaki 1998/99 (Peloponnese); Salomies 2001 (Eastern Mediterranean); Follet 2002 (Athens); Ferrary 2014 (Klaros); Salomies 2016 (Asia Minor); Kirbihler 2016 (Ephesos).

Thrace, and the Cyclades.³⁷ These nomina are then set into the context of those to be found in a database of Greek inscriptions, in order to follow up on Hatzfeld's century-old study thereof;³⁸ nomina can be characterized as attested throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, widely attested, well-attested, attested, or unattested.³⁹

The final result is an alphabetical catalog of names that includes cross-references for nomina given in other entries as well as cognomina derived from nomina. Roman names documented in Greek are transliterated in Latin orthography, to appear as Roman as possible; Greek names are translated in Greek orthography, unless documented in a Latin source.

The catalog is followed by (1) an appendix of Roman officials and administrators not attested on or in connection with Crete and indices of (2) other persons pertinent to Crete; (3) cognomina, (4) Greek personal names of Cretans who bore Roman names; and (5) fragments of names that could be either Latin or Greek, for Cretans who bore Roman names; (6) Cretan place names, ancient and modern; and (7) select words and phrases.

The catalog presented here provides the requisite evidence for a series of analytical chapters. A foundational series of three chapters examines what onomastic formulae suggest about the spectrum of onomastic Romanness reflected, from influence to citizenship and integration into the Roman world (Chapter 1); the geographical distribution of Roman names in the landscape of Crete (Chapter 2); and the chronological distribution of Roman names on Crete and for Cretans (Chapter 3). A second series of three chapters takes advantage of the onomastic evidence to examine the possible sources and significance of these names: non-imperial nomina (Chapter 4); imperial nomina (Chapter 5); and cognomina (Chapter 6). A final, concluding chapter

37. Byrne 2003 (Athens); Rizakis 1998 (Patras); Rizakis 2001 and 2008 (Achaia); Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001 (northern Peloponnese); Rizakis, Zoumbaki and Lepenioti 2004 (southern Peloponnese); Tataki 2006 (Macedonia); Parissaki 2007 (Thrace); Mendoni and Zoumbaki 2008 and 2023 (Cyclades).

38. PHI. Again, it is beyond the scope of this study to compile an up-to-date account of the distribution of non-imperial nomina in the Eastern Mediterranean.

39. Ten different regions of the Eastern Mediterranean include Macedonia, Achaia, Asia Minor, Bithynia-Pontus, Galatia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica. Nomina are characterized as attested throughout the Eastern Mediterranean when they appear in nine or ten regions; widely attested when they appear in seven or eight; well attested when they appear in five or six; attested when they appear in three or four; and uncommon or rare when they appear in one or two.

assesses the combined onomastic evidence for immigration to Crete, the enfranchisement of Cretans, and the integration of Crete and Cretans into the broader Roman world as well as that of Romans into Cretan society.

Throughout these chapters figures and charts present numbers and/or percentages with potentially deceptive accuracy. They are meant only to represent the current state of our knowledge, based as it is on limited – sometimes very limited – evidence. They calculate numbers and/or percentages out of the total number of Roman names attested in the onomastic record to date. Onomastic evidence, however – largely derived from inscriptions – shows us only the epigraphically visible segment of a population.⁴⁰ The available evidence – forever susceptible to being updated and revised – can nevertheless yield intriguing results concerning historical trends and patterns, such as the mechanisms by which Roman names could be acquired in a Greek province like Crete.⁴¹ The chapters to come will explore the mechanisms by which Roman names – indicative of citizenship or not – came to be borne by Cretans.

40. Compare Lavan 2016, 7.

41. Compare Lavan 2016, 4, 8, and 10 for a limited number of mechanisms by which new Roman citizens could be created between the death of Augustus and the *constitutio Antoniniana*: regular grants of citizenship to non-citizens who served in the Roman army; automatic promotion of men who held magistracies in communities with Latin rights; other discretionary grants of citizenship to individuals; block grants of citizenship to whole communities; manumission of slaves by Roman citizens; migration of opportunist Italian from Italy to provinces.