Roman Female Cognomina

Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women

Tuomo Nuorluoto

UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

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Abstract
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This study investigates the *cognomina* of Roman women. The cognomen was the latest component of the Roman onomastic system and in the course of the early first century CE it came to be the most important individual name of Roman citizens. Roman women, unlike men, did not normally bear any individualizing first names and most women during the Republic (509–27 BCE) had only their father's gentile name in the feminine form. Through the emergence of the female cognomen, all Roman women eventually came to have an individual name and, consequently, a genuine individual identity in the public eye.

The thesis offers, on the one hand, a comprehensive investigation on the typology of female cognomina and the various ways they could be formed; and on the other hand, a survey on how these cognomina could be chosen and for what reasons. These practices are investigated over a time period of c. 400 years (c. 100 BCE – 300 CE), in different geographical regions throughout the Roman Empire (with emphasis on the city of Rome and the Italian peninsula), and in different social strata. The material consists of written primary sources, mostly of inscriptions in Latin and Greek but also of testimonies of ancient authors.

The study consists of five main chapters. Chapter 1 describes the scope, methods, sources, and scholarly framework of the study and offers a general description of the Roman onomastic system and the cognomen. Chapter 2 explores the types, variety, and formal and semantic aspects of female cognomina. Chapter 3 investigates the early chronology and the emergence of the cognomen in women's nomenclature, presenting and analyzing the earliest datable evidence. Chapter 4 provides a survey of the various possibilities for choosing a cognomen, but also a survey of the non-use of cognomina in the imperial period. Chapter 5 summarizes the key findings of the thesis with a concluding analysis.

Keywords: Roman onomastics, ancient Rome, Roman women, personal names, Latin epigraphy, Roman epigraphy, Greek epigraphy, Latin linguistics

Tuomo Nuorluoto, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, Uppsala University, SE-75126 Uppsala, Sweden.

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1 Introduction

The Roman onomastic system was a complex entity with various social and juridical functions that evolved and changed over a long period of time. The core element of the Roman name system for most of this period was the gentile name or *nomen*, which indicated the *gens* to which a given individual belonged. Roman men with the same nomen were further distinguished with a first name, the *praenomen*, and among many aristocratic families from early on, with a third name, the *cognomen.* Throughout the Republic, however, most Roman women were officially called by one name only, that is to say the gentile name, which was universal to all free Romans and which women also kept upon marriage. To put it bluntly, women in the official sphere were, from an onomastic point of view, referred to as members of their *gens* but not as individuals, at least not in the same sense as men. This apparent lack of individual names has often baffled scholars. It was only through the advent of the cognomen in every layer of the society that all Roman women eventually received a name that gave them a true individual identity in the public eye.

In the following centuries, the Roman onomastic system underwent gradual changes, resulting in the eventual diminishment and loss of both the praenomen and the nomen among the majority of the Roman populace. Subsequently, the cognomen was the ultimate item that survived in the nomenclature of most Romans from Late Antiquity onwards. This single-name system, based on what used to be the Roman cognomen, was to endure in many parts of Europe for centuries to come. The emergence of the cognomen, it is safe to say, had significant cultural implications for the Roman world and beyond—but perhaps particularly for Roman women.

The present study is the first investigation of the topic in monograph form. The aim is to thorougly investigate Roman female cognomina and various naming practices concerning Roman women during a time period of approximately 400 years, ranging from the first emergence of the cognomen in women's nomenclature in c. 100 BCE to c. 300 CE.

1.1 Historical background

In order to properly understand and appreciate the topic, it is first necessary to understand its historical background and context, namely the general outlines and development of the Roman onomastic system and the cognomen.

1.1.1 General outlines of the Roman onomastic system

The Romans in the classical period had a name system that differed from the general Indo-European pattern of having a single name. The official nomenclature of a Roman citizen consisted of several items. The nomenclature of Cicero will serve here as an example of how a freeborn male citizen could be called (1). The items from left to right are the praenomen (1a), the nomen 1b), the filiation/patronymic (1c), the indication of the voting tribe which was mainly used in contexts of official nature (1d), and finally, the cognomen (1e), which at this point was yet to be established in the nomenclature of all Romans. A nomenclature of this type, consisting essentially of a praenomen, nomen, and a cognomen, is generally referred to as *tria nomina.*[1]

1) *M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cicero*
   a) *M(arcus)*
   b) *Tullius*
   c) *M(arci) f(ilius),* 'son of Marcus'
   d) *Cor(nelia) (tribu),* 'of the Cornelian tribe'
   e) *Cicero*

Women on the other hand did not typically have praenomina, nor were they normally enrolled in tribes.[2] From the late republican period onwards, however, they could bear a cognomen, and in the course of the early Empire this practice became the norm rather than an exception. In addition, the nomenclature of married women sometimes included a reference to their husband, i.e. a gamonymic, placed after all the other onomastic items. A freeborn elite woman of this period could thus have a nomenclature of the following type (2):

[1] The full nomenclature of the above type was also legally established. The *lex municipalis* from 45 BCE states that in *tabulas publicas* (i.e. the census lists) should be included *nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina* (*CIL* I² 593, 146-149); and already in the *lex repetundarum* from 123/2 BCE it says: *quos legerit, eos patrem tribum cognomenque indicet* (*CIL* I² 583, 14-17). In practice, however, these rules were followed rather loosely, since the *tribus* was often omitted from official inscriptions and many men did not even have a cognomen at this period. For more discussion, Rix 1995; cf. Solin 2017.

[2] There are some rare cases of women, in whose nomenclature the *tribus* is given, mainly from North Africa, but this is a world of its own and should be discussed elsewhere. For the definition of Roman citizenship, cf. Sherwin-White 1973.

2) *Caecilia Q(uinti) Cretici f(ilia) Metella Crassi (uxor)* 'Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q(uintus) (Caecilius Metellus) Creticus, wife of Crassus'

The patronymic was in other words indicated with the father's name in the genitive plus the word *f(ilia),* while the gamonymic was usually given in the genitive with no other supplements (as if indicating the husband's "ownership" of his wife).

During most of the Republic, however, women as a rule were normally known by one name only, viz. their father's gentile name in the feminine form (which they would also retain when married). Thus, the daughter of Marcus Tullius Cicero was simply called *Tullia,* the daughter of Gaius Iulius Caesar *Iulia,* and so forth. In public, the identity of the woman could be clarified to a certain extent by the use of the filiation (3a), the gamonymic (3b), or a combination of both (3c).[3]

3a) *Tullia M(arci) f(ilia)*, 'Tullia, daughter of Marcus'

3b) *Terentia Ciceronis (uxor),* 'Terentia, wife of Cicero'

3c) *Marcia C. f. Crispi,* 'Marcia, daughter of Gaius, wife of Crispus'

This, however, did not help in the private sphere, for instance in a household with several daughters. It is clear that there must have been ways to distinguish between sisters—nicknames or diacritics—and indeed we know from several republican inscriptions that women also occasionally bore praenomina. Female praenomina in the republican period were mostly descriptive names of the type *Paulla, Maxima, Secunda, Tertia,* which would indicate birth order.[4] The female praenomen, however, was never a universal item. It was the cognomen that eventually came to be the individualizing name of all Roman women.

It should be noted that the general lack of individual names among women was not due to any state regulations or laws, but rather an indirect consequence of women's inferior social and juridical standing in the Roman society. Since women could not hold office in the domain of politics and jurisdiction and since they were excluded from military positions, their visibility in official documents was more limited in comparison to men.[5] It follows that there simply was no urgent, practical need for an individualizing name, at least on a larger scale. Even if a woman from, say, the *gens Aemilia* was commemorated in public, the risk of confusing her with other women with the

[3] Or in a special case through a reference to her children, like in the case of *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum,* 'Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, (mother) of the Gracchi' (*CIL* VI 31610 (= 10043) = I², p. 201 = *ILS* 68 = *ILLRP* 336, etc.).

[4] There are also female praenomina, mostly in the imperial period, that were identical to men's praenomina (*C(aia), L(ucia), Ti(beria),* etc.). These, however, were largely superfluous items and were often related to polyonymy or to provincial onomastics. For a comprehensive list and discussion of women's praenomina, consult Kajava 1994.

[5] For women's role and visibility in civic life, see Hemelrijk 2015. For women and the Roman law, Gardner 1991; Evans Grubbs 2002.

same gentilicium in that particular context was small—whereas her male equivalent, i.e. an Aemilius, would have certainly required more specific identifiers, since there were many other notable Aemilii on public record. As M. Kajava put it, "(...) most of what came into existence and disappeared in the Roman onomastic system resulted from purely practical needs".[6] In this case the practical need simply did not exist, or at least it was not critical enough to affect the existing system on a wider scale. In this respect, the emergence of the female cognomen, and especially its entrenchment as the individualizing name of all Roman women, appears in an interesting light. This development takes place during a time when prominent Roman women started to enjoy a greater level of economic, legal, and social freedom than ever before.[7]

Some words should also be said about the nomenclature of freed slaves. One difference between the freeborn and the *liberti* was that the latter did not have a legitimate father, at least not in the eyes of the Roman law, and thus could not have a proper patronymic.[8] The Roman onomastic system was strict in this sense: only freeborn Romans could have the indication *f(ilius)* or *f(ilia)* in their nomenclature, and thus legally be someone's sons and daughters. Former slaves instead had their patron's first name in the genitive and the word *l(ibertus)* or *l(iberta)*—or if the patron was a woman who did not have a first name, they could either have her gentilicium or cognomen or simply a 'reversed letter C', i.e. Ↄ, which ought to be understood as a general reference to women (in the sense *mulieris l(iberta)*).[9] Furthermore, their praenomen and nomen would, generally speaking, be identical to those of their patron (or if the patron was a woman, to her father), whereas they normally used their old slave name as their cognomen. Thus Tiro, the freedman of Marcus Tullius Cicero, was called by his full Roman name *M. Tullius M. l. Tiro,* as in (4a). A freedwoman would have a similar nomenclature, but without the praenomen (4b). The Romans' eagerness to indicate any person's legal status in the full nomenclature is of course a helpful feature for anyone investigating Roman social history.

4a) *M(arcus) Tullius M(arci) l(ibertus) Tiro,* 'Marcus Tullius Tiro, freedman of Marcus'

4b) *Tullia M(arci) l(iberta) Helena,* 'Tullia Helena, freedwoman of Marcus'

In modern scholarship, the *tria nomina* are easily perceived as the standard form of Roman nomenclature. This is obviously due to the fact that it is,

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[6] Kajava 1994, p. 29.

[7] For some discussion cf. Morrell 2020; Hallett 2012, p. 363f.; Cantarella 1987, p. 135ff.

[8] For a thorough discussion of the status of freedmen, see e.g. Mouritsen 2011, p. 66f.

[9] E.g. *A. Valerius Ↄ. l. Menophilus* in *CIL* VI 28060 would be the freedman of a Valeria. For some discussion, cf. Keegan 2015. For some situations in which the woman's nomen/cognomen was preferred, see Nuorluoto 2019.

indeed, the standard type of nomenclature for Roman men during the time period which is best documented in our sources and most thoroughly studied today. But also for the Romans themselves, at least in this period, the *tria nomina* were clearly also an indication of free status—in contrast to slaves.[10] The Roman onomastic system, however, was never a stable entity but instead it developed and changed over time.

While the system had, by the end of the Republic, reached a level of unparalleled complexity in the ancient world (with the exception perhaps of the Etruscans),[11] it had not always been so. In fact, it seems that all the peoples of Central Italy had originally had a single-name system. The anonymous author of the late antique *De praenominibus,* 1, cites Varro, according to whom "the names in Italy had been single names", *simplicia in Italia nomina fuisse*. He used the names of mythological figures (*Romulus, Remus, Faustulus*) as evidence for this. There is furthermore epigraphic evidence that could point to this direction, namely the famous (or infamous) *fibula* from Praeneste, which dates from the 7th century BCE and has the text *Manios med fhefhaked Numasioi* inscribed on it ("Manius made me to Numerius").[12] It ought to be pointed out, however, that the name forms used in such a context do not necessarily represent the full nomenclature of the persons in question. It is in any case reasonable to view this evidence within the general Indo-European framework, and thus it seems credible that also the Italic languages, Latin included, followed initially the same pattern.

Such a single-name system, however—whether we believe that the Romans had it or not—did not survive into the historical period. The Italic peoples and the Etruscans had by then developed a new kind of system, which was based on the gentile name.[13] This name, as a rule, was transmitted to the children in the agnatic line. The first European family name system had thus emerged. Roman men, as we have seen, had furthermore an individualizing praenomen, which helped to distinguish between men with the same gentilicium, while women, at least in public, were usually devoid of one.

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[10] Quintilian (*inst.* 7, 3, 27) writes that only a free man can have the praenomen, nomen, and cognomen (*nemo habet nisi liber praenomen, nomen, cognomen*). Juvenal (*sat.* 5, 127) mocks a man of non-citizen status of boasting, 'as if you had three names' (*tamquam habeas tria nomina*). And we have already seen in n. 1 above some examples from Roman legislation.

[11] For the development of the Etruscan cognomen, see Rix 1963.

[12] *CIL* I² 3 = *ILS* 8561. The authenticity of the *fibula* has been under a lot of doubt over the decades, but recent chemical and mineral analyses seem to confirm the authenticity beyond any reasonable doubt, cf. *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* 99 (2011-2014), with several contributions on the topic. The so-called *Duenos* (=*Bonus*) inscription (*CIL* I² 4) can hardly be taken as evidence here, since it is debatable whether or not we are even dealing with a personal name. On the existence of a single-name system in Etruscan and Italic inscriptions, cf. Rix 1995, p. 728.

[13] I will not go into the details of how this system came to be. For a detailed discussion see Rix 1972; cf. Solin 2017.

Finally, the cognomen came into the picture, first as a name of the Roman aristocracy, and later as an individualizing name that could belong to any Roman.[14] It is now time to take a closer look at how the Roman cognomen came to be and how it eventually evolved into a universal, individual name.

1.1.2 The origins of the individual cognomen

The cognomen was the latest component to be introduced into the Roman name system. Once it had been fully established, it quickly became the most important individualizing name of Roman citizens. For men this meant that the original, diacritic function of the praenomen eventually shifted to the cognomen. For women, on the other hand, who did not usually have first names to start with, the introduction of the cognomen had even larger consequences:[15] rather than being viewed merely as extensions of their *gens,* Roman women finally received a more specific identity in the public eye.

The establishing of the cognomen was a gradual process. Roughly speaking, the major change seems to have taken place in the Augustan period, during which it became increasingly common for freeborn Romans—men and women alike—to have a cognomen.[16] To be sure, cognomina appear outside the upper-most class already as early as the second century BCE, but throughout the Republic their use remained optional. But how and why did the cognomen come to be in the first place, and what made it such an integral part of the Roman name system?

Obviously, the phenomenon did not appear out of nowhere. A model existed in the form of the aristocratic cognomina that had been in use for a long time. In historical tradition, the cognomen was initially—from the very beginning of the Republic onwards—a characteristic of the Roman nobility.[17] The lack of contemporary documents from the early Republic makes it difficult to establish any firm chronology for this period. However, lists of eponymous magistrates attest cognomina for consuls right from 509 BCE onwards. Despite certain controversies, later interpolations, and other issues

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[14] Since Latin and Etruscan were the only languages of ancient Italy that had the cognomen, it has sometimes been assumed that the practice in Rome was due to Etruscan influence. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Instead, both the Latin and the Etruscan cognomen seem to have had a common background, from which the practice in both languages developed independently. On the development of the Etruscan cognomen (and its relation to the Roman one), see Rix 1963.

[15] During the Republic women could and sometimes did have praenomina, as noted above, but the phenomenon was never a standard practice. For a more thorough discussion, see Kajava 1994.

[16] See the observations of Salomies 1987, p. 277ff.

[17] The only patrician without a cognomen in the Capitoline *fasti* is Sex. Quinctilius (*cos.* 453 BCE). It should also be noted that in the *fasti* all plebeian consuls of early times (until 366 BCE) have a cognomen; consuls without a cognomen start to appear more frequently in the 3rd c. BCE (C. Duilius, C. Flaminius, etc.).

of credibility, there is no reason to believe that these lists would not, in fact, reflect the onomastic reality of the time (with maybe the exception of the very first *collegia*).[18]

As for epigraphic evidence, the first contemporary document of the use of a cognomen is the inscription of the sarcophagus of P. Corneli(os) P. f. Scapola, approximately from the middle of the fourth century BCE (5a).[19] From a not much later period we also have other sarcophagi from the tomb of the Scipiones, the earliest being that of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul of 298 BCE (5b). The fact that he also had a second cognomen (*Barbatus*) indicates that the name *Scipio* had already become a hereditary item in the family by the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (i.e. around the time of his birth, assuming that he became consul *suo anno*).[20]

5a) *CIL* I² 2835 = *ILLRP* 1274a:
P. Cornelio(s) P. f. Scapola pont(i)fex max(imus)
5b) *CIL* I² 7 = *ILS* 1 = *ILLRP* 309:
Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaivod Patre prognatus

When a cognomen became hereditary, which was practically always the case among the noble families, it meant that it was by default transmitted to every male descendant of the family, who in turn would pass it on to their own male descendants, and so forth. This way the cognomina came to signify specific family lines or branches within different *gentes.* Take for instance the Cornelii Scipiones and the Cornelii Lentuli within the *gens Cornelia*, or the Aemilii Paulli and the Aemilii Lepidi within the Aemilian *gens*. Moreover, once this process had taken place, a further cognomen of more personal nature could be taken into use. These were often nicknames, which indicated a physical feature of the name-bearer (e.g. *Barbatus* 'bearded', *Caecus* 'blind'), or honorary names, given or taken in use in honour of a military victory or a political/religious office that the name-bearer had held (e.g. *Africanus, Censorinus, Augurinus*). What is important is that such cognomina of more personal nature were not given at birth but were acquired at a ripe age (unlike the later individual cognomina). Furthermore, these cognomina would often also become hereditary names. Thus, we have for example within the Cornelii Scipiones such family lines as the Asinae, Barbati, and Nasicae. And to all this, of course, could be added a further cognomen (e.g. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, *cos.* 162 BCE).

While most senatorial families had hereditary cognomina, this was not the case with all of them. Still in the late Republic we find such families as the Antonii and the Mummii, for whom no hereditary cognomina are attested—

[18] For a detailed discussion on the early cognomina of the republican nobility, see Solin 2009.
[19] The exact identity of the person is not clear, but he could be identical with the consul of 328 BCE, as suggested by Solin 2009, p. 254 n. 8; cf. *Analecta Epigrafica,* p. 8f.
[20] For more elaborate discussion on the chronology (and other aspects) of the Scipionic sarcophagi, cf. Massaro 2008, 33ff.

and even in the early imperial period it is not unheard of to find a senator lacking one, e.g. the Augustan consul L. Arruntius or the emperor A. Vitellius. On the other hand, some new senators of municipal origin had cognomina already at a relatively early stage (see below).

The semantic content of many of these early cognomina suggest that they were initially used as unofficial nicknames, which were given to adult citizens, as some of the examples above show.[21] This is also suggested by the fact that until the second century BCE, they seem to have been often omitted from official documents.[22] It is also in the course of the second century BCE that the use of cognomina starts to spread to all social classes. Whereas in earlier times, i.e. before c. 200 BCE, we find cognomina only among the nobility and occasional *liberti*,[23] we now start to encounter them sporadically also on some *homines novi* from Italian municipalities. The first new senators attested with a cognomen are M. Porcius Cato (*cos.* 195 BCE) and M'. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 191), but as O. Salomies notes, the following four *homines novi* after them are all without a cognomen: L. Mummius & Cn. Octavius (*coss.* 146 BCE), Q. Pompeius (*cos.* 141), and C. Marius (*cos.* 107).[24] However, this shows that the possibility of using a cognomen outside the senatorial aristocracy was not unheard of. Furthermore, if Livy's account is to be trusted, some municipal aristocrats from Capua used cognomina already by the time of the Second Punic War.[25]

During the course of the second century BCE the habit of having a cognomen spreads further. Among the *liberti,* the cognomen becomes a standard item already by the end of the century, and we also have some attestations for the *plebs ingenua* from that period.[26] This starts an important historical process, during which the onomastic system eventually evolves from a situation where only a few citizens had a cognomen to the point where practically everybody had one. What is particularly noteworthy is that these new cognomina of the Roman *plebs* in most cases differed from those of the aristocracy in a significant way, namely in the sense that they did not normally become hereditary items but individual names. Furthermore, these names were typically obtained already as a child, soon after birth, whereas the personal cognomina of the republican aristocracy were acquired later on in life. This is significant, because eventually these cognomina of the new kind came to

[21] This is furthermore supported by the fact that many of the republican cognomina were pejorative names (e.g. *Brutus*, *Crassus, Varus*) as well as names of various objects that were used as cognomina through metonymy (e.g. *Scipio*, *Dolabella*).
[22] Salomies 1987, p. 278; Solin 2009, p. 259.
[23] Cf. Salomies 1987, p. 230 for some examples.
[24] For the *liberti,* cf. Salomies 1987, p. 277.
[25] Liv. 23, 8, 1; cf. Salomies 1987, p. 278.
[26] Salomies 1987, p. 230.

be the most important individual names of Roman citizens, which in its turn resulted, among other things, in the gradual decline of the praenomen.[27]

But why did the use of cognomina start to spread throughout the Roman society precisely in this period? The easiest explanation is that by this time the Roman population had grown to the point where the traditional system—binominal for men and uninominal for women—no longer sufficiently served the purpose of identifying citizens on public record. Moreover, the number of common praenomina had decreased to a small number of usual names. To avoid any confusion in terms of identification, the cognomen proved to be a helpful addition.

The growth of the citizen body was a result, on the one hand, of the increasing level of Romanization in Italy, and on the other, of the increasing number of enfranchised slaves and their offspring.[28] It is the latter group in particular—the *liberti*—who assumed the use of cognomina with the greatest enthusiasm. Although former slaves and some freeborn Romans seem to have started using cognomina approximately at the same time, it took a long time for the freeborn *plebs* to fully embrace the new onomastic item. In contrast, the development among the *liberti* seems to have been almost instant: a glance at the names in *CIL* I[2] will suffice to confirm I. Kajanto's statistical observations, according to which, "(...) no freedman appears without a cognomen after 84 BC"—whereas among the *plebs ingenua,* only around every fifth has one.[29] This is understandable. The *liberti* already had their former slave names that would then naturally become their individual cognomina—as part of their new Roman name—whereas their praenomen and gentilicium would be identical to those of their patron (though in early times the praenomen could differ).[30] Freeborn Romans, on the other hand, unless they were descendants of *liberti*, had no tradition of such names, and in order to use one, they would have had to invent them.

Evidence regarding the use of cognomina in the republican period outside the nobility and the enfranchised class has previously been studied, amongst others, by O. Salomies and H. Solin.[31] It will be sufficient here to give a brief overview of the most important developments for the understanding of the cognomen's early chronology.

Some of the earliest datable evidence of cognomina among the freeborn *plebs* come from the island of Delos, where Roman and Italian traders had established a presence already by the end of the third century BCE. Howev-

[27] For a detailed discussion regarding the decline of the praenomen, see Salomies 1987, p. 390ff.

[28] I am aware that the term 'Romanization' can be problematic and that it fails to capture all the aspects related to what it supposedly implies, but in this context the term is useful enough and is used in the loose sense of "becoming Roman".

[29] The claim regarding freedmen's cognomina is based on datable inscriptions. Kajanto 1973; cf. also Solin 1974, p. 125ff.; Panciera 1977, p. 192ff.; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1989, 89ff.

[30] Cf. Solin 2017, p. 146.

[31] Salomies 1987, p. 277ff.; Solin 1991.

er, the Italian trading community never recovered from the massacre committedy by the troops of Mithridates in 88 and 69 BCE—which also conveniently serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the material. There are two bilingual inscriptions, one of which, a list of several individuals, attests a man called *P. Sexteilius L. f. Pilo* (*CIL* I² 2504 = *ILLRP* 759 = *IDelos* 1753). Several notable aspects emerge. Firstly, the consular dating (*Cn. Papeirio / C. Caecilio co(n)s(ulibus)*) allows us to date the inscription to the year 113 BCE. Secondly, judging by the Greek cognomen *P(h)ilo,* the man—despite being freeborn—was likely a son of a freedman. It was not uncommon for descendants of *liberti* to carry a Greek cognomen, despite the servile label that such names must have had in the eyes of the Romans.[32] Thirdly, none of the other 11 individuals mentioned in the document (five *ingenui* and six *liberti*) are given a cognomen—and even Sextilius's own cognomen seems to be omitted in the Greek text (he is simply Πόπλιος Σεξτίλιος Λευκίου). This displays quite prominently how sporadic it still was at this point to have a cognomen. The other inscription—also a list of several individuals—records a man called *M. Tuscenius L. f. Nobilior* (Μάαρκος Τοσκήνιος Λευκίου Νωβέ[---]) (*CIL* I² 2240 = *ILLRP* 749 = *IDelos* 1733). Again, none of the five other individuals (one freeborn and four *liberti*) are given a cognomen. The inscription can be plausibly dated to around 125 BCE.

There are also some early lists of magistrates from Capua, ranging from 112 to 71 BCE, in which cognomina are attested sporadically for freeborn citizens (*CIL* I² 672-691; 2506; 2944-2950). For instance, in *CIL* I² 2944 from 108 BCE we have 12 individuals, four of whom seem to bear a cognomen; and in *CIL* I² 679 from 104 BCE we seem to have two individuals with what could be a cognomen (the text is fragmented at places), and nine without one. In *CIL* I² 686 from 71 BCE we have more evidence, albeit some decades later, of at least three (possibly four) individuals bearing cognomen and five being without one. Furthermore, *CIL* I² 689, with no exact date, records four men with a (fragmentary) cognomen.[33]

Many further examples of early cognomina come from the famous *necropoli della Colombella* of Praeneste. The Praenestan material offers a most interesting and instructive source for our purposes since it can be dated with certainty to the period between the early third century and 82 BCE—the year when the Sullan colony was founded and the cemetery went out of use—and since it seems to represent the Praenestan society on all its levels rather nicely. We have 315 inscriptions at our disposal. Of these, only 19 include a cognomen, which roughly equals 6% of the whole material—a further indication of the sporadic nature of early cognomina.[34] The most common type of nomencla-

[32] Solin 1991, p. 187.
[33] For more detailed discussion, cf. Solin 1991, p. 181f.
[34] Solin (1991, p. 166) counts only 18 cases with a cognomen, presumably leaving out a certain Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (*CIL* I² 271).

ture seems to be that with a filiation and without a cognomen: in total we have 121 freeborn men, and 68 women representing this style. In addition, we have 24 freedmen and 4 freedwomen with an indication of their patron but with no cognomen. Moreover, 16 women in the material seem to have had a praenomen, the percentage thus being much higher than with female cognomina (only two or three of which are known from Praeneste; cf. 3.1).[35]

One should observe that many of the *ingenui* with a cognomen seem to have belonged to the municipal elite. Among the funerary cippi we have attestations for such families as the Anicii (6a), the Etrilii (6b), the Oppii (6c), the Orcevii (6d), and the Saufeii (6e), all of which are known to have been leading families of the free Praeneste.[36]

6a) *CIL* I² 2855: *L. Anici(us) L. f. Cra…*

6b) *CIL* I² 153: *L. Etrili(us) C. f. Rauc(us)* (cf. Etrilia L. f. Longa below)

6c) *CIL* I² 220: *M. Oppi(us) M. f. Alb(us)*

6d) *CIL* I² 216/217: two men (father and son) called *L. Oppi(us) L. f. Flacus*

6e) *CIL* I² 2466: *L. Orgivi(us) L. f. Vapidus*

6f) *CIL* I² 280: *L. Saufio(s) Q. f. Scat(to?)*

The surviving list of magistrates from the pre-Sullan town is instructive. We know at least 29 magistrates, of which 21 seem to have borne a cognomen.[37] One of these cases dates perhaps already from the beginning of the second century BCE, viz. *CIL* I² 2439, which records two magistrates (a Saufeius and an Orcevius), who both seem to have borne the cognomen *Sabinus* (indicated in the plural form *Sabini*). The other cases, including cognomina such as *Bassus, Flaccus, Raucus, Scato, Pontanus, Varus,* are somewhat later, but still *ante* 82 BCE.[38]

The fact that we find cognomina predominantly among the local elite is hardly surprising. The republican practice of using a cognomen must have been often associated with a noble background—having, after all, been a privilege of the Roman nobility for centuries. It is therefore clear that the municipal elites, who were often in close contact and had a lot in common with the ruling class of Rome, found it more tempting and, perhaps, more legitimate to follow the onomastic example set by the powerful families of

[35] For discussion regarding the female praenomina, see Kajava 1994, p. 88.

[36] Solin 1991, p. 165.

[37] Cf. Solin 1991, p. 166f.

[38] These cases include *CIL* I² 1458 (*C. Tampius C. f. Sex. f. Tarenteinus*); *CIL* I² 1461 (*C. Magulnius C. f. Scato Maxs(imus)* and *C. Saufeius C. f. Flaccus*); *CIL* I² 1453 (*M. Anicius L. f. Baaso* (=*Bassus*)); *CIL* I² 1465 (*L. Fabricius C. f. Vaarus* and *M. Sal[--- ---]canies*); *CIL* I² 1466 (*[C. Magulnius] C. f. Scato*); *CIL* I² 1469 (*C. Saufeius C. f. Pontanus* and *M. Saufeius L. f. Pontanus*; the cognomen seems to have been hereditary); *CIL* I² 1470 (*C. Saufeius C. f. Flac[cus]*); *CIL* I² 1471 (*M. Saufeius M. f. Rutilus* and *C. Saufeius C. f. Flacus*); *CIL* I² 1472 (*M. Magulnius Sp. f. M. n. Scato*); *CIL* I² 3045 (*[- Etri]lius C. f. Rauc[us]* and *[Sau]feius C. f. Cap[ito]*); *CIL* I² 3046 (*[---] C. f. Mat[---]*); *CIL* I² 3048 (*L. Aulius L. f. Caisi(anus?)*; *CIL* I² 2532/3081 (*C. Dindius [-] f. Scato*); *CIL* I² 3083b (*[- Etrili]us C. f. Raucus*).

Rome.[39] This, however, does not mean that a municipal aristocrat would have necessarily kept his cognomen upon his admission to the Roman senate. We know that several members of the Praenestan elite who made it to the senate before the Social War—families such as the Anicii, Saufeii and Orcevii—seem to have largely abandoned the use of their old cognomina. This could be, as H. Solin suggests, because their names were perhaps not considered Latin or otherwise respectable enough (take for instance the Italic names *Scato* and *Bassus* which still at this point had a rustic flavour to them).[40] In other words, the onomastic practices of the municipal elites were likely influenced by Rome's ruling class—but often not to the extent that their names would have necessarily been considered appropriate in the social climate of the Roman senate.

The Praenestan material is also particularly interesting from the point of view of this study, because it provides us with some of the earliest known female cognomina. Two freeborn women with a cognomen stand out from the material (7a, 7b). I will return to these cases in more detail in 3.1.

7a) *Etrilia L. f. Longa* (*CIL* I^2 155 = *Cippi* p. 111, nr. 53,3)

7b) *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (uxor)* (*CIL* I^2 271 = *ILLRP* 869 = *Cippi* p. 180, nr. 117,10)

Among the freeborn *plebs*, the habit of having a cognomen did not become particularly common until the imperial period. The Augustan period saw a significant rise in the popularity of cognomina, and by the time of Nero practically everybody would receive one.[41] One should keep in mind that during the whole Republic the cognomen remained an optional item. There certainly was no law or regulation prohibiting its use but among the *ingenui* of non-senatorial background it took a long time before the cognomen became more than just a sporadic phenomenon. However, in the course of some three generations, the cognomen steadily gained more ground and became an increasingly established part of any Roman nomenclature.

Significant influence on this development came from both ends of the social ladder. On the one hand, there were the cognomina of the Roman nobility that had been in use for centuries. This served as an initial model and must have had a particular impact on the onomastic habits of Italy's municipal aristocrats. The use of a cognomen, in imitation of the famous Metelli and Scipiones, must have been tempting among the municipal men of Italy (whereas the question, what is fashionable, was surely of less consequence for the very highest class, as Salomies notes).[42] On the other hand, there were also the *liberti* with their old slave names who were quick to assume the new

[39] After all, the Italian upper classes formed a rather homogenous group of aristocrats, among whom intermarriages and mutual benefactions were common. Wiseman 1971, pp. 33-53.
[40] Solin 1991, p. 171.
[41] Cf. the discussion in Chapter 3 and the statistics in Gallivan 1992.
[42] Salomies 1987, p. 280.

onomastic item for different reasons. While it is true that their names were often Greek or 'barbaric', and thus had a servile label in the Roman eyes, it was not uncommon for their children to receive 'appropriate' Latin names. A rather early example of this, from the republican period, is that of [-] Pompeius P. f. Sabinus, son of P. Pompeius P. l. Pylades (*ILLRP-S* 37 = *AE* 1991, 114).[43] It follows, as Salomies notes, that the more people there were with a cognomen, the more normalized the practice in general became, and eventually also families which had not previously had cognomina started to give such names to their children (see Chapter 3).[44]

Once the cognomen established itself, it quickly became the most important individualizing name for Romans. It was certainly a welcome tool for issues concerning the identification of Roman women. It is true that during the Republic women also sometimes had praenomina, but the phenomenon, even at best, remained always marginal and the use of female praenomina was largely restricted to the private sphere.[45] It was only the cognomen that gave women an individual identity on a larger scale.

After the gradual decline of the praenomen and the nomen, the cognomen was eventually the only name that was left for most Romans of Late Antiquity. Since this development is important for the understanding of certain chronological limitations of this work, a brief overview is now in place.

1.1.3 The evolution of the Roman name system towards Late Antiquity

The development of the Roman onomastic system can be viewed as a circle. It started out as a single-name system; then, through the introduction of the gentile name and eventually the cognomen, it gradually evolved into a system in which most men had three names and most women two. This is the type of Roman nomenclature that we mostly encounter when we read the writings of early imperial authors and that we are most familiar with. The establishing of the cognomen, however, set into motion an important development, which eventually lead into the decline of the praenomen. Later, after the gradual diminishing of the importance and function of the nomen, the system crumbled back into a situation, in which most Romans only had

[43] Though sometimes the offspring, too, had non-Latin names, like in the above case of P. Sexteilius P(h)ilo from Delos. In some cases even, it seems, it may have been preferable to not have a cognomen at all, take for instance [S]ergius C. f., son of [C. S]ergius M. f. Vel(ina) Mena, who probably was a son of a *libertus* (*CIL* I² 708 = *ILLRP* 969). For more discussion, see Solin 1991, p. 158f.

[44] Salomies 1987, p. 280.

[45] For the use of women's praenomina, see Kajava 1994. For the occasional use of *tria nomina* among Roman women, see Kantola & Nuorluoto 2016.

one name left. The early stages have already been discussed above (1.1.1 and 1.1.2), but some words ought to be said about the later development as well.[46]

Let us start with the decline of the praenomen. The cognomen, simply put, took over the individualizing function that the praenomen had initially had in men's nomenclature. The reasons for its success are many. Unlike with praenomina, there was no limit to the number of cognomina. Instead, new names could be taken in use whenever necessary and coined from either existing names or appellatives with a wide range of different suffixes (see Chapter 2). This flexibility is vital for the understanding of why the cognomen triumphed. Secondly, once the individual cognomen had been established in the Roman name system, the nature of the praenomen became more and more hereditary: sons would, by default, receive their father's first name and freedmen their patron's. A good example is the family of the emperor Vespasian, in which all men bore the names *T(itus) F(lavius)*. The emperor himself was called T. Flavius Vespasianus, his brother was T. Flavius Sabinus, and the two sons of Vespasian, in turn, were called T. Flavius Vespasianus and T. Flavius Domitianus (though the emperor Titus is primarily known by his praenomen, in contrast to his homonymous father who is known by the cognomen).

This development took largely place during the latter half of the first century CE and once it was complete the praenomen practically lost its initial function and became a fossilized item.[47] During the third century, the attestations of praenomina become less and less frequent in epigraphic sources. It is still not completely uncommon to find one in Italian and African inscriptions until the time of Diocletian, but by the end of his reign the habit of recording praenomina seems to vanish outside the senatorial class.[48]

The next step was the gradual decline and disappearance of the nomen, after which most Romans in Late Antiquity had practically returned to a single-name system. One of the most important reasons, or perhaps the most important one, for this development was the decline of the social aspect of the nomen. The basic function of the Roman nomen was to mark one's patrilineal ancestry, and in the late republican and early imperial period it also served as an indication of its bearer being Roman.

It was customary that manumitted slaves received their patron's nomen, and foreigners who became Roman citizens, obtained the name of their benefactor, who for most new citizens of the Empire was the ruling emperor himself. During the first two centuries the mass-manumissions of imperial slaves and the steady flow of new citizens from the provinces resulted in the over-representation of a few imperial nomina, such as *Claudius, Flavius, Aelius,*

[46] The Roman onomastic system developed over a time period of more than a thousand years, and it is naturally impossible to give a detailed account here. The general development has been summarized well by B. Salway (1994).
[47] Salomies 1987, p. 378ff.; 406ff.; cf. also Salway 1994, p. 130f.
[48] Salomies 1987, p. 406.

and *Ulpius,* but it was in 212 CE, when Caracalla granted citizenship to all free subjects of the Empire, that the scale was completely put off balance.[49] An evident onomastic consequence was the massive number of new Roman citizens who were now called *Aurelius* or *Aurelia* after the emperor. It is easy to envisage that for the majority of the new Romans, most of them Aurelii, the Roman gentile name simply became, to quote B. Salway, "a badge of citizenship", required for documents of official nature but otherwise playing no role in their lives.[50] It is quite understandable that such a name would not have served to indicate one's patrilineal ancestry.

There is some instructive papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, e.g. *P. Oxy.* 3906, 2, 2-5, an application for grain by several farmers, dating from 229 CE. The farmers are styled collectively with the designation *Aurelii*, after which their personal name, i.e. the cognomen from a Roman point of view, and patronymic are given ('Aurelii Iulius Ammoninou, Acaraeus Papontotos, Copreus Saratos, Papontos Corneliou'). Not only do they all have the name *Aurelius,* but the fact that they all have their patronymic placed after the cognomen reveals their ignorance of, or rather indifference to the Roman onomastic habits.[51] The absence of the praenomen here also shows that it had already become a highly superfluous element by the third century. It seems evident that *Aurelius* here plays no other role but to indicate that these men were officially Roman citizens.

Furthermore, when practically every free person in the Empire was now a citizen, it follows that the need to specifically indicate one's citizenship through naming no longer had the same value as it had had before. This, combined with the fact that there were only a handful of nomina in common use, resulted in that much of the original purpose of the nomen was now redundant. The nomen, consequently, was more and more often omitted from documents.

The gentile name, as well as the praenomen, endured more resiliently among the Roman aristocracy whose nomenclature in many ways followed more conservative lines and was not that likely to change with the general flow. However, even among the aristocracy the nomen no longer served the same purpose than before. For instance, after the reign of Constantine, the nomen *Flavius* had largely become an indication of high rank rather than a real family name (just like *Aurelius* had become a mere bagde of citizenship).[52] The predominance of the single name in Late Antiquity is furthermore easily verified with a glance at the Christian inscriptions of Rome: H. Solin has calculated that 96% of the persons recorded in this material between 313

[49] For the onomastic impact of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, see Salway 1994, p. 133ff.
[50] Salway 1994, p. 135.
[51] Or rather that they continued to place the patronymic after the individual name in accordance with the Greek practice.
[52] Salway 1994, 138f.; Salomies 2012, p. 1ff.

and 410 CE have only one name, viz. the cognomen—or what used to be the cognomen.[53]

All in all, the Roman name system, with its complex social dimensions and pragmatic nature, was vulnerable to the many cultural, social and political changes of the Roman Empire. These, together with linguistic and purely onomastic factors, such as fashion, contributed to the fact that the Roman onomastic system of Late Antiquity had come far from the prevalent system of the time of Augustus.

1.2 Previous scholarship

Roman names have been studied from various perspectives for long, but female names have so far received only little attention. The topic has been present in various articles and prosopographical works,[54] but the only significant study to this date remains Mika Kajava's *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994), a seminal work on the first names of Roman women. Kajava's work has succesfully managed to correct and update many misconceptions and misunderstandings concerning the use of women's praenomina, which by no means were uncommon in preceding scholarship. Regarding female names more generally, particularly in terms of the cognomen, there are still many misconceptions that ought to be corrected.[55]

In his introduction Kajava wrote that his book was "(...) originally intended to be the first chapter of a comprehensive study of Roman women's nomenclature".[56] He had, however, quickly realized that the praenomina alone would need a monograph of their own. Unfortunately, Kajava never published a sequel to his book. He had, however, started to prepare one in the

[53] Solin 2017, p. 149. The Christian material of Rome is conveniently collected in the *ICVR*.

[54] In addition, the topic is also touched upon in various handbooks of Roman epigraphy (e.g. Bruun & Edmondson (eds.) 2014; Cooley 2012) and in works concerning the history of the Latin and Italic languages (e.g. Clackson & Horrocks 2007; Baldi 1999), but mostly on a surface level only.

[55] For instance, McLean in his handbook of Greek epigraphy mistakenly assumes that a nomenclature such as *Claudia Erotion* equals "the daughter of Claudius Erotios/ias" or that *Cornelia Fortunata* was the same thing as "the daughter of Cornelius Fortunatus" (McLean 2002, p. 127). While it is true that children as a rule inherited their father's gentilicium, there was no such rule concerning the inheritance of cognomina, particularly outside the senatorial class and regarding women. Occasionally also, when reading texts written by ancient historians, one encounters erroneous forms of female nomenclature—perhaps based on the same logic as McLean's—such as 'Cornelia Africana' when talking about the daughter of Scipio Africanus, who in fact does not have a cognomen in any of our sources (in the famous Augustan inscription (*ILS* 68) she is called *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum,* 'Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, (mother) of the Gracchi'). Sometimes these erroneous forms seem to originate in the modern person's need to properly 'individualize' Roman women of the republican period—but however noble one's cause might be, it does not justify inventing names that simply were not there.

[56] Kajava 1994, p. 7.

mid-1990's, and has kindly offered his unfinished manuscript for me to use as I see fit. It has proven to be most helpful, especially in matters concerning senatorial women. Kajava has, furthermore, published several useful articles concerning the nomenclature of Roman upper-class women.[57]

Roman female names are often discussed to a certain extent in scholarship concerning Roman women, but usually more as a side note to men's nomenclature than as a topic in their own right. While women's cognomina have not been systematically studied, cognomina in general have been (most notably Kajanto 1965). Perhaps the first notable scholarly investigation was published in 1860, by none other than Theodor Mommsen. The article 'Die römischen Eigennamen', which included some 10 pages on the development of the cognomen, was followed four years later, in 1864, by a revised edition, 'Die römischen Eigennamen der republikanischen und augusteischen Zeit', as part of the first volume of Mommsen's *Römische Forschungen*. It also included a 23-page-long discussion on the cognomen, and some attention was devoted to female names and their nature and development.[58]

In 1904 came the first comprehensive monograph devoted entirely to Roman onomastics, when Wilhelm Schulze published his monumental *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, focusing on gentile names but also discussing women's cognomina to a certain extent. Well over a century after its publication the work is still remarkably useful in many ways.[59] An Indo-European linguist as he was, Schulze was primarily interested in analyzing the names in terms of morphology and etymology, but he also raised some valid points and questions concerning the use of female names. A particularly notable claim, from the standpoint of this study, was that Roman women in general started to use cognomina earlier than men—an issue that will be discussed later in Chapter 3.

Roman female names were also discussed by Bruno Doer, who dedicated a chapter to them in his *Die römische Namengebung* (1937).[60] While he made some sound observations, there are also several misunderstandings, many of which have been debunked since.[61] Hilding Thylander (1952) also discussed some issues concerning women's names and raised some valid points, for instance regarding the transmission of cognomina from parents to children, but there are also many awkward ideas. Thylander writes for instance that

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[57] E.g. Kajava 1990; 1988a; also, on some issues concerning the nomenclature of individual Roman women: Kajava 1995; 1989; 1987; 1986; 1984.

[58] Mommsen also discussed the nomenclature of Roman freedmen elsewhere (Mommsen 1876), but this study is not particularly significant for the standpoint of this study.

[59] Particularly since there are no other major large-scael studies on the Roman nomina. Several reprints have been made since 1904, first in 1933 and 1966, and most recently, with a supplementum by Olli Salomies, in 1991.

[60] Doer 1937, Ch. VI, 'Die Namengebung der römischen Frau', p. 202ff.

[61] For instance, the idea that women originally had praenomina but stopped using them in the course of the second century BCE: "Der Gebrauch des Vornamens bei Frauen verschwand dann wohl im Laufe des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts (...)" (Doer 1937, p. 210).

once the cognomen had replaced the praenomen as the primary individualizing name, it also took over the function of the gentile name.[62] It seems to me that he confuses here the individual cognomina of the imperial time and the hereditary cognomina of the republican aristocracy, and treats them as if they were one and the same thing (cf. 1.1.2; 3.3).[63]

A significant milestone, particularly from the standpoint of the study of cognomina, was the publishing of Iiro Kajanto's *The Latin Cognomina* (1965). It contains a typological catalogue of all (or most) Latin cognomina that were known by the time of the book's publication, and also serves as a general point of reference in the present study.[64] While Kajanto succesfully analyzes the cognomina from an etymological and morphological perspective, he does not generally speaking take into consideration the more specific reasons for using certain cognomina—something that I have attempted to investigate in better detail. In addition to his book on cognomina, Kajanto made some other important contributions to our understanding of Roman onomastics.[65]

While Kajanto's study took into account only Latin names, Greek cognomina in Rome have been investigated by Heikki Solin in his *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (1982), of which a second edition was published in 2003. He also discussed some aspects of the choice of cognomina in his *Namenpaaren* (1990). Solin has furthermore contributed to the knowledge of Roman names with numerous books and articles. The most important ones, from the point of view of this study, are his articles concerning the early stages of the cognomen (Solin 1991; 2009).[66] One particularly useful tool for any student of Roman onomastics or epigraphy is the *Repertorium* of Latin gentilicia and

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[62] Thylander 1952, p. 131: "Quand le surnom eut remplacé le prénom comme nom individuel, il prit aussi la fonction du gentilice d'exprimer le lien de la famille". He is right, though, in the sense that the cognomen could be used to indicate parentage, but it feels a bit exaggerated to say that "(...) les Romains commencèrent à exprimer le lien de parenté plus facilement et plus sûrement par le surnom que par le gentilice" (*ibid.*).

[63] This probably is related to the rather odd claim that the cognomen replaced the nomen in terms of importance and instead became the nomen—"Le surnom, qui fut le nom individuel pour tous les Romains, même pour les femmes, qui le portèrent a moins à partir du milieu du I^{er} siècle de notre ère, remplaça le gentilice en ce qui concerne l'importance, et à partir de cette époque le surnom est le *nomen*" (Thylander 1952, p. 131). The only way to reasonably explain this claim is that Thylander did not literally mean the nomen (gentilicium) but in general 'name' and that he had in mind the later development, after which the gentilicium no longer had the function it once had and the cognomen had *de facto* become the only significant item in the nomenclature of most Romans. However, it seems that this is probably not what Thylander had in mind, given his statement about the cognomen taking over the function of the gentile name, and besides, he is referring here to the mid-first century CE, when the cognomen was not competing with the gentile name in terms of importance but with the praenomen.

[64] Though Kajanto has excluded some names from his catalogue (as non-Latin) that should have been included in it, e.g. *Bassus*.

[65] Particularly his books *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (1963) and *Supernomina* (1966); cf. also Kajanto 1972; 1973; 1977.

[66] His work on Roman slave names, in three volumes, is also significant (Solin 1994). For some of his more recent articles see Solin 2017; 2015; 2013.

cognomina, which he published together with Olli Salomies (first edition in 1988; second edition in 1994). While the *Repertorium* does not take into account the number of attestations of different names, it records the existence of practically every known nomen and cognomen and also includes a reverse cataogue, which is useful for instance when investigating names with a certain termination or suffix.

Salomies has also contributed greatly (and still does) to the field. His monumental *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) focused on the praenomina of Roman men, but it also includes a significant chapter on the use and development of the cognomen.[67] Some other important contributions include his book on adoptive and polyonymous nomenclature (Salomies 1992; inspired in part by Shackleton Bailey 1976), and, particularly from the point of view of this study, his articles in which he discusses the choice of the cognomen—though it ought to be clarified that the focus is mainly on the nomenclature of men.[68]

Kajava's work and its significance have already been mentioned above. Some more general but useful publications from other scholars have been Benet Salway's (1994) influential article on the development of the Roman onomastic practice and Paul Gallivan's (1992) article on Roman naming patterns, including those of senatorial women. There are also some recent publications of my own, which relate to the topic.[69]

Prosopographical research is also closely connected to the study of onomastics. Without works such as the prosopography of senatorial women by Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier *(PFOS*), this study would have undeniably been much more time-consuming.[70] As for equestrian women, a contribution has been recently published by Anthony Álvarez Melero (2018).[71] Naturally this study also owes a significant debt to the flourishing research tradition concerning Roman women more broadly.[72]

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[67] Salomies 1987, p. 277ff.

[68] Salomies 2008 (on choosing a cognomen in Rome); also 2017 (on the significance of onomastics to the study of ancient genealogies). Other useful articles include (but are not limited to) Salomies 2010 (on Roman nomina in the Greek East); 2009 (on numeral names); 2001 (on onomastics and prosopography more broadly).

[69] On women's *tria nomina*: Kantola & Nuorluoto 2016. On the transmission of maternal names: Nuorluoto 2017. On the names of Roman women in *patronatus*-formulae: Nuorluoto 2019. There is furthermore a forthcoming article, jointly written by Urpo Kantola, on the onomastic strategies of Greek elites with Roman citizenship.

[70] Cf. also Raepsaet-Charlier 1993; 2011. There are also other important prosopographical studies, notably Settipani 2001 and several contributions by F. Chausson (see bibliography).

[71] A prosopographical catalogue of equestrian women is also soon to be published by Álvarez Melero.

[72] It would be impossible to list here all the relevant scholarship concerning Roman women, but some works can be pointed out. In general: Pomeroy 1975; Hallett 1984; Cantarella 1987; Dixon 2001. The legal status of women: Treggiari 1991; Gardner 1986; Arjava 1996; Evans Grubbs 2002. Women and civic life: Hemelrijk 2015; Buonopane & Cenerini (eds.) 2005. Women's education: Hemelrijk 1999. Women and work: Buonopane & Cenerini (eds.) 2003. Imperial women: Hahn 1994; Kolb (ed.) 2010. Girlhood: Caldwell 2015. Recently also women and status competition: Webb 2019.

1.3 Sources and methods

The researcher of Roman onomastics navigates usually somewhere between philology and ancient history. Names are always a part of language and therefore, to be sure, the study of names is always the study of language. In order to put the names in their right context, however, one needs to operate across a wide range of disciplines, in this case including Roman social, cultural, political, and even legal history. The overall theoretical framework for the analysis of names in its turn is set up by onomastic theory concerning for instance semantics (or the relation between names and meaning) and the sociolinguistic study of names (or socio-onomastics), supported by theories from the social sciences, concerning language, identity, status, and gender.[73] This framework is helpful when attempting to answer questions such as *why* and *under what circumstances* certain names were given and used in certain groups in the society. Due to the nature of the source material a sovereign command of the methods of epigraphic research is also necessary.

The material for this study consists of written primary sources. These include the literary accounts of ancient authors as well as inscriptions in Latin and Greek, and to a minor degree, papyri and coins. Inscriptions form by far the largest and most significant source material for anyone studying Roman onomastics and are important for both quantitative and qualitative reasons. Firstly, they attest hundreds of thousands of individuals that are not known from other sources and therefore allow for meaningful statistical analysis.[74] They are our most significant source material for the studying of the non-elite members of the society, but also invaluable for our knowledge of the upper-most strata, especially in periods that are poorly documented in literary accounts, or covered only by inferior sources.[75] Secondly, inscriptions tend to record a person's nomenclature in a more complete and detailed manner than literary accounts, often including the filiation and, in the case of freeborn men, the voting tribe. For married women even the husband's name is sometimes given. Literary sources, on the other hand, tend to use abbreviated nomenclatures, usually referring to individuals with one or two names only (e.g. simply *Cicero / M. Tullius / Tullius*)—which may even be

[73] The term *Sozioonomastik* was first introduced in German by Hans Walther (1971), who defined its main objectives as 1) studying the social origin and the use of different variants of proper names within various situations and contexts, and 2) taking into account the name-giver, name-bearer, and name-user. For some more recent scholarship on socio-onomastic theory, see Ainiala & Östman 2017.

[74] Even when excluding the *instrumenta domestica,* the city of Rome alone yields over 100 000 Latin inscriptions. Cf. Bruun 2014, p. 471; Bodel 2001, p. 8. In the *EDCS* database there are over 500 000 Latin inscriptions from around the Empire and the number is constantly growing.

[75] Such as, for example, the so-called *Historia Augusta,* which is notorious for its tendency for invention and fabrication (see e.g. von Albrecht 2012, p. 1189ff.).

corrupted by the manuscript tradition.[76] Furthermore, inscriptions are almost exclusively contemporary documents, recording real people who once existed. This is not necessarily the case with literary works, which may (especially in the case of poetry and the ancient novel) refer to imaginary persons.

Inscriptions and their interpretation are naturally not without problems of their own. One thing to be kept in mind is that, although we have close to 100 000 Latin inscriptions from the city of Rome alone, we do not obviously know the names of most of the people who lived there in a given time, let alone during the time span of several hundred years. In other words, even though the material is abundant enough for a meaningful quantitative analysis, it will never be able to tell us some "absolute truth" of the onomastic habits of the Romans. Another quantitative matter to be kept in mind, particularly from the point of view of this study, is the fact that women are always underrepresented in our sources, meaning that there are by far fewer women's than men's names preserved from all areas.[77] Furthermore, not all social groups are equally represented, as it was more likely for people of some wealth and status to be recorded in inscriptions than it was for the people belonging to the very lowest strata of the society. Still, the fact that we have an abundant amount of inscriptions recording people from outside the traditional political elite and set up for or by them (slaves, former slaves, women, children, foreigners), is basically one of the key factors that makes epigraphic evidence so valuable for the study of ancient societies.

The type of inscription and the role of the person mentioned in it can also be significant. For instance, the name of the deceased in an epitaph (which form the majority of all inscriptions) is likely to be in the 'full' form. Likewise, a person honoured in an honorific inscription is quite likely to be recorded in a more or less comprehensive manner. Sometimes, however, we have names of individuals carved on other types of surfaces, such as the so-called *instrumenta domestica*, in which people's names tend to appear in a less formal manner. Graffiti in particular are often unofficial by their very nature, and therefore a text scrabbled for instance on a Pompeian wall might not always be the most reliable source for investigating the person's full nomenclature (although this naturally depends on many things, such as the overall content and purpose of the graffito).[78]

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[76] As an example, it still remains unknown whether the praenomen of the author Cornelius Tacitus was *Publius* or *Gaius*. Both appear in different codices. As the Roman habit was to abbreviate praenomina with only one letter (in this case *P.* and *C.*), such confusions are quite understandable.

[77] This, as Leibring 2016, p. 201 notes, is in fact a general tendency in all premodern societies.

[78] Election posters—which provide interesting information regarding the names of the candidates for political offices—are not utterly relevant for my purposes, since women were not eligible to run. Sometimes, however, we have evidence of women as political supporters—but usually mentioned only by their cognomen and with no clear reference to their status. In rare cases, a woman's full name may be recorded in a graffito, such as that of Cornelia P. f. Oresti-

As noted above, inscriptions, despite often being formulaic and thus conservative by nature, sometimes offer glimpses of linguistic and orthographic variation. While this makes the epigrapher's life interesting, it may also cause some confusion when studying names. For instance, it may sometimes be difficult to tell whether a name form recorded in an epitaph represents nothing else than an orthographic variant of an existing name (or a "vulgar" form of one), or a completely different name altogether.

Some methodological problems concerning the literary accounts of ancient writers have already been mentioned above. But while they can be problematic, literary sources are also invaluable when studying the upper classes. Firstly, they obviously narrate the thoughts, traditions, and habits of the Roman elite in a way that is superior to any other source group. It is true that they are almost exclusively written by elite men for other elite men—a thing to be kept in mind in all classical studies—but these things are not disconnected from the lives of the elite women who regularly appear in the biographies of Suetonius and Plutarch, in the histories of Tacitus, or in the works of Cicero and in the letters of Pliny, just to name a few authors. Also, as for the women of the republican time in particular (and how they may have been called), literary accounts contribute greatly to our knowledge, especially since epigraphic evidence is often scarce for that period (much of our understanding of senatorial women's names during the Republic relies on literary sources; cf. 3.3).

In certain cases, also numismatic and papyrological evidence may add to our knowledge of onomastic practices; but Roman coins and papyri are so scarce in my material that they do not have much impact on the overall analysis and therefore need not be discussed here in detail.

The material, generally speaking, has been collected by using the following methods: 1) by carefully examining relevant epigraphic corpora; 2) by conducting searches in epigraphical online databases with certain dating or geographical criteria and/or keywords;[79] and 3) by systematically going through the relevant prosopographical works (e.g. *PFOS*, *PIR*^{2}, *PLRE* I) and works of Roman onomastics (particularly Kajanto 1965).[80] After this the material has been arranged digitally in tabular form, which allows for easy extraction of relevant data concerning for example different name types, suffixes, and the chronological, social, and geographical distribution of the names/inscriptions. The chronological scope is mostly limited to the first

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na (*CIL* IV 6812, Reg. VI, ins. 9, Casa del Centauro; for her name and its possible connection to the wife of Caligula, see Kajava 1984).

[79] For Latin inscriptions the main database has been the *EDCS*, with supporting data from the *EDR*, and *EDB*; for Greek inscriptions primarily the *PHI* database, and for Greek names the *LGPN*. The *TLL Online* has also been useful, particularly for the attestations and etymologies of certain names/words.

[80] I have also converted the whole of Kajanto's catalogue of Latin cognomina into digital form.

three centuries CE, thus corresponding to the scope of the *PIR*[2], with the addition of the late republican material starting from the first appearance of the cognomen in women's nomenclature. This allows for meaningful diachronic observations but still retains some coherence—whereas the late antique material and onomastics would require a survey of their own (cf. 1.1.3).

1.4 Remarks on terminology

In order to avoid any unnecessary confusion, some issues concerning the language and terminology used in this study ought to be clarified. The word "onomastic item" is used to refer to any component of a full Roman nomenclature, including not only the proper name(s) of the individual but also any possible patronymic or gamonymic. The term "common word" or "lexical item" is sometimes used to refer to any word of the Latin lexicon, as opposed to "proper name" or "onomastic item", i.e. a name of the onomasticon (though "common words" could naturally be used as proper names). The term "appellative" is also sometimes used for a similar purpose.

The terms "elite", "upper-class", and "aristocratic" are sometimes used without distinction to refer to the senatorial and equestrian aristocracy, but they are also sometimes used more broadly to refer to individuals and families that were prominent on the local and municipal level. In such cases, however, the definition "local", "municipal", "provincial", or some other specification will be added. When defining, which women are to be counted as senatorial, I have in principle taken into account any woman whose father and/or husband was (probably) a senator or whose status is otherwise indicated (e.g. through an indication such as *c(larissima) f(emina) / c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*).[81]

The Latin word *ingenuus/ingenua* is sometimes used to refer to freeborn male and female citizens, as opposed to *libertus/liberta* who had become free only later on in life. Most of the onomastic terminology has already been clarified above in 1.1.1. It should, however, be noted that, for the sake of variation, the terms *praenomen* and "first name" are used interchangeably, and the same goes for the *nomen (gentilicium)*, which is sometimes simply referred to either as the *nomen* or the *gentilicium*, or with the English term "gentile name" (or even "family name").

[81] And in general, I have taken into account all the women registred by Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS*), though in some doubtful cases I have voiced some concern. As for the senatorial *ordo,* it has traditionally been thought that Augustus transformed it into a hereditary class. However, according to a recent paper (Weisweiler 2020), the 'order' was not necessarily an aristocracy of birth, but rather of merit. This, however, does not have a great impact on this study as a whole, since most women classified here as 'senatorial' are known as wives and/or daughters of senatorial office holders.

1.5 Aim and purpose of the present study

The aim of this study is to thoroughly investigate Latin female cognomina and various naming practices concerning Roman women during a time period of approximately 400 years, ranging from the first emergence of the cognomen in women's nomenclature in the late republican period around c. 100 BCE to c. 300 CE. After this introduction, the present study is divided in three main parts:

Chapter 2, 'The Nature of the Latin Female Cognomen', deals with the type and form of (Latin) female cognomina. The intention is to give a general picture and typology of the names that women could (or could not) have in the first place, as well as to offer a critical survey on the various ways, in which female cognomina could be formed.

Chapter 3, 'The Early Use of the Female Cognomen', investigates the early use and chronology of female cognomina: When did the cognomen emerge as part of women's nomenclature and how did its use spread in different layers of the society and throughout Italy? The chapter also includes a typological discussion of these early cognomina.

Finally, in Chapter 4, 'The Use and Choice of the Female Cognomen during the Empire', the discussion proceeds to the imperial time, when the cognomen had already become a standard item in women's nomenclature. The time span of this chapter is roughly limited to the first three centuries CE, though some later material is occasionally used as examples as well. The emphasis is on the name-choice and different naming strategies: How were women's cognomina chosen and what kinds of factors influenced the decision in different levels of the society?

After all this, the concluding Chapter 5, 'Summary and Conclusions', will follow, in which the general and most noteworthy results of this study are summarized and analyzed as a whole.

In short, this study is the first comprehensive investigation of Roman female cognomina with a large social and cultural scope. In the field of historical onomastics, the Roman name system, due to its complex nature, provides a particularly fruitful ground for such research. The full name of a Roman individual in its complete form not only helps to identify a given person but also connects them to a specific family and, indeed, to the Roman state, and indicates the social and legal status of the name-bearer. As men and women did not have equal societal rights, the conventions concerning naming also differed between them. Also, the various beliefs, images, and connotations generally linked to womanhood and the female gender in a predominantly male-dominated society played a role in terms of the choice of female names.[82] This is often clear not only in the semantic content of the name but

[82] In fact, in practically every language and culture there is a certain distinction between male and female names in terms of semantics. It is for example a common tendency that names

also in the formal way the names were coined. In addition to all this, there were naturally differences—like in all societies—amongst women themselves, depending on their social, economic, and cultural capital, inter alia (to borrow the terminology of P. Bourdieu).[83]

Names, to quote L. Konstanski and G. Puzey, "reflect community mores and social customs, while functioning as powerful determinants of inclusion and exclusion".[84] In a highly hierarchical society such as ancient Rome, such tendencies are often clearly recognizable. This is particularly the case with cognomina, which, in comparison to the other name types, attest to great variation in terms of form and semantic content.

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referring to strength and bellicosity are given to men, whereas women's names often have to do with 'softer' features, such as beauty, peacefulness, etc. See Leibring 2016 for a more thorough discussion.

[83] See e.g. Bourdieu 1986; 1979.

[84] Konstanski & Puzey 2016, xiii. That naming can be seen as a social and political act is also noted by Bourdieu (1991, p. 105) in whose words "(...) there is no social agent who does not aspire, as far as his circumstances permit, to have the power to name and to create the world through naming".

2 The Nature of the Latin Female Cognomen

2.1 The types and variety of Latin female cognomina

The variety of different cognomina was large. Linguistically speaking cognomina could be Latin (or Italic), Celtic, Etruscan (though in a Latinized form), Greek, or 'barbaric'.[85] Latin names were obviously the most numerous and also the 'most Roman' of these. Kajanto (1965) lists almost 2 400 different Latin female cognomina, which are attested for 36 500 women. However, most of them are attested only once or twice; in fact, the four (4) most popular cognomina alone form c. 11% of all the attestations, and the top 10 over 20%.

The situation is similar for men: over 4 800 different cognomina attested for over 94 000 men, but the five most popular cognomina represent over 10 000 cases. It could be thought, as Kajanto puts it, that, "(...) the Romans had little imagination in name-giving".[86] This is true in a certain sense, and fashion and tradition clearly were important factors in choosing a cognomen. However, the great number of different names and name forms shows that there was also room for some imagination, if so wanted. Besides, even among the most popular cognomina, there was regional and chronological variation that ought to be kept in mind.

Below, I have given a list of the 15 most popular female and male cognomina and the number of their bearers in Kajanto's (1965) catalogue.[87]

[85] For a general overview of Greek cognomina in the city of Rome, cf. Solin 2003. For Etruscan cognomina, cf. Rix 1963.

[86] Kajanto 1965, p. 30.

[87] I have included in the table only material from the imperial period; in other words I have excluded all the cases of republican aristocracy and of *CIL* I^2. As to the distribution of the name-bearers, the category 'free' somewhat problematically seems to include both *ingenui* and *incerti*. For the other abbreviations: sen. = senatorial; sl/lib. = slaves & *liberti/ae*; Christ. = Christian. For a comprehensive list of cognomina in order of popularity, see Appendix 1.

Table 1: The top 15 cognomina for men and women in Kajanto 1965:

Women		Men	
1. Fortunata	**1093** total: 961 free, 86 sl/lib., 46 Christ.	1. Felix	**3668** total: 21 sen., 2984 free, 513 sl/lib., 150 Christ.
2. Secunda	**1067** total: 2 sen., 906 free, 130 sl/lib., 29 Christ.	2. Saturninus	**1815** total: 40 sen., 1712 free, 63 sl/lib.
3. Prima	**1014** total: 2 sen., 705 free, 267 sl/lib., 40 Christ.	3. Victor	**1677** total: 6 sen., 1491 free, 51 sl/lib., 129 Christ.
4. Victoria[88]	**750** total: 1 sen., 566 free, 19 sl/lib., 165 Christ.	4. Maximus	**1653** total: 82 sen., 1481 free, 22 sl/lib., 68 Christ.
5. Saturnina	**734** total: 3 sen., 682 free, 49 sl/lib.	5. Secundus	**1608** total: 24 sen., 1428 free, 125 sl/lib., 31 Christ.
6. Ianuaria	**693** total: 1 sen., 571 free, 41 sl/lib., 80 Christ.	6. Rufus	**1534** total: 76 sen., 1433 free, 24 sl/lib., 1 Christ.
7. Maxima	**674** total: 9 sen., 601 free, 14 sl/lib., 50 Christ.	7. Fortunatus	**1422** total: 3 sen., 1219 free, 164 sl/lib., 36 Christ.
8. Sabina	**586** total: 7 sen., 496 free, 32 sl/lib., 51 Christ.	8. Primus	**1370** total: 8 sen., 1105 free, 225 sl/lib., 32 Christ.
9. Tertia	**491** total: 1 sen., 391 free, 91 sl/lib., 8 Christ.	9. Ianuarius	**1314** total: 2 sen., 1120 free, 120 sl/lib., 72 Christ.
10. Severa	**486** total: 7 sen., 428 free, 13 sl/lib., 38 Christ.	10. Severus	**1250** total: 70 sen., 1100 free, 34 sl/lib., 46 Christ.
11. Felicitas	**458** total: 316 free, 11 sl/lib., 131 Christ.	11. Crescens	**1034** total: 6 sen., 919 free, 88 sl/lib., 21 Christ.
12. Proc(u)la	**432** total: 8 sen., 407 free, 6 sl/lib., 11 Christ.	12. Faustus	**970** total: 11 sen., 707 free, 238 sl/lib., 14 Christ.
13. Primigenia	**430** total: 335 free, 91 sl/lib., 4 Christ.	13. Proc(u)lus	**932** total: 60 sen., 854 free, 12 sl/lib., 6 Christ.
14. Felic(u)la	**420** total: 340 free, 70 sl/lib., 10 Christ.	14. Priscus	**869** total; 50 sen., 760 free, 50 sl/lib., 9 Christ.
15. Hilara	**410** total: 171 free, 220 sl/lib., 19 Christ.	15. Sabinus	**846** total: 38 sen., 742 free, 33 sl/lib., 33 Christ.

One can immediately see that the names are more or less the same for both women and men (*Secunda/Secundus*, *Fortunata/Fortunatus*, etc.; *Felicitas* and *Felic(u)la* can be regarded as female forms of *Felix*, and *Victoria* of *Victor*), though there are slight differencies in their proportionate frequency. There are, to be sure, a couple of names that do not have a corresponding form in the other column, e.g. the male *Cresce(n)s*, which does not have an equally popular female variant (the most popular one, *Crescentina*, has 74 cases in

[88] This cognomen is primarily attested in Africa: 381 out of 584 cases (free + sl/lib.), according to Kajanto.

Kajanto 1965). On the other hand *Tertius,* the masculine form of *Tertia* (the 9th most popular female cognomen), has 535 attestations in Kajanto 1965, even if it does not make it to the list above.

All the figures above, however, can be somewhat misleading since they fail to take into consideration certain social, geographical, and chronological factors. Firstly, the category "free" seems to include not only the freeborn but also the *incertae,* that is to say, Romans whose more specific status is not given. In other words, it is likely that this category also includes many freedmen and -women and their descendants.[89] For example, in the case of *Prima,* it is likely that many of the 711 free women were in fact former slaves or descendants of them—which is also suggested by the relatively high amount of slaves and *libertae.* The same goes for *Hilara* and *Primigenia,* which both attest to a great number of women with a servile background. Some names, moreover, are primarily found in later material or mostly restricted to a certain geographical area. Thus, for instance, *Victoria* and *Felicitas* are both largely attested in Christian and late Roman sources, and *Victoria* mostly in Africa (see n. 88 above). If only Italian material were included, the table would no doubt look slightly different. Also *Fortunata* and *Felicula* are names that one would not expect to find in great numbers in an early period (before the mid-first century CE). However, when excluding Christian women as well as slaves and freedwomen, the list does not look radically different. The only differences are that *Felicitas, Primigenia,* and *Hilara* no longer make it to the top 15, and they are instead replaced by *Tertulla* (370), *Rufina* (351), and *Prisca* (343).

What is clear is that the list of most popular cognomina comprises largely of, what could be called, semantically transparent simple forms, in other words names that correspond to existing words of the Latin lexicon. The majority of cognomina, however, were suffixed formations of some sort, i.e. cognomina derived from existing words and names with the use of different suffixes (2.4). Despite the predominance of a small number of popular names, the cognomen generally speaking was the most flexible of all the items of the Roman onomastic system. Theoretically, any suitable word or name could be harnessed for onomastic purposes and there was no limit to how many different names could be formed with various suffixes, as a quick look at the *Repertorium* of Solin & Salomies shows. The possibilities were endless, so to speak. This was a particular characteristic of Latin onomastics. While compound-formation was a common feature of many Indo-European languages, including Greek, this was not the case with Latin, which, as Kajanto notes, "(...) made up for the loss by an extensive use of suffixes".[90]

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[89] Especially since freedpersons were more likely to exclude any such information regarding their legal status than the freeborn, and also since they seem to be overrepresented on epigraphic record in general.

[90] Kajanto 1965, p. 101. It should be noted, however, that in Late Antiquity, particularly in Christian nomenclature in North Africa, some new compounds start to emerge, of the type

With this in mind, Latin female cognomina can be formally divided in suffixed and non-suffixed names. A more elaborate categorization is, however, needed. There are different ways to do this. Kajanto (1965) follows a strictly etymological categorization, in which the cognomina are classified according to their lexical meaning or tracable etymology. In addition to cognomina obtained from gentilicia and praenomina, the categories include, amongst others, geographical, theophoric, and calendaric cognomina, as well as cognomina relating to origin, birth, age, occupations, fauna and flora, and many other things.[91] For the purpose of this study, however, a more general and formal approach will suffice.

First, there are two types of non-suffixed names—let us call them collectively 'simple forms' or 'simple cognomina'. These consist of adjectival and substantival formations in the 'basic' form. The majority of these are names corresponding to the words of the Latin lexicon, of the type *Secunda, Paulla, Prisca, Ursa.*

In contrast to these forms are various suffixed formations, in which a cognomen-suffix is used independently to coin a new name from an existing word or name. Suffixed forms, in turn, can be divided in various groups depending on how they were coined and from what. In addition, nomina gentilicia could be used in place of cognomina, as will be seen. With this in mind I have recognized the following main categories of Latin female cognomina:

1) Simple cognomina

   – Adjectival and substantival names

2) Suffixed formations

   – Cognomina derived from other cognomina

   – Cognomina derived from nomina

   – Cognomina derived from praenomina

3) Nomina used as cognomina

However, before discussing the formation of different name types in more detail, a general overview of senatorial women's cognomina is in place.

Deusdedit (cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 217), though these were always rare. There were also many compound-cognomina from Greek such as *Theophilus* (Θεό-φιλος) or *Nicepor* (Νική-φορος). These matters, however, are of little relevance for this study.

[91] There is also some considerable overlapping. In other words, some of the names are found in several categories. In order to arrive at correct numbers, I have tried to remove all the duplicates from my statistics.

2.2 Overview of senatorial women's cognomina

The idea of this chapter is to give a general overview of the cognomina used by women belonging to aristoratic families during the first three centuries CE. The list of names, in an alphabetical order, includes 279 Latin cognomina, with a total 690 cases (excluding nomina used as cognomina as well as supernomina). The total number of women is slightly lower, since in some cases one woman could bear two or more cognomina. For more detailed references regarding the name-bearers, see Appendix 2a, in which the cases are chronologically divided in three different time periods (roughly corresponding to the first three centuries). The number of senatorial cases is given below after each name. For the sake of comparison, I have also provided in parentheses the number of non-senatorial cases, based on the numbers in Kajanto 1965 (excluding Christian women and slaves/*libertae*). Whenever a name has been absent in Kajanto's catalogue, I have taken into account all the relevant cases that could be found using the *EDCS* search tool (again, excluding Christian cases and slaves/*libertae*).

After the list of names, some brief observations will follow.

Table 2: Senatorial women's cognomina:

Achaica	1	(0)	Bassa	4	(62)
Aciliana	1	(1)	Bassiana	2	(1)
Aemiliana	4	(11)	Bassilla	5	(28)
Aequa	2	(4)	Bassula	3	(1)
Aesernina	1	(1)	Blandiana?	1?	(0)
Afra	1	(15)	Brocchilla	1	(0)
Africana	1	(15)	Caeciliana	1	(10)
Agrippina	16	(43)	Calvina	2	(9)
Albina	2	(25)	Camilla	2?	(6)
Amb[ibula]	1	(0)	Campanilla	1	(2)
Apelliana	1	(0)	Candida	1	(78)
Aprulla	1	(24)	Cas(s)iana	2	(5)
Aquilina	3	(36)	Casta	1	(94)
Asiana	1	(0)	Catella	1	(0)
Asiatica	1	(16)	Celerina	5	(63)
Attica	1	(84)	Celsina	1	(31)
Atticilla	2	(60)	Celsinilla	2	(0)
Augurina	2	(19)	Certiana	1	(0)
Aureliana	1	(5)	Cethegilla	7	(2)
Avita	3	(96)	Clara	2	(64)
Avitiana	1	(1)	Claudiana	3	(14)
Baebiana	2	(1)	Claudilla	1	(1)
Balbilla	1	(15)	Clementiana	2	(11)
Balbina	2	(7)	Clementina	2	(15)

Concess[a]	1	(21)
Consortiana	1	(0)
Corneliana	1	(10)
Cornuta	2	(1)
Crescentina	1	(74)
Crispina	9	(89)
Crispinilla	4	(13)
Decidiana	1	(0)
Dec(u/i)mina	1	(18)
Dignitas	1	(3)
Dolabellina	1	(0)
Domitiana	1	(3)
Domitilla	3	(11)
Domna	3	(6)
Drusilla	2	(6)
Eburna	1	(0)
Egyptilla	1	(0)
Etruscilla	1	(0)
Fabulla	1	(13)
Fadilla	6	(2)
Fadiula	1	(0)
Falconilla	1	(0)
Faustilla	1	(59)
Faustina	14	(232)
Faustinilla	1	(0)
Favonilla	1	(0)
Flaccilla	4	(28)
Flaccina	1	(5)
Flaccinilla	1	(1)
Flaviana	1	(0)
Flavianilla	1	(0)
Flavola	1	(0)
Florentina	1	(58)
Florina	1	(10)
Frestana	2	(0)
Frontina	5	(25)
Frontoniana	1	(0)
Fundana	2	(13)
Furnilla	2	(0)
Fusca	1	(52)
Fuscina	1	(13)
Fuscinilla	2	(3)
Gaetulica	1	(2)
Galbilla	2	(0)
Galla	10	(120)
Gallitta	2	(12)
Gargonilla	1	(0)
Gaviana	1	(1)
Gelliola	1	(0)
Gemellina	1	(32)
Gemina	2	(56)
Germanilla	3	(11)
Gordiana	1	(0)
Graecina	1	(10)
Granilla	1	(2)
Grata	1	(70)
Gratilla	2	(25)
Hilaritas	2	(43)
Hispulla	3	(1?)[92]
Honorata	5	(189)
Honoratiana	1	(0)
Ianuaria	1	(571)
Isaurica	2	(4)
Italica	1	(9)
Iucunda	1	(195)
Iuliana	5	(79)
Iuncina	1	(0)
Iuniana	1	(7)
Iunilla	1	(11)
Iusta	3	(203)
Laenilla	2	(1)
Laeta	2	(53)
Laetilla	1?	(2)
Larga	1	(4)
Lepida	11	(22)
Liviana	1	(0)
Livilla	2	(3)
Lolliana	1	(2)
Longina	2	(35)
Lucana	4	(24)
Lucilla	8	(107)
Luciola	1	(3)
Luculla	2	(18)
Lupula	1	(45)
Macrina	2	(46)

[92] There is one upper-class Hispulla of uncertain status, cf. n. 260.

Maeciana	1	(2)
Maesa	1	(0)
Magna	4	(87)
Magnilla	1	(7)
Manliola	3	(2)
Marcella	11	(320)
Marcellina	5	(194)
Marciana	8	(122)
Marciola	1	(2)
Marianilla	1	(3)
Marina	1	(61)
Mariniana	1	(1)
Marsilla	1	(2)
Marullina	3	(8)
Materna	1	(107)
Maxima	16	(601)
Maximilla	3	(117)
Medullina	1	(1)
Messal(l)ina	4	(7)
Modesta	3	(108)
Modestiana	1	(1)
Modestina	1	(13)
Naevilla	1	(0)
Nemesiana	1	(0)
Nepotiana	1	(4)
Nepotilla	2	(17)
Nerulla	1	(3)
Nigrina	1	(29)
Nobilis	1	(7)
Novatilla	1	(1)
Novella	2	(43)
Numantina	1	(0)
Numisiana	1	(0)
Nummula	1	(0)
Ocellina	2	(0)
Octavilla	3	(1)
Oculata	2	(2)
Openda	1	(0)
Orestina	1	(5)
Orestilla	1	(0)
Pacata	2	(38)
Pacula	1	(1)
Paculla	1	(3)
Paetina	3	(8)
Pansina	1	(0)
Papiana	2	(1)
Paterna	1	(97)
Patruina	1	(2)
Paul(l)a/Polla	18	(124)
Paul(l)ina	20	(192)
Peticianilla	1	(0)
Petroni[ana]	1	(1)
Pia	2	(103)
Picentina	1	(4)
Pietas	1	(22)
Placida	2	(35)
Plancina	2	(3)
Platorina	1	(0)
Plautilla	2	(5)
Plotina	6	(6)
Pollitta	4	22
Pompeiana	1	(8)
Postuma	2	(43)
Potitiana	1	(0)
Praenestina	1	(7)
Praetextata	4	(1)
Prima	1	(705)
Prisca	10	(337)
Priscilla	3	(126)
Privata	1	(68)
Privigna	1	(0)
Proba	1	(51)
Procilla	5	(61)
Procula	20	(407)
Proculina	2	(16)
Prospera	1	(1)
Publiana	1	(3)
Pudentilla	1	(21)
Pulchra	2	(9)
Purgilla	1	(0)
Quadratilla	4	(16)
Quarta	1	(230)
Quartilla	4	(65)
Quinta	1	(244)
Quintilla	1	(71)
Quintina	3	(36)
Rectina	1	(6)
Regilla	3	(33)

Regina	2	(25)	Telesina	1	(5)
Rogatilla	1	(3)	Tertulla	10	(364)
Romana	2	(154)	Tiberina	1	(7)
Romula	1	(37)	Tigris	1	(43)
Rufiana	1	(2)	Titiana	4	(5)
Rufilla	4	(54)	Torquata	8	(3)
Rufina	20	(340)	Triaria	1	(2)
Rustica	1	(85)	Urbana	1	(247)
Sabina	11	(496)	Urbica	2	(73)
Sabiniana	2	(9)	Urgulanilla	1	(0)
Sabinilla	2	(12)	Valentilla	2	(6)
Sacrata	1	(0)	Valeriana	3	(54)
Salonina	2	(4)	Varanilla	1	(0)
Saturnina	4	(682)	Var(i)a	5	(1)
Scantilla	1	(2)	Varenilla	1	(0)
Secunda	4	(906)	Varilla	2	(11)
Secundilla	4	(94)	Varronilla	1	(1)
Seneciana	1	(0)	Venusta	1	(175)
Senecilla	1	(1)	Vera	3	(195)
Serena	1	(38)	Veranilla	2	(3)
Sertoriana	1	(1)	Verissima	1	(3)
Servianilla	1	(0)	Vestin[a]	1	(9)
Servilla	2	(1)	Vet(t)illa	1	(3)
Severa	10	(428)	Vettula	1	(3)
Severiana	3	(16)	Vic[t]orina	1	(306)
Severina	3	(117)	Violentilla	2	(1)
Sextilla	1	(7)	Viriola	1	(0)
Silana	1	(3)			
Statianilla	2	(0)			
Subatiana	2	(1)			
Supera	2	(19)			

The table above shows that the onomastic repertoire of senatorial women differs in some significant ways from the regular cognomina used by the *plebs*. For one, the names in general are more distinct: 54 of the cognomina are unknown outside the senatorial elite. Furthermore, many of the most popular cognomina of the *plebs,* discussed above in 2.1, are either absent or only rarely attested. For example, numeral names are rare (*Secunda* has four attestations, *Tertia* none) and names such as *Fortunata, Felicula* and *Felicitas* are missing.

Some names, however, were popular in all social groups, e.g. *Sabina, Rufina,* the latter mostly attested from the second century onwards. Some of the most popular senatorial names, e.g. *Agrippina*, *Faustina*, are also well attested

outside the senatorial *ordo*, but this was most probably due to the influence of the senatorial name-bearers rather than anything else.

There are also some chronological matters that should be pointed out here (based on the chronological distribution of the cases in Appendix 2a). While some simple forms of the type *Paulla/Polla, Maxima* are attested for many senatorial women, they mostly become common after the first century. For instance, *Paulla* and *Maxima* each are attested for only one aristocratic woman during the first century, both cases dating from the latter half of the century.[93] Suffixed forms seem to have been considered more aristocratic, e.g. *Paul(l)ina* is attested for 11 senatorial women during the first century (and there is one earlier case as well; see 3.3.1), and *Maximilla* for two. Moreover, outside the senatorial elite *Rufa* was one of the most popular cognomina in the early period (see 3.2 below), but it is attested for no senatorial women. The suffixed form *Rufina,* however, is (mostly after the first century but there are two cases from this period as well, out of 20). Also, while *Tertia* is absent in senatorial women's nomenclature, the suffixed form *Tertulla* is fairly well attested.

The use of different suffixes will be discussed in better detail later. First, let us take a closer look at non-suffixed cognomina.

2.3 Simple forms

The most 'primitive' and basic group of Latin cognomina consists of names that formally correspond to words of the Latin lexicon. In Kajanto's (1965) catalogue, there are at least 850 female names of this type. Roughly speaking almost any type of appellative could function as a personal name, be it for example an adjective, numeral, noun, or participle, though semantic and formal factors naturally had an impact on what words were more desirable in this function than others.

We have seen above in 2.1 that almost all of the 15 most common cognomina were of the simple type. It is also noteworthy that before the emergence of the cognomen, such names were already occasionally used as wom-

[93] In both cases, the women seem to have come from outside the capital. Not much is known about Calpurnia Paulla, besides the fact that she was the wife of C. Caristanius Fronto, whose family originated in Pisidian Antioch (*PIR*² C 423; Halfmann 1979, p. 109). It may be worth pointing out that her nomenclature, including her nomen, was transmitted to her daughter Calpurnia Paulina, which could suggest that she came from a prestigious family (cf. n. 631 below). As for *Maxima*, it has been thought that Gavia Q. f. Maxima (*PFOS* 403), who donated 600 000 sesterces for the construction of an acqueduct in Verona (*CIL* V 3402 = *ILS* 5757), was the daughter of the Veronese senator Q. Gavius Atticus (*cos. suff.* 73?; *PIR*² G 93). This assumption, which is based on the filiation *Q. f.* and the origin of both persons, is not implausible. Also, given the fact that Gavia Maxima was clearly a woman of great wealth, it seems clear that she was in some way connected to the senatorial Gavii (cf. Alföldy 1979, p. 534f.; Andermahr 1998, p. 4).

en's praenomina, of the type *Polla, Secunda, Tertia, Maxima,* and it is only natural that these names came to be used as cognomina as well.[94]

While most cognomina belonging to this group formally correspond to words with a lexical meaning, it is important to remember that once they become names they no longer need to relate to whatever lexical meaning they once had—although they can, and in many cases they do.[95] In other words, when words from the lexicon enter the onomasticon, they can perfectly fullfill their function as an identifier without having to have a semantic connection to the name-bearer.

From a lexical point of view, the cognomina in this group can be divided in adjectival and substantival formations. In the latter group there were furthermore some proper names that were used as cognomina, mostly toponyms.

2.3.1 Adjectival cognomina

The majority of Latin cognomina were adjectival formations of some sort. These obviously include names corresponding to Latin adjectives (of the type *Lepida, Prisca, Rufa, Severa,* etc.) but also numerals (e.g. *Secunda, Tertia, Quinta*), certain participles (e.g. *Amans, Crescens*), ethnics (e.g. *Galla, Sabina*), and theophoric/calendaric names (e.g. *Saturnina, Veneria*). Also cognomina coined from other names with adjectival suffixes should be regarded as adjectival formations (*Aemiliana, Felicula,* etc.), but such will be discussed separately later under suffixed formations. Also some established personal names from other Italic languages with no clear lexical equivalent in Latin may be included here, since they clearly had an adjectival suffix (e.g. *Salvia*). Many female forms of men's praenomina are also of similar nature, but they will be discussed separately in 2.3.3 and 2.4.7.2.

Most of the adjectival cognomina corresponded to words with the termination *-a,* but there are also some names with different terminations (e.g. *-is, -ens*). The gender distribution of such names is discussed in 2.3.1.4.

2.3.1.1 Adjectives

From a purely lexical point of view, the majority of adjectival cognomina were wish-names, implying hopes for good life and future and relating to good character. *Fortunata,* the most popular female cognomen in Kajanto's catalogue (with 1093 attestations), is of this type. Other popular names with 50 or more attestations include *Severa* (486), *Hilara* (140), *Fausta* (303), *Iucunda*

[94] For the use of such names as praenomina and later also as cognomina, consult Kajava 1994. For the early use of cognomina in general, see Chapter 3 of the present study.
[95] On the relationship between a name and an appellative in general, see Nicolaisen 1995; cf. Nyström 2016.

(275), *Iusta* (241), *Vitalis* (240), *Vera* (215), *Felicissima* (213), *Venusta* 212), *Flora* (207; unless interpreted as the goddess of flowers, cf. 2.3.2.2 below), *Festa* (206), *Quieta* (124), *Modesta* (120), *Grata* (111), *Casta* (109), *Verecunda* (108), *Pia* (105), *Clara* (101), *Candida* (100), *Magna* (93), *Firma* (83), *Proba* (69), *Amabilis* (64), *Laeta* (59), *Amoena* (58), *Cara* (51), *Mansueta* (51), *Satura* (50). The cognomen *Felix* comes also close, with 46 women, but this was predominantly a male name (with 3668 men), and the more popular female variants were *Felicitas, Felic(u)la,* and *Felicissima* (see 2.3.1.4). Furthermore, the following names have more than 20 attestations: *Fructuosa* (45), *Serena* (45), *Placida* (44), *Benigna* (43), *Lepida* (42), *Festiva* (41), *Pacata* (40), *Secura* (39), *Lasciva* (33), *Lucida* (32), *Perpetua* (29), *Sedata* (26), *Fida* (25), *Blanda* (24), *Celsa* (23), *Suavis* (23), *Satulla* (22), *Florida* (21), *Bona* (20).

Another group of adjectives used as female cognomina include names relating to birth (e.g. birth order or the circumstances of birth), the most popular names of this type being *Maxima* (674), *Primigenia* (430), perhaps also *Prisca* (388) when given to a first-born daughter, *Primitiva* (283), *Postuma* (47), *Maior* (40), *Natalis* (36), *Supera* (21). Related to this group in terms of meaning are numeral cognomina of the type *Prima, Secunda, Tertia* (2.3.1.3), as well as some past participles, e.g. *Donata, Rogata, Optata* (2.3.1.2).

Adjectives referring to physical appearance could also be used as cognomina, e.g. *Rufa* (197), *Paulla* (137), *Fusca* (65), *Nigella* (42)—though names relating to the human body were more common in men's nomenclature (possibly because some names of this type were pejorative, emphasizing a part of the body in a non-flattering way; see below).

There were also calendaric and theophorical cognomina, some of which are among the most popular female cognomina, e.g. *Saturnina* (734), *Ianuaria* (693), *Veneria* (358). *Festa* (206) could also be interpreted as a calendaric name in a general sense, "relating to holidays". *Ianuaria* (relating to the god Ianus and/or the month of January), as well as *Veneria* (after the goddess of love and/or the day of Venus, i.e. Friday) are also frequently attested in Christian nomenclature (*Ianuaria* 80, *Veneria* 27 times), whilst for example *Saturnina* is completely absent in Christian sources.[96] There were, on the other hand, specifically Christian cognomina of this type, e.g. *Quadragesima* (4 Christian women), after the Christian fast of 40 days. Calendaric cognomina could also have to do with seasons, though these names are not very common: *Aestiva* (7),[97] *(H)iberna* (2),[98] *Autumna* (3, two of which freedwomen and one *incerta*),[99] *Vernalis* (*CIL* VIII 7359).

[96] This may also have to do with the fact that in Christian calendars, Sabbath takes over the *dies Saturni.* Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 213; 214; 218.

[97] *CIL* XIII 4167 (Belgica); *AE* 1944, 34 = *AE* 1980, 751 (Apulum); *CIL* II.14 115a = *HEp* 1996, 961 = *AE* 1995, 964 (Hisp. cit.); *CIL* II.14 741 = II 4034 (Saguntum); *CIL* VI 11185; 1186; Liverani & Spinola, p. 218.

[98] *RIB* I 377 (2nd c.); *CIL* VIII 4355 = 18541. Kajanto 1965 also records *CIL* XIII 6078 as a woman, even though we are clearly dealing with a man.

Another relevant group consists of ethnics and geographical names, of the type *Sabina* (586), *Romana* (183), *Galla* (140), *Attica* (112), *Florentina* (78; though in some cases this is surely a suffixed form of *Florens*), *Capitolina* (56), *Maura* (52), *Albana* (45), perhaps also *Germana* (41; though it can also be interpreted in the meaning "sister"), *Gaetula* (31), *Campana* (28), *Lucana* (25).[100] Obviously such names, like any other cognomina, could be chosen for a number of other reasons as well, for instance because they had been used in previous generations, or simply because they were fashionable or had an aristocratic ring to them.

Close to this group are cognomina that in some way indicate the person's background and status, e.g. *Urbana* (328), *Ingenua* (222), *Urbica* (111), *Rustica* (92), perhaps also *Silvana* (88),[101] *Privata* (87), *Peregrina* (84), perhaps also *Proc(u)la* (432),[102] *Montana* (62), *Maritima* (28), *Barbara* (24), *Libera* (24), *Colonica* (11).

There were also some popular cognomina that relate to the family, e.g. *Materna* (109), *Paterna* (102), *Avita* (99). Related to this group are also many nouns and their derivates, e.g. *Neptis, Nepotilla,* etc. (see 2.3.2.1).

Among men, particularly those of the republican aristocracy, there were also several adjectival cognomina with a pejorative meaning, usually referring to certain defects or deformities of the body. I am here thinking about names such as *Crassus,* 'fat', *Varus,* 'knock-kneed', *Scaurus,* 'club-footed'. Such names, however, were generally speaking avoided in women's nomenclature, although they could in some cases occur in a suffixed form (e.g. *Varilla* from *Varus*). In general, pejorative names are almost non-existent in the nomenclature of Roman women. This is, in fact, not surprising, given the general tendency in most Indo-European languages, of avoiding giving pejorative names to women.[103]

Bassa forms an interesting case in this respect. Etymologically speaking it was of non-Latin, perhaps of Oscan, origin, and for this reason Kajanto (1965) seems to have excluded it from his book of Latin cognomina. This, in my view, was a mistake, since the adjective *bassus,* while perhaps of non-Latin origin, certainly made its way to the spoken Latin, at least in later times, which is also evidenced by the vocabulary of the Romance languages.[104] The meaning seems to have been basically 'low' but also including the connota-

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[99] *ILJug* II 612 = *AE* 2010, 1153 (171-300): Raonia Autumna; *CIL* XIV (Tusculum): [---] Ↄ. l. Autumna; *CIL* VI 22818 (1st c.): Iulia L. l. Autumna.

[100] It is unclear to me if *Sirica* (28) should be included in this category ("relating to Syria") or interpreted as an orthographic variant of the adjective *serica.*

[101] Unless interpreted as a female variant of the god *Silvanus.*

[102] In the sense "born far away", cf. Paul. Fest. p. 225: *Proculum inter cognomina eum dicunt, qui natus est patre peregrinante a patria procul.*

[103] Cf. Stüber & Zehnder & Remmer (eds.) 2009 for female names in various Indo-European languages.

[104] Compare Italian *basso,* Spanish *bajo,* French *bas,* etc. The word is, however, rarely found in literary sources; cf. *TLL,* s.v. 'bassus' (retrieved 23rd Oct. 2019).

tion of not being particularly thin—or as it is put in the etymological dictionary of Ernout and Meillet, *crassus, non altus.*[105] It follows that the name could also be classified as a pejorative name, especially for women. This, however, seems to have been no impediment for its use—on the contrary, *Bassa* was a rather common cognomen not only in the lower but also in the upper classes of the Roman society.[106] It is reasonable to draw the conclusion that, as a personal name, it clearly did not have negative connotations in the same way as the more 'traditional' pejorative names, of the type *Crassus*, at least in the late republican and early imperial period. This may have to do with the name's non-Latin background, which perhaps made the name semantically less transparent for the Romans. Instead, it seems that *Bassa* was primarily viewed simply as a name—and in the eyes of the Roman *plebs* the name even seems to have had a certain upper-class ring to it.[107]

An interesting group of adjectival cognomina is formed by names that did not formally have separate masculine and feminine forms, e.g. *Amabilis, Crescens.* The use of such names is discussed below in 2.3.1.4.

2.3.1.2 Participles and gerundives

Verbal forms attested as female cognomina were mostly past participles, but also present participles as well as some future participles and gerundives are known. Past participles form the largest and most frequently attested group, with several popular names, e.g. *Donata* (327), *Successa* (318), *Rogata* (269), *Res(ti)tuta* (249), *Optata* (221), *Aucta* (115), *Ampliata* (101), *Extricata* (97), *Emerita* (48), *Redem(p)ta* (40), *Exorata* (38), *Potita* (37), *Accepta* (36), *Benedicta* (33), *Renata* (23), *Recepta* (23), *Concessa* (22), *Respecta* (22), *Adiecta* (21), *Dubitata* (18), *Reparata* (16), *Benenata* (14), *Finita* (11)—just to list the names with more than 10 cases documented by Kajanto.[108] In terms of meaning, many of these names could be used to indicate the anticipation or verification of birth, e.g. *Optata, Rogata, Recepta, Donata.* There were also some past participles, such as *Torquata* and *Praetextata*, which are attested for upper-class women, even if their frequency in general is low.[109]

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[105] Ernout & Meillet 1959, s.v. 'bassus,- a-, -um'.

[106] A quick search in the *EDCS* gives close to a hundred attestations of the cognomen (I counted at least 96 cases). As to the senatorial women, cf. at least *PFOS* 141, 407, 667; also *PIR*^{2} C 1082.

[107] Though it seems that among the senatorial aristocracy *Bassus* was still during the Republic considered a somewhat rustic name. By the imperial period, however, it had clearly become more socially acceptable even in the senatorial elite. Cf. Solin 1991, p. 171.

[108] For the catalogue, see Kajanto 1965, pp. 349ff.

[109] *Torquata*: Iunia Torquata (*PFOS* 475), grand Vestal during the Julio-Claudian period; Licinia Cornelia Volusia Torquata (*PFOS* 492); Metilia Torquata (549); (Nonia?) Torquata (*PFOS* 575); [P]oblicia Basilla Torquata (*PFOS* 621), *matrona senatoria* in the *ludi* of 204; Torquata (*PFOS* 762; nomen unknown); Volusia Torquata (*PFOS* 838). *Praetextata*: Sulpicia Praetextata (*PFOS* 745) and her daughter (Licinia) Praetextata (*PFOS* 495); Calpurnia Praetextata (*PFOS* 180, niece of the former); Cornelia Praetextata (*PIR*^{2} C 1494).

There were also some popular gerundive forms used as cognomina, such as *Amanda* (84) and *Servanda* (40).[110] Other gerundive names, which are attested for women, include *Augenda* (11),[111] *Colenda* (5), *Fruenda* (5), *Tuenda* (5), *Adaugenda* (3), *Veneranda* (3), *Probanda* (2), *Alenda* (*CIL* V 5151), *Orienda* (*CIL* VI 28580, freedwoman), *Speranda* (*CIL* VI 18434).[112]

While present participles of the type *Florens, Valens,* were common for men, they are only rarely attested for women, probably because the suffix *-(e)ns* was primarily seen as a masculine suffix. The only names documented by Kajanto seem to be *Amans* (1 woman, 3 men), *Exoriens* (1 woman, 3 men), *Geminans* (1 woman), *Habens* (1 woman), *Florens* (1 woman, 8 men). I will return to this later in 2.3.1.4.

Suffixed female forms, however, which were coined from present participles, were common, e.g. with *-illa* (*Florent-illa*), *-ina* (*Valent-ina*), *-iana* (*Crescent-iana*), and in later times with *-ia* (*Amant-ia, Florent-ia, Gaudent-ia*). Suffixed forms were also coined from past participles, e.g. *Auct-illa, Servat-illa, Advent-inus, Success-iana*, and gerundives *Amand-ina, Amand-iana*, though less often, it seems, than from present participles.

Future participles used as female (or any) cognomina were not numerous. In fact, there are only two such names that I am aware of, namely *Futura* and *Profutura.* Of these two, *Profutura* was by far the more popular variant with at least 35 attestations,[113] which was likely due to the name's positive semantic connotations ("one that will be useful/capable/of service"). *Futura* seems to be attested twice; for a freedwoman who lived during the first century CE

[110] For references, cf. Kajanto 1965.

[111] One of the cases (*CIL* IX 3937) is erroneously documented by Kajanto 1965, p. 359 as a separate name, *Agenda,* but it seems quite clear that the name ought to be read *Augenda.*

[112] *Speranda* is also documented in a Christian inscription from Carthage from the 5th c. (*AE* 1985, 861).

[113] At least in the following cases we seem to be dealing with a personal name: *CIL* XI 752 (Bononia): Coelia Profutura*; ILTun* 1109,76 (Carthago): Tadia C. l. Profutura; *ILAlg* I 2317 (Madaurus): Calpurnia Profutura; *CIL* III 9028= *ILJug* III, 2356 = *ILCV* 4502 (Salona, 4th c.): Desidien(a)e Profutur(a)e; *AE* 1981, 348 (Volsinii): Iulia Profutura; *NSA* 1919, 206 (Volsinii): Iulia Profutura (probably the same as above); *NSA* 1919, 207 (Volsinii): Tullia Profutura; *CIL* XI 1759 (Volaterrae): Vibia Profutura; *CIL* XIV 1155 (Ostia): Helvia Profutura; *CIL* XIV 1292 (Ostia): Malia [---] Profutura, daughter of Licinius Profuturus; *CIL* X 1729 = *AE* 1988, 296 (Puteoli): Ulpia Profutura; *CIL* XIII 1977 (Lugudunum): Aelia Profutura Aeli Profuturi filia; *CIL* XIII 2187 (Lugudunum): Iunia Profutura; *CIL* VIII 20752 (Auzia): Po(mpeia?) Profutura; *CIL* III 5467 (Traboch) Profuturae coniugi; *CIL* III 5947 (Castra Regina): Pedania Profutura; *CIL* VI 4753, Cornelia Profutura; CIL VI 12178, Appea Profutura; *CIL* VI 13634 = *ICVR* VIII 22619 (4th c.): Profuturae filiae dulcissimae; *CIL* VI 15569 Claudia Profutura; *CIL* VI 24996: Profutura patrona; *CIL* VI 29217: Egnatia Profutura; *ICVR* III 6871c (291-325 CE): [Pro]futura in pace; *ICVR* IV 11396: [Profu]tura; *ICVR* IX 25293: Iulia Profutura; *ICVR* IX 25462: Profutura(e) hic; *JIWE* II 371 (4th c.): Tyrisia Profutura; *ILCV* 4121a = *ICVR* IX 23771 (291-325 CE): Aelii Callistus et Profutura parentes; *AE* 1987, 105 (Roma; 150-230): Papiria Profutura; *CIL* V 5354 (Comum): Marcellia Profutura; *CIL* V 5368 (Comum; 2nd c.): Romania Profutura; *CIL* V 5388 (Comum; 2nd c.): Valeria Profut[ura]; *AE* 2004, 520 (Ameria): Vetulen(a)e Profut[urae]; *CIL* V 1142 (Aquileia): Casta Profutura; *AE* 1986, 76 (Rome, 171-230 CE), Veria Profutura.

(*CIL* VI 16746) and for a Christian woman of a later period (*ICVR* III 7370d).

2.3.1.3 Numerals

Ordinal numbers were frequently used as cognomina in women's nomenclature, first as praenomina and later as cognomina. These names were practical for indicating birth order or the circumstances of birth, but obviously they could also be used, like any other cognomen, without any clear connection between their lexical meaning and the name-bearer—much like men's praenomina of the type *Quintus, Sextus,* and *Decimus*, the bearers of which in most cases had nothing to do with "the fifth", "the sixth", and "the tenth". It is noteworthy that the first five of these (*Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, Quinta*) are frequently attested and in fact form 8.5% of the attestations of all cognomina in Kajanto's (1965) catalogue, and if suffixed forms are also counted (*Secundilla, Tertulla,* etc.), the number rises to over 12%.[114] By contrast, ordinals between 6 and 10 are attested only rarely or not at all.[115] This can be explained through the fact that families with more than five surviving daughters (or children for that matter) were rare.

According to the evidence compiled by Kajanto (1965), the most popular of the numeral cognomina was *Secunda,* with 1067 cases. *Prima,* with 1014 cases, holds the second place, while *Tertia,* with 491 cases, comes third. Next come *Quarta* (276) and *Quinta* (268). Some brief comments are in place. First, the popularity of *Secunda* is no surprise, since it was a natural name-choice for a second-born daughter. Furthermore, when interpreted as an adjective, *Secunda,* also bore the positive meaning 'favourable'.

As for *Prima,* it has already been noted (in 2.1) that it was a popular name among slaves and freedwomen. It is also frequently attested for freeborn women, but clearly less so than *Secunda.* There may be several reasons for this. For one, the first-born daughter would perhaps be more likely to receive a more distinct cognomen (or no cognomen at all in early times)—or to put it another way, a first-born would perhaps less likely be called 'the first' (with no way of knowing if there are going to be other daughters) than a second-born would have been called 'the second'. Second, and perhaps more importantly, *Prima* had several synonyms that were popular cognomina as well, such as *Primigenia* (430) and *Primitiva* (283).

It should also be pointed out that Kajanto did not take into consideration Greek inscriptions (unless published in the *AE*). The proportion of *Tertia,* for instance, would be probably be higher, if the Greek material was also includ-

[114] And this does not include such forms as *Quintilla, Quintiana,* and the like, since they could also be derived from the nomen *Quintius.*

[115] *Sexta* (13), *Septima* (19), *Octava* (1), *Decima* (5). *Nona* is not known as a cognomen, but this may be due to accident of survival.

ed, since *Tertia,* alongside with *Polla,* was a popular name in the Greek East.[116]

One also needs to consider the fact that some names, such as *Quinta* and *Sexta,* were also the corresponding female forms of the male praenomina *Quintus* and *Sextus* and could be used as such instead of genuine numerals (see 2.3.3).

As a general observation, numeral cognomina were characteristic of the nomenclature of the lower rather than the upper classes. In the catalogue of Raepsaet-Charlier, only four senatorial women bear the cognomen *Secunda*, two of them being of unclear status and one also having another cognomen of more distinct nature (*PFOS* 183; 690; 691; 830).[117] There is also one senatorial case of *Prima* (*PFOS* 45) and one *Quinta* (*PFOS* 677), the exact background of both women, however, being unclear.[118] In the nomenclature of senatorial women, suffixed forms of numeral names were more common: *Tertulla* (8)[119], *Secundilla* (3)[120], *Quartilla* (2)[121], *Quintina* (Agedia Quintina, *PFOS* 41), *Sextilla* (Aurelia Sextilla, *PFOS* 139).

2.3.1.4 The gender of adjectival "unisex" cognomina

Grammatically speaking most adjectives had separate masculine and feminine forms, and accordingly most adjectival cognomina had corresponding forms for men and women, e.g. *Priscus – Prisca, Rufus – Rufa,* and so forth. However, there were also a number of adjectives, whose masculine and feminine forms were identical with each other. These are mostly third declension adjectives of the type *Vitalis, Amabilis, Clemens, Elegans.* This also applies to

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[116] For the popularity of *Tertia* as a praenomen in the Greek East, see Kajava 1994, p. 82; 101ff.

[117] The polyonymous Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PFOS* 830 = *PIR*^{2} V 914) from Casinum also had the cognomen *Quadratilla,* probably as her primary cognomen (*PIR*^{2} V 914). Calpurnia Secunda (*PFOS* 183) is attested as the owner of *figlinae Tempesinae* in 110-120 CE (*CIL* XV 610/611), but nothing else is known of her. [---] Secunda (*PFOS* 690) is known from a fragmentary inscription from Brixia (*CIL* V 4364 = *InscrIt.* X.5 152) as the wife of *Prisc(us?*), who served as a legate. Her nomen is not known. The third Secunda, wife of Claudius Maximus (*cos. suff.* 142), is only known to us through the writings of Marcus Aurelius, again with no nomen (M. Aur. 8, 25, 1).

[118] Prima's nomen has not surived, but she is recorded in *CIL* IX 3649 = *AE* 1979, 197 = 1991, 565 (Cerfennia, 43-70) as the mother of [Vettius] Scato, who served as a military tribune in Germany. T. P. Wiseman has suggested that she bore the nomen *Alfia* (hence [Alfia?] Prima in *PFOS* 45; cf. Wiseman 1971, p. 279). As for Quinta (*PFOS* 677), her nomenclature is recorded in several *tegulae* from Patavium as *Sab(inia?) C. f. Quinta Must. Aug. (uxor)* (*CIL* V 8110,288). The husband has been identified as T. Mustius Hostilius Fabricius Medulla Augurinus (*PIR*^{2} S 6; cf. *PIR*^{2} M 759).

[119] Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38); Arrecina Tertulla (*PFOS* 93); Decia Tertulla (*PFOS* 309); Grania Tertull[a] (*PFOS* 409); Iulia Tertulla (*PFOS* 462); Lappia Tertulla (*PFOS* 483); Tertulla (*PFOS* 758); Trebicia Tertulla (*PFOS* 763).

[120] [---]ria Magia Secundil[la] (*PFOS* 100); Mundicia Secundilla (*PFOS* 564); Rufria Secundilla (*PFOS* 673).

[121] Annia Quartilla (*PFOS* 62); Titia Quartilla (*PFOS* 760).

present participles of the type *Amans, Florens*, as well as comparatives, of the type *Maior, Minor,* which did not have separate masculine and feminine forms. Whilst forms of this type were predominantly used in men's nomenclature, they are also sometimes attested for women.

In order to form a more detailed picture of the phenomenon, I have investigated all cognomina of this type, which are documented in Kajanto's (1965) catalogue. The following names are attested for women (in an alphabetical order):[122]

Absens (1 w)
Absens (1 w)
Agilis (1 w, 69)
Amabilis (64 w, 26 m)
Amans 1 w, 3 m),
Aprilis (7 w, 189 m)
Abstinens (1 w)
Augustalis (2 w, 163 m)
Auxiliaris (1 w, 2 m)
C(a)elestis (1 w, 2 m)
C(h)aritas (3 w)
Castre(n)sis (2 w, 66 m)
Cerialis (12 w, 197 m)
Civilis (1 w, 15 m)
Cleme(n)s (10 w, 555 m)
Co(n)stans (1 w, 94 m)
Communis (14 w, 184 m)
Confinis (1 w, 1 m)
Crescens (10 w, 1034 m)
Decembris (1 w)
Diligens (1 w, 11 m)
Docilis (2 w, 10 m)
Dotalis (1 w, 1 m)
Dulcis (5 w)
Elegans (7 w, 17 m)
Exoriens (1 w, 3 m)
Facilis (5 w, 13 m)
Fatalis (4 w, 36 m)
Felix (46 w, 3668 m)
Fidelis (8 w, 97 m)
Florens (1 w, 8 m)
Fontinalis (1 w, 3 m)
Fortio (1 w, 11 m)
Fortis (2 w, 141 m)
Frequens (2 w, 15 m)
Geminans (1 w)
Gentilis (1 w, 23 m),
Habens (1 w)
Hilaris (2 w, 5 m)
Hispaniensis (1 w, 1 m)
Ingens (1 w)
Iuvenilis (1 w, 5 m)
Iuvenis (1 w, 65 m)
Latiaris (1 w?, 5 m),[123]
Liberalis (19 w, 218 m)
Maior (40 w, 57 m)
Marmoris (1 w)
Martialis (2 w, 787 m)
Melior (1 w, 31 m)
Mercurialis (3 w, 72 m)
Minor (2 w, 2 m)
Nubilis (1 w)[124]
Natalis (36 w, 189 m)
Neptunalis (1 w, 29 m)
Niwalis (1 w, 27 m)
Nobilis (18 w, 33 m)
Nuptialis (2 w, 3 m),
Obsequens (2 w, 13 m)
Ostie(n)sis (2 w, 26 m)
Patricensis (1 w, 2 m)
Peculiaris (8 w, 93 m)
Pollens (1 w)
Potens (2 w, 37 m)
Praesens (1 w, 35 m)
Pude(n)s (6 w, 375 m)
Senilis (1 w, 48 m)
Silex (2 w, 3 m)
Similis (4 w, 61 m)
Sollemnis (1 w, 40 m)
Stabilis (1 w, 15 m)
Suavis (23 w, 150 m)
Triumphalis (2 w, 11 m)
Utilis (3 w, 28 m)
Vernalis (1 w, 4 m)
Vestalis (2 w, 74 m)
Vitalis (240 w, 771 m)

As the list above shows, cognomina of this type were predominantly used in men's nomenclature. Only two names, that have more than one attestation, are predominantly female. These are *Amabilis,* with 64 women and 26

[122] The number of attestations is given in brackets (w = women, m = men).
[123] The dubious female case is one of the two poloynymous daughters of Herodes Atticus. The cognomen may have more likely been *Latiaria* (cf. *PFOS* 55).
[124] Perhaps an orthographic variant of *Nobilis*?

men, and *Dulcis,* with 5 women and no men at all. It seems clear that semantic factors contributed to the fact that these two names were regarded more female than male, since 'lovable' and 'sweet' are attributes that were more likely to be associated with women and femininity than with men and masculinity.[125] However, semantics alone do not explain many cases. For instance, *Pude(n)s* is predominantly attested for men (375 cases; only 6 women), even though the adjective was associated with a certain type of idealized womanhood. This is probably due to the fact that names with the termination *-(e)ns* (e.g. present participles) tended to be male. In fact, all names with more than one attestation, with the exception of *Amabilis* and *Dulcis*, are primarily found in men's nomenclature. In terms of some names, however, the proportion of women is significant enough, especially given the smaller amount of women in inscriptions in general. These names include *Vitalis* (240 women, 771 men), *Nobilis* (18 women,[126] 33 men), *Elegans* (7 women, 17 men), *Natalis* (36 women, 189 men), *Suavis* (23 women, 150 men), perhaps to a certain degree also *Liberalis* (18 women, 218 men), *Communis* (14 women, 184 men), *Cerialis* (12 women, 197 men), *Fidelis* (8 women, 97 men). While some women bore such cognomina as *Felix* (46 women), *Cresce(n)s* (10) or *Cleme(n)s* (10), the numbers are proportionately small when compared to men (*Felix* 3668, *Cresce(n)s* 1034, *Clemens* 555).[127]

The fact that most of these "unisex" names were unevenly distributed between men and women is not a surprise, since this tends to be the case in other languages as well.[128]

2.3.2 Substantival cognomina

Substantival cognomina consist primarily of Latin nouns of different types, but also some substantival toponyms and names of divinities were used as cognomina.

2.3.2.1 Common nouns

Latin nouns were frequently used as cognomina. It ought to be noted that nouns used as cognomina were generally speaking a later phenomenon in women's nomenclature, since the earliest female cognomina were almost

[125] And this, of course, goes also the other way around, e.g. *Fortis,* 'strong', is attested for 128 men but only for 2 women (according to Kajanto 1965).

[126] Including one woman of senatorial rank from Nero's time, i.e. Iulia Nobilis (*PFOS* 451).

[127] Instead, the common female equivalents of *Felix* were the abstract noun *Felicitas* (458 women) and the diminutive form *Felic(u)la* (420 women). *Clemens* and *Crescentilla* in have various suffixed forms, e.g. *Cresentilla* (26), *Clementilla* (27), *Clementina* (18), but none of these forms are comparable to the male cognomina in terms of popularity.

[128] There are e.g. modern studies in Swedish, German, Dutch, and English, which show that a "unisex" name in most cases tends to be predominantly male or female (cf. for instance Schmuck 2019; 2018 for some discussion on this aspect).

exclusively adjectival (see Ch. 3). Based on their lexical meaning, the nouns can roughly be divided in the following groups:

a) Names referring to human beings. These were mostly nouns of the first declension in *-a,* but there are also some names with the termination *-ix* and *-us.* Names of this type often referred to occupations, professions, gender, family relations, or background in some way. The most popular name in Kajanto's (1965) catalogue is *Matrona* (197). There is also the cognomen *Augusta,* with 25 cases, though I have been able to find only 18 inscriptions, in which the name was clearly used as a female cognomen (by 19 women).[129] In most of the other thousands of cases it appears either as an imperial title or as part of the name of a colony or legion. Note that the cognomen could also be understood as a calendaric name as well as an adjective—though it is likely that the name in most cases was taken after the emperor/empress.

Other names belonging to this category include *Regilla* (44), *Luperca* (23), *Lucifera* (20), *Victrix* (20), *Adiutrix* (11), *Colonica* (11), *Anus* (7), *Camilla* (7), *Mamma* (6, in the sense "mother"), *Verna* (6; also 90 men), *Graecula* (5), *Scurra* (5, mostly sl/fr.; primarily used by men, 16 cases), *Viatrix* (4), *Cubicularia* (3), *Puella* (2),[130] *Amatrix* (*CIL* XIII 2046), *Flaminica* (*CIL* VIII 17183), *Nutrix* (*CIL* XII 4742, dubious). In this category one could also include names such a *Musa* (178 women, 56 of which slaves and freedwomen).[131] Kajanto also documents *Neptis* (*CIL* VI 23434) and *Lectrix* (*CIL* VI 8786), but to me it seems that in both cases we are dealing with appellatives rather than cognomina.[132]

b) Animals. Many substantival cognomina, especially in later periods, signified animals of different types. At least the following names are known (in order of popularity):

Ursa (131), *Tigris* (69; also 3 men), *Lea* (48), *Lupa* (32), *Asella* (23), *Apra* (21), *Columba* (15; also one case of *Columbula*), *Catta* (11), *Lucusta* (11; also one man),

[129] Four cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 25607 (Bulla Regia), *Valeria Augusta [pi]a vixit annis V*; *CIL* VIII 17068 = *ILAlg* I 77 (Afr. proc.), *Caninia Augusta vixit annis XLV h. s. e.*; *ILAlg* II.2 6841 (Numidia), Pulaenia Augusta; *CIL* VIII 18920 = *ILAlg* II.2 4754 (Thibilis), Aurelia L. f. Quir. Augusta; four cases from Gaul/Germany: *CIL* XIII 652 (Aquitanica), *Ant(onia) Augusta matr(i) pient(issimae)*; *ILTG* 372 = *AE* 1941, 152 = 1983, 706 (Belgica, 2nd c.), Augusta Crobi fil. (perhaps not of citizen status); *CIL* XIII 6741 (Mogontiacum, 210 CE), Ael(ia) Augusta and Servandia Augusta; *CIL* XIII 6571 (Germ. sup., 171-250 CE), Repenia Augusta; two cases from the Iberian peninsula: *IRPCadiz* 380 (Gades), *Aemilia Augusta an(norum) XXXI*; *AE* 2017, 578 (Lusitania, 1st c.), *Augusta posuit*; two women called Tullia Augusta from Moesia: *IL*Ĵ*ug* II 569 = *AE* 1964, 265 (151-200 CE); *IL*Ĵ*ug* III 1320 (131-200 CE); three cases from Northern Italy: *CIL* V 4849 = *InscrIt* X.5 726 (Brixia, 3rd c.?), Val. Augusta, mother of Aur. Firmina; *InscrIt* X.5 337 (Brixia), *Attia Augusta Aur. Victoriano con(iugi) dulcissimo*; *CIL* V 3555 (Verona, 2nd c.): Kattia Augusta (*sic*). In addition there are three late and/or Christian cases: *SupplIt* 20, 304 = *AE* 1973, 218 (Venusia, 521 CE), Augusta uxor Boni; *CIL* VI 37278 (496 CE): *hic requiescit Aucusta* (sic) *C(ai) f(ilia)*; *ICVR* VIII 21711 (251-300 CE), Ulpia Augusta Candid[o] co(n)iugi.

[130] One early case: *AE* 1971, 56, cf. 3.2.1; also a Christian woman, *CIL* VIII 13865.

[131] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 216.

[132] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 305; 361.

Mustela (11 w, 3 m), *Catula* (9), *Leoparda* (9),[133] *Vitula* (9),[134] *Capella* (7 women, 18 men), *Merula* (6; also 14 men),[135] *Agnella* (5),[136] *Cerva* (5),[137] *Iunix* (5),[138] *Turtura* (5), *Capra* (4; also one man), *Musc(u)la* (4), *Palumba* (3),[139] *Parda* (3),[140] *Mus* (2, freedwomen),[141] *Hirundo* (*CIL* II 3909; also one man), *Agna* (*CIL* IV 740), *Araneola* (Sidon. *carm.* 15, 147; dim. of *aranea*), *Bestia* (*CIL* III 2378; also 6 men), *Catella*,[142] *Cicada* (*CIL* VIII 7249; also one man), *Formica* (*CIL* VI 18541; also 2 men), *Lacerta, Parra* (*CIL* V 1130, freedwoman; 2 men), *Pavolina* (*ICVR* IV 12715a), *Pinna* (*CIL* XI 7180b; also 6 men), *Squama* (*CIL* VIII 7797, sex unclear), *Sucula* (*CIL* IV 159, sex unclear; cf. *Ossucula* below).

Most of the popular names were nouns of the first declension referring to female animals: *Ursa, Lea, Lupa,* etc. (female bear, lion, and wolf respectively). There are, however, also some words that did not have a separate masculine form, e.g. *Tigris* (which is mostly a female name), as well as names with the termination *-a*, of the type *Cicada, Lucusta, Mustela, Merula, Formica.* Most of the names in this group were used by both men and women. This could also have to do with semantic factors, since most such names referred to animals that did not have a clearly distinguishable sex (ant, lobster, etc.)—in comparison with names such as *Ursa* and *Lupa,* which clearly were female (for more discussion, see 2.3.2.3 below).

c) Plants. The names of certain plants (or parts of plants) were occasionally used as female cognomina, especially in later periods and, as it turns out, in Africa. This is particularly the case with some feminine nouns of the first declension. At least the following names of this type are on record (in order of popularity): *Viola* 'violet' (22),[143] *Spica* (in the meaning 'the top of a plant',

[133] All cases known from Christian sources; cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 327.

[134] Kajanto 1965 documents only 2 cases, but at least the following 9 inscriptions are known: *ERAE* 295 (Emerita); *HEp* 1995, 111 (Lusitania); *HEp* 2001, 100 (Norba); *ILAlg* II.1 2323; *ILAlg* II.3 7375; *CIL* VI 9336; *CIL* VIII 9591 (Caesarea, 4th c.); *CLEPann* 28 (Brigetio); *AE* 2016, 1246 (Brigetio).

[135] *Merula* as a female cognomen in at least the following cases: *AE* 2013, 1927 (Ammaedara); *CIL* XI 3273 (Sutrium); *CIL* XIV 3973/3974 (*Maior* and *Minor*; Nomentum); *ILAlg* II.1 3022 (Celtianis); *ILSard* I 115 (Carales).

[136] All cases from Christian sources, cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 325. Note the form *Agnilla* in *CIL* XI 2588.

[137] Kajanto 1965 documents 3 cases of *Cerva.* In total, there seem to be at least 5 cases: *ILJug* I 374 (Celeia); *CIL* III 5274; *HEp* 1997, 425 (Carthago Nova); also two late Christian cases: *ICVR* II 6286; *CIL* XIII 1490 (Aquitania).

[138] Kajanto 1965 documents the following two freedwomen: *CIL* IX 345 (Canusium); *CIL* XI 1614 (Florentia); but there are also three women of unspecified status: *CIL* IX 399 (Canusium); *AE* 1980, 338 (Rudiae); *CIL* IX 7731 (Marruvium).

[139] Mostly known from Christian sources, cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 331.

[140] *Parda* as a female cognomen: *CIL* XII 4257 (Baeterrae); *CIL* II.14 735 (Saguntum); *AE* 2013, 782 (Emerita).

[141] *CIL* I² 1272 = VI 14496; *CIL* XII 4680 (Narbo), unless *Mus(a).*

[142] However, in the case of Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10), the cognomen may have been derived from *Catus* (cf. 4.3.1.2).

[143] *Viola* seems to have been mostly attested for slaves and freedwomen (at least 13 cases out of 22, also 4 Christian women); cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 336.

19 cases),[144] *Rosa* 'rose' (8),[145] *Murra* 'myrrh-tree' (3 freedwomen),[146] *Oliva* 'olive' (2),[147] *Ruta* (a bitter type of herb),[148] *Virgula* 'twig' (*CIL* XIII 2873), *Urtica* 'nettle' (one freedwoman, *CIL* VI 22200). Perhaps also *Scopa,* in the sense 'a stack of twigs', can be included here. *Herba,* to my knowledge, is not attested as a cognomen, but the diminutive *Herbula* is (4 cases).[149] Some of these names are also attested for men, at least *Spica* (four men),[150] *Rosa* (*CIL* XI 3254, Q. Vibius Rosa).

There are also occasional examples with other terminations, e.g. *Lauris* (at least *CIL* VI 12881/12882, Livia Lauris; unclear if variant of *Laurus* or a Greek suffix). Kajanto also documents a woman called *Botrys* (*CIL* VI 7741), but in this case it seems to me that we are dealing with a man rather than a woman.[151] There is, furthermore, one woman on record with the name *Flos* (m.) in Rome (*CIL* VI 4738).

Related to this category is the cognomen *Flora,* if interpreted as referring to the goddess of flowers (alternatively as a feminine form of the adjective *florus*; 208 cases documented by Kajanto).

d) Parts of the body. This group was not significant for women. In fact, there are only a few names and they seem to be primarily attested for freedwomen and provincials. The following cases are on record:

Bucca 'mouth' (4): *AE* 1976, 341 (Hispania), Cornelia mulieris l. Bucca; *AE* 1994, 1333 (Noricum), Bucca Gannici f.; *CIL* III 3788 = 10727 (Emona), Bucca Valentis f.; *AE* 1981, 452 (Altinum), Vettia P. l. Bucca. The name is also attested for men (e.g. *CIL* XI 1249, L. Messius M. f. Bucca; *CIL* XII 3095, Q. Iuliu[s ---] Bucca).

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[144] *Spica* is almost exclusively known from Africa: *CIL* VIII 17372; *AE* 2000, 1655 (Afr.), C. Anicia Spica (tria nomina); *CIL* VIII 16197; *CIL* VIII 27648; 15588; *ILAlg* II.3 9599; *CIL* VIII 19743 = *ILAlg* II.1 2453; *CIL* VIII 17702; 5670 = *ILAlg* II.2 4217; *ILAlg* II.2 5826; 5993; *ILAlg* II.1 331; *BCTH* 1909, 108 (Numidia); also the form *Ispica* in *CIL* VIII 436; *ILAlg* II.2 5826. Also two cases Italy: *CIL* V 7405 (Liguria, 4th-6th c.); *CIL* VI 26517 (2nd c.); *CIL* V 2688 = *AE* 2001, 1053 (Ateste).

[145] Again, almost all cases in Africa: *CIL* VIII 12077, Consulia Rosa; *BCTH* 1925, CLXXIX (Maur. Caes.), Rosa filia; *CIL* VIII 9426, Rosa uxor; *ILAlg* II.3 8137, Iulia Rosa; *BCTH* 1946/49, 180 (Numidia), Iulia C. f. Rosa; *CIL* VI 6513, a freedwoman; *ICVR* II 5462 (4th/5th c.); *CIL* IX 6219 = *ILCV* 4906 (571-600 CE).

[146] Three cases in *CIL* V; cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 335.

[147] One case in Numidia (*ILAlg* II.1 3138, 2nd c.). There is also one much later case from Canusium, from the 6th century, recording a woman simply as *Oliba* (*CIL* IX 412 =*ILCV* 2444 = *AE* 1981, 254).

[148] One Christian woman from the late 4th c. (*ICVR* VIII 23266).

[149] *CIL* XI 7221a (Clusium); *CIL* X 2781 (Puteoli); *CIL* IX 2608 (Terventum); *CIL* XI 5781 (Sentinum).

[150] *ILAlg* I 1904, Spica Barecbal(i)s f(ilius) pius; *Gorga* I, p. 164, M. Fabius Spica, *tr. coh. III pr.*, attested through the nomenclature of her freedwoman Fabia Arescusa; *AE* 1997, 494 = 2013, 484 (Umbria), C. Corcilius L. f. Cla. Spica, *IIIvir i. d. q.*; also L. Mundicius L. f. Spica, in an unpublished inscription from the collections of the Ashmolean Museum (cf. *EDCS*-ID 72600313). There is furthermore *CIL* VIII 21564, Iul. Spica (sex inexplicit but probably man).

[151] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 337.

Coma 'hair' (a Greek loan): *CIL* VI 27961, a freedwoman (also the name *Auricoma* in *CIL* VI 18006).

Gula 'throat': *CIL* VIII 7490 (Cirta), Iulia Gula.

Pollex 'thumb': CIL VIII 22781 (Afr. proc.), Antonia Pollex. The name is also attested for a (male) slave of Cicero (Cic. *fam.* 14, 6, 1; *Att.* 8, 5, 1; 13, 46, 1).

Perhaps also *Ossucula* (dim. of *os,* 'mouth'?), recorded in *CIL* X 8197 (Puteoli; no nomen mentioned)—though the text should perhaps be read *Os(sa) Sucul(a)e,* suggested amongst others by the interpunct after *OS* (though the punctuation does not seem to be very consistent; cf. the picture in the *EDR*). The cognomen *Sucula* is in fact attested as a cognomen, for a man in *AE* 1982 ((-) Axius L. f. Pap. Suc[ula]) and possibly for a woman in *CIL* IV 159.

In addition there are some adjectival cognomina coined from parts of the body, e.g. *Mammosa* (from *mamma,* in the sense 'breast').

Men, on the other hand, had more often names signifying parts of their bodies. Such names, as one can imagine, often had pejorative connotations, which explains why they were not popular in women's nomenclature.

e) Inanimate objects and natural phenomena. There are several female cognomina of this type, but none of them are frequently attested. The most popular one seems to be *Aura* 'breeze', with 15 attestations documented by Kajanto.[152] Other female cognomina of this type include, amongst others, *Margarita* 'pearl' (8), *Silva* 'woodland' (6), *Gutta* 'drop' (3),[153] *Luna* 'moon' (2?),[154] and *Gemma* 'gem' (*CIL* XIII 2975). Cognomina referring to inanimate objects are attested already for men of the republican aristocracy, e.g. *Scipio,* 'staff', and *Dolabella,* 'hatchet', but the name type never became particularly common among women, probably since such names were somewhat impractical as personal names and could often be interpreted in a pejorative sense. Suffixed forms, such as *Scipionilla* and *Dolabellina* are attested, but only rarely.[155] It was also possible to form a sort of verbal or adjectival form of an inanimate object, e.g. *Torquata,* 'adorned with a necklace' or 'collared' (from *torquis,* 'necklace', 'collar').

f) Abstract nouns. This group was significant for women; partly because most abstracts nouns were grammatically feminine and were accordingly favoured as female nouns and, partly because some of these cognomina were among the most popular female names (see 2.3.2.3 below for more discussion on the

[152] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 338.

[153] *CIL* VI 5163; *ICVR* VII 20084; *AE* 2017, 327 (Aeclanum, 538 CE); perhaps also *ICVR* VII 20084 (391-425 CE). However, one of the two cases documented by Kajanto 1965 (*ICVR* I 3323, *Aur. Guttini*) does not seem to belong here.

[154] *CIL* XIII 6107; *CIL* XIII 11296 (uncertain).

[155] *Scipionilla* is attested in Mauretania Caesariensis for a certain Val(eria) Scipionilla, whose brother bears the cognomen *Scipio* (*CIL* VIII 20965 = *AE* 1888, 156, 2nd/3rd c.). *Dolabellina* is known from (Cornelia) Dolabellina (*PFOS* 283), daughter of P. Cornelius Dolabella (*cos.* 10).

gender distribution). In general abstract nouns as female cognomina are characteristic to later rather than early periods (mostly attested from the second century CE onwards). Most abstract nouns used as female cognomina were feminine words of the third declension with the termination *-(i)tas* (numbers after Kajanto 1965):

Felicitas (458, also 1 man),[156] *Hilaritas* (48), *Pietas* (28), *Voluptas* (24), *Potestas* (23), *Bonitas* (14), *Civitas* (13), *Dignitas* (9), *Probitas* (5), *Facultas* (4), *Stabilitas* (4), *Aeternitas* (3), *C(h)aritas* (3), *Securitas* (3), *Prosperitas* (2), *Veritas* (2; also 1 man), *Aequitas* (1; also 2 men), *Anim(a)equitas* (1), *Auctoritas* (1), *Celeritas* (1), *Iucunditas* (1), *Liberitas* (1).

The second largest group is formed by first declension words with the termination *-a* or *-ia*: *Victoria* (750, of which 165 Christians),[157] *Fortuna* (41),[158] *Gratia* (9), *Gloria* (2), *Historia* (2), *Tutela* (2), *Angina* (1), *Opera* (1).

Also abstract nouns with other terminations are attested as cognomina:

-es: *Spes* (139, also 4 men),[159] *Species* (4), *Fides* (1 woman, 3 men).

-o/-io: *Condicio* (6), *Origo* (4, also 2 men), *Obsecratio* (1).

-x: *Pax* (2 women, 5 men).

-us (4th declension): The name *Salus* is attested for a female slave in *CIL* XIV 551 (Ostia) and possibly for one freedwoman in Rome in the late first century BCE (*CIL* VI 33154 = 37555 = *AE* 1995, 112)— though in the latter case the name (carved simply as *SALV*) could also be interpreted as *Salv(ia)* rather than *Salu(s)*. There is also an African inscription, which records *Salus Rogati vixit annnis* (sic) *LXXVII ux(or?)* (*ILAlg* I 2680), in the case of which we seem to be dealing with a woman (if the last item really stands for *uxor*).[160] The name is also attested in Numidia (*CIL* VIII 10817), but the gender is unclear. Even more dubious is *CIL* II 6257,171.[161] In addition there are some men, known from Africa, who bear the cognomen *Salus* (*ILAlg* I 1873; *CIL* VIII 20495).

Also some masculine words in *-or*: *Amor* (10 women, 11 men), *Favor* (3 women, 63 men), *Memor* (1 woman, 62 men).

The grammatically neuter *Studium* is also attested as a cognomen for at least one woman (*CIL* IX 2720, Aesernia, 1st/2nd c., *[H]ermia pater et Studium mater*). In such cases one could suspect Greek influences (viz. Greek female names with the termination *-ion*).

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[156] 131 of the cases are from Christian sources. Almost half of all the cases are from the city of Rome.

[157] *Victoria* is primarily known from Africa (almost two thirds of all the cases).

[158] *Fortuna* may obviously also be interpreted as the name of the goddess.

[159] Interestingly not at all attested in Christian sources. Many of the cases are from the city of Rome, cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 286.

[160] Though Kajanto has labelled this as "unknown gender", cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 232 (= 364).

[161] The text reads simply *Salus*, with nothing else. We do not even know if the person—that is, if we are dealing with a person—was a man or a woman, even though Kajanto has for some reason labelled this case as a man. Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 232 (= 364).

2.3.2.2 Proper names

There is also a small group of substantival cognomina that consists of onomastic rather than lexical items. These were mostly Latin toponyms as well as some names of gods and divinities. The following examples will suffice to illustrate this aspect:

Countries and provinces:
Dacia (*CIL* VI 288483), *Germania* (*Pais* 768, Cassia Germania), *Histria* (*CIL* V 243 in Pola), *Italia* (60 cases documented by Kajanto),[162] *Macedonia* (*CIL* XII 2280), *Pannonia* (3: *CIL* VIII 3588; 3799; 4277), *Sardinia* (*SICV* 76), *Sicilia* (*CIL* II 4014, a slave).

Towns and cities:
Aquileia (*CIL* V 2831 = X 40, Ravenna; also a Christian woman, *ICVR* VIII 22333, 326-375 CE),[163] *Bononia* (*CIL* V 875, Christian), *Cosa* (*CIL* V 4074, Mantua), *Interamnia* (*CIL* X 4953; sex unknown), *Karthago* (CIL XI 1695, *Cartaco*; also *CIL* VIII 25813, sex unknown), *Mantua* (CIL II 5321, sex unknown), *Napoca* (*CIL* VI 269; a town in Dacia), *Roma* (*CIL* VI 22065; though may also correspond to the Greek name Ρώμη), *Sala* (*ILAlg* I 2253; town in Africa), *Venusia* (*IRTr* 750). Moreover, some names, such as *Florentia* and *Valentia*, may have sometimes been chosen after the cities with the same name—though in most cases we are surely dealing with suffixed formations, coined from present participles with *-ia*.

Mythological names and names of divinities:
Latona (?) (*CIL* VIII 1747 = 15845, "*Latonna*"), *Matuta* (2: *ILAlg* II 2916; 3165), *Camene* (*CIL* IX 845, slave?), *Ceres* (*CIL* V 2746, slave?), *Diana* (?) (*CIL* IV 2390a, "Deana va(le)", slave?), *Iuturna* (*CIL* III 14359,22), *Laverna* (*CIL* VI 20719), *Romula* (46 women documented by Kajanto; in comparison 151 men called *Romulus*);[164] *Urnia* (*CIL* V 1696 = *ILCV* 4600, 4th c., Christian), *Vesta* (*CIL* IX 2748, freedwoman), *Venus* (*CIL* XIV 1737, daughter Vedia Voluptas). In most cases we are probably dealing with slaves or former slaves (or their descendants), but the status is not always explicitly stated.

Kajanto also includes *Bellona* (*CIL* XIII 5679,10) as a cognomen, but since the source text only consists of the name (in the dative form) I would be inclined to treat it as a genuine dedication to the divinity (or a slave name).[165] There are, furthermore, three cases of the name *Aurora*, but *aurora* was also an appellative, 'dawn', and should perhaps not be included here.[166]

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[162] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 180.
[163] Kajanto also documents *CIL* I² 1196 = VI 8395 as a possible case, but this is very uncertain.
[164] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 179.
[165] The name is considered a cognomen by Kajanto 1965, p. 216.
[166] *CIL* XIII 11091; V 5420 (463 CE); XI 6289; two of these women furthermore being Christians.

Flora, with 208 attestations, could also be included in this category, if interpreted as the name of the goddess of flowers—though perhaps more commonly the name simply corresponded to the adjective *flora* "flourishing"; cf. 2.3.1.1 above.

2.3.2.3 The gender of substantival cognomina

While adjectives had separate masculine and feminine forms, this was not always the case with nouns, which usually had a fixed grammatical gender. While the grammatical gender did not always correspond to that of the name-bearer, in many cases it did. This is particularly the case with words indicating human beings and certain animals, in whose case the gender correlation was often more obvious, but the tendency is also clear for example in feminine abstract nouns, which are primarily found as female cognomina. There are, however, many nouns that did not have separate masculine and feminine forms or which were used by men and women regardless of the grammatical gender of the word.

Based on the catalogue of Kajanto (1965), I have compiled below a list of substantival cognomina that are attested for either women only or for women and men in an identical form:

Aequitas (2 w, 2 m)
Aeternitas (3)
Amor (10 w, 11 m)
Animaequitas (1)
Atta[167] (5 w, 8 m)
Auctoritas (1)
Bestia (1 w, 6 m)
Bonitas (14)
Bucca (1 w, 2 m)
Bulla (1 w, 1 m)
Capella (7 w, 18 m)
Capra (4 w, 1 m)
Cicada (1 w, 1 m)
Coma (1 w, 5 m)
Comes (1 w, 9 m)
Decor (2 w, 2 m)
Deogratia(s) (19 w)
Dignitas (9 w)
Favor (3 w, 63 men)
Felicitas (458 w, 1 m)
Formica (1 w, 2 m)
Gutta (2 w, 5 m)
Hilaritas (48 w, 19 m)
Iuventas (1)
Karthago (1 w, 1 m)
Liberitas (1)
Margarita (8 w, 1 m)
Memor (1 w, 62 m)
Merula (6 w, 14 m)
Mica (2 w, 2 m)
Murra (3 w, 2 m)
Mus (2 w, 14 m)
Musa (178 w, 15 men)
Mustela (11 w, 3 m)
Obsecratio (1)
Origo (4 w, 2 m)
Parra (1 w, 2 m)
Pax (2 w, 5 m)
Pietas (28 w, 40 m)
Pinna (1 w, 6 m)
Pollex (1 w, 1 m)
Potestas (23 w)
Probitas (5 w)
Prosperitas (2 w)
Quodvultdeus (3 w, 57 m)
Salus (1 w, 1 m)
Scintilla (5 w)
Scurra (5 w, 14 m)
Securitas (3 w)
Seneca (4 w, 86 m)
Silva (6 w, 2 m)
Species (4 w)
Spes (139 w, 4 m)
Spica (14 w, 2 m)
Tigris (69 w, 3 m)
Trio (1 w, 10 m)
Urtica (1 w, 3 m)
Verax (1 w, 8 m)
Veritas (2 w, 1 m)
Verna (6 w, 90 m)

[167] The etymology of this cognomen is unclear to me. According to Lewis & Short, *s.v.* 'Atta', the name could originate in the Greek verb ἀίττω/ἀίσσω 'to spring, to hop', but this seems rather dubious.

Fides (1 w, 3 m)	*Piper* (1 w, 1 m)	*Virgula* (1 w, 6 m)
Flos (1 w, 2 m)	*Pleps* (=*Plebs*? 1 w)	*Voluptas* (1 w)

We can see that in many cases the grammatical gender of the word correlates with that of the name-bearer. Thus most feminine abstract nouns (*Victoria, Felicitas, Spes, Fortuna, Voluptas, Potestas, Bonitas, Civitas*) are almost exclusively attested as female names (though *Aequitas* is attested for two men as well as two women). The grammatical gender, however, does not dictate the matter, as can be seen from several other examples. For instance *Amor* is a masculine word but is attested for men and women in equal amount (10 women, 11 men). *Pax,* a feminine word, in turn, is attested for more men than women (5 versus 2).

Furthermore, the list above shows that the forms attested for both men and women could have various different terminations, such as *-itas* (*Aequitas*), *-es* (*Fides*), *-us* (*Salus*), *-o* (*Cupido, Origo*), *-or* (*Amor*), or *-x* (*Pax, Pollex*).

As H. Solin has pointed out, some of these names can be interpreted in different ways.[168] *Margarita,* for instance, when used by women was obviously chosen after the Latin word for pearl (*margarita,* fem.), and, when used by men, as its Greek equivalent (μαργαρίτης, masc.). Furthermore, *Cupido,* when used by women, ought to be interpreted as corresponding to the feminine noun *cupido,* but when used by men, it was more likely associated with the (male) divinity with the same name. There is also another name in *-o,* which is used by both men and women, namely *Origo* (f.). The fact that the name was used by men might simply have to do with the suffix *-o,* which was often used in men's nomenclature.

Furthermore, even if a noun could morphologically have both a masculine and a feminine form, semantic factors could make the latter undesirable for women. For instance, *Taurus,* 'bull', occurs as a (male) cognomen, but *Taura* is not known, since bull by definition is male. The female equivalent of *taurus* would rather be *bos,* 'cow', which in turn would not make a flattering name for a woman (nor would *Taura*). In comparison, *Ursus* and *Ursa* both appear as acceptable cognomina, since they were the normal words for a male and female bear respectively (187 men and 131 women documented by Kajanto 1965). Various suffixed forms, however, of a name such as *Taurus* were naturally possible for women (e.g. *CIL* III 4533 = 11294: Val(eria) Taurina, daughter of M. Val(erius) M. f. Taurus).

It is not always easy to tell why a certain name was consireded primarily male or female. For instance, why was the name *Pietas* (f.) predominantly male, even though most abstract nouns of formally similar nature were mostly female? Solin suggests that, in this particular case, it may have to do with the fact that the adjectival, original name *Pius,* was primarily associated with

[168] Solin 1997, p. 97f.

men, in the same way as *virtus* was a central notion of Roman masculinity.[169] Longer name formations became more and more typical in the course of the imperial period, but a suffixed form of *Pius* would have probably sounded awkward, and therefore the abstract noun *Pietas* was favoured instead.

2.3.3 Female cognomina identical with men's praenomina

There are also some female cognomina of the simple type that were identical to some praenomina used by men (primarily *Lucius, Publius,* and *Quintus*).[170] While women also had cognomina corresponding to the praenomina *Marcus* and *Titus,* it should be noted that the female forms of these were normally coined with the suffix *-ia*. These forms will be discussed below in 2.4.7.2. I now present some cases of women, whose cognomina were identical to a praenomen that was used in the family (in most cases the father's). Exact dates have been difficult (or impossible) to establish, but the cases range from the first to the third century CE.

Lucia:
CIL II.14 644 = 3896 = *AE* 2016, 854 (Saguntum, 1st c.): Cornelia L. f. Lucia.
CIL VIII 7719 (Cirta, 1st c.): Seia L. f. Lucia.
ILAlg II.1 3111 (Numidia, 2nd c.): Oppia L. f. Lucia.
ILAlg II.2 5061 (Thibilis): Capula L. f. Lucia.
AE 1977, 735 = *IMS* VI 140 (Moes. sup. 151-300 CE): Petronia Lucia, daughter of L. Petr. Valens.

There are also other women with the cognomen *Lucia,* e.g. Didustia C. f. Lucia (*ILAlg* II.2 6261, Numidia, 2nd c.); Iulia C. f. Lucia (*ILAlg* II.2 5467, Thibilis, 2nd c.); but in these cases it is unclear if the name was taken after a family praenomen or for some other reason. Note also that *Lucia* as a cognomen seems to be particularly well attested in Africa, as the cases above show.

Quinta:
Since *Quinta* was also a typical numeral cognomen, it is often difficult to establish if it had something to do with the praenomen *Quintus*. In the following cases, however, the praenomen is attested in the family:
CIL XIV 1116 (Ostia, 2nd c.): Allia Q. f. Quinta, daughter of Q. Allius Tertius.
CIL V 7698 (Augusta Bagiennorum, 1st c.): Caesia Q. f. Quinta.
CIL III 9052 (Salona Etuvia, 2nd half, 2nd c.): Quinta, daughter of Q. Etuvius Etruscus.

[169] Cf. Solin 1997, p. 7.
[170] Obviously men also could have cognomina that were identical to praenomina. For this practice, see Salomies 1987, p. 165f.; cf. also Salomies 2008, p. 89f.

IMS VI 65 = *AE* 1984, 749 (Moes. sup.): Terentia Q. f. Quinta.

Also the following African inscriptions of unclear date (imperial in any case):[171]
CIL VIII 1280: Vettia Q. f. Quinta .
CIL VIII 1805: Herennia Q. f. Quinta.
CIL VIII 6522: Marcia Q. f. Quinta.
CIL VIII 16118: Lucretia Q. f. Quinta.

Sexta: Another praenomen, whose female form appears as a numeral cognomen, is *Sextus.* There seems to be only one potential case on record, in which the female cognomen was most probably chosen after the praenomen, viz. a fragmentary inscription from Spain, recording *[---]a Sex. f. Sexta sor(or)* (*IRC* IV 75 = *HEp* 1997, 210). In most other cases, however, we should assume that the name was chosen as a numeral cognomen, since these were typical in women's nomenclature (2.3.1.3).

I haven't been able to trace similar examples of *Publia,* but one might suspect that when found alongside the nomen *Aelius/Aelia,* thus recalling the imperial name combination *P. Aelius* (after Hadrian), the name may have been chosen after the praenomen. Two cases of this type, recording a woman called Aelia Publia, are known (*AE* 1939, 123, 151-200 CE; *AE* 2000, 224, mid-3rd c.). In an inscription from Apulum (*CIL* III 1249) we also have a woman called *Viria Publia Viri Publi filia,* but in this case *Publius* was not the father's praenomen but cognomen, which was then transmitted to the daughter. *Publia* also appears as a cognomen in some other cases but no clear connection can be established to a praenomen used in the family, e.g. *CIL* VIII 27564 (Iulia Publia); *CIL* VIII 16084 (Iulia Publia Q. f.); *CIL* V 216 = *InscrIt.* X.1 177 (Abudia Publia). The name appears more commonly as a female praenomen.[172]

Clear examples of *Caia/Gaia* are not numerous. Like in the case of *Publia* above, there are some cases, in which we may be dealing with an imperial or famous name combination, viz. Iulia Caia/Gaia (after C. Iulius): *CIL* VIII 16078; *CIL* VIII 21876. There are also a number of other cases, in which the name appears as a cognomen but with no clear connection to a praenomen: *CIL* V 1841 (Retinacia L. f. Gaia; the inscription also mentions a certain C. Retinacius C. f. *IIvir*, but his exact relation to Retinacia Gaia is unclear to me); *CIL* VIII 5080 (Agrinia Gaia); *CIL* X 3431 (D(is) M(anibus) ... Caiae matri); *CIL* III 12309 (Olia Quarti f. Gaia, daughter of Manius Olius Quartus); *IAM* II,2 534 (Antonia Caia); *AE* 1981, 742 (Valeri(a)e Gai(a)e); *AE* 2015, 1234 (Ulpia Gaia); *CIL* III 1665 (Ulpia Caia); *AE* 1981, 730 (Aur(e)l(ia) Caia); *IMS* III,2 63 (Aelia Gaia).

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171 The lack of *D(is) M(anibus)* could suggest a rather early date, but without other clues or pictures, this remains speculative.
172 Cf. Kajava 1994, p. 63.

2.4 Suffixed formations

2.4.1 General discussion and numbers

As has been noted above, a typical characteristic of Latin nomenclature is the extensive use of different suffixes. The following table (based on the material in Kajanto 1965) shows that there were clearly more suffixed female names than there were non-suffixed ones. This is hardly surprising, as a single name could produce many suffixed variants. However, the number of name-bearers with a non-suffixed name exceeds, by far, that of suffixed ones. The reason for this is that some names in the 'simple' form were extremely popular, as has been seen above in 2.1.

Table 3: Non-suffixed and suffixed female cognomina

	Non-suffixed		Suffixed		**Total**
Names	1 033	43.40%	1 347	56.60%	**2 380**
Women	25 339	69.42%	11 161	30.58%	**36 500**

However, before further discussing the use of suffixes, it ought to be clarified what is meant with a 'suffixed form' in the first place. A suffixed form, in this chapter, is basically any name that is derived independently from an existing word or name with a suffix (e.g. *Clementina* from *Clemens* with the suffix *-ina*). However, if the word already exists as lexical item, then the name is generally speaking not considered a suffixed form (e.g. *Asiatica,* 'Asiatic', is not considered a suffixed form here, although it clearly has the suffix *-ica*). To be sure, we do not know all Latin appellatives or words that once existed in the spoken language, and thus some names that are considered suffixed forms may have in fact once been actual words—but since we are dealing with a corpus language, we have no choice but to operate with the surviving texts that we have at hand.

Furthermore, since most cognomina were adjectival by nature, I have decided to treat some names as suffixed forms, even if the feminine form may have a corresponding word in the lexicon. These are primarily late formations ending in *-ia,* such as *Abundantia, Constantia, Florentia,* the masculine forms of which (*Abundantius, Constantius, Florentius*), to be sure, are suffixed derivations from adjectives and participles—but the feminine forms also correspond to existing abstract words or proper names (*abundantia* 'plentifulnes', *constantia* 'constancy', and *Florentia*, the city of Florence). It seems, however, likely to me that these names were, at least in the majority of the cases, coined from present participles and adjectives (*abundans, constans, florens*) with the same analogy as the masculine forms, and therefore such cases have been included in the statistics below as suffixed forms.

It might also be good to briefly consider the general function of suffixes in Latin onomastics. The 'main' function is an obvious one, namely to coin new names from existing personal names or words. But there are other aspects as well. For instance, some suffixes could have a more specific purpose, such as indicating the belonging to something or someone. Furthermore, diminutive suffixes had a special semantic role in women's nomenclature, with their hypocoristic function and many different connotations associated with women and femininity in general. Finally, it seems that in some cases suffixes could be used to 'blur' the original semantic content of a pejorative name, which could make the cognomen more acceptable for a woman (e.g. *Varus* > *Varilla*, rather than **Vara*).

The range of various suffixes used in name-formation was extensive, and there seems to have been no specific 'cognomen-suffix'. This does not mean that all Latin suffixes were or could be employed for coining a cognomen, or that they were used in equal measure. Furthermore, some are primarily (or exclusicely) found in female cognomina, such as *-illa* and *-itta*.

The Latin suffixes used for coining female cognomina are the ing: *-alis/-aris* (e.g. *Fortun-alis, Lumin-aris*), *-āna* (*Firm-ana*), *-iāna* (*Marc-iana*), *-ica* (*Matron-ica*), *-īna* (*Ruf-ina*), *-ia (Crescent-ia*), *-iva* (*Donat-iva*), *-osa* (*Bon-osa*), *-ula* (*Prim-ula*) or *-ola* after *i* and *e* (*Fabi-ola*), *-cula* (*Feli-cula*), *-illa* (*Prisc-illa*), *-ella* (*Nov-ella*), *-ulla* (*Tert-ulla*), and *-itta* (*Gall-itta*).

Some suffixes, however, were clearly more productive and widely spread than others, whereas other suffixes are either found only rarely (e.g. *-alis/-aris, -iva*) or mostly restricted to certain time periods (*-ia* in late antiquity; except for some forms of the type *Titia, Marcia, Varia*) or geographical areas (*-osa* in Africa). There were also some major differences between men and women: while diminutives were a rather marginal feature in men's nomenclature (especially cognomina in *-illus*), they were a commonplace for women—which is not surprising, as this is a common feature in many languages.[173]

Based on the material of Kajanto (1965), I have compiled below some general numbers regarding the use of suffixes in women's nomenclature.[174] Note, however, that the numbers are only tentative, since they do not take into account any specifics (for instance, in some cases a name with, say, the termination *-ella* may have been coined independently, while in many other cases we are simply dealing with a 'fossilized' form).

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[173] Cf. Stüber & Zehnder & Remmer (eds.) 2009 for discussion on female names in different Indo-European languages.

[174] According to my calculations, the numbers provided in Kajanto's tables (1965, p. 31, Table 3; p. 103, Table 24) do not seem to quite add up with the total number of the actual cases in his catalogue, and I have therefore taken the liberty to use the numbers that I arrived at through the investigation of his material. It is possible that some data were lost or distorted when transferring Kajanto's catalogue to a digital form, but by and large the figures presented here should suffice to give a reliable overall picture.

Table 4: Latin suffixes in female cognomina

Suffixes	**Free women**[175]		**All women**[176]		**Names**	
-īna	3 676	41.84%	4 468	40.03%	245	18.19%
-iāna	821	9.35%	1 123	10.06%	297	22.05%
-illa	1 761	20.05%	2 054	18.40%	302	22.42%
-ula/-ola	643	7.32%	768	6.88%	170	12.62%
-ulla	525	5.98%	564	5.05%	23	1.71%
-ella	374	4.26%	422	3.78%	13	0.97%
-cula	354	4.03%	444	3.98%	11	0.82%
-itta	46	0.52%	56	0.50%	10	0.74%
-ia	314	3.57%	895	8.02%	164	12.18%
-ica	71	0.81%	91	0.82%	34	2.52%
-ōsa	170	1.94%	244	2.19%	55	4.08%
other suffixes[177]	28	0.34%	30	0.29%	21	1.71%
Total	**8 785**		**11 161**		**1 347**	

Some observations are in place. First, in terms of sheer numbers, three suffixes stand out: *-ina, -iana*, and *-illa.* Of these three, and all the suffixes for that matter, *-ina* has the greatest frequency in terms of name-bearers. However, both *-iana* and *-illa* exhibit the greatest productivity, since the amount of different names formed with these suffixes exceedes the number of names formed with *-ina* and other suffixes.

Second, one thing that is particular for women's nomenclature is the high percentage of cases with a diminutive suffix, particularly *-illa.* All of these suffixes combined form c. 40% of all the cases (and *-illa* alone over 22% of all the different names). Of these suffixes *-ella, -ulla,* and *-cula* stand out in the sense that they only produced a few names—only 3.5% of all the cognomina—but the number of attestations is comparatively high, c. 13% of the total number. This is particularly due to three popular names: *Marcella* (361), *Tertulla* (392), and *Felicula* (420). However, these figures are somewhat mislead-

[175] This group consists of *ingenuae* and *incertae* of the imperial period (excluding senatorial women and women from the Christian material).

[176] Including slaves, freedwomen, senatorial and Christian women, as well as the republican cases.

[177] These are *-ana* (8 names, 10 women), *-o(n)* (4 names; 6 women), *-o* (4 names, 7 women) *-alis* (4 names; 5 women), *-iva* (2 names, 2 women) and *-aca* (1 case, *Albaniaca, CIL* V 6116). There is also the Celtic suffix *-issa*, which is attested once (*Germanissa, CIL* XIII 3183).

ing, since *Marcella,* for example, was often not coined productively from *Marcus* (or *Marcius*), but was in the typical scenario simply a female form of *Marcellus*.

Third, we can see that there are no major statistical differences between the categories "free women" and "all women". This is obviously due to the fact that the material as a whole consists largely of cases belonging to "free women". However, two suffixes exhibit a clear difference: *-ia* and *-osa.* This is because these suffixes are mainly attested in late antiquity and in Christian nomenclature (not because of Christianity though, but simply because much of the late material happens to be Christian). In terms of *-osa,* the percentual difference is not in fact striking—since there are somewhat few cases in total—but when comparing the number of attestations between the two categories with each other, the difference is clear.

For the sake of comparison, I have also compiled some statistics concernign the use of suffixes in senatorial women's cognomina (until c. 300 CE; for a comprehensive list of their cognomina, see Appendix 2).[178]

Table 5: Latin cognomen-suffixes in senatorial women's nomenclature

Suffixes	**Attestations**		**Names**	
-īna	173	35.45%	53	23.87%
-iāna	90	18.44%	58	26.13%
-illa	159	32.58%	81	36.49%
-ula/-ola	17	3.48%	14	6.31%
-ulla	24	4.92%	7	3.15%
-ella	15	3.07%	4	1.80%
-itta	7	1.43%	2	0.90%
-ia	3	0.61%	3	1.35%
Total	**488**		**222**	

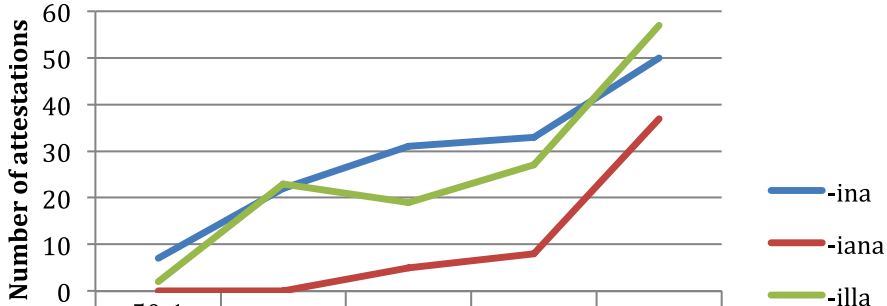
The table shows some differences in comparison to Table 4 above. Perhaps the most important one is the comparatively higher frequency of *-illa* among senatorial women (32.6% of the cases, vs. 20.1% among the 'free women'). It was also by far the most productive suffix in senatorial women's nomenclature with 81 different names. The absence, or near absence, of suffixes such as *-ia* and *-osa,* on the other hand, is not surprising, since they are mostly

[178] The cases are mostly recorded in *PFOS* and *PIR*^{2}. For a list of their cognomina and their chronological distribution, see Appendix 1.

found in later periods (and the latter is furthermore mostly restricted to Africa).[179]

While there are some differences in comparison to the cognomina of the Roman *plebs*, the data concerning senatorial women are in many ways more instructive, since they allow for a more detailed analysis of the diachronic use of different suffixes. Below, I have compiled a chart to illustrate the use of different suffixes over a time period from the late republican period until c. 200 CE. Since only three of the suffixes, *-ina*, *-illa*, and *-iana*, are attested in large numbers and exhibit significant productivity, it is not meaningful to consider other suffixes here.

Table 6: Chronological distribution of suffixes in senatorial women's cognomina until c. 200 CE



	50-1 BCE	1-50	51-100	101-150	151-200
-ina	7	22	31	33	50
-iana	0	0	5	8	37
-illa	2	23	19	27	57

The chart allows for some interesting observations. A striking feature is the low frequency of *-iana* before the second century. The first few cases are from the latter half of the first century, and it is only towards the second half of the second century that names in *-iana* become more frequent (for the first cases, see 2.4.4). The chart above does not take into consideration cases from the third century, since many of them proved more difficult in terms of precise dating and the overall number of cases is more limited, but even then the number of *-iana* remains stable with at least 39 cases (while cases in *-illa* are reduced to 32 and *-ina* to 31).

Both *-ina* and *-illa* are attested already during the late Republic and remain productive throughout the timeline. *-ina* shows the greatest number of

[179] These suffixes are attested for some senatorial women in later periods, e.g. *Gaudiosa c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 31955) from 447 CE.

attestations, which is largely due to the high frequency of three names: *Agrippina* (16), *Faustina* (14), and *Paul(l)ina* (22). It ought to be noted, however, that *Agrippina,* for example, is a slightly different case than, say, *Faustina,* since there was no separate feminine form of *Agrippa* and therefore a suffixed form was the only plausible alternative (compare appellatives of the type *rex – regina*). The diminutive *-illa,* however, shows the greatest productivity with 82 different names (i.e. 35.8% of all the cognomina).

2.4.2 *-illa*

2.4.2.1 General overview of the suffix

There were several Latin diminutive suffixes, which originated in the Indo-European **-lo*-stems. These were *-ula* (*-ola* after *i* and *e*), *-cula* (a combination with IE's **-ko-*), *-illa, -ella,* and *-ulla.*[180] The most productive and widely used of these diminutive suffixes in Latin names was *-illa.* It was also a predominantly female suffix, since it is primarily and predominantly attested for women, while masculine forms in *-illus* were unusual.[181]

Diminutive suffixes are always multifunctional, and the 'diminutive function' in itself is never homogeneous.[182] As a generalization, however, it can be said that the core function was to express smallness, tenderness, and also weakness—all aspects that men also associated with women in the Roman society.[183] Alongside and tied to this function, however, there was also the hypocoristic function of creating pet names (Ger. 'Koseform').[184] This function was particularly important in personal names.

The suffix *-illus/a* was rarely used in appellatives, save for some sporadic forms such as *bovillus* (also *bovinus*), *ovillus, pulvillus, regillus, suillus* (later *suinus*).[185] In female cognomina, however, *-illa* was a most productive suffix throughout the first three centuries and the earliest cognomina in *-illa* are attested already during the late Republic (see Chapter 3 for the earliest attestations). In senatorial women's nomenclature *-illa* was in fact the primary suffix until the second century; there are also many cases in *-ina,* in the early period, but these are mostly coined from masculine names in *-a,* which did not have separate feminine forms to start with (see 2.4.3 below).

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[180] For the origin of Latin diminutive suffixes, cf. Hakamies 1951; Leumann 1977 § 282 F; cf. also Haverling 2011.

[181] One only needs to take a look at the reverse catalogue of Latin cognomina in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium* to verify this. While the catalogue does not take into account the amount of name-bearers, the small amount of different cognomina in *-illus* speaks for itself. According to the statistics compiled by Kajanto (1965, p. 103), only 8% of all the cases in *-illus/a* are attested for men.

[182] Haverling 2011, p. 254. For a comprehensive study of the various semantic functions of Latin diminutive suffixes, cf. Hanssen 1953.

[183] For the idea of *infirmitas sexus* in Roman law, cf. Dixon 1984.

[184] For the different functions of Latin diminutive suffixes, cf. Leumann 1977 § 282.

[185] For more examples cf. Haverling 2011; Strodach 1933.

It seems that *-illa* could be attached to almost any type of cognomen, including other suffixed cognomina (see 2.4.2.2). It was also used to coin cognomina from gentilicia (2.4.2.3) and from praenomina (2.4.2.4). The only 'limitations' seem to have been set by phonetic factors (avoiding forms of the type **-(i)l(l)illa*; see the discussion below).

Kajanto (1965), as seen above in Table 4, documents 302 female cognomina coined with *-illa,* which are attested for 2 054 women. Five names are attested more than a hundred times: *Primilla* (148), *Priscilla* (141), *Maximilla* (130), *Lucilla* (118), *Secundilla* (103). Other cognomina with more than 10 attestations are *Quintilla* (75), *Quartilla* (74), *Faustilla* (73), *Procilla* (66), *Rufilla* (65), *Atticilla* (63), *Salvilla* (31), *Flaccilla* (30), *Gratilla* (28), *Clementilla* (27), *Crescentilla* (26), *Firmilla* (22), *Pudentilla* (22), *Severilla* (22), *Martilla* (19), *Nepotilla* (19), *Urbanilla* (19), *Balbilla* (18), *Pusilla* (18), *Quadratilla* (18), *Crispinilla* (17), *Mercatilla* (17), *Domitilla* (15), *Sabinilla* (15), *Decimilla* (14), *Germanilla* (14), *Frontilla* (12), *Iunilla* (12), *Lupercilla* (11), *Varilla* (11)[186].

In order to form a more specific picture of the use of *-illa* in Roman Italy during the first three centuries, I have investigated all relevant cases that I could find in the *EDCS.*[187] The result was 150 different names that are attested for at least 789 women. Most of the names are only attested once or twice, but there are some that stand out in popularity, mostly same names as in the list above but there are also some differences: *Priscilla* (88), *Primilla* (70), *Maximilla* (50), *Secundilla* (42), *Procilla* (39), *Atticilla* (36), *Faustilla* (33), *Quartilla* (29), *Rufilla* (28), *Lucilla* (27), *Bas(s)illa* (23). There were also five other names that had 10 or more attestations, namely *Salvilla* (17), *Ursilla* (16), *Crispinilla* (14), *Quintilla* (11), and *Gratilla* (10). Interestingly, female cognomina seem to have been formed only rarely from gentilicia with *-illa*, with the exeption of the senatorial elite (see 2.4.2.3)—though many of the *Quintillae* were likely derived from the nomen *Quintius/a* and not from the praenomen *Quintus,* even if this is not explicit in the sources.

A look at the Italian material, however, might not reveal the whole picture. According to Kajanto, there is an anomaly in the geographical distribution of cognomina in *-illa,* namely their limited amount in Africa.[188] This claim, however, can hardly be accepted. While other diminutive formations may have been more popular in some cases (e.g. *Donatula* pro *Donatilla*), cognomina in *-illa* were hardly a rarity in Africa. A search in the *EDCS* resulted in some 90 different cognomina in *-illa,* attested for 256 women. While the

[186] The number does not include the two senatorial women with the cognomen *Varilla,* viz. Appuleia Varilla (*PFOS* 85) and (Nonia) Varilla (*PFOS* 576).
[187] This was done by limiting the geographical area to the Italian *regiones* and the city of Rome and by searching cases with *illa* in them. The over 1300 results naturally included many non-relevant cases such as Greek names of the type *Cyrilla* and names that correspond to established appellatives of the type *Camilla, Regilla, Scintilla* as well as names like *Posilla* that should not be considered suffixed forms. In a few cases there was no name at all but the Latin pronoun *illa.* I also decided to exclude all cases that were clearly much later than 300 CE.
[188] Kajanto 1965, p. 127.

number in Africa is undeniably smaller than in Italy, so is the amount of inscriptions in general, and in any case Kajanto's claim that, "the termination *-illus/la* was not very common there", can hardly be maintained.

There has been some debate about the origin of *-illa*. Leumann, for instance, has argued that it was a Greek loan suffix—since in Greek there is also the native suffix -ιλλα.[189] This, however, has been contested since.[190] Whatever the origin of the suffix is, one ought to be cautious at times when interpreting female names as Latin *-illa*-derivations. For instance, a name such as *Telesilla* could be coined from, say, *Telesia* (a town in Samnium) with the Latin suffix *-illa*, but this was hardly the case with the Argive poet Telesilla, whose name must be interpreted as a genuine Greek formation instead. The cognomen of a certain Vibia Licinia Telesilla, on the other hand, known from an inscription from Aeclanum not far away from Telesia (*CIL* IX 1171), may have been more likely connected to the Samnian town.

2.4.2.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-illa*

-illa, as noted above, could be added to practically any type of cognomina, be they names of the first and second declension (*Faust-illa, Pris-cilla, Ruf-illa*) or names of the third declension (*Clemen-tilla, Falcon-illa*). In fact *-illa* seems to have been the primary *-lo*-suffix when coining cognomina from names and words of the third declension. Furthermore, *-illa* was the only *-lo*-suffix that was used to derive cognomina from present participles (*Amant-illa, Crescent-illa, Florent-illa, Valent-illa*). However, whilst *-illa* was attached to names of the first declension already early (e.g. *Rufilla, Drusilla*, see 3.2.1; 3.3.1), cognomina derived from names of the third declension, especially *-on*-stems (e.g. *Falconilla, Varronilla*), are difficult to come by before the mid-first century CE.[191]

With certain stems, the suffix could produce a seemingly irregular form through haplology. For derivations of the type *Procilla* (instead of ***Proculilla*) and *Frontilla* (vs. *Frontonilla*), cf. 2.4.13 below.

-illa could also be attached to other suffixed formations. In later periods it was, in particular, combined with formations in *-ianus/a*, resulting in the termination *-ianilla*. As will be seen below, names of this type occur regularly in the Christian material, dating mostly from the third, fourth and fifth centuries CE, but the style seems to have been also common in African inscriptions. I have been able to find the following cases:

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[189] Leumann 1959, p. 82f.

[190] Cf. already Niedermann 1954, p. 341 n. 11.

[191] The first senatorial woman attested with a name of this type is a Varronilla, Vestal virgin who was condemned to death by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 8; her nomen is not known). Other cases are Pompeia Sosia Falconilla (*PFOS* 632), daughter of Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (*cos.* 149), and Caninia Gargonilla (*PFOS* 188), wife of Ti. Claudius Severus (*cos.* during the Severan period).

Altianilla (*ICVR* VIII 21212, 4th/5th c.), *Anthianilla* (2),[192] *Appianilla* (*IRT* 579, Lepcis Magna, 251-300 CE), *Arrianilla* (2),[193] *Attianilla* (*CIL* III 9766, Aequum, 1-150), *Cantianilla*,[194] *Cassianilla* (*AE* 2008, 1055, Spalatum, 3rd/4th c.), *Donatianilla* (*ILCV* 331, Afr.; late), *Fabianilla* (2),[195] *Fadianilla* (*ILAfr* 512 = *AE* 1912, 165; 228 CE), *Faustianilla* (*ILTun* 263), *Flavianilla* (7),[196] *Fulvianilla* (*CIL* II 4522, Barcino, 131-200), *Fuscianilla* (*AE* 1981, 348, Volsinii, 2nd/early 3rd c.), *Gaianilla/Caianilla* (2),[197] *Lavianilla* (*CIL* X 6419 = *ICVR* II 4535, 4th/5th c.), *Marcianilla* (2),[198] *Marianilla* (5),[199] *Muccianilla* (*AE* 1986, 196, Aquileia, 4th c.), *Mucianilla* (*ICVR* III 8785, 291-325 CE), *N(a)evianilla* (*AE* 2012, 1587, Ancyra), *Octavianilla* (*ILAfr* 162,36), *Peticianilla*,[200] *Rogatianilla* (*CIL* VIII 23792, Afr.), *Salvianilla* (*CIL* VIII 1675, Afr.), *Servianilla* (see below), *Statianilla* (2; see below), *Valerianilla* (*AE* 1994, 554, Tibur, 71-150 CE; daughter of Valeria Apollonia).[201]

Of these cases at least 14 are attested in Africa. There are, notably, several senatorial women from the African provinces, who had a name of this type during the third century (Flavia Flavianilla, *c(larissima) p(uella)*, *CIL* VIII 12545 = *AE* 1993, 1748, 2nd half of the 3rd c.; [V]aleria P. f. Marianilla, *[c]larissima f(emina)*, *CIL* VIII 26273; Cornelia Servianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*, daughter of M. Cornelius Bassus Servianus, *IRT* 443/524, Severan period; Fl(avia) Statianilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*, *CIL* VIII 236 = 11335; as well as Servaea Fl(avia) Statianilla Valeriana, *c(larissima) p(uella)*, relative of the former, *CIL* VIII 238 = 11337, 3rd c.). Kajanto (1965) also lists the fol-

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192 *AE* 1910, 203 (Brundisium, 144 CE), Clodia L. f. Anthianilla, *splendissima puella* (for her father L. Clodius L. f. Pollio, *eques Romanus,* cf. *AE* 2008, 415); also *CIL* VI 11856.

193 *CIL* VI 12404 (3rd c.) Arria Arrianilla; *CIL* V 3459 (Verona), Arianilla (*sic*).

194 *ILCV* 1910a (Aquileia), *Sanctus Cantius san(ctus Can)tianus Sancta Cantianilla san(c)tus Quirinus san(c)tus Latinu/s*.

195 *ASRSP* 1987, 10a (Rome, 3rd c.); *ICVR* VI 16193 (4th/5th c.).

196 *Haidra* I 129 (Africa); *ILAlg* I 1082; *ICVR* I 2741 (5th c.); *ICVR* III 7060 (4th/5th c.); *ICVR* V 13535 (4th/5th c., 'Flabianilla'); *ICVR* VI 16226 (326-375), [Fl]abia Flabianilla; *ICVR* VI 16318 (4th/5th c.). For Flavia Flavianilla, *c(larissima) p(uella)*, see below.

197 *ILAfr* 412,41 (Carthago); *AE* 1965, 111 (Pann. sup., 3rd c.).

198 Antonia Marcianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 1723, 355/356 CE); *ICVR* VII 17925 (391-425 CE).

199 [V?]aleria P. f. Marianilla, *[c]larissima f(emina)* (*CIL* VIII 26273, Afr., 3rd c.); *ILAlg* II.3 8866 (Afr.); *ICVR* VII 19087 (4th c.) [M]arianilla; two cases from Alpes Maritimae: *CIL* V 7945 & *ILAM* 375.

200 *AE* 1977, 22 (Rome, 231-270 CE): Fl. Veratia Peticianilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*.

201 There is also a senatorial woman, whose cognomen has sometimes been restored as *H[adrianil]la* but this is pure speculation and can hardly be taken as serious evidence. Cf. *PFOS* 352, in which the restorations *H[adrianil]la* and *H[ispanil]la* are suggested, but these are extremely doubtful and, as far as I see it, the name could be many other things as well, e.g. *H[erennil]la* or *H[ortensil]la*. Even the initial letter of the cognomen is somewhat obscure, and in lack of more evidence it is best to leave the name simply as *Fabia H?[---]la*, or even *Fabia ...la*, as documented in *PIR*^{2} F 73.

lowing names, which are attested in other sources: *Martianilla*, *Papianilla*, *Pontianilla*, *Κατιανίλλα*.[202]

Most of the names in *-ianilla* were coined from nomina gentilicia (e.g. *Fabianilla, Flav-ianilla*), which is not a surprise, given the fact that *-ianus/a* was frequently attached to gentile names (see 2.3.4.3. under *-iāna* below). There are, however, also names that originate in other cognomina, e.g. *Donat-ianilla* (< *Donatus* + *-ian* + *-illa*) or *Faustianilla* (<*Faustus* < *-ian* < *-illa*).

The combination of these two suffixes also occurs the other way around, viz. *-illa* + *-iana,* thus resulting in *-illiana,* though this suffix is only rarely found in women's nomenclature (see below under the suffix *-iāna*).

-illa was also frequently attached to cognomina with the suffix *-īnus/a,* thus resulting in the ending *-inilla.* One needs to be cautious, however, since there were also many other cognomina ending in *-inilla* that were not productively coined with the two suffixes: on the one hand names of the type *Sabinilla, Latinilla* (from the cognomina *Sabinus* and *Latinus*) and on the other hand names of the type *Licinilla, Gabinilla* (from the gentilicia *Licinius* and *Gabinius*). I will now only focus on such cognomina, in which the two suffixes were used independently. It may not always be easy to discern whether a name (e.g. *Firminilla*) derives from a cognomen (*Firmus* + *-in* + *-illa*) or from a nomen (*Firminius* + *-illa*), but I have in principle assumed that the name derives from a cognomen, if the nomen is only rarely attested. At least the following names are on record:

Albinilla,[203] *Celsinilla* (*ILAfr* 414 = *AE* 1915, 37, Bulla Regia, 3rd c.)*, Censorinilla,*[204] *Crispinilla* (22)*,*[205] *Faustinilla,*[206] *Firminilla* (2)*,*[207] *Flaccinilla* (2)*,*[208] *Fuscinilla*

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[202] The name *Martianilla* is attested for a Christian woman, the wife of a certain Geminius Valentius, both attested in *Tab. Albertini* 23 dating from from 495 CE; *Papianilla* is attested for three women, all from the 5th c. (including the wife of Sidonius Apollinaris; cf. *PLRE* II p. 830); *Pontianilla* is known from *Cod. Inst.* 6, 53, 4 (in 204 CE; cf. Kajanto 1965, pp. 153).

[203] *CIL* II 771 (Lusitania, 71-200 CE): *Albinilla Albini f(ilia).*

[204] *CIL* III 4191 = *RIU* I 66 (Savaria, 101-150 CE), Valeria Censorinilla; compare also her father L. Val(erius) L. f. Cl. Censorinus and brother Valerius Censorinianus.

[205] Iulia L. f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*PFOS* 463) and her daughter Flavia Crispinilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*PFOS* 366), attested in *AE* 1986, 155 (Puteoli, 165-172 CE); Calvia Crispinilla (*PFOS* 184; active under Nero); Varinia Crispinilla, equestrian elite, 2nd c. (*PIR*2 V 266); Telesinia Crispinilla, equestrian, 2nd c. (*CIL* IX 2228/2229); *SupplIt* 8-Ba, 6 = *AE* 1988, 365 = *AE* 1991, 507 (Barium, 51-79); *AE* 1972, 102 (Tarentum, 61-96 CE); *CIL* XI 703 (Bononia, 3rd c.?); *CIL* III 1988 = 1989 = *ILJug* III 2077 (Dalmatia, 1-130 CE); *AE* 1981, 703 (Dalmatia, 3rd/4th c.); *CIL* XIV 389 (Ostia, 2nd c.?); *IMS* III,2 62 = *ILJug* III 1320 (Moesia sup., 131-200); *AE* 2001, 357 (Rome, 71-200 CE); *CIL* VI 9062 (2nd c.?); 14290 (2nd c.); 16586; 24511; 25514; 25677; 26267 (dates unclear); *CIL* IX 6888 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.); *ILCV* 753 (Rome, 3rd c.).

[206] [--]nia Faustinilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*, attested during the third century together with [A]urelia Nemesiana, also *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* XV 7414; cf. *PIR*2 F 126).

[207] *CIL* XIII 8401 (Germania, 2nd/3rd c.); *CIL* III 14086 = *AE* 2012, 1138 (Pannonia sup., 151-300 CE).

[208] Iunia Flaccinilla (*PFOS* 471), wife of M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex (*cos. suff.* 175?); Acutia Flaccinilla, wife of P. Aelius Processus, *eques Romanus,* attested at Lambaesis during the 2nd/3rd c. (*CIL* VIII 3296).

(4),[209] *Longinilla* (*IMS* III,2 63 = *ILJug* III 1319, Moes. sup., 131-200 CE), *Macrinilla* (*CIL* III 5974 = 11977, Raetia, 171-250 CE), *Murinilla* (*AE* 1905, 240, Carnuntum, 151-200 CE), *[N]igrinilla* (*ILAfr* 588,63, Thugga), *Rufinilla* (2),[210] *Spesinilla* (*AE* 1974, 704, Madaurus., 4th/5th c.), *Subulcinilla* (*CIL* IX 5551, Picenum, 76-150 CE), *Tuscinilla* (*BCTH* 1943/45, 126, Afr. proc., 2nd/3rd c.).

As can be seen, *Crispinilla* was by far the most popular name with 22 attestations, nearly half of all the 48 cases. Like in the case of *-ianilla*, names in *-inilla* are mostly attested from the second century onwards. The exception, again, is *Crispinilla*, which is attested already during the early first century, perhaps because *Crispinus/a* appears already early in women's nomenclature.[211]

2.4.2.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-illa*

-illa could be attached to most nomina. The only limitation seems to have been a phonetic one. Euphonic factors in name-formation ought not to be underestimated. To put it another way, it is generally speaking important for the name-giver that the name does not sound awkward. Thus, female names ending in **-(i)l(l)illa* were generally avoided. There are for instance no cases of **Iul-illa* on record (from *Iulius*), while *Iun-illa* (from *Iunius*) exists; nor are there any clear cases of **Ael-illa* (from *Aelius*) or **Quintil-illa* (from *Quintilius*),[212] even if *Quintilla* was a common name (from *Quintius* or *Quintus*).[213] In theory *Quintilla* could in some cases be considered a derivation from *Quintilius* (through haplology), in the same way as the cognomen *Lucilla* could be used as a derivation of *Lucilia*, but there is no clear evidence to support this (cf. the discussion in 2.4.13).

Cognomina coined from nomina with *-illa* are particularly well attested for senatorial women already from early on. The earliest clearly datable cases are from the beginning of the Empire: (AELIA) IUNILLA (*PFOS* 14), daughter of L. Aelius Seianus (the praetorian prefect under Tiberius) and grand-

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[209] Fabia Fuscinilla, *clarissima et omnium virtutum fecundissima femina* (*CIL* VI 31711 = *CLE* 1306, 3rd c.; cf. *PIR*[2] F 76); *CIL* IX 6083,28 (Aeclanum, 221-230 CE); *CIL* III 4375 = *RIU* I 275 (Arrabona, 2nd c.), recording Iulia Fuscinilla and her son Iulius Fuscus; *CIL* XV 7523d = *AE* 1889, 9 (Rome, date unclear).

[210] *AE* 1995, 1249 (Savaria, 101-250); *CIL* VI 12009 = *CLE* 1218 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.), recording Antonia Rufinill(a) as well as her mother Antonia [Ru]fina and brother [Antonius] Rufinus.

[211] For a senatorial *Crispina* of the Augustan period, see 3.3.1.

[212] There is one possible, yet dubious case of *Quintililla*: CIL III 15159 (Aquincum, 171-230) has the following reading in the *EDCS*: *... Quintili/{li}ano filio posu(it) Aurelia Qu(i)n/til{i}la coniu(gi) et filibus ...* It seems, however, possible that instead of *Qu(i)ntil{i}la* the mother's name could be read *Quintilil(l)a.*

[213] There are some names of the type *Paililla* (*CIL* VIII 14646), but in this case the antepenultima is a diphthong (*-ai-*).

daughter of a Iunia;[214] IUNIA CLAUDILLA (*PFOS* 470), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus and wife of the emperor Caligula, whose paternal grandmother was a patrician Claudia;[215] and PLAUTIA URGULANILLA (*PFOS* 619), daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE) and an otherwise unknown Urgulania.[216] The cognomen *Livilla* is attested for IULIA LIVILLA, one of the daughters of Germanicus and Agrippina, but in this case the name seems to derive from her aunt (Claudia) Livia, in whose case *Livia* was a nomen used as a cognomen rather than a genuine gentilicium (and in some sources she is called *Livilla*; see 2.5 below)—though it is clear that the name also established a connection to the empress Livia, wife of Augustus, and to the Livii more generally.

There are plenty of examples of upper-class women with a cognomen, which evidently or most probably was derived from a gentilicium with *-illa* (and not for instance from another cognomen):[217] ANTONIA FURNILLA (*PFOS* 77), daughter of L. Antonius Rufus (*cos*. 45 CE) and possibly a Furnia;[218] VERANIA OCTAVILLA (*PIR*^{2} V 393), daughter of Q. Veranius (*cos.* 49) and perhaps an Octavia;[219] FLAVIA DOMITILLA (*PFOS* 367), daughter of Flavius Liberalis and a Domitia; VALERIA VETILLA (*PIR*^{2} V 247), daughter of P. Valerius Patruinus (*cos. suff.* 82) and presumably a Vettia;[220] LIVIA C. F.

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[214] From Tacitus we know that Seianus's *avunculus* was Iunius Blaesus (Tac. *ann.* 3, 35; 72; 4, 26), which means that Iunilla's grandmother was a Iunia.

[215] She is often thought to have borne the praenomen *Appia* (hence *PFOS* 214, Appia (Claudia); also *PIR*^{2} I 824), which indeed seems appropriate given the context. The existence of the praenomen is based on U. Weidemann's (1963) emendation of Tac. *ann.* 3, 68, 2 as *Appia* pro *alia*, which has been largely accepted (thus H. Heubner in the Teubner edition of 1983; cf. also Syme 1986, p. 194; and recently Salomies 2017, p. 121). One should, however, also take into consideration the idea proposed by Kajava 1994, p. 138, namely that her name in reality was 'Claudia Ap. f. Silani' and that Tacitus (or his source) simply made an error. *Appia*, in this case, ought to be understood as "the daughter of Appius". Kajava's idea is to a certain extent supported by the fact that all other daughters of the Silani are recorded with either their nomen only or with a combination of their nomen and cognomen (and also, since no other Claudiae are known to have been called by the name *Appia*). However, I would not refute the possibility that she was indeed called 'Appia (Claudia)'.

[216] Compare also the nomenclature of her brother A. Plautius Urgulanius.

[217] For example in the case of Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 99), daughter of Arrius Antoninus (*cos. suff.* 69, II 97), we cannot be entirely sure if the cognomen was derived from the nomen *Fadius* or the cognomen *Fadus*.

[218] A connection can be established to C. Furnius (*cos.* 17 BCE), whose daughter or (more likely) granddaughter was perhaps married to L. Antonius Rufus, as suggested by Salomies 2017, p. 128 n. 48. The name *Furnilla* was also transmitted to Antonia Furnilla's daughter Marcia Furnilla (*PFOS* 525.

[219] Cf. the discussion regarding Octavilla and her sister Gemina in 3.3.2 below.

[220] She is attested in Xanthos (*F. Xanthos* VII n. 42 = *AE* 1981, 826b) as Οὐαλέρια Βετίλλα. Her mother, it is assumed, was an unknown daughter of M. Vettius Marcellus (*PIR*^{2} V 477) and Helvidia Priscilla (*PIR*^{2} H 62). For her possible granddaughter Domitia Vettilla, cf. Appendix 4e.

LIVILLA (*PFOS* 499, status unclear);[221] and CLAUDIA TI. F. FADILLA (*PFOS* 237), recorded together with her *parens* C. Fadius Auctus (*CIL* IX 2390).[222]

As for women of the lower classes, we do not often have enough information to know for sure if an *-illa*-formation was derived from a gentilicium or perhaps from some other name. However, when observing all female cognomina in *-illa,* it becomes evident that cognomina coined from gentilicia only form a small part of the names—in contrast to senatorial women, among whom the frequency is higher. I have in a previous chapter (2.4.2.3) discussed cognomina coined with *-illa* in Italy and Africa. Out of the 150 Italian names, which are attested for 789 women, only a fraction is more or less clearly derived from gentilicia. These names are *Antonilla*, *Domitilla* (5), *Iunilla* (7), *Livilla* (3), *Naevilla*, *Octavilla*, *Petronilla*, *Plotilla* (2), and *Vettilla* (2). Other names, such as *Fadilla* (6)*, Flavilla* (2)*,* and *Quintilla* (11)*,* were often surely derived from gentile names as well, but in some cases they could also derive from other names (*Fadus, Flavus, Quintus*). Furthermore, while a cognomen such as *Valerianilla* initially can be traced back to the *Valerius,* the form in *-ianilla* has obviously been coined from another cognomen (*Valer-ianus/a* + *-illa*).

There is, however, some more specific evidence from all parts of the Empire, e.g. *CIL* X 2701 (Puteoli), Marcia Drusilla, daughter of Drusius Valens; *CIL* II 5378 (Italica), Licinia Licinilla; *AE* 1905, 208 (Praeneste), Plotia L. f. Plotilla; *CIL* XII 3175 = 3368 (Nemausus), Adgennia Licinilla, daughter of Sex. Adgennius Macrinus and Licinia L. f. Flavilla (also the mother's cognomen is perhaps coined from *Flavius*); *CIL* VI 23431 (Rome), Plotia Plotilla; *CECapitolini* 134 (Rome), Sabinia Sabinilla; *CIL* III 168 (Berytus), Vettia Vet(t)illa; *CIL* III 9187 (Salona), Iunilla, daughter of Iunia Epagathinaris; *CIL* IX 2614 (Terventum), [Nu]misilla and Numisia N. f. Marcella (relationship unclear but they were clearly related); *CIL* VI 2063 (Lugudunum): Ant[onia] Antonilla; *ILAlg* I 2610 (Madaurus): Maria Plautilla, daughter of C. Marius Securus Rogatianus and Plautia Romana; *BCTH* 1938/40, 334 (Numidia), Spania Spanilla; *SEG* XXXIII 1195 (Cappadocia): Κοισία Γράνιλλα, daughter of Κοίσιος Φλώρος and Γρανία Νίγελλα; just to give some examples.

There are also cases, in which a name in *-illa* was clearly chosen because it resembled a gentilicium, even if it was not technically coined from it according to the grammatical rules, e.g. *CIL* XIII 11862 (Mogontiacum), Lucania Lucilla (cf. 2.4.13; 4.3.4).

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[221] She is known from an inscription from Tibur, dating from the first century (*CIL* XIV 3796). Nothing else is known of her, and it seems to me dubious that she even belonged to the Roman aristocracy. The assumption seems to be based purely on her nomenclature—but this is hardly sufficient evidence for anything, since none of the onomastic items are particularly distinct. However the case may be, her cognomen was clearly derived from a nomen—in this case her own.

[222] She is also attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in her epitaph at Beneventum (*NSA* 1910, 283) and as *c(larissima) f(emina), sacerdos divarum Augustarum* at Allifae (*CIL* IX 2347).

2.4.2.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-illa*

There is of evidence of female cognomina derived from men's praenomina with the suffix *-illa,* particularly from *Lucius* (*Lucilla*) and *Quintus* (*Quintilla*). The cases cannot be dated with precision, but they are primarily from a period between c. 75 and 250 CE.[223]

Lucilla:

CIL VI 9664 = *ILS* 7536 (Roma, late 1st/2nd c.): Lepidia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL VI 9747 (2nd c.?): Iulia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL X 1686 (Puteoli, late 1st/early 2nd c.): (Bovia) Lucilla, daughter of L. Bovius L. f. and Sexia L. f. Nerula (for the parents, cf. *CIL* X 1685).
AE 1982, 212 = 1988, 357 = 1989, 190 (Herdonia, 201-222 CE): Axia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL II 1081 (Naeva, 2nd/early 3rd c.?): Tatia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL II 1342 = Navarro Caballero 2017, p. 45 nr. 140 (Lacilbula, 2nd c.): [Iu]nia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL II 1375 = *CILA* II.3 909 (Basilippo, mid-2nd c.): Marcia L. f. Lucilla.
CILA II.3 1000 = *HEp* 1997, 863 (Nebrissa Veneris, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Cornelia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL II.13, 324 = *HEp* 1990, 373 (Segobriga, 71-130 CE): Porcia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL III 1988 (= 1989) = *ILJug* III 2077 (Salona, 1st/early 2nd c.): Caedicia L. f. Luc[illa?] (the cognomen is not certain).
CIL XII 885 (Arelate, date unclear): Syria L. f. Lucilla.
CIL XII 901 (Arelate, 75-250 CE): Valeria L. f. Lucilla (her son was called Cn. Cornelius Lucilianus).
CIL VIII 26965 (Thugga, 2nd c.?): Iulia L. f. Lucilla.
ILAlg II.2 6022 = *AE* 1906, 96 (Thibilis, 75-200): Vitruvia L. f. Lucilla.
CIL VI 29558, Volusia Lucilla L. l., freedwoman of L. Volusius Logismus.
ILAlg II.1 3758 (Castellum Tidditanorum, date unclear): Grania L. f. Lucilla.

There is also *CIL* VIII 23327 (Afr. proc., 2nd c.?), recording Aufidia Lucilla Aufidiana, daughter of L. Aufidius Restutus, in whose case the first cognomen seems to derive from the father's praenomen (with *-illa*) and the second from his nomen (with *-iana*).

Quintilla was often probably derived from the nomen *Quintius,* but there are some cases, in which the name seems to have derived from the praenomen *Quintus*:

CIL IX 1421 (Aequum Tuticum, late 1st/2nd c.): Paccia Q. f. Quintilla.
CIL VI 19148 = *AE* 1982, 77 (Roma, 101-125 CE): Hateria Q. f. Quintilla.

[223] Judging, amongst other things, by the abbreviated *D(is) M(anibus)* in most of the cases.

CIL II 5068 = 5550 = *HEp* 2009, 52 = Navarro Caballero 2017, p. 56 nr 289 (Lacimurga, early 2nd c.): Norbana Q. f. Quintilla.
AE 1962, 143 (Vasio, Flavian period?) Antistia Q. f. Pia Quintilla, *flaminica colonia Flavia Tricastinorum.*
CIL II 5187 = *IRCP* 295 (Pax Iulia, mid-2nd c.): Iulia Q. f. Quintilla.
CIL II 245 (Olisipo, 75-200 CE): Postumia Q. f. Quintilla.
CIL II 267 (Olisipo, 1st c.): Cassia Q. f. Quintilla.
ILAlg II.1 3045 (Celtianis, 2nd c.): Manilia Q. f. Quintilla.
AE 1962, 143 = 1979, 402 (Vasio): Antistia Q. f. Pia Quintilla.

There is also *CIL* II 3799 (Edeta): *Q(uinto) Caecili[o] / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Gal(eria) / Potito / Quintillae patronae.* The relationship of the two individuals is not clear, but they were obviously related, perhaps father and daughter. In any case it is clear that Quintilla was not the *patrona* of the freeborn Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Potitus but of the unknown dedicator of the monument.[224]

There are also a couple of cases of women without a gentilicium called *Quintilla Quinti filia* (*CIL* II 347, Olisipo; *CIL* III 5032, Noreia).

One needs to be cautious, however. For example in *CIL* XII 2739 (Sabran) we have a woman called Iulia Q. f. Quintilla, daughter of Q. Iulius Quintinus. If the father's full name was not on record, one would not be aware of the resemblance between his and the daughter's cognomina (though it seems equally clear that the father's cognomen was derived from his praenomen). A similar case is *CIL* XII 2793, recording F(rontonia) Quintilla, daughter of Q. Frontonius Quintinus.

As for female cognomina derived from other praenomina, there is only little evidence. The form *Gailla* is attested as a cognomen, but a clear connection to the praenomen *Caius* cannot be established (e.g. *AE* 2008, 1090, Aurel(ia) Gailla). The same goes for *Marcilla,* which is attested as a cognomen in *IRT* 754u from Lepcis Magna (Septimia Marcilla). It is possible that the name in fact is simply an orthographic variant of *Marcella* or rather a derivation from *Marcius* (compare also L. Acutius Marcillus in *AE* 1956, 36 = 2014, 501, Tarvisium). In any case it is probable that the name was not derived from the praenomen *Marcus.*

Nor is there clear evidence of *Sextilla* being coined from the praenomen *Sextus.* In fact, it is more probable that the name (found in 8 Latin inscriptions in the *EDCS*) was normally derived from the numeral cognomen.

[224] In *HEp* 12346 Quintilla is erroneously presented as the patrona of Q. Cornelius Potitus: "Dedicatoria a Q. Cornelius Q. f. Gal. Potitus y Quintilla, su patrona" (and the nomen is also erroneously *Cornelius* instead of *Caecilius*).

2.4.3 *-īna*

2.4.3.1 General overview of the suffix

The suffix *-īnus/a* was widely used in Latin, in both word- and name-formation.[225] The catalogue of Kajanto (1965) records at least 245 different female cognomina derived with *-īna,* which are attested for 4 468 women (cf. Table 4 in 2.4.1). Some names, which were coined from other cognomina, were particularly popular (see 2.4.3.2 below).

One function of the suffix, like that of several other Latin suffixes, was to indicate the belonging to something or someone. In early times the suffix could for instance be added to a cognomen in the simple form to indicate kinship, e.g. *Alb-īnus* would have initially been 'the son of Albus' or 'Albus junior' (that is, when coined from *Albus* and not from the nomen *Albius*).[226] But the suffix could also initially indicate one's "having to do" with something. Take for instance the cognomen *Censorinus*, which was earned by M. Rutilius Censorinus (*cos.* 310 BCE) for having been censor twice, in 294 and 265 BCE (thus 'Ex-Censor').[227] During the Empire, however, the primary function of the suffix in name-formation was simply that of name-variation.[228]

From a formal point of view, *-īna* could be attached to almost any stem (*Agrippa* > *Agripp-ina; Albus* > *Alb-ina*; *Ursus* > *Urs-ina*; *Constans* > *Constant-ina*; *Piso* > *Pison-ina*; *Antonius* > *Anton-ina*).

As for the chronology, female cognomina in *-īna* are attested already from the late republican/Augustan period onwards and they remain popular throughout the Empire. However, most of the early forms were derivations from men's cognomina that did not have a separate feminine form to start with (*Agripp-ina,* etc.). The cognomen *Paullina* is also attested in this period, but the non-suffixed *Paulla/Polla* was far more common (see Chapter 3). Other than that, *-īna*-formations of the type *Rufina, Quartina*, in general, are more typical to later times (from the mid-first century onwards)—but this in general applies to most suffixed forms, which become more and more numerous in the course of the imperial period.

In later Latin, *-īnus/a* also obtained a diminutive function (compare for example the many Italian diminutive forms of the type *camerino, poverino*); in personal names, however, this function does not seem to have been very significant, at least during the focal period of this study.[229] This is suggested, amongst others, by the fact that *-īnus* was also a popular suffix in men's no-

[225] For *-inus/a* in Latin word-formation, cf. Leumann 1977 § 228.
[226] See Leumann 1977 § 296.
[227] *Censorinus* then became hereditary in his family. The female form *Censorina* is also attested for a Marcia in the late Republic; cf. 3.3.1.
[228] As Leumann (1943, p. 151) puts it: "Im Latein kann der Betrachter dieses Suffixes *-īnus* bei Namen zunächst keine andere Funktion erkennen als die der Namenvariation."
[229] For the diminutive function of *-īnus* in late Latin, see Niedermann 1954.

menclature (whilst diminutives in general were predominantly used in women's nomenclature).

2.4.3.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-īna*

-īna did not produce as many names as *-illa,* but it has higher frequency. This is because of some popular cognomina. These names were almost exclusively coined from other cognomina, as is evident from the following cognomina with more than 100 attestations in Kajanto 1965: *Rufina* (403), *Victorina* (357), *Secundina* (296), *Faustina* (287), *Paul(l)ina* (228), *Marcellina* (218), *Valentina* (209), *Severina* (143), *Iustina* (124), *Crispina* (115), *Maximina* (110). The numbers are similar for the corresponding masculine forms in *-īnus*: *Rufinus* (579), *Victorinus* (527), *Secundinus* (413), *Faustinus* (250), *Paul(l)inus* (235), *Marcel(l)inus* (309), *Valentinus* (287), *Severinus* (171), *Iustinus* (171), *Crispinus* (187), *Maximinus* (145). In the senatorial elite, some of the most popular female cognomina were also of this type, as is evident from the catalogue of Raepsaet-Charlier, in particular *Agrippina* (15)*, Faustina* (13)*, Paul(l)ina* (16)*.*[230]

Furthermore, *-īna* seems to have been often employed when deriving a female cognomen from another cognomen that did not have a separate femininine form. This is particularly the case with cognomina coined from male names with the termination *-a*: *Agripp-ina* (< *Agrippa*); *Messall-ina* (< *Messalla*); *Pans-ina* (< *Pansa*); *Ocell-ina* (< *Ocella*).[231] It should also be noted that in most such cases the cognomen was derived from the father's cognomen (examples of which are numerous; see 4.3.1.2), which is not surprising, given that the suffix was already from early on used to imply kinship and the belonging to someone/something (see the discussion above).

In fact, the suffix seems to have been often used in a similar way with names of the third declension, which did not have a separate feminine form; e.g. *Clemens* > *Clement-ina*; *Piso* > *Pison-ina*; *Valens* > *Valent-ina*. Similarly *Victorina,* with 357 cases documented by Kajanto, was the primary female form of *Victor,* one of the most popular male cognomina (1677 cases), rather than *Victrix* (with only 20 cases).[232] This, however, is not a general rule and certainly does not apply to all cognomina that did not have a separate femine form. For instance the standard female variants of the popular cognomen *Felix* was not **Felicina* (of which no cases are known) but rather *Felicitas* or *Felicula.*

The suffix was also attached to some other suffixed formations, particularly to those formed with *-ullus/a.* The most popular name of this type was

[230] *Agrippina*: *PFOS* 23, 56, 76, 113, 256, 348, 426, 427, 592, 619bis, 724, 740, 806, 811, 812. *Faustina* (most cases from the Antonine dynasty): *PFOS* 3, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 323, 358, 394, 674, 820, 827. *Paul(l)ina*: *PFOS* 12, 35, 91, 97, 140, ?207, 330, 389, 452, 504, 505, 512, 630, 644, 703, 775.

[231] Cf. Leumann 1977 § 269 B.5. Also *Sullina* is known (*CIL* VI 28306), but the name could also be derived from the nomen *Sullius.*

[232] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 278.

Tertullina (52 hits in the *EDCS*),[233] but also *Catullina* (24) and *Marullina* (14) are attested frequently (though *Marullus* and *Catullus* were in many cases not suffixed derivations from *Marus* and *Catus* but estbalished cognomina in their own right).[234] Other names of this type include *Amullina* (2; *CIL* III 2549; 8872), *Pedullina* (*CIL* XII 4061), *Pompullina*,[235] *Sabullina* (*CIL* VIII 27544), *Situllina* (*CIL* II 548), *Titullina* (2; *CIL* XIII 11412; 5135), perhaps also *Anull[ina]* (*CIL* II 951 = *HEp* 2007, 443 = *AE* 2007, 741). Names of this type are also attested in men's nomenclature (e.g. Kajanto documents 33 cases of *Tertullinus*).[236]

2.4.3.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-īna*

Kajanto lists 40 female cognomina (attested for 178 women) that are coined from gentilicia with the suffix *-īna*. While the names in most cases may certainly derive from gentilicia, in many cases we cannot simply know. For instance, *Martina*, the most popular cognomen of this type in Kajanto's catalogue with 62 attestations, can also be interpreted as a calendaric or theophoric name.[237] It is also worth noting that *Martina* is attested for many Christian women, after the saint Martinus (23 cases out of the total 62).[238]

Other cognomina of this type in Kajanto's catalogue (with more than 5 attestations) include *Antonina* (20), *Flavina* (21; though in some cases the name may be derived from *Flavus* rather than *Flavius*), *Sextina* (12; in many cases probably from *Sextus* rather than *Sextius*), *Valerina* (9), *Terentina* (8), *Iuventina* (5;

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[233] *CIL* VIII 1688; 422 (2nd/3rd c.); 11627; 11390; *AE* 1979, 339 = 1984, 528 (Baetica, 131-170); *Leukanika* 2007, 41a; *CIL* III 1328; 15031; 2740; 2798; 13980; 2890; *Lupa* 22994 (Dalmatia); *CIL* III 2152; 8970; *EDCS* 113; *AE* 1999, 1222 (Dalmatia); *CIL* III 10011; *CIL* XII 4797; *CIL* II 4078 = *AE* 1991, 1087; *CIL* II 4332; 4354; 4381; *AE* 1968, 100 (Latium); *IPOstie* A 205; *CIL* XIV 1667 = 1668 (3rd c., son Tertullus); *AE* 2015, 253 (Ostia; son Tertullinus); *CIL* V 7811; *AE* 1996, 1903 (Africa); *RIS* 426 (Noricum); *CIL* III 11751 (Noricum, 201-230); *CIL* III 5274 (Noricum, 171-300); *CIL* III 14367,1 (Noricum, 2nd/3rd c.; father Tertullianus); *ILLPRON* 714; *ILAlg* II.1 1966; *CIL* VIII 5723; *CIL* VIII 7552 (171-230 CE); *ILAlg* II.2 4485; *CIL* VIII 4099; 18912; *CIL* III 11273 (2nd/3rd c.; sister Iul. Tertia); *CIL* IX 5562; *CIL* VI 26735; *CIL* VI 29488; *ICVR* III 9138; *EDCS* 690 (apparently not published elsewhere); *AE* 1995, 612 (son Tertullinus); *Pais* 803; *CIL* V 5902; 8336; *AE* 1993, 751; *CIL* V 520.

[234] *Catullina*: *CIL* VIII 4950 = *ILAlg* I 1736; *ILAlg* I 2227 = *AE* 1914, 50, Katullina; *CIL* XII 65 (101-150 CE), Quartin(i)a Catullina, daughter of T. Quartin(i)us Catullinus; *CIL* III 435 = 7131; *CIL* XII 763; *AE* 2015, 984 (Germania sup.); *CAG* 89.2 p. 725; *IRCP* 71 (Lusitania); *CIL* III 5362 (Noricum, 3rd c.); *CIL* VIII 5732; *ILAlg* II.1 1028; *CIL* VIII 3517; 20108; *ILAlg* II.3 8381; *ILAlg* II.2 4946; 5187; 5576; *ILAlg* II.1 3920/3921; *BCTH* 1936/37, 39; *CIL* VI 17585; *CIL* VI 25791; *ICVR* II 4563 (4th/5th c.); *ICVR* IV 12447; V 15368. *Marullina*: *CIL* IX 662; 391; *CAG* 57.2, p. 185; *CIL* XI 1891; *CIL* XII 3169; *CIL* XII 1767; *AE* 1958, 4 (Hispania); *RIT* 398 (Hisp.); *CIL* XIII 11201; *CIL* VI 20203; 38500a; *MAAL* 1943, 153; *CIL* IX 2450, Neratia Marullina, *c(larissima) f(emina)*.

[235] Possibly derived from *Pompeius* or *Pomponius* (+ *-ull* + *ina*). For formations derived from different stems with *-ulla*, see 2.3.5. below.

[236] Kajanto 1965, p. 292.

[237] Thus Kajanto (1965) also lists all the cases of *Martinus/a* under the category "theophoric names".

[238] Kajanto 1965, p. 162 = 212.

in some cases probably from *Iuvenis*).[239] In some cases it may be difficult to tell, if the cognomen derives from a nomen or a cognomen, even if technically know where the name comes from, for instance in cases of the type "Flavia Flavi filia" (*AE* 1976, 318; *CIL* II 5800; *Gerión* 36 (2018), p. 207f (by M. Fernández Corral); *CIL* XIII 3056; *AE* 1985, 519).[240] As for *Sextina,* one must assume that the name in most cases originated in the numeral cognomen or the male praenomen (see 2.7.5. below), even though it may have sometimes originated in the nomen *Sextius*.

There is, however, sufficiently evidence of cognomina that were undeniably coined from a nomen with *-ina*; for instance the combination *Flavia Flavina* in *CIL* VII 130 = *RIB* I 377 (Britannia); *CIL* II 3040 (Complutum); *IRPLugo* 42 = *IRG* II 74 (Hisp. cit.); *CIL* II 521 (Emerita); *AE* 1967, 366 = 1969/70, 478 (Aquincum); also *CIL* III 4914 (Noricum), recording Spuria Flavina, sister of T. Flavius Priscus; the combination *Antonia Antonina* in *CIL* VIII 2624 = *ILS* 4323 (Lambaesis); *Quintia Quintina* in *CIL* XIII 7102 (Mogontiacum, 2nd c.); and in *IAM* II,1 87 = *AE* 1946, 50 (Maur. Ting.) we have a woman called Pompei{i}a Valerina, daughter of Marcus Pompeius Saturninus and Valeria Fortunata. There is even similar evidence for *Severina*: *CIL* III 261 (Ancyra): Aquilia Severina, daughter of Severia Martinula and Q. Aquilius Lucius. However, in most cases the cognomen must have derived from *Severus* rather than the nomen *Severius*.

There is also one case of *Martina,* which is seemingly derived from the nomen *Martinia* (Martinia Martina, *CIL* XIII 6733 = *ILS* 7079), but we may simply be dealing with the convenient use of the existing name *Martina* (cf. the discussion in 2.4.13).

2.4.3.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-īna*

Evidence concerning female cognomina derived from praenomina with *-ina* is not abundantly on record. Kajanto (1965), to be sure, documents multiple attestations of cognomina such as *Quintina* (54)*, Lucina* (24)*,* and *Marcina* (5), and it is plausible that in some of the cases these cognomina were derived from the praenomina *Q(uintus), L(ucius),* and *M(arcus)*. This was probably more often the case with *Lucina* than with *Quintina* or *Marcina,* which could also derive from the nomina *Quintius* (cf. *Quintia Quintina* above) or *Marcius*. In the following cases the cognomen was very likely derived from a praenomen:

Aulina: *CIL* IX 4881 (Trebula Mutuesca, 51-100 CE): Egnatia A. f. Aul[ina?].

[239] Kajanto also lists 5 cases of *Messina* in this category, but this name is exclusively attested in Gallia Narbonensis and in some cases seems to simply be a female form of *Messinus* (which, however, probably originates in *Messius*), e.g. *ILGN* 479, *Messina Messini filia*; *CIL* XII 4160, *Messina ... Messinus v. s. l. m.*

[240] This is obviously due to the fact that in Latin inscriptions the genitive form of names with the termination *-ius* is usually written *-i* (and not *-ii*).

Lucina: *CIL* X 401 = *InscrIt* III,1 72 (Atina, 171-250): Porcatia Lucina, daughter of L. Porcatius L. f. Faustinus *IIIIvir* and Isteia Marciana (compare also her brother Porcatius Marcianus); *CIL* XII 2297 = *ILN* V,2 420 (Gratianopolis, 51-150): Veratia Luci filia Lucina; *CIL* V 7066 (Augusta Taurinorum, 171-200): Attia L. f. Lucina. Possibly also *CIL* VI 14586 (51-200): Catilia Lucina, sister of L. Catilius Felix.

Lucina is attested as a cognomen for several other women as well, but there could be other reasons for choosing the name, e.g. after the epithet of Iuno Lucina.

Marcina: *CIL* XII 4203 (Sextantio): Munatia M. f. Marcina.

Quintina: *AE* 2011, 910 (Dalmatia): Octavia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XI 1773 (Volaterrae): Didia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XII 290 = *ILN* I 161 (Forum Iulii): Iulia Q. f. Quintina; *CIL* XII 3820 (Nemausus): Fabricia Q. f. Quintina.

Sextina: *NSA* 2008/2009, 347,8 (Beneventum): Hellenia Sex. f. Sextina.

Tiberina: *CIL* III 14386b (Heliopolis): Tiberina, daughter of Ti. Pontius Cl. Bruttienus.

2.4.4 *-iāna*

2.4.4.1 General overview of the suffix

-iānus/a was largely an onomastic suffix, that is to say restricted to personal names.[241] In men's nomenclature, the suffix *-iānus* was used in cognomina already during the Republic, primarily in adoptive names (e.g. P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, originally the son of L. Aemilius Paullus), and later, during the Empire, in other functions as well, not least when coining a cognomen from the mother's nomen (e.g. the emperor Vespasianus, whose mother was Vespasia).[242] Female cognomina in *-iāna,* however, did not become common before the second century CE (for the earliest cases, see 2.4.4.3 below). The suffix was particularly characteristic to cognomina coined from gentilicia, but in the course of the second century it also starts to appear more frequently in cognomina coined from other cognomina (see below).

Names coined with *-iāna*, however, remain less frequent in comparison to masculine forms in *-iānus.* According to the statistics compiled by Kajanto, only around 7% of all cognomina in *-iānus/a* were female.[243] This must be explained through the frequent use of diminutive suffixes in women's nomenclataure. *-illa,* for example, was often used when deriving female cog-

[241] Leumann § 295.2. The suffix *-ana* instead was more often found in appellatives.
[242] For adoptive cognomina during the Republic, see Salomies 1992, p. 11ff. As for cognomina coined from the mother's nomen with *-ianus,* see 4.10.2 below.
[243] Kajanto 1965, p. 109.

nomina from gentilicia, whereas for men *-iānus* was the predominant suffix in this function.

The original function of the suffix, as that of many other suffixes, was to indicate the belonging to something/someone.[244] This also explains its popularity in cognomina derived from nomina, that is to say, indicating a connection to a certain *gens*.

2.4.4.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-iāna*

Cognomina coined from other cognomina with *-iāna* do not become common before the second century. For instance *Sabiniana*, one of the most common cognomina of this type, with 19 attestations documented by Kajanto 1965, is primarily attested during the second, third, and fourth centuries—and even in some of these cases the cognomen may in fact be derived from the nomen *Sabinius*.[245] The same applies to *Severiana* (22 cases in Kajanto 1965), which was typically derived from the cognomen *Severus* but may have occasionally derived from the nomen *Severius*. The suffix was also predominantly used in men's nomenclature, as noted above. Kajanto, for instance, documents 219 cases of *Sabinianus* and 139 cases of *Severianus* (versus 19 cases of *Sabiniana* and 22 of *Severiana*).[246]

Other names of this type, with five or more attestations (in Kajanto 1965), include *Clementiana* (14), *Feliciana* (9), *Faustiniana* (8), *Mercuriana* (7), *Salviana* (7), *Maximiana* (6), *Prisciana* (6), *Augustiana* (5), *Crescentiana* (5), *Faustiana* (5), *Luciana* (5), *Tertul(l)iana* (5). In terms of frequency, the contrast is stark when comparing to cognomina coined from gentilicia with *-iana* (e.g. *Iuliana* 116 cases, *Valeriana* 58, *Aeliana* 39; see 2.3.4.3. below).

There are also some senatorial women with a cognomen derived from another cognomen with *-iāna*, mostly from the late second or third century, e.g. Iallia Bassiana (*PFOS* 420), granddaughter (?) of M. Iallius Bassus (*cos. suff.* 159?), and Egnatia Certiana (*PIR*^{2} E 38), daughter of C. Egnatius Certus (*cos. suff.* in early third century, cf. *PIR*^{2} E 20). The cognomen *Clementiana*, likely derived from *Clemens*, is also attested for two women of the late second century.[247] *Africaniana* in the nomenclature of Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38), in turn, must derive from from *Africanus*, and *Honoratiana* in the nomenclature of Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata (*PIR*^{2} F 424) from *Honoratus*. The cognomen of Tiberia [Claudia] Frontoniana (*PIR*^{2} C 1094), daughter of Ti. Claudius Frontonianus, can also be highlighted here—even if the name was not directly derived

[244] Leumann 1977 § 295 D.2.
[245] The earliest datable case dates from Trajan's reign, i.e. Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana (*PFOS* 676), daughter of M. (Rutilius) Clemens, attested in *AE* 1934, 241.
[246] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 154 = 186; 155 = 257.
[247] (Flavia) Clementiana (*PFOS* 364). Fufidia Clementiana is not in *PFOS*. See Appendix 2a ii, *s.v.* 'Clementiana' for more information.

from *Frontōn-*, but was taken over from the father as such. *Sabiniana* is also attested for a senatorial woman of the early second century (*PFOS* 676), though it is unclear if the name derives from *Sabinus* or from the nomen *Sabinius*.

-iāna could also be attached to cognomina in *-illa,* though only rarely; in men's nomenclature, on the contrary, cognomina in *-illianus* were far more common. It ought to be pointed out, however, that some names in *-illiana* (or *-illianus* for that matter) were not coined from cognomina in *-illa,* but from nomina of the type *Atil(l)ia, Lucil(l)ia* (e.g. *CIL* VI 21598 'Lucilia Lucilliana'). Such names are thus simply cognomina coined from gentilicia with *-iāna.*

A search in the *EDCS* yields only two names (attested for three women) that could be interpreted as female cognomina coined with the suffix cluster *-illiana*: *Quintilliana* (twice),[248] *Flaccilliana* (*AE* 2001, 301, Rome, 151-200—but *Quintilliana* may be also derived from the nomen *Quintillius* (rather than *Quint* + *-ill-* + *-iana*), in which case we would not be even dealing with a suffix cluster.[249] In men's nomenclature, as noted above, names in *-illianus* are more numerous, especially in later periods. Such names are discussed in a recent article by O. Salomies who records 31 such cognomina (some of which, however, are uncertain).[250]

Salomies reasonably concludes that, since female cognomina in *-illa* were common and popular, further formations of the type *-illiana* were perhaps not needed or desirable, whereas the suffix *-illus* was never popular in men's names and therefore formations in *-illianus* were used instead and can be considered, to a certain extent, corresponding forms to female names in *-illa.*[251]

2.4.4.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-iāna*

The most typical use of *-iāna* was to derive cognomina from gentilicia, of the type *Fab-iana* (from the nomen *Fabius*), *Iul-iana* (from *Iulius*), *Valer-iana* (from *Valerius*). This style, however, was more common in men's nomenclature, which becomes evident when comparing the frequency of some typical male and female cognomina of this type (as documented by Kajanto 1965):

Aeliana (39)	*Aelianus* (156)
Flaviana (9)	*Flavianus* (22)

[248] *CIL* II 1090 = *AE* 2014, 608, Fabia Quintilliana, daughter of Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Gal. Rusticus); *CIL* VI 36241.

[249] M. Kajava has also brought to my attention a dedication for *Hercules Romanillianus* from Rome (*CIL* VI 645 = *ILS* 3468 = *AE* 1962, 294). Given the use of the suffix *-ianus* in such epiteths (e.g. *Silvanus Naevianus* in the same inscription), one may deduce the female cognomen *Romanilla* (known at least from *CIL* VI 13913; *CIL* VIII 738 = 12137; *ILAlg* I 2145 = *AE* 1907, 234; *CIL* IX 1440; as well as some later Christian inscriptions). In other words, this particular cult was probably associated with a patroness called Romanilla (more likely than with a man called Romanillus).

[250] Salomies 2019.

[251] Salomies 2019, p. 206f.

Claudiana (18)	*Claudianus* (132)
Iuliana (116)	*Iulianus* (684)
Fabiana (15)	*Fabianus* (79)
Valeriana (58)	*Valerianus* (367)
Terentiana (2)	*Terentianus* (52)

There is also a stark chronological contrast. Whereas Roman men sometimes had adoptive cognomina of the type *Aemilianus, Octavianus* already during the Republic (and later also non-adoptive cognomina of the same type), female names coined with *-iāna* appear only sporadically during the first century CE, and even then mostly during its second half, and it is only in the course of the second century that such names become more frequent.

The first senatorial woman on record to bear such a cognomen is DOMITIA DECIDIANA (*PFOS* 322), daughter of (T?) Domitius Decidius (*quaest.* 44-46) and wife of Cn. Iulius Agricola (*cos. suff.* 76). Note also that in her case the cognomen was derived from her father's cognomen—which in any case was a nomen used in place of a cognomen. There is also a daughter of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26), whose cognomen has been restored as *Caesia[na]* (*PFOS* 279), but this is uncertain and the name, in my view, was more likely *Caesia* (see n. 384 below). Another case from the late first century is (ULPIA) MARCIANA, sister of the emperor Trajan (*PIR*^{2} V 877 = *PFOS* 824). The general hypothesis is that her mother was a Marcia (hence the cognomen), and indeed this seems reasonable. However, there is also the possibility, albeit perhaps a less credible one, that the cognomen was coined after the father's (M. Ulpius Traianus) praenomen, as was the case sometimes (see 2.4.4.4 below for cognomina coined from praenomina with *-iāna*).

All other cases are later. Furthermore, it ought to be noted that many female cognomina in *-iāna,* were not independently derived from gentilicia but were transmitted from the father or some other relative as such (e.g. Claudia Titiana, daughter of Claudius Titianus, cf. *PFOS* 252). There is, however, some undisputable evidence. From the third century for example we know such senatorial women as Cl(audia) Baebia Baebiana (*PIR*^{2} C 1079), Domitia Domitiana (*PIR*^{2} D 176),[252] and Iulia Iuliana (*PIR*^{2} I 673). There are also many senatorial women from the second century with cognomina such as *Aciliana* (*PFOS* 200), *Aemiliana* (*PFOS* 39; 417), *Claudiana* (*PFOS* 755), *Iuliana* (*PFOS* 714), *Liviana* (*PFOS* 190), *Maeciana* (*PFOS* 241), *Marciana* (5);[253] *Petroni[ana]* (*PFOS* 157); *Pompeiana* (479), *Valeriana* (*PFOS* 517)—all clearly originating in nomina; but it is difficult to say if the cognomina were independently coined from a nomen or simply taken over as such. In the case of Ae(milia?) Gaviana (*PFOS* 26), a connection can perhaps be established to L. Fulvius

[252] Her status, however, is unclear. She is recorded in *CIL* V 5228 (Transpadana, 251-300 CE) as *Domitia Domitiana c. f.* and it could also be that that the abbreviation stands for *C(aii) f(ilia)* rather than *c(larissima) f(emina)* (though in that case the filiation would be misplaced).
[253] *PFOS* 33; 197; 261; 463; 590 (in addition to Ulpia Marciana discussed above).

Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus (*pr.* 169), but the relationship remains hypothetical at best.

As for non-senatorial women, the suffix *-iāna* is well attested for cognomina derived from gentilicia. Like among the women of senatorial families, cognomina derived from gentilicia with *-iāna* are mostly attested after the early Empire. There are, however, some sporadic examples that may date from the early imperial time, e.g. *CIL* V 6528 (Novaria, 1st half of the 1st c.), Aemilia C. f. Aemiliana.[254] In general, there is plenty of evidence of cognomina derived from nomina with *-iana* from various parts of the Empire, much of which is presented in Chapter 4 (for cases, in which the cognomen is derived from the father's nomen with *-iāna*, 4.4.1; from the mother's nomen, 4.4.3).

2.4.4.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-iāna*

The suffix *-iāna* was occasionally used when coining female cognomina from praenomina, particularly from *Marcus* (*Marciana*), but also other forms (*Quintiana, Titiana*) are attested. The names *Publiana* and *Luciana* are also attested in several inscriptions, but no clear connection to the praenomen can be established. In the following inscriptions, all of them dating from after 75 BCE, the filiation gives reason to suspect that the cognomen was derived from a praenomen:

Marciana:
CIL VIII 23093 (Afr. proc.): Sabinia M. f. Marciana.
CIL X 358 = *InscrIt* III,1, 149 (Atina): [M]agia M. f. M[arci]ana.
CIL II 329 (Scallabis): Antonia M. [f.?] Marciana.
CIL VIII 7188 = *ILAlg* III.1 882 (Cirta): Alfena M. f. Marciana.
CIL VIII 2418 (Thamugadi): Cottia M. f. Marciana.
CIL VI 34767: Calvia M. f. Marciane.
CIL X 1784 = *ILS* 6334 (Puteoli): Gavia M. f. Marciana.
CIL X 2769 (Puteoli): Nemonia Nella M. f. Marciana.
CIL VI 29321: Ulpia M. f. Clodia Marciana.

Quintiana:
CIL XIII 2149 (Lugudunum): Geminia Q. f. Quintiana, daughter of Q. Geminius Priscian(us) and Geminia Aphrodisia.

Titiana:
CIL III 10884 = *RIS* 406 (Pann. sup.), Iulia Titiana, daughter of T. Iulius Marinus and (H)erennia Ingenua.
CIL VI 20548 = *IGUR* III 1239: Flavia T. f. Titiane.

[254] The dating, as far as I see it, is based on the fact that the inscription was set up by a woman styled as *Caninia*, who did not yet have a cognomen.

It is also reasonable to assume that in imperial name combinations, of the type *Flavia Titiana, Ulpia Marciana, Aurelia Marciana, Aelia Publiana,* the cognomen was derived from a praenomen (compare names of the type (*M.*) *Aurelius Marcianus* in men's nomenclature). At least the following cases are on record:

Aurelia Marciana (7): *CIL* II.7 423 (Corduba); *CIL* IX 4708 (Reate); *ILAlg* II.1 2257 (Numidia); *CIL* V 53 = *InscrIt* X.1 80 (Pola); *LIKelsey* 86 (Puteoli, 3rd c.); *ICVR* IX 24347 (291-325 CE); *ICVR* I 3327 = VIII 20722 (301-350 CE)

Ulpia Marciana (7): *CIL* II 5953 = VIII 10012 (Hispania cit.); *LIKelsey* 281 (Cumae, 98-105 CE); *CIL* VI 20807 (2nd c.); *CIL* IX 4804; probably also *CIL* III 8053 (151-250 CE), Ulpia [Marcia]na, and *AE* 1959, 316 (180-230 CE), [Ulpia] Marciana, both inscriptions from Dacia; see also Ulpia M. f. Marciana above.

Flavia Titiana: cf. Flavia T. f. Titiane above.

One could also think that in the case of (Ulpia) Marciana, sister of the emperor Trajan, the cognomen was coined after the father's (M. Ulpius Traianus) praenomen (compare Ulpia M. f. Clodia Marciana above). According to the general hypothesis, however, her mother was a Marcia, in which case the cognomen would have been coined from her nomen instead.[255] It seems indeed plausible that, given the aristocratic context, the cognomen would have been chosen to recall a family alliance. I would not, however, refute the possibility that the cognomen was connected to the praenomen used in the family.

2.4.5 *-ulla*

2.4.5.1 General overview of the suffix

The suffix *-ulla* was sometimes used in cognomina, but it appears in appellatives only rarely.[256] In this sense the suffix is comparable to *-illa* (and also not least because the variation between *u* and *i* was typical in Latin)—though *-illa* was by far the more popular suffix.

The number of different female names coined with *-ulla* amount only to 22, according to Kajanto 1965: *Antulla* (16), *Anulla* (4), *Aprulla* (26), *Babulla, Caesul(l)a* (3), *Catulla* (26), *Fabul(l)a* (14), *Labulla* (Mart. 4, 9; cf. Schulze 163), *Luculla* (18), *Nardulla, Nerulla* (3), *Pedulla*, *Primulla* (3), *Semprulla, Sextulla* (2), *Statulla, Terentulla* (2), *Tertulla* (392), *Titulla* (33), *Trebulla, Vettulla* (3), *Victulla.* There are also other names, not taken into consideration by Kajanto, e.g. *Hispulla* (at least three women) and *Creperulla* (see below).

[255] Cf. a reconstruction of the family tree in *PIR*² V p. 450, in which the mother appears as (Marcia?). This, to my understanding, is based on the daughter's cognomen and therefore one should avoid drawing any hasty conclusions regarding the cognomen's origin.
[256] Niedermann 1950, p. 147; cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 128.

Despite the relatively small number of different names, the list above shows that *-ulla* could be attached to various different types of names and stems with various consequences, e.g. *Tit-ulla* (from the praenomen *Tit-us*), and *Luc-ulla* (from *Luc-ius*), but also *Hisp-ulla* (instead of **Hisponulla*) and *Sempr-ulla* (instead of **Sempron-ulla*).

There were also some other names ending in *-ulla,* which, however, cannot be considered suffixed formations. For instance *Paculla* was an old Oscan praenomen,[257] and *Satulla* corresponded to a Latin adjective ("satisfied").

Men also sometimes had cognomina coined with *-ullus,* but my impression is that this is a later practice. Whilst female cognomina in *-ulla* (e.g. *Tertulla*) appear already during the late republican and Augustan periods (see Chapter 3), similar names are only rarely attested for men before the second century CE. There are, to be sure, some earlier examples as well, but these are mostly freedmen (e.g. *CIL* X 6393, Tarracina, 1-50 CE, *[---] M. l. Tertullus*).

It should also be noted that even if diminutive forms in *-illus* were rare in men's nomenclature, cognomina in *-ullus* are well documented. This is particularly the case with *Tertullus,* with 142 cases in Kajanto's catalogue, but there were also other relatively popular names, e.g. *Titullus* (36), *Lucullus* (46; though this name was already used by the republican Licinii Luculli and was probably often taken over as such).[258]

2.4.5.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-ulla*

As seen above, *-ulla* could be added to cognomina of the first and second declension as well as to those of the third declension. The suffix, however, was usually not added to *-ōn-*stems, but instead to a 'reduced' one (through haplology). Thus we have a form such as *Hispulla* from *Hispo* (not **Hisponulla*), and also forms such as *Nerulla* (instead of **Neronulla*; from the nomen *Neronia;* see the discussion in 2.4.13).

Hispulla is attested for several upper-class women from Northern Italy. One of them is Terentia Cn. f. Hispulla (*PIR*^{2} T 105 = *PFOS* 756), who was honoured at Athens during the first half of the first century CE together with her son Catullus (*IG* II/III^2 4159). It seems clear that she was connected to the Terentii of Milan, who used the cognomen *Hispo* (her father was probably called Cn. Terentius Hispo).[259] From the letters of the younger Pliny we also know a woman called Calpurnia Hispulla, who was the daughter of the equestrian L. Calpurnius Fabatus from Comum (*epist.* 4, 19; 8, 11).[260] The

[257] Salomies 1987, p. 84. As a cognomen it is known from *CIL* XII 5218 (Narbo) and *CIL* VI 11158 (Rome). It was also the personal name of the mother of Cottia A. f. Galla, daughter of a *homo novus* in the Augustan period, but it is difficult to tell if the name was a cognomen or not (see 3.3.2).
[258] Kajanto 1965, p. 292; 171; 173.
[259] Cf. P. Terentius Hispo, friend of Cicero (Cic. *ad fam.* 13, 65, 1; *ad Att.* 11, 10, 1).
[260] Cf. *PIR*^{2} C 329. For the father, cf. *PIR*^{2} C 263.

cognomen *Hispulla* is also attested for two other senatorial women, mother and daughter (Hispulla, *PFOS* 418; Corellia Hispulla, *PFOS* 268). The mother's nomen is not known, but she was probably connected to the Terentii Hispones, or in any case she must have come from Northern Italy.[261]

Vettulla is more difficult to interpret, since it could technically derive from the nomen *Vettius* and from the cognomen *Vetto* (with a similar analogy as *Hispulla* < *Hispo*). The latter seems to be the case with Funisulana Vettulla (*PIR*^{2} F 571), who is attested in 82 CE as the wife of C. Tettius Africanus, *praef(ectus) Aeg(ypti)* (*CIL* III 36 = *ILS* 8759c), and who must have been related to L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (his cognomen clearly deriving from *Vetto*; cf. *PIR*^{2} F 570).

A similar case seems to be *Pedulla*, from *Pedo* (and not **Pedonulla*): *CIL* XII 3850: *Pusoniae P. f. / Pedullae / P. Pusonius / Pedo alumnus.*

There is also one possible case of *Petrulla,* which was probably derived from *Petro* or *Petronius* rather than *Petrus* (see the discussion in 2.4.13).

Kajanto, furthermore, categorizes *Aprulla* as a name deriving from both gentilicia and fauna,[262] but it is far more likely that in most of the 26 cases it was derived from *Aper* rather than the rare nomen *Aprius*—and at least in one case, it seems, from *Apro* with the same analogy as *Hispulla* < *Hispo* above (cf. *CIL* VI 35534, 2nd c., mother Terentia Aprulla, son C. Iulius Apro).

Catulla, with 26 cases documented by Kajanto (1965), also requires some commenting. While it is true that it originally derived from *Catus,* it seems likely that in many cases it was simply considered a feminine form of *Catullus*, a well-established cognomen used, amongst others by the Valerii of Verona already in the republican period. It can therefore be debated to what extent the name ought to be considered a real suffixed formation.

2.4.5.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-ulla*

-ulla was also attached to gentilicia. The evidence on record is not abundant, but there are some names and cases that can be pointed out. For example the cognomen *Fabulla* (attested for at least 16 women, including a senatorial one) must have been derived from *Fabius,* and similarly *Terentulla* (known from 7 Latin inscriptions) was surely derived from *Terentius.*[263] Also a name

[261] Alföldy 1982, p. 355.
[262] Kajanto 1965, p. 170 = 325.
[263] *Fabulla*: *HEp* 2001, 177; *CIL* II 1258 = *CILA* I 84; *CIL* X 2959; *Bull. Com.* 1923, 96,102; *CIL* VI 14653; 15420; 17645; *CIL* XV 3736 (149 CE); *NSA* 1922, 422; *CIL* V 3441,4. For discussion regarding the senatorial woman, (Fabia?) Fabulla Asiatica (*PFOS* 351), see Appendix 4a nr. 7. *Terentulla*: CIL II 3645/3643 (Saetabis, 101-130 CE), Terentia M. f. Terentulla; *AE* 2010, 215 = 2012, 251 (Rome), Terentia M. f. Terentulla Albini; *AE* 1997, 1637 (Afr. proc., 69-96 CE); *CIL* XII 4216 = *ILS* 4765; *CIL* XII 2985 (Narbonensis); *CIL* II.14 154a = *HEp* 2008, 167 = *AE* 2008, 743 (Edeta, 2nd c.), sisters Cornelia Terentulla and Cornelia Terentina (probably daughters of a Terentia).

such as *Creperulla* (*AE* 1983, 168) must have been coined from the nomen *Crepereius,* since no other reasonable etymology can be proposed. It follows that the suffix was not only added to gentilicia in *-ia* but also *-eia,* in both cases resulting in the ending *-ulla.* Also *Statulla,* which is attested only once, belongs to this category, since it is clearly derived from the nomen, as is evident from the nomenclature of Statia Statulla in *CIL* V 5663 (Lambrugo, 14-41 CE).[264]

Similar evidence exists of other cognomina as well, e.g. *Trebulla* in *CIL* IX 6746 (Terventum, 71-130), Trebia N. f. Trebulla; *Victulla* in *HEp* 2000, 62 (Emerita), *Vict(ia?) Victulla*; and perhaps also *Babulla* in *CIL* II,14 77 = II 3767 (Valentia, 1st c.): Baebia M. f. Babulla. There is also a possible case of *Caesulla,* though the name may be derived from *Caesus* rather than *Caesius*: *HEp* 1996, 846 = *AE* 1994, 992 (Lusitania, 151-235 CE): Caesulla Caesi f.

There are also other names that could derive from nomina. For example the cognomen *Titulla* (33 cases documented by Kajanto)[265] was probably in some cases derived from *Titius*—though perhaps more often from the pranomen *T(itus),* particularly in Gallia Narbonensis (see 2.4.5.4).[266] *Quintulla* could similarly derive from the nomen *Quintius* or the praenomen *Q(uintus)* (the name is known from two African inscriptions; see 2.4.5.4 below). Kajanto also documents one case of *Labulla,* perhaps from *Labius,* which is attested by Martial (4, 9), but this sort of evidence is of more dubious nature.[267] The cognomen *Vettulla* (3) in turn could be derived from either a nomen (*Vettius*) or a cognomen (*Vetto*; cf. 2.4.5.2; also 2.4.13). Also, *Aprulla* (26) may have sometimes derived from the nomen *Aprius,* but perhaps more typically from the cognomen *Aper* (see above in 2.4.5.2). There is in fact even one case, in which *Aprulla* seems to derive from *Aprusidia* (*CIL* XI 6402, see the discussion in 2.4.13 below).

This brings us to the next point. It has already been noted above that the suffix, when attached to names with *-ōn*-stems, could produce a 'reduced' form. This seems to have been the case also with some cognomina derived from nomina, e.g. *Antulla* (not **Antonulla,* from *Antonia*), *Nerulla* (<*Neronia*), *Semprulla* (<*Sempronius*?). For references and a more detailed discussion, see 2.4.13 below.

It ought to be noted that the suffix was also used to derive men's cognomina from gentilicia, though less often, e.g. *Fabul(l)us* (11), *Terentullus* (2).[268]

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[264] Technically *Statius* could also function as a genuine cognomen (or an individual name of Italic extraction), but this is obviously not the case here.
[265] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 171.
[266] The form Τιτ̣τόλλα is also attested for a woman in a Greek inscription from Sicily, possibly dating from the late 1st c. BCE or the early 1st c. CE (*SEG* 34, 953 = *SEG* 47, 1444, Κωμεδία Τιτ̣τόλλα). It is, however, unclear if the cognomen is supposed to be *Titulla* or something else. It could also have to do with *Tit(t)elos,* a local Sicilian name (cf. *IG* XIV 287; 291; *SEG* 50, 1020; *SEG* 53, 1052 (2)).
[267] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 170.
[268] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 170; 171.

Many of the names discussed here do not in fact have any attestations in the masculine form (e.g. there is no record of **Aprullus, *Vettullus*).

2.4.5.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-ulla*

There are at least three cognomina derived from praenomina with *-ulla*: *Luculla* (from *Lucius*), *Titulla* (from *Titus*), and *Sextulla* (from *Sextus*). The cognomen *Quintulla* is also attested in two African inscriptions (*AE* 2013, 1998; 2024,), but a clear connection to the praenomen *Quintus* cannot be established and the cognomina could equally well derive from the nomen *Quintius*.

Luculla:
CIL X 5546 (Aquinum): Vitteia L. f. Luculla, daughter of L. Vitteius.
ERAE 202 (Emerita): Aemilia L. f. Luculla.
CIL VI 16543a: Costilia L. f. Luculla.

There are also cases, in which the cognomen clearly was *not* coined from the father's praenomen, e.g. *ILAlg* II.2 6253, Antistia P. f. Luculla.

In general, there are many women called *Luculla* on record, and in some of these cases the name was probably derived from the praenomen.[269] However, one has to take into account that the cognomen *Lucullus* had already been used by the republicna Licinii Luculli and in some cases the name may have been taken over as such.

Titulla seems to be coined from the praenomen *Titus* at least in the following cases (note that five out of eight cases are from Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis):
CIL XII 3942 (Nemausus): Terentia T. f. Titulla.
CIL XII 3938 (Nemausus): Tavillia Titulla, sister of T. Tavillius T. f. Vol. Honoratus.
CIL XII 3957 (Nemausus): Titia T. f. Titulla.
CIL XII 4001 (Nemausus): Valeria T. f. Titulla.
ILGN 460 (Nemausus): Decumia T. f. Titulla.
CIL V 7509 (Liguria): Aufidia T. f. Titulla (cf. her daughter Pollia M. f. Marcella).
CIL V 6591 (Cavaglio d'Agona): Titulla, daughter of T. Valentius Haruspex
CIL VIII 8131 (Numidia): Rubria T. f. Titulla.

Sextulla:
CIL VIII 18997 = *ILAlg* II.2 5328 (Thibilis): Iavolenia Iavoleni fil. Quirina Sextulla Ufclia(?), sister of Sex. Iavolenius Sex. f. Quir. Victor.[270]
CIL VIII 17930 (Thamugadi): Amania Sextulla Sex. ⌜f.⌝.

[269] *AE* 1909, 132 = 1974, 659
[270] Note the indication of the *tribus* in a female nomenclature, which sometimes occurs in African inscriptions.

2.4.6 *-ula/-(i)ola*

2.4.6.1 General overview of the suffix

The suffix *-ula,* or *-ola* when attached to *-i-/-e-*stems, was frequently found in female cognomina.[271] It could be attached to cognomina, primarily of the first and second declensions, but also in rare cases to names of the third declension (see below). It was also attached to gentilicia, resulting usually in the ending *-iola* (e.g. *Aciliola, Fabiola, Manliola*; see below). While *-ulus/a* was the original Latin diminutive formative, its diminutive, or perhaps rather hypocoristic, function must have been in decline by the time cognomina became popular among women, which is suggested by the relatively low frequency of cases in *-ula* (only 6.8% of the cases; see Table 4 in 2.4.1 above).[272] The number of different names in *-ula/-(i)ola*, however, was large in comparison (13.29%), attesting to the productive nature of the suffix.

2.4.6.2 Cognomina from other cognomina with *-ula/-(i)ola*

The suffix *-ula* is found in several names derived from other cognomina. It has to be made clear that in deciding what is to be considered a suffixed formation and what simply a standard pet form of a Latin appellative has not been without problems. For example the word *primulus* (from *primus*) is attested in the pre-classical Latin of Plautus and Terence.[273] In terms of a cognomen such as *Primula*, however, I have in principle assumed that the suffix was used independently to coin a new name from the existing cognomen *Primus/a.*

When coining new cognomina from other cognomina, the tion *-ula* is normally found attached to simple forms of the first and second declension, as the following list (after Kajanto 1965) will illustrate (the majority of the cases are known from Africa and Gaul):[274]

Primula (85)	*Credula* (5)	*Buccula* (2)	*Barbarula*	*Maurula*
Ursula (54)	*Fuscula* (5)	*Carula* (2)	*Bastula*	*Nepotula*
Lupula (49)	*Stercula* (5)	*Celsula* (2)	*[B]rittula*	*Pacatula*
Castula (45)	*Vetula* (5)	*Decimula* (2)	*Calvula*	*Pardula*
Fortunula (34)	*Cattula* (4)	*Faustinula* (2)	*Campanula*	*Probatula*
Quintula (27)	*Domnula* (4)	*Firmula* (2)	*Candidula*	*Redductula*
Secundula (24)	*Privatula* (4)	*Fructula* (2)	*Certula*	*Remula*

[271] Cf. Leumann 1977 § 91 β; § 282 A.
[272] The suffix also had a range of aspectual functions, e.g. a male cognomen such as *Bibulus* (from *bibere*) does not primarily imply "a little drinker" but instead "one who drinks a lot/often", viz. "a drinker"; and *Lentulus,* the hereditary cognomen of one branch of the patrician Cornelii, had the meaning "rather slow". Such names, however, were pejorative and were avoided in women's nomenclature.
[273] Plaut. *Amph.* 2, 2, 105; *Men.* 5, 5, 18; Ter. *Ad.* 3, 1, 2.
[274] For references, cf. Kajanto 1965.

Donatula (18)	*Rufula* (4)	*Gratula* (2)	*Cossula*	*Renatul[a]*
Rogatula (18)	*Albula* (3)	*Marcula* (2)	*Crispula*	*Servula*
Apicula (14)	*Augustula* (3)	*Matronula* (2)	*Dammula*	*Severula*
Quartula (13)	*F(o)edula* (3)	*Maximula* (2)	*Datula*	*Somnula*
Verula (10)	*Formicula* (3)	*Palmula* (2)	*Faustula*[275]	*Speratula*
Salsula (8)	*Iucundula* (3)	*Pupula* (2)	*Fidula*	*Urticula*
Gemmula (7)	*Mammula* (3)	*Qu(i)etula* (2)	*Gallula*	*Vespula*
Optatula (7)	*Martinula* (3)	*Restutula* (2)	*Gratinula*	
Mulsula (6)	*Priscula* (3)	*Sanctula* (2)	*Iustula*	
Sabinula (6)	*Sextula* (3)	*Acceptula*	*Iuvencula*	
Venustula (6)	*Animula* (2)	*Asinula*	*Lenula*	

In some cases, however, we might simply be dealing with orthographic variation (e.g. *Sextul(l)a*). There are also some female cognomina, in which the suffix *-ula* has been attached to other suffixed formations, particularly *-inus,* thus resulting in *-inula.* The following names are on record: *Albinula,*[276] *Faustinula* (3),[277] *Gratinula,*[278] *Lucinula,*[279] *Macrinula* (2),[280] *Martinula* (2),[281] *Paulinula* (2),[282] *Postuminula,*[283] *Quartinula,*[284] *Rufinula* (3),[285] *Secundinula,*[286] *U[r]sinul[a]* (*CIL* III 8316, , 171-300 CE)*, Venustinula* (*CIL* VIII 27241)*, Verinula.*[287] Notably, 11 out of the total of 20 cases are known from Gaul.

There is also one example of the suffix being attached to a cognomen coined with *-osa,* viz. *Bonosula,* known from a Christian inscription from Carthage (*CIL* VIII 25208).

The termination *-ola* is primarily found with *-i-* and *-e-*stems, most of which consist of gentilicia (see below), but there are also some names coined from other cognomina. For example *Tertiola* (18 cases documented by Kajanto), *Luciola* (3) and *Corneola* are the expected formations of *Tertius, Lucius, Corneus. Insidiola* falls into this category as well (cf. *CIL* XIII 1404, Iul. Insidio-

[275] Though it could also simply be a feminine form of *Faustulus.*
[276] A Christian woman attested in Rome during the early 4th century (*ICVR* IX 24926a).
[277] *EE* IX 239 (Hispania); *CIL* XIII 3728 (Belgica); *CIL* II 4569 (Barcino, 171-250 CE).
[278] *CIL* XII 2258 (Gratianopolis). The inscription records two sisters Antoniae Gratinula and Grata, as well as their mother Viria Gratina.
[279] *CIL* XII 1390 (Vasio, 2nd/early 3rd c.). The cognomen seems to be also transmitted to her son Albius Luci[nulus] (that is, if the restoration of the cognomen is correct).
[280] *CIL* XII 2203 (Vienna); *CIL* XIII 2928 (Lugudunum).
[281] *CIL* III 261 (Ancyra): Severia Martinula (note also her daughter Aquilia Severina); *CIL* VI 9670 (51-200 CE): Iulia Martinula.
[282] *CIL* XII 2264; 2277 (both Gratianopolis, 2nd c.).
[283] *CIL* XIII 1540 (Aquitanica). The date is unclear; imperial in any case.
[284] *CIL* VIII 1590 (Afr. proc., 2nd c.?): [Babu]ria M. f. Quartinula; mentioned together with Ba[b]urius M. f. Cor. Quartinus.
[285] *ILAfr* 162,5 (Ammaedara, 2nd c.?); *CIL* VIII 22814 (Thenae, 2nd c.?); *ILAin* 128 = *AE* 1988, 876 (Ambrarri, Lugud.), *Rufinula Ruffiniani fil., neptis* of *Ruffius Severus Scotti filius.*
[286] The same woman, Vireia Secundinula, seems to be attested in two inscriptions from Gaul during the late second century (*CIL* XII 2333; 2335).
[287] *CIL* XII 2272 = *ILN* V,2 403 (Gratianopolis, 2nd/3rd c.).

la, daughter of Insidiator; both cognomina deriving from the appellative *insidiae*). There are also three attestations of *Suavola* (from *Suavis*), an example of the suffix being attached to a third declension name.[288] *Dulciola* (*AE* 1992, 1237, Lugudunensis) could be another example, if derived from *Dulcis* (the nomen *Dulcius* does not seem to be on record).[289] In some cases, however, it seems that the termination *-iola* is found in other than *-i*-stems, e.g. *CIL* XIII 2988 (Haedui), *Regiola Regalis fil(ia),* and *CIL* XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 71-200), recording Maria Severiola, daughter of Sacrius Severus and Maria Mariola. In the latter case it seems that the daughter's cognomen *Severiola* was coined from the father's cognomen with the same analogy as the mother's cognomen *Mariola* was from the nomen *Maria*, as if it was derived from *Severius* instead of *Severus*.

Kajanto also considers *Maximiola* (*CIL* XIII 4390) and *Marsiola* (*CIL* XII 950) *-iola*-formations coined from cognomina, supposedly from *Maximus* and *Marsus.*[290] It is, however, also possible that they were derivations of the nomina *Maximius* and *Marsius.*[291]

The name *Cervola* (10 hits in the *EDCS*)[292] is interesting, since, from a grammatical point of view, one would perhaps expect the form *Cervula* (from *Cervus*), which, however, is attested only once (*CIL* VI 14694). It could also be assumed that the name was coined from *Cervius* instead of *Cervus,* but in this case one would expect the form *Cerviola* (attested twice, see below). A similar case is perhaps *Flavola,* derived presumably from *Flavus.* The name is attested for (Hedia) Terentia Flavola, a Vestal virgin known from the beginning of the third century (*PFOS* 411).

2.4.6.3 Cognomina from nomina with *-ula/-(i)ola*

As noted above, the diminutive suffix *-ula,* when added to *-i*-stems, normally became *-ola,* thus resulting in the termination *-iola* when attached to most gentilicia (e.g. *Fabiola, Manliola,* etc.). Indeed, most Latin names ending in *-iola* were derivations from gentilicia. One of the most popular names in *-iola* (or *-eola*) was *Capreola/Capriola,* with 55 attestations in Kajanto 1965. The etymology, however, is not entirely clear. The name could derive from the nomen *Caprius,* but in many cases it must have been coined from the appellative *caprea* (at least in most of the cases with the termination *-eola*).[293]

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[288] *AE* 1993, 910 = *HEp* 1995, 95 (Emerita, 151-200), Memmia Su[a]vola, with her son Memmius Suav[is]; *CIL* II 533; 534 (Emerita, 2nd c.), mother and daughter, both called Ant. Suavola.

[289] At least *Dulcius* is not documented in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium.*

[290] Kajanto 1965, p. 125.

[291] Cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium,* p. 113; 115.

[292] *CIL* XI 1079 (Parma); *ILJug* II 872 (Nedinum); *ILJug* II 931 = *AE* 1964, 257 (Dalmatia), *[C]ervola* (?); *CIL* VI 7908; 8977; 22906; *AE* 1980, 421 (Sassina); *CIL* V 1377 (Aquileia); 8305 (Aquileia); 8463 (Aquileia).

[293] For the nomen, cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium.* Cf. also Leumann 1977 § 269.5c.

Other than that, at least the following names derive or could derive from gentilicia (numbers after Kajanto 1965):

Titiola (10), *Martiola* (8), *Attiola* (4), *Anniola* (3), *Marciola* (3), *Cariola* (2), *Domitiola* (2), *Fabiola* (2), *Gelliola* (2), *Manliola/Malliola* (4), *Mariola* (2), *Seriola* (2) (if from the nomen *Serius*), *Severiola* (1)[294], *Sextiola* (2), *Sittiola* (2), *Victoriola* (2; if from the late nomen), *Vindemiola* (2), *Aeliola, Alliola, Badiola, Belliciola, Beriola, Caesiola, Cassiola, Cerviola,*[295] *Conniola, Copiola, Decimiola, Deciola, Fadiola, Flaviola, Germaniola, Granniola, Heren[n]iola, Iuliola, Iustiola, Naeviola, Octaviola, Quintiola, Silviola, Simpliciola, Statiola, Viriola.*[296] Also perhaps *Marsiola* and *Maximiola* (see the discussion above in 2.4.6.2).

Some cases, particularly late antique formations, can be problematic. For example *Victoriola* could be coined from the late nomen *Victorius*, but it could equally well derive from a late formation coined with *-ius/a*. All four attestations of this cognomen seem to come from late antique Africa.[297]

Names of the type *Aeliola* (*CIL* XIII 11363), *Domitiola* (*CIL* XII 1920; XIII 1691), *Flaviola* (*CIL* XIII 2589; *AE* 1945, 101, Lug.), *Iuliola* (*AE* 1938, 170 = 1997, 192, Aquitanica) are obviously derived from nomina. The evidence is also clear regarding some other cognomina, e.g. *Naeviola*: *CIL* V 3413 (Naevia L. f. Naeviola); *Decmiola*: *CIL* XIII 2577 = *ILAin* 2; *ILTG* 310 = *ILAin* 3; *ILTG* 309 = *ILAin* 14 = *AE* 1945, 101 (Decmia Decmiola; the same woman apparently in all three inscriptions, one of which also mentions Camaelia Flaviola, *Belli Flavi Aemiliani et Luciliae Leae filia*, whose cognomen was obviously derived from the paternal nomen); *Helleniola*: *AE* 1946, 97 (Rome, 2nd c., Hellenia Helleniola); *[S?]ammiola*: *CIL* XIII 2514 = *ILAin* 66 ([S]ammia [S]ammiola); *Germaniola*: *CIL* XIII 4060 (Germania Germaniola); *Iustiola*: *CIL* XII 2369 = *ILN* V,2 567 (Iustius Iustinus Iustiol(a)e f.); *Catiola*: *CIL* XII 2192 =*ILN* V,2 326 (Catia Catiola); *Conniola*: *CIL* XII 2212 =*ILN* V,2 335 (Connia Conniola); *Mariola* (*CIL* XIII 1650, Maria Mariola, cf. her daughter Maria Severiola discussed above in 2.4.6.2); *Orbiola*: *AE* 1976, 431 (Lugdunum; Feridia Orbiola, daughter of Orbia Ianuaria); *Statiola*: *CIL* VIII 27980 = *ILAlg* I 3756 (Statia Statiola).

There are also cases, in which the cognomen is derived from a nomen used as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* VII 325 = *RIB* I 933 (Britannia, 122-300), recording a woman called Martiola, daughter of Fl. Martius (unless we understand *Martius* as a calendaric name); *ILN* V.2 607 = *AE* 2004, 896 (Vicus Augusti, 2nd c.) with Cominia Conniola (compare her brothers Comini Connius et Connianus); and *CIL* XIII 2079 (Lugudunum), recording Bellia Oc-

[294] Also one case from the cognomen *Severus*; see above in 2.4.6.2

[295] Kajanto records only one Christian women, but there seem to be at least two on record, both from the 4th c.: *ICVR* X 27049; *ICVR* V 14121.

[296] For references, cf. Kajanto 1965; cf. also the reverse index of nomina in Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*.

[297] *CIL* VIII 23565 = *ILCV* 3948 (Mactaris, 3rd/4th c.?); *IAltava* 66 (Altava, 347 CE); *CIL* VIII 3169 (Lambaesis); *CIL* VIII 18307 (Lambaesis).

taviola, daughter of C. Bellius Octavius and Firmia Sextiola (compare also her brother C. Bellius Belliolus).

As can be observed from the evidence presented above, these formations were particularly characteristic to Gaul. The style is also attested in the senatorial *ordo,* at least in the nomenclature of CORNELIA MANLIOLA (*PFOS* 286), a senatorial lady of the early second century. The name suggests a connection to the patrician Manlii (but in what way exactly her family was connected to the Manlii, is unclear).[298]

There is also some evidence of cognomina derived from gentilicia with the termination *-ula* (instead of *-iola*), e.g. *CIL* XIII 2025a (Lugudunum), Quintia Quintula. The cognomen *Maiula* (attested three times in Africa) was also probably derived from the nomen *Maius*—or in any case from an *-i*-stem.[299]

2.4.6.4 Cognomina from praenomina with *-ula/-(i)ola*

There is also some evidence of cognomina being derived from praenomina with *-ula/-(i)ola.*

Quintula: *CIL* VIII 14636 (Afr. proc.), Grania Quintu[l]a, daughter of Q. Granius Namphamo. There are several other cases of *Quintula* as well (at least 36 found in the *EDCS*). They may, however, also derive from the numeral cognomen *Quinta*—and there is also one case, in which *Quintula* is derived from the nomen *Quintia* (see above).

Titula/Titiola: At least in one case the cognomen *Titula* seems to be derived from the praenomen *Titus,* viz. *CIL* XII 3553 (Nemausus), recording Decurtia T. f. Titula (though the cognomen might actually be *Titul(l)a*). The name is also attested for other women, but there are less clues for the origin of the name, e.g. *HEp* 1995, 227 = 2000, 633 (Hisp. cit.), Valeri(a)e Titulae; *ILAlg* II.1 3702 (Numidia), Cassia Titula L. f.; *CIL* VI 3422 (3rd c.), Reginia Titula). One should not, however, rule out the possibility that in some of the cases we are dealing with the suffix *-ul(l)a*.

The form *Titiola* is also known from several sources, but it would more often be coined from the nomen *Titius* than from the praenomen *Titus*.[300] In one fragmentary inscription, however, the name seems to derive from the praenomen: *CIL* XII 2900: *D(is) M(anibus) T(ito) ... Titiola et Secundilla f(iliae)*

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[298] The cognomen (if the identity is secure) was also transmitted to her daughter Acilia Manliola (*PFOS* 4); see Ch. 4.3.2.

[299] *CIL* VIII 26353; 15411; *ILAlg* II.1 1448.

[300] At least the following cases, all of them from Gaul and Germany, are on record: *CIL* XIII 783 (Burdigala, 151-200 CE), Iulia Titiola{m}; *CIL* XIII 11292 (Durocortorum, 101-150 CE), Titiola Secundi; *CIL* XII 2271 (Gratianopolis), Devillia Catullini fil. Titiola; *CIL* XII 2288 (Gratianopolis, 2nd c.), Bitun(ia) Titiol[a]; *CIL* XIII 11647 (Germ. sup., 201-250 CE), Iassa Titiola; *CIL* XIII 2558 (Ambarri), Sab. Titiol(a)e; *ILTG* 259 = *AE* 1935, 15 (Lugudunum), Tauria Titiola; *CIL* XIII 2552 (Ambarri), Iul. Titiola.

p(atri) p(iissimo). The praenomen *Titus* seems to be mentioned also in *CIL* XIII 2537 (Ambarri), *[D(is)] M(anibus) / Titiol(a)e [---] Titi* (...).

Marcula/Marciola: There is one case of *Marcula* derived from *Marcus,* which, however, is used as a cognomen in this case: *CIL* XII 2252 = *ILNS* V.2 388 (Gratianopolis, 251-300 CE), Attia Marcula, daughter of C. Sollius Marcus.[301] As for the form *Marciola,* there is one example of the combination *Aurelia Marciola,* in which case the cognomen may have been derived from the praenomen *Marcus* (*CIL* III 15172 = *RIU* III 903 = *AE* 1939, 15, Pannonia inf., 101-150 CE).

At least three cases of *Luciola* exist, which, etymologically speaking, seem to derive from *Lucius,* even if the origin of the name is not explicit in the sources, e.g. *CIL* XIII 2553 (Ambarri, 2nd/early 3rd c.?), Ael. Luciola (husband and son bear the praenomen Lucius but this cannot have affected how her cognomen was chosen); also *CIL* XIII 2555 (Ambarri), Billicca Gratiani fil. Luciola; and *AE* 1962, 119 (Aquincum), Salvia Luciola.

2.4.7 *-ia*

2.4.7.1 General overview of the suffix

-ia was rarely used in cognomina, except for in Late Antiquity, when formations of the type *Constantia* (from *Constans*) started to gain in popularity—though many such female names can also be interpreted as deriving from abstract nouns (while male names of the type *Constantius* are undeniably derived from existing names with the suffix *-ius*). The simple reason why the suffix in general was avoided in earlier times was that it was the main suffix in gentile names. This also explains why the suffix was practically never attached to gentilicia, if one does not count some sporadic examples, in which the suffix was added to a lengthened stem, e.g. *CIL* XII 4090 (Narbonensis), Nigria Nigrinia. After the decline of the nomen, new cognomina could more freely be coined with the suffix *-ius/a* (c. 60% of all the cases collected by Kajanto are from Christian sources).[302]

In earlier times the suffix was mostly used to derive the female forms of the men's praenomina *Marcus* and *Titus* (see 2.4.7.2 below) and occasionally of some cognomina in *-us.* For example, as M. Kajava has argued, the female form of *Varus* was normally *Varia* (or some other suffixed form) rather than *Vara.*[303] In Kajava's view, this may have had to do with the pejorative nature of a name such as *Varus*—which certainly will have played a role, since pejo-

[301] Her sister was called Attia Marcian(a); see the discussion in Chapter 4.
[302] According to Kajanto, the usual model were the new gentilicia coined from cognomina, of the type *Palladius* from *Pallas,* as well as Greek names of the type *Apollonios.* Kajanto 1965, p. 115; cf. the discussion in Kajanto 1963.
[303] Cf. Kajava 1987.

rative names in general were avoided in women's nomenclature—but we should not underestimate euphonic factors: *Varia,* just like *Marcia* and *Titia,* most likely sounded better than *Vara, Marca,* and *Tita.*

The suffix was also common in Greek cognomina of the type *Apollonia, Alexandria*, which may have served as a model for the later Latin formations, as suggested by Kajanto.[304]

It ought to be noted that a great many, almost half, of all the cases in *-ia,* were coined from present participles (e.g. *Amantia, Crescentia, Gaudentia, Vincentia*). The suffix was also attached to some nouns (*Dulcitia*) and new compounds (*Bonifatia*).

The most popular female name in *-ia* was *Felicia,* with 90 attestations documented by Kajanto (1965). Other names with 10 or more attestations (in order of frequency) are *Bonifatia* (72), *Crescentia* (55), *Co(n)stantia* (48), *Gaudentia* (45), *Florentia* (44), *Vincentia* (39), *Laurentia* (38), *Stercoria* (31), *Simplicia* (27), *Exsuperantia* (24), *Hilaria* (20), *Innocentia* (17), *Valentia* (17), *Amantia* (16), *Dulcitia* (13), *Exsuperia* (12), *Vindemia* (11). As noted above, names of the type *Constantia, Crescentia,* can also be interpreted as abstract nouns rather than independent formations. A cognomen such as *Concordia* (70) was almost certainly more often chosen after the noun (or town) rather than derived with *-ius* (unlike the masculine *Concordius,* 39 cases).[305] A compound name such as *Bonifatia* is clearly a late formation that originated in Africa, where such names in general tend to appear: a search in the *EDCS* produces 104 results, 37 of which are from Africa, and the rest of the cases, predominantly from the city of Rome, mostly date from the fourth and fifth centuries (with the exception of some cases from the late third century). In general, names in *-ia* are mostly found in Africa and the Christian inscriptions of Rome.[306]

2.4.7.2 Cognomina from men's praenomina with the suffix *-ia*

The female equivalents of men's praenomina in *-us* (with the exception of numeral praenomina) were normally coined with *-ia* (not the late antique suffix).[307] Thus, the usual feminine forms of *Marcus* and *Titus* were *Marcia* and *Titia,* and not *Marca* and *Tita.* There are also occasional examples of female cognomina, which seem to be derived from other praenomina with the suffix *-ia,* e.g. *Quintia* from *Quintus* (*IMS* VI 65, Terentia Q. f. Quintia)—but such cases are rather rare. One also needs to be cautious, since *Marcia* and *Titia* are well attested as gentilicia and could often be interpreted as such.[308]

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[304] Kajanto 1965, p. 115.
[305] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 255.
[306] E.g. *Felicia,* according to Kajanto 1965, is attested 49 times in Africa (in non-Christian souces); *Concordius/a* 26 times (out of 65) plus for 23 women from Christian sources; *Crescentius/a* 21 times in Africa (out of 27 non-Christian inscriptions) plus for 35 Christian women.
[307] Cf. Salomies 1987, p. 163.
[308] In fact in the majority of the cases we are probably dealing with gentilicia.

The forms *Marcia* and *Titia* are attested in numerous sources as female praenomina, but also as cognomina.[309] It is true that the form *Tita* is also attested in some archaic inscriptions e.g. *AE* 1954, 219 (*Tita Vendia*); *AE* 1991, 396 (*Salvetod Tita*); *AE* 1994, 215 (*[Ti]ta Varia T. f.*); and it is furthermore attested as a praenomen, or perhaps rather an inversed cognomen, in an African inscription of imperial date (*CIL* VIII 5133, *Tita Flavia*). There are also some individual examples of *Tita* as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* XII 2299, *Uritea Tita* (from Gratianopolis) and *AE* 1931, 16, *Successinia Tita* (from Bonn); as well as some cases from Africa: *ILAfr* 177,5; *AE* 1993, 1722, "*Secunda Tita*"). However, the form *Titia* is much better attested.

In the following cases it is clearly or most probably derived from the praenomen *Titus*:

CIL XII 679 (Arelate): Carsia Titia, daughter of T. Carsius Ter. Certinus.

AE 1982, 256 (Ancona): Statoria T. f. Titia.

CIL V 8862 (Verona): Lucilia T. f. Titia.

AE 1990, 680 (Nemausus, end of 1st / beginning of 2nd c.): *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Annio Successo / Titia soror / posuit* (given the imperial date, it is reasonable to assume that *Titia* was the sister's cognomen rather than praenomen).

There is also *CIL* III 1879 (Narona), *Titia Titi filia*, but it is unclear if the names should be interpreted as nomina or cognomina (or other individual names).

There are furthermore several cases, in which *Titia* is attested as a cognomen, but a clear connection to the praenomen *Titus* cannot be established, and it is probable that in at least some of them we are instead dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen. It will be enough to refer to these cases in a footnote.[310]

Examples of the form *Marca* are difficult to come by. Kajanto records two cases: *CIL* III 12969 (*Clodia Marca*) and XII 118 (*Nigria Marca*).[311] Of these, however, only the first one seems useful. As for the second, the picture provided in the *EDCS* leaves reason to doubt that the cognomen was in fact *Marcia* rather than *Marca*. There are also two dubious cases (*CIL* IV 2235 and

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[309] For a comprehensive list of cases as praenomina, see Kajava 1994, p. 166ff. (*Marcia*); p. 200ff. (*Titia*). Examples of cognomina will be given in this chapter.

[310] *CIL* III 1236 (Apulum, 151-270), Ianuaria Titia; *CIL* III 1753 (Epidaurum, 151-400), Aelia Titia; *CIL* III 3041 (Flanona, 201-300), Fl. Titia; *ILJug* II 743 (Aequum, 151-300), [---]ria Titia; *ILJug* II 858 (Asseria, 151-300), Apuleia Titia; *CIL* III 2552 (Salona, 151-300), Terentia Titia; *ILJug* III, 2713 (Salona), Cornelia Titia; *CIL* III 2695 (Tragurium), Valeria Titia; *CIL* III 14629,1 = *AE* 1902, 8 (Dalm.), Aelia Titia; *CIL* XII 3194 (Nemausus), Aemilia L. f. Titia flaminica Aug.; *CIL* XII 3292 (Nemausus), Virillia Titia; *CIL* XII 3401 (Nemausus), Aurelia Titia; *EpOst* 664 (Ostia), Malia M. f. Titia; *CIL* XIII 2081 (Lugdunum), Bittia Titia; *CIL* II 23 (Lusit.), Flavia Titia; *ILAlg* II.1 387 (Numid.), Babulia Titia; *CIL* III 4252 (Scarbantia), Iulia Titia T. f.; *CIL* XI 6716,10, Flav(ia) Titia; *CIL* VI 19112, Maecilia Ↄ. l. Titia; *CIL* VI 28447, Titia Secunda; *CIL* X 7461 (Sicilia), Aur(elia) Titia (sister of L. Titienus); *CIL* III 191 (Beroea), Fl(avia) Titia; *CIL* XI 6216 (Umbria), Vestina C. f. Titia.

[311] Kajanto 1965, p. 173.

X 8056,536, both simply "*Marca*"), which ought to be left without further attention.

The form *Marcia,* on the other hand, is attested as a cognomen in numerous sources. Like in the case of *Titia,* however, it is likely that in many cases we are dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen. There are in any case some instructive inscriptions, in which the name seems to be derived from *Marcus*:

CIL XIV 1234 (Ostia, 2nd c.): Licinia M. f. Marcia.

CIPh II.1 173 (Philippi): Varinia M. f. Marcia.

CIL II 789 (Caurium, 71-200): Valeria M. f. Marcia.

CIL X 8316 (Palermo): Valeria M. f. Marcia Germana.

AE 2001, 2128 (Maur. Caes.): Rutilia Marcia M. f.

CIL VIII 7500 = *ILAlg* II.1 1356 (Cirta): Iulia Marcia M. f.

Perhaps also *IScM* II 187 (Tomis): Μαρκία Μάρκου (though she may not have even been a Roman).

The origin of the cognomen can be traced back to the praenomen also in the following cases:

AE 2010, 12828 (Aquincum), recording Marcia and her brother M. Aemilius Ter. C(a)mpanus.

CIL VI 10586, recording Aebutia Marcia, *liberta* and *coniux* of M. Aebutius Hermes.

NSA 1924, 85 (Puteoli, 131-230): Gessia Marcia, mother of M. Gessius Maximus. The name of the son (who was probably illegitimate was therefore named after the mother) leads one to suspect that the maternal grandfather was also a M. Gessius.

There are also cases, in which *Marcia* is derived from *Marcus*—the latter, however, being a cognomen rather than praenomen, e.g. *AE* 1998, 1140 (Moes. inf.), Aur(elia) Marcia, daughter of Aurel. Marcus; *CIL* V 7962 (Cemenelum), Cominia Marcia, sister of Com(inius) Marcus; perhaps also Lane IV 60 (Antiochia Pisidiae), *Marcus et Marcia l. v. s.*

It is also reasonable to suspect that in imperial name combinations, such as 'Flavia Titia', 'Aurelia Marcia' or 'Ulpia Marcia' (after T. Flavius, M. Aurelius and M. Ulpius) the cognomen was a corresponding female form of *Titus* or *Marcus.* Such cases are abundantly on record:

Flavia Titia: *CIL* III 3041 = *ILJug* III 2899b = *AE* 1967, 354 (Dalmatia, 3rd c.), Fl(avia) Titi[a]; *CIL* II 23 = *ILS* 3175 (Lusitania); *AE* 1991, 1388 (Moesia inf.), Fl(avia) Titia (together with her son Ael. Titianus); *CIL* XI 6716,10 (unknown provenance); *CIL* VI 17307; *CIL* III 191 (Syria), Fl(avia) Titia.

Ulpia Marcia: *CIL* XIV 241 (Ostia); *CIL* X 3037 (Puteoli); *AE* 1985, 947 (Caesarea); *AE* 1964, 252 (Moes. inf.); *CIL* III 12418 (Moes. inf.); *CIL* III 8224 (Scupi); *ILJug* II 461 = *AE* 1971, 424 (Aquae); *CIL* VIII 4165 (Lambaesis); *CIL* III 15165 (Aquincum); *AE* 1987, 173 (Roma); *CIL* VI 8520, Ulpia Marcia Aelia Polla (unclear if two women or one polyonymous); *CIL* VI

14424 (2nd c.); *AE* 1978, 53 (Roma), Ulpia Marcia, wife of M. U(l)pius Telesphorus, Aug. lib. *Aurelia Marcia*: *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum); *AE* 1977, 750 (Moes. inf.); *IMS* VI 140 = *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi), Aur(elia) Marcia (compare her son Petronius Marcus); *AE* 2002, 1230 (Moes. sup.); *RIU* V 1164 (Pann. inf.); *CIL* VI 2633 (3rd c.), Marcia, daughter of Aur. Marcus; *CIL* VI 13354; *CIL* VI 13355.

Aurelia Marcia: *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum); *AE* 1977, 750 (Moes. inf.); *IMS* VI 140 = *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi), Aur(elia) Marcia (compare her son Petronius Marcus); *AE* 2002, 1230 (Moes. sup.); *RIU* V 1164 (Pann. inf.); *CIL* VI 2633 (3rd c.), Marcia, daughter of Aur. Marcus; *CIL* VI 13354; *CIL* VI 13355.

In addition to the cases presented above, a search in the *EDCS* produces at least 110 Latin inscriptions, in which *Marcia* appears as a cognomen—with, however, little clues in regard to the origin of the name. It will suffice to refer to a sample material from Italy in a footnote.[312]

As for why the female equivalents of *Marcus* and *Titus* were coined with *-ia*, it seems clear that for the Romans these forms were phonetically more pleasing. The phenomenon has to be compared with the word formation of some Latin appellatives of the type *avus – avia.*

2.4.8 *-ōsa*

The suffix *-ōsus/a* is attested for both men and women, but its use was both geographically and chronologically limited. It was a characteristically African suffix. In fact, almost all non-Christian cases come from Africa, save for some occasional examples from other parts of the Empire—but even in these cases we are often dealing with persons of African descent.[313] The suffix was also characteristic to later periods: almost half of all the evidence consists of

[312] *CIL* XI 46 (Ravenna), Bennia Marcia liberta (the patron's name not preserved); *AE* 1993, 536 (Luceria), Caicilia Marcia; *CIL* IX 1224 (Aeclanum), Aurelia Marcia; *CIL* IX 1273 (Aeclanum), Iulia Marcia; Cenacolo 1999, 34 (Tarentum, 41-80), Anthestia Marcia; *CIL* X 6718 (Antium), Fabia Marcia; *CIL* X 4126 (Capua), Epria Marcia; *EE* VIII,1 597 (Casinum), Paccia Marcia; *CIL* X 6262 (Fundi), Trebellia Marcia; *CIL* X 3368 (Misenum), Scentia Marcia; *CIL* X 3617 (Misenum), Valeria Marcia; *CIL* X 3623 (Misenum), Iulia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 584 (Ostia), Nonia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 839 = *AE* 2015, 216 (Ostia), Claudia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 1235 (Ostia), Licinia Marcia; *AE* 1991, 360 (Ostia), [S]eptimia Marcia; *CIL* XIV 2938 (Praeneste), Tutia Marcia; *CIL* X 1905 (Puteoli), Metilia Marcia; *CIL* IX 6366 (Picenum), Vettia Marcia; *AE* 1973, 46 (Roma), Sossia Marcia; *AE* 2007, 233 (Roma), Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 10934 (117-150), Aelia P. f. Marcia and her mother Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 11460, Alledia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13266, Iulia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13490, Baebia Marcia; *CIL* VI 13683, Cacilia Marcia; *CIL* VI 16029, Cornelia Marcia; *CIL* VI 18374, Flavia Marcia; *CIL* VI 18593, Sextilia Marcia; *CIL* VI 21945, Iavolena Marcia; *CIL* VI 24340, Plotia Marcia; *CIL* VI 24562, Claudia Marcia; *CIL* VI 25361, Nigrinia Marcia; *CIL* VI 26009, Sallustia Marcia; *CIL* VI 26667, Spedia Marcia; *CIL* VI 36018, Filafeia Marcia; *CIL* VI 36144, Pompe[i]a Marcia; *CIL* VI 38558, Livia Marcia; *CIL* IX 3024 (Samn.), Iulia Marcia; *CIL* IX 2788 (Samn.), Ovia Marcia; *CIL* X 7520 (Sardinia), Aemilia Marcia; *CIL* V 8461 (Aquileia), Ommia Marcia.

[313] E.g. From Gaul we know for example Num[o]nia Belliosa, whose father was *natione Afer* (see below).

Christian inscriptions—though in Christian times the suffix seems to have become geographically more widely spread (not least in the city of Rome).[314]

The suffix also seems to have been predominantly used in female cognomina. In the material documented by Kajanto, over 69% of all the cases formed with *-ōsus/a* are women's names. While the suffix in lexical items normally indicated that something was full of or equipped with something, Kajanto is probably right when concluding that, "it is patent that the suffix had a hypocoristic connotation in cognomina".[315]

Kajanto (1965) records 55 female cognomina coined with *-osa*. The names, in order of popularity, are: *Bonosa* (45), *Luciosa* (27), *Veneriosa* (26), *Primosa* (22), *Gaudiosa* (17), *Iuliosa* (14), *Marciosa* (Kajanto documents 8 cases, but only 6 can be found in the *EDCS*; see below), *Nigrosa* (7), *Nonnosa* (7), *Favosa* (5), *Carosa* (3), *Cattosa* (3), *F(o)edosa* (3), *Stercorosa* (3), *Vinosa* (3), *Bellosa* (2), *Candidosa* (2), *Feliciosa* (2), *(H)ilarosa* (2), *Maurosa* (2), *Maximosa* (2), *Muss(i)osa* (2), *Potosa* (2), *Quintosa* (2), *Valeriosa* (2), *Vitosa* (2), *Aeliosa, Belliosa, Catiosa, Ceriosa, Divitiosa, Donosa, Dulc(i)osa, Felicitosa, Flaviosa, Gallosa, Maiosa, Maniosa, Martiosa, Minosa, Paulosa, Proculosa, Publiosa, Qu(i)etosa, Quintulosa, Secundosa, Selentiosa, Seneciosa, Siricosa, Speciosa, Titosa, Urbanosa, Veterosa, Virginosa.*

As can be observed, the suffix was often attached to other cognomina, but also to some appellatives not used as personal names, e.g. *Gaudiosa* from *gaudium* or *Donosa* from *donum*.[316]

There are also a number of names derived from nomina, notably *Aeliosa* (Aelia Aeliosa in *CIL* VIII 9151), *Ceriosa* (*ILAlg* II.1 3037), *Flaviosa* (two cases from Africa),[317] *Iuliosa* (all 14 cases from Africa),[318] *Maiosa* (*CIL* VIII 20453), *Marciosa* (at least six cases known, all from Africa),[319] *Valeriosa* (*CIL* VIII 2427),[320] perhaps also *Mussiosa* (*CIL* VIII 6041; but note the form *Mussosa* in *CIL* VIII 6129, possibly recording the same woman), *Cat[i]osa* (*CIL* VIII 17446 =*ILAlg* I 135, though the name could also be *Cat[t]osa*), , *Divitiosa* (*ILTG* 441 = *AE* 1925, 37, from the rare nomen *Divitius*), *Martiosa* (if not a theophoric name; cf. *EE* IX 929 from Latium).

There is also a case of *Belliosa* derived from a nomen used as a cognomen, viz. *CIL* XIII 2000 = *ILS* 7648 (Lugudunum), recording Num[o]nia Belliosa,

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[314] In the numbers provided by Kajanto (1965, p. 122), 130 our of 166 non-Christian inscriptions are from Africa, while less than a fourth of the 130 Christian inscriptions are from there.
[315] Kajanto 1965, p. 123; cf. p. 103.
[316] *Donosa* is attested once in *ILAlg* II.1 2870. *Gaudiosa* is known from several inscriptions, cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 260.
[317] *BCTH* 1910, CCI, 300 CE; *CIL* VIII 3971.
[318] *AE* 1985, 932 (2nd c.); *CIL* VIII 5805 = *ILAlg* II.2 6673; *ILAlg* II.1 2196; *ILAlg* II.3 10057; *CIL* VIII 3380; 3634; 3909 = 18201; *ILAlg* II.3 7616 = *AE* 1923, 21; *CIL* VIII 6780 = *ILAlg* II.1 3867; *AE* 2000, 1780; six women called *Iulia Iuliosa*: *CIL* VIII 9087; 9119; 5868 = *ILAlg* II.2 6800; *ILAlg* II.3 9836; *ILAlg* II.1 2074; *CIL* VIII 6770 = *ILAlg* II.1 3837.
[319] *CIL* VIII 4829 = *ILAlg* II.2 6113; *CIL* VIII 8382 = 20222; *ILAlg* II.1 2188; *CIL* VIII 3568; 3927, *M(arcia?) Marciosa*; *CIL* VIII 20062 = *ILAlg* II,3 8709.
[320] Also as an agnomen in *CIL* III 14406 (Macedonia, 4th c.), *Victoria sive Valeriosa*.

daughter of Numonia Bellia and Iulius Alexander, *natione Afer.* For *Seneciosa* (from *Senecio*), cf. 2.4.13 below.

-ōsa was surely used to derive cognomina from praenomina as well. *Luciosa,* for example, is frequently attested in Africa (at least 35 cases), and one can only assume that in most cases the name was derived from *Lucius* and not from something else (even if there are no cases on record, in which the father is attested with the praenomen).[321] Other cognomina that merit a mention here are *Quintosa* (3),[322] *Publiosa* (*ICVR* VIII 21308, 4th/5th c.), and *Titosa* (*ILAlg* II.1 2697, 2nd c.).

2.4.9 *-ella*

While *-illa* and *-ella* originated in the same stems,[323] there was a significant difference in their use in lexical and onomastic items. *-ellus/a* was a common and productive suffix in appellatives, but it is next to non-existent in personal names, save for some quasi-fossilized forms such as *Marcellus/a.*[324] In fact, *Marcella* can hardly be considered a suffixed form, since it was in most cases simply a feminine form of *Marcellus* (*Marcella* is even attested as a female praenomen during the Republic).[325] Only rarely was it independently coined from, say, *Marcus* or *Marcius,* though some examples of this exist. For instance in the following cases the name may have been coined from the praenomen:

CIL VI 20894, Iunia M. f. Marcella.
CIL V 7509 (Liguria): Pollia M. f. Marcella.
CIL II 3623 (Saetabis, 1st c.): Fulvia M. f. Marcella.
CIL II 33 (Salacia): Octavia M. f. Marcella.

Furthermore, in the following cases the cognomen seems to derive from the nomen *Marcia*:

CIL VI 22144 (Rome, imperial): Marcia Marcella.
CIL II 6069 (Jerica, 1st c.): Marcia L. f. Marcella.
CIL VIII 3890 (Lambaesis, 71-200): Marcia Marcella.
CIL VIII 27841 (Tituli, 71-200): Marcia P. f. Marcella.
AE 1932, 51 (Novae, 2nd half of the 2nd c.): Marcia Marcella.

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[321] The cases are: *CIL* VIII 9807; 21695; 21696; *AE* 1979, 685; *IDAltava* 100; *AE* 1985, 888; *BCTH* 1928/29, 408 (Mauret. Caes., 235 CE); *CIL* VIII 9094; 9100; 9140; 20747; *AE* 1984, 946; *CIL* VIII 6206; *ILAlg* II.3 8997; *CIL* VIII 8661; *ILAlg* II.3 7537; *CIL* VIII 5793; *CIL* VIII 7263; *ILAlg* II.1 844; 1651; *ILAlg* II.3 8054; *ILAlg* II.3 8825; *CIL* VIII 19800; *ILAlg* II.1 2693; *CIL* VIII 19288; 6428; 6594; 19362; *ILAlg* II.3 9661; *ILAlg* II.2 4272; *CIL* VIII 3902; *ILAlg* II.3 9338; *AE* 2000, 1791; *CIL* VIII 10753; *CIL* VI 13343.
[322] *AE* 1984, 947 (3rd/4th c.); *CIL* VIII 6174 = *ILAlg* II.3 9387; *CIL* VIII 8287 = 8288 = *ILAlg* II.3 7560.
[323] I.e. *-lo/a, -no-,* and *-ino/a*-stems. Strodach 1933, p. 26; cf. also Kajanto 1965, p. 126.
[324] Kajanto 1965, p. 126; also Strodach 1933, p. 55: "(...) in proper names -illo/a- was far commoner than -ello/a-".
[325] *CIL* V 449 = *InscrIt* X.3 126; cf. Kajava 1994, p. 86.

There is also *CIL* VIII 16126 (Sicca Veneria), recording Marcia M. f. Marcella, in whose case the cognomen can be considered a derivation from both the nomen and the father's praenomen.

One should take into consideration that the popularity of the form *Marcella* may also have to do with euphony, since the variant *Marcilla* is extremely rare and only attested in Late Antiquity.[326] Clearly the *-ella*-variant was the preferred form, even if *-illa*-forms in general were more popular.

The unproductive nature of *-ella* is emphasized by the fact that there are only a few other names with the termination. The only other frequently attested name is *Novella* (from *Novus/Novius*), with 46 women documented by Kajanto (also 61 men).[327] Other possible names include *Procella* (5)[328], *Anucella* (3)[329], *Flaccella* (*CIL* II 3622, 1st c.), *Longella* (dubious; *ILTun* 201,80), *Primella* (*CIL* XII 1418), *Pulchella* (*CIL* X 7407), *Sacella* (*CIL* XII 2810), and *Ursella* (*ILCV* 4257b, late case from 371-430 CE). There is also the possible case of *Hispella* (cf. Licinia Vic[t]orina Hispella in *PFOS* 497). The name belongs to this category, if interpreted as a derivation from *Hispo* through haplology (compare *Hispo* > *Hispulla* above). However, M. Kajava has argued that the name was in fact a part of the husband's name, in which case we would not even be dealing with a female cognomen.[330] However the case may be, it is noteworthy that female cognomina in *-ella* were primarily derived from other cognomina. One also needs to take into consideration the possibility that in some cases the name may in fact be a vulgar form supposed to end in *-illa*.

2.4.10 *-itta*

One suffix that is only found in female names is the diminutive suffix *-itta*. Unlike most other Latin diminutive suffixes, *-itta* did not originate in the Indo-European **-lo*-stems.[331]

There were only a limited number of cognomina coined with *-itta*, the most popular ones being *Pollitta* (26 cases in Kajanto 1965) and *Gallitta* (15 cases). Both names are also attested for women of the senatorial *ordo*:

Pollitta: ANTISTIA POLLITTA (*PFOS* 72), daughter of L. Antistius Vetus (*cos.* 55); FL(AVIA) POLLITTA (*PFOS* 374), wife of Ti. Manilius Fuscus (*cos. suff.* 195/196) and one of the *matronae senatoriae* in the Saecular Games of 204 CE

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326 Cf. *IRT* 754u (Afr. proc.); *ICERV* 548 (Emerita); *CIL* X 8053,274 (Carales).
327 [Viite]
328 Mostly late cases: *CIL* III 14354 (201-250 CE); *ILJug* I 271 (251-350 CE); *RIU* III 782 (211-222 CE); *AE* 1979, 439 (Raetia, 3rd c.); *CIL* V 5075 (1st/2nd c.).
329 *CIL* VIII 7694; 2890; *ICVR* V 14067 (supernomen, early 4th c., Valeria Calliope qu(a)e et Anucella).
330 Kajava 1988b.
331 The exact origin of *-itta* remains obscure. Almost all kinds of etymologies (Etruscan, Greek, Celtic, Latin, Germanic) have been proposed; cf. Hasselrot 1943/1944; cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 129.

(cf. Pighi 1965, p. 157); FUFIDIA POLLITTA (*PFOS* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166); RUTILIA Q. F. POLLITTA (*PFOS* 675), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in *CIL* VI 30861.

Gallitta: COSCONIA GALLITTA (*PFOS* 296), daughter of Lentulus Maluginensis and wife of L. Seius Strabo, *praefectus Aegypti*;[332] also GALLITTA (*PFOS* 400), called by her cognomen by Pliny (*epist.* 6, 31) who mentions her as the wife of a military tribune who was condemned for adultery in 106/107 CE.

Whilst *Pollitta* in most cases must derive from *Pollio/Polla,* it could also in some cases derive from the nomen *Pollius*, e.g. *AE* 1992, 455 (Amiternum), Pollia C. f. Pollitta. *Gallitta* was normally derived from *Gallus/a,* but it could also in a similar manner derive from the nomen *Gallius,* even if evidence of this is not on record.

There is also the cognomen *Iulitta,* deriving from the nomen *Iulius.* The name is attested in at least 11 Latin inscriptions from various parts of the Empire.[333] Other possible names derived with *-itta* include *Annit(t)a* (2),[334] *Bonitta* (2),[335] *Caesi(t)a* (3),[336] *Iulianeta* (3; vulgar form of *Iulianitta*?),[337] *Ninit(t)a* (*ICVR* III 8896, 4th c.; dubious), and *Titit(t)a*(?) (*CIL* XIV 3428a, 4th c.; dubious). The suffix, despite its relative rarity, seems to have remained prolific in the spoken Latin of some parts of the Latin West, which is evident from its use in modern Romance language (e.g. personal names such as *Antoinette, Juliette, Nicolette*).[338]

2.4.11 *-cula*

-cula was not a productive suffix in personal names. Only eight possible female cognomina seem to be on record (and not all of these are certain). The most popular name by far is *Felic(u)la* with 420 cases documented by Kajanto.[339] In men's nomenclature, on the contary, *Felic(u)lus* is attested only once, in a late antique inscription from Africa (*CIL* VIII 16396 = *ILCV* 2092 =

[332] For the problems concerning the identity and nomenclature of Cosconia Gallitta and her father, see Kajava 1995.

[333] *CIL* III 2941 (Dalmatia, 171-300) Iulia Iulitta; *Latium* 32-33 (2015/16), pp. 28-29, nr. 21 (Antium, 3rd c.); *CIL* XIV 5107 = *AE* 1981, 159 (Portus, 117-138 CE); *CIL* III 14585 (Moes. sup., 151-200 CE), Iul(ia) Iulitt(a); *CIL* VIII 6777 = *ILAlg* II.1 3838, *Iu{i}litta* probably rather than *[Li]vilitta,* as interpreted by Kajanto 1965, p. 129; 171; *CIL* VI 10412 =*ICVR* VIII 20737 (3rd c.); *CIL* VI 13829; 23263; *Opuscula Romana* 3 (1961), p. 182 nr. 10 (Rome); *CIL* IX 4967 = XI 29,6* (Samnium), Iulia M. f. [I]ulit[t]a; *CIL* IX 3353 (Samnium, 1st c.).

[334] *AE* 1995, 718 (Baetica); *ILGN* 503; in both cases the name is written *Annita*.

[335] *CIL* VIII 2906; *ILAlg* II.2 516; both cases from Africa.

[336] *CIL* VIII 1915 = *ILAlg* I 3206; *CIL* VIII 4544; 4545 (same woman); all cases from Africa, the name always in the form *Caesita.*

[337] *CIL* XIII 1529 = *ILCV* 2911 (Arverni, 4th c.); *AE* 1996, 306 = 2006, 258 (Ostia, 3rd c.); *Sc. Ostia* XII-A 32 (Ostia, late).

[338] Cf. Leumann 1977 § 269 B.4; cf. Haverling 2011, p. 253f.

[339] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 273.

ILTun 1631). This is understandable, given the popularity of *Felix* as a male cognomen (see Table 1 in 2.1).

Felic(u)la is in a league of its own. In fact, were it not for its popularity, the suffix *-cula* would be next to non-existent in cognomina. There are only a few other female names in this group with more than one attestation. *Paterc(u)la* is attested for two women in Gaul, where names relating to family seem to have been common.[340] There is also one possible case from Africa, though the name is badly fragmented (*CIL* VIII 1827 = 16472). As a female name *Paterc(u)la,* a diminutive of *pater*, is rather peculiar, and it is no surprise that the masculine variant *Paterc(u)lus* is better attested (Kajanto documents 23 cases, including 6 senators).[341] As a female cognomen, the name must have been inherited from the father or some other male relative; otherwise the choice is difficult to explain.

Another name with more than one attestation is *Apic(u)la,* with 6 women of free status in Kajanto's catalogue and eight slaves/*libertae*.[342] The name in some cases, however, may not at all be derived from *apis* with the suffix *-cula,* but from *apex* or *apica* with the suffix *-ula.* The name *Atticula,* attested in *CIL* VI 7682, is also problematic in this respect, since it may be interpreted as a derivation from the nomen *Attius* with *-cula*, but it was perhaps more likely derived from the cognomen *Atticus* with *-ula* (e.g. Cicero refers to the daughter of his friend Atticus as *Atticula* in one of his letters; Cic. *Att.* 6, 5, 4). Other female cognomina that may be derived with the suffix *-cula* include *Fidelicu[l]a* (*CIL* III 12654), *Fortic(u)la* (*CIL* VI 35377 = 37902), *Piperc(u)la* (*CIL* VI 24212), *Pollec(u)la* (2 late cases).[343]

2.4.12 Other suffixes

a) *-alis/-aris* was a common suffix in theophoric names of the type *Apollinaris, Martialis,* but such names correspond to Latin adjectives and are not treated as suffixed forms here. The suffix, in fact, was hardly productive in cognomen-formation. Only four female cognomina are known: *Crementalis* (*CIL* XI 7340), *Fortunalis* (*CIL* II 3355, 171-230 CE), *[L]uminaris* (*CIL* VI 14192, fragmentary), and *Quinquatralis* (*CIL* VI 15928, 51-200 CE). At least three of these names are also attested for men, either predominantly or in equal measure (though masculine forms coined independently with *-alis/-aris* were also rare): Kajanto records 4 masculine cases of *Fortunalis,* 9 of *Quinquatralis,* and one case of *Luminaris.*[344] For some discussion regarding adjectival "unisex" names, see 2.3.1.4 above.

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[340] *AE* 1982, 680 (Nemausus, 161-200 CE); *CIL* XII 983. Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 80 for some comments regarding the geographical distribution of cognomina relating to near relationships.
[341] Kajanto 1965, p. 304.
[342] Kajanto 1965, p. 333.
[343] *AE* 1958, 270 (Rome, 4th c.); *CIL* VI 9684 = *ILCV* 685 (em) = *ICVR* III 7751 (326-375 CE).
[344] Kajanto 1965, p. 214 = 273 (Fortunalis); p. 220 (Quinquatralis); p. 288 (Luminaris).

b) *-ica* was a common suffix in geographical names and *cognomina e virtute*, but these are usually not genuine suffixed forms but correspond to Latin adjectives, e.g. *Asiatica, Gaetulica.* There are, however, a number of cognomina that were productively coined with *-ica*—almost exclusively from other cognomina. Kajanto had not been able to define the time when the suffix passed into general use, but a glance at the evidence below shows that most of the cases are known from late sources, mostly after 200 CE, and only rarely before 150 CE.[345] Furthermore, the majority of the cases are from Africa. The following names (and cases), in alphabetical order, are on record:

Asellica (9, none of which before 300 CE),[346] *Bellica* (12),[347] *Bonica* (*CIL* VIII 4560), *Felica* (6),[348] *Florica* (2?),[349] *Fortica* (*ICVR* IV 12637, 4th/5th c.), *Fusinica* (*CIL* VIII 19796), *Leonica* (*CIL* II 122 = 5189, 3rd c.?)[350], *Leporica* (*ICVR* I 2311; 291-325 CE), *Maiorica* (23),[351] *Mapalica* (*CIL* VIII 3224, Severan), *Matronica* (18),[352] *Minorica* (*CIL* VIII 3814), *Modica* (*CIL* VIII 2117), *Mustelica* (*CIL* VIII 422), *Natalica* (8),[353] *Nonnica* (2),[354] *Nuptialica* (2),[355] *Opilionica* (*ICVR* II 5405, 4th

[345] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 112.

[346] Only known from late antique/Christian inscriptions of the city of Rome: *AE* 1975, 120 (4th c.); *AE* 1976, 75 (4th c.); *ICVR* I 2152 (3rd c.); *ICVR* IV 9652 (4th c.); *ICVR* VI 17285 (4th/5th c.); *ICVR* VIII 20906 (6th c.); *ICVR* IX 23806 (4th c.); *ICVR* IX 23812 (4th c.); *ICVR* X 27387 (351-400 CE).

[347] Half of the cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 16928a = *ILAlg* I 590a; *CIL* VIII 12936; VIII 4961 = *ILAlg* I 1510; *CIL* VIII 5790; VIII 6400; *ILALg* II.3 9385; also five cases from Gaul: *CIL* XII 2247 = *ILN* V.2 384 (2nd c.); *CIL* XII 2262 = *ILN* V.2 394 (grandmother of the former); *CIL* XII 1361; XIII 11179; one from Rome: *CIL* VI 8583 = *ILS* 1578.

[348] *CIL* VIII 5271; VIII 6228; VIII 3867; *CIL* XIV 1878 = *ILCV* 702 (add) (Ostia, 4th c.); *CIL* X 6781 (Pontiae, 3rd c.); *CIL* III 11001 *[F]eli[c]a.*

[349] There is a possible case of a third-century senatorial woman in *CIL* II 4994, which seems to record a daughter of Iulia Decimi f. Cas(s)iana by the cognomen *Florica* (for the mother, cf. Appendix 4a). This would be the case, if we read the text in the following way: *Castrensi Florica Sabina et Iulia Casiana matri (...) filiae (...) posuerunt.* Note, however, Mommsen's reading: *Castrensi Flori (uxor) Ca(strensia) Sabina et Iulia Casiana.* There is also *IRCP* 259 from Lusitania, recording a woman who possibly had the cognomen *[Fl]orica*, but this case is also uncertain.

[350] The monument was reused for a later Christian inscription, dating from the 5th/6th c.

[351] Almost all of the cases (21/23) from Africa: *AE* 1968, 870 (Thugga); *ILAfr* 208; *CIL* VIII 1237; *ILTun* 1109.48; *CIL* VIII 13770; *AE* 1997, 1718 (Afr. proc.); *CIL* VIII 26712; VIII 26770; *ILAlg* I 2326; I 2415; *CIL* VIII 15624; VIII 27744 = 27745; VIII 1958 = *ILAlg* I 3311; *CIL* VIII 21644 = *ILS* 8500 = *ILCV* 4360a (366 CE); *BCTH* 1951/52, p. 242 (Maur. Caes.); *CIL* VIII 4621; 4293; *ILAlg* II.3 8179; *CIL* VIII 4319; VIII 3687; VIII 3740; *BCTH* 1932/33, p. 491 (Thamugadi); *BCTH* 1934/35, p. 41 (Thamugadi). There are also two cases from Ostia, but at least in one of these we seem to be dealing with people of African descent: *CIL* XIV 1288 (Maioricae fecit Bonosa mater; probably African origin); *IPOstie* A 17.

[352] All of the cases from Africa, save for one: *CIL* VIII 28053; VIII 4961; VIII 5046; VIII 5127; VIII 1962; VIII 21730; *IAltava* 60 (345 CE); *CIL* VIII 8595; VIII 7221; VIII 7604; *ILAlg* II.2 6201; *CIL* VIII 3018; VIII 3256; VIII 3903; VIII 20112; *Tiddis* p. 157 (Numidia); *CIL* VIII 2477 = 17966; *AE* 1920, 107 (Rome, 2nd c.).

[353] Most cases from Africa: *AE* 2003, 1929 (Afr. proc., 351-400 CE); *CIL* VIII 1345 = *ILCV* 1416 (late); *CIL* VIII 27246a; VIII 1742; VIII 23603; VIII 3653; two from Rome: *CIL* VI 36377 (3rd/4th c.); *ICVR* I 3675 = VII 19129 = *ILCV* 4590 (4th c.).

[354] *CIL* VIII 9255 = *ILCV* 1822; *CIL* V 7274 (151-250 CE); *CIL* XI 941 = *ILCV* 253 = *AE* 1996, 666 (from 570 CE).

[355] Both cases in Africa: *CIL* VIII 12400; VIII 24037.

c.), *Paulica?* (*CIL* VIII 22658,20), *Primulica* (*CIL* VIII 3802), *Pusin(n)ica* (5),[356] *Silvanica* (*CIL* VIII 9116, 242-246 CE), *Sorica* (9),[357] *Spenica* (3),[358] *Triumfalica* (2),[359] *Urbanica* (4),[360] *Varica* (2),[361] *Vestalica* (*CIL* VIII 682 = 11911), *Viatica* (2),[362] *Victorica* (2),[363] *Villatica* (3),[364] *Vindelica* (*CIL* III 5780 = 11887, 171-300 CE), *Vitalica* (11).[365]

c) *-o(nis):* Kajanto documents some female cognomina coined with *-o*, namely *Nigro, Sexto* (4)*, Tito,* and *Titullo*.[366] It seems to me, however, that some of these cases can be refuted.[367] Only *Nigro* and one case of *Sexto* and *Tito* (two sisters) are attested in sources that can be taken as evidence, and there is furthermore one case of *Sexto* not documented by Kajanto:

Nigro: CIL VIII 2180 = 16735 (Afr. proc.): (...) *Valeria Nigro vicsi(t) annis* (...).
Tito and *Sexto*: *CIL* III 2757 = 9817 (Salona): (...) *Titoni et Sextoni sororibus*.
Sexto: *AE* 1975, 680 (Dalmatia): (...) *Sextoni matri* (...).

Given the fact that the cases are from Illyria, except for *Nigro,* which is from Africa, it seems reasonable to conclude that we are perhapsh dealing with local substrata rather than a genuine Latin formation.[368] There is moreover the possibility that forms such as *Sextoni, Titoni* may in fact be datives of names in *-onis,* viz. *Sextonis, Titonis.*

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[356] Six of the cases from Africa: *ILAlg* I 1857; *CIL* VIII 11145; *ILAlg* II.3 7346; II.3 7378; II.3 8107; II.1 3965. Other regions: *AE* 1999, 715 (Aemilia, 101-150), freedwoman; *CIL* II 1993 (Baetica, 151-200, no nomen); *Conimbri* 419 *[Pu]sinica]*.

[357] Six cases from Africa: *ILAfr* 169,2; *CIL* VIII 25286; *AE* 1997, 1720 (Afr. proc., 4th c.); *BCTH* 1938/40, p. 695 (Afr., late); *ILAlg* II.2 6687; II.1 2543. Other regions: *HEp* 2012, 25 = *AE* 2012, 689; *ICVR* VII 18745 = *ILCV* 2122 (Rome, 5th c.); *ICVR* VII 20171 (Rome, late 4th c.).

[358] Two cases from Africa, one from Rome: *CIL* VIII 5245 = 17405, *Ispenica*; *AE* 2011, 1747 (Carthago); *CIL* VI 2384 (3rd/4th c.).

[359] Two Christian inscriptions from Carthage, possibly recording the same person: *CIL* VIII 13976; 13977.

[360] All four cases from Africa: *ILAlg* II.3 9541; *CIL* VIII 7077 = 19429; VIII 7822; *ILAlg* II.3 9333.

[361] *HEp* 1995, 99 = *AE* 1993, 915 (Emerita, late 1st c.); *CIL* VIII 14222 (late).

[362] Both cases from the upper Pannonia: *AE* 1991, 1315 (Carnuntum, 101-150 CE); *CIL* III 4205 = 10926 (Savaria, 131-170 CE).

[363] Both cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 16855 = 28071; VIII 3419.

[364] All from Africa: *CIL* VIII 5104; VIII 5107; *ILAlg* I 2435.

[365] Nine cases from Africa: *CIL* VIII 1094 = 12476; VIII 12862 (2nd c.); VIII 26886; VIII 27225; *ILAlg* II.3 7337a; II.3 8133; II.1 2456; II.1 3314; *CIL* VIII 3138; also one slave, *CIL* VIII 12854. Other regions: *CIL* XIII 3552; *BCTH* 1951/52, 243b;

[366] Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 119.

[367] The gender is not explicit in the following two cases of *Sexto*: *CIL* III 2754 (Salona), *] / Turoli et / Sextoni / parentes / b(ene) m(erenti)*); *CIL* III 13246 = *AE* 1894, 72 (Dalmatia), *Sexto Licpinsi f(ilio)*; as for *CIL* III 13215 (Salona), the cognomen seems to be *Sextonic(a)* instead of *Sexto.* The form documented as *Titullo* by Kajanto, recorded in *CIL* II 2807 (prov. Tarrac.) seems to be in fact *Titulla.*

[368] The suffix was frequent in Illyrian names, cf. Krahe 1929, p. 146; cf. also Schulze 1966 [1904], p. 38.

d) *-io(nis)*: Kajanto 1965 records four cognomina attested for women: *Cat(t)io, Peculio, Secundio,* and *Severio.* The following evidence is on record:

Secundio: *CIL* V 5196 (Clusone, 2nd half of the 1st c.): *Secundio et Tertia sorores*

CIL V 5376 (Comum): *Secundioni Giamilli filiae*

CIL XII 903 (Arelate): *Val(eriae) Secundioni / L(ucius) Popil(ius) Clemens / coniug(i) piae.*

Cat(t)io: *CIL* III 4928 (Virunum, 1-150): *Ti(berio) Iulio / Primigenio / et suis / Cationi con(iugi)* (...)

Peculio: *CIL* II 1746 (Gades): Aelia Peculio

Severio: *CIL* III 5671 (Noricum): Iulia Severio

Whilst the number of names and cases is low, they seem to be scattered in different parts of the Empire rather broadly.

e) The suffix *-iva* is found only in two female cognomina, both attested in Africa and coined from past participles: *Donativa* (*CIL* VIII 16572 = *ILAlg* I 3165) and *Missiva* (*CIL* VIII 23355).

2.4.13 "Irregular" forms

We have already seen above under various suffixes that some cognomina were seemingly irregular derivations. In other words, they were not derived from the stem that one would expect from a strictly grammatical point of view. A joint discussion of such formations will now be presented.

First, it ought to be clarified that it is not always easy to discern whether a cognomen was irregularly derived from another name or if it was simply chosen because it resembled another name closely enough. For example a woman with the nomen *Lucilia* could bear the cognomen *Lucilla* (instead of **Lucililla,* cf. Lucilia Lucilla in *CIL* III 3936 = 10820)—but it is unclear if the name-giver considered the cognomen an actual derivation from the nomen or if they simply chose the existing name *Lucilla* (from *Lucius*) because they associated it with the name *Lucilia.* In the end, however, such a distinction is trivial from the Roman point of view. For the Romans it did not matter if the derivation of a name followed strict grammatical rules and they certainly did not bother to be perplexed by anything that we might consider an irregularity. All that mattered to the name-giver was that the cognomen could be associated with the name from which it was derived and that it sounded pleasing enough. Thus, a woman bearing the nomen *Lucilia* could be given the cognomen *Lucilla*—even if, or rather because, the "grammatically correct" derivation from the nomen would have been the more awkward **Lucililla.*

Related are also cases of the type *Lucania Lucilla* (*CIL* XIII 11862 = *AE* 1913, 240). While *Lucilla* is not derived from the nomen *Lucania* (the stem of which is *Lucan-*), it seems probable that it was chosen because of the close resemblance of the two names. Similarly there are cases, in which the cog-

nomen *Lucilla* is found alongside *Lucanus,* e.g. Domitia Lucilla (the elder*; PFOS* 328), daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (*cos. suff.* 73?).

A particularly noteworthy group of seemingly irregular derivations consists of female cognomina derived from men's cognomina in *-o/-io.* These include cognomina in *-īna* (*Frontina <Fronto*); *-illa* (*Frontilla <Fronto; Vettilla <Vetto*); *-ulla* (*Hispulla <Hispo; Pedulla <Pedo*; *Vet-ulla <Vetto*; *Aprulla <Apro; Petrulla <Petro*), *-itta* (*Pollitta <Pollio*); *-ōsa* (*Seneciosa < Senecio*). Some cases, as will be argued here, are real derivations (through haplology), whilst in other cases we are more likely dealing with the convenient use of derivations of other existing names and words.

Let us start with the forms *Frontina* and *Frontilla.* The former is well attested, with at least 44 cases (including five senatorial women), whilst the latter is found in 15 Latin inscriptions, almost exclusively from Africa.[369] *Frontina* is furthermore attested alongside the cognomen *Fronto* in at least 7 inscriptions.[370] It seems clear that in such cases the female form was considered a derivation of the male cogomen in *-o.* However, the parallel form *Frontonilla* also exists—a true derivation from *Fronto*—which leads one to suspect that *Frontilla* and *Frontina* are technically speaking derivations from the root-word *frons -tis*—just like *Fronto* (much in the same way as *Veiento* is a derivation from *veiens -tis*).[371] This seems plausible, despite the claim by Leumann that "Frontinus ... ist ohne Grundwort".[372] In other words, the use of the forms *Frontina* and *Frontilla* as "derivations" of *Fronto* was facilitated by the existence of the stem *front-,* from which the names were regular derivations.

Vettilla is a similar case. For instance, in *CIL* VI 18247 we have a woman called Flavia Vettilla, daughter of T. Flavius Vetto.[373] However, her brother T. Flavius Vettianus is also mentioned. It seems thus clear that, whilst *Vettilla*

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[369] The five senatorial Frontinae are Caesia Frontina (*PFOS* 170), Iulia Frontina (*PFOS* 440), Sallustia Frontina (*PFOS* 679), Sosia Frontina (*PFOS* 719), and Fonteia Frontina (*PIR*² F 478; cf. also her relatives D. Fonteius Frontinianus, *PIR*² F 472, and D. Fonteius Fronto in *AE* 1978, 788). *Frontilla* is attested in 15 Latin inscriptions, 14 of them from Africa: *CIL* VIII 4880 = *ILALg* I 1337; *CIL* VIII 4948 = *ILAlg* I 1486; *CIL* VIII 5022 = *ILAlg* I 1658; *CIL* VIII 5109 = *ILAlg* I 1896; *ILAlg* I 1356; 2220 = *AE* 1917/18, 82; *CIL* VIII 5733 = *ILAlg* II.2 6816; *CIL* VIII 5805 = *ILAlg* II.2 6673; *CIL* VIII 19560 = *ILAlg* II.1 1164; *CIL* VIII 19389 = *ILAlg* II.3 10010; *CIL* VIII 3167 = 4329 = 18532; 3771 = 18416; *BCTH* 1934/35, 259; *ILAlg* II.2 5525; one case from Spain: *IRPLugo* 33 = *IRG* II 46.

[370] *Fronto & Frontina*: *CIL* III 987 = ILS 3847 (Apulum, 180-211); *CIL* XI 3369 (Tarquinia, 101-230); *MEFR* 1918, 319 = AE 1911, 130 (Segisamo, Hisp. cit., 1st c.); *CIL* XIV 4993 (Ostia); *CIL* X 8261 (Tarracina, 201-250); *AE* 2015, 1218 (Moesia inf., 178 CE; there seems to be a duplicate of this inscription in the *EDCS*).

[371] The following four cases of *Frontonilla* are known: *CIL* XII 17 (Vintium), Enia Frontonilla; *CIL* X 707 (Surrentum, 1-70 CE), *Fronto / Augus(ti) ser(vus) / Frontonill[a*; *CIL* VIII 7080 (Cirta), Veratia Frontonilla; *CIL* V 8143 = *InscrIt.* X.1 618 (Pola), Setidia Frontonil(l)a.

[372] Leumann 1943, p. 153: "Frontinus (PIR) ist ohne Grundwort. Eine Verknüpfung mit Fronto stützt die Inschrift XI 3369, wo Fronto und Frontina verbunden sind. Also ist Frontinus wohl eine vereinfachte Bildung für *Fronton-inus (s. auch Nachtrag)." In other words, he understands forms such as *Frontinus/a* as 'simplified' forms.

[373] The cognomen *Vettilla* is attested in at least six other inscriptions, but with no clear connection to *Vetto.*

and *Vettianus* were not strictly speaking derivations from *Vetto,* they were probably viewed as such, which was facilitated by the fact that both *Vettilla* and *Vettianus* were possible derivations from the nomen *Vettius.*

The same goes for *Seneciosa* (*CIL* VIII 6013 = *ILAlg* II.3 7401), which was probably viewed as a derivation from *Senecio.* It is obvious that a form such as **Senecionosa* would not have been desirable. Instead, the cognomen seems to be modelled on regular forms of the type *Aeliosa* (<*Aelius*), *Valeriosa* (<*Valerius*), as if derived from the nomen *Senecius* (for the regular forms, cf. 2.4.8).

Also *Pollitta* was probably considered a derivation from *Pollio* in some cases, e.g. Fufidia Pollitta (*PFOS* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166). A true derivation from *Pollio*, however, would be **Pollionitta.* Instead the female form *Pollitta* goes back to *Polla* (or in some cases to the nomen *Pollius*, cf. 2.4.10).

Some forms in *-ulla* fall under this category as well. For example *Aprulla,* when attested alongside *Apro,* was surely considered a derivation from the latter—but *Aprulla* could also be a regular derivation from *Aprius* or *Aper* (cf. 2.4.5.2). The same goes for *Vettulla,* when connected to *Vetto,* since the regular derivation *Vettulla* could be derived from the nomen *Vettius,* just like *Vettilla* above (cf. 2.4.5.2).

However, in some other *-ulla*-forms, which are connected to cognomina with the termination *-o,* we seem to be dealing with real derivations, coined through haplology. This is the case with forms that seem to lack a root-word, e.g. *Hisp-ulla* (not **Hisponulla*, from *Hispo*—unless we assume the existence of the word **hisp-*, which is not impossible).[374] The same goes for *Pedulla* (<*Pedo*; *CIL* XII 3850, cf. 2.4.5.2) and possibly also *Petrulla* (<*Petro*). The latter is known from a Pompeian graffito (in the form *Pet{e}rul(l)a, CIL* IV 4562). Technically the name could also derive from the nomen *Petronius,* but even in this case we would be dealing with haplology. It is less likely that the name was derived from *Petrus,* which only becomes a common name in Christian times (though in this case the derivation *Petrulla* would only be expected).

Not all all female forms derived from male cognomina in *-o* were seemingly irregular derivations. Euphonic factors are imporant here. As long as the regular derivation sounded good enough, there was no practical need for other solutions. For example, the *-ina*-form of *Piso* is *Pisonina* and the *-illa*-forms of *Strabo* and *Falco* are *Strabonilla* and *Falconilla*—and even the form *Frontonilla* (from *Fronto*) exists, as noted above.

Nor is the phenomenon limited to female forms of men's cognomina in *-o/-io.* A good example is the frequently attested cognomen *Procilla*, a deri-

[374] There is, in fact, the Latin adjective *hisp-idus,* 'bristly, rough, shaggy' (compare *cal-idus, frig-idus,* etc.; Leumann 1977 § 297). Even if no 'basic' form in *-us* can be recognized, the stem **-hisp* can be reconstructed.

vation, coined from *Proculus* with the suffix *-illa* through haplology (the more cumbersome **Proculilla* is not attested).[375]

Furthermore, as the examples *Lucilia Lucilla* and *Lucania Lucilla* above show, the phenomenon is not limited to cognomina derived (or seemingly derived) from cognomina but also from nomina. Again, formations in *-ulla* are particularly well represented. Cases of haplology seem to be *Antulla* (and not **Antonulla*) from *Antonia* (*CIL* XII 755, Antonia D. f. Antulla), *Nerulla* (instead of **Neronulla*) from *Neronia* (*CIL* VI 3510, Neronia C. f. Nerulla), and probably also *Semprulla* (instead of **Sempronulla*) from the nomen *Sempronius* (unless from an otherwise unknown cognomen **Sempro*).[376] We have also seen above that *Aprulla* could be viewed as a derivation of *Apro*, but there is even one case in which it seems to derive from *Aprusidia,* perhaps simply because the cognomen resembled the nomen closely enough (cf. Aprusidia Aprulla in *CIL* XI 6402, Pisaurum 2nd/3rd c.). In any case it is clear that **Aprusidilla* would not have been a desirable formation, hence *Aprulla.* In addition, there is at least one case with the suffix *-īna*, viz. *CIL* XIII 6733 = *ILS* 7079 (Mogontiacum, 2nd c.) recording a woman called Martinia Martina. In her case, however, it seems that the existing form *Martina* (from *Mars/Martius*) was chosen rather than the more awkward derivation **Martinina*.

From a linguistic point of view one can ask if a name such as *Aprulla* was considered a real derivation of *Apro* or even *Aprusidia* or simply a convenient derivation of *Aper* or *Aprius*; or if *Pollitta,* when attested alongside *Pollio,* was seen as a derivation of the latter or simply a suitable derivation from *Polla*; or if *Frontina* was considered a derivation of *Fronto* or the underlying word *frons.* For our purposes a distinction is sometimes necessary, but did it matter to the Romans? Probably not. If a father was called *Fronto* and his daughter *Frontina*, it is likely that the daughter's cognomen was viewed as a derivation from the father's name—even if that is not strictly speaking the case from a purely grammatical point of view.

2.5 Nomina used as cognomina

We have seen above (2.4) that cognomina were frequently coined from nomina with different suffixes. It was, however, also possible to simply use a no-

[375] Kajanto 1965, p. 177 documents 66 cases of *Procilla.* The name is found alongside *Procul-* in at least 12 inscriptions: *CIL* XI 212 (father Proculus); *CIL* III 1485 (son Proculeianus); *CIL* III 12765 = *IIJug* I 101 (mother Procula?); *CIL* III 12770 (daughter Procula); *AE* 1964, 98 (brother Proculei[anus]); *CIL* X 8131 = *CLE* 428 (son Proculus); *CIL* X 5662 (son Proculinus); *CIL* XIV 2981 (son Proculus); *CIL* X 2717 (mother Procilla, daughters Procilla and Procula); *CIL* III 5545 (son Proculus); *CIL* VI 15230 (brother Proculus); *CIL* VI 33776 (mother Procula).

[376] *Semprulla* is documented in two rather early inscriptions: one from Asia Minor, perhaps from the Augustan period (*IK* 59, 51 = *TAM* V.3 1695), and the other one from Gallia Cisalpina, dating from the first half of the first century CE (*CIL* V 2006). Cf. also the remarks of Schulze 1966 [1904], p. 461 and Kajanto 1965, p. 178.

men as a cognomen.[377] This style seems to have been particularly typical for Roman women—at least more typical than for men. It ought to be clarified that a nomen has to be interpreted as a cognomen only in those cases, in which the person in question only bore two nomina (N + N) but no additional cognomina. There were, to be sure, also cases of polyonymy, in which a woman bore two or more nomina *and* one or more cognomina (of the type N + N + C in the simplemost form), but in such cases the second nomen was simply a second nomen (often, for instance, indicating the maternal branch of the family).[378] In some rare (and late) cases, women could also have a nomenclature consisting only of three or even four nomina (e.g. Ulpia Aurelia Valeria, attested at Tomis in the 3rd/4th c., *CIL* III 6155 = 7571; or Mammia Aufidia Titecia Maria, daughter of a Roman *eques*, attested at Corfinium during the 3rd century, *CIL* IX 3180). In such cases it is unclear which of the nomina served as the person's primary individual name—and of course this could vary individually.

According to Kajanto, nomina were found as cognomina primarily after the lessening of the importance of the gentile name, viz. during the later Empire.[379] This idea in itself is sound, but it is not corroborated by the available evidence. In fact, it seems that nomina were used as cognomina primarily in the early Empire and that the practice starts to go out of fashion after the second century, at least in the senatorial elite. In fact it seems that some women had nomina as their cognomina already in the late republican and Augustan periods, that is to say, when it became possible for women to have cognomina in the first place (see Chapter 3; also Appendix 3b).

It is from the same period that we have the earliest evidence of an upper-class man using a nomen as his cognomen, viz. P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*cos.* 12 BCE; cf. *PIR*^{2} S 1018). The practice, however, was clearly more characteristic for women than it was for men. While male nomenclatures similar to that of Sulpicius Quirinius remain rare in the period (though some instructive examples exist),[380] female cases are rather numerous, especially given the lower amount of women attested in our sources in comparison to men in general:

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[377] This has already been recognized, amongst others, by Kajanto 1963, p. 18; also 1977, p. 155f.

[378] In the case of men the second nomen could also function as an adoptive name, take e.g. the nomenclature of the younger Pliny (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus), who was a Caecilius by birth but was then adopted by his uncle Plinius. There was, however, hardly a pattern in how adoptive names were (if they were at all) indicated. See Salomies 1992 for a thorough discussion on adoptive and polyonymous nomenclature.

[379] Kajanto 1963, p. 18ff.

[380] Take for example Sex. Papinius Allenius (*cos.* 36; *PIR*^{2} P 102) and A. Plautius Urgulanius (*PIR*^{2} P 481), son of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE), but the examples are rare in comparison to women. There were also adoptive nomenclatures of the type P + N + C + N (e.g. C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus), but the use of the second nomen in such a case is not comparable to the practice under discussion here.

The following 15 cases date before the mid-first century CE: AEDIA SERVILIA (*PFOS* 6), daughter of M. Aedius (*pr.* before 17); (CREMUTIA) MARCIA (*PFOS* 301), daughter of the annalist A. Cremutius Cordus (note also the nomenclature of her daughter Metilia Marcia, *PFOS* 547);[381] ALBIA TERENTIA (*PFOS* 44), daughter of Q. Terentius Culleo (*procos.* of Sicily under Augustus) and Albia;[382] (VIPSANIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 813), daughter of M. Agrippa and Iulia; (CLAUDIA) ANTONIA (*PFOS* 217) & CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (*PFOS* 246), daughters of the emperor Claudius, one by Aelia Paetina and the other by (Valeria) Messalina (see 4.4.6); (CLAUDIA) LIVIA ("Livilla", *PFOS* 239), daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia and sister of Germanicus and Claudius;[383] possibly [COR]NELIA CAESIA (or Caesia[na]?) (*PFOS* 279), daughter of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26);[384] (SERVILIA) CONSIDIA (*PFOS* 710), daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* 35), and her daughter (MARCIA) SERVILIA (*PFOS* 526), daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Soranus (*cos. suff.* 52);[385] METILIA N. F. MODIA (*PFOS* 530);[386] MILONIA CAESONIA (*PFOS* 550), wife of the emperor Caligula;[387] PLAUTIA QUINCTILIA (*PFOS* 617), daughter of A. Plautius (who was executed c. 60-65);[388] (STATILIA) CORNELIA (*PIR*^{2} S 860 = *PFOS* 727), daughter of T. Statilius Taurus;[389]

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381 She is only known from literary sources with her cognomen *Marcia* (Sen. *ad Marc.*; Dio 57,24; Suet. *Cal.* 16), but since she was the daughter of a Cremutius, her nomenclature must be reconstructed as above.

382 She is known by name from Suet. *Oth.* 1. Her mother instead seems to be the *Albia Cullionis,* attested in *CIL* VI 4483 = *ILS* 7883b. Since the maternal nomen preceeds the paternal one in Albia Terentia's nomenclature, one might suspect that Suetonius perhaps gave the names in reverse order—which he also does elsewhere (compare *Cordus Cremutius* in Suet. *Aug.* 35).

383 I will discuss the problems concerning her nomenclature in a forthcoming paper.

384 The restoration *Caesia[na]* has also been suggested (cf. *PFOS*). The inscription recording the name has only survived as an old copy, which does not provide any helpful insights into the matter (*CIL* VI 1391). However, since female cognomina coined from gentilicia with *-iana* did not become common before the end of the first century (2.4.4.3), I would be inclined to interpret the name as *Caesia,* viz. a nomen used as a cognomen.

385 (Servilia) Considia is recorded by Pliny simply as *Considia* (Plin. *nat.* 27,4), but being the daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus, she most probably bore the nomen *Servilia* as her true gentile name. Her daughter (Marcia) Servilia is likewise only attested by her cognomen *Servilia* (by Tac. *ann.* 16, 30-33).

386 Her parents are unknown, besides the fact that her father was a N. (Marius). She is attested in Rome as the mother of T. Vibius Catienus Sabinus (*CIL* VI 14580), who seems to be identical with T. [Ca?]tienus Sabinus *procos.* of Cyprus in 43 (*PIR*^{2} C 552; cf. *PIR*^{2} V, p. 282).

387 She was the daughter of Vistilia (*PFOS* 814), who did not have a cognomen, and an unattested Milonius. Her nomen is known through Dio 59, 23 (Zon. 11, 6). She gave Caligula a daughter, Iulia Drusilla (*PFOS* 438), together with whom she was assassinated in 41 CE.

388 She is attested at Praeneste as *Plautia Quinctilia A. f.* together with her husband P. Helvidius Priscus (*CIL* XV 2845; note the peculiar placement of the filiation).

389 She is recorded in several sources but never by her paternal nomen *Statilia*—which she obviously had, as is shown by the nomenclature of her *liberti*—but by the nomen *Cornelia* which served as her cognomen; cf. *CIL* XV 7440; VI 6424; VI 6264; VI 6322; 6356; 6365; VI 6371. It has also been erroneously assumed that she was identical with the Cornelia who was honoured at Thespiae (*IG* VII 1854), but this woman must be identified as her paternal grandmother (who did not have a cognomen). See Kajava 1989b; cf. *PIR*^{2} S 860.

VOLUSIA Q. F. CORNELIA (*PIR*² V 986);[390] and all these cases date from the first half of the first century.

There are also many cases from the latter half of the first century: (CAECINIA) ARRIA ("Arria minor", *PFOS* 159), daughter of A. Caecina Paetus (*cos. suff.* 37) and Arria ("Arria maior", *PFOS* 96), and her daughter (CLODIA) FANNIA (*PFOS* 259);[391] (FLAVIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 371), daughter of the emperor Titus and (probably) Arrecina Tertulla (see 4.4.6 below); (PETRONIA) PONTIA (*PFOS* 643), daughter of P. Petronius Niger (*cos. suff.* 62), compare also the nomenclature of her relative C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (*cos.* 37);[392] SALONIA MATIDIA (*PFOS* 681), daughter of C. Salonius Matidius Patruinus (*pr.* before 78) and (Ulpia) Marciana (note also the nomenclature of her daughter (Mindia) Matidia, *PFOS* 533); possibly also AR[RIA] CALP[URNIA] (*PFOS* 98).

The style is still well attested for senatorial women of the second century, with at least the following 19 cases: AVIDIA PLAUTIA (*PFOS* 130), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (*cos. suff.* 110) and an unattested Plautia;[393] and her two relatives CEIONIAE FABIA & PLAUTIA (*PFOS* 204 & 205), daughters of L. Aelius Caesar (born. L. Ceionius Commodus);[394] CLAU(DIA) AQUILLIA (*PFOS* 219);[395] EGRILIA PLARIA (*PFOS* 341), daughter of M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus;[396] GEMINIA VULCACIA (*PFOS* 408);[397] POMPONIA TRIARIA (*PFOS*

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[390] She restored a theatre at Nemi during the first century (*AE* 1932, 68) and her full name is also recorded in several Roman *fistulae* (cf. Ghini (ed.) 2013, p. 213). She is also attested as the *patrona* of three slaves: as *Cornelia* in *CIL* VI 9343 and 7308, and as *Cornelia Volusia* in *CIL* VI 7296. As for her parentage, her father was probably a Q. Volusius Saturninus (possibly the brother of the consul of 12, as suggested in *PIR*²) and her mother an unidentified Cornelia (though this hypothesis, as far as I can see, is solely based on onomastics). However the case, she was likely related to the polyonymous Licinia Cornelia M. f. Volusia Torquata (*PIR*² V 992) and thus to Volusia Torquata (*PIR*² V 991).

[391] (Clodia) Fannia's father was P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus (*cos. suff.* 56), who committed suicied in 66. The origin of the name *Fannia* is not clear to me—clearly it did not come from the parents. Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, p. 262f. suggests that her grandmother was an otherwise unknown Fannia.

[392] She is attested by Juvenal and Martial, always as *Pontia* (Juv. 6, 638-641; Mart. 2, 34,6; 4, 43,5; 6, 75,3), and she often appears with this name alone in modern scholarship (in *PFOS* amongst others). But in my view there can be little doubt that she also bore the nomen *Petronia.*

[393] See the discussion regarding Ceionia Fabia and Ceionia Plautia in 4.4.6.

[394] For a family tree, cf. *PFOS,* stemma XXIX.

[395] Her parents are unknown but she descended from local royalty of Ancyra, where she is attested as ἀρχιερεία, ἀπόγονος βασιλέων, and θυγάτηρ τῆς μητροπόλεως during the first half of the second century (cf. *IGR* III 190 = Bosch, *Quellen* 108 = *GLIA* 79; *IGR* III 173 = Bosch, *Quellen* 105 = *GLIA* 72; Bosch, *Quellen* 106; 107).

[396] Her cognomen came from her paternal grandmother Plaria Vera through the nomenclature of her father (that is to say, *Plaria* > *Plarianus* > *Plaria*; compare *Vitellianus* > *Vitellia* below under Antonia Vitellia). The nomenclature of Egrilia Plaria's father suggests adoption after the birth of his daughter (supported also by the fact that his brother was A. Egrilius Plarianus, *cos. suff.* 128).

[397] Her exact background is unknown. She was in any case publicly honoured at Utica (which was probably her husband's hometown) (*CIL* VIII 1182 = 14312). Judging by the rare nomina

642);[398] VOLTEIA CORNIFICIA (*PFOS* 832 = *PIR*² V 949);[399] AELIA LICINIA PETILI[A] (*PFOS* 15), daughter of M. Licinius Petilius Aia[cius?] (*PIR*² L 230) (note the nomenclature consisting of not two but three nomina); ANTONIA VITELLIA (*PFOS* 82);[400] AUR(ELIA) M. F. [?CAE]CILIA (*PFOS* 134);[401] CL(AUDIA) CERVONIA (*PFOS* 231);[402] CL(AUDIA) MARCIA (*PFOS* 244);[403] DIDIA CORNELIA (*PFOS* 313), daughter of C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus (an equestrian notable from Cirta);[404] FURIA L. F. CAECILIA (*PFOS* 396);[405] [G]ELLIA BARBIA (*PFOS* 404);[406] IULIA MAGIA (*PFOS* 446);[407] PACIDEIA MARCIA (*PFOS* 591), daughter of L. Pacideius L. f. L. n. L. pron.

(particularly *Vulcacia*), she may have been related to C. Iavolenus Calvinus (*cos. suff.* ?140/143; *PIR*² I 13; by his full name C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminius Capito Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulcacius Scuppidius Verus), but this may be also be a coincidence. For the father, see e.g. Alföldy 1977; also Eck 1970.

398 Her brother (?) seems to have been called Triarius Maternus, which means that *Triaria* in her nomenclature is a nomen rather than a cognomen.

399 Parents unknown. She was married to L. Matuccius Fuscinus (*cos. suff.* 159?) with whom she had a daughter, Matuccia Fuscina (*PFOS* 534). She is attested in Numidia, where she accompanied her husband, in the middle of the second century (*CIL* VIII 2630; cf. Thomasson 1996, p. 152 nr. 31c).

400 She is recorded, together with M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus (*cos.* 191), among the *amici* of M. Antonius Antius Lupus in an urban inscription from the end of the second century (*CIL* VI 1343 = *CLE* 449 = *ILS* 1127). As for her name, compare the nomenclature of M. Antonius Vitellianus, *v(ir) e(gregius),* attested in *CIL* IX 334 = *ILS* 2768 from the middle of the third century. Note also *AE* 2010, 328 (Capua), recording another Antonia Vitellia (her contemporary, but of more humble origin), who inherited her cognomen from her mother Flavia Vitellia.

401 She is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 12967). The restoration of her cognomen is disputable, but it seems in any case that it was a second nomen rather than a genuine cognomen.

402 Her exact background and status are unknown. She is, in any case, attested on a lead pipe from Rome and she obviously was a woman of great affluence (*CIL* XV 7431).

403 She is only known from an *instrumentum domesticum* from Rome. The restoration *c(larissima) [f(emina)]* in the text is, in my view, somewhat dubious.

404 She is attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in *AE* 1913, 21 & *AE* 1916, 13. Her sister Didia Cornelia Ingenua also bore the two nomina but in addition a cognomen. It could be that in one sister's nomenclature *Cornelia* served as an individual cognomen, whereas for the other sister it was merely a second (perhaps maternal) nomen in a polyonymous nomenclature.

405 Her parents are not known—besides the fact that her father was a L. (Furius). Possibly her mother was a Caecilia, or perhaps an Octavia (compare the nomenclature of her brother C. Furius Octavianus). She was certainly of senatorial rank, since she is attested as *clarissima femina* and her brother served as *cos. suff.* during the Severan dynasty.

406 Not much is known of her, besides the fact that she was honoured at Delphi as λαμπροτάτη (*SEG* 23, 481). She was perhaps of Greek origin. The name *Barbia,* however, is probably a Roman nomen (instead of, say, a Greek personal name).

407 Her parents are not known so it is difficult to establish where the name *Magia* came from; but both her nomina were transmitted to her two sons with the suffix *-ianus*; they were called Pomponius Magianus and Pomponius Iulianus. They are all, along with the father P. Pomponius Cornelianus, attested in two inscriptions from Verona (*CIL* V 3243 & 3318).

Ter. Carpianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*;[408] PASSENIA PETRONIA (*PFOS* 599);[409] and POMPONIA ARRIA (*PFOS* 635).[410]

However, by the third century the style has clearly become less fashionable (though not extinct). I have been able to find only the following six cases:

FL(AVIA) MAMILIA (*PIR*^{2} 428), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)*;[411] FLAVIA L. FIL. PUBLICIA (*PIR*^{2} F 438), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)*;[412] POMPONIA UMMIDIA (*PIR*^{2} P 781);[413] POSTUMIA [A]NTONIA (*PIR*^{2} P 902), *c(larissima) f(emina)*;[414] STATILIA NERATIA (*PIR*^{2} S 867), *sanctis[simae] m{a}emori[ae fem(ina)*;[415] and AGRIA TANNONIA (*PIR*^{2} A 467), *c(larissima) p(uella).*

The style is also well attested outside the senatorial *ordo.* I will not attempt to give an account of all cases, but examples from different regions and time periods are not difficult to come by:

Rome: *Boschung*, p. 92 nr. 476 (171-250 CE): Servilia Vipsania; *CIL* VI 18499 (51-200): Livia Terentia; *AE* 1998, 170 (3rd c.): Caecilia Antonia; *AE* 1977, 35 (2nd c.): Fulvia Domitia; *CIL* VI 20470: Postumia Q. f. Catia; *CIL* VI 22083 (50-150 CE): Messenia L. f. Valeria; *CIL* VI 10935: Aelia Marcia (mother Aelia Marciana); *CIL* VI 31854 (early 3rd c.): Clodia Plautia.

Italy and Sicily: *AE* 2010, 328 (Capua, 151-250 CE): Flavia Vitellia (and her daughter Antonia Vitellia); *CIL* V 7886 (Cemenelum): Maria A[e]lia; *AE* 1989, 337 (Messana): Cerrinia L. f. Cottia; *AE* 1910, 203 (Brundisium, mid-2nd c.): Seia Quintilia; *AE* 1982, 328 (Volaterrae, 2nd c.): Veratia C. f. Aufidia (compare her son C. Marius Sex. f. Aufidianus).

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[408] She herself is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in *CIL* X 4590 = *ILS* 5014. The same inscription also mentions her mother Domitia Galatia (or at least her father's wife) and two brothers who were both called L. Pacideius Carpianus, like their father, but seem to have had the diacritics *Sen(ior)* and *Iun(ior)* to distinguish them from each other.

[409] She is attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* on brick stamps (*CIL* XV 419), but besides that nothing else is known of her background. For the variation *-enus/-ienus* in nomina of the type *Pass(i)enus*, see Salomies 2016; cf. Schulze 1966 [1904], p. 213 n. 6

[410] She is attested in Tarraco as *c(larissima) f(emina)* together with her husband M. Maecius Probus and son M. Pomponius Maecius Probus in the late 2nd c. (*CIL* II 4124 = *Tarraco* 148). Her parents are unknown so it is impossible to establish where her nomenclature originated (there are many senatorial Pomponii and Arrii). Her son has been identified as the consul of 228 (*PIR*^{2} M 60; cf. also Salomies 1992, p. 68).

[411] Honoured by her brother Aemilius Rufinus at Rome in 242 CE (*CIL* VI 2133).

[412] Known from several inscriptions dating from the middle of the third century, e.g. *CIL* VI 2134 = 32419; also a more recently published inscription, found at Porto Torres in Sardinia (*AE* 2010, 620; cf. Gianfrotta 2018). For the rest of the *tituli,* consult *PIR*^{2}.

[413] Attested in Asia Minor, in Pisidia, as the wife of Flavius Antiochianus (*cos.* II 270) (*IGR* IV 893; the second nomen is read Οὐμιδία). Her parents were apparently Annia Aurelia Faustina (*PIR*^{2} A 710) and Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*^{2} P 700).

[414] She was the wife of Annius Gratus, *c(larissimus) v(ir),* and mother of Annia Tertulla, *c(larissima) p(uella)*. Apparently a Christian, she is attested in the funerary inscription of her daughter in the early fourth century (*ICVR* V 14016 = *AE* 1936, 121).

[415] Attested in a bilingual (Latin-Greek) Christian inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 31760 = *IGUR* III 1315 = *ILCV* 4675).

Gaul: *CIL* XII 3411 (Nemausus): Valeria Pompeia; *CIL* XII 3904 (Nemausus): Sergia Montania; *TitAq*. II 679 (Aquincum; 251-300 CE): Petronia Valeria; *CIL* XIII 2026 (Lugudunum): Flavia Livia.

Eastern provinces: *RIU* III 707 (Pann. sup.; 291-350 CE): Aurelia Valeria (daughter of Aur. Valerianus); *RIU* II 552 (Brigetio, 180-250 CE): Fl(avia) Iulia (daughter of T. Fl. Iulianus); *CIL* III 4379 (Pann. sup.; 175-180 CE): Ael(ia) Domitia; *CIL* III 1471 (Dacia, 3rd c.): [C]ornelia Antonia; *CIL* III 4327 (Brigetio, 213 CE): Ulpia Valeria, daughter of M. Val(erius) Valerianus (her brother M. Val. Ulpius instead got his cognomen from the mother Ulpia Paratiane); *AE* 1930, 7 (Apulum, 3rd c.): Antonia Iulia (also her daughter Aelia Iulia). There is also a late case of a woman whose nomenclature consists of three nomina (N + N + N), viz. Ulpia Aurelia Valeria (*CIL* III 6155 = 7571, Tomis, 3rd/4th c.).

Africa: *AE* 2013, 1842 (Ammaedara, 3rd c.): Volussia Servilia; *CIL* VIII 4698 (Madaurus): Servilia Numisia; *AE* 1989, 872 (Lambaesis, early 3rd c.): Aur. Flavia; *CIL* VIII 21000 = *AE* 1954, 136 (Caesarea, 3rd c.): Cornelia Iulia; *CIL* VIII 16559 = *ILAlg* I 3070 (Theueste, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Titinia Q. f. Iulia.

In fact it seems that the style may have remained in use among municipal and provincial women even in the third century, when it no longer was fashionable among the uppermost class—as the examples above show. It is reasonable to suspect that in many cases the name came from the mother (or grandmother), as is also evident from the several examples in chapters 4.4.4 and 4.4.6 below.

Since the purpose and function of the gentile name declined in the later Roman Empire and as a result a clear distinction between nomina and cognomina faded away (see 1.1.3 above), it is hardly fruitful to discuss the use of nomina as cognomina after the third century.

2.6 Summary of the chapter

A brief summary of the chapter is now in place. First, a two-fold observation on the variety of different names: on the one hand, the number of female cognomina was large and new names could be easily coined with different suffixes; on the other hand, most of these names are only attested once or twice, whilst a handful of cognomina were extremely popular (2.1). There are furthermore some significant differences between different social groups. The repertoire of cognomina used by senatorial women is, perhaps unsurprisingly, more distinct in comparison to the cognomina of the *plebs*. Many of the most frequently attested female cognomina are either rare or absent in the nomenclature of upper-class women (2.2).

In theory, almost any appellative could function as a cognomen and a cognomen could be derived from almost any appellative with the use of different suffixes. In addition, cognomina could be derived from nomina and men's praenomina. In practice, however, the possibilities were narrowed down by formal, semantic, and phonetic factors. For example, pejorative names, often referring to parts of the body, were generally avoided in women's nomenclature. Suffixed formations, however, could sometimes come in question (e.g. *Var-illa* from *Varus* or *Taur-ina* from *Taurus*). Also some "unisex" cognomina were clearly considered more feminine than masculine, though in most cases this was the other way around. To put it another way, some words that were associated with feminine qualities were likely to be used as names by women (*Amabilis, Dulcis*), while in most other cases such "unisex" names tended to be primarily male (*Vitalis,* etc.). This is also the case with some substantival cognomina: while the distribution between men and women was often guided by the grammatical gender of the word, semantic and morphological factors could sometimes make a masculine word an apposite choice for women (e.g. *Amor*) and a feminine word apposite for men (e.g. *Pietas*). The role of semantics, however, should not be overestimated. Some words that were clearly associated with (ideal) female qualities, e.g. *Pude(n)s,* were primarily used by men, most likely for formal reasons.

Moreover, not all suffixes could be attached to all kinds of stems—mostly because of phonetic factors—and sometimes the use of a certain suffix, particularly *-illa* and *-ulla*, would produce a "reduced" stem through haplology, e.g. *Proculus* > *Proc-illa* (instead of **Procul-illa*) and *Hispo* > *Hisp-ulla* (instead of **Hispon-ulla*). This is also sometimes the case, when deriving a cognomen from a gentilicium, e.g. *Antonia* > *Ant-ulla* (rather than **Anton-ulla*). In some of these cases, however, we may be dealing with a convenient derivation from an existing stem rather than haplology (2.4.13).

The range of different suffixes was large, though some suffixes stand out in popularity, particularly *-ina* and *-illa* (2.4). The suffix *-iana* is also well attested, but it only becomes common later, towards the second century, and in general its use was more limited in women's nomenclature than it was in men's. Most of the suffixes were used also in word-formation, except for *-itta,* which is only found in female cognomina. *-illa* is also remarkable in this respect, since its primary use was in female cognomina; in contrast, *-illus* is only rarely found in appellatives or men's cognomina.

When compared to men's nomenclature more generally, the range and use of different suffixes in female cognomina were more varied, mostly because of the extensive use of different diminutive forms in women's nomenclature. For instance, while *-ianus* was the predominant suffix when coining men's cognomina from gentilicia, women also often had cognomina derived with e.g. *-illa* and *-iola*. By contrast, diminutive formations, particularly those in *-illus*, were rare in men's nomenclature.

A special group of female cognomina is formed by names that in fact were not technically cognomina but nomina, which were simply used as cognomina. This practice is particularly well attested for women (2.5).

3 The Early Use of the Female Cognomen

3.1 The emergence and establishing of the female cognomen

For most of the republican period, the cognomen was essentially the property of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, that is to say, senatorial men. This, as we have seen, starts to change towards the end of the Republic (1.1.2). It is in that period that the practice of using cognomina started to spread throughout the Roman society, to Roman women included.

More than a century ago, the German linguist and philologist Wilhelm Schulze notably argued that Roman women as a rule were one step ahead of men in adopting the use of a cognomen.[416] This observation was based on a number of inscriptions, many of them from Cisalpine Gaul, in which a woman had a cognomen but her husband and/or son(s) did not. This idea, however, was later criticized, amongst others, by Iiro Kajanto, who, in his words, found Schulze's arguments "untenable".[417] Kajanto's critique has been accepted, with certain reservations, in later scholarship as well.[418]

First, it may be good to point out that I agree with Kajanto in that the evidence does not indeed suggest that freeborn women would have assumed the use of cognomina earlier than men. In fact, the earliest attestations seem to be approximately from the same period, viz. from the end of the second century BCE. As we have seen, some of the earliest evidence concerning freeborn men comes from Delos, Capua, and Praeneste (1.1.2). From Praeneste we also know of two cases of freeborn women with a cognomen, which certainly predate the Sullan conquest of 82 BCE.[419] In other words, we are dealing with more or less the same period here. The names of the two Praenestan women were *Etrilia L. f. Longa* (*CIL* I² 155 = *Cippi* 53,3) and *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (uxor)* (*CIL* I² 271 = *ILLRP* 869 = *Cippi* 117,10). Both cases will be tackled in the survey below (3.2.1), but it may be worth pointing out

[416] Schulze 1966 [1904], p. 505: "Ueberhaubt sind in der Annahme des Cognomens die Frauen in der Regel den Männern um einen Schritt voraus."
[417] Kajanto 1973.
[418] Notably by Kajava 1994, p. 30f..
[419] And with all likelihood they predate the Sullan conquest with some decades. However, the dates given for these inscriptions in the *EDCS* (200-150 BCE and 230-200 BCE respectively) seem to be way too early.

that both of these women seem to have belonged to the local elite of Praeneste. The Etrilii, who are attested in numerous inscriptions from the middle Republic until the founding of Sulla's colony, were certainly one of the leading families of the town before its conquest by Sulla.[420] The *gens Samiaria* in its turn is attested in Praeneste perhaps already from the fourth century BCE onwards, and it is among the families known to have held local magistracies.[421]

Besides these two cases, Kajanto has suggested that there might be another piece of even earlier evidence, dating from the mid-second century BCE, namely a dubious ointment jar from Rome—a gift from 'Amor' to 'Flac(c)a' (*Amor me(d) Flac(c)a(e) dede(t)*; *CIL* I² 477 = XV 6158 = *ILLRP* 1229). According to Kajanto, the woman was likely freeborn, since the name *Flaccus/a* was uncommon among slaves and freedmen.[422] But the name is in fact attested for some slaves and former slaves (and it was uncommon among women in general).[423] The use of the name *Flacca* alone can hardly be taken as serious evidence. In lack of any other information regarding the woman's status, including the woman's nomen (if she ever had one), we should refrain from making any hasty conclusions. For all we know, she may have been a slave or a former one, or a freeborn woman—but which one of these, it is impossible to tell.

However the case may be, some senatorial women also seem to have had cognomina already by the end of the second century BCE. According to Cicero and some later literary testimonies, some daughters of the Caecilii Metelli had the family cognomen *Metella* in this period, and not much later we also have some epigraphic evidence of this (3.3).

The influence for using cognomina came from both ends of the social ladder. It is well known that the model for using cognomina came originally from the Roman nobility, who had used hereditary cognomina from the early days of the Republic. In time, municipal elites throughout Italy started to imitate this practice, which became more and more fashionable. But at the same time there was strong influence from the other end of the social ladder. Enfranchised slaves had namely adopted the use of the cognomen quickly, using typically their old slave names as their cognomina. While these cognomina were often of Greek or foreign extraction, the next generation could sometimes receive 'appropriate' Latin cognomina (1.1.2). In this way, the use

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[420] After this they disappear from record. The inscriptions are *CIL* I² 153; 154; 1455; 3045; 3083; *Cippi* 111,4. For further discussion of the Etrilii and the local elite of Praeneste, see e.g. Granino Cecere & Nonnis & Ricci 2012.

[421] *CIL* XIV 2966 = X 1835, from 79-76 BCE, recording a M. Samiarius along with a group of other magistrates. Cf. also Petraccia Lucernoni 1988, nr. 34 and Franchi de Bellis's comments in *Cippi* p. 181.

[422] Kajanto 1973, pp. 402-403.

[423] There are 13 cases in Solin 1996, vol. I, pp. 56-57. The first attestation of the name in a servile context is that of *Flaccus Claudi*, a composer and flute-player in the comedies of Terence (*RE s.v.* 'Flaccus' nr. 3).

of cognomina became more and more normalized. With this background it is hardly surprising that many of the cases in the survey below (and also in this chapter) occur primarily either among local elites or in a 'libertine' context, that is to say, among the descendants or family members of *liberti*.

With this background we shall now return to Schulze's argument. He had collected at least 36 cases from the late Republic and the beginning of the Empire, in which a woman has a cognomen but her husband does not, and six further cases, in which a woman has a cognomen but her son does not.[424] While conducting this research, I have also come across 67 further cases, in which a woman has a cognomen but her husband/brother/son does not—mostly from Northern Italy but also from other regions. The cases are as follows:

Rome and Latium (8):
CIL I² 1408 = VI 28422 = *ILS* 8396 = *ILLRP* 934: Basilia Sp. f. Posilla, husband C. Veius T. f. Mae(cia);[425] *CIL* VI 17121 (Roma): Egnatia C. f. Maxuma, husband (?) Q. Tempsonius Q. f. Vot(uria); *CIL* I² 1545 = *ILLRP* 564 (Casinum): Apsennia Q. f. Paulla, husband N. Savonius N. f.; *AE* 1996, 433 (Teanum Sidicinum): Pontia P. f. Pola, husband M. Mestrius M. f. Ouf.; *CIL* X 5817 (Aletrium): [---]ecia L. f. Posilla & [---]tia L. f. Rufa, vs. [---] Rufreii M. f. Ani(ensi) (two men) and [---] Rufreius M. f. Ani. Gallus; *CIL* XIV 2317 (Albanum): Precilia Q. f. Tertia, husband M. Antistius M. f. Fab(ia); *AE* 1985, 214 = *AE* 1995, 259 (Anagnia): Caleaia P. f. Bucula, husband L. Catius L. f. M. n. Fab., *centurio speculator(um) Aug(usti)*; *CIL* X 4872 = *ILS* 2021 (Venafrum): Allidia L. f. Rufa, husband L. Ovinius M. f. Ter(etina).[426]

Campania (4):
CIL X 2832 (Puteoli): Pavillia Cornuta, brother C. Pavillius C. f. C. n.; *AE* 2006, 282 (Stabiae): Veratia A. f. Galla, husband L. Scanius L. f. Men(enia), son L. Scanius L. f. Men.; *CIL* X 3685 = *ILS* 4040 (Cumae): Lucceia Cn. f. Polla and Lucceia Cn. f. Tertulla vs. Cn. Lucceii *pater* et *filius*; *AE* 1990, 223e (Allifae): Gavia M. f. Rufa, husband Q. Fufius M. f.[427]

Apulia & Calabria (6):
AE 1987, 282 (Canusium): Lollia M. f. Rufa, husband(?) Sex. Mutronius Q. f.; *CIL* IX 1528 (Pagus Veianus): Postumia P. f. Rufa, husband T. Septimius P. f. Ste. and daughter Septimia T. f. Maxuma; *CIL* IX 852 (Luceria): Helvia C. f. Posilla, husband(?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia); *CIL* IX 2118 (Santa Maria de Voto): V[---] P. f. Tertia, husband [---] f. Gal(eria), son Q. Vinius Q. f. Gal., and daughter Vini[a] Q. f. (who doesn't, curiously enough, have a cognomen); *CIL* IX 1403 (Trevico): Vibbia

[424] *CIL* V 2517; 2561; 2570; 2589; 2593; 2634; 2657; 2665; 2678; 2723; 2920; 2923; 3007; 3652; 3746; 3767; 6862; 7123; 7164; 7166; 7168; 7570; 8862; IX 996; X 5277; XI 786; 1092; 1224; 1227; 1736; 3374; 5461; 5981; 6409; *ILS* 2021; 2919.
[425] Probably rather than *Mai(or)*, cf. n. 823 below.
[426] Their two sons and daughter-in-law all have a cognomen.
[427] Their son Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter(etina) Rufus and daughter Fufia Q. f. Polla both have a cognomen.

L. f. Tertia, brother C. Vibbius L. f. Ser(gia); *CIL* IX 852 (Luceria): Helvia C. f. Po[si]lla, husband (?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia).

Umbria (5):
CIL I² 2122 = XI 5981 (Ad Calem): Variana C. f. Gava & Caedia C. f. Secunda, their husbands(?) Vib. Vedius Sert. f. and T. Vedius V. f. and son T. Vedius T. f.; *CIL* V 2704 (Asisium): Calventia M'. f. Rufa, husband Q. Terentius L. f.; *SupplIt* 18-S, 16 = *AE* 2000, 543 (Suasa): Magia M. f. Polla, husband L. Scoedius L. f. Cam(ilia); *CIL* XI 4438 (Ameria): Praeconia C. f. Posilla and her daughter Artoria Sex. f. Secunda as well as husband Sex. Artorius Sex. f. and two sons Sex. & L. Artorii Sex. f.; *CIL* XI 5005 = *SupplIt* 29, p. 289 (Trebia): [---]ossia T. f. Secunda, husband [T. R]ubrius T. f. Aem(ilia).

Samnium and Picenum (4):
CIL I² 1739 = *ILS* 8073 (Beneventum): Epidia P. f. Neria, husband C. Petuellius Q. f. Fal.; *CIL* IX 6287 = I² 174 (Beneventum): [R]utilia Q. f. Rufa, husband T. Rufius Cn. f. Ste.; *AE* 1995, 424 (Trebula Suffenas): Volsa C. f. Rufa, husband L. Annius C. f. Ani. and son L. Annius L. f. Ani. Rufus; *CIL* IX 5088 (Interamnia): Publicia Sex. f. Paulla, husband L. Ampius L. f., son L. Ampius L. f. Severus.

Etruria (3):
CIL XI 3374 = *SECI* p. 140 nr. 156 (Tarquinia): Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti, husband [-] Cossutius P. f.; *NSA* 1914, 417 = *AE* 1995, 501 (Populonia): Gallonia M. f. Quarta, husband C. Persius A. f. Gal(eria), son L. Persius C. f., and daughter Persia C. f. Polla; *CIL* XI 1736 (Empoli): Graecia A. f. Quinta, husband L. Gavius Q. f., whose brother A. Gavius Q. f. does not have a cognomen either.

Northern Italy / Cisalpine Gaul (34):
CIL XI 1132 (Veleia): Vibia T. f. Polla, her husband L. Arranius P. f. Gal. and son L. Arranius L. f. Gal.; *CIL* V 1779 (Forum Iulii): Aiteia L. f. Posilla, husband T. Suttius L. f. Sca(ptia); *CIL* V 1764 = *InscrIt* X,4, 391 (Forum Iulii): Apusidia C. f. Secunda, her two sons Q. Caedius P. f. Pup. and C. Caedius P. f., and her daughter-in-law Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma; *AE* 1995, 590 (Concordia): [---]ia M. f. Quarta, husband [---]ttius T. f. and two other men [---]ttius P. f. Philargur(us) and [---]ius T. f. Titullio; *CIL* V 4072 (Mantua): Titia Stabilionis f. Quinta, husband C. Maesius L. f.; *CIL* V 2704 (Ateste): Calventia M'. f. Rufa, husband Q. Terentius L. f.; *CIL* I² 1412 = V 2598 (Ateste): Petronia A. f. Tannia and her daughter-in-law Terentia T. f. Secunda, and their husbands A. Veturius A. f. and C. Veturius A. f.; *AE* 2012, 557 (Ateste): Romniaca L. f. Maxima, husband [P. Vesso]nius Sullae f., son T. Vessonius P. f.; *CIL* V 1841 (Iulium Carnicum): Retinacia L. f. Secunda, husband C. Retinacius C. f.; *AE* 1991, 796 (Tarvisium): Titia C. f. Secunda and her daughter Silia C. f. Secunda as well as her husband C. Silius C. f. and son M. Silius C. f.; *AE* 1973, 236 = 1976, 226 (Forum Gallorum): Metella C. f. Tertia, husband C. Graecinius C. f. Pol(lia); *CIL* V 418 = *InscrIt* X,3, 86 (Tergeste): [V]axsonia L. f. [V]oltiomna, husband L. Mariarius Sex. f., son Sex. Mariarius L. f., daughter [Mari]aria L. [f. ---];

CIL V 5176 (Bergomum): Lucillia L. f. Bionta, husband C. Statius Cirusi f.;[428] *AE* 1981, 441 (Altinum): Coelia T. f. Fuctiena, husband M. Pontius M'. f.; *CIL* V 5132 (Bergomum): Valeria L. f. Rustica, husband L. Blandius C. f. Vot(uria), *IIIIIIvir et Augustalis et flaminalis*; *CIL* V 3673 (Verona): Minucia P. f. Maxima, *contubernalis* of C. Nasonius Q. f. The inscription also mentions a C. Nasonius Ianuarius of unspecified status;[429] *CIL* V 3570 (Verona): Pacillia M. f. Vasilla, husband M. Cluttius P. f. Pob(lilia), whose sister Cluttia P. f. Tertia also has a cognomen, so do their parents P. Cluttius Virius and Caelia Maxima, but they may have also been former slaves; *IAquil* I, 561 = *AE* 1926, 111 (Aquileia): Petillia Q. f. Modesta, husband C. Mutillius C. f., *decurio Aquileiensis*; *IAquil* I, 703 = *AE* 1932, 1 (Aquileia): Coelia C. f. Quarta, husband M'. Herennius C. f.; notably their two sons L. Herennius M'. f. and C. Herennius M'. f. do not have cognomina either, but their daughter Herennia M'. f. Tertulla does; *CIL* V 4457 = *InscrIt* X,5, 246 (Brixia): Naevia Cn. f. Mogetilla, husband Q. Postumius C. f.;[430] *InscrIt* IX,1, 179 = *AE* 1905, 30 (Pollentia): Bussenia P. f. Nepotula, husband L. ⌜G⌝ (avius) C. f. Pol(lia), *aed(ilis) IIvir quinq(uennalis)*. Their daughter Gavia L. f. Prima also has a cognomen; *CIL* V 497 = *InscrIt* X,3, 37 (Aegida): Paplinia L. f. Polla, husband C. Cornelius Rufi f. They also had two sons, one of who had a cognomen (C. Cornelius L. f. and [L.] Cornelius L. f. Firmus);[431] *CIL* V 7448 = VI 28774a = *AE* 1995, 523 (Forum Fulvii): Trebia Q. f. Posilla, husband M. Vibius M. f. Pom(ptina);[432] *CIL* V 377 = *InscrIt* X,3, 56 (Eraclea Veneta): Voluntilia M. f. Prisca, husband M'. Plotius M'. f. Pup(inia), *aed(ilicia) potestate v(ivus) f(ecit)*; *CIL* V 1802 (Ad Tricesimum): Valeria C. f. Quarta, husband T. Veratius T. f. Cla(udia); *CIL* V 1805 (Ad Tricesimum): Veidia P. f. Maxuma, brother (?) C. Veidius P. f.; curiously their both parents (?) P. Veidius C. f. Birro and Pontia Sex. f. Tertia have a cognomen;[433] *CIL* V 7552 = *AE* 2004, 578 (Monesiglio*):* Valeria M. f. Quarta, whose

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[428] The names do not imply a high level of 'Romanness'.

[429] Perhaps the brother or freedman of C. Nasonius Q. f. The latter seems perhaps more likely.

[430] Their three sons and daughter-in-law also have cognomina Full text: *C(aius) Postumius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Varus IIIIIIvir August(alis) / aedilis sibi et / Ratumediae L(uci) f(iliae) Severai(!) uxori / et Q(uinto) Postumio C(ai) f(ilio) patri et / Naeviae Cn(aei) f(iliae) Mogetillae / matri et / Q(uinto) Postumio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Pusioni fratri et / L(ucio) Postumio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Feroci fratri / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

[431] The inscription also mentions many other people, all of them with a cognomen, including the dedicator's (i.e. C. Cornelius L. f.) two wives, two men of unspecified status, and a free-born woman, perhaps the daughter of the dedicator: *C(aius) Cornelius L(uci) f(ilius) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et suis / L(ucio) Cornelio Rufi f(ilio) / patri / Papliniae L(uci) f(iliae) Pollae / matri / [L(ucio)] Cornelio L(uci) f(ilio) Firmo / fratri / Corneliae C(ai) f(iliae) Secundae / coniugi / Raeconiae P(ubli) f(iliae) Tertullae / coniugi v(ivae) / L(ucio) Cornelio C(ai) f(ilio) Favori v(ivo) / C(aio) Cornelio C(ai) f(ilio) / Augurino v(ivo) / Corneliae C(ai) f(iliae) Tertiae / Augurinae v(ivae)*.

[432] Their son M. Vibius M. f. Homuncio and daughter-in-law Lusia C. f. Vera both have a cognomen.

[433] Full text: *P(ublius) Veidius C(ai) f(ilius) / Birro / Pontia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Tertia / uxor / C(aius) Veidius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Veidia P(ubli) f(ilia) Maxuma(!)*. While it is clear that Pontia Sex. f. Tertia was the wife of P. Veidius C. f. Birro, their exact relationshop to C. Veidius P. f. and Veidia P. f. Maxuma is not explicit. Judging by the names and the filiations, it seems reasonable to assume that they were the children of P. Veidius Birro and Pontia Tertia—in which case we have to draw the conclusion that son for some reason did not receive a cognomen, even

husband's name is fragmented but could be restored as Ṭ.? Cạssius Ạ.? f. Cam(ilia) (cf. Mennella in *AE*); *CIL* V 8960 = *InscrIt* IX,1, 154 (Pollentia): Geminia L. f. Quinta, husband L. Caesius Sp. f., sons C. Caesius L. f. Pol(lia), M. Caesius L. f., Q. Caesius L. f., grandson L. Caesius C. f., granddaughter Caesia C. f. Secunda, and daughter-in-law Mucia M. f. Rufa;[434] *CIL* V 397 = *ILS* 2240 (Parentium): Septumia P. f. Sabina, husband L. Vinusius L. f., their daugher Vinusia Tertulla also has a cognomen; *CIL* V 7340 (Forum Vibii): Vettia T. f. Secunda, husband T. Vettius L. f. Pol(lia); *SupplIt* 24-H, 32 = *AE* 1992, 645 = *AE* 2007, 568 (Hasta): Otatia P. f. Tertia, husband C. Genucius C. f., *IIvir aid(ilis)*;[435] *CIL* V 7589 (Alba Pompeia): Valeria Sex. f. Tertia, husband C. Aelius L. f. Cam(ilia); *AE* 1993, 749 (Corona): Turpilia M. f. Tertia, husband C. Acutius C. f.; *CIL* V 3007 (Patavium): Curiatia L. f. Quarta, husband T. Petronius T. f., son P. Petronius, brother Q. Curatius L. f. Celer (who has a cognomen) and mother/mother-in-law(?) Mucia L. f. Rufa

In addition, there is one case from Hispania:
CIL II.5, 1284 = *HEp* 1996, 574 = *AE* 2015, 580 (Baetica): [---]mia P. f. Polla, two sons [---]s Q. f. Pap(iria) and [---]ucius Q. f.

The number is striking when compared to the opposite cases: I have managed to find only some 15 clear cases from outside the senatorial elite, in which a man has a cognomen but his wife, sister, or daughter does not. Furthermore, in some of these cases we are clearly dealing with local or equestrian aristocracy who, in imitation of the Roman elite, may have used a hereditary cognomen, meaning in other words that all men of the family would bear the same cognomen. Such cases are therefore better compared with the republican elite practice than with the practice of having an individualizing cognomen (for the early cognomina of the nobility, see 3.3.1). The 15 cases are listed below:

1. *NSA* 1949, 172 (Neapolis): The brother T. Plotidius T. f. Silo bears a cognomen but his sister Plotidia T. f. does not, nor do the parents. The *sobrinus* C. Pontius C. f. Gallus also has a cognomen.
2. *Aesernia* 127 (Aesernia): M. Gracchus M. f. Tuscus has a cognomen but his wife Valeria C. f. does not; but their daughter Graccha M. f. Polla was given one. The fact that the freedman C. Ofillius C. l. Philargurus has one as well is hardly surprising.
3. *SupplIt* 9-A 81 = *AE* 1992, 417 (Amiternum): Considia L. f. does not carry a cognomen but her husband Q. Canius C. f. Labeo does. The son or daughter who set up the funerary stele is not mentioned by name. The exact status of these individuals is unknown, but they were perhaps members of the local elite (at

though his father had one. But as we know from several other inscriptions, it does not always follow that children would receive a cognomen, even if their parents had one, e.g. *CIL* V 7601; V 916; *AE* 1993, 720. More examples in Salomies 1987, p. 295ff.

[434] Notably none of the men in three generations bear a cognomen, while all women do.

[435] Their son C. Genucius C. f. Sabinus also has a cognomen.

least the Canii seem to have left traces in local toponymy, cf. the name of Cagnano Amiterno).

4. *CIL* X 5581 (Fabrateria Nova): *M(arcus) Trebellius C(ai) f(ilius) Sextan[us] / IIvir IIvir quinq(uennalis) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) prae(fectus) fab(rum) / aug(ur) sibi et / C(aio) Trebellio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Sextano patri / Purpurniae L(uci) f(iliae) matri / Sex(to) Trebellio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Se(x)tano av[o] / Genniae M(arci) f(iliae) aviae.* Equestrian aristocracy; the men bear the hereditary cognomen *Sextanus* in several generations.[436]
5. *CIL* V 913 (Aquileia): *L(ucius) Flaminius L(uci) f(ilius) / Hister aug(ur) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) / Titia P(ubli) f(ilia) ux{s}or / Babullia T(iti) f(ilia) mater / Q(uintus) Flaminius L(uci) f(ilius) / Hister tr(ibunus) mil(itum) / Sex(tus) Flaminius L(uci) f(ilius) / Hister tr(ibunus) mil(itum)*. Equestrian aristocracy; the men bear the hereditary family cognomen *Hister.*[437]
6. *CIL* IX 139 (Brundisium):] */ f(ilius) Mae(cia) Scalus / hic situs / et Grania / Sex(ti) f(ilia) coniux / eius hic sita.* The husband clearly bears a cognomen (*Scalus*) but his wife does not.
7. *CIL* IX 806 = *ILS* 6477 (Luceria): *L(ucius) Vibienus L(uci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Licin[us] / IIvir Siponti IIIIvir Luceria / Vibiena L(uci) f(ilia) soror*. The brother, who clearly belongs to the local aristocracy, has a cognomen, but his sister does not.
8. *CIL* XI 1349 (Luna): *Titiniae L(uci) [f(iliae)] / [L(ucius) Titini]us Petrini[anus*. The exact relation of the two is not clear, but Titinia was clearly the daughter or sister of Petrinianus (who is known from other inscriptions as well; cf. CIL XI 1348 = I² 3369; *CIL* XI 6959 = I² 2093 = *ILS* 5437 = *ILLRP* 625). Members of the local elite.
9. *CIL* X 1074d = *ILS* 5053,4 (Pompeii): Clodia A. f., daughter of A. Clodius A. f. Men. Flaccus, a Pompeian *decurio* and member of the equestrian aristocracy.[438]
10. *CIL* X 5156 = I² 1536 (Atina): Graicia C. f., her husband M. Staidius M. f. M. n. Ter. Capito bears a cognomen.
11. *CIL* IX 2522 (Saepinum): Petronia N. f., husband Q. Oppidius L. f. Hispanus.
12. *CIL* IX 2787 (Terventum): Sufia C. f., wife of [---] Nummius N. f. Sucrinus. Note that their son C. N[u]mmius C. f. Sucr[inu]s bears the same cognomen as his father, which suggests that the name had become hereditary in their family.
13. *CIL* V 1016 (Aquileia): *T(itus) Vibius T(iti) f(ilius) Ruso / IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) / IIIIvir quinq(uennalis) / T(itus) Vibius T(iti) f(ilius) Ruso / augur / Caeparia Cn(aei) f(ilia).* The two Vibii both bear the cognomen *Ruso,* which had perhaps become hereditary in the family—though this could be verified only if there was another son who also had the same cognomen.
14. *CIL* III 399 (Pergmamum): Tullia M. f., together with her brother M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cratippus, husband T. Aufidius T. f. Ani. Spinter, and son T. Aufidius T. f. Ani. Balbus. These Aufidii, with individual cognomina, were Roman

[436] For M. Trebellius Sextanus, cf. Démougin 1988, 847.
[437] For the Flaminii Histri of Aquileia, cf. Démougin 1988.
[438] Cf. Démougin 1988; also Alvarez Melero 2018, p. 280.

knights from Alexandria Troas.[439] M. Tullius Cratippus, who was *sacerdos Romae,* was in turn a descendant of Cratippus, the client of Cicero.[440] It is possible that the nomenclature of Cicero's daughter served as a model for the Tullia here as well.

15. *CIL* V 2015 (Opitergium, 1-50): brothers L. Seius L. f. Faustus and T. Seius L. f. Fronto; sister Seia L. f.

A closer look at Kajanto's argument is in place now. Based on the inscriptions in *CIL* I[2] he observed that there was no significant difference in the early use of cognomina between men and women in terms of percentages. He provided the following table to better illustrate this:

Table 7: Distribution of cognomina in *CIL* I[2] (after Kajanto 1973)

	without a cogn.	with a cognomen	total
ingenui	795 = 77.1 %	237 = 22.9 %	1032
ingenuae	138 = 79.3 %	36 = 20.7 %	177

It is true that the table shows no significant difference in terms of percentages. There are, however, some things that perhaps should be kept in mind here. For one, the percentage for women would probably be slightly higher if only late republican material was included, because in earlier times we would not even expect to find a cognomen in a female nomenclature (though it is also true that the epigraphic documentation from earlier periods is scarce). Furthermore, it would perhaps be more revealing to count *all* the cases, in which a woman has an individualizing name of some sort—whether a praenomen or a cognomen—because, as we know, women did not usually have any such names to start with, unlike men who already had their praenomen and therefore did not have a similar need for a further individualizing item. This is also supported by the fact that women's early cognomina were largely similar to many of their praenomina (of the type *Paulla, Secunda, Tertia, Maxima*; see 3.2.1 below). In this period it was in many cases essentially the same name, the question is just whether it was prefixed to the nomen or placed after it—whereas the repertoire of men's cognomina was mostly different from their praenomina.[441]

Furthermore, the statistics, as far as I see it, include also cases in which men have a hereditary cognomen in the same way as the Roman senatorial aristocracy, and these cases should not be compared with the use of individual cognomina. Moreover, the material is admittedly not very extensive in terms of women. This becomes particularly clear when comparing the num-

[439] Cf. Démougin 1988, p. 702 n. 63.
[440] O'Brien-Moore 1942; cf. Salway 1994, p. 128.
[441] In other words, names such as *Gaius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus* were never particularly common as cognomina, albeit they occur occasionally. For a survey of cognomina identical to men's praenomina, see Salomies 2008, p. 89f.; cf. Salomies 1987, p. 165f.

bers: 177 women versus 1032 men. For this study a larger set of evidence has therefore been collected (for the method, see 3.2). When taking into account only cases that may be dated to a period between 125 and 1 BCE, we end up having at least 662 freeborn women. 237 of these appear with a cognomen, i.e. 35.8%. However, when we exclude all the cases that certainly postdate the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, we end up with a total of 469 women, out of which at least 99 have a cognomen, i.e. 21.1%. This figure is not radically different from the one presented by Kajanto. However, when taking into consideration all the cases, in which a woman has an individualizing name of some sort—whether placed before or after the nomen—we arrive at a total number of 150 cases out of 466, i.e. 32.2%.

But even with the statistics that Kajanto had compiled from *CIL* I², he could not simply disregard the evidence collected by Schulze. Instead, he explained it with the fact that almost all of the female cognomina in it were, what he labeled as, 'descriptive names', that is to say, diacritics that clarified birth order or the woman's age relation to her sisters. According to Kajanto, such names were not genuine cognomina and could not be compared with the 'real', official names that men would receive on the *dies lustricus.*[442] While this in itself is a useful observation, it is only partly correct.

It is true that, unlike many cognomina, most of the early female cognomina were what Kajanto would label as 'descriptive names'. But then again, what other function does a female cognomen primarily have if not to dinstinguish its bearer from other women with the same gentilicium, in other words, to serve as a diacritic? Of course, it is obvious that a comparative diacritic such as *Maior,* 'elder', or *Minor,* 'younger', could not, generally speaking, be used independently, that is to say, without any reference to the nomen that they supplemented, and in this sense they were not individual cognomina in the same sense as, say, *Rufa* or *Sabina*. However, if such a name was nonetheless carved in stone as official part of the woman's nomenclature and successfully fulfilled the function of distinguishing her from her sister(s), then surely it ought to be considered a sort of a cognomen. Furthermore, it is clear that many of the 'descriptive names' were also used independently, without any clear connection between their lexical meaning and the name-bearer. In fact, there are indications of this already in the late republican material below (e.g. cases in which daughters called *Secunda, Quinta, Gemella* seem to have inherited the cognomen from their mother; see 3.2.1).

The question now is what to make of all this. On the one hand, there seems to be no major statistical difference in the use of cognomina between men and women in the late republican period, and no evidence suggests that women in general would have adopted the use of cognomina at an earlier stage than men. On the other hand, we have a significant amount of cases in which a woman has a cognomen, while her husband, brother, or son does

[442] Kajanto 1973, p. 404.

not—whilst the opposite cases are much fewer (over 100 cases against 15). This cannot be explained purely as accident of survival. Instead, when taking into account all the caveats brought up above regarding Kajanto's argument, it may be after all concluded that Schulze perhaps had a point. In other words, even if the first attestations of cognomina among non-senatorial men and women are approximately from the same period, the evidence seems to suggest that, during the time when the cognomen was still to be a fully established item in the nomenclature of the freeborn *plebs*, it was more likely for a woman to have a cognomen than it was for a man—particularly in Northern Italy, but also elsewhere. One of course has to bear in mind the somewhat different nature of these names in the early period and the fact that the repertoire of women's early cognomina corresponds in many ways (but not completely) to that of their praenomina.

The establishing of the cognomen was in any case a gradual process that started out slowly but then, in course of some three generations, gained in popularity with increasing pace. The Augustan period seems to have been a real turning point. However, due to the scarcity and the nature of the material from the republican period, this is difficult to investigate in detail. Unlike men, women are not found in official (and easily datable) lists of magistrates, and coherent, homogeneous material from the republican time, such as the one from Praeneste, is a rare commodity (see 1.1.2 above).

Indeed, the Praenestan material is invaluable for our understanding of the onomastic practices concerning women during the Republic. It portrays well how women could be called in a Latin town, in close vicinity to Rome, during the second and the beginning of the first century BCE. The material has been discussed to a certain extent already above, but it may be summarized as follows.[443] The whole set of evidence, consisting of 340 inscriptions, provides information about 138 women. Most of them, by far, are known by their nomen and without any individualizing name. In 46 such cases the identity is clarified with a reference to the woman's father (e.g. *Anicia M. f.* in *CIL* I^2 74), in 10 to her husband (*Curtia Rosci*, I^2 143; *Luscia M. uxor*, I^2 184), and in five to both of them (*Geminia C. f. Cn. Vatroni uxor*, I^2 171; *Saufeia C. f. Tondi*, I^2 290).

A reference to the father and/or husband must have been sufficient to identify the woman in the public eye—as long as the population and the number of homonymous individuals remained low enough. But it did not serve to distinguish between sisters in one family. This is where individualizing names and diacritics—praenomina at first, and later cognomina—came to be useful. In Praeneste, 23 women seem to bear a descriptive praenomen prefixed to the nomen (of the style *Tert(ia) Coriaria, CIL* I^2 134), and three have an individual cognomen after the nomen (in addition to *Etrilia L. f. Lon-*

[443] Cf. also Kajava 1994, p. 19ff. for a discussion regarding the Praenestan material from the point of view of women's nomenclature.

ga and *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q.*, there is a certain *Antestia Bosta* of unspecified status, *CIL* I² 78). All in all, this means that some 16% of the women buried in Praeneste had an individualizing name of some sort. It is likely that the number of women who had living sisters was higher, but it gives a rough idea of how common it was for a woman to have such a name on public record in this period, i.e. before the founding of Sulla's colony in 82 BCE.

But how did the situation develop in the following decades? In order to make a comparison with—and to supplement—the information we have from the Praenestan material, I have conducted a small-scale survey on the Latin funerary cippi from late republican Caere and Tarquinia.[444] It is true that the materials are not univocally comparable with each other: Praeneste had always been a Latin town with a predominantly Latin population,[445] and the material, with a strict *terminus ante quem*, comes from a single cemetery, whereas Caere and Tarquinia were old Etruscan towns, with Etruscan traditions and influences, and the material, whose exact provenance is often unknown, does not have a clear chronological end point.[446] However, the material is rather homogeneous (consisting only of funerary cippi), it comes from a restricted geographical area, and it can be dated to a more or less specific time period between roughly 125 and 25 BCE (according to the dates given by J. Kaimio in *SECI*).

From the Latin cippus inscriptions of Caere and Tarquinia, we know of at least 108 women. Of these 58 are clearly *ingenuae*, 30 *libertae*, and 20 are of unspecified status. It is noteworthy that only three freedwomen are clearly without a cognomen, which reveals nicely how the cognomen had already by the early first century BCE become a standard item in the nomenclature of the *liberti*.[447] What is even more noteworthy is that 15 out of the 58 freeborn women have an individualizing name, and in 11 out of these 15 cases it is now used as a cognomen, and in only four as a praenomen.[448] This shows a clear shift in tendency, from prefixing the individual name to the nomen, to placing it after it, but the material also illustrates the rise in popularity of individualizing cognomina in general. Whereas only 16% of the Praenestan

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444 Conveniently collected by J. Kaimio (*SECI*).

445 For the population of Praeneste, see the estimations in Wachter, p. 211; 272; cf. Kajava 1994, p. 20f.

446 Though Caere may have held the status of a *municipium* already as early as the 4th c. BCE. Sherwin-White 1973, p. 53f.

447 Alsinia A. l. (*SECI* nr. 457), Liptinia Q. l. (*SECI* nr. 458), Cutia M. l. (*SECI* nr. 652).

448 Praenomen (4): [T]anna Val[er]ia Sex. f. (*SECI* nr. 30); Secunda Lucania A. f. (*SECI* nr. 89), Sequnda Rufia M. f. (*SECI* nr. 580). Cognomen (11): Collia L. f. Celido (*SECI* nr. 268; 100-75 BCE); Murria Q. f. Secunda (*SECI* nr. 655, 100-75 BCE); [---]ia L. f. [---]ssa (*SECI* nr. 32, 100-75 BCE); Campatia Q. f. Rufa (*SECI* nr. 701, 75-50 BCE; homonymous woman in *SECI* nr. 460, probably identical); Ancilia L. f. Bassa (*SECI* nr. 173, 75-50 BCE); Caesennia Sp. f. Albana (*SECI* nr. 83, 75-50 BCE); Pomponia P. f. Posilla (*SECI* nr. 22; 50-25 BCE); Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti (*SECI* nr. 156b, 50-25 BCE); Graecinia L. f. Tertulla (*SECI* nr. 193, 50-25 BCE); Memmia P. f. Pollitta (*SECI* nr. 205, 50-25 BCE); Spurinnia L. f. Thannia (*SECI* nr. 227, 50-25 BCE).

women are given an individualizing name, the percentage for the freeborn women in Caere and Tarquinia is now 26%. In terms of cognomina, the shift is remarkable: while there are only two *ingenuae* with a cognomen in Praeneste, the cippi of Caere and Tarquinia attest a cognomen for almost every fifth freeborn woman. Furthermore, when we exlude the earliest evidence from the late second century BCE, we end up with 11 out of 48 women having a cognomen; and if we further exclude evidence from the first quarter of the first century BCE, we are left with 19 freeborn women, of which 9—that is practically half of them—have a cognomen.

One could conclude that after the first appearance of the cognomen in the nomenclature of freeborn women outside the senatorial elite—let us say, starting from the two cippi of Praeneste—it took some three generations before the cognomen had become a typical item. But even then it was not uncommon for a woman to be without one. In fact, we encounter women without a cognomen until the mid-first century CE, and in some rare cases, even beyond (see 4.1). Among senatorial women, the conservative style of not having a cognomen held its ground more persistently—but even in the most conservative families, the practice of adorning their daughters with a cognomen had made its way to common usage by the end of the first imperial dynasty. However, before proceeding to the onomastic habits of senatorial women, a detailed survey of the early cognomina of non-senatorial women is in place.

3.2 The early female cognomina of the *plebs ingenua*

We have now seen how and when cognomina came to be a part of Roman women's nomenclature. But what were these early cognomina like? In order to properly answer the question, I have conducted a survey of cases that can be dated to the first century BCE. This means that cases that certainly postdate 1 BCE have been excluded—whereas cases that may postdate it but may also be earlier, e.g. "from c. 30 BCE to 30 CE", are typically included. Since the onomastic habits concerning slaves and former slaves differed from the freeborn in some significant ways, the cases in the current survey only consist of freeborn women. The material—which in its entirety is presented in Appendix 3—has been generally speaking collected by going through the evidence in *CIL* I², *ILLRP* and their supplementa, as well as some other relevant corpora, and by searching the Clauss-Slaby database with certain dating criteria and search strings (e.g. the word *f(ilia)* to make sure that we are dealing with freeborn women). I have in most cases relied on the approximate dates given in the databases and editions, unless there has been some

apparent reason for doubt.[449] It is worth noting that the material found through the search only includes cases that have been attributed a date in the database, and undoubtedly some potential cases may have been missed or have been excluded, but all in all, the data collected for this study will suffice to illustrate the general tendencies.[450]

The following 66 cognomina (including nomina used as cognomina), attested for at least 237 women, were found in the survey (for references, see Appendix 3):

Agele
Albana
Amoena
Apula
Auctilla
Barchilla
Bassa (2)
[Bas?]silla
Celido
Cerula
Chila
Cornuta
Dada
Decma
Fausta (3)
Firma (3)
Flacca
Frema
Galla (9)
Gava
Helpis
Hilara
Ianuaria
Libera
Longa
Maca
Magna
Magul(l)a
Maior (3)
Marcella
Masura
Max(s)ima/Max(s)uma (17)
Medula
Mimisia
Minor
Neria
Paulla (6)
Paullina
Pira?
Polla (19)
Pollitta
Posilla (10)
Postuma
Prima (3)
Primigenia
Prisca (2)
Procula (3)
Puella
Quarta (11)
Quartilla (2)
Quinta (8)
Recepta
Rufa (24)
Rufilla (2)
Sabina (5)
Salvia (2)
Saturnina (2)
Scina
Secunda (28)
Suetia
T(h)annia (2)
Tertia (20-21)
Tertulla (6-7)
Vera
Verecunda
Voltiomna

3.2.1 Type and form

First some thoughts on the type and form of the early cognomina. Semantically/etymologically they can be roughly divided in six main categories: 1) names that in some way reflect the order or circumstances of birth; 2) wish-names; 3) cognomina referring to physical characteristics; 4) geographical and ethnic cognomina; 5) cognomina with obscure etymology or with no

[449] For example, one case with the *D(is) M(anibus)* formula, which was included for some reason in *CIL* I², has been omitted.
[450] The latest search for this study has been conducted in February 2019, and it is possible that more dates have been added to even some relevant cases in the database after that.

obvious connection between their lexical meaning/etymology and their object of reference (including, amongst others, cognomina coined from praenomina/nomina and nomina used as cognomina); 6) Greek and 'barbaric' cognomina. Obviously any name could be chosen for a number of different reasons, and there is certain overlapping between the categories. Some of the names also had theophoric/calendaric connotations and there is also one case that perhaps had to do with the natural world.

The first group consists of cognomina that in one way or another reflect birth order, that is to say, the name-bearer's age relation to her other siblings, or in general the circumstances of her birth (for example the time of birth or the child's social status at the time of birth/conception; for more discussion on the choice of such names, see 4.8.1). The names that can be put into this category are *Dec(i)ma, Ianuaria, Libera, Maior* (3)*, Maxima* (18)*, Minor* (2)*, Postuma, Prima* (3)*, Primigenia, Quarta* (11)*, Quartilla* (2)*, Quinta* (7)*, Recepta, Saturnina* (2)*, Secunda* (26)*, Tertia* (23/24)*, Tertulla* (6). *Prisca* could also be interpreted as a name given to a first-born or older daughter.[451]

While it is obvious why some names belong to this category (e.g. numeral names and names of the type *Maxima,* 'elder/eldest'), some other names may need some justification. *Ianuaria* and *Saturnina,* for instance, are in this category for calendaric reasons (the month of January and the day of Saturn, i.e. Saturday)—though these names must have been chosen for other reasons as well, *Ianuaria* perhaps for its apposite theophorical connotations (Ianus being the god of beginnings) and *Saturnina* for its elevated label.[452] In this light it may also be easier to understand why a calendaric name such as **Februaria,* with a less tangible etymology, is not at all attested.[453]

As for *Libera,* the name can be regarded as reflecting the child's social status at the time of birth or conception. The possibility also exists that the name was associated with the goddess Proserpina, who sometimes was called *Libera.* However, names of divinities were only rarely given to humans, and in most of the cases we are dealing with slave names (some examples in 2.3.2.2). A suffixed form of a theophoric cognomen would have been more apposite. *Recepta* in its turn ('accepted' or 'received') is comparable to names such as *Optata* and has to do with the child's entering the world. Numeral names were often given in accordance with birth order, as is clear for example from an inscription from Aquileia, which records two sisters, Maria C. f. Prima and Maria C. f. Secunda, who were daughters of C. Marius L. f. and

[451] There are some examples of men called *Priscus,* who clearly were first-born sons; cf. Salomies 2009, p. 529 n. 88 for some examples.

[452] The cognomen *Saturninus* was used by e.g. by senatorial Sentii (*cos.* 19 BCE; 4 CE; *suff.* 4 CE) and Volusii (*cos. suff.* 12 BCE; *suff.* 3 CE) around the same time period. For an early case of a sentorial woman with the cognomen *Saturnina*, cf. Volusia Saturnina in 3.3.2 below.

[453] The name of the month is based on the pre-classical adjective *februus,* which according to Varro (*ling.* 6, 13) was connected to a Sabine purification ritual.

Seia Ↄ. l. Aletia (*CIL* V 1293; see 4.8.1 for some examples from the imperial period).

One should, however, remember that in some cases a name was chosen simply because it had already been in use in a previous generation. This seems to be so, for instance, in the following four cases:

1) *IAquil* III 3425 (Aquileia): mother Iulia Iulli f. Secunda, daughter Lucia M. f. Secunda
2) *AE* 1991, 796 (Tarvisium): mother Titia C. f. Secunda, daughter Silia C. f. Secunda
3) *CIL* X 307-308 (Tegianum): mother Baia T. f. Quinta, daughter Ovilonia L. f. Quinta
4) *CIL* X 4343 (Casilinum): mother Sevia Gemella, daughter Fisia Gemella

Sometimes the name itself may give cause for suspicion (although not necessarily enough), for instance in the case of suffixed forms such as *Quartilla* or *Tertulla*, which presuppose the existence of *Quartus/a* and *Tertius/a*. Sometimes this is more than evident, as in the case of Deciria Q. f. Tertulla, whose cognomen was derived from that of her mother Deciria Q. l. Tertia (*CIL* XIV 2187, Aricia, 2nd half of the 1st c. BCE).[454]

In most cases, however, we are not fortunate enough to have any other clues, and there is furthermore some imperial evidence of cases, in which a suffixed numeral name seems to have been chosen precisely because of the lexical meaning of the initial word.[455] In categorizing the names I have therefore in principle assumed that, unless there is sufficient reason to believe otherwise, the lexical meaning or etymology of the name was in some way related to the choice.

The second category, viz. that of wish-names, includes the following names: *Amoena* 'delightful', *Fausta* (3) 'lucky', *Firma* (2) 'firm', *Hilara* 'cheerful', *Magna* 'great', *Vera* 'truthful', *Verecunda* 'modest'. Such names usually refer to positive traits of the mind or character, happiness, or good future in general.

The third category includes cognomina that refer to a physical feature or characteristic, or physical appearance in general. Names that can be included in this category are *C(a)erula*, *Flacca*, *Longa*, *Paulla* (6), *Paulina*, *Polla* (19), *Pollitta*, *Posilla* (10), *Puella*, *Rufa* (24), *Rufilla* (2). Some words ought to be said

[454] And sometimes we may not be sure if we are even dealing with a cognomen. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 2), for example, informs that the paternal grandmother of the emperor Vespasian was called *Tertulla*. The possibility, however, exists that she in fact had the praenomen *Tertia*, of which Suetonius simply decided to use the diminutive form *Tertulla*. This is suggested by Kajava 1994, p. 210, and it is true that Suetonius has the tendency of calling women by diminutive forms, e.g. *Terentilla* pro *Terentia* (the wife of Maecenas) in Suet. *Aug.* 69, 2; cf. also Iunia Claudia/Claudilla below in n. 657.

[455] There are also other examples, e.g. in *AE* 1999, 474 (Venafrum) we have two sisters with the cognomina *Secunda* and *Tertulla* (and we have to assume that there had been a third sibling, who was born before them); in *CIL* III 13429 (Scarbantia) four siblings called (in this order) *Crescens*, *Ingenua*, *Tertulla*, and *Gratilla*.

about some of these names. *Paulla* and *Polla* could technically be categorized as names referring to birth order (as opposed to *Maxima*), meaning in other words "younger sister", and they may have surely been used in this function occasionally. However, the lexical meaning of *paullus* is closer to 'little' or 'small', and it seems that the name could be given to any newborn girl in a more general sense, 'little one'.[456] *Posilla* is an interesting case in this respect. It was, like *Paulla/Polla,* widely spread in Italy (see 3.2.2 below), and according to Kajanto and Schulze it was a diminutive form of *pusa,* 'little girl'.[457] Thus it would be close to *Paulla/Polla* in both meaning and use. According to Leumann, however, the name was formed from **Pauxilla* (but "nicht für *Pusilla*").[458] The exact etymology seems somewhat unclear—which it perhaps was for the Romans as well. This is reflected in Greek inscriptions, in which the name is sometimes written with an omicron, sometimes with an omega—as in the case of Avia A. f. Posilla, whose cognomen appears in two dedications set up at Thessalonica in the Augustan period, both as Πόσιλλα and Πώσιλλα.[459] However the case may be, the name was clearly deemed a suitable name for a girl, and it seems best to follow Kajanto's interpretation in the matter, though in many cases it was probably simply considered a name, without necessarily any thought given to its meaning.

This of course applies to other names as well. For instance, *Rufus, Paullus,* and *Longus* are names that are attested for the aristocracy and this may have influenced the choice of their female forms. *Rufa* in particular became a fashionable name in the late republican and early imperial period (as is evident from the 23 cases in this investigation alone), and in the course of the imperial period the suffixed form *Rufina* came to be even more popular.[460]

Longa 'tall', seems like an odd choice for a girl from a lexical point of view. The name, as has been seen above, is attested for Etrilia L. f. Longa from Praeneste (*CIL* I^2 155 = *Cippi* 53,3), one of the earliest cases of a female cognomen on record (see 3.1 above). It might be worth noting that some of the Praenesten Etrilii are known to have borne the cognomen *Raucus,* 'hoarse'—but this name, due to its pejorative nature, would have been unsuitable for a woman and therefore another name was chosen (for the Etrilii of Praeneste, see 1.1.2). Why exactly this choice came to be *Longa,* is difficult to establish, but the name perhaps had an aristocratic ring to it (or perhaps the girl was exceptionally tall).

Suffixed forms (*Paullina, Pollitta, Rufilla*) are also problematic, as has been noted above. How much of the original meaning could they theoretically convey and to what extent were such forms considered 'simply names'? The

[456] This is pointed out by Kajanto 1972, p. 29f.
[457] Kajanto 1972, p. 30; Schulze 1966 [1904], p. 462 n. 4.
[458] Leumann 1977, p. 72.
[459] The inscriptions are *SEG* 43, 457 = *AE* 1995, 1389 and *SEG* 43, 458 = *RICIS* I, 113/532 = *AE* 1993, 1392. For more detailed information, see Appendix 3a, *s.v.* 'Posilla'.
[460] Kajanto (1965, p. 229) documents 197 women called *Rufa* and 403 called *Rufina.*

answer to this must have, of course, varied, just like it did in terms of non-suffixed forms, which could be inherited as such, losing thus (in most cases) the possible connection to their original meaning.

Cerula, attested in *InscrIt* X.4, 363 (Tergeste) is problematic. According to Kajanto's interpretation, the name can be read as *C(a)erula*, 'dark blue', 'dark green', and most likely relating to the name-bearer's eye-colour.[461] This is a possible solution. The noun *cerula*, meaning a piece of wax, can certainly not be taken as a serious candidate for a personal name. It could of course be that the name was in fact of non-Latin origin. This is suggested by H. Solin, who proposes that we could be dealing with a feminine form of the Greek *Cerylus*.[462] This is not impossible, though it seems somewhat improbable that a freeborn woman from Tergeste would bear a Greek cognomen. A third, perhaps less likely, solution could be that the name was derived from the goddess *Ceres* through haplology (*Ceres* > **Cererula* > *Cerula*).

Flacca, 'flap-eared', is the only name that can be considered pejorative in terms of its lexical meaning. However, since *Flaccus* clearly had a certain noble ring to it, I would argue that the name was perhaps chosen with this in mind, without any special attention given to its original meaning.[463] However, the habit of taking over cognomina from famous people will have been more limited for women than it was for men, since notable female precedents were scarcely available—while on the other hand a man could easily take into use a cognomen such as *Africanus, Capito, Cicero, Frugi*, and so forth, in imitation of the famous generals and statesmen of the Republic (see 4.6.2).

The fourth category consists of names that, at least in theory, indicate geographical or ethnic background. These include *Albana, Apula, Galla* (9), and *Sabina* (5). It should, however, be noted that many of these names were likely chosen not because of their meaning but because they were also considered 'fine' names with an aristocratic ring to them. This is particularly the case with *Galla* and *Sabina*, the masculine forms of which are widely attested for the early imperial aristocracy.[464]

The fifth category is perhaps the most debatable. In theory, it includes all names whose etymology is obscure or which do not have an obvious connection between whatever lexical meaning they might have and their object of

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461 Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 227.

462 Solin 2012,

463 The name was used by certain republican families as their hereditary cognomen (e.g. Fulvii, Valerii), but it was not probably because of any particular family that the name was chosen, but clearly *Flaccus*, like *Sabinus* and *Gallus*, had a certain upper-class ring to it more generally speaking.

464 A list of early imperial consuls with these names, many with a municipal backround, will suffice to give a general picture of the popularity of them among the aristocracy: for *Sabinus*, cf. the consuls of 39 and 4 BCE, 9 CE (Poppaeus Sabinus who was in no way related to the Sabines), 26, 44 (the brother of the emperor Vespasian), 58, 69, 84 (two consuls), 91, etc. For *Gallus*, the consuls of 37, 8, and 2 BCE, 18, 35, 39 48, 49, 62, 67, 74, 79 CE, etc. For further reference, consult *PIR*^{2}. Cf. also Salomies 2008, p. 84.

reference, that is to say the name-bearer. To put it simply, this category entails all the names that were surely or most likely simply regarded as names without any lexical associations. These names include, amongst others, cognomina originating from praenomina (*Marcella*) and from gentilicia (*Magul(l)a*), as well as personal names of Italic extraction, which had consolidated themselves in the Latin onomastic repertoire (*Bassa, Salvia*). I would also be inclined to include *Cornuta* 'horned' in this category, since it seems difficult to see how it could have been chosen for its literal meaning. Instead, it seems more likely that it was chosen simply because it had an upper-class ring to it.[465] The name was by no means popular. The case documented in the present survey (*CIL* X 2832) is the only known case from outside the senatorial *ordo.*[466] The same, in my view, may largely apply to *Flacca* (see above). Also gentilicia used as cognomina may be included in this category (four such cases were found in the survey, the earliest cases dating possibly from the late republican period).[467]

The sixth and the last category, consisting of clearly non-Latin names, is of lesser interest from the point of view of this study. It will suffice to briefly summarize that most of these names are Greek, but also names of Etruscan, Celtic, Venetic, and Illyrian extraction are attested.[468] Many of these cases are found in remote areas and we seem to be mostly dealing with women of recent Roman status (with perhaps the exception of old Etruscan names such as *T(h)annia*). The using of a Greek name, on the other hand, might also suggest that the person, despite herself being freeborn, was the daughter of a freedman, or perhaps in the context of the Magna Graecia, that they were Romanized Greeks. One also needs to take into account that in some cases the filiation may have been misread (e.g. *[L]ucilia C. f. Pira* in *CIL* XIV 2259 should perhaps be read *[L]ucilia Glapira*; see Appendix 3c).

The cognomen *Medula* is somewhat problematic in terms of categorization. It is attested for Clodia L. f. Medula Prima in Aquileia in the late first century BCE (*Pais* 1180 = *IAquil* III 3407). The name can hardly be connected to the ancient town of Medullia in Latium (from which the cognomen of the republican Furii Medullini derived; cf. Livia Medullina in 4.6.1). One option could be that the name was *Medul(l)a,* thus corresponding to the Latin word meaning 'marrow'. Why such a name would have been chosen is diffi-

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[465] The cognomen *Cornutus* is already recorded for some early imperial Sulpicii Camerini, e.g. the consuls of 500, 490, 461, 451, 402, and 398 BCE.

[466] For more details, see Appendix 3a *s.v.* 'Cornuta'. The name is also attested for two senatorial women of the imperial period, cf. Appendix 2a.

[467] [---]a T. f. Masura (*CIL* XI 4195); Alfia C. f. Mimisia, an equestrian *matrona* from the late republican/Augustan period (*CIL* XI 5278 = *ILS* 6624); Epidia P. f. Neria (CIL IX 1927 = I^2 1739 = *ILS* 8073); Sentia C. f. Suetia (*CIL* IX 5283). For more thorough discussion and information regarding these cases, see Appendix 3c.

[468] Greek: *Agele, Celido,Chila, Dada* (Δάδας), *Helpis,* perhaps also *Pira* (or rather *[Gla]pira*); Etruscan: *T(h)annia*; Venetic: *Frema*; Illyrian: *Voltiomna.* For more detailed discussion with references, see. Appendix 3c.

cult to explain. The name is not attested for any other woman, but there is one example of *Medulla* as a male cognomen, viz. a senator from the time of Nerva.[469] It is furthermore interesting that the woman from Aquileia had an additional cognomen, *Prima*, perhaps used as a diacritic to distinguish her from a sister or a daughter.

The present survey proves that already in the early stages there was a relatively large variety of different cognomina. However, only a few names were truly popular and dominate the statistics, particularly *Maxima, Polla*, *Rufa*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia,* which together make up over half of all the cases (and there were some other relatively popular names as well, such as *Posilla* and *Quinta*; for the numbers, see 3.2.2 below).

In general, it is safe to say that the large majority of the names fall under what Kajanto labelled as descriptive names—which, according to him, were not genuine names in the same sense as most of men's cognomina.[470] It is true that, especially in the early period, many names of the type *Secunda, Tertia,* were used as simple diacritics, indicating birth order and so on. However, in some cases they were not—and even if they were, they ought to be viewed as cognomina. Kajanto's idea seems to reflect a sentiment similar to that of Sir Alan Gardiner, according to whom "(...) the purest of proper names are wholly arbitrary and totally without significance".[471] This, in my view, is not quite true. Firstly, names, even those without a clear lexical meaning, require some sort of 'significance'.[472] Secondly, even when names do correspond to the words of the lexicon, they can nonetheless perfectly fulfil their function as proper names. In general, it is perhaps best to avoid judging names by any purity standards.

From a formal point of view the clear majority of the cases, unsurprisingly, are of the 'simple' type. In other words, the use of different suffixes was still limited in this period, though some forms in *-ulla, -illa,* and *-ina* are already attested, especially towards the Augustan and Tiberian periods (*Tertulla, Magul(l)a, Barchilla, Bassilla, Quartilla, Rufilla, Paullina*)—but of these only *Tertulla* (6), *Rufilla* (2), and *Quartilla* (2) are attested more than once. It is also debatable if a name such as *Marcella* ought to be considered a real suffixed form in the first place, since *Marcellus* had already been used by the Roman aristocracy for long and it was in most cases simply taken over as such (see 2.4.9).

[469] T. Mustius Hostilius Fabricius Medulla Augurinus (*PIR*^{2} M 759).
[470] Kajanto 1973, p. 404.
[471] Gardiner 1954 [1940], p. 19 n. 1.
[472] This has been convincingly argued by W. Nicolaisen (1995, p. 388), amongst others. He also points out that while words must have meaning, names cannot do without content, which sometimes leads to the fact that the lexical meaning, if transparent, or etymology, if ascertainable, may contradict the content of a name.

3.2.2 Distribution

Some words ought to be said about the distribution of the early cognomina. The following table will give a general picture of the overall geographical distribution of the material, which consists of 238 cases:

Table 8: Geographical distribution of women's early cognomina

	Cases	Names
Rome	33	21
Central Italy[473]	72	34
Southern Italy[474]	58	27
Northern Italy[475]	70	25
Outside Italy[476]	4	3

The total amount of different names in the material is around 67 (many of the names are attested in several regions).[477] Of these 67 names, 26 are attested more than once and 17 more than three times. Popular names with five or more attestations amount to 11 and are the following (in order of frequency): 1. *Secunda* (27), 2. *Paulla/Polla* (25), 3. *Rufa* (24), 4. *Tertia* (20), 5. *Maxima* (17), 6. *Quarta* (11), 7. *Posilla* (10), 8. *Galla* (9), 9. *Quinta* (8), 10. *Tertulla* (6), 11. *Sabina* (5).

These figures, however, do not reflect the onomastic situation all over Italy. There are some significant differences between different regions, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 9: Distribution of of early female cognomina with five or more attestations

	Northern Italy	Central Italy[478]	Southern Italy
1. Secunda	19	8	0
2. Paulla/Polla[479]	4	11	8
3. Rufa	2	7	14
4. Tertia	9	9-10	3
5. Maxima	7	5	5

473 Including Latium, Etruria, Umbria and Picenum.
474 Including Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, Lucanum, Campania and Samnium.
475 Including Aemilia, Liguria, Transpadana, Venetia and Histria.
476 Namely Africa (2 cases), Hispania and Macedonia.
477 The number of different names depends on how they are calculated. For instance, should *Paulla* and *Polla* be counted as separate names or simply phonetic/orthographic variants of the same name (like in the case of *Claudius/Clodius*)? In the calculation above, they are treated as different versions of one name. Furthermore, there are at least two fragmentary cases, of which we cannot be entirely sure.
478 Including in this case the city of Rome.
479 *Polla* was by far the more popular variant (19 cases) in comparison to the more conservative *Paulla* (6 cases). In addition to Italy, *Polla* is attested during this period in Africa and Baetica.

6. Posilla[480]	3	7	0
7. Quarta	2	8	1
8. Galla	3	4	2
9. Quinta	5	1	2
10. Tertulla	1	3	2
11. Sabina	0	3	2

Secunda, for instance, which has the most attestations, is predominantly found in Northern Italy, with 19 cases, and also occasionally in Central Italy, with 8 cases (4 of which in Umbria), but not once in the south. *Rufa,* on the other hand, which appears among the top three cognomina, is conspicuously absent in Northern Italy: only one case is known from the region. The opposite is true for Southern Italy, where the cognomen is attested 14 times. *Rufa* is also fairly well attested in the central parts of the peninsula, with 7 attestations—being, however, absent in the city of Rome (though this might be due to accident of survival). This is in fact interesting, given the popularity of *Rufus* in Northern Italy in general.[481] In later times, *Rufa* seems to be attested in the region at least 23 times (in *CIL* V, that is).

Generally speaking numeral names seem to have been popular in the north—which is not at all surprising, given the fact that such names had been used there for long as praenomina, not only in women's but also in men's nomenclature.[482] *Secunda* is in a league of its own, but also *Tertia,* for instance, is attested 9 times in the north (out of 20), and *Quinta* five times (out of 8). *Quarta,* however, is attested only twice in the north and is primarily found in Central Italy (mostly in Rome and Etruria, both with 3 cases).

There is some geographical discrepancy in other names as well. *Posilla,* for instance, is not found in the southern material, but it is attested in all of the central and northern parts of Italy, including the city of Rome. *Paulla/Polla* and *Maxima,* on the other hand, seem to more evenly distributed around Italy, although the former has a significant concentration in Campania (with 6 cases). Note also that, all in all, the monophthong variant *Polla* was by far the more popular form (19 cases) than the more conservative *Paulla* (6 cases). *Tertia* is also fairly evenly distributed, with attestations ranging from the north to the south, but it was perhaps particularly typical in the north.

There are, however, also some more elaborate differences within the regions that ought to be taken into consideration. The following table will give a more detailed picture of what names are found in each region:

[480] Also one case outside Italy, in Macedonia.
[481] A quick search in the *EDCS* yields some 130 cases of *Rufus,* attested in *CIL* V.
[482] Salomies 1987, p. 111ff.

Table 10: Distribution of women's early cognomina in Italy

Region	**Names**
Rome	Amoena, Auctilla, Dada, Decma, Fausta, Galla (2?), Magna, Maior, Maxima/Maxsuma (2), Paulla, Polla, Posilla (3), Postuma, Prima (2), Primigenia, Puella, Quarta (3), Sabina, Secunda (2), Tertia (5), Tertulla
Latium	Hilara, Longa, Maior, Maxuma, Minor, Pira?, Paulla, Pol(l)a (3), Posilla, Quarta, Rufa (3), Sabina, Saturnina, Secunda, Tertia (2), Tertulla
Campania	Agele, Barchilla, Cornuta, Galla, Libera, Maior, Maxima (4), Paula, Polla (5), Prima, Rufa (4), Sabina, Tertulla
Apulia et Calabria	Chila, Helpis, Ianuaria, Maxuma, Polla (2), Quartilla, Recepta, Rufa (3), Tertia (2), Tertulla
Bruttium et Lucania	Bassa, Firma, Galla, Quinta (2), Rufa (2), Tertia
Samnium	Magul(l)a, Neria, Quarta, Rufa (5), Sabi[na], Scina, Vera
Picenum	Flacca, Paulla, Suetia, Tertia, Tert[---]
Umbria	Apula, Fausta, Galla (2), Gava, Masura, Max(s)ima (2), Mimisia, Minor, Paullina, Polla (2), Posilla, Procula, Quarta, Quartilla, Rufa (3), Sabina, Salvia (2), Saturnin(a), Secunda (4)
Etruria	Albana, Bassa, Celido, Firma, Paula, Polla, Pollitta, Posilla, Quarta (3), Quinta, Rufa, Rufilla, Secunda, Te[rtia?], Tertulla, Thannia
Aemilia	[Bas?]silla, Polla (2), Posilla, Tertia, Tertulla, Verecunda
Liguria	Posilla, Quinta, Secund(a)
Venetia et Histria	Cerula, Fausta, Firma, Frema, Galla (3), Marcella, Maxima (7), Medula, Paulla, Posilla, Prisca, Procula, Quarta (2), Quinta (4), Rufa (2), Secunda (17), Tannia, Tertia (7), Voltiomna
Transpadana	Maca, Pol(l)a, Prisca, Secunda, Tertia
Outside Italy	Polla (2), Rufa, Rufilla, Posilla

We can see for instance that the distribution of *Secunda* is uneven even in the north: almost all, viz. 17, of the attestations come from the eastern parts of Cisalpine Gaul, from Venetria and Histria to be more precise, while the name is only sporadically found elsewhere. This, in fact, is not surprising since numeral names had been popular in the region already as praenomina and individual names. However, in terms of men's nomenclature, this seems to have been the case particularly in the western parts of Gallia Cisalpina, while evidence cornerning women's numeral praenomina is much better attested precisely in Venetia and Histria.[483] This is also true for the early cognomina of the region, most of which are found in Venetia and Histria (53

[483] For men's numeral praenomina in the region, see Salomies 1987, p. 115ff. For women's numeral praenomina, see Kajava 1994, p. 90ff.

cases out of 69). As for *Secunda*, it ought to be noted that, from a sociological point of view, the name did not have a particularly elevated status. While it is frequently attested for women of the lower classes, it is only rarely attested for senatorial women (cf. 2.2 above).

There are in general some significant differences, when compared to the cognomina used by men. For example, while *Secundus* was undeniably one of the popular male cognomina, numeral names only form about 4% of all the male cognomina in the early period.[484] O. Salomies has compiled a list of first-generation (male) cognomen-bearers.[485] The list, consisting of 122 different names attested for 247 individuals, shows that the variety of men's cognomina was already larger at this point than that of women.

The popularity of *Secundus/a* may have to do partly with the fact that in families with more than one child, it was probably considered a natural choice for the second-born, whereas the first-born was more likely to either receive a name of more original flavour or not receive a cognomen at all.[486]

In terms of social distribution the material is rather heterogeneous. Putting aside those cases, in which we do not have any significant clues of the person's background, the following summarization can be made: many of the cases clearly represent well-off families, who had some influence and prestige on the local and municipal level—though this may also have to do with the fact that prominent people are more likely to be recorded in inscriptions than people with fewer economic and social resources. Many other cases, however, seem to represent descendants of freedmen, in whose families the use of a cognomen could be expected for other reasons—though naturally descendants of *liberti* also could and often did rise to local prominence. With the exception of the latter group and those families who had hereditary cognomina, it is likely that in many of the cases we are dealing with first-generation cognomen-bearers, and sometimes, when the parents are also attested, this becomes explicit—but in many families, in which the father did not yet have a cognomen, the mother may have had one (see 3.1 above).

3.3 Senatorial women's early use of cognomina

The practice of using hereditary cognomina was a well-established tradition among the Roman aristocracy of the republican period (see 1.1.2). The inheritance of such cognomina did not, however, automatically apply to women. It seems, however, that if and when a woman of a noble house in this period was to receive a cognomen, the choice of the name often followed the

[484] Salomies 2009, p. 524; cf. also Salomies 2008.
[485] Cf. Salomies 2008.
[486] Salomies 2009, p. 525 illustrates this well with some examples of families with more than one son, in which the second one carries the name *Secundus*. See also the discussion regarding numeral cognomina in 2.3.1.3 above.

(male) family practice, assuming that there was a hereditary cognomen. In practice this meant that the daughter's cognomen would either be identical to the hereditary cognomen of the family or derived from it with a suffix. The earliest cases of senatorial women's cognomina were precisely of this type (see below).

One important question is, how the cognomen was chosen in families that did not have a similar tradition of hereditary cognomina or whose hereditary cognomen was for one reason or another unsuitable for women (I will return to these reasons later).

In such cases—that is, if the family wanted to bestow a cognomen on their daughter(s) in the first place—the name, quite obviously, had to be taken from somewhere else. It follows that among the late republican and early imperial nobility there were two different types of cognomina: on the one hand cognomina that were identical to or derived from the hereditary family cognomen, and on the other hand cognomina that clearly had a more individualizing function—though a female form of the hereditary cognomen could naturally also function as an individualizing name, assuming that other daughters in the same family did not bear the same name.[487]

As for the sources, epigraphic evidence concerning upper-class women of the republican period is rather scarce. Many of the cases come from the Greek East, where the tradition of honouring important persons in public had been long established before such practice was even heard of in the Latin West.[488] The daughters, wives, and mothers of Roman officials were no exception.[489] This also means that there is a difference in the type of inscriptions between the East and the West. While the evidence from the East consists of honorific inscriptions, often carved in statue pedestals, the Latin cases from the West are either funerary inscriptions or "second-hand" cases (e.g. inscriptions of freedmen, whose *patronae* are attested through their nomenclature).

Since the onomastic practices of the old nobility, with a long tradition of using hereditary cognomina, differed in some significant ways from those of less distinguished families, who had only recently risen in rank and who may not have used cognomina before, I will discuss these two groups separately.

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[487] This distinction is already noted by Schulze (1966 [1904], p. 323): "(...) dass Individualcognomina und Familiencognomina ihrem Werthe nach ganz verschiedene Dinge sind und deshalb auch aus ganz verschiedenen Wurzeln entstanden sein mögen."

[488] For some generalities concerning honorific inscriptions, see e.g. Beltrán Lloris 2014. For honorific inscriptions set up for senators in the Greek East, see Tanner 2000; Salomies 2001.

[489] In this period Roman women were hardly honoured for their own actions, but instead for those of their fathers and husbands, and in some cases their sons. M Kajava has conveniently collected the evidence concerning Roman upper-class women who were honoured in the Greek East during the late republican and Augustan periods. His catalogue includes 37 women, nine of whom are attested with a cognomen (cf. Kajava 1990, particularly pp. 110-118).

3.3.1 The old nobility

I will now discuss the use of female cognomina among the *nobiles* during the Republic and the early Augustan period.[490] The cases are presented in a rough chronological order, starting from the earliest. The evidence consists of both literary and epigraphic sources.

Caecilii: *Metella*

According to Cicero the daughters of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (*cos.* 143 BCE) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Calvus (*cos.* 142 BCE) bore the cognomen *Metella.* He refers to them collectively as *Metellae*, whose offspring were *Luculli, Servilii, Scipiones, Metellarum filii*, "Luculli, Servilii, and Scipiones, sons of Metellae" (Cic. *p.red. in sen.* 37).[491] If Cicero's testimony is to be believed, some daughters of the senatorial Caecilii bore the cognomen *Metella* already around the mid-second century BCE. It could of course be that Cicero used the collective name *Metellae* in a more general sense ("daughters of Metelli") rather than as an actual cognomen—but from not much later we also have epigraphic evidence of some Metellae.

The earliest is Caecilia Metella, wife of the dictator Sulla and daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus (*cos.* 119 BCE). She was honoured by the people of Oropos as 'Metella Caecilia, wife of Lucius Sulla' (*IG* VII 372 = *I.Oropos* 443).[492] Plutarch also mentions the same Metella in three passages, once as 'Caecilia, daughter of Metellus' (Plut. *Sul.* 6,10), and twice by her cognomen (Plut. *Pom.* 9,2; *Cat. Mi.* 3,1).

There is also another another epigraphically attested Caecilia Metella—in fact, one of the most instructive examples from the Latin West. The inscription (*CIL* VI 1274 = *ILS* 881), situated on the side of her enormous funerary monument on the Via Appia, records her full nomenclature as *Caecilia Q. Cretici f. Metella Crassi (uxor).* There has been a good amount of scholarly debate about the date of the monument and Metella's exact identity. The

[490] Families of the old republican nobility are conveniently listed by Mommsen 1864, p. 112ff. Another useful work that I have consulted is Münzer 1920.

[491] There were in total four daughters: Macedonicus had three and his brother Calvus one. One of the three daughters of Macedonicus was the wife of C. Servilius Vatia and mother of P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (*cos.* 79 BCE). Her existence and family relations come also clear from another Ciceronian passage (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 3, 211), although she is not mentioned in it by name. The second daughter of Macedonicus was married to P. Scipio Nasica (*cos.* 111 BCE). The fact that Macedonicus had a third daughter is, again, revealed by Cicero (*fin.* 5, 82): *Q. Metellus, qui tris filios consules vidit […] quartum autem praetorem, eosque salvos reliquit et tris filias nuptas* (whence the citation of Val. Max. 7, 1, 1). Finally, the daughter of Metellus Calvus can be identified as the mother of L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.* 74 BCE). Plutarch refers to her as Κεκιλία, i.e. by her nomen only (Plut. *Luc.* 1,1), which, of course, should not be taken as a proof that she was not called *Metella* as well. She is also the sister of Metellus, to whom Cicero refers as the wife of L. Lucullus but gives her no name (Cic. *Verr.* 4, 147).

[492] The fact that her nomen and cognomen are in reverse order should not cause any alarm, since this seems to happen quite often in Greek inscriptions.

chronological frame suggested by various scholars ranges from 62 BCE to 14 CE,[493] but I am willing to accept the date suggested by H. Gerding, who has convincingly argued that the tomb was built between 30 and 20 BCE.[494] In doing so, it is necessary to identify—in accordance with the general consensus—Metella's husband as M. Licinius Crassus, the eldest son of the triumvir, and her father as Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, the conqueror of Crete, who celebrated his triumph in 62 BCE.[495] Based on all this, Metella's birth may plausibly be dated to the 80's BCE. All in all, the monument provides a rare and remarkable testimony of how a noble woman of the late Republic could be called by her full nomenclature. It might also be worth noting that our Metella is known from the funerary inscription of one of her freedmen, in which her cognomen, however, is omitted.[496]

Aurelii: *Orestilla*

The Tiberian author Valerius Maximus reports to us an early case of an Aurelia bearing a cognomen. In a brief account he mentions M. Plautius (i.e. M. Plautius Hypsaeus, who served as *praetor* before 100 BCE) and his wife Orestilla (Val. Max. 4, 6, 3). *Orestilla* was a female derivative of *Orestes,* the hereditary cognomen of one branch of the Aurelii, to whom Orestilla belonged (her father was L. Aurelius Orestes, *cos.* 126 BCE).[497]

Furthermore, there are literary testimonies of another Aurelia Orestilla, who lived some decades later than the wife of M. Plautius. She was the wife of L. Sergius Catilina (the conspirator), who is mentioned by her full name by Sallust (*Cat.* 15, 2) and by her cognomen by Cicero (*fam.* 8, 7, 2). There is no reason to doubt the onomastic reliability of these two accounts. It ought to be noted as well that these two Orestillae are the earliest known instances of a female cognomen coined with the diminutive suffix *-illa* (or any other suffix for that matter)—though it is also clear that a non-suffixed form of *Orestes* was not an option for a woman.

Aemilii: *Lepida*

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493 A comprehensive table is provided by Gerding 2002, p. 45.

494 His argument is based, inter alia, on a large set of technical and prosopographical evidence. For his conclusions, Gerding 2002, p. 71f.

495 Some of his descendants bore the triumphal cognomen as well, but it seems likely that Metella's father was indeed the conqueror of Crete. For a detailed discussion, see Gerding 2002, p. 68ff.

496 *CIL* VI 37380: *Q(uintus) Caecilius Caeciliae Crassi l(ibertus) Hilarus medicus*.

497 The Aurelii had other prominent branches as well, such as the Cottae, but their daughters are not known to have had cognomina, even during the Empire (perhaps because a feminine form of *Cotta* would have been awkard to form). For example the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messallinus (*cos.* 20 CE) had a daughter who seems to have been simply called *Aurelia* (*PFOS* 31). A Vestal virgin, she was publicly honoured at Athens (*IG* II/III^2 3534)

Plutarch (*Cat. mi.* 7, 1) tells us that the younger Cato had sought to marry a woman called Lepida—who, however, became the wife of Q. Metellus Scipio (*cos.* 52 BCE) instead. She seems to have been the daughter of Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (*cos.* 77 BCE) and thus belonged to the old patrician branch of the Aemilii who used *Lepidus* as their hereditary cognomen.

Lepida, 'sweet' 'charming' 'elegant', was a suitable cognomen for an upper-class woman, not least in terms of meaning. The same cannot be said of the hereditary cognomen of another contemporary branch of the Aemilii, namely the Scauri. *Scaurus* was a pejorative name, referring to a physical defect of the feet, which perhaps explains why no daughter of this family is attested with the cognomen.[498] The name *Lepida*, instead, appears later during the early Empire almost systematically on all known daughters of the Lepidi.[499] It was also transmitted to other *gentes* through marriages.[500]

Marcii: *Censorina*

A fragmentary inscription from Patrae records the local *demos* honouring 'Censorina, daughter of Censorinus and wife of Atratinus' (*SEG* 30, 433).[501] There should be no doubt that she was a Marcia, belonging to the family of the Marcii Censorini. Her husband in turn has been identified as L. Sempronius Atratinus (*cos. suff.* 34 BCE), who served as a propraetorian legate in Achaea between 39 and 37 BCE and as a fleet commander of Marcus Antonius in the Aegean.[502] The inscription attests him as the patron of Pa-

[498] In fact only one daughter is known, viz. Aemilia M. f., daughter of the *princeps senatus* M. Aemilius Scaurus (*cos.* 115 BCE) and Caecilia Metella (who was married later to Sulla).

[499] Cf. *PFOS* 28-32. In addition to these cases there is one more Aemilia Lepida on record. The *patrona* of a freedwoman is styled as *Lepida Servili* in an inscription found in the *monumentum Marcellae* (thus datable to the early first century AD; the *columbarium* was dedicated in 10 CE; cf. Syme 1986, p. 147). Who her husband was, is not known. It is, however, likely that he was a close relative, perhaps son, of P. Servilius Isauricus, consul of 48 and 41 BCE (Syme 1986, p. 147). In any case, it is clear that the otherwise unattested Aemilia Lepida was in some way related to Marcella the Younger. It has therefore been suggested that, having divorced M. Valerius Appianus Barbatus (*cos.* 12 BCE), Marcella had married Paullus the Censor and, thus, become in close relations with the Aemilii Lepidi. For different hypotheses regarding Marcella's marriages and family relations, see Fusco & Gregori 1996.

[500] Cf. Domitia Lepida and Iunia Lepida (Ch. IV); also Calpurnia Lepida (*PFOS* 179) and Valeria Lepida (*PFOS* 771), though their connection to the patrician Aemilii, if there ever was one, is unclear.

[501] Note, however, that, from an onomastic point of view, it would be somewhat peculiar for a woman of this early period to be called in an inscription by her cognomen alone—or in such case, one would at least expect the gentilicium to be mentioned as part of the filiation. Therefore the reading offered by L. Moretti and reproduced in *SEG*, is not entirely satisfying, viz.: ἁ πόλι[ς] / [Κην]σωρεῖναν [Κηνσω]/[ρείν]ου θυγάτε[ρα Σεμπρω]/[νίου δ]ὲ Ἀτρατε[ίνου γυναῖκα] / [πάτ]ρωνος [καὶ εὐεργέτου] / θε[οῖς]. M. Kajava (1990, p. 85ff.) offers alternative solutions, including the gentilicium, which seem more apposite to me: 1) ἁ πόλι[ς] / [Μαρκίαν Κην]σωρεῖναν, [Μαρκίου Κηνσωρεί]/[ν]ου θυγάτε[ρα, γυναῖκα] / [δ]ε Ἀτρατε[ίνου], and 2) ἁ πόλι[ς Μαρκίαν] / [Κην]σωρεῖναν, [Μαρκίου Κηνσωρεί]/[ν]ου θυγάτε[ρα, γυναῖκα] / [δ]ε Ἀτρατε[ίνου].

[502] Kajava 1990, p. 86.

trae, which in the late thirties BCE served as the Antonian headquarters in the region.[503] Due to the Antonian connection, a possible identification for Censorina's father is L. Marcius Censorinus (*cos.* 39 BCE) who governed Achaea and Macedonia under Antony.[504] The cognomen goes back to the first bearer C. Marcius Rutilus Censorinus, 'Ex-Censor'—thus named after having twice served as censor in the late fourth century BCE. We have no information of other senatorial Marciae using a cognomen during the Republic.

Sempronii: *Atratina*

There is a closely related case from Athens. A dedication was set up on the Acropolis by 'Sempronia Atratina, daughter of L. Sempronius Atratinus and wife of Paul[lus --]' (*IG* II/III² 5179 = *SEG* 23, 130).[505] It seems that she was the daughter of L. Sempronius Atratinus (*cos. suff.* 34 BCE), whereupon it follows that her mother was the above-mentioned (Marcia) Censorina. The monument was set up either during her husband's proconsulate of Macedonia (35 BCE?) or while her father served there as *legatus pro praetore* (39-36 BCE).[506]

It has also been argued that she was not the daughter but the sister of the suffect consul of 34 BCE. This would also make her the sister of Sempronia L. f., who is known from *IG* II/III² 4230-31, in which case only one of the two sisters would have borne a cognomen. There are some similar examples from the Julio-Claudian period, e.g. the sisters Domitia (*PFOS* 319) and Domitia Lepida (*PFOS* 326, aunt of Nero). The idea should thus not be refuted, although it could be, as Kajava argues, that the two Semproniae belonged to two subsequent generations.[507]

Fabii: *Paullina* (also *Numantina, Eburna*)

Around the same period, viz. the 30's BCE, the people of Samos commemorated 'Paullina, daughter of Fabius Maximus and wife of Marcus Titius, son of Lucius' (*IG* IV 1716 = *SEG* 1, 383). She belonged to the old patrician house of the Fabii Maximi, her father being Q. Fabius Maximus, who died during his consular year, 45 BCE.[508] Her husband M. Titius L. f., in turn,

[503] Dio 50, 9, 3; cf. also Kajava 1990, p. 86.
[504] Suggested by Kajava 1990, p. 86. For L. Censorinus as proconsul, see *MRR* II, p. 362.
[505] The husband was with all probability Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, who was consul together with Atratinus in 34 BCE. For the erroneous identification and restoration of Atratina's name, cf. Kajava 1990, p. 73 n. 69.
[506] For the father's career, cf. *MRR* II, p. 615.
[507] Cf. Kajava 1990, p. 72f.
[508] Kajava 1990, p. 91.

governed the province of Asia around 34 BCE and later commanded the Antonian fleet in the Aegean.[509]

It is noteworthy that she was not called *Maxima*. In other words, she did not, unlike most other patrician women who had a cognomen in this period, bear a female form of the hereditary cognomen of the agnatic line, but a name of more personal nature. The same in fact also applies to other daughters of the Fabii Maximi, who are known from the early imperial period by such cognomina as *Numantina* and *Eburna*, but not by *Maxima* (see 4.6.1). This requires some explanation, given the fact that *Maxima* had already been in use as a female praenomen and, as has we have seen, it was one of the most widely used female cognomina in general.[510] In fact, this may have been, as M. Kajava suggests, one reason for why it was avoided in this patrician family: its use would have too much resembled the onomastic habits of the *plebs*.[511]

Why *Paullina* then? It is important to note that (Fabia) Paullina had two brothers who bore rather exceptional praenomina: Paullus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 11 BCE) and Africanus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 10 BCE). These praenomina, as O. Salomies points out, were chosen to underline the family's historical ties with two powerful families of the Republic: the Aemilii Paulli and the Cornelii Scipiones (for more details, see 4.6.1 below).[512] Paullina's cognomen, as duly observed by Kajava, was obviously chosen for a similar reason, namely to establish a connection to the Aemilii Paulli.[513] Furthermore, the suffixed form *Paullina* was probably deemed a more elegant solution than a non-suffixed *Paulla* (cf. the discussion in 2.2). We have seen above that 'simple' names of the type *Paulla/Polla* were popular among the lower classes, and while such names were also used by some senatorial women, this mostly applied to women coming from new and less distinguished senatorial families (see below in 3.3.2).

Livii: *Drusilla, Ocellina*

The most important branch of the Livii in the late republican period bore the cognomen *Drusus*. At least one woman of the family seems to have borne a cognomen in this period, namely Livia Drusilla, wife of Octavian/Augustus and daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (*pr.* 50 BCE).[514] As expected, she is known from numerous sources, both literary and epigraphic, mostly by

[509] He, however, eventually deserted Antony and joined forces with Octavian Caesar. For a prosopographical entry, see *RE s.v.* 'Titius' nr 18; cf. also Kajava 1990, p. 91.
[510] See e.g. Table 1 in Ch. II above; for the early attestations as a cognomen among the *plebs*, see Ch. 3.2. For *Maxima* as a praenomen (and also as cognomen), see Kajava 1994, p. 46ff.; 125ff.
[511] Kajava 1994, p. 126.
[512] Salomies 1987, p. 322f.
[513] Kajava 1994, p. 126.
[514] Her father was in fact a patrician Claudius Pulcher by birth but was adopted in early childhood by M. Livius Drusus (tribune in 91 BCE). Livia herself was born in 59/58 BCE.

her gentilicium alone (or later as Iulia Augusta), but the cognomen *Drusilla*—a diminutive form of the hereditary cognomen *Drusus*—is also attested for her, if only rarely.[515] It is in fact quite noteworthy that the cognomen is so rarely attested, given the enormous source material concerning her. There seems to be only one epigraphic attestation from the Latin West, viz. a second-hand inscription from Rome, marking the burial of *Leivia Drusillae l. Galatea* (*CIL* VI 13179)—unless we assume that the *patrona* was an earlier Livia.[516]

It is in fact generally believed that Livia more or less abandoned the use of her cognomen after her marriage to Octavian Caesar—hence the usual dating of the inscription *ante* 38 BCE.[517] But clearly she did not abandon the name completely. In fact, in the Greek East occasional honorific inscriptions attest the cognomen during the time when she was married to Augustus, which is clear from the following four cases:[518]

SEG 24, 212 = *Eleusis* 296 (Eleusis, 31-27 BCE): ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος / Λιβίαν Δρούσιλλαν / [Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος / γυναῖκα.

IG XII,6,1, 390 = *Samos* 274 (Samos, 31-27 BCE): [ὁ δῆμος Δ]ρούσιλ[λ]αν, γυναῖκα τοῦ / [αὐτοκράτο]ρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Καίσαρος (...)

IG XII,6,1, 391 = *Samos* 275 (Samos, 27 BCE - 14 CE): ὁ δῆμος / Δρούσιλλαν αὐ[τοκράτο]/ρος Καίσαρος [θεοῦ υἱοῦ] / Σεβαστοῦ γυ̣[ναῖκα (...)

IG XII,8, 381 = *IGR* I, 835 (Thasos, 19-12 BCE): (...) ὁ δῆμος Λειβίαν Δρούσιλλαν τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος γυναῖκαν (...)[519]

Furthermore, Marcus Antonius—according to the account of Suetonius—called her *Drusilla* in a scornful letter to Octavian Caesar (Suet. *Aug.* 69, 2): *Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis?* ("What about you then – do you only have sex with Drusilla?").[520] This seems to imply that the cognomen was still in use at least in the private sphere.

A less distinguished branch of the Livii bore the cognomen *Ocella.* There is one woman of the family who is relevant for the discussion at hand. From an account of Suetonius we know Livia Ocellina, who was married to C. Sulpicius Galba, father of the future emperor Galba (Suet. *Galba* 3, 4; 4, 1). As for

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[515] In literature the only accounts seem to be Plin. *nat.* 15,100; Suet. *Aug.* 62,2; *Tib.* 4,3; and Dio 48,15,3. For a comprehensive list of sources, consult *PIR*² L 301; for the Greek East in particular, see Hahn 1994, pp. 34-105.

[516] The name *Drusilla* is also possibly attested in some coins from Romula, Spain (Cohen I² nr. 169)—but for one reason or another these are not included in *RPC* I.

[517] Take, for instance, the editor of *CIL* VI 13179; L. Ollendorf in *RE* XIII.1, p. 900; Kienast 2017, p. 60; Hahn 1994, p. 34ff.

[518] Cf. also Hahn 1994 and my own comments in Nuorluoto 2019, p. 5 n. 26.

[519] The inscription also mention Iulia, the daughter of Augustus, as well as her and M. Agrippa's daughter Iulia.

[520] After which he lists several women with whom Octavian had allegedly had intercourse by the time he read the letter. Antony wrote the letter in defence of his own conduct with Cleopatra.

her cognomen, a non-suffixed female form of *Ocella* was naturally out of question, and we have already seen above that the primary strategy for coining a female cognomen from a masculine name with the ending *-a* was with the suffix *-ina* (2.4.3).

Quinctii: *Crispina*

The people of Thespiae commemorated 'Crispina, wife of M. Iunius Silanus' with a statue in the early Augustan period (*IG* VII 1851 = *IThesp* 400; the husband was the consul of 25 BCE). They also honoured Silanus's mother Sempronia (*IG* VII 1851), who clearly did not have a cognomen. Crispina's nomen is not explicit, but according to the general hypothesis she belonged to the patrician Quinctii, who used *Crispinus* as their hereditary cognomen.[521] This, as we have seen, would be in accordance with the general tendency of the period, namely families of the old nobility giving their daughters a female form of the family cognomen.

Claudii: *Marcella, Pulchra*

We know from multiple sources that the two daughters of C. Claudius Marcellus (from the noble plebeian branch of the Claudii) and Octavia bore the cognomen *Marcella*.[522] They were both born towards the end of the Republic, the elder sister in c. 43 BCE and the younger one in 39 BCE.[523] They seem to be the first Claudiae on record to bear a cognomen, but shortly after we have evidence of Claudia Pulchra (*PIR*^{2} C 1116), who was possibly the daughter of the younger Marcella and of M. Valerius Messalla Appianus, who was born a Claudius Pulcher (from the patrician branch of the *gens*).[524] Note that since the two Marcellae bore the same cognomen, we can hardly speak of an individualizing cognomen. Instead, the practice is more comparable to the republican elite practice of using hereditary cognomina.

Valerii: *Messalina*

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[521] Cf. T. Quinctius Capitolinus Crispinus (*cos.* 354, II 351 BCE); Q. Quinctius Crispinus (*cos.* 208 BCE); L. Quinctius Crispinus (*pr.* 186 BCE); T. Quinctius Crispinus (*q.* before 69 BCE).

[522] For the elder Marcella, see *PFOS* 243; the younger Marcella is for some reason not included in Raepsaet-Charlier's catalogue. For more details on them, see e.g. Syme 1986, 141ff.; also Fusco & Gregori, p. 1996, 229ff.

[523] Syme 1986, p. 143.

[524] She was *sobrina Agrippinae*, viz. the wife of Germanicus (Tac. *ann.* 4, 52; cf. also *ibid.* 4, 66; 4, 52). For the genealogy, see *PIR*^{2} C 1116. If Syme is correct, she will have been born before 12 BCE, the year of her father's death, but probably even earlier. Claudia's nomen suggests that she was born already before her father's adoption took place. Syme 1986, p. 149; cf. also Fusco & Gregori 1996, p. 230. Claudia Pulchra is also found in the *DPRR* (CLAU4331), although it seems to me that she cannot have been born before the reign of Augustus. There is also one earlier case of a female praenomen in the *gens*: Quinta Claudia, daughter of P. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 249 BCE). But besides the two Marcellae, we do not know of any senatorial Claudiae with a cognomen from the Republic.

It seems that the daughter of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*cos.* 31 BCE), who will have been born towards the end of the Republic, may have had the cognomen *Messalina,* as suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier (cf. *PFOS* 773). The entry in *PIR*² V 240 does not give any extant sources for her cognomen but restores the name as *(Valeria Messalina)*. However, it seems likely that she is the same Messalina who is known as the *domina* of two slaves from *CIL* VI 6300 = *ILS* 7434 and *CIL* VI 6335. These *tituli* were found at the monument of the Statilii in Rome, and the daughter of Corvinus was married to a Statilius Taurus.[525] Hence it is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with the same woman. Thus, her name ought to be restored as *(Valeria) Messalina* (as it is in *PFOS* 773). There are no other Valeriae with a cognomen on record from the republican period (but there is one Valeria Messalina from the early imperial period, i.e. the wife of the emperor Claudius).[526]

Plautii: *Hypsaea* (?)

In addition to the accounts above, there is a case of more uncertain nature. Horace, in one of his Satires, mentions a woman called *Hypsaea* (Hor. *sat.* 1, 2, 91). No gentilicium is attributed to her, except by Porphyrio (*ad. loc.*), who in his commentary calls her *Plotia Hypsaea* (cf. *PIR*² 523). A branch of senatorial Plautii in fact used the cognomen *Hypsaeus* during that time (cf. Aurelia Orestilla's husband M. Plautius Hypsaeus above), and it may well be that the Hypsaea mentioned by Horace belonged to that house.[527]

3.3.2 Other senatorial women

It is now time to take a look at the cognomina used by women of more recent senatorial families. We are naturally not dealing with a homogenenous group of people. Some had established close ties with the old aristocracy and went on to rise to great prominence, while others remain practically unknown to us, save for a sporadic glimpse. In the former group, moreover, cognomina had in some cases been used for several generations (in imitation of the nobility) before they found their way to women's nomenclature, whilst in some other cases the women under the discussion here seem to have represented the first generation of cognomen-bearers in their family.

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[525] Cf. the stemma in *PIR*² S, p. 322.

[526] The individualizing name of Polla Valeria, daughter of L. Valerius Flaccus (*pr.* 63 BCE), must be treated as a praenomen rather than a cognomen. Cf. Kajava 1994, p. 180. The name is presented as a cognomen in the *DPRR* (VALE4913), but this seems to be a consistent error in the database, since many other women's praenomina are also presented as if they were cognomina (compare e.g. Tertia Aemilia and Quinta Claudia, who appear in the database as Aemilia Tertia and Claudia Quinta).

[527] Licordari 1982, p. 47 seems to include her under the senatorial Plautii of Trebula Suffenas.

I start by presenting the late republican cases, in which the family had already taken in use a cognomen that could potentially be passed on to a daughter.

Perhaps one of the earliest is CAECILIA ATTICA, daughter of Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, who was born in 51 BCE. While Atticus himself was of equestrian rank, his daughter married M. Vipsanius Agrippa (probably in his first consular year, 37 BCE; cf. Nep. *Att.* 12, 1-2). We know from multiple passages in Cicero's letters that she was called Caecilia Attica: in the majority of the cases she is simply called by her cognomen (Cic. *Att. passim*), but also twice by her gentilicium (Cic. *Att.* 6, 2, 10; 6, 4, 3), and once by the diminutive form *Atticula* (Cic. *Att.* 6, 5, 4).[528] Her father had moved to Athens as a young man and subsequently assumed the individual cognomen *Atticus,* which obviously reflected his lengthy stay there, but presumably also his extensive Greek learning (Cic. *Cato* 1). The name was then passed on to his daughter.

Cicero also informs us that Atticus's friend Q. Gellius Canus had a daughter called Gellia Cana, but her exact status is unclear (though she may have married Cicero's nephew Quintus).[529] Furthermore, it may be noted here that M. Vipsanius Agrippa had a sister, who is attested by Pliny and Dio simply as *Polla* (Plin. *nat.* 3, 17; Dio 55, 8, 4). It is, however, unclear whether the name was her cognomen or praenomen—though the boundary between these names was rather fluid in this period. It could well be that the name was first indended to be prefixed to the nomen, but later, as the use of cognomina grew in popularity, it was used as a genuine cognomen.[530]

MUNATIA PLANCINA, in turn, is known to us as a contemporary and friend of Livia, the wife of Augustus. In literary sources she is usually called by her cognomen *Plancina,* and her full name is evident from the funerary inscription of a freedman, styled as *L. Munatius Plancinae l. Polyclitus* (*CIL* VI 22668).[531] From the afore-mentioned inscription we also learn that she was the daughter of a L. (Munatius), who must have also had the cognomen *Plancus*, since the name seems to have become hereditary in the family already some generations earlier.[532] *Plancus* was a pejorative name, 'flat-foot', and

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[528] The fact that her gentilicium was *Caecilia* and not *Pomponia* is due to the fact that she was born after her father had been adopted by his maternal uncle Q. Caecilius. In modern scholarship she is sometimes attributed the nomen *Pomponia* (cf. *PIR*^{2} P 769), despite the fact that it is never attested for her. There seems to be no reason to believe that she ever had the name.

[529] Cic. *Att.* 13, 41; cf. Shackleton Bailey 1995, p. 30; *RE s.v.* 'Gellius' nr. 15.

[530] For the latest prosopographical entry, see *PIR*^{2} V 684, in which her name is restored as *(Vipsania) Polla*.

[531] And her nomen is also attested by Dio 58, 22, 5. For a list of sources, cf. *PFOS* 562.

[532] Plancina's grandfather seems to have been L. Munatius Plancus (*cos.* 42 BCE), who was a *homo novus* from Tibur. *Plancus* is attested for several Munatii, some of whom also had a further cognomen (e.g. the tribune T. Munatius Plancus Bursa or Munatius Plancus Paulinus, *praeses Pannoniae*): consult Wiseman 1971 for references.

therefore the suffixed form *Plancina* was a more suitable choice for a woman than the simple *Planca* would have been.[533]

The existence of another woman, who probably belonged to the senatorial elite, can be deduced from the nomenclature of a freedman, recorded at Rome as *P. Antistius Reginae l. Eros* (*NSA* 1923, 374 = Gregori 2001 nr. 475). The *patrona,* obviously called ANTISTIA REGINA, is not known from elsewhere, but her name suggests that she belonged to the senatorial Antistii of the late Republic, who used the cognomen *Reginus*.[534] Orthographic and other details furthermore suggest that the monument possibly dates from the late first century BCE.[535]

But what could be done in families that did not use a cognomen or whose cognomen was unsuitable for women? An example is provided by the sisters LOLLIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 504) and LOLLIA SATURNINA (*PFOS* 506), granddaughters of the *homo novus* M. Lollius (*cos.* 21 BCE) and daughters of another M. Lollius (*PIR*² L 312). Saturnina's cognomen—which is attested through the nomenclature of a freedman and a slave (*CIL* VI 21473b; *AE* 1978, 148 = 1984, 229)—clearly came from the maternal side of the family: their mother, a Volusia, was the sister of L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos. suff.* 3 CE).[536] Saturnina's sister Paulina, being the second wife of Caligula, is well attested in literary and epigraphic sources, both by her full nomenclature and by either her nomen or cognomen.[537] The origin of her cognomen, however, is less clear than that of her sister. Given the fact that there were no previous cognomina in the family, it could well be that it was freely chosen, perhaps simply because it pleased the name-giver—though in an aristocratic context, in which naming was usually a more carefully calculated matter, this seems slightly dubious. As we have seen in the case of (Fabia) Paullina above, the suffixed form *Paullina* was perhaps considered more elegant than the non-suffixed *Paulla*.

Another, slightly later, example is provided by the sisters VERANIA GEMINA and VERANIA OCTAVILLA, daughters of Q. Veranius (*cos.* 49).[538] Their

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[533] The cognomen also appears later in the imperial period in the nomenclature of the polyonymous Cornelia Cethegilla Aemilia Plancina (*PFOS* 281).

[534] The first Antistius on record who used the cognomen *Reginus* is the tribune of 103 BCE and the last one C. Antistius Reginus, moneyer in 13 BCE; and there was also C. Antistius Reginus, Caesar's legate during the Gallic war. For a list of senatorial Antistii, see Salomies 1996, p. 56f.; for the *triumvir monetalis* more specifically, cf. Wiseman 1971, p. 150 n. 5; for Caesar's legate, cf. Caes. *Gall.* 6, 1, 1; 7, 83, 3; 7, 90, 6).

[535] E.g. the word *sibei,* the use of travertine as material, and also the letter forms point to this direction.

[536] It is sometimes assumed that she also had the cognomen *Saturnina* (cf. *PIR*² V 990), but if she did, it is nowhere on record.

[537] For reference, see *PIR*² L 328 & *PFOS* 504.

[538] For the sources regarding Q. Veranius, see *PIR*² V 389. The latest prosopographical entries concerning the two Veraniae: *PIR*² V 392 & 393.

names are recorded at Xanthus during their father's governorship of the region between 43 and 48 CE (*AE* 1981, 825a/825b), and Gemina is furthermore recorderd in her (and her husband's) funerary inscription by her full nomenclature (*CIL* VI 31723 = *ILS* 240):

> *Dis Manibus / [L(uci)] Calpurni Pisonis / Frugi Liciniani / XVvir(i) s(acris) f(aciundis) / et Véraniae / Q(uinti) Verani co(n)s(ulis) aug(uris) f(iliae) / Geminae / Pisónis Frugi.*

The cognomen of Octavilla derives from the *gens Octavia*—but how exactly, is unclear. A. Birley has suggested that Veranius was married to an Octavia, which is a plausible solution, but the name could also go back to an earlier generation.[539] In any case, it is a good example that cognomina could be derived from gentilicia in families that did not have suitable cognomina in store. As for Gemina, the name probably reflects the circumstances of her birth, viz. her being the twin-sister of Octavilla.

Furthermore, a second gentilicium could simply be used as such in place of a cognomen. Some early examples of this include AEDIA SERVILIA, daughter of M. Aedius (*pr.* before 17 BCE), and, somewhat later, PLAUTIA QUINCTILIA, daughter of A. Plautius (who was executed by Nero; see 2.5 above for references). In both cases it has been assumed that the names were taken from the maternal family, which would seem like a plausible option, but in lack of further evidence the matter remains unverified.

There are also many other examples of families, in which the men did not bear cognomina but the daughter(s) could nonetheless receive one. APPULEIA VARILLA, daughter of Sex. Appuleius (*cos.* 29 BCE) and Quinctilia, was honoured at Cyme around 23/22 BCE (*AE* 1966, 422). She is also mentioned by Tacitus as *sororis Augusti neptis* (Tac. *ann.* 2, 50). Varilla's father did not have a cognomen, nor did her brother Sex. Appuleius Sex. f. (*cos.* 14). Her cognomen instead was taken from the maternal, more distinguished, side of the family: her mother Quinctilia was the sister of P. Quinctilius Varus (*cos.* 13 BCE), *Varilla* thus being a female form of the hereditary cognomen of the patrician Quinctilii Vari.[540]

It is noteworthy that the cognomen appears in a diminutive form. *Varus* was a pejorative name ('knock-kneed') and a non-suffixed female form such as *Vara* would have been unsuitable for a woman (cf. the discussion in 2.3.1.1 and 2.4.1). The suffixed form *Varilla,* instead, was clearly more acceptable,

[539] Birley, *Fasti,* p. 54 has postulated that Veranius's wife was a daughter of C. Octavius Laenas (*cos.* 33); cf. also Birley 2005, p. 43 n. 101.
[540] For the family relations, see Syme 1986, p. 313ff. Cf. also Kajava 1990, p. 98f.

and the name was also transmitted to other families (cf. (Nonia) Varilla, *PFOS* 576).[541]

In one case we even have evidence that, whilst the men were without a cognomen, there had been cognomina in use among the women of the previous generations. An inscription from Rome, dating from the Augustan period, records COTTIA A. COTTI F. GALLA, whose father and brother both were simply called A. Cottius (*CIL* VI 1396 = 31644 = *ILS* 8343). Her mother in turn is simply styled as *Paculla* (unclear if a praenomen or a cognomen) and, importantly, her grandmother was called Memmia Galla, Cottia's cognomen thus deriving from her:

> *Cottia A(uli) Cotti f(ilia) Galla / testamento fieri iussit / A(ulo) Cottio patri proco(n)s(uli) / Hispaniae et Pacullae matri et / A(ulo) Cottio fratri quaestori aed(ili) / plebi(s) et Memmiae Gallae aviae / huic monumento tutelae nomine / cedunt agri puri iugera decem et / taberna quae proxim(a)e eum locum est.*

In some other cases the father did have a cognomen, but it was not suitable for a woman. One example of this comes from the family of the Nonii Asprenates. NONIA POLLA, the daughter of L. Nonius Asprenas (*cos. suff.* 36 BCE), was honoured at Pergamum as the mother of L. Volusius Saturninus at the beginning of the first century (*AltPergamon* VIII.2, 427).[542] A female form of *Asprenas* would have surely sounded awkward and therefore another name had to be chosen. *Polla* was clearly a socially acceptable choice in the family, which had only recently risen in rank (her father was the first consul of the *gens*).

Polla is also attested for other senatorial women of less distinguished background. The earliest case is found at Magnesia-on-Maeander perhaps already during the first half of the first century BCE (though the date is somewhat unclear): COELIA POLLA, daughter of an unattested Coelius, who served as legate in Asia, was honoured by the local *demos* with a statue (*IMagnesia* 148).[543]

There is also RUFRENA T. F. POLLA, attested at Rome in the Augustan period as the mother of L. Attius L. f. Vel. Rufus (*CIL* VI 25575). According

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[541] Furthermore, as M. Kajava (1987) has argued, even the 'simple' equivalent of *Varus* would probably not have been *Vara* but *Varia*, much in the same way as the standard female equivalents of *Marcus* and *Titus* were *Marcia* and *Titia* (and not *Marca* and *Tita*; see 2.4.7 above).

[542] According to Kajava (1994, p. 128), this happened during or shortly after her son's proconsulate in Asia—which probably took place in 11 or 12 CE (cf. *PIR*^{2} V 979). Nonia Polla must have been born before the 50's BCE. Her son, who died in 56 CE at the old age of 93, was already in his forties in his consular year in 3 CE. This means that Polla must have already been an elderly lady by the time of the dedication. Cf. Kajava 1990, p. 94; 1994, p. 129.

[543] Date according to Kajava 1994, p. 128. It has been suggested that the father may be identical with Q. Coelius Latiniensis, a *homo novus* known from Cic. *Manil.* 58. Cf. Syme 1979, p. 557f.; Wiseman 1971, p. 225 no 128; also Kajava 1994, p. 128.

to T. P. Wiseman, her father was probably a pottery-manufacturer from Arretium who became a senator under Caesar.[544]

In addition to these cases, there are some other instructive examples that illustrate the similarity between the onomastic repertoire of many upper-class women of municipal origin, on the one hand, and women of the *plebs*, on the other hand:

VARENA Q. F. MAIOR, wife of Sex. Lartidius, who was perhaps of senatorial rank,[545] is attested in *EE* IX 906 = *InscrIt* IV,1, 225 = *Suppl. Imag.* I, 944 and *CIL* XIV 3859 = *EE* IX 907 = *InscrIt* IV,1, 226 (Tibur).[546] She was probably born towards the end of the Republic.[547]

OFRANIA T. F. QUARTA and STATIA Q. F. QUINTA, two (subsequent) wives of C. Papirius C. f. Vel. Masso, *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) aed(ilis) pl(ebis) / q(uaesitor) iud(ex) cur(ator) fru(menti)* (*CIL* VI 1480 = *ILS* 907; *CIL* VI 1481). Both seem to have lived in the late republican/early imperial period.

VOLASENNIA C. F. TERTIA BALBI, attested as the wife of M. Nonius Balbus of Nuceria, benefactor of Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1435 = *ILS* 896b). She was of Etruscan origin, as was Balbus's mother who is attested in *CIL* X 1440 as Viciria A. f. Archais and who belonged to the Etruscan elite of Rusella (but was apparently of non-senatorial background).[548]

Finally, there is BESIA C. F. SABINA, whose funerary monument dates from the Augustan period and informs us that she died at the age of 15 (*CIL* VI 1489. Her status is unclear—she may not have even been senatorial—but if she was married to L. Pinarius Ruscus, who is mentioned in the inscription as *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) q(uaestor)*, then she at least was senatorial through marriage.[549] In any case, it is difficult to say anything about the origin of her cognomen, since her parents are unknown, but as has been seen above (3.2.2), *Sabina* was also a well-attested cognomen among the *plebs*.[550]

3.3.3 General observations

The practice of having hereditary cognomina in general never applied to Roman women. In contrast to the nomenclature of Roman men, it is thus impossible to make a strict distinction between the use of hereditary and non-hereditary names. However, one can hardly avoid noticing that the

544 Wiseman 1971, p. 61f.; 257 nr. 365.
545 Cf. *PIR*² V 264: *Maritus senator fuisse videtur*.
546 The cognomen is restored in the latter inscription.
547 Date according to Kajava 1994, p. 128.
548 Wiseman 1971, p. 62; cf. Camodeca 1982, p. 126.
549 T. P. Wiseman (1971, p. 61) seems be sure that they were married.
550 It may be worth noticing that there is a senatorial Besius ... Sabinus from Trajan's time; *PIR*² B 112; cf. also Thomasson, I p. 419.

early female cognomina of the old nobility largely corresponded to the hereditary cognomina used by the men of the family. These names were transmitted to women in identical and suffixed forms. The female forms can be divided formally in the following way:

i) Identical: *Metellus* > *Metella*; *Lepidus* > *Lepida*

ii) Derived with a suffix: *Drusus* > *Drus-illa*

iii) Derived from a masculine name with no separate feminine form: *Orestes* > *Orest-illa*; *Agrippa* > *Agripp-ina*; *Messalla* > *Messall-ina*

The first woman of the old nobility who seems to have had a cognomen that did not correspond to the hereditary name was (Fabia) Paullina, daughter of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 45 BCE). Her name, instead, was chosen to recall a historical connection to the Aemilii Paulli. In the imperial period it became more and more common for daughters to receive cognomina that differed from those used by their fathers, although the practice of using a paternal cognomen remained common throughout the Empire (though these names were normally not hereditary; see 4.3.1 below).

There is also a recognizable distinction between the women of the old nobility, on the one hand, and the daughters of *homines novi* and new senatorial families, on the other. Whilst the early cognomina of the old nobility were mostly similar to the hereditary cognomina and were associated with certain families, this was largely not the case with senatorial women of less distinguished families, who often resorted to a much more generic stock of cognomina (e.g. *Polla*, *Tertia*). Such names did not differ in any significant way from those of any common family. There are, however, differences. Whilst women of less distinguished background often had cognomina of this type, there were also some recently senatorial families that had assumed the use of cognomina and could pass these names on to their daughters. Furthermore, the daughters of some families, who either did not have cognomina or whose cognomina were unsuitable (e.g. from a formal point of view), could for instance have names that were derived from gentilicia (of the type *Octavilla*)—or use gentilicia as such (e.g. Aedia Servilia). The cognomen could also be taken over from other prestigious branches of the family (e.g. the maternal line), like in the case of Appuleia Varilla, whose mother belonged to the patrician Quinctilii Vari.

During this transitional period—that is to say, when the cognomen was yet to establish itself as a standard item in women's nomenclature—we also have evidence of families, in which one daughter (probably the first-born) was named in the "traditional" way, viz. without a cognomen, whilst the second daughter would receive a cognomen to distinguish her from her sister (e.g. Sempronia Atratina & Sempronia; and Domitia Lepida & Domitia).

As for the chronology, it seems that cognomina could be used by senatorial women already in the late second century BCE (according to Cicero), thus

occurring roughly in the same period as the earliest attestations of cognomina among the *plebs ingenua.* The first contemporary documents are not much later, from the early first century BCE. The habit of having a cognomen, however, remained somewhat unusual until the imperial time (see 4.1. below). The power of tradition was an important factor among the Roman elite and the conservative style of calling women by their nomen alone held its ground in some families throughout the Julio-Claudian period, particularly in families that had no tradition of using a hereditary cognomen or whose cognomina were unsuitable for women (the Calpurnii for instance). For a comparison, a quick search in the *DPRR* gives a total of 308 upper-class women who were born between 150 and 27 BCE.[551] Only some 35 had a cognomen, which makes c. 11% (among the freeborn *plebs,* the percentage is over 20%).[552] As has been noted above, the habit of not having a cognomen remained in fashion among upper-class women for somewhat longer than in the lower classes, in fact it was not uncommon until the middle of the first century.

The calculations made by P. Gallivan show that at the end of the Augustan period, about half of all known senatorial women were still without a cognomen, and by the middle of the first century, the number is c. 39.7%. Under the Flavians the proportion drops to 14%, and after that the phenomenon becomes practically non-existent (and even many of those in the 14% might have actually had a cognomen).[553] One needs to be cautious, however, with calculations such as these, since they fail to take into account the different source types and other contextual factors.[554] It is probable that many women who are recorded without a cognomen in fact had one, as will be seen in 4.1 below. Hence the percentage of women who did not have a cognomen by the mid-first century must have been considerably smaller.

The idea, however, that the upper classes sometimes preferred a more conservative style would not be surprising, since keeping track on what is fashionable and what is not is often the concern of the middle rather than the uppermost class (although in the Roman context one can hardly speak of a middle class in the modern sense of the word).[555]

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551 Although it should be noted that the dating of many cases in the *DPRR* is more or less shaky.

552 I would like to point out here that the database has not been the most helpful tool, since most of the names that have been classified as female cognomina are in fact praenomina. I have gone through all the cases individually and used my own judgement in order to arrive at the figures presented above.

553 Gallivan 1992, p. 59.

554 For instance, a woman is more likely to be recorded by her full nomenclature in her funerary inscription or an honorific inscription, while Roman authors and inscriptions of slaves/freedmen can be less informative in this respect.

555 For the term 'middle class' in the context of the Roman society and the problems concerning it, see Mayer 2012; Newby 2016, p. 20f.; cf. also Simelius 2018, p 15.

3.4 Summary of the chapter

The objective of this chapter has been to discuss the early stages of the cognomen in women's nomenclature (with focus on freeborn women). The following questions have been addressed: When does the cognomen start to emerge? How quickly does it become an established part of women's nomenclature and how does this compare to the similar process among Roman men? Moreover, what were these early cognomina like and how were they distributed?

The results, briefly put, can be summarised in the following manner. The earliest somehow datable epigraphic attestations of cognomina among the women of the *plebs ingenua* are carved on two funerary cippi from Praeneste, dating probably from the end of the second century BCE, and in any case *ante* 82 BCE (see 3.1). Among senatorial women, the earliest epigraphic attestations are from the early first century BCE, but there are literary testimonies referring to noble women who presumably had cognomina already around the mid-second century BCE (see 3.3.1).

The establishing of the cognomen among freeborn women was a gradual process. In the late second and early first century BCE, the use was largely sporadic, and throughout the Republic the cognomen remained an optional item. But in course of the early imperial time, the cognomen quickly became a standard item in women's nomenclature, and by the end of the Julio-Claudian time, the clear majority of Romans—men and women alike—had one.

There is also the question of whether or not women were more likely to receive a cognomen than men in the early period. Wilhelm Schulze, over a century ago, thought they were, but his arguments were later met with criticism. According to the evidence collected for this study, it seems that Schulze's idea might be valid after all (3.1). Early cases in which a woman has a cognomen but her husband/brother/son does not, are in clear majority in comparison to reverse cases. This is the case particularly in Northern Italy, but evidence exists from other parts of Italy as well. However, there is no evidence showing that women in general would have started to use cognomina at an earlier time than men. On the contrary, the earliest attestations among men and women seem to occur in approximately the same period, viz. in the late second century BCE. It simply seems that freeborn women were, particularly in Northern Italy, more likely to receive a cognomen than their male relatives—who already had an individualizing name in the form of the praenomen.

The majority of the early cognomina among the *plebs ingenua* were from a rather common stock (3.2.1) and often defined birth order or the woman's age relation to her other (female) siblings. Other typical cognomina of the early time were adjectival names, referring to either physical qualities, or to the geographical/ethnic origin of the name-bearer. Some nomina were also

used as cognomina already in this period. In some cases, women of municipal extraction bore local names of Italic or Etruscan origin but these are of little interest for the general development of the Roman onomastic system. There are also several cases of Greek cognomina, and it is to be assumed that in such cases we are mostly dealing with descendants of freedmen (or perhaps in some cases Greeks with Roman citizenship). Suffixed forms were rare in this period, which is only to be expected.

Senatorial women's early use of cognomina differed in some significant ways from that of the lower classes. This is, to be more precice, the case with women of the high aristocracy, viz. women belonging to old families, whose men had often been using hereditary cognomina for a long time. Literary and epigraphic evidence shows that in most such families women—if they were to receive a cognomen at all—would be given the family cognomen, either in a simple feminine form (e.g. *Metella, Lepida*) or in a suffixed form (e.g. *Orestilla, Drusilla*). Unfortunately we do not have much evidence of families with several daughters using a cognomen, but at least in some early cases it seems that the use was somewhat comparable to the elite male practice of having hereditary cognomina (Caeciliae Metellae, Aemiliae Lepidae, Claudiae Marcellae). In families with only one daughter this was naturally not a problem. In the early imperial period, however, we already have some examples of two sisters bearing different, in other words truly individualizing, cognomina.

In the beginning this was mostly the case with senatorial women of less distinguished background. In fact, cognomina borne by women of new senatorial families were often similar to those used by the lower classes, e.g. descriptive names of the type *Polla, Tertia, Maxima.* Such names were often employed in families that did not have any traditions of using cognomina. Some families, however, had different strategies, for instance taking cognomina over from other branches of the family, or deriving cognomina from nomina (or simply using nomina as cognomina). As time went on, the possibilities grew, and during the Empire cognomina could be chosen for numerous reasons, as will be seen in the next chapter.

4 The Use and Choice of the Female Cognomen during the Empire

4.1 Women without a cognomen in the imperial period

By the time of Claudius, the majority of Roman women already had a cognomen. It was, however, not unheard of until the mid-first century CE for a woman to not have one.[556] This was particularly the case in upper-class families, which had no traditions of using a cognomen or whose hereditary cognomina were otherwise not suitable for women. There are, moreover, some individual women who appear with only a nomen in our sources even in later periods.[557] It is therefore good to start the discussion of the use of cognomina by in fact discussing the *non*-use of cognomina in the imperial period.

There is both literary and epigraphic evidence. In the case of the former, it is likely that the author sometimes used an abbreviated nomenclature and omitted the cognomen, which the woman in question in reality had. Furthermore, as has been seen, nomina were also used as cognomina and therefore the nomen given by a Roman author may in fact have been the woman's cognomen (e.g. (Clodia) Fannia (*PFOS* 259) is always called simply *Fannia* by Pliny and others; see 2.5). Epigraphic sources can be considered more reliable in this respect, since they tend to record the nomenclature of the relevant person in a more complete form—but even in the case of inscriptions we cannot always rule out the possibility of an abbreviated nomenclature. This is particularly the case with certain types of inscriptions, such as those carved on *instrumenta*. In a funerary or honorific inscription, on the other hand, it would be strange if the relevant person were called by only a part of her nomenclature. Thus, one is puzzled to find out that Iulia Severina (*PFOS* 459), a woman of senatorial rank, seems to be recorded in a recently published bilingual dedication from Patara simply as *Iulia Tiberi f.*[558] This, however, may be a misinterpretation. The name is poorly preserved, but a

[556] This also applies to men. The last consuls who did not have a cognomen are attested as late as the time of the emperor Galba. Cf. Salomies 1987, p. 347f.
[557] For cases of men without a cognomen, see Salomies 1987, p. 347ff.
[558] The monument along with its inscription, which is now published by Bönisch-Meyer 2018, was dedicated to L. Luscius Ocra (*cos. suff.* 77?) and his family, including his wife Iulia Severina. Severina is known by her full name from *AE* 1929, 27 = *SEG* 6, 648.

careful reading of the third line (picture provided by Bönisch-Meyer 2018) allows one to propose the reading *Ṣeberi[n]ạe* instead of *Ṭiberi* vac. *f.*[559] This solution would be most pleasant from an onomastic point of view.

But there are many other women who seem to be attested without a cognomen in the imperial period. The prosopography of Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS*) records 75 senatorial cases. I will now take a look only at those 14 cases that date from around or after the mid-first century CE. The cases are in a rough chronological order:

1. Laelia (*PFOS* 480), *virgo Vestalis*, who died in 62 CE (Tac. *ann.* 15, 22), perhaps the daughter of D. Laelius Balbus (*cos. suff.* 46). Tacitus may have simply omitted her cognomen.
2. Annia (*PFOS* 51), daughter of C. (Annius) and wife of Atratinus. She is only known through the nomenclature of a freedman, recorded in *CIL* VI 11784 as *C. Annius Anniae Atratini l. Philogenes*. There are a couple of matters that ought to be kept in mind here. Firstly, her husband is identified as M. Asinius Atratinus (*cos.* 89), but it is not impossible that he was in fact an earlier Atratinus (e.g. one of the Sempronii Atratini of the early imperial period). Secondly, it was not uncommon that a *patrona* was recorded by only one name in the nomenclature of her slaves and freedmen, even if she in reality had a more complex nomenclature.[560]
3. Anteia (*PFOS* 68): Pliny (*epist.* 9, 13) tells us that she was the wife of Helvidius Priscus (*cos. suff.* before 87). Since the name is only recorded by Pliny, it could be that he simply omitted the cognomen or that Anteia was a nomen used as a cognomen.
4. Caesennia (?) (*PFOS* 169), friend of Seneca. The name, which is only attested by Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 2, 10, 6), may also be incorrect.
5. Calpurnia (*PFOS* 177), second wife of the younger Pliny (*epist.* passim; also Sidon. *epist.* 2, 10, 15). Since she is only known from literary sources, it could be that she had a cognomen as well.
6. Cornelia (*PFOS* 275), *Vestalis maxima*, who was put to death by Domitian in 91 CE (known from several literary sources, always by the name *Cornelia*; cf. *PIR*^{2} C 1481). She is perhaps identical with Cornelia (*PFOS* 274), who was elected as Vestal in 62 CE.
7. Cottia (*PFOS* 298), wife of T. Vestricius Spurinna (*cos.* II *suff.* 98), mentioned by Pliny (*epist.* 3, 10). She has also been identified as the *domina* of the two slaves recorded in *CIL* VI 37783 = *ILS* 9347, but this is somewhat dubious. She may have belonged to the family of the A. Cottii who are not known to have borne cognomina (at least two

[559] The filiation, most likely in the form *[Ti. f.]*, was probably placed on the line between the nomen and the cognomen.
[560] In fact this was quite common. See Nuorluoto 2017.

early imperial senators, *PIR*² A 1548; 1549)—but one should note that their daughters could have a cognomen already in an early period (cf. Cottia Galla above in 3.3.2).

8. Eppia (*PFOS* 343), known from Juvenal (6, 82f), who tells that she left her husband and children to follow a gladiator in Egypt. The date of this event is unclear.
9. Plautia (*PFOS* 614), daughter (probably) of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*cos. suff.* 45, II *suff.* 74; *PIR*² P 480). She was honoured by the senate and the people of Ephesus (*AE* 1968, 484 = *IEphesos* 707), but since the inscription has a lacuna after her name (Πλαυτία[ν Τιβερίου Πλαυτίου] / Σιλουανο[ῦ Αἰλιανοῦ ...]), it is possible that she also had a cognomen.
10. Proculeia (*PFOS* 658), only mentioned by Martial (10, 41), who probably used an abbreviated nomenclature (assuming that the name is not fictive to start with).
11. Helvidiae (*PFOS* 415 & 416), two daughters of Helvidius Priscus (*cos.* under the Flavians; *PIR*² H 60). They are mentioned by Pliny (*epist.* 4, 21), who probably omitted their cognomina.
12. Iunia (*PFOS* 466), Vestal virgin, attested at the beginning of the second century CE by Pliny (*epist.* 7, 19). Given the late date, it seems safe to assume that her cognomen was omitted.
13. Asinia (*PFOS* 112), known from *instrumenta domestica* from the time of Antoninus Pius (*CIL* XV 858). Possibly identical with Asinia Quadrtilla (*PFOS* 115).
14. Cornificia (*PFOS* 294), one of the children of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina, perhaps born in 160 CE. Her name is attested in both literary and epigraphic sources, always as *Cornificia* (with sometimes the addition *Aug. f.* or *Aug. soror*; for a list of sources, consult *PFOS* 294*; PIR*² C 1505). However, it seems clear that she must have had a more complex nomenclature.

In conclusion, there is reason to suspect that in almost all of the cases above the woman may have, in fact, had a cognomen. There is, however, sporadic evidence of even some rather late cases from outside the senatorial *ordo*, for instance *CIL* V 2829 = *ILS* 6692 (Patavium, 91-100 CE):

C(aio) Asconio C(ai) f(ilio) / Fab(ia) Sardo / IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / praef(ecto) fabr(um) / fratri / Cusiniae M(arci) f(iliae) / Sardi matri / et sibi / Asconia C(ai) f(ilia) / Augurini / sacerdos / divae Domitillae.

C. Ascanius Sardus, a local magistrate, is here equipped with a cognomen, while his wife Cusinia and sister Asconia seem to be without one. Given the fact that the nomenclature of both women include the filiation and gamonymic, it seems improbable that their cognomina would have been

omitted. In any case, such cases are difficult to come by in larger quantities. One possible case comes from Rome (*CECapitolini* 128):

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Pontiae Sextian(a)e / vixit annis XVIII / diebus XIIII Sexti/a mater filiae pi/entissimae / fecit / et Attiae / matri.*

It seems like the mother Sextia and grandmother Attia do not have a cognomen. This is peculiar given the late date. The monument has been dated in the databases (*EDCS, EDR*) to 151-250 CE, though judging by the picture provided in the *EDR*, it could also be from the earlier half of the second century.[561] But even so, it would be odd if at least the mother did not have a cognomen. An explanation could be that offered by N. Petrucci, namely that *Sextia* (and perhaps also *Attia*) was in fact a cognomen—or rather, a nomen used as a cognomen—and that the nomen was for one reason or another omitted.[562] In this case Sextiana's cognomen was not derived from the mother's nomen but cognomen. Another option, though less likely, is that the cognomina were simply omitted—possibly to save space, since the scribe seems to have had troubles fitting all the text in already as it is.

However the case may be, it is obvious that not having a cognomen had become practically non-existent by the Flavian period at latest.

4.2 General overview of different naming strategies

It is now time to take a closer look at how cognomina could be chosen during the Empire. The choice, as a rule, was surely made by the parents, but given the extensive legal powers granted to Roman fathers, it is likely that at least in theory the father had the final say. In Chapter 3 we have already seen some examples of what could be done in families in which there was no tradition of using a cognomen. Same strategies were naturally employed in later times, but as the number of cognomina grew, so did the options.

It ought to be noted, however, that in most cases we simply cannot discern the specific reasons for why a certain name was chosen. To be sure, we can assume that a Roman girl could be named *Fortunata* or *Felicula* because of the positive connotations that were associated with these names. But beyond that, it is often difficult to say anything else, unless we happen to have additional information at our disposal. Fortunately, we sometimes do.

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561 Cf. also N. Petrucci's comment in *CECapitolini*, p. 208 ("... la datazione, evidentemente non anteriore al II sec. d.C. ..."). She does not, however, exclude the possibility that the monument could date from the earlier half of the 2nd century.

562 N. Petrucci in *CECapitolini*, pp. 208-209: "*Pontia Sextiana*, la defunta, deriverebbe così il suo *cognomen* dal *cognomen*, o *simplex nomen*, della madre, come è normale, e non dal suo gentilizio". It ought to be noted, however, that despite Petrucci's statement, there was nothing unnormal in deriving a daughter's cognomen from the mother's (or someone else's) nomen.

In the senatorial elite, whose lineages and family connections have been well studied, we often know or can postulate whether the cognomen came from the father or the mother, or perhaps from some other relative—or if there was some other reason behind the choice. But even in inscriptions recording people of more modest background we sometimes have valuable clues.[563]

Based on the material collected for this study, some key strategies can be summarized as follows:

— *Cognomen of one of the parents* (4.3.1; 4.3.2)

This was a natural choice, of which we have plenty of evidence. The cognomen could be inherited in various ways and forms: a) in an identical form (*Priscus* > *Prisca*); b) in a suffixed form (*Priscus* > *Priscilla;* or in some cases converted into a suitable feminine noun, e.g. *Felix* > *Felicitas*); c) transforming from one suffixed form to another (*Priscianus* > *Priscilla*); d) in a de-suffixed form (*Priscianus* > *Prisca*). In some cases the name was not strictly speaking derived from the same root as the parent's cognomen, but was chosen because it resembled it phonetically (4.3.4).

— *Cognomen from some other relative* (4.3.3)

In addition to the parents, the cognomen could naturally be similar to that of, say, a grandparent, aunt, or an uncle.

— *Cognomen from a nomen existing in the family* (4.4)

The cognomen could also be coined from a gentilicium, to which the person was in some way connected. In some cases it was the person's own (i.e. in most cases the father's) gentilicium, and sometimes it was the mother's, but of course also, say, a grandmother's gentilicium could be utilized. And as we have seen above, a gentilicium could be used as a cognomen as such. In addition to suffixed forms and gentilicia used as such, the cognomen could also be a 'de-suffixed' form of a gentilicium (e.g. *Quintius* > *Quinta*).

— *Cognomen from a family praenomen* (4.5)

In addition to gentilicia, the cognomen could resemble a praenomen. In most cases this was the father's praenomen, but also the grandfather's, and in the case of *libertae,* the patron's praenomen could be the model. Like in the categories above, the name could be transmitted as such or in a suffixed form.

— *Cognomina chosen for reasons of prestige* (4.6)

[563] I thank Olli Salomies for sharing some of his notes regarding the topic, as well as Urpo Kantola, who has informed me of relevant cases from the Greek East.

Among the Roman aristocracy, there was furthermore the phenomenon of 'historical cognomina'. These were often cognomina that the early imperial nobility had revived or created to establish a link to famous ancestors and past glory. Women would also sometimes receive names of this type. On the other hand, the *plebs* could seek imitate the onomastic practices of the elite.

— *Linguistic calque/semantic resemblance* (4.7)

Sometimes a name was chosen because it resembled another name in terms of meaning (either two Latin names semantically related to each other or two names meaning the same thing, one in Greek and the other in Latin).

— *Other strategies*

It is clear that there were also many other strategies for choosing a name. These include, amongst other things, names that reflect the circumstances of birth (4.8.1) and names indicating the person's geographical origin, home-town or place of birth (4.8.2).

Note that the strategies presented above are only those that are attested for women in our sources. It is clear that during the Empire a cognomen could be chosen for almost any reason. O. Salomies has, for example, found some examples in which men seem to have been named after a friend or even a teacher.[564] In the nomenclature of the *liberti* and their descendants there was furthermore the possibility to name one's children after the patron.

One should also keep in mind that when choosing a name multiple factors can, and often do, affect the choice at the same time. For instance, an aristocrat of the imperial elite may have chosen a name not only because it had been used by a relative but also because of dynastic motives or other political ambitions.

4.3 The inheritance of cognomina used in the family

While some Romans were still without a cognomen by the middle of the first century CE (cf. 4.1), the cognomen had nonetheless consolidated its position as a standard item in the Roman onomastic system. An expected result of this development is that during the Empire it would become increasingly common for children to receive a cognomen that had already been used in the family. It is therefore no surprise that in many cases the cognomen was identical with or derived from the cognomen of one of the parents (or in

[564] L. Sempronius Senecio, a procurator under Trajan, seems to have named his son L. Sempronius Tiro after his senatorial friend C. Iulius Tiro Gaetulicus (see *PIR*^{2} S 369; *CIL* II 3661; *AE* 1975, 849; cf. Salomies 2017, p. 130, particularly n:s. 53 and 54).

some rare cases, both parents, e.g. Cl. Maximilla, daughter of Ti. Cl. Maximus and Cl. Maxim(a) in *CIL* VIII 2843). Examples of this are numerous, as will be seen. Besides the parents, the name could naturally also come from a grandparent or some other relative, for instance an uncle or an aunt.

It is clear that family tradition must have played a role in many other cases as well, but it is only in a fraction of all inscriptions that we have enough background information to be able to tell this. In the case of the Roman aristocracy we are often better informed about the given person's background, since their lineages and family relations can often be traced back several generations. However, in many cases the assumed relation between, say, father and daughter is purely based on the names—and therefore there is an obvious methodological challenge if one intends to study the transmission of names based on these family relations. In order to avoid any unnecessary confusion, I have placed most of the hypothetical cases separately in Appendix 4.

The material presented below is not meant to cover every possible case, but rather to give a general idea of the onomastic practices and their chronological, geographical and social distribution.

4.3.1 Father's cognomen

One of the best-attested strategies for choosing a cognomen in all social groups throughout the imperial period was to use the same or a similar cognomen as the father. In most cases this meant that the cognomen could be transmitted as such (e.g. *Priscus* > *Prisca*)—that is, if morphological, semantic, or phonetic factors did not prevent this—or in a suffixed form (e.g. *Priscus* > *Priscilla*). Naturally, if the father's cognomen was already a suffixed form of an existing name, the daughter's cognomen could be de-suffixed (e.g. *Priscianus* > *Prisca*) or a variant formed with another suffix (e.g. *Priscianus* > *Priscilla*). In addition to the use of suffixes, it was also in some cases possible to use an abstract noun as the female equivalent of an adjectival male cognomen (e.g. *Felix* > *Felicitas*), though suffixed forms could naturally also come in question (*Felix* > *Felicula*).

Furthermore, the cognomen could also be derived from the father's, and in most cases the daughter's own, gentilicium with a suffix (e.g. *Livia Livilla*), or from the father's praenomen (e.g. *Iulia L. f. Lucilla*). However, cognomina coined from nomina/praenomina (and nomina used as cognomina) are a different kind of a phenomenon, since we are not dealing with the transmission of a paternal, or any kind of, cognomen. Therefore, I have chosen to discuss cognomina derived from gentilicia and praenomina separately.

Roman fathers seem to have been keen to transmit their cognomina even to their illegitimate children. This is not surprising. Children that were born outside a legal marital union did not have a legal father and could therefore not carry his nomen. Instead they inherited their status and their name after

their mother.[565] The cognomen, however, could be freely chosen, and Roman fathers, by making sure their illegitimate children bore their cognomina, could express the bond they shared with their offspring. I am here thinking of cases like Clodia Regina, daughter of Clodia Domitia and Terentius Reginus (*CIL* XIV 848, Portus, 170-230 CE), or Fabia Prisca, whose parents were Fabia Cadilla and C. Geminius Priscus (*CIL* II 971, Serpa, 2nd c.). Other examples are numerous.[566]

In the case of the Roman aristocracy a distinction ought to be made between the early cases, in which a daughter's cognomen corresponds to the hereditary cognomen of the family, and those in which it is clearly of more personal nature (e.g. cases in which sisters have different cognomina). The early practices have already been discussed in Chapter 3, but they will be occasionally referred to in this chapter as well.

4.3.1.1 Father's cognomen in an identical form

There is plenty of evidence of women with a cognomen identical to that of their father from all parts of the Empire and from all time periods. The style is particularly well attested for senatorial women. We have already seen in Chapter 3 that in some aristocratic families of the late republican and Augustan periods, women's use of cognomina was not so different from the elite male practice of using hereditary cognomina. Thus, all daughters of the Caecilii Metelli seem to have borne the cognomen *Metella*, all daughters of the Aemilii Lepidi the cognomen *Lepida* (*PFOS* 28-32; cf. also n. 499 above), and so forth.

There are also instructive examples of two sisters bearing the same cognomen, transmitted from the father, e.g. the two (Claudiae) Marcellae (*PFOS* 242 & *PIR*^{2} C 1103), daughters of C. Claudius Marcellus (*cos.* 50 BCE). In such cases, however, the cognomen cannot have served as a truly individualizing item but rather as an extension of the gentile name. There is even one later pair of sisters, who seem to have borne identical cognomina: two Vestal virgins, condemned to death by Domitian, are called by Suetonius simply by the cognomen *Oculata* (Suet. *Dom.* 8; *cum Oculatis sororibus*). It seems evident that they were either the daughters or sisters of L. Aelius Oculatus (*cos. suff.* 73). The Suetonian account alone, however, cannot be considered the most reliable piece of evidence, since it is possible that one of the sisters (or both of them) had other names as well.

While it was also common for many other women to receive a cognomen that was used by the father, in most cases they either did not have sisters or the sister(s) would receive another name. The following senatorial cases (ex-

[565] Cf. Thylander 1962, p. 45; Gardner 1986, p. 138; 142; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, p. 258.
[566] For more such cases, see Nuorluoto 2017, p. 260 n. 7.

cluding the ones discussed above) are on record, in a rough chronological order (until the end of the Severan dynasty):

Augustus-Nero (11): CLAUDIA PULCHRA (*PIR*² C 1116, not in *PFOS*), daughter of M. Valerius Messalla Appianus (who was Ap. Claudius Pulcher prior to his adoption) and the younger Marcella; MUMMIA ACHAICA (*PFOS* 556), daughter of L. Mummius Achaicus;[567] CANINIA GALLA (*PFOS* 187), daughter of L. Caninius Gallus (*cos. suff.* 2 BCE); LUCILIA BENIGNA (*PFOS* 510), daughter of C. Lucilius Benignus Ninnianus (career under Augustus/Tiberius; *PIR*² L 380); POPPAEA SABINA (*maior*; *PFOS* 645; *PIR*² P 849), daughter of C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*cos.* 9 CE; *PIR*² P 847);[568] (CAEPIONIA) CRISPINA (*PFOS* 166), daughter of A. Caepio Crispinus (*quaest.* before 15 CE);[569] IUNIA SILANA (*PFOS* 474), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 15 CE);[570] POMPONIA GRAECINA (*PFOS* 640 = *PIR*² P 775), daughter of C. Pomponius Graecinus (*cos. suff.* 16);[571] ARRUNTIA CAMILLA (*PFOS* 103), daughter of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (*cos.* 32); CORNELIA GAETULICA (*PFOS* 284), daughter of Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus;[572] POMPEIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 630 = *PIR*² P 678), daughter of (Pompeius) Paulinus, an equestrian man from Arles (cf. *PIR*² P 634).[573]

Vespasianus-Hadrianus (8): FLAVIA SABINA (*PFOS* 379), daughter of T. Flavius Sabinus (*cos. suff.* 69, II 72); APPIA SEVERA (*PFOS* 84), daughter of Sex. Appius Severus (*quaestor* between 70 and 77; died 79); CLAUDIA TI. F. MARCELLINA (*PFOS* 243), daughter of Ti. Claudius Marcellinus (non-senatorial, procurator under Domitian);[574] IULIA FRONTINA (*PFOS* 440), daughter of Sex. Iulius Frontinus (*cos. suff.* II 98; III 100);[575] IULIA TERTULLA (*PFOS* 462), daughter (?) of C. Iulius [---] Cornutus Tertullus (*cos. suff.* 100); ARRIA

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[567] Her father's cognomen is attested through the nomenclature of a freedman in *AE* 1992, 121. Note that the cognomen also recalls the conquest of Corinth in 146 BCE by their ancestor L. Mummius (see 4.6. below).

[568] Note also her homonymous daughter Poppaea Sabina (in 4.3.2.1).

[569] Note that her nomen in *PFOS* is presented as (*Caepia*), but this is obviously an error, since this is the feminine form of *Caepius* rather than *Caepio*; cf. Kajava 1986, p. 82. Since the names *Caepio* and *Crispinus* are attested as both cognomina and nomina (cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*), the hypothetical possibility remains that the father was in fact called A. Crispinus Caepio, whence the daughter's name *Crispina* would simply be her nomen and not a cognomen. But this seems somewhat unlikely to me. The most plausible solution is that she was called (Caepionia) Crispina.

[570] Her sister was called Iunia Claudilla (or perhaps Claudia, cf. n. 657).

[571] Compare also the nomenclature of her brother C. Pomponius Graecinus (*PIR*² P 718). The cognomen, however, was not hereditary, since their paternal uncle L. Pomponius Flaccus (*cos.* 17 CE; *PIR*² P 715) had a different one.

[572] Either the consul of 26, or his homonymous son, the consul of 55; cf. also Ch. 4.6. below.

[573] Being the wife of Seneca, she was senatorial through marriage.

[574] She was senatorial through her husband Ti. Claudius Augustanus Alpinus L. Bellicius Sollers, who is attested as *consularis* in *CIL* V 3338 = *ILS* 1031.

[575] Note that the cognomen was further transmitted to her daughter Sosia Frontina (*PFOS* 719; see below).

SABINA (*PFOS* 102), daughter of L. Arrius Atilius Sabinus;[576] PORCIA RUFIANA (*PFOS* 648 = *PIR*² P 873), daughter T. Porcius Rufianus;[577] (NONIA?) TORQUATA (*PIR*² V 294 = *PFOS* 575), daughter of L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas (*cos.* 94, II 128).[578]

Antoninus-Commodus (10): CORNELIA PROCULA (*PFOS* 291), daughter of the polyonymous L. Stertinius (...) Proculus (*cos. suff.* 146);[579] MATUCCIA FUSCINA (*PFOS* 534), daughter of L. Matuccius Fuscinus (*cos. suff.* 159?); CAECILIA MATERNA (*PFOS* 156), daughter of Caecilius Maternus;[580] (CAUNIA) PRISCA (*PFOS* 203), daughter of T. Caunius Priscus (*cos. suff.* 187?);[581] CLAUDIA TITIANA & CLAUDIA PROCULA (*PFOS* 252; 257), daughters of Claudius Titianus (=Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus);[582] CLAUDIA CRATIA VERIANA (*PFOS* 233), daughter of Cl. Metrobius Verianus;[583] FLAVIA AMPHICLEA (*PFOS* 363), daughter of Flavius Amphicles;[584] FLAVIA L. F. POLYMNIA MARCIANA (*PFOS* 375), daughter of L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorio Polymnis (*homo novus* from Hierapytna, c. 150);[585] PACTUMEIA MAGNA (*PFOS* 594), daughter of T. Pactumeius Magnus (*cos. suff.* 183).[586]

Severan period (7): FLAVIA PHILINA (W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974) *s.v.* 'Flavius' nr. 239a), daughter of T. Flavius Philinus (*PIR*² F 331) and Flavia Amphiclea (above); ANNIA ITALICA (*PIR*² A 717), daughter of L. Annius Italicus Honoratus (*PIR*² A 659) and Gavidia Torquata (*PIR*² G 87); LUCIA LORENIA CORNELIA CRISPINA (*PIR*² L 345), daughter of L. (Lorenius) Crispinus (*cos.* before 244; *PIR*² L 344); TIBERIA [CLAUDIA] FRONTONIANA (*PIR*² C 1094),

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576 The father's carreer is unknown. He is only attested in *CIL* XI 6203 (Aesis, Umbria) from the mid-second century.

577 The father was the legate of the 22nd legion during the first half of the second century (*PIR*² P 865).

578 Her nomen is not mentioned and technically she may have also borne the name *Calpurnia*. However the case may be, there seems to be no doubt regarding her parentage. As for her cognomen, *Torquata* was surely a more suitable alternative than a female form of *Asprenas* would have been.

579 His full nomenclature: L. Stertinius Quintilianus Acilius Strabo Q. Cornelius Rusticus Apronius Senecio Proculus (*PIR*² C 1423).

580 He was, among other things, the governor of Thrace in 187 under Commodus (*PIR*² C 58).

581 Note that her brother (Caunius) Firminus (*PIR*² C 589) seems to have been named after the gentilicium of their mother Firminia Vera (*PFOS* 359).

582 A *homo novus* from Lycia, career under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (*PIR*² V 635).

583 The father was an Ephesian knight under Commodus, attested in *AE* 1966, 441 = *IEphesos* 980. She herself is styled as συνκλετική in a list of donations of prytaneis (*IEphesos* 47, lines 27-28).

584 Her father belonged to the equestrian elite of Thespiae (*PIR*² F 201), but she is attested as λαμπροτάτη ὑπατική at least in *AE* 1967, 459 (Aidepsos). For her daughter Flavia Philina, see below under "Severan".

585 The name *Marciana* comes from her mother Iulia L. f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla (*PFOS* 463). Compare also the nomenclature of her sister Flavia Crispinilla (*PFOS* 366). The whole family, including her brother, is known from *AE* 1986, 155.

586 According to Paul *Dig.* 28, 5, 92.

daughter of [Ti. Claudius] Frontonianus;[587] also IULIA AVITA MAMAEA AUGUSTA (*PIR*² I 649), daughter of Iulius Avitus Alexianus (*PIR*² I 190) and Iulia Maesa (*PFOS* 445), though *Mamaea* was her primary cognomen;[588] ULPIA IULIANA (*PIR*² V 876), λαμπροτάτη, daughter of P. Ulpius Iulianus (an equestrian man), attested in Macedonia in the mid-third century (*AE* 2002, 1283 = *SEG* 52, 622); LUCIA LORENIA CORNELIA CRISPINA (*PIR*² L 345), *c(larissima) p(uella),* daughter of L. (Lorenius) Crispinus (*PIR*² L 344).

There are furthermore a number of hypothetical or speculative cases, in which we may suspect that the cognomen came from the father. For instance in the case of Claudia Aesernina (*PFOS* 215), who is attested as *sacerdos diva Augustae* at Narona in the mid-first century (*CIL* III 1796), it seems plausible to assume that she was the daughter of M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (*pr.* 19), even if this is not explicitly mentioned. However, since the hypotheses are mostly based on the very names that are investigated here, it is perhaps not meaningful to go through all of the cases here. I have instead compiled them in Appendix 4.

In addition to the senatorial cases, the style is well attested in all layers of the society and in all parts of the Empire (and in all time periods). The following evidence will suffice to give a general picture:

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 20422 (1st c.?): Iulia C. f. Crispina, daughter of C. Iulius C. f. Crispinus.

CIL VI 17566 (51-200 CE): Fab(ia) Successa, daughter of A. Fab(ius) Successus & Fab(ia) Cosmia.

CIL VI 17993 (71-200 CE): Flavia Amanda, daughter of T. Flavius Amandus.

CIL VI 18345 (71-200): Flavia Fortunata Fortunati f.

CIL VI 18805 (71-200): Furia Fortunata, daughter of A. Furius Fortunatus and Furia Epictesis.

CIL VI 19881: (Iulia) Caeliana, daughter of L. Iulius Caelianus.

CIL VI 22211 (71-200): Maria L. f. Onesime, daughter of L. Marius Onesimus.

CIL VI 22325 (71-300): Iul(ia) Maxima, daughter of Maximus.

CIL VI 13150 = *ILS* 8225 (3rd c.): Valeria Marciana, daughter of M. Aurelius Marcianus & Valeria Felicissima.[589]

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[587] She was honoured at Ephesus as the mother of the senator (συνκλητικός) Fl. Stasicles Metrophanes and the daughter of the φιλοτειμότατος [ἀσίαρχος] [Ti. Claudius] Frontonianus during the first half of the third century (*IEphesos* 1268).

[588] Being the aunt of Elagabalus and mother of Severus Alexander, she is attested in several sources, but usually without the cognomen *Avita.* For a list of sources, consult *PIR*².

[589] *M(arci) Aureli Marciani / et Baleriae(!) Feli/cissimae co(n)iugi et / lib(er)t(is) libertabusqu{a}e suis poste/risqu{a}e eorum et Valeriae Marci/anae filiae et Aurelio Marciano / marito eius et filiorum eorum h(oc) / m(onumentum) si quis bendere boluerit bel / donare inferet in aede Saturni / HS L m(ilia) n(ummum).* Note that Marciana has the maternal nomen (perhaps due to illegitimacy) and that her husband Aurelius Marcianus has the same name as her father—which of course might be a coincidence. One might add that the orthography and syntax do not show great erudition, e.g. *B* pro *V* (though not consistently) and the confusion with dative and genitive forms.

CIL VI 18424 (2nd c.): Fl(avia) Saturnina, daughter of Fl(avia) Successa whose *contubernalis*, clearly the father, was called Saturninus.

CIL VI 22013 (51-150): *parentes* Mansuetus and Marcia Parthenis, two daughters Mansueta (identical) and Mansuetina (suffixed).

CIL VI 23179 (51-200): Nymphidia, daughter of Nymphidius.

CIL VI 22703 (2nd/3rd c.): Munia Modestina, daughter of Munius Modestinus and Messia Flaccina.

CIL VI 23047 (51-200): Nonia P. f. Larga, daughter of P. Nonius Largus.

CIL VI 11944 (2nd/3rd c.): Antia M. f. Aemiliana, daughter of (M.): Antius Aemilianus.

CIL VI 22376: Zosima, daughter of Memmius Zosimus.

CIL VI 186 = *ILS* 3714 (218-233 CE): Fabricius Iustus cum Iusta et Iusto fili(i)s.

CIL VI 16605 (71-200): parents M. Critonius Phoebus and Valeria Compse, children Critonia Phoebe, Critonius Phoebus and Critonius Valerianus.

IGUR II 753 (date unclear): Λουπούλῃ θυγατρί ... Λούπουλος πατήρ.[590]

CIL XIV 1292 (Ostia, 71-200): Malia [---] Profutura, daughter of Licinius Profuturus.

CIL X 4139 (Capua, 71-200): Flavia Prisca, daughter of Flavius Priscus and Flavia Primilla.

CIL X 3505 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Mamilla Prisca, daughter of Mun(atius) Priscus.

AE 1983, 221 (Luceria, early 2nd c.): Pontia Annia, daughter of Annius and Pointia Agrippina.[591]

CIL IX 2111 (Beneventum, 121-200): ... *Liciniae Licinianae / Liciniani trib(uni) / filiae / [At]tia Attiana / mater.* Note that while the daughter's cognomen is identical with that of the father, it clearly derives from their nomen (like the mother's cognomen is derived from her nomen; see below in 4.4.1)

AE 1974, 321 (Rusellae, 2nd/3rd c.): Vibia A. f. Romula, daughter of (A.) Vibius Romulus.

ILS 9442 = *SIRIS* 586 (Ravenna, 3rd c.): Sosia Iuliana, daughter of C. Sosius Iulianus.

CIL V 5445 (Monte di Stabbio): Viria C. f. Vera, daughter of C. Virius Verus (note also her brother C. Virius Verianus).

CIL V 6596: Valeriana, daughter of C. Gemellius C. f. Ouf. Valerianus (cf. also her sister Valeria below in 4.3.1.4; for the whole family, cf. 4.9).

Provinces:

CIL XII 5066 (Narbo): Pompeia Venusta, daughter of T. Pompeius Venustus and Artoria C. f. Procula (note her brother T. Pompeius Proculus, who bears the mother's cognomen).

ILGN 479 (Nemausus): Messina Messini f.

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[590] Phoebe and her brother Phoebus had their father's (Greek) cognomen, while the cognomen of their brother Valerianus was derived from the maternal nomen with *-ianus.*

[591] While *Annius* in principle is a gentile name, it seems that in this case it was the father's individual (and perhaps only) name.

CIL XIII 1977 (Lugdunum, 71-300): Aelia Profutura Aeli Profuturi f.

CIL XIII 1910 (Lugd.): parents Q. Acceptius Firminus and Satria Venusta; children Satria Firmina, Q. Acceptius Venustus & Q. Acceptius Firminus.[592]

CIL XII 65 (Salinae, early 2nd c.): Quartinia Catullina, daughter of T. Quartinius Catullinus and Lucilia Materna (note also her brother Quartinius Maternus).

CIL XII 2335 = *ILN* V,2, 523 (Freterive, 151-230 CE): Iucunda, daughter of L. Iul. Iucundus (her brothers Iulianus and Fronto were named after the paternal grandfather and great-grandfather; cf. *CIL* XII 2333).

CIL XII 2280 (Vienna, 151-250): Devillia Lucina, daughter of P. Devillius Lucinus and Lutatia Liciniani filia Macedonia (her brother Devillius Lutatius had the maternal nomen as his cognomen).

CIL II 835 (Capera, late 1st c.): Iulia Luperci f. Luperca (wife of M. Fidius Macer)

Gerión 36 (2018), p. 209 nr. 3 (2nd c.?): Antonia Flavina, daughter of Antonius Flavinus.

HEp 2002, 634 = *AE* 2002, 667a (Lusitania, 271-330): Munnia Marciana, daughter of Munnius Marcianus and Iulia Candida.

CIL VIII 2953 (Lambaesis; 3rd c.): Nonia Manliana, daughter of C. Nonius Manlianus and Iul. Clementina.

CIL VIII 4054 (Lambaesis): Aurelia Ammiana, daughter of M. Aurelius Ammianus and Septimia Aequitia.

CIL III 1249 (Apulum, 131-170): Viria Publia Viri Publi filia.

CIL III 8252 (Naissus, Moes. sup., 201-250): [V]aleria Iulian[a], daughter of [Valer]ius Iulianus (note also the nomenclature of her brother [Va]lerius Iuliu[s]).

AE 1982, 816 = 2001, 1682 (Matrica, Pann. inf., 171-230): [Cl(audia)] Ingenua, daughter of Cl(audius) Ingenu(u)s and Fl(avia) Paulina (note also her brother Cl(audius) Paulinus).

CIL III 11303 = 13497a = 14098 (Scarbantia): Aure(lia) Celeriana, daughter of Aure(lius) Celerianus.

IG XII,6,1, 373 (Samos, mid-1st c.; cf. *IG* XII,6,2, 874): Κλαυδία Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου θυγάτηρ Ἀπφ[ά][ρ]ιον Λολλιανή, daughter of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μ̣ᾳ̣τρέου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Ματρέας Λολλιανός.[593]

IG XII,4,2, 841/842 (Cos, mid-1st c.): Κλαυδία ’Ρουφεῖνα ’Ιουλιανὴ θυγάτηρ Κλαυδίου Νικαγόρα ’Ιουλιανοῦ.

CIL III 14406g (Perinthus, Thrace): Iulia M. f. Maxima, daughter of M. Iulius M. f. Volt. Maximus (cf. her brothers M. Iulius Iustus qui et Domitius, M. Iulius Iustus, and P. Iulius M[a]ximus).

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[592] I have discussed this inscription in greater length elsewhere (Nuorluoto 2017, p. 275f.).

[593] The inscription also mentions Βιτελλία Πῶλλα Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου θυγάτηρ Τε[ρ]τία, who—despite being the daughter of a Tiberius Claudius—seems to have received her Roman gentilicium after their benefactor L. Vitellius, to whom the whole monument is dedicated.

AE 1920, 76 (Antiochia Pisidiae, 1st/2nd c.): [A]nicia C. f. [C]aesiana, daughter of C. Anicius Q. f. Ser. Caesianus, *IIvir trib. mil. leg.*, whose cognomen in turn was derived from the gentilicium of his mother [C]aesia [- f.] [P]rocilla.

IEphesos 950 (late 1st c.?): Κλαυδία Ουαλεριανοῦ θυγάτηρ Βαλεριανή.[594]

4.3.1.2 Father's cognomen in a suffixed form

Cases, in which the daughter's cognomen is a suffixed form of the father's cognomen, are perhaps even more numerous, particularly outside the senatorial elite. The most popular suffixes, as could be expected, were *-ina* and *-illa* (see Chapter 2). While *-iana* was also one of the popular cognomen-suffixes, it was not used extensively to coin cognomina from other cognomina, but primarily from gentilicia (2.4.4).

a) Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ina*:

The suffix *-ina,* as has been noted above in 2.4.3, appears already early in women's cognomina, which normally came from the father. Take for instance the two daughters of M. Vipsanius Agrippa (by different mothers), who bore the cognomen *Agrippina* (*PFOS* 811; *PFOS* 812 = *PIR*^{2} V 682); or (Cornelia) Dolabellina (*PFOS* 283), daughter of P. Cornelius Dolabella (*cos.* 10); Valeria Messalina (*PIR*^{2} V 241 = *PFOS* 774), wife of the emperor Claudius and daughter of L. (Valerius) Messalla Barbatus (*PIR*^{2} V 141); and Livia Ocellina (*PFOS* 501), daughter of L. Livius Ocella (*quaest.* c. 40; *PIR*^{2} L 299). What is common to all these cases, however, is the fact that all the female cognomina are coined from male names ending in *-a,* which did not have a separate feminine form. The suffixed form was in other words a necessity rather than a choice.

There is, to be sure, an early case in which the suffixed form was not the result of any formal necessities, namely the cognomen of Munatia Plancina (*PFOS* 562), sister of L. Munatius Plancus (*cos.* 13), whose father, with all probability also had the cognomen *Plancus* (see 3.3.2 above). In this case, however, it was probably the pejorative nature of the name that resulted in the suffixed form. In many other cases, furthermore, the parentage is only hypothetical. One could for example assume that Sergia L. f. Paulina (*PIR*^{2} S 542 = *PFOS* 703) was the daughter of L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*^{2} S 529)—or in any case one of the L. Sergii Paulli who are known from the early imperial period—but certain cases are rare.[595] I have compiled a list of hypothetical cases in Appendix 4b.

From a later period we have some more solid evidence of cases, in which the father has a non-pejorative name in *-us,* from which the daughter's name has been derived with *-ina*, e.g. Vedia Phaedrina (*PIR*^{2} V 327), daughter of

[594] Note the variation in orthography (Ουαλεριανοῦ / Βαλεριανή).
[595] Cf. *PIR*^{2} S 527-529.

the polyonymous M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus from Ephesus (who entered the senate under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius);[596] or Aelia Gemellina (*PFOS* 13), daughter (probably) of P. Aelius Gemellus, *vir clarissimus* in the Severan period (*PIR*^{2} A 180). There is also [Iulia Pi]sonina (*PFOS* 453), daughter of the polyonymous A. Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius Laevillus [---]atus Berenicianus (*cos. suff.* 178?), but in her case, too, the cognomen was coined from a name, which did not have a separate feminine form, i.e. *Piso*, so a suffixed form was necessary.[597]

Some of the early examples from outside the senatorial class are of similar nature, in other words the cognomen is often formed from a name that did not have a separate feminine form, e.g. *AE* 1915, 115 = 1917/18, 55 (Macedonia, 1st c.): Pomponia C. f. Aquilina, daughter of C. Pomponius M. f. Lem. Aquila. There are, however, also cases from around the same period, in which the daughter's cognomen was derived with *-ina* perhaps simply for the sake of variation (or for some other reason), e.g. *AE* 2005, 644 (Comum, 1st c.): Albucia C. f. Firmina, daughter of C. Albucius Firmus; *IPergamon* 479 (Pergamum): Ὀτακιλία Φαυστῖνα Γναίου Ὀ[τακιλίου] Φαύστου θυγάτηρ.

The style is well attested in all social groups and throughout the Empire also in later periods, as the following evidence will sufficiently show:

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 18717 (51-150): Fulvia M. f. Victorina, daughter of M. Fulvius Victor.

CIL VI 29157 (Trajan's reign): Ulpia M. f. Clementina, daughter of M. Ulpius Aug. l. Clemens.

CIL VI 22572 (151-300): Modestina, daughter of Modestos (*sic*) and Casteliana.

AE 2005, 644 (Comum, 1st c.): Albucia C. f. Firmina, daughter of C. Albucius C. f. Ouf. Firmus (*VIvir*).

CIL X 3530 (Misenum, 71-130): [A]quilia M. f. Valentina, daughter of M. Aquilius Valens and Aquilia Felicula.

CIL XIV 209 (Ostia, 151-250): Antonia Secundina, daughter of M. Antonius M. f. Vol. Secundus and Antonia Euhodia.[598]

CIL X 2473 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Vettia Rufina, daughter of T. V[e]ttius Rufus.

CIL X 3573 (Misenum, 2nd c.): Dinnia Valentina, daughter of C. Dinnius Valens (her brother Dinnius Calocaerus clearly had his name from elsewhere).

CIL IX 698 (Sipontum, 2nd c.): Magia Q. f. Severina, daughter of Q. Magius Severus.

CIL X 3001 (Puteoli, 150-230): Terentia Celerina, daughter of Bennius Celer and Terentia Procilla (note the use of the maternal nomen).

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[596] *PIR*^{2} V 317; cf. Halfmann 1979, p. 168f. (nr. 84). He in turn received the cognomen after his mother Ofellia Phaedrina (*PIR*^{2} O 81).

[597] She is attested as *c(larissima) p(uella)* together with her father and brother in *AE* 1916, 30. There is no reason to doubt the restoration of her name. Note that a non-suffixed female form of *Piso* was not an option.

[598] The cognomen of her brother M. Antonius Vindex did not come from the parents.

CIL XI 4450 (Ameria, 1st/2nd c.): Caesia C. f. Clemen[ti]na, daughter of C. Caesius Clemens and Silia Iustina.

AE 1982, 264 (Pisaurum, 2nd c.): T[urpilia] Maximina, daughter of L. Turpilius [L. f.] Cam. Maximus.

CIL 3369 (Tarquinia, 2nd c.): Iulia Valentina, daughter of T. Iulius Valens (cf. her sister Iulia Frontina in 4.4.5).

CIL VI 32878 (Aricia, early 3rd c.): Iul(ia) Valentina, daughter of Iul(ius) Valens and Ael(ia) Severa.[599]

CIL V 7357 (Clastidium, imperial): Atilia C. f. Secundina, daughter of C. Atilius Secundus and Serr(ia?) M. l. Valeriana.

CIL V 7828 (Monoecus, 71-200): Aemilia M. f. Rufina, daughter of M. Aemilius Rufus and Vettia Cupita.

Provinces:

CIL XII 3037 (Narbonensis, 71-200): Firmia B[l]aesi f. Bla[e]sina.

SEG 52, 998 (Massilia): Γάϊος Ο[ὐ]είριο/ς Γρᾶτος καὶ / Παραμόνη Γράτο/υ Γρατίνῃ τῇ ... θυγα/τρί.

CIL VIII 4011 (Lambaesis, 71-200): Purtisia Firmina, T. Purtisius Firmus;

CIL VIII 406 (Ammaedara, date unclear): Modia C. f. Maximina, daughter of C. Modius Maximus (compare her brother C. Modius C. fil. Quirina Maximinus).

CIL VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, early 3rd c.?): Aurelia Iustina, daughter of M. Aurel. Iustus and Cl. Maximilla (compare the nomenclature of her siblings Maximina, Iustus, Iustianus, and Maximinus).

CIL VIII 3348 = 18185 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.?): *G. Aeli(a) Macrina (...) L. Aelius Macer pater fec(it) filiae* (note the use of tria nomina).

CIL III 14947 (Aequum, 1st/early 2nd c.): Alfia L. f. Valentina, daughter of L. Alfius Valens and Raia Marcella (compare her brother L. Alfius Valentinus);

CIL III 4533 = 11294 (Aequinoctium, 51-200): Val(eria) Taurina, daughter of M. Val(erius) M. f. Taurus.

CIL III 11222 (Carnuntum, 87-200): Iulia Valentina, daughter of C. Iul(ius) Valens.

CIL III 3685 = 10249 (Pann. inf., early 2nd c.): Fl(avia) Severina, daughter of T. Fl(avius) T. f. Quirin. Severus Gogaenus.

ILJug I 339 (Pann. sup., late 2nd/early 3rd c.): Secundinia Vitalina, daughter of M. Secundini[us] Vitalis and Claudia Priscilla.

AE 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, 171-230 CE): Plotia Valentina, daughter of C. Plotius Valens and Ulpia Dianilla (cf. also her sister Plotia Plotina below in 4.4.1).

CIL III 3399 (Campona, 231-300): P. Aelius Consta(n)s ... Cons(t)a(n)t(i)n(a)e fili(ae).

[599] Valentina's brother Iul. Valentinus had the same cognomen. The origin of the cognomen of their sister Ael(ia) Valeria, instead, remains unknown.

IPergamon 479 (Pergamum, 37-39 CE): Ὀτακιλία Φαυστῖνα Γναίου Ὀ[τακιλίου] Φαύστου θυγάτηρ.

AE 1915, 115 = 1917/18, 55 (Macedonia, 1st c.?): Pomponia C. f. Aquilina, daughter of C. Pomponius M. f. Lem. Aquila.

Furthermore, one case from beyond the Danubian *limes*: *CIL* III 4351 (131-200): [F]uficia Marcellina, daughter of M. Fuficius M. f. Vel. Marcellus.

b) Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-illa*:

Some of of the earliest cognomina of senatorial women were coined from the father's cognomen with the suffix *-illa*, e.g. the two Aureliae Orestillae, daughters of Aurelii who used *Orestes* as their cognomen, and a bit later Livia Drusilla, the future wife of Augustus and daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (cf. 3.3.1). One needs to remember, however, that in the case of *Orestilla*, a non-suffixed form would not have even been possible. The practice is also fairly well attested for senatorial women during the Empire:

First century: IULIA DRUSILLA (*PFOS* 437), daughter of Germanicus Iulius Caesar (originally Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus);[600] UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA (*PIR*² V 913; *PFOS* 829), daughter of Q. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (*cos. suff.* c. 40; *PIR*² V 903);[601] (ANNAEA) NOVATILLA (*PFOS* 50), niece of Seneca (*dial.* 12, 18, 7-8) and daughter of L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus, who was L. Annaeus Novatus by birth (*PIR*² I 757). There is also an unidentified (CORNELIA) CETHEGILLA, whose father seems to have had the cognomen *Cethegus.*[602] She is recorded in a fragmentary honorific inscription from Athens, probably from the first century CE, as Κεθήγιλλα Κε[θήγου] θυγάτηρ (*IG* II² 4232 = *SEG* 40, 195).

Second century: CL(AUDIA) VARENILLA (*PFOS* 254), daughter of Claudius Varenus (*cos. suff.* during the second century; *PIR*² C 1047).

Third century: CORNELIA SERVIANILLA (*PFOS* 293), daughter of M. Cornelius Bassus Servianus, *e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(ir)* from Africa (in the Severan period); (HEDIA?) TERENTIA RUFILLA (*PIR*² T 107), *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima),* daughter of Q. (Hedius Lollianus?) Terentius Rufus (*PIR*² T 87) and Caenia Verissima (*PIR*² C 147)

There are also cases from later periods, in which *-illa* was attached to another suffix to derive a cognomen from the father's name, e.g. AELIA CELSI-

[600] Her cognomen was also transmitted to her homonymous niece (*PFOS* 438), the infant daughter of Caligula. Note also that Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus, had already borne the cognomen within the same family, thus serving as a remarkable precedent.

[601] She was probably not identical with the polyonymous Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PIR*² V 914) but more likely belonged to an earlier generation.

[602] Her exact identity is not clear, but there should be no doubt that she was a Cornelia, since the cognomen *Cethegus* was solely used by one branch of the Cornelii in this period (see also Kajava 1990, p. 78f.; Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, p. 258). She must have been related to Ser. Cornelius Ser. f. Cethegus (*cos.* 24 CE; *PIR*² C 1336).

NILLA (*PFOS* 11), daughter of Aelius Celsus (who was executed by Septimius Severus).

Some hypothetical cases also exist. As an example, a funerary monument erected up at Rome by two homonymous sisters, styled as *Sulpiciae C. f. Galbillae,* to their paedagogues (*CIL* VI 9745). Based on their nomenclature and the approximate date of the inscription, it has been assumed that they were the daughters of C. Sulpicius Galba (*cos.* 22; cf. *PIR*^{2} S 1030-1031; *PFOS* 741-742), but this is somewhat uncertain. However the case may be, it seems that they both, interestingly enough, shared the same cognomen, which probably came from the father in a suffixed form. Other hypothetical cases are compiled in Appendix 4.

The evidence is particularly abundant outside the senatorial elite, as the following sample will show:

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 20393 (1st c.?): Iulia L. f. Bassilla, daughter of L. Iulius Bassus and Noneia Fortunata.

CIL VI 21921 (1st c.?): Domitia L. f. Silanilla, daughter of L. Manilius L. f. Volt. Silanus Viennensis.[603]

CIL VI 12702 (51-200): daughter Atticilla, father Atticus.

CIL VI 16578 (2nd c.): daughter Crescentilla, father Crescens.

CIL VI 24885 (71-200): Postumia P. f. Priscilla, daughter of P. Postumius Priscus and Postumia Sotira.

CIL VI 28952 (71-200): Artoria L. f. Atticilla, daughter of L. Artorius Atticus and Villia T. f. Faustina.

CIL X 2617 (Roma? 71-150): Iunia Atticilla, daughter of M. Iunius Atticus and Iunia Prepusa.[604]

CIL VI 16361 (71-150): Cornelia Q. f. Bassilla, daughter of Q. Cornelius Bassus and Cornelia Q. f. Prima.

CIL VI 10544a (71-200): Aconia Priscilla, daughter of T. Flavius Priscus and Aconia Tuenda (note also her brother C. Aconius Tuendus with the maternal cognomen and the fact that they both have the maternal nomen).

CIL VI 10777 (71-200): Cl(audia) Priscilla, daughter of L. Aelius Priscus (note the use of the non-paternal nomen).

CIL VI 11133 (2nd c.): Aelia Clementilla, daughter of D. Aemi[l]ius Cleme(n)s and Aemi[l]ia Melissa.[605]

CIL VI 16578 (2nd c.): Crescentilla, daughter of Crescens and Soteris.

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603 *Viennensis* is clearly a geographical indication here. Note that the daughter has a different nomen than her father, even though she was clearly a legitimate child. Perhaps one of them was adopted, or the daughter was simply given the maternal nomen for one reason or another.

604 The cognomina of her sister Sperata and brother Hilarus did not come from the parents.

605 Her sister Primilla's cognomen did not come from the parents.

PompIn 70 = *ImpPomp* 3ES (Pompeii, early Augustan): Veia N. f. Barchilla, daughter of N. Veius Barca (see 3.2.1.5.).

AE 1994, 554 (Tibur, 71-150): Sollertilla, daughter of [Ti]berius Natronius Sollers and Valeria Apollonia (cf. her sister Valerianilla below in 4.4.2.).

CIL V 2982 (Patavium, 1st/2nd c.): Luscia Quadratilla, daughter of C. Luscius Quadratus and Insteia Maxima.[606]

CIL X 6377 (Tarracina, 2nd c.): Clementillae Cleme(n)s pater filiae.

CIL XIV 4258 = *ILS* 6233, cf. also *CIL* XIV 4259 = *ILS* 5630 (Tibur, 141-170 CE): Tullia Blaesilla, daughter of M. Tullius M. f. Cam. Blaesus and Tullia Berenice.

CIL IX 4030 (Alba Fucens, 2nd c.): Strabonilla, daughter of Septimi(us) Strabo and Felicula.

Provinces:

CIL XII 2786 (Nemausus, 71-200): Val(eria) Severilla, daughter of M. Val. Severus.

CIL XII 3742 (Nemausus, 71-200): Maximilla Maximi f.[607]

CIL XII 2789 (Aquitania): Varenia Montani f. Montanilla.

ILAlg I 1921 (Afr. proc.): Varilla V[a]ri filia.

CIL VIII 2843 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.?): Cl(audia) Maximilla, daughter of Tib. Cl(audius) Maximus and Cl(audia) Maxim(a). In this case the cognomen can be said to derive from both parents.

CIL III 1906 (Scarbantia, 46-69 CE): Iulia Ti. f. Ruf(i)lla, daughter of Ti. Iulius Rufus.

CIL III 2083 = *CLE* 1060 (Salona, 31-150): Papiria Cladilla, daughter of P. Papirius Cladus and Papiria Rhome.[608]

AE 1938, 56 = 2003, 1607 (Philippi, 3rd c.): Aurelia Lucilla, daughter of M. Aurelius Lucius and Aurelia Calliste.

ILJug III 2017 (Clissa, 151-200): Maltilia Pudentilla, daughter of Maltilius Pudens and Aurelia Maxima (her sister Maltilia Maximina in turn was named after the mother).

CIL III 12438 (Moesia inf., early 3rd c.): Val(eria) Pudentilla, daughter of L. Val(erius) Pude[ns] and Kalpurnia Procla.[609]

CIL III 4191 (Savaria, 101-150): Valeria Censorinilla, daughter of L. Val(erius) L. f. Cl(audia) Censorinus (*dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) S(avariae) item vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)*) and Flavia Insequentina.[610]

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606 The cognomen of her brother L. Luscius Valens was from neither one of the parents.

607 The cognomen was also transmitted to her son Maximus, while her daughter Servata was not named after either one of her parents (her father was called M. Apicius Vitalis).

608 It is unclear where (if anywhere) the cognomen of Cladilla's brother P. Papirius Proculus came from.

609 Pudentilla's brother L. Val. Pudentianus was also named after the father, his cognomen being derived with the suffix *-ianus*. The cognomen of their sister Val. Restuta did not, however, come from either one of the parents.

CIL III 11031 = *RIU* 369 (Brigetio, Pann. sup., 151-300): Lucilla, daughter of L. Retonius Lucius.

CIL III 279 (Ancyra, 71-200): Ventidia Carpilla, daughter of Ti. Iulius Carpus (note the non-paternal nomen).

AE 1912, 270 (Iconium, 169 CE): Ἀρρουντία Οὐαλεντίλλα, daughter of Γ. Ἀρρούντιος Οὐάλη(ν)ς.

c) Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-iana*:

Rome:

AE 1968, 49 (early 2nd c.): Castricia M. f. Phoebiana, daughter of M. Castricius Phoebus and Sentia Casta.

CIL VI 10957 (117-200): Aelia Prisciana, daughter of P. Aelius Priscus and Manlia Cleopatra.

Provinces:

CIL XII 2252 (Gratianopolis): Attiae Marciana and Marcula, daughters of C. Sollius Marcus and Attia Aurelia (their brother was called C. Sollius Marculus).

IEphesos 2311 (Ephesus, date unclear): Συ(σ)τυλία Τιτιανή, daughter of Συστύλιος Τίτος (note also her brother Συ(σ)τύλιος Τιτιανός).

Senatorial cases:

Domitia Decidiana (*PFOS* 322), daughter of Domitius Decidius (*homo novus* from Narbonensis; *q.* 44/46). Note, however, that the father's cognomen was in fact a gentilicium used as a cognomen.

Egnatia Certiana (*PIR*^{2} E 38), *c(larissima) f(emina),* daughter of C. Egnatius Certus (*CIL* IX 1578, Beneventum, 3rd c.).

d) Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ula/-ola*:

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 15060 (71-150): Claudia Felicula, daughter of Ti. Claudius Felix.

CIL IX 6246 (Larinum, 71-200): Irria Capriola, daughter of Irrius Caprius and Irria Ianuaria (note that while *Caprius* was the father's cognomen, it was technically speaking a gentilicium).

Gaul: *CIL* XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 71-200): Maria Severiola Sacri Severi et Mariae Mariolae filia.[611]

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[610] She also had four brothers: Valerii Censorianus, Florentinus, Venerius, and Veteranus. *Censorianus* was also derived from the paternal cognomen (with *-ianus*), while *Veteranus* clearly came from the fact that the father was a veteran. One can only speculate why *Florentinus* and *Venerius* were chosen.

[611] The father's cognomen was probably *Severus* (rather than *Severius*), but the daughter's cognomen seems to have been derived from it, as if it was *Severius*; thus *Severiola* (and not *Severula*)—clearly with the same analogy as the mother's cognomen *Mariola*, which was derived from the gentilicium *Marius/a*.

There is also one senatorial case that requires a comment: *Iulia Lupula ?Arria ?Fadilla* (*PFOS* 444). It has been assumed that all the names belong to one woman, who was the daughter of P. Iulius Lupus (*cos. suff.*. in the late 90's). This may be the case. It seems, however, somewhat suspicious, as M. Kajava points out, that one and the same person would be styled, depending on the source, as 'Iulia Fadilla' (*HA, Vita Pii,* 1, 5), 'Iulia Lupula' (*CIL* XV 338), and 'Arria Lupula' (*AE* 1960, 181 = 1967, 75).[612] This is true, particularly in terms of two totally different nomenclatures. It has been suggested that we might be dealing with two women, Arria Lupula and Iulia Lupula, who were perhaps the daughters of Arria Fadilla, mother of Antoninus Pius, or somehow descended from P. Iulius Lupus.[613] However the case may be, it seems clear that there was a Iulia who had the cognomen *Lupula* and that she may have been the daughter of P. Iulius Lupus.

e) Cognomen derived from the father's cognomen with *-ulla*:

CIL IX 652 (Venusia, 14-37 CE): Egnatia Marulla, daughter of C. Egnatius C. f. Hor. Marus, *flam. Tib. Caesaris Aug. pont. IIvir quinq. ter praef. fabrum.*

CIL X 5255 (Casinum, 1st c.): Tertulla, daughter of C. Lanius P. f. Tertius.

There is also a senatorial case, viz. Terentia Cn. f. Hispulla (*PIR*^{2} T 105 = *PFOS* 756), whose father was called with all likelyhood called Cn. Terentius Hispo (cf. 2.4.5.2, n. 261). It is also probable that in the case of some of the other known Hispullae the name was derived from the father's cognomen (cf. 2.4.5.2).

f) Other cases:

The daughter's cognomen could naturally be derived from the father's name with other suffixes as well, e.g. with *-ana,* as in *CIL* VIII 3383 (Lambaesis): Amullia C. f. Africana, daughter of C. Amulius Africus; or it could be a superlative form, especially when coined from *Felix,* e.g. *CIL* XII 1918 (Vienna): Iulia Felicissima, daughter of P. Iul(ius) P. f. Gal. Felix and Iul. Novella. Even more often, however, the female counterpart of *Felix* would be the abstract noun *Felicitas,* as in *CIL* VI 16044: Cominia L. f. Felicitas, daughter of L. Cominius Felix and Cominia Kara (*sic*).

While the termination *-ia* does not become common in Latin cognomina before the fourth century, it occurs regularly in Greek cognomina already earlier, e.g. *CIL* VI 20754 (3rd c.): Iunia Alexandria, daughter of Iunius Alexander; *CIL* VI 23333 (3rd c.): Octabia (*sic*) Alexandria, daughter of Octabius (*sic*) Alexander. However, since these forms correspond to regular Greek feminine endings, we can hardly speak of suffixed forms in the same sense.

[612] Kajava 1986, p. 87.
[613] Chausson 2005, p. 239; cf. Kajava 1993, p. 189f.

There are also a number of cases, in which the daughter's cognomen is coined with *-ia* from a name that corresponds to men's praenomina of the type *Marcus, Titus* (see 2.4.7.2 above). But since *Marcia* and *Titia* were in fact the 'standard' female variants of these names (instead of *Marca* and *Tita*), such cases can hardly be considered suffixed forms in the same sense as names coined with, say, *-illa* or *-ina,* and in any case these names have already been discussed in above in 2.4.7.2).

While the suffix *-ella* was hardly productive in personal names, there are some rare cases, in which it seems that a female name was coined independently with it. Most of these cases are found under 2.4.9, but there is at least one potential case from the senatorial *ordo,* which may belong to this category: Cassius Dio gives a vivid picture of a wealthy 80-year-old lady called Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10), who danced for Nero (Dio 61, 19, 2). It has been reasonably asasumed that she was the daughter of Sex. Aelius Catus (*cos.* 4 CE; *PIR*^{2} A 157), though this is not entirely certain (but in this case she would probably be the sister of Aelia Paetina; see 4.6.1 below).[614]

It was also possible to derive the daughter's cognomen from that of the father with multiple suffixes, e.g. *AE* 1973, 71 (Roma, 131-170): father Cn. Coelius Mascus, daughter Coelia Mascellina (*-ella* + *-ina*).

4.3.1.3 Father's and daughter's cognomina derived from the same root with different suffixes

In many cases the father's and the daughter's cognomina were both suffixed forms coined from the same root. The father's cognomen could for instance be derived with *-ianus,* while the daughter's cognomen cognomen would have the termination *-illa* or *-ina* (in the most typical scenario). This is particularly characteristic for later periods, when suffixed forms were more common in general. In this category one could also include pairs such as *Fronto – Frontina* or *Pollio – Pollitta,* since it can be argued that the names were regularly derived from the stems *front-* and *Poll-*, cf. Caesia Frontina (*PFOS* 170), daughter of Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto (*cos. suff.* 96) and Fufidia Pollitta (*PFOS* 388), daughter of L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166). Pairs of the type *Hispo – Hispulla* could also fall into this category, but since the root-word is unknown, it may be better to treat such forms as real derivations through haplology—although from the Roman point of view such a distinction was probably largely irrelevant (cf. the discussion in 2.4.13).

In all the following cases the daughter's cognomen is derived with *-illa,* whilst the father's cognomen is derived with some other suffix (mostly *-ianus,* but also *-inus, -o, -io*):

[614] Syme (1986, p. 309 n. 79) has certain reservations, assuming that Catus may have been born c. 30 BCE, whence the Neronian lady of eighty years could hardly be his daughter.

SEN. Fl(avia) Neratia Septim[ia] Octavilla (*PFOS* 372), *c(larissima) p(uella),* attested as the daughter of L. Flav(ius) Septimius Aper Octavianus in an urban inscription from the early 3rd century (*CIL* VI 1415; cf. *CIL* VI 31648).[615]

SEN. Claudia Dryantilla Platonis (*PFOS* 234), father Ti. Claudius Dryantianus Antoninus (active during the Antonine period)—though her aunt already bore the cognomen *Dryantilla* (cf. 4.3.3).

CIL VI 3552 = *ILS* 3276 (Blera, 51-150): father C. Decimius Ammonianus Flavianus, daughter Ammonilla.

CIL VI 25707 (Roma, 326-375): father Sabinianus, daughter Sabinil(l)a.

RIU VI 1307 (Aquincum, 151-200): Aelia Sabinilla, daughter of Ael. Sabinianus (whose father in turn was of Ael. Sabinus).

CIL III 1541 (Dacia, 2nd c.): Pap(iria) Quintilla, daughter of Pap(irius) Quintinus.

CIL XIII 2052 (Lugd., 2nd c.): Aelia Germanilla, daughter of Aelius Germaninus.

CIL VI 18247 (late 1st c.): father T. Flávius Vettó, son T. Flávius Vettiánus, daughter Flávia Vettilia (=Vettilla).

Bull. Com. 56 (1928), 292 nr. 5 (Roma, 1st c.): Rufilla L. Avilli Nigri Rufionis f.

AE 1967, 165 = *HEp* 2003/04, 926 (Lusitania): Quintilla, daughter of M. Curius Quintio.

In some similar cases the daughter's cognomen resembled not only the father's cognomen but also his praenomen, like e.g. in the following cases from Gallia Narbonensis: *CIL* XII 2739: Iulia Q. f. Quintilla, daughter of Q. Iulius Quintin(us); and *CIL* XII 2793: F(rontonia) Quintilla, daughter of Q. Frontonius Quintinus.

The following cases are similar but the daughter's cognomen is coined with *-ina*:

CIL VI 26999 (1st c.): Sulpicia Honorina, daughter of Sulp(icius) Honoratus and Domitilla.

CIL VI 38229 (late 2nd c.): Consia Augustina, daughter of M. Consius Augustalis and Iulia Melitine.

CIL VI 20315 (2nd/3rd c.?): Iulia Valentina, daughter of Iulius Valentio.

CIL III 5684 (Lauriacum, 101-150): Privatia Silvina, daughter of Privatius Silvester.

ILJug II 560 = *AE* 1984, 791 (Moes. sup. 131-250): Maximina, daughter of P. Ael. Maximianus.

CIL III 987 (Apulum, 180-211): Iulia Frontina, daughter of C. Iulius Frontonianus.

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[615] Her name also suggests a connection to Septimia Octavilla (*PFOS* 697), the sister of the emperor Septimius Severus.

CIL III 3560 (Aquincum): Pollia Martina, daughter of G. Pollius G. f. domo col(onia) Ael(ia) Mursa Martianus, *vet. leg. II Ad.* (note also her siblings Marcellina and Marinianus, whose names, while derived from different stems, were probably chosen due to their phonetic vicinity to *Martianus*).
CIL III 14367,1 = *ILLPRON* 1972 = *RIS* 350 (Celeia, 2nd/3rd c.): father Valerius Tertul{i}lianus, daughter Tertullina.

Other suffixes:
AE 1914, 92 = 1919, 80 (Novae): Antonia Aprulla, daughter of M. Antonius M. f. domo Crustumia Arniae Aprio and Tannonia Valentina.
Compare: *CIL* VI 21113 (late 1st c.): Larcia Aprylla, daughter of A. Larcius Aprio—though due to the orthography it is not clear if the daughter's cognomen is supposed to be *Aprulla* or *Aprilla.*
ILAin 128 = *AE* 1988, 876 (Ambarri, Lugd.): *Rufinula Ruffiniani fil(ia), neptis* of *Ruffius Severus Scotti filius.* In other words, the cognomina of Rufinula and her father go back to the grandfather's nomen *Ruffius,* from which the father's cognomen is derived with *-inus* + *-ianus*; and the daughte'rs cognomen in turn is a variant of the father's cognomen with *-ula.*
CIL VI 1388 (Rome, 161-170): Aur. M. f. Apollonia, daughter of Aur. Apollinaris.
AE 1988, 41 (Rome, 251-300): *Marciae Marcianus pater filiae* (assuming that the stem is *Marc-*; it could also be that we are dealing with the nomen *Marcia*).

In the following cases there are several daughters with cognomina that resemble each other as well as that of the father (cf. also 4.9):
AE 1939, 10 (Ulcisia, 171-250): parents T. Fl(avius) Felicio, *Aug. col. Aq.* and Flavia Secundina, with two daughters, Flavia Felicula and Flavia Felicissima (also three sons; T. Flavius Felicissimus, T. Flavius Felix, and T. Fl(avius) Ingenuus who is also styled as *fil. legitimus*).
RIU III 719 = *AE* 1909, 146 (Brigetio, 211-222): Aeliae Victoriana and Victoria, daughters of P. Aelius Victorinus and [---] Pacata.

In the case of freedwomen, the cognomen could also resemble that of the patron, as in *CIL* VI 21806, recording L. Maecius Secundinus and his freedwoman Maecia Secundilla.

4.3.1.4 Father's cognomen in a de-suffixed form

Sometimes the daughter's cognomen was derived from the father's name, not in a suffixed, but in a de-suffixed form (of the type *Rufinus* > *Rufa,* or *Vitellianus* > *Vitellia*). This phenomenon was obviously more characteristic to later rather than early periods, since it presupposed that the father's cognomen already was a suffixed form of an existing name. Take for example the following cases:

CIL VI 18815 (Rome, late 1st c.): Hygia, daughter of Hyginus and Furia Secunda.

CIL VI 28229 (Rome, late 1st c.): Val(eria) Marcel(l)a, daughter of Val. Marcellinus and Aur. Rufina.

AE 1983, 177 = 2014, 227 (Rome, 3rd c.): Iulia Secunda, daughter of Iul. Domit. Secundianus.

CIL XI 199 (Ravenna): Olia P. f. Tertulla, daughter of (P.) Olius Tertullianus.

CIL XII 1267 (Arausio, Narbonensis, 2nd/3rd c.?): Iulia Paulina, daughter of Iul(ia) Paterna and Togius Paulinianus.

CIL XIII 1890 (Lugd., 222-235): Septimia Marcella, daughter of L. Septimius L. f. nat(ione) Pannonius d(omo) Ulp. Papir. Petavione Marcellinus and Aelia Clementina (note also her brothers T. Sept. Marcellus and T. Sept. Marcellianus).

CIL III 2241 (Salona, 3rd c.): Aur(el)ia (*sic*) Ursa, daughter of Aurelius Ursinus.[616]

ILAlg II.3, 7634 (Cuicul): Fl(avia) Novella, daughter of C. Fl. Novellianus.

There are also many cases, in which the father's cognomen is derived with *-ianus* (from a nomen), while the daughter's cognomen is reduced to the original nomen (of the type *Vitellianus* > *Vitellia*), as the following examples will show:

Ulpia Aurelia Valeria (three nomina), daughter of Aurelius Herculanus and granddaughter of Ulp(ius) Valerius Aurelianus, both *viri egregii* (*CIL* III 6155 = 7571, Tomis, late 3rd/4th c.; cf. AE 1978, 715).

Ulpia Valeria, daughter of M. Val. Valerianus, a Roman knight, and Ulpia Paratiane as well as sister of M. Val. Ulpius, who died at the age of eight (*CIL* III 4327 = *IGR* I 532 = *AE* 1958, 149 = *AE* 1960, 56; Brigetio, early 3rd c.). Note that she bears the maternal nomen, while her cognomen is "desuffixed" from the father's cognomen.

CIL VIII 4278: Iulia Sempronia, daughter of C. Iul. Sempronian(us).

There is also a senatorial woman Egrilia Plaria (*PFOS* 341), whose father was M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus (*PIR*^{2} E 48). The name *Plaria* in fact came from the paternal grandmother Plaria Vera through the nomenclature of her father (*Plaria* (as a nomen) > *Plarianus* > *Plaria*, now a cognomen; cf. 2.5 and 4.4.6.[617]

In some similar cases, however, the father's cognomen was coined with different a different suffix, e.g. *-inus*:

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[616] The daughter's nomenclature has been restored in the *EDCS* as *Aur(el)ia Urs(in)a*, but this is unnecessary. I do not see why we could not assume that the cognomen really was *Ursa* and that the scribe simply made an error with the nomen.

[617] Plaria Vera is attested as *flaminica divae Augustae* at Ostia (CIL XIV 399; 5346; 4446; also *MEFR* 1970, nr. 3).

CIL III 3534 (Aquincum): Aurelia Antonia, daughter of Aur(elius) Antoninus and Septimia Lupa

4.3.2 Mother's cognomen/cognomen of the maternal line

Just like the cognomen could be taken from the father, it could equally well come from the mother or the maternal line. In the case of the early imperial aristocracy, this sometimes meant that the mother herself may not have had a cognomen, but the daughter's cognomen was identical with or derived from the cognomen used by the men of the maternal line.

4.3.2.1 Maternal cognomen in an identical form

As noted above, some early imperial women inherited their cognomen from the maternal line (even if the mother did not necessarily have a cognomen). This is for example the case with LOLLIA SATURNINA (*PFOS* 506), whose mother was an otherwise unknown daughter of a Volusius Saturninus (see 3.3.2 above), and with DOMITIA CALVINA (*PFOS* 321), whose mother Domitia was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*cos.* 53, II 40 BCE).[618] In the case of the latter one should note that not only the cognomen but also the nomen came from the maternal side—a practice that occasionally occurs among women of the Roman elite, mostly for reasons of prestige (the most famous example being Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina, but there are many other examples as well).[619]

Senatorial women who had the maternal cognomen in an identical form are abundantly on record:

First century: IULIA AGRIPPINA (*PFOS* 426), daughter of Germanicus Caesar and (Vipsania) Agrippina (*PIR*^{2} V 682); IUNIA LEPIDA (*PFOS* 472), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 19 CE) and Aemilia Lepida (*PFOS* 29); DOMITIA LONGINA (*PFOS* 327), daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo (*cos. suff.* 39) and (Cassia?) Longina (*PFOS* 196); (LICINIA) PRAETEXTATA (*PFOS* 495), daughter of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*cos.* 64) and Sulpicia Praetextata (*PIR*^{2} S 1034 = *PFOS* 745; see 4.6.1. below); POPPAEA SABINA (*PFOS* 646 = *PIR*^{2} P 850), daughter of T. Ollius and Poppaea Sabina (*PFOS* 645 = *PIR*^{2} P 849), bearing full maternal nomenclature, apparently on her own initiative;[620]

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618 The mother probably did not have a cognomen. She is attested in the nomenclature of her slaves as *Domitia Bibuli (uxor)* (*CIL* VI 5876; 9523).

619 I have discussed this practice elsewhere; see Nuorluoto 2017.

620 Tacitus explicitly states that she was named after her maternal grandfather C. Poppaeus Sabinus for reasons of prestige (Tac. *ann.* 13, 45): *erat in civitate Sabina Poppaea, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, inlustri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consulari et triumphali decore praefulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia Seiani pervertit* ("There was in Rome a certain Poppaea Sabina. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she had assumed the name of her maternal grandfather Poppaeus Sabinus, an illustrious man, distinguished by consular and triumphal glory; for Ollius, who had not yet risen to the highest office, was ruined by his friendship with Seianus"). For a more thorough discussion, see Nuorluoto 2017, p. 265f.

FLAVIAE DOMITILLAE (*PFOS* 368-369), mother and daughter, the elder Domitilla being the daughter of the emperor Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla (*PFOS* 367), and the younger bearing not only her mother's cognomen but also her nomen (compare Poppaea Sabina above);[621] MARCIA FURNILLA (*PFOS* 525), daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Sura and Antonia Furnilla (*PFOS* 77);[622] CORELLIA HISPULLA (*PFOS* 268), daughter of Q. Corellius Rufus (*cos. suff.* 78) and Hispulla (*PFOS* 418);[623] (AELIA) DOMITIA PAULINA (*PFOS* 12), daughter of P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer and Domitia Paulina (*PFOS* 330), as well as IULIA PAULINA, daughter of the former (*PFOS* 452).

Second century: MINICIA MARCELLA (*PFOS* 552), daughter of C. Minicius Fundanus (*cos. suff.* 107) and Statoria Marcella (*PIR*^{2} S 893 = *PFOS* 773); ANNIAE GALERIAE FAUSTINAE (*maior* and *minor; PFOS* 62-63) and ANNIA GALERIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 61), women in three generations, the eldest Faustina being the daughter of M. Annius Verus (*cos.* 97, II 121, III 126) and Rupilia Faustina, and her daughter, the younger Faustina, in turn bearing not only her mother's cognomen but also her nomen, clearly for dynastic motives (compare the similar cases above), and her cognomen was also transmitted to her own daughter. Note also their kinswomen ANNIA FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 58), daughter of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 827), and her daughter ANNIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (*PIR*^{2} A 710). Other women from around the same period: CL(AUDIA) BALBINA (*PFOS* 224), daughter of L. Claudius Arrianus (*cos. suff.* mid-secod century) and Cl(audia) Balbina (*PFOS* 225); [ACILIA] FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 3), daughter of M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus (*cos.* 152) and Faustina (*PFOS* 358); BRUTTIA CRISPINA (*PFOS* 149), daughter of C. Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* 187; *PIR*^{2} B 165) and Laberia Mar[cia] Hostilia Crispina Moecia Cornelia (*PFOS* 478); CASCONIA MARCELLINA (*PFOS* 192), *c(larissima) f(emina),* who received not only her cognomen but also her nomen after her homonymous mother Casconia Marcellina (*PFOS* 191; compare the similar cases above).

Third century: CERELLIA VERANILLA, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina),* attested together with her father Q. C[erellius Apo]llinaris, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) v(ir)*, and mother Aurelia Veranilla, also *c. m. f.,* at Rome during Caracalla's reign (*CIL* VI, 41180 = *AE* 1969/70, 193 = *AE* 1974, 319a).

There is also AURELIA IUSTA (*PLRE* I 3), daughter of Caecilius Candidianus, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus),* and (Aur(elia) Iusta *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*; cf. *CIL* VI 31955 = *ICVR* IV 11221), and while she may not have been senato-

621 Her father seems to have been a certain Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus (*cos. suff.* 70, II 74; *PIR*^{2} P 260). Cf. also Nuorluoto 2017, p. 269f. Note also that a masculine variant of the cognomen *Domitilla,* coined with *-ianus*, appears in the nomenclature of the emperor Domitian.

622 For her mother's cognomen, see Ch. 2.6.1. 'Cognomina from gentilicia with *-illa*' above.

623 The mother's nomen is not known but she was probably connected to the Terentii Hispones of Mediolanum (see Terentia Cn. f. Hispulla in 2.4.5.2).

rial herself, her mother clearly was.[624] Another similar case is IULIA CAS(S)IANA, daughter of Iulia Decimi filia Cas(s)iana, *clarissima femina*, recorded in *CIL* II 4994 at Olisipo during the third century (cf. the mother in Appendix 4a). There are, furthermore, plenty of hypothetical cases, which I have compiled in Appendix 4c.

The practice is also well attested outside the senatorial *ordo*, particularly in the city of Rome, as the following examples will show:

Rome:

CIL VI 39541 (1st half of the 1st c. CE): Ociae P. f. Prima and Ocia Primilla, two daughters of Gallenia C. l. Prima. In this case both daughters were named after the mother, one with an identical and the other with a suffixed name form (see 4.9. below).

CIL VI 12134 = *ILS* 8085 (1st c.): Corria Q. f. Paullina, daughter of Q. Corrius Antiquus and Aplasia C. f. Paullina.

CIL VI 15542 (1st c.): Claudia Ti. f. Phoebe, daughter of Ti. Claudius Nedymus and Iulia Phoebe

CIL VI 18466 (late 1st c.?): Flavia Urbica, daughter of Mani[li]a Urbica and T. Flavius Victor.

CIL VI 18305/18306 (Flavian period), Flavia Cara quae et Ianuaria, daughter of T. Flavius Aug. l. Clymenus and Baebia Ianuaria.

CIL VI 19585 (51-130): Manlia Propinqua, daughter (?) of Hostia C. f. Propinqua.

CIL VI 15433 (51-200): Cl(audia) Ti. f. Firmina, daughter of Cl(audia) Firmina.

AE 1987, 132 (71-130 CE): Caetannia Romana, daughter of Caetannius Fileros and Aelia Romana.

CIL VI 15893 (98-117): Cocceia Auge, daughter of (M. Ulpius) Aug. lib. Vestalis and Cocceia Auge (brothers M. Ulpius Vestalis and M. Cocceius Crescens).[625]

CIL VI 15527 (98-117): Iulia Pallas, daughter of Claudia Pallas and C. Iulius Anicetus.

CIL VI 19993 (98-117): Iulia Phoebas, daughter of Iulius Felix & Annia Phoebas

CIL VI 8701 (98-150): Ulpia Iusta, daughter of M. Ulpius Aug. l. Zopyrus and Sulpicia Iusta.

CIL VI 10969 (117-138): Aelia P. f. Sabina, daughter of Aelius Trophimus & Longinia Sabina.

CIL VI 10934 (117-150): Aebutia P. f. Marcia, daughter of (P. Ael.) Politicus Aug. lib. and Flavia Marcia.

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[624] Both Aurelia Iusta and her brother Aurelius Asyncrytius bore the maternal nomen instead of the paternal one, perhaps because of the mother's higher rank in comparison to her equestrian husband (cf. Nuorluoto 2017, p. 271f.).

[625] Note the use of the maternal nomen, perhaps due to birth outside a legal marital union; also the fact that her brother M. Ulpius Vestalis bore the father's nomen and cognomen, while her other brother M. Cocceius Crescens also had the maternal nomen (and the origin of his cognomen is unknown). It might also be worth pointing out that the daughter was given a Greek name, while the two sons have Latin names.

CIL VI 6826 (141-150): Aelia Tyche, daughter of P. Aelius Helix and Aelia Tyche (unclear where her sister Aelia Marciana's cognomen originated).
CIL VI 15166 (2nd c.): Cl(audia) Marina, daughter of M. Claudius Nymphotodus and Caninia Marina.
AE 1969/70, 58 (2nd c.): Iuventia Beronice, daugher of Rasinia Beronice.
CIL VI 35307 (2nd c.): Fl(avia) Priscilla, daughter of Fl(avius) Alfius and Publilia Priscilla.
CIL VI 21945 (2nd c.?): Iavolena Sosibia, daughter of P. Manlius Fuscus and Iavolena Sosibia (her sister was called Iavolena Marcia; see 4.9. below).
CIL VI 10524 (2nd half of the 2nd c.): Siria Iustina, daughter of P. Sirius Serpicianus and Acilia M. f. Iustina.
CIL VI 20462 = *ILS* 8486 (2nd/3rd c.): Iulia C. f. Felicitas, daughter of Iulius Verna and Iulia Felicitas.
CIL VI 1636 = *ILS* 1361 = *AE* 1978, 344 (221-240): Vibia Maria Maxima, daughter of P. Vib(ius) P. f. Marianus, *e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(ir)*, and Regina Maxima.[626]
CIL VI 10861 (190-225): Aeliae Celerinae (mother and daughter).
CIL VI 2647 (2nd/3rd c.). Iunia D. f. Flaccilla, daughter of D. Iunius D. f. Verecundus and Aurelia L. f. Flaccilla.
CIL VI 15500 (imperial): Nigidia Martina, daughter of Q. Nigidius Teuthrans and Cl. Martina (compare her brother Nigidius Martius).
CIL VI 21601 (imperial): Lucilia L. f. Procula, mother Procula.
CIL VI 20494 (imperial): Iulia Helice, daughter Helice.

Italy:
CIL V 5478 (Mediolanum, 1-150): Albinia Ingenua, daughter of C. Albinius C. f. Ouf. Mascellio and Iulia Ingenua.[627]
CIL XIV 2062 (Vicus Augustanus Laurentium, 2nd c.): Terentia Faustina, daughter of T. Terentius Secundus and Ulpia Faustina.[628]
CIL XI 3855 (Saxa Rubra, 2nd c.): (Ulpia) Procilla, daughter of M. Ulpius Perseus and Furcilia Procilla.

Provinces:
CIL XII 3615 (Nemausus, imperial): Sulpicia Q. f. Honorata, daughter of Hortensia L. f. Honorata.
CIL XIII 11001 = *AE* 1996, 1042 (Consoranni, imperial): Pompeia Primilla, daughter of Q. Pomp(eius) Avitus and Cominia L. f. Primilla.

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[626] Note also that her second nomen *Maria* was 'de-suffixed' from the father's cognomen *Marianus* (which in its turn, one may reasonably suspect, was derived from *Marius/a*).
[627] She also had three siblings: Iulianus, Mascellio, and Montana. Mascellio's cognomen is identical to that of the father, while Iulianus's derives from the mother's gentilicium with -*ianus*. The origin of Montana's cognomen is unclear, but *Montanus/a* was a rather popular name in Northern Italy, obviously relating to the mountaneous landscape of the region (a search in the *EDCS* results in 40 cases from Transpadana and Venetia & Histria).
[628] The cognomen of her sister Terentia Ampliatiana clearly did not come from either one of the parents.

CIL III 3666 (Crumerum, 151-300): Annia Lupa, daughter of Ann(ius) Candidianus and Aurelia Lupa.

CIL VIII 9094 (Mauret. Caes.): Clodia Luciosa, daughter of Kalpurnia Luciosa.

SEG 40, 481 (Malloia, 1st c.?): Λουκία Ἰνγένουα, daughter of Λούκιος Γέλλιος and Καλπουρνία Ἰνγένουα.

SEG 9, 237 (Cyrenaica, 1st/2nd c.?): Πλωτῆνα Ἀσία (who died at the age of 20), daughter of K. Πλωτῆνος Μάκερ (age 60) and Ἀστεία Ἀσία (age 50).

4.3.2.2 Maternal cognomen in a suffixed form

The mother's cognomen was less often transmitted in a suffixed form to a daughter than the father's cognomen was. This is understandable, since an identical feminine form of the mother's cognomen was naturally always a possibility, whereas this was not always the case when coining a female version of the father's cognomen. When the daughter's cognomen was derived from that of the mother, the primary suffixes were *-illa* or *-ina.*

a) Cognomen from the maternal cognomen with *-illa*:

From the senatorial *ordo,* there is the early case of Appuleia Varilla (*PFOS* 85), daughter of Sex. Appuleius (*cos.* 29 BCE) and an unattested Quinctilia, who was the sister of P. Quinctilius Varus (see 3.3.2. above). While the mother may not have had the cognomen, it was in any case derived from the hereditary name of the maternal line. In addition, there is only one other case (of slightly hypothetical nature): Sergia Laenatis f. Plautilla (*PIR*^{2} S 543; *PFOS* 704), mother of the emperor Nerva, was the daughter of Octavius Laenas, a *homo novus* from the Sabine country, who had probably married the daughter of a patrician Sergius Plautus.[629] In this case, too, it is unknown if the mother herself had the cognomen or not.

Outside the senatorial class there is more evidence of women whose cognomen was a suffixed form of the cognomen used by their mother—but the amount of cases remains low when compared to cognomina derived from the father's cognomen:

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 39541 (1st half of the 1st c.): Ocia Primilla, daughter of Gallenia C. l. Prima (and sister of Ocia P. f. Prima, see above).

CIL VI 17886 (late 1st c.?): Felsinia Celsilla, daughter of M. Felsinius Severus and Sergia Celsa.

[629] It has also been suggested that it was not Plautilla's father who had married a Sergia but her grandfather (Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS,* p. 559; Syme 1988, p. 182). Settipani 2000, p. 271f. in turn has argued that the name came from a maternal great-grandfather. Neither one of this options seems plausible, as I have argued elsewhere; cf. Nuorluoto 2017, p. 271.

AE 2001, 562 (1st/2nd c.): Postumia L. f. Augurina Quietilla, daughter of (L.) Postumius Bellicus and Anicia Quita.[630]

CIL VI 15875 (51-200): Primilla, daughter of Cluvia Prima.

CIL VI 33776 (101-130): Cornelia Procilla, daughter of Quintilia Procula and Silvanus (*Procilla* through haplology from *Proculus,* instead of the form ***Proculilla*; see 2.3.2. above).

CIL VI 12772 (101-130): Attia T. f. Quintilla, daughter of Attia Quinta and (T.) Attius Phlegon (compare also the nomenclature of her brother (T.?) Attius T. f. Pal. Quintianus).

CIL VI 26677 (3rd c.): daughter Speratilla, mother Sperata.

AE 2015, 286 (Albanum, late 1st/2nd c.): Chrestilla, daughter of Cornelia T. f. Chreste.

CIL XIV 2630 = *ILS* 7237 (Tusculum, 3rd c.): Flavia T. f. Priscilla, daughter of T. Flavius T. f. Hilario and Claudia Ti. f. Prisca.

Provinces:

CIL XII 3581 (Nemausus, late 1st/2nd c.): Pompia Cn. f. Servatilla, daughter of Fabia L. fil. Servata.

AE 2004, 978 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 2nd/3rd c.): *[--- V]erill(a)e / [fil(iae)] dulcissimae / Verinia Vera mater fecit.*

ILAlg I 2610 (Madaurus): Maria Plautilla, daughter of Plautia Romana and C. Marius Securus Rogatianus (cf. also the son C. Marius Fortunatus Romanianus, whose second cognomen was derived from that of the mother).

CIL VIII 2843 (Lambaesis, 2nd c.?): Cl(audia) Maximilla, daughter of Tib. Cl(audius) Maximus and Cl(audia) Maxim(a). In this case the cognomen can be said to derive from both parents.

b) Cognomen from the maternal cognomen with *-ina*:

The only secure case from the senatorial *ordo* is Calpurnia Paulina, daughter of C. Caristanius Fronto and Calpurnia Paulla, who was honoured at Rhodiapolis together with her brother C. Caristanius Paulinus sometime between 80 and 84 CE, during their father's governorship of Lycia.[631] It is noteworthy that she also bore her mother's nomen—while her brother had the paternal one.

There is also a hypothetical case, namely Statilia Catulli f. Messalina (*PIR*^{2} S 865 = *PFOS* 731), who died an infant (*CIL* VI 26789). The hypothesis is that she was the daughter of [L.? Valerius] Catullus (*PIR*^{2} V 54) and an unat-

[630] It is unclear where the cognomen *Augurina* came from (in any case clearly not from the parents).

[631] Information regarding the existence of the honorarific inscriptions is provided by B. İplikçioğlu in *ANMED* 11 (2013), p. 216; cf. also *AE* 2013, 1621 and *SEG* 63, 1374. As for the mother's nomenclature, her nomen is known from *IKaunos* 126 (after which there is a lacuna) and cognomen from *IGR* III 300 = *JSR* 3 (1913), 262 nr. 5 (by G. L. Cheesman), in which her nomen was erroneously restored as [Σεργ]ία (hence *PFOS* 702, 'Sergia Paulla'); cf. Drew-Bear & Christol 2002, p. 180; Mowery 2006, p. 223ff; Salomies 2017, p. 115.

tested Statilia, who descended from the Valerii Messallae (and who may have had the cognomen *Messalina*, but this is a matter of speculation; cf. *PIR*² S 864).[632] If the identity is correct, our Messalina's full nomenclature came from the maternal side, like in the case of Calpurnia Paulina above.

Other cases (outside the senatorial *ordo*):

CIL VI 16397 (imperial): Cornelia Gemellina, daughter of Anicetus Aug. lib. Prisci-anus and Cornelia Gemella (note the use of the maternal nomen, probably due to illegitimacy).

CIL XI 3830 (Veii, late 1st/2nd c.): Caerellia Severina, daughter of M. Caerellius Iustus and Caerellia Severa.

CIL XII 3579 (Nemausus, late 1st/2nd c.): Fabia Q. f. Crispina, daughter of Quintia Crispa.

ILJug III 2017 (Clissa, Dalmatia, 2nd half of the 2nd c.): Maltilia Maximina, daughter of Maltilius Pudens and Aurelia Maxima (her sister Maltilia Pudentilla in turn was named after the father).

In the following case the daughter's cogomen was not directly coined with *-ina*, but with *-ull* + *-ina* (hence the termination *-ullina*): *AE* 1993, 751 (Altinum): Terentia M. f. Tertullina, daughter of M. Terentius C. f. Homuncio and Magia Q. f. Tertia. There may have also been euphonic factors at play, since *Tertullina* tones in with the nomen *Terentia* bettter than, say, *Tertulla* would.

c) Cognomen from the maternal cognomen with *-iana*:

I have been able to find only one clear case, in which the daughter's cognomen is derived from that of the mother with *-iana*, namely *AE* 1988, 407 (Cosilinum, 2nd c.?): daughter Quintiana, mother Quinta. More cases surely exist, but not in great numbers. There is also *CIL* V 7949 (Cemenelum), recording Octavia Valeriana, daughter of Anicia Valeria, but in this case the mother's cognomen was a nomen used as a cognomen (and not a genuine cognomen).

d) Cognomen from the maternal cognomen with *-ula*:

CIL XII 2258 (Gratianopolis, 1st c.?): Antonia Gratinula, daughter of M. Antonius Eudaemon and Vireia Gratina (her sister Antonia Grata's name instead was a de-suffixed form of the mother's cognomen; see below).

ILGN 369 = *ILN* V,3, 885 (Geneve, 1st c.?): mother Servilia Sabina, daughter Catia Sabinula.

CIL XIII 1594 (Aquitania): mother Iul(ia) Marcia, daughter Marciola

Note that all the cases are from Gaul, where the suffix *-ula/-ola*, seems to have been more popular than in other parts of the Empire (see Ch. 2.3.7.).

[632] Cf. Nuorluoto 2017, p. 269.

4.3.2.3 Variation between two suffixes

There is not as much suffix-variation when a cognomen is transmitted from one woman to another than there is when transmitted from the father. Some examples, however, exist:

Rome and Latium:

CIL XIV 1096 (Ostia, late 1st/2nd c.?): mother Grania Maximilla, daughter Fabia Maximina.

CIL VI 13340 (3rd c.): Aurelia Laurentia, daughter of M. Aur. Iulianus & Boudia Laurina.

Provinces:

CIL III 11037 = *RIU* 599 (Brigetio, 151-300): mother Valeria Valeriana, daughter Val(eria) Valerina (compare also her brother Val. Valerianus).

CIL VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.?): Aurelia Maximina, one of the children of M. Aurel. Iustus and Cl. Maximilla, all of whom were named after the parents (her siblings were Iustus, Iustina, Iustianus, and Maximinus).

CIL XII 5930 (Nemausus, 2nd c.?): Maximia Marcellina, daughter of Marcina.

4.3.2.4 Mother's cognomen de-suffixed

It was much more common for the daughter's cognomen to be a suffixed than a de-suffixed form of the mother's cognomen. However, some examples of the latter practice are available:

CIL VI 10935 (Rome): Aelia Marcia, daughter of P. Aelius Aug. l. Romanus & Feridia Marciana

CIL XII 2258 (Gratianopolis, 1st c.?): Antonia Grata, daughter of M. Antonius Eudaemon and Vireia Gratina (compare her sister Antonia Gratinula above).

CIL XII 2203 = *ILN* V:2, 346 (Vienna): Atisia C. f. Macrina, daughter of C. Atisius Paullin(us) & Licinia P. f. Macrinula.

CIL VIII 13070 (Carthago, 2nd c.?): mother Iulia Atticilla, daughter Iulia Att(i)ca.

4.3.3 Cognomen from some other close relative

The cognomen could naturally be inherited from other relatives as well, for instance skipping one generation, from a grandparent to a granddaughter. In such a case, like in the cases above, the cognomen could obviously be transmitted in an identical form or as a suffixed (or de-suffixed) variant. Examples of this are fewer, since inscriptions less often record other relatives than parents or siblings, but some instructive cases stand out. Furthermore, there are several cases from the senatorial elite, whose lineages we can often trace back several generations. As a general caveat, however, it ought to be noted that even if we have information of, say, a grandparent with the same cognomen, we do not always know who the parents were and it is thus possible that one

of them also had the same name. This is for instance the case with the following two inscriptions:

CIL VI 12174 (Rome, imperial): *D(is) M(anibus) / Appaediae / P(ubli) f(iliae) Crescentian(a)e / quae vix(it) ann(os) / VI mens(es) X d(ies) XVII / T(itus) Terentius / Crescens avus / fec(it).*

CIL IX 2459 (Saepinum, 1st half of the 2nd c.): *Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae) / Rufillae / Augurinae / Neratia L(uci) f(ilia) / Rufina / avia.*

In the former, the grandfather's (*avus*) cognomen *Crescens* has been transmitted to the daughter with the suffix *-iana* (*Crescentiana*). In the latter case, it is the grandmother's (*avia*) cognomen *Rufina*, in itself a suffixed form in *-ina*, that has been transmitted onwards, but this time with *-illa* (thus *Rufilla*). However, since we do not know the parents (or a possible aunt/uncle), it could be that the cognomina also appear in the generation in between the grandparent and the granddaughter.

A similar case from the senatorial *ordo* is Iallia Bassiana (*PFOS* 420), granddaughter of M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus (*cos. suff.* 159?). We do not know who her father was, but it is of course possible that he bore the cognomen *Bassus*.

Another case is Iulia C. f. Rufilla Augurina (*PFOS* 458), attested together with her *avia* Neratia L. f. Rufina (=Neratia Anteia Rufina Naevia Deciana; *PFOS* 568) in *CIL* IX 2459 (Saepinum, 1st half of the 1st c.). It is unclear who the parents were so it is possible that one of them also had a cognomen resembling *Rufilla/Rufina*.[633]

There are also some cases, in which it is more apparent that the cognomen skipped one generation, or was in any case not used by the parents but some other relatives. This is clear for instance in the following cases from Rome:

CIL VI 14018/14019 (2nd half of the 1st c.): Caesonia M. f. Prima, granddaughter of M. Caesonius Primus and daughter of M. Caesonius Albanus (who died at a young age) and Laelia Restituta. Prima's paternal uncle M. Caesius Fortunatus is also mentioned.

CIL VI 21196, cf. 21189 (late 1st c.?): Lepidia C. f. Florentilla, daughter of C. Lepidius Agrippa. Agrippa's father and brother in turn (or Florentilla's grandfather and uncle) had the cognomen *Florus*.

In *CIL* 3369 from Tarquinia (2nd c.) we also have an example of a woman named after her paternal uncle: Iulia Frontina, niece of T. Iulius Fronto (her sister Iulia Valentina in turn was named after their father T. Iulius Valens; cf. 4.9).

Another relevant example is provided by two inscriptions from Gratianopolis, Gaul, both from the second century. The first one records a woman

[633] It is unclear where the name *Augurina* came from, but a connection could perhaps be established to the *eques* Iulius Augurinus, who took part in the Pisonian conspiracy (*PIR*^{2} I 187/188).

called Attia Attici f. Bellica, wife of Sextius Gallus, *IIIIIIvir Aug.* (*CIL* XII 2247 = *ILN* V.2 384). She was probably the daughter of (L.) Attius Atticus, known from another monument, which he, together with his brother Iulianus, set up to their to their parents L. Attius C. f. Iulianus and Ingenuia T. f. Bellica (*CIL* XII 2262 = *ILN* V.2 394). It follows that the cognomen *Bellica* thus from the paternal grandmother.

I will now take a closer look at the evidence from the senatorial elite, among whom the phenomenon is better attested. Iallia Bassiana and Iulia Rufilla Augurina have already been discussed above. We have also seen in 3.3.2 that Cottia Galla (*PFOS* 299), daughter of the Augustan senator A. Cottius, was named after her *avia* Memmia Galla.

Another early, yet hypothetical case is DOMITIA LEPIDA (*PFOS* 326), who was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 32 BCE) and Antonia. It seems that her paternal grandmother was an Aemilia Lepida, the maternal one being a Porcia.[634] Note that her sister Domitia (*PFOS* 319) does not seem to have had a cognomen (cf. 3.3).

Other cases (in a rough chronological order) are the following:

IULIA DRUSILLA (*PFOS* 438), Caligula's infant daughter, born in 40 CE (and killed in 41), whose cognomen was identical with that of Caligula's sister—and the cognomen naturally derives from the cognomen of the Livii Drusi, the first known female bearer being Iulia Drusilla's great-great-grandmother Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus.

ASINIA AGRIPPINA (*PFOS* 113), daughter of M. Agrippa's grandson Ser. Asinius Celer (*cos. suff.* 38?), whose mother in turn was Agrippa's daughter Vipsania Agrippina (*PFOS* 811).

STATILIA MESSALINA (*PIR*^{2} S 866), wife of Nero. Her father was one of the two T. Statilii Tauri, who were consuls in 44 and 45 CE. Her paternal grandmother was thus (Valeria) Messalina (*PIR*^{2} V 240; for the existence of her cognomen, see Ch. 3.3.1).[635]

CALPURNIA PRAETEXTATA (*PFOS* 180), attested as *v(irgo) V(estalis) m(axima)* at Rome in the late 1st c. (*CIL* VI 2146 = XIV 4120,1 = XV 7127). She was probably the daughter of C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus (*cos.* 87; *PIR*^{2} C 259), which makes her the granddaughter of Sulpicia Praetextata (*PIR*^{2} S 1034 = *PFOS* 745) and the niece of (Licinia) Praetextata (*PFOS* 495; see 4.3.2.1.).

(CALPURNIA) CETHEGILLA (*PFOS* 178), attested as the granddaughter of Cornelia Cethegilla (*PFOS* 280) in *AE* 1967, 57 (Tellenae, 71-130 CE).

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[634] This undocumented mother of Ahenobarbus was with all probability daughter of L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 51) and, thus, sister of Paullus the Censor, as Syme 1986, p. 158f. convincingly argues.

[635] For another Statilia Messalina, whose mother may or may not have had the same cognomen, see 4.3.2.1 above.

ANNIA CORNIFICIA FAUSTINA (*PFOS* 57), daughter of M. Annius Verus and sister of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. *Faustina,* which was a recurring name among the women of the Antonine dynasty, was used by her paternal grandmother Rupilia Faustina (*PFOS* 674 = *PIR*² R 218) and aunt, the empress Faustina (the elder; *PFOS* 62). The same applies to her cousin Annia Fundania Faustina (*PFOS* 60), daughter of M. Annius Libo (*cos.* 128). Cf. also her daughter Ummidia Cornificia Faustina above in 4.3.2.1.

AURELIA FADILLA (*PFOS* 137), another woman of the Antonine dynasty, was the daughter of the emperor Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder. She was named after her paternal grandmother Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 99). The cognomen *Fadilla* appears on several women of the imperial family, amongst others Fadilla (*PFOS* 356), daughter of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina and thus the niece of Aurelia Fadilla and the great-granddaughter of Arria Fadilla.[636]

Another daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina was ANNIA AURELIA GALERIA LUCILLA (*PFOS* 54), whose cognomen *Lucilla* came from the emperor's mother Domitia P. f. Lucilla (*PFOS* 329)—who in turn was named after her own mother Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla (see above).

The nomenclature of yet another daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina is noteworthy here, namely that of VIBIA AURELIA SABINA (*PIR*² V 592). Her nomenclature is obviously reminiscent of the empress Vibia Sabina, wife of Hadrian (who was the adoptive grandfather of Marcus Aurelius).

ANNIA Q. F. RUFINA (*PFOS* 67), wife of P. Cassius Dexter (*cos. suff.* 151?), attested at Canusium around 137/138 CE together with her grandfother Rufus and mother Albina (*CIL* IX 330).

POMPEIA SOSIA FALCONILLA (*PFOS* 632), daughter Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (*cos.* 149) and granddaughter of Q. Pompeius Falco (*cos. suff.* 108). The cognomen was transmitted in a suffixed form, which is hardly surprising, given the fact that a non-suffixed female form of *Falco* was not an option.[637]

CLAUDIA DRYANTILLA PLATONIS (*PFOS* 234), daughter of the Lycian Ti. Claudius Dryantianus Antoninus (career under the Antonine dynasty). The cognomen *Platonis* came from her paternal grandmother Aelia Platonis (*PFOS* 19). *Dryantilla*, of which her father bears a variant formed with *-ianus*, is in turn attested already for her paternal aunt Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla (*PFOS* 216).

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[636] She is only known by her cognomen, but she surely had a more complex nomenclature than that, including at least the nomen *Aurelia.*

[637] She is probably identical with Pom[peia] Qui[nti f.] Falco[nilla] (*PFOS* 628), who attested in Spain between 149 and 180 CE (*HEp* 2007, 37 = *AE* 2015, 686).

CARMINIA APPHIA (*PFOS* 189), daughter of the Carian *homo novus* T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (*cos.* under Commodus), who in turn was the son of Flavia App(h)ia, ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας.[638]

DIDIA CLARA (*PFOS* 312), daughter of the emperor Didius Iulianus, whose mother was Aemilia Clara (*PFOS* 24).

DOMITIA PATRUINI F. VETTILLA (*PFOS* 334), granddaughter, it seems, of Valeria Vettilla (*PIR*^{2} V 247) and niece of Domitia Vettilla (*PFOS* 333)—her father in turn being identical with P. (Domitius) Valerius Patruinus (*cos.* 82).[639]

To this category belongs also the younger daughter of the sophist Herodes Atticus, who is primarily known by the cognomen *Athenais.*[640] The name derived initially from her maternal great-grandmother Claudia Athenais (who was also her paternal great-aunt)[641]—but at the same time it also emphasized her Athenian origin (cf. 4.8.2 below).

There are also several hypothetical cases, which I've placed in Appendix 4. One may note that many of the cases above belong to or are connected to imperial families. This, however, is understandable, since we know much more about the family connections of imperial women than of other women. Hence one should not draw hasty conclusions that the transmission of women's cognomina from, say, grandparents or great-grandparents, was particularly characteristic to imperial households—though in the imperial context, dynastic motives and family history naturally played a significant role in naming.

4.3.4 Formal/phonetic resemblance

An interesting group is formed by names that were not necessarily coined from the same name as another cognomen used by, say the father or the mother, but otherwise resembled it formally/phonetically. It may not be easy to tell, when exactly this was the case, but there are some examples that could fall under this category.

From the senatorial elite, for example, we know of Domitia Lucilla (the elder*; PFOS* 328), daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (*cos. suff.* 73?). Her cognomen *Lucilla* was not technically speaking coined from *Lucanus* (whose stem would be *Lucan-*), but rather from *Lucius* (with the stem *Luc-*). It seems, how-

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638 The mother is attested in *MAMA* VIII 517a-b (Aphrodisias). See also Halfmann 1979, p. 130 for a family tree.

639 For his nomenclature, see Salomies 1992, p. 47.

640 Her full nomenclature may be restored as *Marcia Annia Claudia Alcia Athenais Gavidia Latiaria.* Cf. Ameling 1983; *PFOS* 55. It ought to be noted, however, that she is never attested with all of the names at the same time. The same applies to her sister Elpinice, whose full nomenclature may be restored as *Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla* (cf. *PFOS* 56). Their nomenclature will be discussed in more detail in Kantola & Nuorluoto, 'Onomastic strategies', *forthcoming.*

641 For a family tree, see Byrne 2002, *Stemma* V; cf. Ameling 1983, II, nr:s. 1-16.

ever, clear that the cognomen was chosen because the two names resembled each other (cf. also Lucania Lucilla below in 4.4.1). In general, the cognomen *Lucanus/a* was clearly associated with names derived from *Luc-*, which is not surprising, given that *Lucanus* also has its etymological origin in the same stem, even if we *Lucanus* and *Lucius* were clearly two different names. What is relevant from the Roman viewpoint is the fact that two names could be associated with each other, regardless of whether or not there was a real etymological connection (cf. the discussion and cases in 2.4.13).

Some more cases are found outside the senatorial *ordo*. For instance, *AE* 1993, 240 (Rome, 2nd half of the 2nd c. CE) records a woman called Sallustia Basilia, daughter of M. Aur(elius) Bassus and Sallustia Elpis. While it is true that the daughter's cognomen could in fact be *Bassilla*, the name in that case being misspelled, it could equally well be a genuine Greek name (Βασίλεια), which was chosen because it resembled *Bassus* and its derivatives.[642]

Another, perhaps better, example is provided by a Pannonian inscription (*CIL* III 3531, Brigetio, 171-250), which records Ael(ia) Messorina, daughter of Ael(ius) Messius and Aur(elia) Tacita. *Messorina* and *Messius* clearly resemble each other, yet the former is not technically coined from the latter but from *Messor* or *Messorius*. Even in cases like *AE* 1982, 686 (Nemausus, 71-130), *Aemilia Nigellionis f. Nigrina*, we might assume that the resemblance (*Nigellio – Nigrina*) affected the choice of the name.

Similarly, the name could be chosen because it resembled the mother's name closely enough. For example, in *CIL* III 3355 (Brigetio, 2nd/3rd c.) we have a woman called Aur[e(lia)] Deccia, mother of Dignia Decorata and C. Dignius Decoratus (her other daughter Aurel. Secundina was, in turn, named after the father C. Dignius Secundian[us]). Whilst *Decorata* and *Decoratus* were not technically derived from *Deccia*, the resemblance is obvious.

4.4 Cognomen from a nomen existing in the family

In addition to cognomina that had already been in use in the family, Roman daughters would often receive a name that was coined from an existing gentilicium. In many cases, rather unsurprisingly, the name was coined from the gentilicium of one of the parents—but also other gentilicia could be employed, to which the woman in question was connected through family ties. In addition to cognomina coined from gentilicia with the use of suffixes (or in some cases by 'de-suffixing' the gentilicium), the gentilicia could also be used in place of cognomina as such (cf. 2.5).

[642] Compare *ICVR* VIII 23168 (late 4th c.): daughter Fl. Bassilla, father Fl. Basilius—though this case is late.

4.4.1 Cognomen derived from father's/own nomen

It is no surprise that when a cognomen was coined from a gentilicium, it was often the father's, in other words in most cases the person's own, gentilicium that was used for this purpose. Some examples of this practice will now be presented.

a) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-illa*:
CIL VI 23431 (Rome, 71-200 CE): Plotia Plotilla.
CECapitolini 134 (Rome, 131-170 CE): Sabinia Sabinilla.
AE 1905, 208 (Praeneste, 2nd c.): Plotia L. f. Plotilla.
CIL X 2701 (Puteoli, late 2nd/early 3rd c.): *Marciae Drusillae Drusius Valens et (Marcia?) Quadratilla parentes filiae*.[643]
CIL II 5378 (Italica, 2nd/3rd c.): Licinia Licinilla.
CIL XIII 11862 (Mogontiacum, 2nd half of the 2nd c.): Lucania Lucilla. Note, however, that the cognomen is not technically speaking derived from the gentilicium, the stem of which would be *Lucan-*, but from the stem *Luc-* (compare Domitia Lucilla, daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus above in 4.3.4).
CIL III 168 (Berytus; 211-222 CE): Vettia Vet(t)illa.
BCTH 1938/40, 334 (Numidia): Spania Spanilla.

There is also a woman called Livia C. f. Livilla, attested in Tibur during the first century CE (*CIL* XIV 3796). She is included in Raepsaet-Charlier's catalogue of senatorial women (thus *PFOS* 499), though her status seems rather obscure to me.[644] In any case, her cognomen was clearly derived from her own nomen.

In addition, there is a woman of senatorial status who had a nomenclature of the same type, viz. Naevia Naevilla (*PFOS* 565), who is attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* at Cirta during the late second or early third century (*CIL* VIII 7054-7056).[645]

b) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-iana*:
CIL VI 778 (Rome, 1st c.): Claudia Ti. f. Cl[a]udiana H[o]norata (the origin of the second cognomen remains unclear).
CIL VI 11119 (Rome, 2nd c.?): Aemilia Aemiliana, daughter of A. Aemilius Tychicus.
CIL VI 21598 (Rome, 71-250): Lucilia Lucilliana T. f.
CIL IX 2111 (Beneventum, 121-200): [At]tia Attiana (mother of Licinia Liciniana Liciniani f. above in 4.3.1.1).

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[643] Note that her nomen differs from that of her father. A reasonable assumption therefore is that her mother was a Marcia.
[644] Cf. n. 221 above.
[645] For her whole family, see 4.9 below.

CIL III 11037 = *RIU* 599 (Brigetio, late 2nd/3rd c.): Valeria Valeriana (note also the nomenclature of her children Val. Valerina and Val. Valerianus).
CIL VI 3855 (p. 3163, 4768, 4789) = 31843 (Rome, 171-230): Aelia Aeliana, mother of M. Aurelius Achilles, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*.
CIL IX 1017 (Mutina, 4th c.): Vibia Vibiana.
CIL VI 20004 (Rome, imperial): *L. Iulii Felicis (...) Iulian(a)es fil(iae)*.
In *CIL* VIII 23327 from Africa (2nd c.), recording Aufidia Lucilla Aufidiana, daughter of L. Aufidius Restutus, we have a woman with two cognomina, the second of which is derived from the father's (and her own) gentilicium (with *-iana*) and the first one from his praenomen (with *-illa*).
CIL III 4721 (Noricum): G. Iulia Iuliana.
CIL V 137 = *InscrIt* X.1 162 (Pola): Aur. Vibia Vibiana, an equestrian *matrona*.

c) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ella*
As has been noted in Ch. II, *-ella* was hardly a productive suffix in name-formation. Its use was primarily restricted to the name *Marcella* (with some exceptions). Sometimes the name *Marcella* was coined from the gentilicium *Marcius/a*, as is seen from the cases below:
CIL VI 22144 (Rome, imperial): Marcia Marcella.
CIL II 6069 (Jerica, 1st c.): Marcia L. f. Marcella.
CIL VIII 3890 (Lambaesis, 71-200): Marcia Marcella (note also the nomenclature of her son Aelius Marcianus).
CIL VIII 27841 (Tituli, 71-200): Marcia P. f. Marcella.
AE 1932, 51 (Novae, 2nd half of the 2nd c.): Marcia Marcella.

d) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ina*:
CIL VIII 9786 (Caesarea, 71-200): Bassia Bassina (note also her son C. Aemilius Bassinus).
CIL V 5646 (Comum, 1st/2nd c.): Secundina, daughter of L. Secundienus Rufinus and Volturnia Domitil[l]a. It seems reasonable to assume that she was identical with (or at least related to) Secundiena Secundina, who is also attested at Comum in the second century (*CIL* V 8906).
AE 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, 171-230 CE): Plotia Plotina, daughter of C. Plot. Valens (cf. her sister Valentina)
CIL III 1471 (Dacia, 201-270): Septimia [Se]ptimina quae et Revocata.
AE 1967, 366 = 1969/70, 478 (Aquincum, 2nd half of the 3rd c.): Flavia Flavina.
AE 1976, 101 (Rome, 151-300): Maria Marina.

e) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ulla*:
In the following cases the suffix *-ulla* has been added to the person's own gentilicium to coin her cognomen:
CIL V 5663 (Lambrugo, 14-41 CE): Statia Statulla.

CIL II 3643/3645 (Saetabis, early 2nd c.): Terentia M. f. Terentulla.
AE 2012, 251 (Rome, 1-30): Terentia M. f. Terentulla Albini.
CIL XII 755 (Arelate, date unclear): Antonia D. f. Antulla.

There is also *CIL* XI 3930 (Ad Vicesimum, 1st c.), recording Agernia C. f. Antonia Antulla, wife of C. Agernius C. f. Hor. Flavus, *IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) IIIIvir quinq(ennalis) Faleris*, in whose case the cognomen seems to be derived from her second nomen.

Also: *CIL* VI 3510 (Rome, 1st c.): Neronia C. f. Nerulla, wife of Q. Cascellius Q. f. Vol. Labeo, *praefect(us) fabrum*.
CIL VIII 2808 (Numidia, 71-200): Antonia Antulla, daughter of M. Antonius M. fil. Col. Sabinus and Varia Binna.
The formal aspects of the cases of the type *Nerulla* (<*Neronia*) and *Antulla* (<*Antonia*) have been discussed above in 2.4.5.3 and 2.4.13.

f) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ula/-(i)ola*:
CIL V 3413 = *AE* 2008, 574 (Verona, 1st c.): Naevia L. f. Naeviola
AE 1938, 170 =1997, 1092 (Lugdunum Convenarum, 100 CE): Iulia L. f. Iuliola.
CIL VIII 27980 = *ILAlg* I 3756 (Numidia, 71-200?): Statia Statiola
AE 1946, 97 (Rome, 2nd c.): Hellenia Helleniola.
Also *ILTG* 309 = *AE* 1945, 101 (Ambarri, Gal. Lugud.): Camaelia Flaviola (*Belli Flavi Aemiliani et Luciliae Leae filia*) and Decmia Decmiola.[646]
A woman called Decmia Decmiola is also recorded in two other inscriptions from Gallia Lugudunensis (*CIL* XIII 2577; *ILTG* 310 = *ILAin* 3).
CIL XIII 2025a (Lugudunum, 2nd c.): Quintia Quintula (for discussion on the termination *-ula* instead of *-iola*, see 2.4.6.3).
CIL XIII 1650 (Segusiavi, 71-200): Maria Mariola.

g) Cognomen from father's/own nomen with *-ianilla*:
CIL VI 12404 (3rd c.) Arria Arrianilla.
ICVR VI 16226 (326-375 CE): [Fl]abia Flabianilla (*sic*).

h) Cognomina from father's/own nomen with *-osa*:
Six women called Iulia Iuliosa, all from Africa: *CIL* VIII 9087; 9119; 5868 = *ILAlg* II.2 6800; *ILAlg* II.3 9836; *ILAlg* II.1 2074; *CIL* VIII 6770 = *ILAlg* II.1 3837.

i) De-suffixed:
The cognomen was not necessarily derived from the nomen in a suffixed form, but it could also be a "de-suffixed", simple form, as the following examples show:
CIL III 5586 (Bedauim, Noricum; 2nd/3rd c.): Maximia P. f. Maxima.

[646] For some discussion regarding the Decmii of Ambarri, cf. Mathieu 2011, pp. 140-143.

CIL V 4492 (Brixia, 2nd half of the 2nd c.): Quintia P. f. Quinta (her cognomen was transmitted in a suffixed form to her son C. Viracius Quintinus).
CIL V 4424 (Brixia, Augustan-Tiberian period): Firminia Firma.
CIL XIII 11221 = *ILAin* 20 (Ambarri, imperial): Afrania Afra.
AE 2004, 978 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 2nd/3rd c.): *[--- V]erill(a)e / [fil(iae)] dulcissimae / Verinia Vera mater fecit.* The mother's cognomen *Vera* seems to go back to her gentilicium *Verinia.* Furthermore, if the restoration of the text is correct, the cognomen was also transmitted to her daughter in a suffixed form.
Note also *CIL* V 3787 (Verona): Verania Vera.

4.4.2 Father's/own nomen used as cognomen

Women (and men) in the Roman world had, as a rule, their father's gentile name. It is therefore understandable that there are not many cases in which a woman's cognomen was identical with her father's nomen. In some cases, however—for instance due to illegitimacy—the daughter would not bear the father's but instead the mother's nomen. In such cases the father's nomen could easily be used as the daughter's cognomen. This seems to be the case, for instance, in an inscription from Misenum, recoring Valeria Velonia, daughter of C. Velonius Macer (*CIL* X 3376 = 3611 = *ILS* 2849; 2nd/3rd c.).

Another (even if late and rather peripheric) example is the following case from Pannonia, in which the daughter, bearing the maternal nomen, has her father's nomen as her cognomen, whilst her brother, appositely bearing the paternal nomen, has the mother's nomen as his cognomen (*CIL* III 4327, Brigetio, 213 CE):

M. Val(erius) Valerianus & Ulpia Paratiane
|
Ulpia Valeria — M. Val(erius) Ulpius

While it cannot have been common—for obvious reasons—to bear one's own gentilicium also as a cognomen, there is a possible case of this as well: an inscription from Noricum records a woman called Aurelia Aurelia (*CIL* III 5183, Celeia, 151-250 CE). It could naturally be that the person responsible for the inscription made an error or that the second name should be read *Aurelia(na)*.[647] In the world of onomastics, however, almost anything is possible, even if some things are more likely than others.

There are also examples, in which the father's second nomen is used as the daughter's cognomen, as in the case of Trajan's niece Salonia Matidia (*PFOS* 681), whose father was C. Salonius Matidius Patruinus (*PIR*^{2} M 365).

[647] At least one Aurelia Aureliana is known from the same region and period: *CIL* III 5045 = 11622 = *RIS* 265 (171-250 CE, Noreia).

4.4.3 Cognomen derived from the mother's nomen

The cognomen could also obviously be derived from the maternal nomen. It ought to be noted, however, that examples of this seem to be more numerous among the senatorial elite than among the lower classes. This may be a pure coincidence, but it could also reflect the onomastic habits of the upper classes, for whom it was perhaps more important to manifest their family connections and alliances through naming. Furthermore, it seems that it was fairly common for Roman men to bear a cognomen that was derived from the maternal nomen, particularly with the suffix *-ianus* (see 4.9.2. below). As for women, I have been able to document the following cases:

a) *-illa*:

CIL XII 3175 = 3368 (Nemausus, 2nd half of the 1st c.): Adgennia Licinilla, daughter of Sex. Adgennius Macrinus, *trib. leg. VI Vict., IIIIvir iur. dic., pont. praef. fabr.,* and Licinia L. f. Flavilla.

AE 1994, 554 (Tibur, 71-150): (Natronia) Valerianilla, daughter of [Ti]berius Natronius Sollers & Valeria Apollonia (cf. her sister Sollertilla above in 4.3.1.2.).

SEG 33, 1195 (Cappadocia, late 1st/early 2nd c.): Κοισία Γρανίλλα, daughter of Κοίσιος Φλώρος and Γρανία Νίγελλα.

CIL III 9187 (Salona, 151-300): Iunilla, daughter of Iunia Epagathinaris(?)

CIL VI 18460 (Rome, 2nd c.), recording Flavia T. f. Vettilia, daughter of Flavius Palma and Vettia Antagona (it seems reasonable to assume that the daughter's cognomen was in fact *Vettilla*).

There is also a second-century inscription from Terventum, which mentions two women called [Nu]misilla and Numisia N. f. Marcella, the former perhaps being the latter's daughter (*CIL* IX 2614).

As for senatorial cases, at least the following are known:

Flavia Domitilla (*PFOS* 367), daughter of Flavius Liberalis and a Domitia. Being the wife of the emperor Vespasian, her name was transmitted onwards to her female descendants in two generations (see 4.3.2.1; and also the emperor Domitian's cogomen was derived from the same root).

Marcia Favonilla (*PFOS* 524), daughter of Q. Marcius Victor Faustinianus & Favonia (*PFOS* 357).

Valeria Vettilla (*PIR*² V 247), daughter of P. Valerius Patruinus (*cos. suff.* 82) and an otherwise unknown daughter of M. Vettius Marcellus (for a reconstruction of the stemma, see *PIR*² V p. 124)

Based on the cognomen it has also been assumed that the mother of Plautia Urgulanilla (*PFOS* 619), daughter of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 BCE), was an unattested Urgulania (compare the nomenclature of his brother M. Plautius Urgulanius, *PIR*² P 481).

b) *-iana*:

AE 1991, 190 (Roma, 100-300 CE): Aelia Flaviana, daughter of Aelius Eutychas & Flavia Saturnina.[648]

AE 1982, 685 (Nemausus, 131-200): Aemilia Corneliana, daughter of L. Aemilius Asyncritus and Cornelia Philaenis (compare also her brother L. Aemil(ius) Cornelianus).[649]

CIL XII 3904 (Nemausus, 71-200?): Acilia Sergiana, daughter of Sergia Montania.

Bull. Com. 90 (1985), 428 = *CECapitolini* 128 (Rome, 2nd c.): Pontiae Sextian(a)e (...) Sextia mater filiae (for the lack of a cognomen in the mother's nomenclature, see 4.1. above).

There is furthermore at least one potential case from the senatorial *ordo*. It has been hypothesized that the mother of (Ulpia) Marciana (*PIR*^{2} V 877), sister of the emperor Trajan, was an otherwise unknown Marcia—though this assumption seems to be based on her cognomen, and we should not refute the possibility that the name was in fact derived from the praenomen of her father M. Ulpius Traianus (see 2.4.4.4 above).

c) *-ina*:

CIL III 261 (Ancyra, imperial): Aquilia Severina, daughter of Q. Aquilius Lucius, centurion of *leg. II Aug.,* and Severia Martinula.

There are no clear cases of senatorial women. In the case of Pompeia Plotina (*PFOS* 631 = *PIR*^{2} P 679), wife of the emperor Trajan, it has been hypothesized that her mother was a Plotia—but this hypothesis seems to be based purely on the cognomen.

d) Other suffixes:

For this study I have been able to find only case, in which the daughter's cognomen is derived from the mother's name with the termination *-iola,* viz. *AE* 1976, 431 (Lugudunum, 2nd/3rd c.?), recording Feridia Orbiola, daughter of Orbia Ianuaria.

There is also a case, in which the daughter's cognomen has been derived from the mother's gentilicium with a Greek suffix: *CIL* VI 21922 (Rome, 2nd/3rd c.) records Manilia Marcianetis, daughter of Manilius Xanthias and Marcia Gentiane.

It is obviously clear that any suffix that could be used to derive cognomina from gentilicia in general could also be used to derive cognomina from gentilicia that came from the mother (e.g. *Pollia* > *Pollitta*)—even if we lack evidence of any specific cases.

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[648] Her sister was called Aelia Augustiana, but the origin of her cognomen remains unclear.

[649] She also had another brother, L. Aemilius Honoratus, but his cognomen does not seem to originate from the parents.

4.4.4 Mother's nomen used as a cognomen

It seems reasonable to assume that in many cases, in which a Roman woman had a nomen as her cognomen, the name came from the mother. Several prosopographical entries have been written and genealogies reconstructed based on such an assumption. It is for example assumed that the mother of Aedia Servilia (*PFOS* 6), daughter of M. Aedius, was a Servilia, and that the mother of Plautia Quinctilia (*PFOS* 617), daughter of A. Plautius, was a Quinctilia (see 3.3 for more discussion). One needs to be cautious, however, since there is also evidence of cases in which the name clearly did not come from the mother. Take for instance Milonia Caesonia (*PFOS* 550), wife of the emperor Caligula, whose mother was simply called Vistilia, or Pacideia Marcia (*PFOS* 591), daughter of L. Pacideius Carpianus and Domitia Galatia (see 2.5).

A relevant case here is the younger Iulia, the eldest daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Iulia. Given the fact that her father was a Vipsanius, it is reasonable to assume that her full name was *(Vipsania) Iulia* (cf. *PFOS* 813). In our sources, however, she is—like her mother—always simply called by the name *Iulia.*[650] There is, in fact, an inscription from Rhodiapolis, which records 'Iulia Agrippina, wife of Germanicus' (*SEG* 56, 1773), and it has been understandably assumed that she was the younger sister of Iulia, who was married to Germanicus Caesar.[651] This in turn could lead one to suspect that the daughters of Agrippa never had the nomen *Vipsania.* It seems, however, more likely that the Rhodiapolites made an error, as argued convincingly by K. Sänger-Böhm.[652]

Another case from a not much later period is (Marcia) Servilia (*PFOS* 526), daughter of Q. Marcius Barea Soranus (*cos. suff.* 52) and (Servilia) Considia (also N+N; *PIR*² S 607 = *PFOS* 710), who in turn was the daughter of M. Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* 35 CE) and perhaps a Considia. She is only at-

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[650] At least Tac. *ann.* 3, 24, 2; 4, 71, 4; Suet. *Aug.* 64-65; *Claud.* 26, 1; Plin. *nat.* 7, 16; 7, 45. On epigraphic record, she is attested only once, in an honorific inscription from Thasos, in which she is simply Ἰουλία Μάρκου Ἀγ[ρ]ίππου θυγάτηρ (*IG* XII,8 381; the inscription also mentions her mother Iulia and Livia Drusilla; cf. Ch. 3.3.2. above). The reason why the gentilicium was omitted in public may have to do with the fact that the patrician (and now imperial) *gens Iulia* was much more prestigious than the name of the municipal Vipsanii, who had not produced any remarkable office-holders before Agrippa.

[651] The text reads: [Ἰ]ουλίαν Ἀγριππεῖναν / γυναῖκα Γερμανικοῦ / Ῥοδιαπολεῖται.

[652] The Rhodiapolites perhaps were not completely familiar with the family background and, since Agrippina's nomen was never publicly used, they erroneously opted for the name *Iulia*. It is also possible that they meant her daughter Iulia Agrippina, who was married to Claudius (who also bore the name *Germanicus,* even if he is not normally referred to by that name). Whether it was the elder or the younger Agrippina that the Rhodiapolites wished to honour, they seem to have done it an erroneous manner. Cf. Sänger-Böhm in *Tyche* 26 (2011), p. 303f.; cf. also *PIR*² V 682.

tested by Tacitus, who calls her simply *Servilia,* "for this was the girl's name", *id enim nomen puellae fuit* (Tac. *ann.* 16, 30-33).[653]

From around the same period we know Avidia Plautia (*PFOS* 130), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (*cos. suff.* 110) and an unattested Plautia who seems to have been the daughter of L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus.[654]

Note also the case of Metilia Marcia (*PFOS* 547), daughter of (Cremutia) Marcia (*PFOS* 301) and an unknown Metilius. While her cognomen was technically a nomen, it was already used as a cognomen by her mother and thus is not entirely comparable with the other cases presented in this chapter (instead see 4.3.2.1 above).

As for women of non-senatorial background, at least the following evidence is available:

Bivona, 152 = *EE* VIII 707 (Thermae Himeraeae, 2nd c.?): Trebonia C. f. Modia, daughter of C. Trebonius Zmaragdus and Modia Hesione.

AE 2006, 1330 (Philippi): mother Sulpicia Vatria, children Vellei(i) Velleianus, Lucianus, Lucilla, Sulpicia. The daughter Sulpicia clearly had the maternal nomen as her cognomen.[655]

IAph 2007, 12,105 (Aphrodisias, 1st c.): Ἰουλία Ἀντωνία, daughter of Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀδράστου υἱός Ποτειτιανός and Ἀντωνία Λ. Ἀντωνίου Φλαωιανοῦ θυγάτηρ Φλαβιανή.

4.4.5 Cognomen coined from the nomen of another relative

Cognomina were obviously coined from other gentilicia than those of the parents as well. In many cases, for example, the cognomen resembled the nomen of a grandparent, in most cases a grandmother (since the gentilicia of the grandfathers would normally be identical to those of the parents)—but also the names of great-grandparents, aunts, or other relatives could come into question.

An early example is (Aelia) Iunilla (*PFOS* 14), daughter of L. Aelius Seianus (the praetorian prefect under Tiberius), whose *avunculus* in turn was Iunius Blaesus (Tac. *ann.* 3, 36; 72; 4, 26). We can thus conclude that Iunilla's paternal grandmother was a Iunia, from whose nomen the cognomen was derived.

We also know that Germanicus Caesar and (Vipsania) Agrippina had three daughters, one of whom was called Iulia Livilla (*PFOS* 443).[656] The

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[653] It seems clear that Tacitus used the word *nomen* here in a general sense, referring to the girl's personal (rather than family) name.

[654] Her mother: *PFOS* 615. L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus: *PIR*^{2} A 205.

[655] Her brother Velleianus's cognomen, in turn, was derived from his own nomen. The origin of the cognomina of Lucianus and Lucilla is not explicitly stated, but one could assume that their father was perhaps a Lucius Velleius.

[656] The other two bore the cognomina *Drusilla* and *Agrippina,* see 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.3 above.

name ultimately recalls the nomenclature of the Livii Drusi and, particularly, Livilla's great-grandmother, the empress Livia—but *Livia/Livilla* also appears in the nomenclature of her paternal aunt (Claudia) Livia (see below).

Another woman from the same period is Iunia Claudilla (*PFOS* 470), daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos.* 15; *PIR*^{2} I 832) and wife of the emperor Caligula—though the form *Claudia* (instead of *Claudilla*) is also attested for her.[657] The cognomen, in any case, comes her paternal grandmother, who was a Claudia.[658]

Interestingly enough, all the evidence I have found seems to date from a rather early period. There is, however, no reason to believe that cognomina could not be coined from the gentilicia of grandparents or aunts in later times as well (and they surely were). As has been seen above (4.4), cognomina certainly were derived from the nomina of the parents even in the later imperial period.

4.4.6 Grandmother's (or another relative's) nomen used as a cognomen

Much of the evidence concerns women of imperial houses. For instance, the two daughters of the emperor Claudius (one by Aelia Paetina and one by Valeria Messalina) were called (CLAUDIA) ANTONIA (*PFOS* 217) and CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (*PFOS* 246). The cognomina came from the paternal grandmother Antonia (*PFOS* 73) and her mother Octavia (the sister of Augustus). Another woman of the Julio-Claudian dynasty is (CLAUDIA) LIVIA (also sometimes called Livilla*; PFOS* 239), the sister of Claudius, whose cognomen recalls the nomenclature of her paternal grandmother, the empress Livia.[659]

There is also (FLAVIA) IULIA (*PFOS* 371), daughter of the emperor Titus, known from multiple sources, always as *Iulia*. The name can be explained as coming from the maternal branch of the family, assuming that her mother was not Marcia Furnilla, but Titus's first wife Arrecina Tertulla, whose

[657] Tacitus calls her *Claudia* (Tac. *ann.* 6, 20; 6, 45); whilst in Suetonius's account she is *Iunia Claudilla* (Suet. *Claud.* 12, 1; and in *Claud.* 12, 2 she is simply *Iunia*).

[658] The mother is often thought to have borne the praenomen *Appia* (cf. *PFOS* 214, Appia (Claudia); also *PIR*^{2} I 824), which indeed seems appropriate given the context. The existence of the praenomen is based on U. Weidemann's (1963) emendation of Tac. *ann.* 3, 68, 2 as *Appia* pro *alia*, which has been largely accepted (thus H. Heubner in the Teubner edition of 1983; cf. also Syme 1986, p. 194; and recently Salomies 2017, p. 121). One should, however, also take into consideration the idea proposed by Kajava (1994, p. 138), namely that her name in reality was 'Claudia Ap. f. Silani' and that Tacitus (or his source) simply made an error. *Appia*, in this case, ought to be understood as "the daughter of Appius". Kajava's idea is to a certain extent supported by the fact that all other daughters of the Silani are recorded with either their nomen only or with a combination of their nomen and cognomen (and also, since no other Claudiae are known to have been called by the name *Appia*). However, I would not refute the possibility that she was indeed called Appia (Claudia).

[659] Her nomenclature will be discussed in length in a forthcoming article.

mother in turn was a Iulia.[660] G. L. Gregori, however, has more recently suggested that the cognomen was given to her in honour on the occasion of the *dies natalis* of the temple of Venus Genetrix, the protector and mother of the *gens Iulia.*[661] This is an intriguing idea but also difficult to prove. It seems, however, reasonable to assume that, whatever the origin of the cognomen was, the allusion to the house of Augustus was deliberate. This is further emphasised by Iulia's assumption of the title *Augusta,* which, together with her cognomen, can be seen as a reference to the wife of Augustus.

From the Antonine period we know the two daughters of L. Aelius Caesar (born L. Ceionius Commodus; *PIR*^{2} C 605) and sisters of the emperor Lucius Verus, who were called CEIONIA FABIA (*PFOS* 204) and CEIONIA PLAUTIA (*PFOS* 205). Their mother in turn was an otherwise unknown Avidia (*PFOS* 128), daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus (*PIR*^{2} A 1408; cf. the stemma on p. 287). There are some open questions regarding the exact genealogy, but according to the hypotheses proposed by F. Chausson, said Nigrinus had married a woman from the family of the Plautii Silvani Aelii Lamiae; and L. Ceionius Commodus (*cos.* 106), the father of L. Aelius Caesar (and thus grandfather of the two Ceioniae), had married a woman belonging to the family of the Fabii Barbari.[662] It is to these connections that the two Ceioniae would owe their cognomina *Plautia* and *Fabia* (that is, if the genealogy is secure). The name *Plautia* was also used as a cognomen by their father's half-sister Avidia Plautia (*PFOS* 130; see 4.4.4).

A case from the third century is POMPONIA UMMIDIA (*PIR*^{2} P 781), who is attested in Pisidia, Asia Minor, as the wife of Flavius Antiochianus (*cos.* II 270; *IGR* IV 893). Her cognomen seems to derive from her great-grandmother Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 827).[663]

The nomenclature of EGRILIA PLARIA (*PFOS* 341), granddaughter of Plaria Vera and daughter of M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, has already been mentioned above in 4.3.1.4.

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[660] Castritius 1969, pp. 492-494. cf. *PFOS* 93; 362, 371; 525. The hypothesis is also accepted by Syme (1980, p. 21). The assumption that Arrecina Tertulla's mother was a sister of Ti. Iulius Lupus is based on the genealogy proposed by Townend 1961.

[661] Gregori & Rosso 2010, p. 195f.; cf. also *AE* 2010, 45.

[662] Chausson 2007, p. 137.

[663] Pomponia Ummidia's parents were Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*^{2} P 700) and Annia Aurelia Faustina (*PIR*^{2} A 710). The mother of Annia Aurelia Faustina in turn was Annia Faustina (*PFOS* 58), daughter of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 827). The maternal line (in four generations) thus goes as follows: Ummidia Cornifia Faustina > Annia Faustina> Annia Aurelia Faustina > Pomponia Ummidia.

4.5 Cognomen from a praenomen used in the family

Female cognomina could derive from men's praenomina, as has been seen above in 2.3.3 and various sections of 2.4. In the majority of such cases the name was derived from the father's praenomen—though in most cases of the imperial period, all men in the family would share the same praenomen, so one might as well talk about the family praenomen. Examples of this practice are numerous. Most of the relevant cases have already been discussed in various parts of Chapter 2. It will suffice to refer to them more generally here.

a) Father's praenomen used as a cognomen in an identical form (for more details, see the cases in 2.3.3 above):
Q(uintus) > *Quinta*: *AE* 1984, 749 (Scupi); *CIL* VIII 1280; VIII 1805 (Afr. proc.); VIII 6522 (Numidia); VIII 16118 (Afr. proc.); *CIL* XIV 116 (Ostia); *CIL* V 7698 (Augusta Bagiennorum); *CIL* III 9052 (Salona Etuvia, 2nd half, 2nd c.).
L(ucius) > *Lucia*: *AE* 1977, 735 (Scupi); *CIL* II.14 644 = 3896 = *AE* 2016, 854 (Saguntum, 1st c.); *CIL* VIII 7719 (Cirta, 1st c.); *ILAlg* II.1 3111 (Numidia, 2nd c.); *ILAlg* II.2 5061 (Thibilis).
Sex(tus) > *Sexta* (?): *IRC* IV 75 = *HEp* 1997, 210.

b) Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with the termination *-ia* (cf. 2.4.7.2):
M(arcus) > *Marcia*: *CIL* VI 33904/5; *CIL* XIV 1234 (Ostia, 2nd c.); *CIL* X 8316 (Palermo); *CIL* II 789 (Caurium); *AE* 2010, 12828 (Aquincum); *IScM* II 187 (Tomis); *CIPh* II.1 173 (Philippi); *AE* 2001, 2128 (Maur. Caes.); *CIL* VIII 7500 = *ILAlg* II.1 1356 (Cirta).
T(itus) > *Titia*: *AE* 1982, 256 (Ancona); *CIL* XII 679 (Arelate); *CIL* V 8862 (Verona); *AE* 1990, 680 (Nemausus); *CIL* III 1879 (Narona).
Q(uintus) > *Quintia*: *CIL* XII 2858 (Narbonensis).

c) Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-illa* (cf. 2.4.2.4):
L(ucius) > *Lucilla*: *CIL* VI 9664 = *ILS* 7536; *CIL* VI 9747; *CIL* X 1686 (Puteoli); *CIL* VIII 23327 (Afr. proc.); VIII 26965 (Thugga); *ILAlg* II.2 6022 = *AE* 1906, 96 (Thibilis); *ILAlg* II.1 3758 (Castellum Tidditanorum); *CIL* II 1081 (Naeva); II 1342 (Lacilbula); II 1375 (Basilippo); *HEp* 1997, 863 (Nebrissa Veneris); *HEp* 1990, 373 (Segobriga); *CIL* III 1988 (= 1989) = *ILJug* 2077 (Salona); *AE* 1982, 212 = 1988, 357 = 1989, 190 (Herdonia); *AE* 1988, 1035 (Asia minor); *CIL* XII 885 (Arelate); *CIL* XII 901 (Arelate).
Q(uintus) > *Quintilla*: *CIL* VI 19148 = *AE* 1982, 77 (Roma); *CIL* IX 1421 (Aequum Tuticum); *CIL* II 5068 = 5550 = *HEp* 2009, 52 (Lacimurga); *CIL* II 5187 (Pax Iulia); II 267; II 347 (Olisipo); II 5187 (Pax Iulia);

ILAlg II.1 3045 (Numidia); *CIL* III 5032 (Noreia); *AE* 1962, 143 = 1979, 402 (Vasio); *MAMA* VIII 32 (Lystra).

d) Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-iana* (cf. 2.4.4.4):
M(arcus) > *Marciana*: *CIL* X 358 = *InscrIt* III.1 149 (Atina); *CIL* II 329 (Scallabis); *CIL* VIII 23093 (Afr. proc.); VIII 7188 = *ILAlg* III.1 882 (Cirta); *CIL* VIII 2418 (Thamugadi); *ILAlg* II.3 7673 = *AE* 1955, 156 (Cuicul).
Q(uintus) > *Quintiana*: *CIL* XIII 2149 (Lugudunum).
M(arcus) > *Marciana*: *CIL* XI 5746 (Sentinum); *IPrusias ad Hypium* 53 (Asia minor).
T(itus) > *Titiana*: *CIL* III 10884 = *ILJug* 397 (Pann. sup.).

There is also one possible case in *-illiana*: *CIL* II 1090 = *AE* 2014, 608 (Baetica): Fabia Quintilliana, daughter (?) of Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Gal. Rusticus.

e) Daughter's cogomen from the father's praenomen with *-ina* (cf. 2.4.3.4):
A(ulus) > *Aulina* (?): *CIL* IX 4881 (Trebula Mutuesca).
M(arcus) > *Marcina*: *CIL* XII 4203 (Sextantio).
Q(uintus) > *Quintina*: *AE* 2011, 910 (Risinium); *CIL* XI 1773 (Volaterrae); XII 290 (Forum Iulii); XII 3820 (Nemausus).
Sex(tus) > *Sextina*: *NSA* 2008/2009, 349,8 (Beneventum).
Ti(berius) > *Tiberina*: *CIL* III 14386b (Heliopolis); *IG* X.2.1 484 (Thessalonica, 165 CE).

f) Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-ulla* (cf. 2.4.5.4):
L(ucius) > *Luculla*: *CIL* X 5546 (Aquinum); García Iglesias 1973 nr. 202 (Emerita); *CIL* VI 16543a (Rome).
T(itus) > *Titulla*: *CIL* V 6591; XII 3938 (Nemausus); XII 3942 (Nemausus); XII 3957 (Narbonensis): XII 4001 (Nemausus); *ILGN* 460 (Nemausus); *CIL* VIII 8131 (Numidia).

g) Daughter's cognomen from the father's praenomen with *-ula/-(i)ola* (cf. 2.4.6.4):
Q(uintus) > *Quintula: CIL* VIII 14636 (Afr. proc.).
T(itus) > *Titula*: *CIL* XII 3553 (Nemausus).
T(itus) > *Titiola*: *CIL* XII 2900.

h) Father's praenomen *M(arcus),* daughter's cognomen *Marcella* (cf. 2.4.9).
CIL VI 20894; II 33 (Salacia); II 3623 (Saetabis).

There is also one case, in which the daughter's cognomen has been derived from *M(arcus)* with the termination *-ellina*: *CIL* V 7032 (Augusta Taurinorum): Petronia M. f. Marcellina.

Whilst most of the cases focus on the praenomen used by the father, the woman's cognomen could also be identical to the praenomen used by other relatives. This may be the case in the following inscription from Philippi:

BCH 47 (1923) 73 nr. 30: *C(aius) Galges[tius ---]/tus VIvir [---] / Aconiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) [---] / uxori et Galg[estiae] / Quintae [filiae] / [v]ivos* (sic).

If Quinta was the daughter of Aconia Q. f. [---], as has been thought, her cognomen was identical with the praenomen of her maternal grandfather—whilst her father C. Galges[tius ---]tus bore another praenomen. The possibility, however, exists that one of the parents also bore the cognomen *Quintus/a.*

Fredwomen were also sometimes named after their patron's praenomen, as the following evidence illustrates:

AE 1991, 1290 (Salona): Valeria Quinta, freedwoman of Q. Valerius Q. f. Corn. Edessa.

CIL VI 29558: Volusia Lucilla L. l., freedwoman of L. Volusius Logismus.

AE 1978, 53 (Roma): Ulpia Marcia, attested together with her *conlibertus* M. U(l)pius Telesphorus, both being clients of the emperor Trajan.

4.6 Cognomina chosen for reasons of prestige

Roman daughters were sometimes given cognomina for reasons of prestige. This is evident in the case of the aristocracy, who could underline their connection to famous ancestors, historical alliances and past glory. The *plebs* on the other hand could seek to elevate their own standing by imitating the nomenclature of the rich and famous. It follows that the discussion here ought to be divided in two parts. There were, on the one hand, the cognomina of the aristocracy, who in a sense had a legitimate claim to certain names that carried prestige in the realm of politics and the social and cultural milieu of the Roman upper classes; and, on the other hand, there were people of more humble origin who simply wished to emulate the upper classes. I will start the discussion from the senatorial elite. Since it could be argued that for the elite the name choice was practically always a political statement of sorts, I will only focus on cases, in which the name also carried certain historical weight.

4.6.1 Cognomina recalling famous ancestors, historical alliances and past victories

In the early Empire many families of the old nobility sought to underline their rank and status by adopting ancient praenomina and cognomina that had in many cases not been used for centuries. This had much to do with the

Augustan 'renaissance' of the old nobility. Not only did Augustus create new patrician houses but he also sought to revive families that had been on the brink of extinction and whose traditional primacy had been challenged by new men, not least by Antonian and Caesarian partisans. The old families, with their status restored within the boundaries of the new monarchical system, now boldly manifested their noble pedigree in various ways. Naming proved to be a powerful tool in this context.[664]

Names that recalled great ancestors, historical alliances and past victories were now taken in use and bestowed not only on men but on women as well. It has already been noted above (3.3.1) that the nomenclature of (Fabia) Paullina and her two brothers Paullus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 11 BCE) and Africanus Fabius Maximus (10 BCE) were chosen to recall the family's historical ties with the republican Aemilii Paulli and Cornelii Scipiones. This requires some elaboration. The connection is established through their ancestor Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (*cos.* 145 BCE), who was the natural son of L. Aemilius Paullus, victor of Pydna, but who was later adopted by the Fabii. L. Aemilius Paullus also had another son, who was adopted by the younger Scipio Africanus, and is known by the name P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus.[665] Due to this connection, the early imperial Fabii could claim names such as *Africanus* and *Paullus.* But this is not all. The consul of 11 BCE had a son and a daughter, both of whose nomenclature recall the same historical connection to the Paulli and the Scipiones. The daughter was called Fabia Numantina (*PFOS* 535).[666] She is known by her full name from an inscription that she set up to her son Sex. Appuleius, who died *ultimus gentis suae* (*CIL* XI 1362), and her cognomen is also mentioned by Tacitus (*ann.* 4, 22). The cognomen succesfully established a connection to both the Aemilii Paulli and the Cornelii Scipiones by recalling the conquest of Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BCE. Numantina's cognomen can therefore be considered a *cognomen e virtute,* modelled after the triumphal cognomina of the victo-

664 As Syme (1939, p. 377) eloquently put it: "Pride of birth, prejudicial or at least unprofitable while the Triumvirs ruled in Rome, now asserts its rights. Men revived decayed *cognomina,* invented *praenomina* to recall historic glories, remembered old ties of kinship and furbished up the *imagines* of their ancestors, genuine or supposed". Or as Kajava (1986, p. 62) later expressed it: "The Emperor [Augustus] was prompt and willing to favour the ancient houses of aristocracy which had for various reasons fallen into obscurity, and by allowing them a share in power and station he also encouraged them to manifest their birth and pedigree. It was in this context that nomenclature became remarkably significant. Names that were old, expired and unheard of for centuries were now adopted in memory of the great ancestors."

665 Cf. Salomies 1987, p. 323f.

666 The identification is not entirely certain. Chausson 2017 has even argued for the existence of two Fabiae Numantinae instead of one. According to him the Fabia Numantina who is attested as the mother of Sex. Appuleius (*CIL* XI 1362 = *ILS* 935), was not the same Numantina, whom Tacitus (*ann.* 4, 22) mentions as the second wife of M. Plautius Silvanus (*pr.* 24 CE). In Chausson's view they belonged to two different generations and were perhaps aunt and niece.

rious generals of the Republic.[667] It is also noteworthy that Numantina seems to have been the first bearer of the cognomen in the family; one Fabius Numantinus is known but from a later period.[668] Numantina's brother Paullus Fabius Persicus (*cos.* 34) also had a remarkable nomenclature in this respect, not only because of his praenomen but because his cognomen clearly recalled the victory of Aemilius Paullus over the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE.

Another early imperial woman, who must be identified as a Fabia, is known from two early imperial epitaphs of her slaves, in which she is simply styled as *Eburna* (*CIL* VI 7701: *Eutychia Eburnaes ancilla*; *CIL* VI 33842: *Alexae Eburnaes ser. supra cubicularios*). Her nomen is not mentioned, but, in my view, there is little doubt that she belonged to the Fabii Maximi.[669] This is mainly due to the exceptional nature of the cognomen. Apart from this case, it is known only from Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus, consul of 116 BCE.[670] The re-use of an old cognomen would be in accordance with the onomastic habits of the early imperial Fabii—and besides it would be peculiar to find a cognomen such as *Eburna* among the 'common people'.

Examples are also found in other families of the same period. A particularly intriguing one is the nomenclature of Livia Medullina (*PFOS* 500), fiancée of the emperor Claudius and daughter of M. Furius Camillus (*cos.* 8 CE). An inscription set up by her paedagogus records her simply as *Medullina Camilli f(ilia) Ti(beri) Claudii Neronis Germanici sponsa* (*CIL* X 6561 = *ILS* 199), and Suetonius (*Claud*. 26, 1) furthermore styles her as *Livia Medullina cui et cognomen Camillae erat.* Some explanation is required. *Medullina* was the ancient cognomen used by some republican Furii during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. After that there are no attestations of the name before our Livia Medullina. The revival of such a cognomen is not surprising. The patrician Furii had not shown great prominence in the last years of the Republic. In fact, the once glorious house had not produced any consuls after 136 BCE, but in the Augustan period they regained some of their former station. Medullina's father was clearly keen to promote this newly restored status by giving his daughter an ancient cognomen that had been in oblivion for almost four hundred years.

As for the existence of the cognomen *Camilla,* which appears in the Suetonian passage above, M. Kajava is probably right when concluding that Suetonius made an error—or alternatively, that Livia originally had the cogno-

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667 Though from an official point of view the name obviously differed from the triumphal cognomina, officially granted to the bearer by the senate. Cf. Linderski 1990.

668 He was a member of the Arval brethren during Nero's reign (attested in *CIL* VI 2002 p. 3235; cf. also Syme 1986, p. 418).

669 As is already assumed by A. Stein in *PIR*² F 75. Raepsaet-Charlier (cf. *PFOS* 350) also acknowledges the possible connection but is somewhat more sceptical "L'appartenance a l'ordre sénatorial et à l'époque envisagée est très aléatoire".

670 Cf. *RE s.v.* 'Fabius' nr. 111.

men *Camilla* but later changed it to *Medullina*.[671] In my view, the former option seems more credible, since there is hardly any evidence of name-changes of this kind.[672] Medullina's nomenclature poses also other obvious problems (e.g. why *Livia* and not *Furia*?), but these matters are beyond the scope of the present discussion and have been adequately discussed elsewhere by Kajava.[673]

A cognomen comparable to *Medullina* is perhaps that of Sulpicia Q. f. Praetextata (*PIR*² S 1034 = *PFOS* 745). The identity of her father is not entirely clear, but he may have been Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (*cos. suff.* 46), the last consul of his line. Sulpicia's cognomen *Praetextata* is not attested in the family before her, but it is noteworthy that it was used by some patrician Sulpicii of the early Republic.[674] It would not be surprising if the early imperial Sulpicii Camerini wanted to underline their prestigious ancestry by reviving an ancient cognomen—just like they had done with *Camerinus*, a name originally used by some Sulpicii of the early Republic.[675] Particularly notable in this respect is the nomenclature of his ancestor Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Praetextatus (*trib. mil. consulari potestate* 434 BCE). Note also that the cognomen *Praetextata* was transmitted to Sulpicia's daughter Licinia Praetextata (*PFOS* 495), and further to Licinia Praetextata's niece Calpurnia Praetextata (*PFOS* 180).

Another early imperial example of a female cognomen recalling past glory is that of Mummia Achaica (*PFOS* 552), mother of the emperor Galba. The cognomen, as it seems, had already been used by her father and was inherited to her as such (see 4.3.1.1 above). What is important here, however, is that it recalled the "victory name" of her famous ancestor L. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth in 146 BCE. It might be worth noting that while the name is occasionally attested for Mummius in literary sources, it is never found on epigraphic record.[676] The absence of the triumphal name from

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[671] Cf. Kajava 1986, p 64f. Raepsaet-Charlier is also sceptical about the second cognomen but does not completely refute the possibility, hence *Livia Medullina (Camilla?)* in *PFOS* 500.

[672] It is true that Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina seems to have assumed the name of her maternal grandfather, as told by Tacitus (viite), but this name-change, as far as I see it, mostly refers to the nomen, not the cognomen (although both names eventually were used by the maternal side of the family). Kajava only presents one case of an upper-class woman changing her personal name later on in life, but this example is from a much later period, viz. the future wife of the emperor Theodosius II, who had to abandon her original name *Athenais* before the marriage took place, after which she was called *Eudocia*. Cf. Kajava 1986, p. 64 n. 20.

[673] Briefly put, he concludes that she was probably born a Furia but later took over the name Livia for dynastic purposes. Kajava 1986, p. 65ff. The idea may seem far-fetched, but it is perhaps not as impossible as it may sound. Take for instance Poppaea Sabina, the wife of Nero, whose full nomenclature came from the maternal side of the family—on her own initiative, as it seems (*nomen avi materni sumpserat*; Tac. *ann.* 13, 45).

[674] *RE s.v.* 'Sulpicius' nr:s. 37-38.

[675] The cognomen seems to have been derived from the Latin town of Cameria, from which the Sulpicii probably originated—unless we assume that the name was a *cognomen e virtute*.

[676] For the literary accounts, consult *RE* XVI p. 1203 (Münzer). For a study of the epigraphic sources, see Pietilä-Castrén 1978, p. 115ff.

inscriptions would suggest that it was never officially granted to him by a senatorial decree (unlike for example the triumphal names of some other victorius generals of the Republic, such as Metellus Delmaticus or Scipio Africanus).[677] Whether or not the name was part of his official nomenclature is, however, irrelevant here. What matters is that by using the cognomen *Achaicus/a*, the Mummii of the early Empire made a statement to their contemporaries.

Here one should also note that Fabia Numantina and Mummia Achaica were not the only women to bear *cognomina e virtute*. There is also Cornelia Gaetulica (*PFOS* 284), who descended from the patrician Cornelii Lentuli. In comparison to *Achaica* and *Numantina*, however, the name recalled a more recent military achievement, namely the victory over the Gaetuli by Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (*cos.* 1 BCE). His son Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*cos.* 26) had subsequently assumed the *cognomen e virtute* as part of his nomenclature, and it was also transmitted to his son.[678] Gaetulica's funerary inscription, which records her as *Cornelia Gaetulici f(ilia) Gaetulica* (*CIL* VI 1392 = *ILS* 958), shows that she had inherited the name from her father (perhaps the consul of 26 or his homonymous son, the consul of 55; see 4.3.1.1 above). Since the hereditary cognomen *Lentulus* had a pejorative meaning ('rather slow'), it is only to be expected that another name, in this case *Gaetulica*, was preferred.[679]

The Iunii Silani, the last surviving branch of the noble Iunii during the early Empire, also resorted to the use of old cognomina. This is evident in the nomenclature of Iunia C. Silani f. Torquata (*PFOS* 475), who is attested as a Vestal virgin during the reign of Tiberius.[680] *Torquatus* was originally the cognomen of the patrician Manlii, who had died out in the late Republic.[681] The Silani had become connected to them in the second century BCE through the adoption of D. Iunius Silanus Manlianus (who was the natural son of T. Manlius Torquatus (*cos.* 165 BCE).[682] By reviving the cognomen of the patrician Manlii, the early imperial Silani obviously wanted to underline this historical tie. It is noteworthy that Iunia Torquata seems to have been

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677 This may have had to do with the less distinguished background of L. Mummius. While Scipio Africanus and Metellus Delmaticus were born to old and distinguished families, Mummius instead was a *homo novus*, on whom the senate my have been more reluctant to bestow such honours.

678 For a family tree of the Lentuli, cf. Syme 1986, *stemma* XXI.

679 Note also that the cognomen *Gaetulica* is attested for some women of the lower classes as well, but in these cases the name did not obviously have similar connotations. Especially when found in Africa, the name may have been considered an ethnic (cf. *AE* 2008, 1618-1619).

680 *CIL* VI 2127 = 32403; *CIL* VI 2128 = *ILS* 4923; *CIL* VI 20788; through the nomenclature of her *liberti*: *CIL* VI 20788; VI 20852. Tac. *ann.* 3, 69 calls her simply *Torquata*. She is furthermore attested with her full nomenclature in a Greek inscription from Tenos (*IG* XII,5, 920).

681 The last Manlius Torquatus was the friend of Horace (*PIR*^{2} M 162).

682 Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Iunius' nr. 161.

the first bearer of the cognomen in the *gens*.[683] Note that some other daughters of the Silani also bore cognomina that underlined family alliances, though more recent ones (cf. Iunia Lepida and Iunia Claudilla in 4.9 below).

There is also the case of Aelia Paetina (*PFOS* 18), wife of the emperor Claudius and daughter of either Sex. Aelius Catus (*cos.* 4) or (perhaps less likely) Q. Aelius Tubero (*cos.* 11).[684] Whichever of the two men her father was, it is important here that her cognomen *Paetina* was derived from *Paetus*—the cognomen of the senatorial Aelii in the Middle Republic, the most notable name-bearer being the jurist Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus (*cos.* 198 BCE), from whom the later Aelii Tuberones claimed descent. It also follows that if our Paetina was the sister of Aelia Catella, as has been assumed (for her name, see 4.3.1.2 above), both sisters had cognomina that reflected the nomenclature of the famous jurist.

Related is also the nomenclature of Licinia Magna (*PFOS* 494), daughter of M. Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 27), named after her ancestor Cn. Pompeius Magnus (aka. Pompey the Great). As a matter of fact, her nomenclature was not the only remarkable one in the family: her brother for example was called Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*PIR*^{2} P 630), his nomenclature thus being an even more direct reference to Pompey.[685] It ought to be pointed out as well that *Crassa*, being a pejorative name, was out of question and already for that reason another name had to be chosen.

One needs to remember, however, that the practices discussed in this chapter were restricted to a small circle of Roman aristocrats and do not obviously reflect any popular practices.

4.6.2 Imitation of the aristocracy by the *plebs*

As has been noted above, people of less elevated and municipal status sometimes sought to imitate the Roman upper classes in their naming practices.[686] There is nothing strange about this, since this tends to be a typical feature of many human societies.[687] In the Roman context, however, it must have been more common for men to be named after famous people than it was for women for the simple reason that there were by far more famous men than women on record, especially ones who bore cognomina. For example, there are several Tullii with the cognomen *Cicero* from Paestum, who probably did not have anything to do with the famous orator of the late Republic; or Li-

[683] The cognomen is later attested for D. Silanus Torquatus (*cos.* 53) and L. Silanus Torquatus (who was killed in 65). The cognomen is also attested in some other *gentes*, notably the Nonii Asprenates and Volusii Saturnini.
[684] In any case she was *e familia Tuberonum* (Tac. *ann.* 12, 1; Suet. *Claud.* 26).
[685] His three other brothers were called M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, (Licinius?) Crassus Scribonianus, and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus.
[686] Salomies 1987, p. 201f.; cf. Taylor 1960, p. 288.
[687] Bourdieu 1979 famously asserts that the legitimate taste of any society is primarily the taste of the ruling class.

cinii with the cognomen *Crassus* from Aquinum—again, with no connection to the senatorial Licinii Crassi.[688] There are plenty of other examples as well, conveniently collected by H. Solin.[689]

There is also evidence of some women, who may have been named after famous people. A Pompeian graffito (*CIL* IV 6812), for instance, records a woman called Cornelia P. f. Orestina. While the background and identity of the woman in question is unclear, it could be, as M. Kajava has suggested, that she was named after a far more famous Cornelia Orestina, namely the bride of Caligula, whom the emperor abducted from her own wedding when she was to be married to C. Calpurnius Piso.[690] Furthermore, an inscription from Rome from the latter half of the first century records another Cornelia Orestina, clearly of humble background (*CECapitolini* 77). She is attested together with Cornelia Lemn[ias] (perhaps her sister), who was the mother of P. Cornelius Synegdemus and wife of P. Licinius Prepo(n)—all bearing Greek cognomina, which suggests that they were former slaves (or descendants of *liberti*).

There is also an early imperial woman called Livia C. f. [Pu]lchra on record at Formiae (*AE* 1969/70, 118). Based on her nomenclature, it has been suggested that she was connected to the senatorial Livii and Claudii Pulchri (hence the entry in *PFOS* 502), but other than the names, there seems to be nothing in particular to support this. I would be inclined to consider this case an example of imitation of the *nobiles* rather than anything else, or the name may have been simply chosen because of its positive meaning.

Other than that, it is difficult to come by any exact cases. There is *CIL* X 339* = *ILMN* I 651, recording Livia Medullina, *quae vix(it) a(nnos) XXV* (compare Livia Medullina, the bride of Claudius, in the previous chapter), but this inscription is a forgery and cannot be taken as evidence. In any case it seems clear that many women who bore cognomina of the type *Agrippina, Drusilla, Messal(l)ina* were named so in imitation of imperial women;[691] or that women of the Antonine dynasty contributed to the popularity of the cognomen *Faustina*.[692] Furthermore, some cognomina such as *Galla* and *Sabina*, which were also frequently used by the upper classes, clearly had an upper-class ring to them and were often chosen for this reason (see n. 464).

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[688] The Tullii Cicerones of Paestum, attested during the third century: *IPaestum* 98; 99; 100; 101; 103-105. Licinii Crassi of Aquinum: *AE* 1991, 414.

[689] Solin 2015, particularly p. 25ff. Cf. also Solin 1990, p. 37ff. for examples of names of historical Greek persons.

[690] Kajava 1984, p. 25f. The abduction of Cornelia is described by Dio 59, 8, 7 and Suet. *Cal.* 25, 1.

[691] Kajanto documents 43 non-senatorial cases of *Agrippina* and 7 cases of *Messal(l)ina*. Kajanto 1965, p. 175; 194. *Drusilla* (or *Drusus*, for that matter) is, strangely enough, not included in Kajanto's book, but a search in *EDCS* yields at least six non-senatorial cases.

[692] *Faustina*: 232 non-senatorial women documented by Kajanto 1965, p. 272.

4.7 Linguistic calque and semantic transfers

There is also the phenomenon of two family members having names that closely resembled each other in terms of meaning. In some cases, for example, the parents may have wanted to give their daughter a name that had the same or a similar meaning to their own name. However, it must have been even more common between siblings, particularly twins, as has been shown by H. Solin.[693] As far as I see it, the cases that are relevant for the present study can be divided into two categories:

i) Names given through linguistic calque, viz. names with the same or similar meaning but in different languages—in our case in Greek and Latin.

ii) Cases of two or more Latin cognomina that resemble each other semantically.

There are also many cases of name pairs of the type *Asia/Asiatica, Maxima/Maximina,* or *Attica/Atticilla,* but these are all derived from the same root and are a matter of their own.

I will start from the cases belonging to the first group, that is to say names translated from Greek to Latin or viceversa. Clear cases are not abundantly on record, but there are some instructive examples. For example, the name pair *Nice/Victoria* is attested in two Christian inscriptions from Rome from the third century. *ICVR* 22417 records a family of five, including the parents Victoria and Faustinus and their three children Dionysodorus, Nice, and Victor. The daughter's name was obviously the Greek version of the mother's name, while one of the sons had a Latin male version of it. From the other epitaph (*ICVR* 21051) we know a woman called Victoria Nice, in whose case the cognomen was chosen after her peculiar gentilicium through linguistic calque.

An earlier example, recording two twin-sisters called Claudia Chreste and Claudia Amabilis, is found at Ostia in the late Julio-Claudian period (*CIL* XIV 838). While it could be debated whether or not the Greek word χρηστή was the exact equivalent of the Latin *amabilis,* it is clear that the names were chosen for their semantic resemblance.[694] Unfortunately the parents of the twin-girls are not known and thus it is difficult to tell whether or not one of them had used a similar name or if the names were freely chosen, so to say.

Some other cases are less obvious but could perhaps belong to this category. For instance, we have some cases of a father and a daughter (as it seems) with the cognomina *Epitynchanus* and *Fortunata* (e.g. *CIL* VI 17245 = *ICVR* I 3720; *CIL* VI 19957). *Fortunata* was certainly a popular name in general, but it could be that the father also had a certain semantic connection in mind when naming her daughter (understanding ἐπιτυγχάνω in the sense 'to succeed'/'have success').

[693] Solin 1990.
[694] Cf. also Solin 1990, p. 65f.

We also have a case, in which two twin-sisters were called Clodia Gemella and Clodia Didyma (*CIL* VI 28119, 2nd c.). *Didyma* was obviously the Greek equivalent of the Latin *Gemella,* both meaning 'twin(-sister)'. There is also a similar case of male twins with the names *Didymus* and *Gemellus* (*CIL* VI 37391).[695]

A related case is provided by another urban inscription, dating from the second century, recording Aemilia Gemina and Albisius Geminus, children of Albisius Firmus and Aemilia Restituta (*CIL* VI 11144).[696] This takes us to the next category, viz. cases of Latin cognomina chosen for their semantic resemblance.

Animal pairs seem to have been a relatively common theme. An inscription from Narbonensis for example records a woman called Statia Lupa and her daughter Ursa (*ILGN* 49 = *AE* 1994, 1159, perhaps from the 2nd c.). It is also likely that in *CIL* III 9283 (Salona)—*Pomponia / Lupa / Urae fil(iae) [*—the daughter's cognomen should in fact be *Ur(s)a.* There is also a related example of linguistic calque from men's nomenclature, in which father and son were called P. Aelius Aug. l. Lycus and P. Aelius Lupus (*CIL* VI 10730)—both men thus having a cognomen that signified 'wolf', one in Greek, the other in Latin. I have not been able to find an exact female equivalent, but it is likely that such cases existed.

There are also some closely related cases, in which one or more sons bear a cognomen semantically resembling that of the mother. For example, an inscription from Liguria, dating from the second century, records a woman called Manilia Ursa and her two sons *Manilii Ursus et Lupus* (*CIL* V 7737).[697] In another case, this time from Umbria and perhaps from around the same period, a woman called Petronia Lupa set up a funerary inscription for her son Cn. Petronius Leo (*ZPE* 62 (1986), 182). It is clear from these cases that certain animals, which were generally associated with strength and power, such as wolf, bear and lion, were also associated with each other in personal names.

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[695] There is also one case, in which the two brothers were called *Gemellus* and *Geminus* (*CIL* VI 19012). Their relationship is explicitly stated (*Duorum Geminorum*). One needs to be careful, however, since in many cases names such as *Geminus/a* were used without any connection to their lexical meaning, as e.g. in *CIL* VI 15085 = 34093 (*Dis Manibus / Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(beri) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Gemino / Iulia Gemella / mater fecit*) in which case the cognomen had simply been inherited from mother to son (though with a different suffix).

[696] While the cognomina suggest that they were twins and were named accordingly, one might in that case wonder why they bore different nomina. Differing nomina between siblings would normally indicate that one of them was born outside a legal marital union—which in the case of twins would obviously be impossible, since they would have to be born at the same time—or that they had different fathers, which is clearly not the case here.[696] We know from many upper-class examples, however, that women were sometimes given the maternal nomen, even if their brother(s) bore the paternal one, but why exactly this would be the case here, remains unresolved (for some examples of this practice, see Nuorluoto 2017).

[697] The third son's name is not preserved, but the father was called Manilius Eutyches, obviously a freedman.

To the category of semantic resemblance one might add pairs of the type *Prima/Primitiva/Primigenia,* 'first-born', attested for instance in a second-century inscription from Rome, recording Flavia Primitiva and her daughter Antonia Primigenia (*CIL* VI 12000). It could of course be that both of them also were first-born, but it is likely that the mother's name had an impact on the daughter's name as well. A somewhat similar case is *Veienia L. f. Primigenia Veieni Primi filia* (*CIL* VI 5493, 26-70 CE).

It seems that semantic resemblance also played a role in an Ostian family, the daughter of which was called Vedia Voluptas and the parents Vedia Venus and P. Ostiensis Epaphroditus (*CIL* XIV 1737 = X 6189, 1st c.). The cognomina and the fact that the daughter seems to have been an illegitimate child would suggest that they were former slaves.[698] The onomastic combination in any case is intriguing. *Venus,* as is known, was the goddess of (erotic) love, and in this respect the daughter's cognomen *Voluptas,* 'lust', certainly seems to connote to that. The father, perhaps coincidentally, was called Epaphroditus—a name that had become known as Sulla's epithet in the Greek East (corresponding to the Latin *Felix*) and which literally meant 'favoured by Aphrodite' (which the man, in this case, clearly was).

There are furthermore some examples of geographical names that seem to be related to each other. Take for instance *CIL* VI 5283 (1st c.): *Romana ann(orum) XVI, Latina f(ilia) bima.* The mother, who only died at the age of 16, and her daughter, who died at the age of two, bore cognomina that were clearly related to each other geographically: *Romana* and *Latina.*

Comparable may also be the cases, in which more than one family members bear names relating to family relationships, e.g. *CIL* II 2792 = *HEp* 1990, 181 (Clunia, 2nd c.), recording Memmia Materna and her daughter Iulia Paterna. An even better example is provided by a prominent family from Aeso in Hispania Tarraconensis in the early 2nd century. L. Aemilius Maternus, a local *IIvir,* had two daughters and two sons: Aemilia L. f. Materna (*CIL* II 4458), Aemilia L. f. Paterna (*CIL* II 4190), M. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Fraternus, and L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Paternus.[699]

[698] For illegitimacy and its implications to onomastics, cf. Nuorluoto 2017, p. 258f.; Thylander 1952, p. 89.

[699] Aemilia Materna: *CIL* II 4458. Aemilia Paterna, *flaminica*: *CIL* II 4190; *AE* 1972, 314. The two brothers are known from *CIL* II 4460. The nomenclature of the mother Fabia Fusca does not seem to have had an onomastic impact on the family. Cf. Álvarez Melero 2018, p. 104.

4.8 Other possible reasons

4.8.1 Time, order, or circumstances of birth

We have already seen in Chapter 3 that one of the initial functions of cognomina in women's nomenclature—reflecting the use of female praenomina—was to indicate the daughter's order of birth or age relation to her other siblings (cf. the two sisters Maria C. f. Prima and Maria C. f. Secunda above in 3.2.1). Names such as *Secunda, Tertia, Maxima, Primigenia* were certainly used in this function during the Empire as well, even though in many cases they had simply tranformed into personal names like any other name. Some cases will now be presented, in which a female cognomen in the imperial period truly seems to reflect the birth order. For instance, in the following family the two daughters seem to be the second and third child and were named accordingly:[700]

CIL V 5579 (Transpadana, 51-200 CE):

M. Atilius Primus & Offilena Marcellina
|
M. [Atil]ius Primulus – Atilia Secunda – Atilia Tertia

Also, in *CIL* XII 3381 = 4569 (Narbo) we have two sisters called *Maxima* and *Secunda,* the former obviously being the elder of the two.[701]

Secunda also seems to be the name of a second daughter in *CIL* VIII 20889 (Africa proc., 2nd c.?): *Stati(a)e Dat(a)e Statia Secunda sorori.* Her sister Data's name may also have to do with the circumstances of birth (perhaps a long-awaited and finally "given" first child). There are several comparable cases:

CIL III 14851 (Salona, 2nd/3rd c.): *Sep[timio Pri]/mitivo S[e]/cunda sor[or].* Primitivus, as the name suggests, was clearly the first-born child and Secunda the second.

AE 1995, 1070 (Nemausus): *Accepto T(iti) f(ilio) / Secunda soror.* In terms of meaning, the name *Acceptus* is comparable to *Datus* above, while *Secunda* was a natural choice to the second child.

CIL V 7778 = *AE* 1984, 418 (Liguria, 1st c.), recording brother and sister Q. Iunius Q. f. Optatus and Iunia Q. f. Secunda. *Optatus* perhaps implies that the brother was the first son and was "hoped for"; and Secunda in turn was the second child and was named accordingly.

A possible case is also *IAquil* II 1339 (Aquileia, 71-130 CE): *Papia M. f. Secunda ... Papiae M. f. Marcellae sorori.* Secunda was perhaps the second daughter, while Marcella's cognomen seems to have been derived from their fa-

[700] Compare *CIL* IX 786, recording three brothers bearing the cognomina *Primus, Secundus, Tertius.* For more examples, see Salomies 2009, p. 525.
[701] In *IAquil* II 1460 we also have two sisters called Secunda and Tertia—though in this case the names seem to be used as praenomina rather than cognomina.

ther's praenomen. Marcella's cognomen was further transmitted to her son C. Arellius L. f. Marcellinus (in a suffixed form).

One needs to be cautious, however. For instance, in *CIL* VI 34993 (2nd c.) we also have two sisters, Cominia Venusta and Cominia Secunda, but it is evident in this case that the cognomen *Secunda* simply came from the father L. Cominius Secundus, who is also mentioned (though this does not naturally mean that Secunda could not have also been the second daughter).[702]

We have also seen above a couple of examples of families, in which the cognomen *Tertia* was given to a third child/daughter. This is perhaps also the case in the following family, who are attested in Dalmatia during the first century:

ILJug II 846 = *AE* 1992, 1379:

T. Queresius Aet. f. & Volusia M. f. Aet.(?)
|
C. Volusius Maxi(mus) – Queresia T. f. Max(ima) – Queresia T. f. Tertia

The fact that the son bears the maternal nomen seems to suggest that he was born before the parents had formed a legal marital union, whilst the two daughters were born after that. Tertia is also mentioned in the inscription after her sister, which would indicate that she was the younger sister (and *Maxima* was obviously an apposite name for an elder sister).

The cognomen could also be chosen from the time or moment of birth. This is also explained by Quintilian, according to whom names were often chosen *ex habitu corporis ... et ex casu nascentium* (Quint. 1, 25). For example, cognomina of the type *Ianuaria* and *Saturnina* could sometimes be chosen because of their calendaric meaning. There is in fact a clear testimony of this:

CIL X 2933 = *ILS* 8526 (Cumae):
D(is) M(anibus) / Saturninae / die Saturni / nata diem Satur/ni diem functam / vix(it) annis III / m(ensibus) V d(iebus) XX

The inscription explicitly states that the deceased, a little girl called Saturnina, was born and also died on the *dies Saturni.* No general rule, however, can be conducted from this case alone. Many women who were called *Saturnina* (or men called *Saturninus*) most likely did not have anything to do with the *dies Saturni.* This is something that H. Gottanka, in his article on birthday-cognomina, fails to take into account.[703] Instead, in his interpretation names of this type seem to have always had a calendaric connection to the time of

[702] A similar case is *CIL* V 6091 (Mediolanum, 71-100 CE): parents L. Sextius C. f. and Novellia Secunda; children L. Sextius L. f. Nigellio, Sextia L. f. Maxonis (?) and Sextia L. f. Secunda. While Secunda in this case was perhaps the second daughter, it is clear that her cognomen came from her mother.
[703] Cf. Gottanka 1911.

birth (*Saturninus/a* with *dies Saturni, Ianuarius/a* with January, and so on). Obviously, this was not always the case. Names could, for instance, be transmitted as such, in which case the original meaning was lost, as is duly noted by O. Salomies.[704] It is good to keep in mind that in general, any name could be chosen for almost any imaginable reason Furthermore, the popularity of some calendaric names, on the one hand (e.g. *Ianuaria*), and the total absence of others, on the other hand (e.g. ***Februaria*), seem to suggest that there were also other than purely calendarical factors at work (see the discussion in 3.2.1 above).

4.8.2 Place of origin/birth

Cognomina were sometimes chosen to indicate the daughter's (or father's) geographical (or cultural) origin or birthplace. In the senatorial elite the name could, for instance, be chosen after a province that the father had ruled when the daughter was born. An example of this may be Iulia Quintilia Isaurica (*PFOS* 457), daughter of Ti. Claudius Celsus Polemaeanus (*cos. suff.* 92). While the name might suggest a connection to the Servilii Isaurici, it could also be that it was chosen because Isaurica was born during her father's governship of Galatia, that is to say, the ancient region of Isauria.[705]

A similar case might be Caerellia Germanilla (*PFOS* 168), who is attested at Mogontiacum during her father's governorship of the upper Germania (*CIL* XIII 6806 = *AE* 1989, 563, 171-200 CE).

Geographical and cultural origin is also reflected in the cognomen of Athenais, the younger daughter of Herodes Atticus of Marathon—though the name had also been used in the family in previous generations (see 4.3.3).

As for non-senatorial women, there is some useful evidence, for instance *AE* 1976, 494 (Mogontiacum, 151-230 CE), marking the burial of Octavia Capitolina, *dom(o) Ael(ia) Capitolin(a).* Octavia's cognomen *Capitolina*, as it seems, was chosen after her town of origin Colonia Aelia Capitolina (aka. Jerusalem).

There is also Iul(ia) Carnuntilla, *ex pr(ovincia) P(annonia) super(iore)*, who was buried at Rome during the latter half of the first century (*CIL* VI 37271). Her cognomen seems to be derived from the name of Carnuntum, which was the capital of Pannonia superior—most probably her town of origin.

A possible case is also *CIL* V 4755 = *InscrIt* X,5, 572 from Brixia, recording a woman called Valeria L. f. Fabia. Since Fabia was the *tribus* of Brixia, it could be thought that the cognomen was perhaps chosen for this reason (though naturally there could be other reasons as well).[706]

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[704] Salomies 2008, p. 84 n. 63.
[705] This is suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier under *PFOS* 457.
[706] Taylor 1960, p. 129; 272.

One could furthermore suspect that in *CIL* XII 2258 from Gratianopolis, the nomenclature of Viria Gratina and her two daughters Antoniae Gratinula and Grata could reflect the name of their hometown—though this remains speculative.

4.8.3 Social, emotional, and other factors

In addition to all the matters discussed above, there were surely other factors as well that affected the name-choice. It is for example obvious that people (some more than others) were influenced by their understanding of what was considered fine or fashionable—just like they are today. In modern societies these matters can be easily investigated by interviewing the parents or name-givers. In the case of ancient societies, however, this is for obvious reasons not an option and the researcher is entirely reliant on the surviving written record. Unfortunately, the said written record does not tend to specify the reasons for choosing a certain name. It follows that individual cases belonging to this category can hardly be highlighted. It is, however, clear that some of the most popular cognomina were sometimes chosen simply because they were fashionable (see Table 1 in 2.1). Some names were also clearly favoured because they somehow sounded noble (e.g. *Galla, Prisca,* and *Sabina;* see n. 464 above).

The power of fashion in the business of naming should not be underestimated. Nor should one forget that humans, including those of antiquity, are emotional beings and can occasionaly make choices for purely emotional reasons. For most parents the act of naming their child is already emotional in itself, and sometimes a certain name was surely chosen out of caprice or simply because the name happened to please the name-giver. In this respect euphonic factors also play an important role: what name sounds good and what does not. It is for example clear that some suffixes were attached to certain stems because the name that was created as a result sounded pleasing (and for the same reason some other suffixes and combinations were avoided; more of this above in Chapter 2).

4.9 Remarks on the name-choice in some families with more than one daughter

We have now taken a look at several strategies for choosing a female cognomen. It is now time to take a closer look at some families with two or more daughters, whose cognomina are on record. There is for example ample evidence of cases, in which the cognomina of two (or more) siblings were clearly derived from the same root but with different suffixes. In most cases

the cognomina were derived from the name of one of the parents or from both of them, as the following examples will show:

CIL VI 39541 (Rome, 1-50), the cognomen of both daughters after the mother:

P. Ocius Felix & Gallenia C. l. Prima
|
Ocia P. f. Prima – Ocia Primilla

AE 1994, 554 (Tibur, 71-150), two daughters, cognomina from the father's cognomen and from the mother's nomen (both coined with *-illa*):

[Ti]berius Natronius Sollers & Valeria Apollonia
|
Sollertilla – Valerianilla

CIL VI 22013 (Rome, 2nd c.), three daughters, two of whom were named after the father, while the origin of the remaining daughter's cognomen is unclear:

Mansuetus & Marcia Parthenis
|
Mansueta – Sedata – Mansuetina

CIL V 6596 (Transpadana, 225 CE); the two daughters named after the father (cognomen transmitted in identical and de-suffixed form), son after the mother (cognomen in identical form):

C. Gemellius C. f. Ouf. Valerianus & Cilonia Secunda
|
Gemellii Valeriana – Secundus – Valeria

AE 2007, 1214 (Ratiaria, Moes. sup., 171-230), two daughters, one named after the father's nomen and the other after his cognomen (both coined with *-ina*):

C. Plot(ius) Valens & Ulpia Dianilla
|
Plotia Plotina – Plotia Valentina

ILJug III 2017 (Clissa, 151-200), two daughters, named after the father and the mother respectively (both cognomina in a suffixed form):

Maltilius Pudens & Aurelia Maxima
|
Maltilia Pudentilla – Maltilia Maximina

AE 1939, 10 (Ulcisia, Pann. inf., late 2nd c.), five children, four of whom (two daughters and two sons) were named after the father (while the remaining son's cognomen was chosen for some other reason):

T. Fl. Felicio & Flavia Secundina
|
Flavia Felicula – Flavia Felicissima – T. Flavius Felix – T. Flavius Felicissimus – T. Flavius Ingenuus

RIU III 719 = AE 1909, 146 (Brigetio, 211-222 CE), two daughters, both of whose cognomina came from the father, and two sons, one of whom had his cognomen from the mother, while the origin of his brother's cognomen is unclear:

P. Aelius Victorinus & [---] Pacata
|
Aelii Pacatus – Domitianus – Victoriana – Victoria

CIL VI 32878 (Aricia, 201-250), the cognomina of the son and one daughter clearly derive from the father's cognomen with *-ina*; and while the other daughter's cognomen *Valeria* seems to suggest a connection to the Valerian *gens,* it could also be that it was chosen for its resemblance of *Valens/Valentina*:

Iul. Valens & Ael. Severa
|
Iul. Valentina – Ael. Valeria – Iul. Valentinus

CIL VIII 18222 (Lambaesis, 3rd c.?), five children, all cognomina derived from those of the parents:

M. Aurel. Iustus & Cl. Maximilla
|
Aurelii Maximina – Iustus – Iustina – Iustianus – Maximinus

CIL XII 2252 (Gratianopolis; 251-300), all children named after the father (but the daughters bear the maternal nomen):

C. Sollius Marcus & (Attia)
|
C. Sollius Marculus – Attia Marciana – Attia Marcula

CIL XII 2258 (Gratianopolis, 1st/2nd c.), both daughters named after the mother:

M. Antonius Eudaemon & Vireia Gratina
|
Antonia Gratinula – Antonia Grata

CIL III 7431 (Oescus; 251-300 CE); the cognomina of the daughter and two sons derived from the same root as the father's cognomen; one son is named after the mother:

Aurel(ius) Aprio & Valentilla
|
Apronianus – Aprilla – Valentinus – Aper

There is also the following case from Rome, from the first half of the first century (*CIL* VI 39843 = *AE* 2001, 221):

D(ecimus) Alleius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Cosmus / Augustalis / D(ianae?) v(otum) s(olvit) // [D(ecimus)] Alleius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) C[os]mus / Augustalis / D(ianae?) v(otum) s(olvit) // [--- O]ctavius C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Gallus / [D(ecimus?)] Alleius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Col(lina) Cosminus / [D(ecimus) A]lleius DD(ecimorum) l(ibertus) Vestalis // Alleia D(ecimi) f(ilia) Cosmina / Alleia D(ecimi) f(ilia) Octavilla / Alleia DD(ecimorum) l(iberta) Servata.

It is plausible to assume that the *Augustalis* D. Alleius D. l. Cosmus was the father of [D?] Alleius D. f. Col. Cosminus and the two women, Alleia Cosmina and Alleia Octavilla.[707] In this case Cosmina's cognomen (as well as that of Cosminus) came from the father in a suffixed form. As for Octavilla, it is clear that her cognomen goes back to the gentilicium of [--- O]ctavius C. f. Gal. Gallus—but what exactly their relationship is, can be debated. One could assume that Octavilla's mother was an Octavia, whose brother or father Octavius Gallus was. Assuming that this is the case, the cognomina of all the children came from their parents.

There is also *AE* 2006, 1330 (Philippi, 138-161), recording the mother Sulpicia Vatria and her four children: Velleii Vellainus, Lucianus, Lucilla, and Sulpicia. We can see that one of the two daughters had her mother's nomen as her cognomen, while the cognomen of one of her two brothers was derived from their own nomen. The origin of Lucianus's and Lucilla's cognomina is less explicit, but it seems plausible to assume that their father was a Lucius (or had a similar cognomen).

Similarly, in *CIL* V 6591 (Transpadana, 2nd c.) we have the following family:

T. Valentius Haruspex & Cominia [---] Pusilla
|
Valentii Secundus – Titus – Titulla – Valentia

In this case the cognomina of the two daughters derived from the father's praenomen and nomen respectively. As for their brothers, it is unclear whether *Titus* was a cognomen or praenomen, but in any case it was clearly his primarily individual name (perhaps his nomenclature was identical with

[707] Panciera in *AE* 2001, 221 was of the opinion that Octavilla would be the daughter of Cosminus, not Cosmus.

that of his father; compare the emperors Vespasian and Titus, both of whom were called T. Flavius Vespasianus). The cognomen *Secundus* clearly did not come from the parents, and it could simply be that he was the second son (though he is mentioned first in the inscription).

While the number of different cognomina was large in general, the examples above make it difficult to disagree with Kajanto's statement that the Romans seem to have lacked a certain imagination in name-giving—though the use of different suffixes to create multiple forms of one and the same name can perhaps be considered creative in itself.[708]

There are, however, also many cases, in which one daughter may have received her cognomen after one of the parents, while another one will have received her name from elsewhere, for example from another relative. This is for example the case in the family of T. Iulius Valens, a veteran of *legio V Macedonica*, who was commemorated in Tarquinia in the 2nd century by his brother T. Iulius Fronto and two daughters Iulia Frontina and Iulia Valentina (*CIL* 3369). It is obvious that the two sisters were named after their father and uncle respectively.

A similar scenario is probable in many other cases as well. However, sometimes we only have clues regarding the name of one sister, as for example in the following family:

CIL VI 21945 (2nd c.; note the use of the maternal nomen):

P. Manilius Fuscus & Iavolena Sosibia
|
Iavolena Sosibia – Iavolena Marcia

In some cases, the cognomina of two sisters derive from the same root, but the origin of the names remains unknown, as for example in the following case from Timacum Minus in the upper Moesia:

IMS II,2 62 = *ILJug* III 1320 (131-200 CE):

T. Ael. Mucianus & Tullia Augusta
|
Ael. Crispinilla – Ael. Crispina

It is obvious that the cognomina with the stem *Crisp-* did not come from either one of the parents. Naturally the two daughters may have been named after a grandparent or some other relative, but we cannot know this for sure. There are also other comparable cases, e.g. *CIL* VI 22338, recording two sisters [---]idia Maxima and [---]idia Maximilla and their mother [---]iminia Attica, and *CIL* VI 29396, recording Ulpiae Atticilla and Attica (with no information of their parents). However, given the general tendency in the Roman society of naming children after their parents or close relatives, it

[708] Kajanto 1965, p. 30; cf. also the discussion in Chapter 2.1.

could be thought that in these two cases the cognomina came from the family (perhaps from the father in the case of Maxima and Maximilla, since their mother Attica is known).

When the name did not come from the family, the name-giver usually resorted to one of the other strategies discussed in this chapter. For instance, in some families two sisters could be given cognomina that resembled each other and/or the cognomen of one of the parents in terms of meaning (for some examples see 4.7), or the name may have been chosen after the time of birth, town of origin, or some other reason.

In the senatorial elite we are often better informed about the family history and different family relations over several generations. The early imperial Iunii Silani are instructive in this respect. The two daughters of M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (*cos.* 19) were called Iunia Lepida and Iunia Calvina (*PFOS* 472; 469). We know that their mother was Aemilia Lepida, *Augusti proneptis* (*PFOS* 29), which explains the cognomen *Lepida*. The cognomen *Calvina*, in turn, comes from their paternal grandmother Domitia Calvina (*PFOS* 321).

Another M. Iunius Silanus (*cos. suff.* 15) of the same period also had two daughters. They were called Iunia Claudilla (or perhaps Claudia; see n. 657 above) and Iunia Silana (*PFOS* 470; 474), *Claudilla* after the Claudian *gens*, to which they were connected through their paternal grandmother (see n. 215 above), and *Silana* being a feminine form of the family's hereditary cognomen (notably the only known woman of the *gens* who ever bore the name). The use of the name *Silana* is also interesting from a semantic point of view, since the name can also be considered pejorative in a certain sense. After all, it alluded to Silenus, the big-nosed, drunken companion of Dionysus, who was also pictured in some of the coins minted by the Iunii Silani.[709]

Another early imperial family is that of Germanicus Caesar and Agrippina. As we know, they had three daughters (also three sons, but they are of less interest from our point of view): Iuliae Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla (*PFOS* 426; 438; 443). Agrippina's cognomen was obviously identical to that of their mother (see 4.3.2.1 above). Drusilla's cognomen in turn derived from their father (see 4.3.1.2 above) and it was also the hereditary cognomen of the Livii (and the name *Drusilla* had already been used by the wife of Augustus, see 3.3.1). Livilla's cognomen likewise was derived from the Livii, and her aunt (Claudia) Livia was also sometimes called Livilla (see 4.4.6).

We also have examples from later periods. It seems that M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, an Ephesian *homo novus* under the Antonine dynasty, and his wife Flavia Papiana (*PFOS* 373) had two daughters: Vedia Papiana and Vedia Phaedrina—Papiana's cognomen being iden-

[709] At least *RRC* 337/1a, *RRC* 337/1b. Cf. Kajanto 1965, p. 237.

tical to that of their mother (4.3.2.1) and Phaedrina's cognomen in turn deriving from one of their father's cognomina in a suffixed form (4.3.1.2).

There is also an upper-class family from Africa from around the Severan period, recorded in *CIL* VIII 7054-7056 (Cirta):

(M.) Naevius Censitus & Seia M. f. Gaetula
|
Naevia Marciana – Naevia Naevilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*PFOS* 565) – M. Naevius M. f. Seianus

Naevilla's cognomen was obviously derived from her own nomen with the suffix *-illa*, whilst Marciana's cognomen was possibly derived from the praenomen used by their father (and maternal grandfather). The cognomen of their brother Seianus in turn was derived from the maternal nomen with *-ianus*—a strategy common in men's nomenclature (see 4.10.2 below).

Then again, even in the case of the aristocracy we cannot always trace the origin of the cognomen back to a certain person or family line. We have already discussed the nomenclature of the sisters Lollia Saturnina and Lollia Paullina, daughters of M. Lollius, in Chapter 3 above. Whilst Saturnina's cognomen can be traced to the maternal branch of the family, the origin of Paulina's cognomen remains unknown (see 3.3.2 above).

4.10 Mother's name transmitted to son(s)

We have now discussed the different strategies for naming daughters in the Roman world. Some words should also be said now about men's cognomina that were derived from the mother's name. As soon as individualizing cognomina started to gain in popularity in men's nomenclature (as opposed to hereditary cognomina), it became increasingly possible to express not only one's paternal but also maternal lineage through naming. An interesting case in this respect is a lengthy verse inscription from Venafrum, dating from the second or the early third century (*CIL* X 4915 = *ILS* 5150). The monument was set up for Iustus, a musician who died at the age of twenty-one. It is explicitly stated that he was named not after his poor father but after his mother (*Iustus ego non paterno sed materno nomine dictus / paupere patre quidem sed fame divite vixi*). The parents are not named, but it is probable that the mother's name was *Iusta* (or possibly some suffixed form, e.g. *Iustina*).

4.10.1 Mother's cognomen

There is plenty of evidence of men who bore the maternal cognomen in one form or another. Just as in the case of female cognomina, the cognomen could be in an identical as well as in suffixed or de-suffixed form. In some cases two or more sons bear different forms derived from the mother's cog-

nomen, e.g. *CIL* XI 1524b (Portus Pisaunus): parents Ca[esi]lius [M]ercurialis and Gabinia L. f. Proc[ula], sons Ca[esi]lius Proculus and Ca[es]ilius Proculeianus. The most common style was to use the mother's cognomen in an identical form (that is, if the name by default had separate masculine and feminine forms in *-us* and *-a*).

a) Mother's cognomen in identical form (67):

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 18126: mother Cornelia L. f. Magna, son T. Flavius Magnus.

CIL VI 23342: mother Octavia Faustina, son Pomponius Faustinus.

CIL VI 3440: mother Ulpia Emerita, son Valerius Emeritus.

CIL VI 2911: mother Iunia Procula, son Q. Flavius Proculus (father Q. Flavius Crito).

CIL VI 6182: mother Plotia Capitolina, son C. Vettius Capitolinus.

CIL VI 13211: mother Fabia Sabina, son L. Aurelius Sabinus.

CIL VI 13230: mother Aurelia Severa, son L. Aurelius Severus (father L. Aurelius Primitivos).

CIL VI 14402: mother Carienia Venusta, son M. Carienius M. f. Venustus (father M. Carienius Felix).

CIL VI 15775: mother Sempronia C. f. Rufina, son L. Clodius L. f. Rufinus (father (L.) Clodius Pompeius).

CIL VI 16217: mother Flavia Festa, son Sex. Cornelius Festus.

CIL VI 16441/2: mother Cornelia T. f. Repentina, son Q. Lorenius Q. f. Romanus Repentinus (her sister Lorenia Pacata set up the two inscriptions).

CIL VI 18126: mother Cornelia L. f. Magna, son T. Flavius Magnus.

CIL VI 18189: mother Flavia Romula, son T. Flavius Romulus (father T. Flavius Primigenius).

CIL VI 21502: mother Anilia Urbica, son P. Longinius Urbicus (father P. Longenius Thalamus).

CIL VI 23342: mother Octavia Faustina, son Pomponius Faustinus.

CIL VI 20247: mother Iulia Rufina, son C. Iulius C. f. Rufinus (father C. Iulius Hermes; the Latin cognomen was perhaps preferred over the father's Greek one).

CIL VI 27506: mother Titia M. l. Secunda, son M. Titius M. f. Pal. Secundus (father M. Titius Restitutus).

CIL VI 28036: mother Sempronia Modesta, son C. Valerius C. f. Modestus (father C. Valerius Hilario).

CIL VI 28092: mother Arnatia Procula, son A. Valerius A. f. Proculus (father A. Valerius C. f.; the father does not have a cognomen, so the mother's cognomen was a natural choice).

CIL VI 28837: mother Paccia Sabina, son L. Vibius L. fil. Sabinus (father L. Vibius Severus).

CIL VI 35221: mother Sallustia Faustina, son C. Fannius Faustinus (father C. Fannius Caricus).

CIL VI 37860: mother Velleia Tertulla, son L. Albisius Tertullus (father L. Albisius Aurelianus).

CIL VI 26314: C. Sergius Honoratus, son of C. Sergius Varro & Annia Honorata.

CIL X 2622 (Rome): mother Iunia Amilla, son M. Iunius Hamillus.

AE 1983, 192 (Puteoli; 71-130 CE): mother Nonia P. f. Optata, son C. Iulius Optatus (father C. Iulius Artemo).

CIL V 2236 (Altinum): mother Titia Quieta, son C. Iulius C. f. Trom. Quietus

CIL V 4031 (Sirmio; 175-230): mother Atilia P. f. Urbica, sons PP. Abidii PP. ff. Tilicius, Atilianus, Urbicus; in this case *Urbicus* is identical to the mother's cognomen, whilst *Atilianus* is derived from her nomen (see below).

CIL V 3615 (Verona): mother Fl. Sabina, son Sabinus.

CIL V 6015 (Mediolanum): mother Gellia Verina, son Magius Verinus and Terentius Gellianus (the latter's cognomen derived from the mother's nomen; see below).

CIL V 7462 = *ILS* 6748 (Hasta): mother Pulfennia T. f. Sabina, son C. Fulvius C. f. Pol. Sabinus (father C. Fulvius C. l. Philologus).

CIL V 4554 (Brixia): mother Laetilia Tib. f. Rufina, son Caecilii Rufinus (father Q. Caecilius Gemellus, other son Memor).

CIL V 6596: father C. Gemellius C. f. Ouf. Valerianus, mother Cilonia Secunda, children Gemellii Valeriana, Secundus, Valeria (in other words, the daughters' cognomina came from the father, while the son's cognomen came from the mother).

CIL XI 52 (Ravenna): mother Iulia Maxima, son Q. Crispius Maximus (father Q. Crispius Heraclid.).

CIL XI 1638 (Florentia): mother Terentia Sabina, son N. Mettius Sabinus.

CIL XI 3844 (Veii): mother Virgilia M. f. Romula, son Caesellius Romulus (cf. his father and brother who both were called Caesellius Latinus).

CIL XI 6336 (Pisaurum): mother Claudia Quieta, son Aurelius Quietus.

CIL XI 6419 (Pisaurum): mother Visinia Augurina, son Gavilius Augurinus (father and brother were both called Gavilius Iustus).

CIL XI 7094 (Perusia): mother Aufidia Faustina, son A. Munatius Faustinus (father A. Munatius Hypnus).

CIL IX 1506 (Pagus Veranus): mother Tuccia Prima, son M. Cosinius Primus (father M. Cosinius Priscus; brothers M. Cosinius Priscus & M. Cosinius Priscianus).

CIL IX 2617 (Terventum): mother Staia Procula, son Raius Proculus.

CIL X 3042 (Misenum): mother Antonia Prisca, son M. Antonius Priscus (father M. Antonius Gemellus).

CIL X 3380 (Misenum, 180-250): Cattius Sabinus Sossius, son of Cassius Sossius Felix & Fannia Sabina.

AE 1903, 340 (Liguria): mother Grattia T. f. Restitut[a], son M. Aponius Restitutus (father M. Aponius Priscus).

AE 1990, 223e (Allifae; Augustan): mother Gavia M. f. Rufa, son Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter. Rufus (cf. n. 427 above).

CIL XIV 1116 (Ostia): mother Iulia Restituta, son Q. Hortensius Restitut(us).

Pais 986 (Albintimilium, Liguria): mother Iulia Severa, son L. Afranius Severus (father L. Afranius Maritimus).
CIL V 4854: mother Clodia Corneliana, son L. Valerius Cornelianus.

Provinces:
AE 1978, 437 (Valentia): mother Iunia L. f. Antiqua, son P. Valerius Antiquos (*sic*).
AE 1978, 757 (Dyrrachium): mother Valer(ia) Rufina, son Anton(ius) Rufus.
AE 1979, 260 (Opitergium): mother Calventia Q. f. Marcella, son M. Laevius Marcellus.
CIL III 2443 (Salona; 131-200 CE): mother Novia Lepida, son A. Persius Lepidus (father A. Persius Etruscus).
CIL III 2476 (Salona): mother Caecilia Q. f. Paula, son P. Pomponius Paulus.
BCH 11 (1887) 395 (Aegae, Aiolia): Πακουία Ῥούφα (...) Μάρκῳ Πακουίῳ Ῥούφῳ τῷ (...) τέκνῳ.
CIL III 5143 (Celeia; 51-170): mother Terentia Finita, son P. Albinius Finitus, *q(uaestor) Cl(audiae) Cel(eiae)* (father P. Albinius Antonius *aed. Cl(audiae) Cel(eiae),* other son P. Albinius Marcellinus).
CIL III 5568 (Bedaium, Noricum): mother Seppia C. f. Praesentina, son C. Terentius Praesentinus (cf. father L. Terentius Verus and other son L. Teren. Verinus).
CIL III 8121 (Viminacium): mother Pontia Optata, son Q. Helvius Optatus (father Q. Helvius Probus).
CIL III 8970 (2nd/3rd c.): mother Papinia Italice, son Cassius Italicus (father (L. Cassius Theodoru[s]).
AE 1914, 45 (Cuicul): mother Gargilia C. f. Marciana, son Aemilius Marcianus (father C. Aemilius C. f. Pap. Martialis, other son Aemilius Martialis).
CIL XIII 1824 (Lugudunum): mother Satria Lucilla, son Sex. Terentius Lucillus (father Felicianus Aug. n. verna).
CIL XIII 2188 (Lugdunum): M. Iustinius Marcellus, son of M. Iustinius Secundus & Primania Marcella.
CIL VIII 12191: mother Verria Quieta, son M. Struganius Quietus Liberalianus (the origin of the second cognomen is unknown).
CIL VIII 10580 = 14472 (Bulla Regia): mother Valeria L. f. Concessa, son C. Domitius C. f. Quirina Concessus.
CIL XII 66 (Salinae): mother Lucilia Materna, son Quartinius Maternus (his sister Quartinia Catullina was named after the father T. Quartinius Catullinus; see 4.3.1.1 above).
CIL XII 447 (Massilia): mother Iul(ia) Grata, son L. Luc(ilius) Gratus (father L. Lucilius Crispus).
CIL XII 3292 (Nemausus): mother Virillia Titia, son Vernonius Titus (father M. Vernonius Virillio).
ILAlg I 2241: mother Iulia Setina, son M. Aemilius M. fil. Quirin. Setinus.
CIL XII 1390 (Vasio, Narbonensis): mother Attia Lucinula, son Albius Lucinulus, *adulesncens mirissimus qui vixit annos XV mens(es) III dies V* (father Albius Gratus).

b) Mother's cognomen in suffixed form (21):

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 25589: mother Rufilla, son Rufus.

CIL VI 37097: mother Faminia Novatilla, sons Laecanius Novatillianus (other son Laecanius Vitalianus; father perhaps a Vitalis?).

CIL VI 1817: C. Iulius C. f. Quir. Priscus, son of Iulius Secundus & Cassia L. f. Priscilla.

CIL VI 18692: mother Flavia Veneria, son P. Fulvius Venerianus (father P. Fulvius Athenio).

CIL VI 28443: mother Lutatia Veneria, son Venerianus.

CIL X 3001 (Puteoli): C. Val. C. f. Dionysian(us) Iulianus, son of Valerius Iulianus and Varia Dionysias (in this case the son had two cognomina, one from each parent).

CIL X 2771: mother Nepotilla, son Nepotillianus.

AE 1986, 204 (Canusium; 101-200): mother Arruntia Asia, son Arruntius Asiaticus (father M. Arruntius Iussus; brother Matinus is known from *CIL* IX 3113).

CIL V 3399 (Verona): mother Cipia M. f. Marcella, son M. Coelius Marcellinus (father [Coelius] Firmus *VIvir*).

IAquil II 1339 (Aquileia, 71-130): mother Papia M. f. Marcella, son C. Arellius L. f. Marcellinus.

Provinces:

CIL III 2074 (Salona; 151-200): mother Liguria Procilla, son C. Albuc(ius) C. f. Tr. Procil(l)ianus (cf. his father C. Albucius C. f. Trom. Menippus and brother C. Alb. C. f. Ser. Menippus).

CIL III 6384 (Salona; 151-200): mother Caetrania Firma, son Q. Aeronius Firminus (father Q. Aeronius Crescens).

CIL III 6271 (Sarm.): mother Valeria Blandina, son P. Pont(ius) Blandus (father P. Pont. Pontian(us) and other son P. Pont. Secundinus).

CIL III 7410 (Philippopolis, Thr.): mother Silvia Primigenia, son Ti. Claudius Primigenianus.

CIL III 7431 (Oescus; 251-300): father Aurel. Aprio, mother Valentilla; children Apronianus, Aprilla, Valentinus, Aper.

CIL III 11305 (Pann. sup.): mother Sept(imia) Flora, son Iulius Florus (father C. Iul. Valerius).

ILJug III 2184 (Salona): mother Longinia Tertulla, son Octavius Tertullinus (father Octavius Vale(n)s).

CIL XIII 6811: mother Ulpia Lucilla, son Adiutorius Lucilianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*.

CIL XII 2708 (Alba Helviorum): Tib. Iulius Valerianus, son of Iulius Crantor and Terentia Valeria (here one should, however, note that the mother's cognomen *Valeria* was in fact a nomen used as a cognomen).

CIL XII 3409 (Nemausus): mother Pompeia Quintilla, son C. Antistius Quintillus (father C. Antistius Epictet(us)).

AE 1991, 1388 (Halmyris, 171-250): mother Fl. Titia, son Ael. Titianus.

c) Different suffixed forms of the same root or cognomen chosen because it resembled the mother's cognomen (16):

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 18161: mother Flavia Veneria, son T. Flavius Venustus (father Philetus, other son T. Flavius Philetus).

CIL VI 15085: mother Iulia Gemella, son Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Quir. Geminus (a good example that a name such as *Gemellus/Geminus* was not always given because of its meaning but simply like any other name).

CIL VI 25038: mother Priscilla, son Priscianus (the other son was called Augustianus).

CIL VI 25038 (3rd/4th c.?): mother Priscilla, sons Priscianus.

CIL XIV 2981 (Praeneste, 51-200 CE): mother Anneia Procilla, son Claudius Proculus (cf. his brother Claudius Anneianus).

CIL X 5662 (Frusino, 71-200): mother Vargunteia M. f. Procilla, son N. Clodius N. f. Pal. Proculinus (other son N. Cl[o]dius Numerianus.

CIL X 5665 (Frusino): C. Longinius Proculus, son of C. Longinius Priscus & Licinia Procilla.

InscrIt. III.1, 390 = *CIL* X 390: mother Ceudia Firmilla, son M. Insteius Firminus (father M. Insteius Callistus).

InscrIt. X.1, 691: mother Plautia Maximilla, son A. Septimius Maximian(us)

CIL V 5286 (Comum): mother Romati[a] Maximina, son P. Cobrunius Maximianus.

CIL IX 3101 (Sulmo): mother Octavia Atticilla, son P. Octavius Atticianus.

Provinces:

CIL III 1485 (107-270 CE): mother Ulpia Procilla, son Valerius Proculeianus (cf. his brother Valerius Rufinus and father L. Val. Rufus).

CIL III 5777 (Raetia): mother Cl. Indut[i fil.] Clementina, son Cl. Paternus Clementian[us].

CIL III 10289 (Sopianae, Pann. inf.; 101-150): father Mar(cius) Lucid[i]anus, mother C(a)esern(ia) Firmill[a]; sons Marc(ius) Lucidus and Marc(ius) Firminia[nus].

AE 1952, 225 (Thesssalia): mother Graecinia Veneria, son C. Graecinius Romulus Venustus (father C. Graecinius C. f. Vol. Firminus).

CIL VIII 18416: mother Iulia Frontilla, son Iulius Fronto.

CIL XII 4174 (Nemausus): mother Quintula, son Q. Lollius Quintinus.

d) Mother's cognomen de-suffixed (15):

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 12623 (69-140 CE), mother Salvia M. f. Pisonina, son T. Aelius Piso.

CIL VI 3522: mother Iulia Atticilla, son M. Iulius M. f. Vol. Atticus, *praef. fabr.*

CIL VI 18067: mother Turrania Felic(u)la, son T. Flavius Felix (though in this case not really a de-suffixed form, but rather the standard equivalent in men's nomenclature).
CIL XI 3940/1 (Capena): mother Munia Q. f. Celerina, son Vennonius Celer (father T. Vennonius T. f. Stell. Aebutianus, other son Vennonius Pius).
CIL IX 3101 (Sulmo): mother Octavia Atticilla, son P. Octavius Atticus (father P. Octavius P. l. Pardus).
CIL X 2810 (Puteoli): mother Octavia T. fil. Bassilla, son Bassus.
Bull. Com. 56 (1928), 298 (Roma): mother Festiva, son Festus.

Provinces:
IMS II 133 (Viminacium): mother Licinia Celsina, son L. Valerius Celsus (father L. Valerius Quin[t]inus).
CIL XII 2678 (Alba Helviorum): mother Secundilla, son M. Campanius Secundus.
RIU IV 993 = *AE* 1969/70, 468 (Sopianae, Pann. inf.; 101-300): mother [---]nia Sabinilla, son Sabinus (father L. S(e)pt. Serotinus, brother Serotinus iun.)
AE 1912, 189 (Oescus, Moes. inf.; 131-150): mother Arellia Celerina, son Scribonius Celer (father P. Scribonius P. f. Col. Epheso Varus).

4.10.2 Mother's nomen

In many cases the son's cognomen was derived from the mother's nomen (almost exclusively with the suffix *-iānus*) or the maternal nomen could be used as a cognomen as such. I have collected bellow evidence of 64 cases, in which the son's cognomen was either derived from or identical to the mother's nomen. In 50 of these, the cognomen was derived with *-ianus* and in 13 the nomen was used as such. It is thus clear that there was significantly less variation in terms of suffixes when deriving men's cognomina from nomina than there was in the case of women's cognomina.

a) Cognomen derived from the mother's nomen with *-iānus*:

There are some notable examples of a son's cognomen being derived from the mother's nomen with *-ianus,* e.g. the emperor Vespasianus, whose mother was Vespasia Polla (*PIR*^{2} V 438). Other senatorial examples include C. Salvius Vitellianus (*PIR*^{2} S 154), son of C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus (*PIR*^{2} S 138) and Vitellia Rufilla (*PIR*^{2} V 758; they all are attested in attested in *CIL* IX 5534). The style is also abudantly on record outside the senatorial elite, as is evident from the following 50 cases:

Rome and Italy:
CIL VI 19120 (1st c.): mother Grattia Prepusa, son M. Vergilius Grattianus.
CIL VI 1840 (1st c.): mother Terentia Thallusa, son L. Cornelius L. f. Pal. Terentianus.
CIL VI 18337 (51-150 CE): mother Flavia Felicitas, son C. Egnatuleius Flavianus.

CIL VI 22095 (2nd c.): Q. Marcius Q. f. Publilianus, mother Publilia N. f. Tyche.
CIL VI 10984 (late 1st/2nd c.): mother Aelia Spes, C. Valerius Aelianus.
CIL VI 18528: mother Fonteia Pelagia, son M. Antonius Fonteianus.
CIL VI 16750: mother Octavia Alethia, son L. Dasumius Octavianus.
CIL VI 17225: mother Epidia M. f. Tertulla, son L. Antistius Epidianus.
CIL VI 23039: mother Valeria Ampliata, son L. Nonius Valerianus.
CIL VI 23298: mother Iulia Hermione, son Octavius Cn. f. Iulianus.
CIL VI 27986: mother Valeria Charite, son M. Antistius Valerianus.
CIL VI 25514: mother Faenia Crispinilla, son Sex. Rubrius Sex. f. Faenianus.
CIL VI 26808 (51-150 CE): mother Manlia C. l. Lasciva, son M. Statius M. f. Gal. Manlianus.
AE 1971, 51 (Roma; 2nd c.): mother Marcia Calliste, son M. Numisius M. f. Quir. Marcianus (note that if we did not know who the mother was, we would probably think that the cognomen was derived from the praenomen).
CIL XIV 2981 (Praeneste, 51-200 CE): mother Anneia Procilla, son Claudius Anneianus (cf. his brother Claudius Proculus).
CIL XIV 906 (Ostia, 2nd c.): mother Fannia Stratonice, son M. Detelius M. f. Fannianus.
CIL V 1209 (Aquileia): mother Aelia Trophime, son Flaminius Aelianus.
CIL V 5258 (Comum): mother Minicia L. f. Secunda, son P. Valerius Minicianus.
CIL V 6389 (Laus Pompeia, 2nd c.): mother Pontia Chreste, son Vericocius Pontianus.
CIL V 6372 (Laus Pompeia, 71-100 CE): mother Varia Myrsine, son C. Salius Varianus.
CIL V 7032 (Torino): mother Petronia M. f. Marcellina, son T. Lucceius T. fil. Stellat. Petronianus, *eq. Rom. equo p.*
CIL V 3318, cf. 3243 (Verona): mother Iulia Magia; sons Iulianus and Magianus.
CIL IX 2349 (Allifae): mother Caedia Festa, son L. Fadius L. f. Caedianus.
CIL IX 3091 (Sulmo): mother Horte[n]sia [--- T?]ertulla, son C. Satrius C. f. Ser. Hortensianus.
CIL X 2109 (Puteoli): L. Asellius L. f. Mamilianus, son of L. Asellius L. lib. Hermes and Mamilia Lyris.
CIL X 4209 (Capua): mother Lucceia Afrodisia, son M. Vettius M. f. Lucceianus.
CIL XI 673 (Forum Cornelii): mother Baebia Paulina, son P. Appaeus P. f. Baebianus.
InscrIt X.5, 1072 (Brixia): mother Viria Ursa, son L. Pontius Virianus.

Provinces:
CIL III 8532 (Pituntium, Dalm.): mother Cornelia Satria, son P. Flor. Cornelianus.
CIL III 8966 (Salona): mother Caeionia Sex(ta?), son Quintus Cassius Caeionius (father Q. Cassius Silvester).
CIL III 10522 (Aquincum): mother Octavia Revocca, son M. Ulpius Octavianus.
CIL III 14216,11: mother Iulia Procilla, son Ael. Iulianus.

AE 1933, 61 (Maur. Caes.): mother Calpurnia Ancill⌜a⌝, son M. Cassius Calpurnianus.

CIL III 2079 (Salona): mother Fadia C. f. Marcellina, son C. Clodius C. f. Ser. Fadienus (=*Fadianus*?).

CIL III 616 (Dyrrachium; 51-200 CE): mother Valeria Secund(a), son P. Clodius P. f. Valerianus.

AE 1944, 29 (Apulum): mother Statilia Lucia, son Fl. Statilianus.

CIL XIII 2272 (Lugdunum): mother Severia C. fil. Valerina, son C. Memmius Severianus.

CIL XII 81 (Ebrodum): mother Fl(avia) Valentini f. Cassia, son L. Allius Flavianus (father of L. Allius Veri f. Pap. Verinus, brother L. Allius Avitus, sister Allia Avita).

CIL XII 2277 (Gratianopolis): mother [Cassia] Paulinula, son (Iuventius) Cassianus (father Q. Iuventius Victor; cf. *CIL* XII 2264 for the mother's gentilicium).

CIL XII 3411 (Nemausus): mother Valeria Pompeia, son Sex. Antonius Valerianus.

CIL XII 3445 (Nemausus): mother Attia Peculiaris, son Q. Iulius Attianus.

CIL XII 3457 (Nemausus): mother Cassia Charite, sonM. Aurelius Cassianus.

CIL XII 3502 (Nemausus): mother Pompeia Q. f. Severilla, son T. Calvius Pompeianus.

CIL XII 4015 (Nemausus): mother Licinia Nomas, son C. Vibius Licinianus.

CIL XII 4176 (Nemausus): mother Tincia L. fil. Materna, son M. Caecilius Tincianus.

CIL XII 5900a (Nemausus): mother Titia Martialis fil. Paterna, son T. Geminius Titianus (father T. Gemin. Zethus; note that if the mother was not known, we would probably think that the son's cognomen was derived from the father's praenomen).

AE 1979, 573 (Patrae): mother Vatinia Fa[usta?], son L. Sentius L. f. [---] Vatinian[us].

CIL II 4555 (Barcino): mother Numisia L. Numisi Galatici fil. Perpernia, son L. Fulvius L. f. Quirina Numisianus.

IRT 644 (Lepcis Magna?): mother Caecilia Regina, son M. Iulius Caecilianus.

CIL VIII 19510 = *ILAlg* II 815 (Cirta, 171-230): mother Lucilia Terentia, son Lucilianus (father M. Aurelius Fidelis).

AE 1978, 573 (Bonn): Flavia Apra, son M. Aur. Septimius F[la]vianus.

There are also some cases, in which the son's cognomen is derived with *-ianus* from the mother's cognomen—which, however, is a nomen used as a cognomen, e.g. *CIL* V 6019: mother Aemilia Pompeia, son L. Graecinus Pompeianus; *CIL* VI 13353: mother Aurelia Marcia; sons Aurelius Marcianus, Aurelius Longinianus and Aurelius Gaianus (one could speculate that the other two sons got their cognomina after their father).

b) Mother's nomen used as cognomen (16):

Rome and Italy:

CIL VI 5484 (71-100 CE): C. Titius Aponius, son of Aponia Procla.
CIL VI 12450: mother Arruntia Valentilla, son D. Alerius Arruntius.
CIL VI 18150 (71-100 CE): T. Flavius Paccius, son of T. Flavius Eutactus & Paccia Capriola (Latin name preferred over a Greek one?).
CIL V 2521 (Ateste, 1st/2nd c.): P. Cornelius Albucius, son of P. Cornelius Eglogus and Albucia Chreste.
CIL V 5380 (Comum): mother Sentia Apphia, son Q. Spurius Sentius.
CIL XI 2984 (Tuscana): mother Sempronia Aprulla, son Naevius Sempronius.
InscrIt X.4, 373 = *AE* 2003, 697 (Tergeste): mother Cassia Ursa, son A. Oppius Cassius.

Provinces:
CIL III 8205 (Moesia sup.): C. Val. Claudius, son of C. Valerius Suestius and Claudia Gallita..
CIL III 2520, cf. 8641 (Salona): L. Sellius Artorius, son of Sellius Felix & Artoria Secundina.
CIL XII 3292 (Nemausus): L. Acutius Ventidius, son of L. Acutius Severinus and Ventidia Nice.
CIL XII 3965 (Nemausus): Tutius Tarcius, son of Q. Tutius Martinus and Tarcia Egit[---].
CIL III 4323: L. Sept(imius) Petronius, *avunculus* C. Petronius Nundinus (in other words, his mother was a Petronia).

4.11 Summary of the chapter

The key aspects and findings of the chapter will now be summarized. The use of cognomina was well established in women's nomenclature from the early Empire onwards. There are, to be sure, occasional cases of women who appear without a cognomen in our sources in later periods, even in the second century CE (see 4.1). Most of these these women, however, are attested in literary sources and one may suspect that the authors simply used an abbreviated nomenclature. Even in the case of some epigraphically attested women we may suspect that the women in question in fact had a cognomen. In any case it is clear that not having a cognomen was already considered old fashioned even in the uppermost tier of the society by the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

As the number of different cognomina and ways to derive cognomina grew, so did the options for choosing a name. The strategies discussed above can be summarized as follows:

Most available evidence concerns cases, in which a woman's cognomen comes from one of the parents. The cognomen could be transmitted in an identical form (e.g. *Priscus* > *Prisca*) or in a suffixed (or a de-suffixed) form (e.g. *Priscus* > *Priscilla*; *Priscianus* > *Priscilla*; *Priscianus* > *Prisca*). These styles are

well attested for cognomina inherited from both the father's and the mother's side (4.3.1; 4.3.2). There are, however, some differences in terms of popularity. While it was common for the father's cognomen to be transmitted to a daughter both in identical and suffixed form, the mother's cognomen was clearly less often transmitted to a daughter in suffixed form. Cases, in which mother and daughter both bear the exact same cognomen, however, are more numerous.

For a modern reader all this may seem interesting. Many European cultures today place high value on invidualism, and it is only rarely that father and son or mother and daughter bear identical names—unless perhaps as a middle name.[710] This also may have to do with the fact that, at least in Northern Europe, each generation tends to consider many names used by the previous one somewhat old fashioned (though perhaps less so in some Mediterranean cultures, in which the amount of first names in general is much smaller).[711] In the ancient Roman world, however, there seems to have been nothing strange about the fact that a person had the same name as one of their parents; on the contrary, it was perfectly normal. This may tell us something about the Roman culture more broadly. In the business of naming children, individualism often gave way to a larger unit, namely the family. This is perhaps no surprise, given the importance of ancestral and family traditions in the Roman society in general.

In addition to the parents' cognomina, women sometimes had cognomina that were identical or similar to those of the grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. Evidence of this has been more difficult to come by, since inscriptions are more likely to record a person's parents than some other relatives, but some instructive examples exist (4.3.3). There is furthermore evidence of some cases, in which a woman's cognomen was not technically speaking derived from a cognomen used by another family member but chosen because it resembled one closely enough (e.g. if the father was called *Lucanus* the daughter could bear the name *Lucilla*; see 4.3.4).

Naturally women were sometimes named not after cognomina but after nomina and praenomina that were used in the family (4.4; 4.5). In most cases the cognomen would be derived from a nomen with a suffix, but nomina could also be used as cognomina as such. The latter was particularly the case with nomina coming from the mother or grandmother, whilst cognomina

[710] In Anglo-American culture, though, it seems to be more common that men in one family (often of prominent status) bear identical names and are officially distinguished from one another with designations such as I, II, III, or "senior", "junior", or through the use of a differing middle name (e.g. the president Bill Clinton, born William Jefferson Blythe III, after his father William Jefferson Blythe II, who in turn was the son of William Jefferson Blythe I; or the presidents George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush; just to name couple of famous examples).

[711] This does not of course mean that names today would not often be taken from the family tree; they often are, but more commonly from other relatives, e.g. uncles, aunts, (great-)grandparents.

originating in the father's (that is, in most cases, the woman's own) nomen would, for obvious reasons, normally be in a suffixed form (save for some cases, in which the woman did not bear the paternal but the maternal nomen, mostly for reasons of illegitimacy).

As for cognomina derived from praenomina, the most obvious choice was the father's praenomen, but in some cases the name could also be derived from the praenomen of, say, the grandfather (particularly the maternal grandfather, since in many cases the praenomina of the father and the paternal grandfather were identical with each other). Furthermore, in the case of freedwomen, the cognomen could also be derived from the patron's praenomen (4.5).

The cognomen could also be taken from more distant family history. This was largely restricted to the aristocracy, who could often trace their family history and ancestry back several hundred years. In the early Empire, in particular, many families of the old nobility sought to promote their status by reviving ancient cognomina and taking in use new cognomina that in one way or another connected them to famous ancestors and their achievements. Cognomina of this type were also given to some of their daughters (4.6.1). People of more humble background, on the other hand, could seek to imitate the names of the elite and name their daughters after famous noble houses—or in general adopt names that they considered to have an aristocratic ring to them (4.6.2).

Cognomina could also be chosen through semantic transfers, in other words because they resembled another cognomen not in terms of form but in terms of meaning (4.7). There are, for instance, cases, in which the mother and her daughter bear Latin cognomina relating to each other in this way, e.g. animal pairs of the type *Lupa* and *Ursa*. On the other hand, we also have evidence of linguistic calque, viz. cases of two cognomina in the family, which have approximately the same meaning, but in different languages—in our case Latin and Greek (e.g. *Victoria* and *Nice*).

Women were also often given a cognomen that in some way related to their time or circumstances of birth (4.8.1). Many names used in this function were among the most popular female cognomina (e.g. *Secunda, Tertia, Maxima, Prima, Primigenia*) and while it is clear that in the imperial period such names were often chosen for reasons that were unrelated to their lexical meaning, there is also evidence of cases, in which a woman called, say, *Secunda* was the second child, *Tertia* the third, *Maxima* the elder sister, and so on. The same applies to calendaric cognomina of the type *Ianuaria, Saturnina,* which were, to be sure, often chosen for other reasons, but which could also reflect the woman's time of birth (as in the case of the girl called Saturnina, who was born on the *dies Saturni*; see above in 4.8.1). Obviously also cognomina potentially relating to the anticipation or verification of a daughter's birth (e.g. *Optata, Rogata, Accepta*) were sometimes chosen because of this reason, even if explicit evidence is difficult to come by. In addition to the time or

circumstances of birth, there is evidence of cases, in which the cognomen was chosen to reflect the place of birth (or origin in general; see 4.8.2).

It is clear that cognomina were chosen for a number of other reasons as well—in fact for almost any imaginable reason. A woman could, for instance, be named after a family friend or acquintance, or a cognomen could be chosen simply because it was fashionable, sounded good, or in some other way happened to please the name-giver. The problem is that in most cases we simply cannot know, even if we can envisage that all the scenarios above were reality, just like they tend to be in many human societies.

5 Summary and Conclusions

The key findings of each main chapter have already been summarized at the end of the chapters. I will now recapitulate some of these aspects from the point of view of the study as a whole. The key questions to which this study has attempted to answer can be narrowed down to:

i) What kinds of cognomina women had and could have?

ii) When did these cognomina first appear and become a standard part of women's nomenclature?

iii) How were these cognomina chosen and for what reasons?

These aspects have been investigated through time and space, over a time period of some 400 years, from the first appearance of cognomina around 100 BCE to approximately 300 CE. Some later cases have also been included in the study, but the main focus has been on the first three centuries CE. Regional differences and practices have been observed in various parts of the Roman Empire with the geographical point of reference in the city of Rome and the Italian peninsula, where the "most Roman" onomastic habits originated. Furthermore, the various naming practices have been investigated in different layers of the society, with special attention given to the nomenclature of senatorial women. Furthermore, all this has been reflected upon the nomenclature of Roman men.

The first question can be answered with a fair level of confidence based on our ancient sources, mostly of epigraphic nature. We do not know all women and all cognomina that once existed, but the amount of evidence is certainly large enough to form a credible overall picture of what kinds of names most Roman women had and could have—and also what names they probably could not have.

As has been noted in Chapter 2.1, the variety of Latin female cognomina was large. In theory any suitable word could be harnessed for onomastic purposes and used as a personal name, and more names could be created from existing ones through the use of various suffixes. Most of the known cognomina, however, are attested only once or twice, whilst at the same time a handful of names were extremely popular. The most frequently attested cognomina were primarily non-suffixed, semantically transparent names that corresponded to different words of the Latin lexicon (of the type *Fortunata,*

Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Maxima, Felicitas). Simple forms of this kind can be divided in various types of adjectival and substantival forms (2.3).

The majority of all cognomina, however, were suffixed formations, as shown in 2.4. The formation of new names with the use of suffixes was particularly characteristic to Latin onomastics, in which compounds were rare and mostly restricted to Late Antiquity and Africa. Suffixed forms could be derived from other cognomina, but also from nomina and praenomina. A large range of different suffixes could be used to form cognomina from various types of names and words. Some suffixes were naturally more popular and productive than others and some, particularly diminutive forms, were typical to female rather than male cognomina. While most of the suffixes are found in both names and appellatives, two of them, *-illa* and *-itta,* were predominantly used as cognomen-suffixes—and primarily or exclusively in female cognomina. Some suffixes, such as *-illa* and *-ina,* were used from early on and remained popular throughout the Empire, whilst for instance female names in *-iana* became popular only later, in the course of the second century CE (in contrast to male names in *-ianus,* which were already used during the Republic). Some suffixes, on the other hand, were mostly restricted to certain geographical areas (e.g. *-osa* in Africa) and/or late antiquity (e.g. *-ia*; also suffix clusters of the type *-ianilla*). Suffixed formations in general were more typical to later rather than earlier periods, since their existence typically presupposes that the root word had already been used as a name. The survey in 3.2 for example shows that the majority of women's early cognomina were of the simple, non-suffixed type.

In addition to the types mentioned above, nomina could be used as cognomina as such, resulting in a nomenclature of the type *Claudia Octavia*. This style, as shown in 2.5, was particularly characteristic to women's nomenclature and is well attested during the first three centuries CE—though among senatorial women the style seems to go out of fashion towards the end of the second century.

But what kinds of names could women *not* have, or what kinds of names were generally avoided? Semantics played a role here. Whilst technically any Latin appellative could be used as a cognomen, many words were unsuitable for this purpose because of their meaning. Pejorative names, which were sometimes used by men (e.g. *Crassus*, *Varus*) were generally avoided in women's nomenclature. This is in fact largely the case with most other languages and cultures as well. In Latin onomastics, however, the negative connotations could sometimes be circumvented by the use of suffixes (e.g. *Taurina/Taurilla* from *Taurus,* instead of **Taura*; or *Varilla* from *Varus,* instead of *Vara*; 2.3.1.4; 2.3.2.3). Other restrictions to the use cognomina were largely of formal and phonetic nature. In other words, formations which would have been awkward to form or which did not sound good were generally avoided. This aspect has also to do with the fact that some suffixes, when attached to certain kinds of names, could produce a "reduced" form through haplology

(e.g. *Hispulla* from *Hispo,* instead of the more awkward **Hisponulla*). In the case of some seemingly irregular formations, however, we may be dealing with the convenient use of an existing cognomen with close resemblance to the name from which it was seemingly derived (e.g. if a woman was called Lucilia Lucilla, the cognomen was seemingly derived from the nomen, even if we are probably dealing with the practical use of the existing name *Lucilla*, a regular derivation from *Lucius*).

As for the second main question, cognomina in general start to appear in the nomenclature of freeborn women in the late republican period. An exact chronology of the earliest cases is difficult to establish, since many of the inscriptions can be dated only tentatively. However, as is shown in 3.1, there is epigraphic evidence from Praeneste of freeborn women who bore cognomina that certainly predates 82 BCE (and in fact the cases probably date already from the late second century BCE). We also have literary testimonies of some senatorial women who probably bore cognomina during the latter half of the second century, and from not much later there is also epigraphic evidence available (3.3).

As noted above, most of the early female cognomina of the freeborn plebs were semantically transparent, descriptive names of the type *Secunda, Tertia, Polla, Maxima.* In this respect many of the early female cognomina corresponded to the republican female praenomina, which is not surprising, since their use and function were largely the same in this period. The evolution from the occasional use of female praenomina to the universal use of female cognomina is significant. Whilst the female praenomen was always an optional item, this was not the case with the cognomen, which eventually came to be a standard part of every woman's nomenclature, thus providing all Roman women with a genuine, individualizing name not only in the family but in the eyes of the whole Roman society. This also resulted in a difference in the function of women's praenomina and cognomina. Female praenomina in the republican period were almost exclusively descriptive items that indicated for example birth order within a family. While similar names were certainly also used as cognomina in a similar function, it is noteworthy that during the Empire they could be and often were used like any other cognomen, that is to say simply as names without any obvious connection to whatever lexical meaning they once had. In fact, there is evidence of this already from the late republican and early Augustan periods (for example cases, in which a woman's cognomen is inherited from a parent). Furthermore, whilst the majority of the early female cognomina used by the *plebs ingenua* were of the generic, descriptive type, there were also many other types of cognomina in use in this period (3.2.1).

Senatorial women's early cognomina—or rather the early cognomina of women of the nobility—differed in many ways from those of the *plebs*. Most senatorial families of the Republic had long traditions of using hereditary

cognomina that distinguished different branches of one *gens* from one another. The automatic inheritance of such cognomina did not apply to women, but the daughters of these families—if they were to receive a cognomen in the first place—would often bear a cognomen, which was either identical to or derived from the family cognomen (3.3.1). Such names were socially more distinctive than the generic cognomina of the *plebs*. This is also significant, since the emergence of the cognomen in women's nomenclature offered means for social distinction in a way that had not been possible before. The Roman gentile name, in essence, was an egalitarian item. Practically any woman, regardless of rank, who happened to be connected to, say, the *gens Caecilia* through their father or patron, could bear the nomen *Caecilia*. But only a Caecilia of the high aristocracy could bear the cognomen *Metella*—whilst a Caecilia of more humble origin would have had to satisfy with a more generic name of the type *Polla, Tertia*. This is also shown in the nomenclature of women, whose families had only recently obtained senatorial status (3.3.2). It is true that some *homines novi* or equestrian men, who had formed close contacts with the ruling elite, had assumed the use of cognomina (hereditary or not) and could name their daughters accordingly (e.g. Caecilia Attica, daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus). In many cases, however, they had not—or their cognomen was otherwise unsuitable for women, either in terms of form or meaning. Their daughters would in most cases not bear cognomina of the socially elevated type, but instead the repertoire of their cognomina was largely the same as that of the *plebs*. In this period it was also possible that in families with two daughters the first-born would be without a cognomen whilst the second one could bear one.

The Augustan period saw a rise in the popularity of female cognomina and by the mid-first century CE most women had one. The style of not having a cognomen seems to have held its ground more persistently among the women of the senatorial elite, but even in these circles not having a cognomen must have been considered old-fashioned by the time of Nero at the latest. In our sources there are occasional examples of women who did not have a cognomen as late as the second century, but as has been shown in 4.1, this is a source problem more than anything else and does not probably reflect the reality. Most of these women are attested in literary accounts and may have (or in some case must have) had a cognomen, even if the author does not mention it (or in some cases the surviving name may have been a nomen used as a cognomen).

This brings us to the third main question, namely the use and choice of female cognomina during the Empire, when the cognomen had already become a standard part in women's nomenclature. If the *what* question of the first part could be answered with a fair level of confidence, then the *how* and *why* parts have been trickier. We cannot ask the ancient Romans what they had in mind when choosing a name for their daughters. Nor have we access

to any comprehensive family register of all Roman women of a certain time or place. What we have—the hard evidence of this study—consists of surviving written accounts, mostly funerary inscriptions, which sometimes provide us with some clues, but more often they do not. The curtain of history is largely closed and offers us only glimpses to what lies behind it. In this case an overall picture of what that might be requires not only the investigation of the hard evidence but also a good amount of educated guesswork and imagination. However that may be, the amount of evidence that we have is luckily large enough to produce at least some basic understanding of how female cognomina could be chosen and for what reasons.

Basically, it is clear that a cognomen during the imperial period could be chosen for almost any imaginable reason. Fashion certainly played a role, and a name could obviously be chosen because it sounded good or in some other way pleased the name-giver. In most cases, however, we do not have any decisive evidence to be able to tell what the exact reason was, other than that a name such as, say, *Fortunata,* was perhaps chosen because of its positive connotations. Sometimes, however, we have more clues.

It is for instance an undeniable fact that the Romans liked to choose names that were already used in the family (4.3). In the most typical, or at least the best attested, scenario the cognomen would come from one of the parents, either in an identical form or as a suffixed variant. There is plenty of evidence of women, who bear the same or similar cognomen as their father or mother (4.3.1; 4.3.2). Naturally the name could also come from another relative, for example from a grandparent, uncle, or an aunt (4.3.3). In addition, the cognomen could be derived from a nomen that was used in the family, or a nomen could also be used as such. In the latter case the nomen would often come from the mother or a grandmother, since the father's nomen would typically be the woman's own nomen as well. It is also worth pointing out that a female cognomen could be derived from the mother's nomen with various suffixes (*-illa, -ina -iana, -iola,* etc.), whilst in men's nomenclature the cognomen would almost exclusively be derived with *-ianus* (4.10).

There is also plenty of evidence of women, whose cognomina were derived from a family praenomen, mostly of the father, but also of the (maternal) grandfather, or in the case of freedwomen, of the patron (4.5).

Evidence of other strategies exists as well. One way was to choose cognomina for reasons of prestige. Among the early imperial nobility, for example, it became fashionable to revive or to create cognomina that connected the family to famous ancestors and past glory. Names of this type were also sometimes given to women, as has been shown in 4.6.1. Women of more humble background and no glorious ancestry, on the other hand, could receive names that were taken over from the aristocracy—or that in general had a "noble ring" to them (4.6.2).

A cognomen could also be chosen because it resembled another cognomen in terms of meaning (4.7); or it could be chosen to reflect the time or circumstances of the woman's birth (4.8.1) or her hometown or place of origin (4.8.2). There is clear evidence of all this, for example cases in which a woman called *Secunda* was the second daughter, *Tertia* the third, *Primigenia* the first, and so on. In absence of such evidence, however, one needs to be careful not to overinterpret names of this (or any) type as necessarily having to do with their lexical meaning or tracable etymology. Once words become names, they no longer need to have any connection to their original meaning, although they can and sometimes do. In other words, sometimes names are just names, chosen for any number of reasons.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Catalogue of Latin female cognomina in order of popularity (according to Kajanto 1965)

The following catalogue is based on Kajanto 1965. The names are arranged according to their frequency, starting from the most attested. When two or more names have the same number of attestations, they are listed in the alphabetical order.

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Fortunata	**1093**	Iucunda	**275**	Gemel(l)a	**132**
Secunda	**1067**	Rogata	**269**	Ursa	**131**
Prima	**1014**	Quinta	**268**	Maximilla	**130**
Victoria	**750**	Res(ti)tuta	**249**	Iustina	**124**
Saturnina	**734**	Iusta	**241**	Quieta	**124**
Ianuaria	**693**	Vitalis	**240**	Modesta	**120**
Maxima	**674**	Paulina	**228**	Lucil(l)a	**118**
Sabina	**586**	Ingenua	**222**	Iuliana	**116**
Tertia	**491**	Optata	**221**	Aucta	**115**
Severa	**486**	Marcel(l)ina	**218**	Crispina	**115**
Felicitas	**458**	Vera	**215**	Attica	**112**
Proc(u)la	**432**	Felicissima	**213**	Grata	**111**
Primigenia	**430**	Venusta	**212**	Urbica	**111**
Felic(u)la	**420**	Valentina	**209**	Maximina	**110**
(H)ilara	**410**	Flora	**207**	Casta	**109**
Rufina	**403**	Festa	**206**	Materna	**109**
Tertul(l)a	**392**	Salvia	**204**	Verecunda	**108**
Prisca	**388**	(H)onorata	**200**	Pia	**105**
Marcella	**361**	Matrona	**197**	Secundilla	**103**
Veneria	**358**	Rufa	**197**	Paterna	**102**
Victorina	**357**	Romana	**183**	Ampliata	**101**
Urbana	**328**	Musa	**178**	Clara	**101**
Donata	**327**	Marciana	**155**	Candida	**100**
Suc(c)essa	**318**	Primilla	**148**	Avita	**99**
Fausta	**303**	Severina	**143**	Crescentina	**98**
Secundina	**296**	Priscilla	**141**	Extricata	**97**
Faustina	**287**	Galla	**140**	Magna	**93**
Primitiva	**283**	Spes	**139**	Rustica	**92**
Quarta	**276**	Paul(l)a	**137**	Felicia	**90**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Silvana	**88**	Lea	**48**	Lucida	**32**
Privata	**87**	Lucia	**48**	Lupa	**32**
Firmina	**85**	Postuma	**47**	Albina	**31**
Primula	**85**	Silvina	**47**	G(a)etula	**31**
Amanda	**84**	Aquilina	**46**	Nigrina	**31**
Peregrina	**84**	Felix	**46**	Pisin(n)a	**31**
Firma	**83**	Novella	**46**	Salvilla	**31**
Marina	**81**	Romula	**46**	Stercoria	**31**
Florentina	**78**	Albana	**45**	Ursina	**31**
Celerina	**77**	Bonosa	**45**	Cupita	**30**
Quintilla	**75**	Castula	**45**	Flaccilla	**30**
Quartil(l)a	**74**	Fruct(u)osa	**45**	Frontina	**30**
Faustilla	**73**	Gaudentia	**45**	Septimina	**30**
Bonifatia	**72**	Serena	**45**	Adeodata	**29**
Celsina	**71**	Florentia	**44**	Augustina	**29**
Concordia	**70**	Placida	**44**	Perpetua	**29**
Arbuscula	**69**	Regilla	**44**	Campana	**28**
Proba	**69**	Benigna	**43**	Gratilla	**28**
Tigris	**69**	Lepida	**42**	Iovana	**28**
(H)ospita	**66**	Nigella	**42**	Maritima	**28**
Procilla	**66**	Festiva	**41**	Pietas	**28**
Agrip(p)ina	**65**	Fortuna	**41**	Sirica	**28**
Fusca	**65**	Germana	**41**	Clementilla	**27**
Gemina	**65**	Verina	**41**	Luciosa	**27**
Rufil(l)a	**65**	Gemel(l)ina	**40**	Quintula	**27**
Amabilis	**64**	Maior	**40**	Simplicia	**27**
Atticilla	**63**	Pacata	**40**	Aprulla	**26**
Martina	**63**	Redem(p)ta	**40**	Catulla	**26**
Sperata	**63**	Servanda	**40**	Crescentilla	**26**
Martina	**62**	Servata	**40**	Pollit(t)a	**26**
Montana	**62**	Tertul(l)ina	**40**	Sedata	**26**
Dativa	**61**	Aeliana	**39**	Veneriosa	**26**
Italia	**60**	Longina	**39**	Aprulla	**25**
Laeta	**59**	Pupa	**39**	Augusta	**25**
Amoena	**58**	Quintina	**39**	Fida	**25**
Valeriana	**58**	Secura	**39**	Inventa	**25**
Capitolina	**56**	Vincentia	**39**	Lucana	**25**
Capreola	**55**	Exorata	**38**	Profutura	**25**
Crescentia	**55**	Laurentia	**38**	Renata	**25**
Ursula	**54**	Potita	**37**	Aemiliana	**24**
Maura	**52**	Repentina	**37**	Augurina	**24**
Cara	**51**	Accepta	**36**	Barbara	**24**
Macrina	**51**	Natalis	**36**	Blanda	**24**
Mansueta	**51**	Regina	**35**	Exsuperantia	**24**
Satura	**50**	Fortunula	**34**	Liba	**24**
Lupula	**49**	Benedicta	**33**	Lucina	**24**
Co(n)stantia	**48**	Lasciva	**33**	Quartina	**24**
Emerita	**48**	Titul(l)a	**33**	Secundula	**24**
Hilaritas	**48**	Faventina	**32**	Voluptas	**24**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Asella	**23**	Luculla	**18**	Titiana	**14**
Celsa	**23**	Nobilis	**18**	Civitas	**13**
Luperca	**23**	Processa	**18**	Domna	**13**
Potestas	**23**	Pusilla	**18**	Dulcitia	**13**
Recepta	**23**	Quadratilla	**18**	Exspectata	**13**
Suavis	**23**	Tertiola	**18**	Florina	**13**
Censorina	**22**	Crispinilla	**17**	Graeca	**13**
Concessa	**22**	Domestica	**17**	Mellita	**13**
Firmilla	**22**	Gaia	**17**	Patricia	**13**
Prae/Proiecta	**22**	Gaudiosa	**17**	Quartula	**13**
Primosa	**22**	Innocentia	**17**	Sextina	**13**
Pudentilla	**22**	Mercatilla?	**17**	Sexta	**13**
Respecta	**22**	Sabiniana	**17**	Spectata	**13**
Rogatina	**22**	Valentia	**17**	Advena	**12**
Satulla	**22**	Africana	**16**	Bella	**12**
Severiana	**22**	Amantia	**16**	Calvina	**12**
Severiana	**22**	Antulla	**16**	Catullina	**12**
Severilla	**22**	Certa	**16**	Cerialis	**12**
Viola	**22**	Crispa	**16**	Data	**12**
Adiecta	**21**	Italica	**16**	Dextra	**12**
Apra	**21**	Legitima	**16**	Exsuperia	**12**
Dubitata	**21**	Reparata	**16**	Frontilla	**12**
Flavina	**21**	Rogatula	**16**	Graecina	**12**
Flavina	**21**	Tusca	**16**	Gratina	**12**
Florida	**21**	Aura	**15**	Iunilla	**12**
Supera	**21**	Aventina	**15**	Latina	**12**
Antonina	**20**	Columba	**15**	Paetina	**12**
Bona	**20**	Domitilla	**15**	Rutila	**12**
Digna	**20**	Fabiana	**15**	Sextina	**12**
Hilaria	**20**	Gallitta	**15**	Specula	**12**
Lucifera	**20**	Modestina	**15**	(H)omulla	**11**
Moderata	**20**	Potentina	**15**	(H)onesta	**11**
Vernac(u)la	**20**	Quintiana	**15**	Adiutrix	**11**
Victrix	**20**	Sabinil(l)a	**15**	Aproniana	**11**
Decimina	**19**	Vegeta	**15**	Caeciliana	**11**
Deogratia(s)	**19**	Apic(u)la	**14**	Catta	**11**
Liberalis	**19**	Apta	**14**	Colonica	**11**
Martil(l)a	**19**	Benenatus	**14**	Constantina	**11**
Nepotilla	**19**	Bonitas	**14**	Corneliana	**11**
Proc(u)lina	**19**	Clementiana	**14**	Finita	**11**
Sabiniana	**19**	Communis	**14**	Generosa	**11**
Septima	**19**	Decimilla	**14**	Impetrata	**11**
Urbanilla	**19**	Fabulla	**14**	Lucusta	**11**
Afra	**18**	Fundana	**14**	Lupercilla	**11**
Balbilla	**18**	Fuscina	**14**	Mustela	**11**
C(a)elestina	**18**	Germanil(l)a	**14**	Octaviana	**11**
Claudiana	**18**	Iuliosa	**14**	Plotina	**11**
Clementina	**18**	Parata	**14**	Pompeiana	**11**
Donatula	**18**	Spica	**14**	Torquata	**11**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Tuta	**11**	Valerina	**9**	Donatilla	**7**
Varilla	**11**	Venustina	**9**	Elegans	**7**
Vindemia	**11**	Vitalica	**9**	Gemmula	**7**
Vitalina	**11**	Alba	**8**	Hispana	**7**
Acuta	**10**	Appia	**8**	Iuniana	**7**
Alpina	**10**	Aprilla	**8**	Liberia	**7**
Amor	**10**	Balbina	**8**	Maurilla	**7**
Atiliana	**10**	Cervola	**8**	Mercuriana	**7**
Augenda	**10**	Decorata	**8**	Mercuria	**7**
Aureliana	**10**	Faceta	**8**	Nigrosa	**7**
Cleme(n)s	**10**	Fadilla	**8**	Nonnosa	**7**
Cogitata	**10**	Faustiniana	**8**	Nonna	**7**
Cresce(n)s	**10**	Fecunda	**8**	Nota	**7**
Domnina	**10**	Fidelis	**8**	Optatula	**7**
Kalendina	**10**	Iulit(t)a	**8**	Palatina	**7**
Matronica	**10**	Laurina	**8**	Picentina	**7**
Provincia	**10**	Magnilla	**8**	Plautilla	**7**
Pulchra	**10**	Marciosa	**8**	Praetextata	**7**
Puteolana	**10**	Margarita	**8**	Sacra	**7**
Sancta	**10**	Mariana	**8**	Salonina	**7**
Tarentina	**10**	Martiola	**8**	Saluta	**7**
Titiola	**10**	Matutina	**8**	Salviana	**7**
Verula	**10**	Musica	**8**	Taurina	**7**
Vestina	**10**	Nonnita	**8**	Tiberina	**7**
Abundantia	**9**	Peculiaris	**8**	Valentilla	**7**
Adaucta	**9**	Probata	**8**	Verana	**7**
Bellica	**9**	Quin(c)til(l)iana	**8**	Viatorina	**7**
Carina	**9**	Romanilla	**8**	Vibiana	**7**
Cas(s)iana	**9**	Rosa	**8**	Vitalia	**7**
Catula	**9**	Rusticilla	**8**	(H)erculia	**6**
Delicata	**9**	Salsula	**8**	Amata	**6**
Dignitas	**9**	Sapida	**8**	Aproc(u)la	**6**
Dom(i)nica	**9**	Sextilla	**8**	Celsilla	**6**
Feliciana	**9**	Sextilla	**8**	Condicio	**6**
Flaviana	**9**	Sorana	**8**	Contenta	**6**
Gratia	**9**	Spicula	**8**	Dubia	**6**
Laetina	**9**	Tatiana	**8**	Firmana	**6**
Leoparda	**9**	Terenina	**8**	Fortunia	**6**
Liberata	**9**	Tiberina	**8**	Fuscil(l)a	**6**
Liciniana	**9**	Ursacia	**8**	Gala	**6**
Maiorica	**9**	Venus	**8**	Hispanilla	**6**
Matura	**9**	Adepta	**7**	Iuventilla	**6**
Messal(l)ina	**9**	Adventa	**7**	Longa	**6**
Praenestina	**9**	Anus	**7**	Mamma	**6**
Sponsa	**9**	Aprilis	**7**	Maximiana	**6**
Statuta	**9**	Argentilla	**7**	Merula	**6**
Tacita	**9**	Camilla	**7**	Mulsula	**6**
Tranquilla	**9**	Capella	**7**	Nigra	**6**
Ursicina	**9**	Clodiana	**7**	Numidica	**6**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Optima	**6**	Fruenda	**5**	Cata	**4**
Placidiua	**6**	Frugifera	**5**	Ceriola	**4**
Prisciana	**6**	Fuscula	**5**	Citata	**4**
Pude(n)s	**6**	Gr(a)ecula	**5**	Classica	**4**
Rectina	**6**	Iuventina	**5**	Clementia	**4**
Sabinula	**6**	Larga	**5**	Cresconia	**4**
Salutaris	**6**	Laurentina	**5**	Dextriana	**4**
Saturinua	**6**	Luciana	**5**	Domitiana	**4**
Saturna	**6**	Lucil(l)iana	**5**	Domnula	**4**
Serotina	**6**	Lupilla	**5**	Etrusca	**4**
Silva	**6**	Marcina	**5**	Exsuperata	**4**
Sodalis/Sodala	**6**	Maritua	**5**	Facultas	**4**
Sterceiua	**6**	Matta?	**5**	Fatalis	**4**
Telesina	**6**	Maurica	**5**	Felica	**4**
Valerilla	**6**	Messina	**5**	Ferocilla	**4**
Variana	**6**	N(a)evilla	**5**	Flavil(l)a	**4**
Venustula	**6**	Nata	**5**	Flava	**4**
Verna	**6**	Novicia	**5**	Fructilla	**4**
Vitalissima	**6**	Plancina	**5**	Fuscinilla	**4**
Aequa	**5**	Plautilla	**5**	Gaiana	**4**
Aestiva	**5**	Pontiana	**5**	Geminiana	**4**
Agnella	**5**	Probitas	**5**	Geminiana	**4**
Antonilla	**5**	Pusin(n)ica	**5**	Gloriosa	**4**
Atta	**5**	Quirina	**5**	Herbula	**4**
Auctilla	**5**	Repos(i)ta	**5**	Honorina	**4**
Augustiana	**5**	Rogatilla	**5**	Honoria	**4**
Beata	**5**	Scintilla	**5**	Itala	**4**
Bl(a)esilla	**5**	Scurra	**5**	Iucundina	**4**
Brundisina	**5**	Servatilla	**5**	Laenilla	**4**
Castina	**5**	Sila	**5**	Laurilla	**4**
Catiola	**5**	Stercula	**5**	Lepidina	**4**
Cirrata	**5**	Tetrul(l)iana	**5**	Livilla	**4**
Colenda	**5**	Tiburtina	**5**	Lol(l)iana	**4**
Commoda	**5**	Tuenda	**5**	Mariniana	**4**
Credula	**5**	Turtura	**5**	Marsa	**4**
Crementia	**5**	Verilla	**5**	Mater	**4**
Crescentiana	**5**	Vetula	**5**	Maternina	**4**
Crispilla	**5**	Vigillia	**5**	Messorina	**4**
Decentia	**5**	Volusiana	**5**	Montanilla	**4**
Decima	**5**	An(n)iana	**4**	Musc(u)la	**4**
Dulcis	**5**	Anulla	**4**	Navigia	**4**
Extricatula	**5**	Attiola	**4**	Nepotiana	**4**
Facilis	**5**	Aureola	**4**	Nocturna	**4**
Faosa=Favosa	**5**	Aventia	**4**	Nominatus	**4**
Faustiana	**5**	Baebiana	**4**	Nundinaria	**4**
Festina	**5**	C(a)eliana	**4**	Nundina	**4**
Flaccina	**5**	Candidiana	**4**	Optatina	**4**
Flavilla	**5**	Capra	**4**	Origo	**4**
Fructa	**5**	Cattula	**4**	Plebeia	**4**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Plotilla	**4**	Aeterna	**3**	Lecta	**3**
Postumina	**4**	Albula	**3**	Liberina	**3**
Prae/Proiecticia	**4**	An(n)iola	**3**	Licentia	**3**
Pretiosa	**4**	Argentea	**3**	Luciola	**3**
Priscina	**4**	Argentia	**3**	Lucita	**3**
Privatula	**4**	Asellica	**3**	Lucris	**3**
Probatia	**4**	Attiana	**3**	Lucustina	**3**
Probilla	**4**	Audentia	**3**	Luxuria	**3**
Probina	**4**	Augustula	**3**	Maiana	**3**
Procella	**4**	Aulina	**3**	Maiula	**3**
Propinqua	**4**	Aurora	**3**	Mamertina	**3**
Publiana	**4**	Bassiana	**3**	Mammula	**3**
Publia	**4**	Blandina	**3**	Manliana	**3**
Pulc(h)eria	**4**	Blandula	**3**	Marciola	**3**
Pulla	**4**	Britta	**3**	Marca	**3**
Qu(i)etilla	**4**	C(h)aritas	**3**	Martiana	**3**
Quadragesima	**4**	Caesul(l)a	**3**	Martinula	**3**
Quintil(l)iana	**4**	Cana	**3**	Matronilla	**3**
Reddita	**4**	Capratina	**3**	Maurentia	**3**
Rogatiana	**4**	Carilla	**3**	Maurina	**3**
Rufula	**4**	Carosa	**3**	Maxentia	**3**
Salsa	**4**	Cattosa	**3**	Mercurialis	**3**
Salutia	**4**	Celeriana	**3**	Mercurina	**3**
Scita	**4**	Celta	**3**	Micina	**3**
Secundiana	**4**	Censilla	**3**	Minuta	**3**
Seneca	**4**	Clarilla	**3**	Moderatilla	**3**
Sevilla	**4**	Copiosa	**3**	Munda	**3**
Sexto	**4**	Cosa	**3**	Murra	**3**
Silana	**4**	Cubicularia	**3**	Natalica	**3**
Similis	**4**	Decora	**3**	Nepotia	**3**
Sorica	**4**	Deodata	**3**	Nerulla	**3**
Species	**4**	Dignilla	**3**	Octavilla	**3**
Spenica	**4**	Exitiosa	**3**	Oppidana	**3**
Stabilita	**4**	Facunda	**3**	Paculla	**3**
Sulpiciana	**4**	Favor	**3**	Paeta	**3**
Tranquillina	**4**	Favorina	**3**	Palumba	**3**
Verissima	**4**	F(o)edosa	**3**	Pannonia	**3**
Vet(t)illa	**4**	F(o)edula	**3**	Pauliana	**3**
Viatrix	**4**	Flavianilla	**3**	Placidina	**3**
Vicana	**4**	Floriana	**3**	Porcaria	**3**
Villatica	**4**	Formicula	**3**	Porcella	**3**
Violentilla	**4**	G(a)etulica	**3**	Postumiana	**3**
(H)iberna	**3**	Gailla	**3**	Pr(a)esentilla	**3**
(H)irpina	**3**	Gallicana	**3**	Primana	**3**
(H)omullina	**3**	Hilarina	**3**	Priminia	**3**
Acca	**3**	Ingeniosa	**3**	Primogenia	**3**
Adaugenda	**3**	Ioviana	**3**	Primulla	**3**
Adiuta	**3**	Iucundula	**3**	Principia	**3**
Aeternitas	**3**	Lauris	**3**	Priscula	**3**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Publiana	**3**	Aquileia	**2**	Cupida	**2**
Pupillus	**3**	Arrianilla	**2**	Datilla	**2**
Quodvultdeus	**3**	Arriana	**2**	Datina	**2**
Regula	**3**	Auguriana	**2**	Decimula	**2**
Rusticiana	**3**	Auguria	**2**	Decora	**2**
Rusticula	**3**	Augustalis	**2**	Desiderata	**2**
S(a)ecularis	**3**	Augustilla	**2**	Deusdona	**2**
Sabella	**3**	Aviana	**2**	Dianilla	**2**
Sagittia	**3**	Avitilla	**2**	Docilis	**2**
Scantilla	**3**	B(a)etica	**2**	Docta	**2**
Secundio	**3**	Barbaria	**2**	Domitina	**2**
Securitas	**3**	Bellosa	**2**	Domitiola	**2**
Serenilla	**3**	Bolana	**2**	Dotilla	**2**
Sextula	**3**	Brocchina	**2**	Etruscilla	**2**
Solutrix	**3**	Buccula	**2**	Eventia	**2**
Stercorosa	**3**	Caesarius	**2**	Faba?	**2**
Superba	**3**	Caiana	**2**	Fabiola	**2**
Taurilla	**3**	Calena	**2**	Facundina	**2**
Triaria	**3**	Calpurniana	**2**	Fastina	**2**
Trita	**3**	Calumniosa	**2**	Fasta	**2**
Tutorina	**3**	Calva	**2**	Faustinula	**2**
Utilis	**3**	Camerina	**2**	Fautina	**2**
Venantia	**3**	Campanilla	**2**	Faventia	**2**
Veneranda	**3**	Campestra	**2**	Feliciosa	**2**
Venustilla	**3**	Candidosa	**2**	Festilla	**2**
Veranilla	**3**	Cantabra	**2**	Fidentitia	**2**
Veranilla	**3**	Canusina	**2**	Firmula	**2**
Vettulla	**3**	Cariola	**2**	Flaccinilla	**2**
Vicaria	**3**	Carula	**2**	Flacca	**2**
Villana	**3**	Castre(n)sis	**2**	Florentilla	**2**
Vinosa	**3**	Celera	**2**	Floria	**2**
Vit(i)osa	**3**	Cellaria	**2**	Flosc(u)la	**2**
Vitella	**3**	Celsiana	**2**	Fortis	**2**
Viventia	**3**	Celsula	**2**	Fortunalis	**2**
Activa	**2**	Celtibera	**2**	Fortunatiana	**2**
Adauctula	**2**	Censa	**2**	Frequens	**2**
Aesernina	**2**	Cervilla	**2**	Frontiniana	**2**
Amica	**2**	Cerva	**2**	Fructula	**2**
Anconitana	**2**	Clarina	**2**	Frunita	**2**
Animula	**2**	Claudilla	**2**	Fulvil(l)a	**2**
Antistiana	**2**	Clodilla	**2**	Furnil(l)a	**2**
Antoniana	**2**	Coca	**2**	Gallica	**2**
Antulliana	**2**	Coeliana	**2**	Gaudilla	**2**
Anucella	**2**	Cognita	**2**	Gel(l)iola	**2**
Anul(l)ina	**2**	Colona	**2**	Genetiva	**2**
Apol(l)inaria	**2**	Constantilla	**2**	Genialis	**2**
Appiana	**2**	Cordilla	**2**	Gloria	**2**
Apronillla	**2**	Costa	**2**	Granilla	**2**
Apula	**2**	Crassilla	**2**	Gratula	**2**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Gutta	**2**	Maximosa	**2**	Pomponiana	**2**
Herc(u)lania	**2**	Maximula	**2**	Pomponilla	**2**
Herenniana	**2**	Medullina	**2**	Postumilla	**2**
Hiberina	**2**	Memoria	**2**	Potens	**2**
Hibera	**2**	Meridiana	**2**	Potentilla	**2**
Hilaris	**2**	Merulina	**2**	Potosa	**2**
Historia	**2**	Mica	**2**	Potula	**2**
Hostiliana	**2**	Minervia	**2**	Pota	**2**
Ianilla	**2**	Minor	**2**	Pr(a)esidia	**2**
Ilarosa	**2**	Modestilla	**2**	Praesentina	**2**
Importuna	**2**	Montania	**2**	Praetoriana	**2**
Inclita/Incluta	**2**	Muciana	**2**	Praetorina	**2**
Italicilla	**2**	Mus	**2**	Probanda	**2**
Iucundilla	**2**	Muss(i)osa	**2**	Probantia	**2**
Iucundissima	**2**	Neglicta	**2**	Prosperitas	**2**
Iulina	**2**	Nigellina	**2**	Prudentilla	**2**
Iuncina	**2**	Nonnica	**2**	Pudentiana	**2**
Iunix	**2**	Norbana	**2**	Pupiana	**2**
Iunonia	**2**	Norica	**2**	Pupula	**2**
Iustiana	**2**	Novatilla	**2**	Qu(i)etula	**2**
Iustilla	**2**	Numisilla	**2**	Quintana	**2**
Iuvenilla	**2**	Nuptialica	**2**	Quintosa	**2**
Labicana	**2**	Nuptialis	**2**	Redita	**2**
Laetilla	**2**	Obsequens	**2**	Res(ti)tutina	**2**
Laetiniana	**2**	Oc(u)lata	**2**	Respectilla	**2**
Latona?	**2**	Oliva	**2**	Res(ti)tutula	**2**
Lauta	**2**	Optatilla	**2**	Revocata	**2**
Lentula	**2**	Ost(i)e(n)sis	**2**	Ridicula	**2**
Leonia	**2**	Pacatil(l)a	**2**	Romulensia	**2**
Lepidilla	**2**	Paeli(g)na	**2**	Rosaria	**2**
Lucentina	**2**	Palmula	**2**	Rotunda	**2**
Luna	**2**	Paratiane	**2**	Rufiana	**2**
Lupina	**2**	Parda	**2**	Rufiniana	**2**
Macrinula	**2**	Pascentia	**2**	Rufiniana	**2**
Maeciana	**2**	Passerinus	**2**	Rusticana	**2**
Maiorina	**2**	Pastorina	**2**	Rusticia	**2**
Mallina	**2**	Patruina	**2**	Salvianilla	**2**
Malliola	**2**	Paulinula	**2**	Salviola	**2**
Manilla	**2**	Pax	**2**	Sanctula	**2**
Manliola	**2**	Pensata	**2**	Sarmata	**2**
Marc(u)la	**2**	Perseverantia	**2**	Scauriana	**2**
Marcilla	**2**	Petroniana	**2**	Secundia	**2**
Mariola	**2**	Petronilla	**2**	Sedatina	**2**
Marsilla	**2**	Picena	**2**	Semproniana	**2**
Martialis	**2**	Pientia	**2**	Sensuta	**2**
Massula?	**2**	Pistrix	**2**	Septimina	**2**
Matronula	**2**	Placentina	**2**	Sergiana	**2**
Matuta	**2**	Pol(l)ina	**2**	Seriola	**2**
Maurosa	**2**	Pollentina	**2**	Serpentia	**2**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Serva	**2**	Vindicilla	**2**	Albiniana	**1**
Severiola	**2**	Vindiciia	**2**	Albinilla	**1**
Sextiola	**2**	Viriana	**2**	Albinula	**1**
Sextulla	**2**	Vitaliana	**2**	Alboria	**1**
Sicula	**2**	Vitelliana	**2**	Albuciana	**1**
Silex?	**2**	Vitosa	**2**	Albucilla	**1**
Silvanilla	**2**	Vitula	**2**	Alenda	**1**
Sittiola	**2**	Καπιτωνινα	**2**	Alfiana	**1**
Spanilla	**2**	Κατιανίλλα	**2**	Alliola	**1**
Sperantia	**2**	(H)irundo	**1**	Alpinula	**1**
Statianilla	**2**	(H)ospitalis	**1**	Altina	**1**
Suavola	**2**	[B]rittula	**1**	Alumna	**1**
Succesina	**2**	[Fau]stianilla?	**1**	Am(m)iana	**1**
Superata	**2**	[L]ivilitta	**1**	Amandiana	**1**
Tellus	**2**	[N]umisina	**1**	Amandina	**1**
Terentiana	**2**	[R]epulsa	**1**	Amans	**1**
Terentilla	**2**	[S]pectatilla	**1**	Amantilla	**1**
Terentulla	**2**	Abiliana	**1**	Amatrix	**1**
Terina	**2**	Absens	**1**	Ambitiosa	**1**
Terminalis	**2**	Abulliane	**1**	Amicissima	**1**
Tertina	**2**	Abundia	**1**	Ampiana	**1**
Tertul(l)ia	**2**	Acceptilla	**1**	Ampliatiana	**1**
Tiberia	**2**	Acceptina	**1**	Ampla	**1**
Tigrina	**2**	Acceptissima	**1**	Amullina	**1**
Tita	**2**	Acceptula	**1**	Angina	**1**
Tributa	**2**	Acris	**1**	Angulata	**1**
Triumphalis	**2**	Aciliana	**1**	Aniciana	**1**
Tulliana	**2**	Acta	**1**	Anicilla	**1**
Tulla	**2**	Acutilla	**1**	Anilla	**1**
Tusculana	**2**	Acutula	**1**	Anim(a)equitas	**1**
Tusidiana	**2**	Adiectula	**1**	Animosa	**1**
Tutela	**2**	Adiutorina	**1**	Annita	**1**
Ulpiana	**2**	Adventina	**1**	Antiquill(a)	**1**
Urbanica	**2**	Aelina	**1**	Antiqua	**1**
Valeriosa	**2**	Aeliola	**1**	Apiciola	**1**
Varronilla	**2**	Aeliosa	**1**	Apollinaris	**1**
Varronilla	**2**	Aequiculana	**1**	Apollinia	**1**
Vara	**2**	Aequitas	**1**	Appianilla	**1**
Vaticana	**2**	Africa	**1**	Aprilina	**1**
Verecundina	**2**	Agenda	**1**	Apris	**1**
Veritas	**2**	Agilis	**1**	Apro	**1**
Veronilla	**2**	Agna?	**1**	Apstinens	**1**
Veronilla	**2**	Agrestia	**1**	Aptior	**1**
Vestalis	**2**	Agrippiana	**1**	Aquileiensis	**1**
Vetusta	**2**	Agrippinilla	**1**	Aquitana	**1**
Victoriana	**2**	Albaniaca	**1**	Araneola	**1**
Victorica	**2**	Albanilla	**1**	Arboria	**1**
Victoriola	**2**	Albilla	**1**	Aricina	**1**
Vindemiola	**2**	Albiniana	**1**	Ariola	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Aristiana	**1**	Basis	**1**	Caleda	**1**
Armentaria	**1**	Bastula	**1**	Calpurnina	**1**
Arraniana	**1**	Beatilla	**1**	Caltiliana	**1**
Arruntiana	**1**	Beatrix	**1**	Calvisiana	**1**
Arula	**1**	Bellicina	**1**	Calvula	**1**
Ascia	**1**	Belliciola	**1**	Cambilla	**1**
Asciola	**1**	Bellina	**1**	Camene	**1**
Asellina	**1**	Belliosa	**1**	Campanula	**1**
Asiciane	**1**	Bellona	**1**	Cand[i]diola	**1**
Asinula	**1**	Benivola	**1**	Candidula	**1**
Aspa	**1**	Beriola	**1**	Cantine	**1**
Asprenatiana	**1**	Bestia	**1**	Capel(l)iana	**1**
Asprenilla	**1**	Bibula	**1**	Capellina	**1**
Asprilla	**1**	Bla[e]sina	**1**	Capraria	**1**
Atacina	**1**	Blaesa	**1**	Capria	**1**
Atberbosa?	**1**	Boba?	**1**	Caralitana	**1**
Atediana	**1**	Boius/ia	**1**	Carissima	**1**
Atiniana	**1**	Bonata	**1**	Carnuntilla	**1**
Atratina	**1**	Bonica	**1**	Carpiane	**1**
Attianilla	**1**	Bonilla	**1**	Cartorina	**1**
Atticina	**1**	Bonipedia	**1**	Casaria	**1**
Atticula	**1**	Bonispera	**1**	Cascel(l)iana	**1**
Auctina	**1**	Bonitta	**1**	Cassiola	**1**
Auctorina	**1**	Bononia	**1**	Castaniola	**1**
Auctoritas	**1**	Bonosula	**1**	Castel(l)iana	**1**
Audita	**1**	Botrys/Botrus	**1**	Castilla	**1**
Aufidiana	**1**	Brocc(h)illa	**1**	Castimon[ia]lis	**1**
Aufida	**1**	Bruta	**1**	Cat(t)io	**1**
Augina	**1**	Buca	**1**	Catellis	**1**
Auguriniana	**1**	Bucca	**1**	Catella	**1**
Augustana	**1**	Buccilla	**1**	Catiana	**1**
Aurea	**1**	Buciana	**1**	Catiosa	**1**
Auricome	**1**	Bulla	**1**	Cattina	**1**
Aurina	**1**	Burritana	**1**	Catulina	**1**
Auspicata	**1**	C(a)elestis	**1**	Caudinus	**1**
Auspiciola	**1**	Cadilla	**1**	Cavilla	**1**
Auspicia	**1**	Caediana	**1**	Cava	**1**
Autumna	**1**	Caelantia	**1**	Celata	**1**
Autumnina	**1**	Caepiana	**1**	Celerana	**1**
Auxiliaris	**1**	Caerula	**1**	Celeritas	**1**
Avara	**1**	Caeseriana	**1**	Celeria	**1**
Avitiana	**1**	Caesernina	**1**	Celsinilla	**1**
Babulla	**1**	Caesiana	**1**	Celtica	**1**
Badiola	**1**	Caesilla	**1**	Censorinilla	**1**
Baebilla	**1**	Caesiola	**1**	Centilla	**1**
Baiana	**1**	Caesita	**1**	Ceres	**1**
Barbarula	**1**	Calabrica	**1**	Ceriosa	**1**
Barbatiana	**1**	Calaviana	**1**	Certiana	**1**
Barbiana	**1**	Calditana	**1**	Certina	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Certula	**1**	Conventa	**1**	Decimiana	**1**
Cervella	**1**	Copia	**1**	Decimiola	**1**
Cervina	**1**	Copie(n)silla	**1**	Deciola	**1**
Cerviola	**1**	Copiola	**1**	Deigratia	**1**
Cicada	**1**	Corbula?	**1**	Delecta	**1**
Cicatrix	**1**	Corisilla	**1**	Delicia	**1**
Ciloniana	**1**	Corneola	**1**	Dentonis	**1**
Cimina	**1**	Cornuta	**1**	Desideria	**1**
Cincinnata	**1**	Corsiana	**1**	Designata	**1**
Cirra	**1**	Cossil[la]	**1**	Destinata	**1**
Civica	**1**	Cossula	**1**	Dextria	**1**
Civilis	**1**	Credita?	**1**	Diana?	**1**
Clamosa	**1**	Crementalis	**1**	Diane(n)sis	**1**
Clariana	**1**	Cretula?	**1**	Dignatia	**1**
Clarissima	**1**	Crinita	**1**	Dignissima	**1**
Claudina	**1**	Crispiana	**1**	Dilecta	**1**
Clienta	**1**	Crispula	**1**	Diligens	**1**
Clientilla	**1**	Cuculla	**1**	Diuturna	**1**
Clivana	**1**	Cucuma	**1**	Divitiosa	**1**
Cloatilla	**1**	Cucumilla	**1**	Dolabellina	**1**
Co(n)stans	**1**	Culciana	**1**	Domita	**1**
Cocceiana	**1**	Culicina	**1**	Domnitta	**1**
Collecta	**1**	Culina	**1**	Donadei	**1**
Collina	**1**	Cumana	**1**	Donatianilla	**1**
Colonilla	**1**	Cupido	**1**	Donatiana	**1**
Columbalia	**1**	Cupitiana	**1**	Donativa	**1**
Columbula	**1**	Cupitiana	**1**	Donosa	**1**
Coma	**1**	Cupitina	**1**	Dotalis	**1**
Comatilla	**1**	Curata	**1**	Dotata	**1**
Comes	**1**	Curritana	**1**	Ducta	**1**
Cominiana	**1**	Curritana	**1**	Dulcaia?	**1**
Comitiana	**1**	Curtilia[na]	**1**	Dulceia?	**1**
Comitilla	**1**	Cusina	**1**	Dulciola	**1**
Commendata	**1**	Cutiula?	**1**	Dulc(i)osa	**1**
Commodiana	**1**	Dacia	**1**	Dupliana	**1**
Compedia	**1**	Dalmatia	**1**	Eburna	**1**
Compitaria	**1**	Damiana	**1**	Elvinia	**1**
Con[vi]va?	**1**	Dammina	**1**	Emerentiana	**1**
Confinis	**1**	Dammula	**1**	En(n)iana	**1**
Confirmata	**1**	Damnata	**1**	Equina	**1**
Coniuga?	**1**	Danuvia	**1**	Erepta	**1**
Conniola	**1**	Dasumilla	**1**	Erucina	**1**
Cons(ti)tuta	**1**	Datiana	**1**	Esquilina	**1**
Conservata	**1**	Dativilla	**1**	Evasiana	**1**
Conservatrix	**1**	Datula	**1**	Eventa	**1**
Consortiana	**1**	Decembrina	**1**	Excitata	**1**
Consortiola?	**1**	Decembris	**1**	Exoptata?	**1**
Constantiola	**1**	Decentiana	**1**	Exoriens	**1**
Contempta	**1**	Decidiana	**1**	Exorn[ata]	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Expedita	**1**	Flaviosa	**1**	Gallinaria	**1**
Expetita	**1**	Flavola	**1**	Gallitana	**1**
Exquisita	**1**	Florens	**1**	Gallitia	**1**
Fabata	**1**	Florentinia	**1**	Gallitina	**1**
Fabr(i)cilla	**1**	Florica	**1**	Gallosa	**1**
Fadianilla	**1**	Florilla	**1**	Gallula	**1**
Fadiana	**1**	Flos	**1**	Gargiliana	**1**
Fadiliana	**1**	Focaria	**1**	Gaurana	**1**
Fadiola	**1**	Fontinalis	**1**	Gaviana	**1**
Fada	**1**	Forentina	**1**	Gavilla	**1**
Falconilla	**1**	Fore(n)sia	**1**	Gelliana	**1**
Falerna	**1**	Formiana	**1**	Geminans	**1**
Falisca	**1**	Formica	**1**	Gemma	**1**
Farreola	**1**	Formosa	**1**	Gemmosa	**1**
Fastidita	**1**	Fortices	**1**	Gemniana	**1**
Fastilla	**1**	Forticla	**1**	Gentilis	**1**
Fatalia	**1**	Fortio	**1**	Germania	**1**
Fatibonia	**1**	Fortissima	**1**	Germaniciana	**1**
Fatua	**1**	Fortunatia	**1**	Germaniola	**1**
Faustia	**1**	Fortunilla	**1**	Germanissa	**1**
Faustinilla	**1**	Fortunatissima	**1**	Gestiana	**1**
Faustula	**1**	Fregellana	**1**	Gracilla	**1**
Favilla	**1**	Frequentilla	**1**	Granniola	**1**
Favonilla	**1**	Frontasia	**1**	Gratiana	**1**
F(o)eda	**1**	Frontoniana	**1**	Gratiana	**1**
Felicitosa	**1**	Frontonil(l)a	**1**	Gratinula	**1**
Feroca?	**1**	Frontonia	**1**	Gravata	**1**
Ferocia	**1**	Fruga	**1**	Grumentina	**1**
Ferociana	**1**	Frumentia	**1**	Gula	**1**
Ferocina	**1**	Frutila	**1**	Gulosa	**1**
Fervida	**1**	Fucentia	**1**	Guttilla	**1**
Fessonia	**1**	Fudina	**1**	Habens	**1**
Festella	**1**	Fugitiva	**1**	Hadriana	**1**
Fidelicu[l]a	**1**	Fulgentillia	**1**	Hadrumetina	**1**
Fidentina	**1**	Fulgentia	**1**	Halaesina	**1**
Fides	**1**	Fulvina	**1**	He[l]vidiana	**1**
Fidiana	**1**	Fulva	**1**	Helvina	**1**
Fidula	**1**	Fundaniana	**1**	Herc(u)liana	**1**
Figlina	**1**	Fusciana	**1**	Herculana	**1**
Firmanilla	**1**	Fusinica	**1**	Heren[n]iola	**1**
Firmiana	**1**	Futiana	**1**	Hilariana	**1**
Firmiliana	**1**	Futura	**1**	Hilarilla	**1**
Firminilla	**1**	Gabinilla	**1**	Hilarisia	**1**
Fistula	**1**	G(a)etica	**1**	Hiluria=Illyria?	**1**
Flaccella	**1**	Gaianilla	**1**	Hirpila	**1**
Flaminica	**1**	Gaina	**1**	Hirpil(l)a	**1**
Flaminina	**1**	Gal(l)iana?	**1**	Hispallus	**1**
Flammola	**1**	Galliana	**1**	Hispaniensis	**1**
Flaviola	**1**	Galliclara	**1**	Histria	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Histrica	**1**	Kasariana	**1**	Lucerina	**1**
Histrica	**1**	La[e]natiana	**1**	Lucinula	**1**
Histricilla	**1**	Labionilla	**1**	Lucretiana	**1**
Histrionica	**1**	Labrosa	**1**	Lucrina	**1**
Honestilla	**1**	Labulla	**1**	Lucria	**1**
Honoratiana	**1**	Lacerta	**1**	Lucrosa	**1**
Honorilla	**1**	Lactilla	**1**	Luctosa	**1**
Hospitilla	**1**	Laena	**1**	Luculina	**1**
Ianua	**1**	Laevina	**1**	Ludula	**1**
Ianuarina	**1**	Lal(l)iana	**1**	Luminaris	**1**
Illyrica	**1**	Lallina	**1**	Luminosa	**1**
Imperiosa	**1**	Lampadaria	**1**	Luna	**1**
Ingeniana	**1**	Lanuvina	**1**	Lupantia	**1**
Ingens	**1**	Lartilla	**1**	Lupensia?	**1**
Ingenuina	**1**	Latiaris	**1**	Luperciana	**1**
Inquilina	**1**	Laurea	**1**	Lupinula	**1**
Insequentina	**1**	Lauricia	**1**	Lupia	**1**
Insidiola	**1**	Laurus	**1**	Luscina	**1**
Insulana	**1**	Lausiana	**1**	Lusca	**1**
Interemnia	**1**	Lausiana	**1**	Macra	**1**
Intuma	**1**	Lautina	**1**	Macriana	**1**
Inventiana	**1**	Laverna	**1**	Macrinilla	**1**
Invitilla	**1**	Lavinia	**1**	Maecenatiana	**1**
Ioviniana	**1**	Laxa	**1**	Magiana	**1**
(H)ispanica	**1**	Lectrix	**1**	Magnina	**1**
Istatera=Statera	**1**	Lenilla	**1**	Maioriana	**1**
Iucundiana	**1**	Lentina	**1**	Maiosa	**1**
Iucunditas	**1**	Lenula	**1**	Malificia	**1**
Iulianeta	**1**	Leoniana	**1**	Mala	**1**
Iuliania	**1**	Leonica	**1**	Mammosa	**1**
Iuliola	**1**	Leonina	**1**	Mandata	**1**
Iula	**1**	Leporica	**1**	Maniosa	**1**
Iunciana	**1**	Leporina	**1**	Mansuetina	**1**
Iunca	**1**	Leporia	**1**	Mansuiola(?)	**1**
Iunicilla	**1**	Leonilla	**1**	Mantua	**1**
Iustiniana	**1**	Liberitas	**1**	Map(p)alica	**1**
Iustiola	**1**	Liberta	**1**	Map(p)alia	**1**
Iustissima	**1**	Libra	**1**	Marcel(l)iana	**1**
Iustula	**1**	Licentina	**1**	Marcilla	**1**
Iuturna	**1**	Licentiossa	**1**	Marilla	**1**
Iuvencil(l)a	**1**	Licinilla	**1**	Marinia	**1**
Iuvencula	**1**	Ligurina	**1**	Marmoris	**1**
Iuvenilia	**1**	Ligustina	**1**	Marra	**1**
Iuvenilis	**1**	Lima	**1**	Marsiana	**1**
Iuvenis	**1**	Livianus	**1**	Marsiola	**1**
Iuventas	**1**	Livittiana	**1**	Martianilla	**1**
Kalendiola	**1**	Locata	**1**	Martiliana	**1**
Karthago	**1**	Longella	**1**	Martiniana	**1**
Kartine	**1**	Lubentia	**1**	Martiosa	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Masc(u)lina	**1**	Munilla	**1**	Numantina	**1**
Mascel(l)ina	**1**	Munita	**1**	Numeriana	**1**
Mater[n]illa	**1**	Murenilla	**1**	Obsecratio	**1**
Materia?	**1**	Murilla	**1**	Ocellina	**1**
Matiana	**1**	Murinilla	**1**	Ocratina	**1**
Matidiana	**1**	Musellia	**1**	Octavianilla	**1**
Matina	**1**	Mustelica	**1**	Octaviola	**1**
Matrina	**1**	Mustiosa	**1**	Octava	**1**
Matronata	**1**	Muta	**1**	Ofella	**1**
Matronia	**1**	Naeviana	**1**	Ofentina	**1**
Maturina	**1**	Naevina	**1**	Officiosa	**1**
Mauricia	**1**	Naeviola	**1**	Opera	**1**
Maurula	**1**	Naevola	**1**	Operata	**1**
Maximasia	**1**	Napo[c]a	**1**	Opilionice	**1**
Maximinia	**1**	Nardulla	**1**	Opillus	**1**
Maximiola	**1**	Narda	**1**	Optatiana	**1**
Maximucia?	**1**	Nativa	**1**	Orata	**1**
Melina	**1**	Natula	**1**	Orbiana	**1**
Melior	**1**	Nautica	**1**	Orba	**1**
Mellitia	**1**	Navina	**1**	Orcina	**1**
Memor	**1**	Neapolitana	**1**	Orienda	**1**
Memorina	**1**	Nectariola	**1**	Ornata	**1**
Menda	**1**	Negoriatrix	**1**	Ossucula	**1**
Mentita	**1**	Nepotula	**1**	Ostiensia	**1**
Mercata	**1**	Neptilla	**1**	Ovina	**1**
Meritoria	**1**	Neptis	**1**	P[lan]cilla	**1**
Messiana	**1**	Neptunalis	**1**	Pacatula	**1**
Metiliana	**1**	Neptunia	**1**	Pacina	**1**
Minervina	**1**	Nerviana	**1**	Pactilla	**1**
Miniciana	**1**	Nervilla	**1**	Pacula	**1**
Minorica	**1**	Nigrinia	**1**	Padana	**1**
Minosa	**1**	Nigrinilla	**1**	Paesica	**1**
Minutula	**1**	Nigro	**1**	Pagana	**1**
Mira?	**1**	Ninita	**1**	Palant(ina)	**1**
Misena	**1**	Nivalis	**1**	Pallina	**1**
Missiva	**1**	Nivata	**1**	Palmatia	**1**
Mitella	**1**	Nivosa	**1**	Papianilla	**1**
Modestiana	**1**	Nobiliana	**1**	Papiana	**1**
Modestiniana	**1**	Nobilina	**1**	Papiniana	**1**
Modica	**1**	Nomentina	**1**	Pardula	**1**
Molendaria	**1**	Nonana	**1**	Parilla	**1**
Molesta	**1**	Noniana	**1**	Parra	**1**
Moneta	**1**	Nonnula	**1**	Partilla	**1**
Moniana	**1**	Nortina	**1**	Parvula	**1**
Montaniina	**1**	Notata	**1**	Passeniana	**1**
Montiola	**1**	Novata	**1**	Passerilla	**1**
Mucianilla	**1**	Nu[t]rix	**1**	Pastorilla	**1**
Munatiana	**1**	Nubilis	**1**	Paterc(u)la	**1**
Mundina	**1**	Nucerina	**1**	Paterniana	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Paternilla	**1**	Pomptilla	**1**	Puella	**1**
Paternia	**1**	Pompullina	**1**	Pulchella	**1**
Patrata	**1**	Pontianilla	**1**	Pulchriana	**1**
Patricensis	**1**	Pontina	**1**	Pullile=Pullilla?	**1**
Patrina	**1**	Popil(l)a	**1**	Punica	**1**
Patrona	**1**	Populonia	**1**	Qu(i)etina	**1**
Patula	**1**	Portensia	**1**	Quadratia	**1**
Paulica	**1**	Possessa	**1**	Quadrata	**1**
Pauliniana	**1**	Postina	**1**	Quaesita	**1**
Paulosa?	**1**	Postuminula	**1**	Quartinula	**1**
Paupera	**1**	Potentia	**1**	Quartua	**1**
Pavolina	**1**	Potissuma	**1**	Querula	**1**
Pecoria	**1**	Potitiana	**1**	Quietosus	**1**
Pecuaria	**1**	Pr(a)econina	**1**	Quietulla	**1**
Peculio	**1**	Praefecta	**1**	Quinquatralis	**1**
Peculium	**1**	Praesens	**1**	Quintiola	**1**
Peculia	**1**	Praesentia	**1**	Quintulosa	**1**
Pedul(l)a	**1**	Praetoria	**1**	Reburrina	**1**
Pedullina	**1**	Praetut(t)iana	**1**	Reburra	**1**
Peregriana	**1**	Primariola?	**1**	Recessa	**1**
Periculosa	**1**	Primella	**1**	Recta	**1**
Perusilla	**1**	Primiana	**1**	Reductula	**1**
Pescenniana	**1**	Primina	**1**	Reducta	**1**
Petita	**1**	Primulica	**1**	Refrigeria	**1**
Pexsa	**1**	Primullia	**1**	Reginiana	**1**
Picata	**1**	Principina	**1**	Regiola	**1**
Pictorina	**1**	Priscia	**1**	Regulina	**1**
Pientissima	**1**	Privigna	**1**	Rementiane	**1**
Piina	**1**	Proballa	**1**	Remmiana	**1**
Pinariana	**1**	Probatiana	**1**	Remulla	**1**
Piniana	**1**	Probatula	**1**	Renatul[a]	**1**
Pinna	**1**	Probiane	**1**	Renovata	**1**
Piper	**1**	Probitatia	**1**	Resecta	**1**
Piperc(u)la	**1**	Proc(u)liana	**1**	Reverentia	**1**
Piperus	**1**	Processiana	**1**	Riparia	**1**
Piscariosa	**1**	Processina	**1**	Rogatianilla	**1**
Piscenila(?)	**1**	Proclia	**1**	Rogatia	**1**
Piscina	**1**	Proclocia	**1**	Roma	**1**
Pitinnina	**1**	Proculosa	**1**	Rorentia	**1**
Plautiana	**1**	Professa	**1**	Rosciana	**1**
Pleps	**1**	Progenita	**1**	Rubella	**1**
Plotiana	**1**	Prospera	**1**	Rufinilla	**1**
Plotiniana	**1**	Prosperata	**1**	Rufinula	**1**
Po[m]posa	**1**	Proterva	**1**	Ruriciola	**1**
Pol(l)iana	**1**	Proximilla	**1**	Rusilla	**1**
Pol(l)ionilla	**1**	Prudentia	**1**	Rusticina	**1**
Pollecla	**1**	Publila=Publilla	**1**	Ruta	**1**
Pollens	**1**	Publiosa	**1**	Rutundula	**1**
Pollex	**1**	Pudentina	**1**	Sacella	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total	Name	Total
Sacerdos	**1**	Sica	**1**	Stercorina	**1**
Sagata	**1**	Sicilia	**1**	Sterculia	**1**
Saguntia	**1**	Siculina	**1**	Stlaccilla	**1**
Saguntina	**1**	Silania	**1**	Storacia	**1**
Sala	**1**	Silanilla	**1**	Strabonilla	**1**
Salassa	**1**	Silentia	**1**	Strenua	**1**
Saliana	**1**	Siliana	**1**	Studentia	**1**
Sallentina	**1**	Siliciana	**1**	Studiosa	**1**
Salus	**1**	Silonia	**1**	Studium	**1**
Salvina	**1**	Siloniana	**1**	Suavilla	**1**
Salva	**1**	Silvanica	**1**	Subatiana	**1**
Sanctinus	**1**	Silvicola	**1**	Subita	**1**
Sana	**1**	Silvilla	**1**	Subulcinilla	**1**
Sardinia	**1**	Silviola	**1**	Successiana	**1**
Satriana	**1**	Similina	**1**	Sucula	**1**
Saturniniana	**1**	Simpliciana	**1**	Sulpicilla	**1**
Scaura	**1**	Simpliciola	**1**	Summanima	**1**
Scipionilla	**1**	Sincerus	**1**	Summula	**1**
Scopa	**1**	Siricia	**1**	Superantia	**1**
Scot(t)a	**1**	Siricosa	**1**	Superina	**1**
Scriboniana	**1**	Sit(t)iana	**1**	Superlata	**1**
Secundinia	**1**	Soiana	**1**	T(h)evestina	**1**
Secundinula	**1**	Solida	**1**	Taberna	**1**
Secundosa	**1**	Sollemnis	**1**	Tata	**1**
Sedula	**1**	Solutria	**1**	Teanensis	**1**
Segetia	**1**	Soluta	**1**	Tempestiva	**1**
Seiana	**1**	Somnula	**1**	Temporina	**1**
Selentiosa	**1**	Soricina	**1**	Terina	**1**
Sementiva	**1**	Sortita	**1**	Tertiana	**1**
Sempronilla	**1**	Spana	**1**	Tertulliania	**1**
Semprulla	**1**	Speciosa	**1**	Tertullinia	**1**
Senecill(a)	**1**	Speranda	**1**	Tessiana	**1**
Seneciosa	**1**	Speratilla	**1**	Tetricilla	**1**
Senecia?	**1**	Speratula	**1**	Tibullesia	**1**
Senilis?	**1**	Splendida	**1**	Tironilla	**1**
Sententia	**1**	Splendonilla	**1**	Titita	**1**
Septimilla	**1**	Spoletina	**1**	Tito	**1**
Sepulta	**1**	Sponsilla	**1**	Titosa	**1**
Sequana	**1**	Sportula	**1**	Titullo	**1**
Serenua	**1**	Squama(?)	**1**	Torquatiana	**1**
Sergilla	**1**	Stabilis	**1**	Tragula	**1**
Sertia	**1**	Statiana	**1**	Traiana	**1**
Sertoriana	**1**	Statilla	**1**	Transtiberina	**1**
Servula	**1**	Statiola	**1**	Trebiana	**1**
Setina	**1**	Stativa	**1**	Trebulla	**1**
Setoriana	**1**	Statorina	**1**	Trifolina	**1**
Severantia	**1**	Statulla	**1**	Trio	**1**
Severio	**1**	Staturina	**1**	Triumfalica	**1**
Severula	**1**	Stemma	**1**	Tucciana	**1**

Name	Total	Name	Total
Tudertina	**1**	Vestalica	**1**
Tullina	**1**	Vestilla	**1**
Turbantia	**1**	Veterosa	**1**
Turraniana	**1**	Vettiana	**1**
Turritana	**1**	Vetuscula	**1**
Tusculina	**1**	Vetustilla	**1**
Tutula?	**1**	Vetustina	**1**
Ultrix	**1**	Viatica	**1**
Urbania[na?]	**1**	Vicinia	**1**
Urbanina	**1**	Vicinill[a?]	**1**
Urbanosa	**1**	Victorilla	**1**
Urbicana	**1**	Victoriniana	**1**
Urbigena	**1**	Victulla	**1**
Urbilla	**1**	Vindelica	**1**
Urgulanilla	**1**	Vinilla	**1**
Urnia	**1**	Virginosa	**1**
Ursella	**1**	Virgula	**1**
Ursenia	**1**	Virgulina	**1**
Ursilla	**1**	Viriola	**1**
Ursinia	**1**	Vita	**1**
Urtica	**1**	Vitic(u)la	**1**
Urticia	**1**	Vitilla	**1**
Urticula	**1**	Vitiosa	**1**
Usilla	**1**	Vittata	**1**
Utina	**1**	Viviana	**1**
Valentiniana	**1**	Volitana	**1**
Vallata	**1**	Volsca	**1**
Varenilla	**1**	Volumnilla	**1**
Varica	**1**	Βαρβαρανα	**1**
Vasta	**1**	Δομνίλλα	**1**
Vegetina	**1**	Μαμαιανή	**1**
Veientana	**1**	Πριμάς	**1**
Veientilla	**1**		
Venerata	**1**		
Venerilla	**1**		
Venerina	**1**		
Venusia	**1**		
Venusina	**1**		
Venustinula	**1**		
Venuta	**1**		
Verax	**1**		
Veriana	**1**		
Vericia	**1**		
Verinula	**1**		
Vernalis	**1**		
Vernilla	**1**		
Versa	**1**		
Vespula	**1**		
Vesta	**1**		

Appendix 2. Senatorial women's cognomina in the first three centuries CE

The following catalogue records all known senatorial women's cognomina between the time of Augustus and Diocletian, excluding nomina used as cognomina as well as all cases, in which the cognomen is too fragmentary for any reasonable analysis. The catalogue is divided in two parts: a) Latin (and comparable) cognomina and b) Greek and other clearly non-Latin cognomina. Each part is furthermore chronologically divided in three sections, which roughly correspond to the first three centuries. This will hopefully result in a better understanding of what kind of names senatorial women had in different time periods. In the case of some less-known women the dates are sometimes tentative, and it is possible that some of these women may in fact have lived in a later or an earlier period than the catalogue suggests. The amount of such cases, however, is low and will not affect the overall picture in any significant way.

a) Latin cognomina

This category includes not only purely Latin cognomina but also names that are comparable, e.g. certain Italic and Latinized Etruscan names. I have also included in this category some cognomina deriving from Greek names used by the Roman republican aristocracy, e.g. *Orestilla*, *Achaica*. Genuine Greek cognomina, used mostly by the descendants of the Greek-speaking elite, are listed separately.

i) First century CE (from Augustus to Nerva)

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
Achaica	Mummia Achaica (*PFOS* 556)
Aemiliana	Herennia Helvidia Aemiliana (*PFOS* 417) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina (*PFOS* 281; could also be later)
Aesernina	Claudia Aesernina (*PFOS* 215)
Afra	Etri[lia] Afra (*PFOS* 344)
Agrippina (7)	Asinia Agrippina (*PFOS* 113) Iulia Agrippina (*PFOS* 426) Iulia Agripp[i]na (*PFOS* 427) Paconia Agrippina (*PFOS* 592 = *PIR*^{2} P 30) Vipsania Agrippina (*PFOS* 811) (Vipsania) Agrippina (*PFOS* 812 = *PIR*^{2} V 682)

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
	Vibullia Alcia Agrippina (*PFOS* 806 = *PIR*² V 615)
Amb[ibula]	[Eggia?] Amb[ibula] (*PFOS* 337)
Attica	Attica (*PFOS* 127)
Atticilla	Maria Atticilla (*PFOS* 529)[712]
Balbina	Fabia Balbin[a] (*PFOS* 349)
Bassa (2)	Bassa (*PFOS* 141) Rubellia Bassa (*PFOS* 667)
Bassilla	Bassilla (*PFOS* 142)
Brocchilla	Valeria Brocchilla (Raepsaet-Charlier 1993, p. 259)
Calvina (2)	Domitia Calvina (*PFOS* 321) Iunia Calvina (*PFOS* 469)
Camilla	Arruntia Camilla (*PFOS* 103)
Catella	Aelia Catella (*PFOS* 10)
Celerina (2)	Pompeia Celerina (*PFOS* 626 = *PIR*² P 670) (Pompeia?) Celerina (*PFOS* 627)
Cethegilla (3)	Cornelia Cethegilla (*PFOS* 280 (Cornelia) Cethegilla (*IG* II² 4232 = *SEG* 40, 195; cf. n. 602) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina (*PFOS* 281; could also be later)
Claudilla	Iunia Claudilla (*PFOS* 470)
Concess[a]	Iulia Concess[a] (*PFOS* 434)
Cornuta	Servenia Cornuta (*PFOS* 707 = *PIR*² S 568)
Crispina (2)	(Caepionia) Crispina (*PFOS* 166) (Vinia) Crispina (*PFOS* 807 = *PIR*² V 669)
Crispinilla	Calvia Crispinilla (*PFOS* 184)
Decidiana	Domitia Decidiana (*PFOS* 322)
Decmina	Clodia Decmina (*PFOS* 258)
Dolabellina	(Cornelia) Dolabellina (*PFOS* 283)
Domitilla (3)	Flaviae Domitillae (*PFOS* 367-369)
Drusilla (2)	Iulia Drusilla (*PFOS* 437) Iulia Drusilla (*PFOS* 438)
Eburna	(Fabia?) Eburna (*PFOS* 350)
Fabulla	(Fabia?) Fabulla Asiatica? (*PFOS* 351; cf. Appendix 4a nr. 7)
Fadilla	Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 99)
Faustina	Rupilia Faustina (*PFOS* 674 = *PIR*² R 218)
Flaccilla (2)	Artoria Flaccilla (*PFOS* 107)

[712] Her exact status is uncertain. She is known from a Roman water pipe stamp (*CIL* XV 7491) that has been dated to the late first century.

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
	Calvisia Flaccilla (*PFOS* 185)
Frontina (2)	Caesia Frontina (*PFOS* 170) Iulia Frontina (*PFOS* 440)
Fundana	Galeria Fundana (*PFOS* 399)
Furnilla (2)	Antonia Furnilla (*PFOS* 77) Marcia Furnilla (*PFOS* 525)
Gaetulica	Cornelia Gaetulica (*PFOS* 284)
Galbilla (2)	Sulpiciae Galbillae (*PFOS* 741 & 742)
Galla (6)	Caninia Galla (*PFOS* 187) Cottia Galla (*PFOS* 299) Didia Galla (*PFOS* 314) Pomponia Galla (*PFOS* 638 = *PIR*^{2} P 773) Satria (or Atria?) Galla (*PFOS* 686)[713] Sosia Galla (*PFOS* 720 = *PIR*^{2} S 781)
Gallitta (2)	Cosconia Gallitta (*PFOS* 296) Gallitta (*PFOS* 400)
Gemina	Verania Gemina (*PFOS* 788 = *PIR*^{2} V 392)
Graecina	Pomponia Graecina (*PFOS* 640 = *PIR*^{2} P 775)
Gratilla	Verulana Gratilla (*PFOS* 790 = *PIR*^{2} V 424)
Hispulla (3)	Corellia Hispulla (*PFOS* 268) Hispulla (*PFOS* 418) Terentia Hispulla (*PFOS* 756 =*PIR*^{2} T 105)
Isaurica	Iulia Quintilia Isaurica (*PFOS* 457)
Iunilla	(Aelia) Iunilla (*PFOS* 14)
Iusta	Apronia Iusta (*PFOS* 88)
Laetilla (?)	Laetilla (*PFOS* 482)[714]
Larga	[C]aecinia Larga (*PFOS* 160)
Lepida (8)	Aemiliae Lepidae (*PFOS* 28-32; cf. also n. 499 above) Domitia Lepida (*PFOS* 326) Iunia Lepida (*PFOS* 472)
Livilla (2)	Iulia Livilla (*PFOS* 443) Livia Livilla (*PFOS* 439; incerta)
Longina (2)	(Cassia?) Longina (*PFOS* 196) Domitia Longina (*PFOS* 327)
Lucana (3)	Octaviae Lucanae (*PFOS* 585; *PIR*^{2} O 69)[715] Sallustia Lucana (*PFOS* 680 = *PIR*^{2} S 105)

[713] She is only known from Tac. *ann.* 15, 59, 5.
[714] Her name in *CIL* XI 1735 = *AE* 1983, 382 was initially read *Laetilia,* but according to H. Solin's reading (*Analecta Epigraphica,* p. 119), *Laetilla* is a more plausible choice.
[715] In *PFOS* the two women are considered to be the same person. However, *AE* 1954, 68 records *M'. f.*, whilst the woman of *CIL* II 3437 is *M. f.*

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
Lucilla	Domitia Lucilla maior (*PFOS* 328)
Magna (2)	Licinia Magna (*PFOS* 494)[716] Plancia Magna (*PFOS* 609 = *PIR*^{2} P 444)
Marcella (3)	Claudia Arruntia Marcella (*PFOS* 220) (Claudiae) Marcellae (maior & minor; *PFOS* 242; *PIR*^{2} C 1103)
Marcellina	Claudia Marcellina (*PFOS* 243)
Marciana	(Ulpia) Marciana (*PFOS* 824 = *PIR*^{2} V 877)
Marulli[na]	Pompeia Marulli[na] (*PFOS* 629 = *PIR*^{2} P 676)
Maxima	Gavia Maxima (*PFOS* 403)
Maximilla (2)	Baebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla (*PFOS* 140) Egnatia Maximilla (*PFOS* 338)
Medullina	Livia Medullina (*PFOS* 500)
Messal(l)ina (4)	Statiliae Messalinae (*PFOS* 730-731 = *PIR*^{2} S 865-866) (Valeria) Messalina (*PFOS* 773) Valeria Messalina (*PFOS* 774 = *PIR*^{2} V 241)
Nepotilla	Caesia Nepotilla (*PFOS* 774)
Nigrina	Mummia Nigrina (*PFOS* 558)
Nobilis	Iulia Nobilis (*PFOS* 451)
Novatilla	(Annaea) Novatilla (*PFOS* 50)
Numantina	(Fabia) Numantina (*PFOS* 353)[717]
Ocellina (2)	Cornelia Ocel[lina] (*PFOS* 288) Livia Ocellina (*PFOS* 501)
Octavilla	Verania Octavilla (*PFOS* 789 = *PIR*^{2} V 393)
Oculata (2)	(Aeliae) Oculatae (*PFOS* 16-17)
Orestina/Orestilla	Cornelia Orestina/Orestilla (*PFOS* 285)[718]
Paculla	Paculla (*PFOS* 597 = *PIR*^{2} P 45)
Paetina (2)	Aelia Paetina (*PFOS* 18) Minicia Paetina (*PFOS* 553)
Paulla	Calpurnia (*not Sergia*) Paulla (*PFOS* 702; cf. *PIR*^{2} S 541)
Paul(l)ina (11)	(Aelia) Domitia Paulina (*PFOS* 12) Baebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla

[716] There is also Licinia Ma[gna?] (*PFOS* 493), but the restoration of the cognomen is uncertain.
[717] F. Chausson 2017 has argued for the existence of two Fabiae Numantinae instead of one (cf. n. 666 above). For the sake of certainty I have, however, included only one case here.
[718] The manuscript tradition concerning her cognomen is rather ambiguous. For a thorough discussion, see Kajava 1984.

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
	(*PFOS* 140) Calpurnia Paulina (cf. *AE* 2013, 1621; *SEG* 63, 1374) Domitia Paulina (*PFOS* 330) Fulvia Paulina (*PFOS* 389) Iulia Paulina (*PFOS* 452) Lusia Paullina (*PFOS* 512) Lollia Paulina (*PFOS* 504) Pompeia Paulina (*PFOS* 630 = *PIR*^{2} P 678) Sergia Paulina (*PFOS* 703 = *PIR*^{2} S 542) Valeria Paulina (*PFOS* 775 = *PIR*^{2} V 242)[719]
Plancina (2)	Munatia Plancina (*PFOS* 562) Cornelia Cethegilla Aemiliana Plancina (*PFOS* 281; could also be later)
Platorina	Sulpicia Platorina (*PFOS* 744 = *PIR*^{2} S 1033)
Plautilla	Sergia Plautilla (*PFOS* 704 = *PIR*^{2} S 543)
Plotina (2)	Pompeia Plotina (*PFOS* 631 = *PIR*^{2} P 679) Ulpia Plotina (*PFOS* 825 = *PIR*^{2} 879)
Polla (4)	Acerronia Polla (*PFOS* 2) Argentaria Polla (*PFOS* 90) Dasumia Polla (*PFOS* 308) Vettulena Polla (*PFOS* 792 = *PIR*^{2} V 507)
Pollitta	Antistia Pollitta (*PFOS* 72)
Postuma	Anicia Postuma (*PFOS* 47) Otacilia Postuma (*PFOS* 589)
Praetextata (3)	Calpurnia Praetextata (*PFOS* 180) (Licinia) Praetextata (*PFOS* 495) Sulpicia Praetextata (*PFOS* 745 = *PIR*^{2} S 1034)
Prima	[Alfia?] Prima (*PFOS* 45)
Prisca (2)	Prisca (*PFOS* 655) Publilia (*rather than Publia*) Prisca (*PFOS* 659 = *PIR*^{2} P 1063)
Priscilla (2)	[La]rcia Priscilla (*PFOS* 485) Arria Plaria Vera Priscilla (*PFOS* 101)
Procilla (2)	Boionia Procilla (*PFOS* 148) Iulia Procilla (*PFOS* 454)
Procu[l]ina	Iulia Procu[l]ina (*PFOS* 456)
Procula (4)	Caepia Procula (*PFOS* 167) Cilnia Procula (*PFOS* 209) Helvia Procula (*PFOS* 414)

[719] Possibly from the early 2nd c.

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
	Orfidia Procula (*PFOS* 586)
Pulchra[720]	Claudia Pulchra (*PIR*² C 1116)
Quadratilla (3)	Ummidia Quadratilla (*PFOS* 829 = *PIR*² V 913) Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PFOS* 830 = *PIR*² V 914; possibly also from a later period) Vettulena Quadratilla (*PFOS* 794 = *PIR*² V 509)
Quartilla	Annia Quartilla (*PFOS* 65)
Quinta	Sab(inia?) Quinta (*PFOS* 677 = *PIR*² S 6)
Quintilla	Pedania Quintilla (*PFOS* 604 = *PIR*² P 206)
Quintina	Agedia Quintina (*PFOS* 41)
Rectina	Rectina (*PFOS* 655 = *PIR*² R 34)
Rufilla	Vitellia Rufilla (*PFOS* 818 = *PIR*² V 758)
Rufina (2)	N[e]ratia Anteia Rufin[a] (*PFOS* 568) Metilia Rufina (*PFOS* 548)
Sabina (5)	Besia Sabina (*PFOS* 145) Cornelia Sabina (*PFOS* 292) Flavia Sabina (*PFOS* 379) Poppaeae Sabinae (*PFOS* 645-646 = *PIR*² P 849-850) [F]ulcinia (*rather than [V]olcinia*) Sabina (*PFOS* 831; cf. *PIR*² V p. 489)
Salonina	Salonina (*PFOS* 682 = *PIR*² S 111)
Saturnina	Lollia Saturnina (*PFOS* 506)
Secunda	Ummidia Quadratilla Asconia Secunda (*PFOS* 830 = *PIR*² V 914; possibly also from a later period)
Severa	Appia Severa (*PFOS* 84)
Severina	Iulia Severina (*PFOS* 459)
Silana	Iunia Silana (*PFOS* 474)
Supera	Supera (*PFOS* 747 = *PIR*² S 1037)
Telesina	Luccia Telesina (*PFOS* 508)
Tertulla (4)	Arrecina Tertulla (*PFOS* 93) Iulia Tertulla (*PFOS* 462) Lappia Tertulla (*PFOS* 483) Tertulla (*PFOS* 758 = *PIR*² T 111)
Torquata (4)	Iunia Torquata (*PFOS* 475) Licinia Cornelia Volusia Torquata (*PFOS* 492 = *PIR*² V 992; could also be from a later period) Torquata (*PFOS* 762 = *PIR*² T 293) Volusia Torquata (*PFOS* 838 = *PIR*² V 991)
Triaria	Sulpicia Triaria (*PFOS* 746 = *PIR*² S 1036)[721]

[720] For Livia C. f. [Pu]lchra (*PFOS* 502), see 4.6.2 above.

AUGUSTUS - NERVA	
Urgulanilla	Plautia Urgulanilla (*PFOS* 619 = *PIR*² P 488)
Varilla (2)	Appuleia Varilla (*PFOS* 85) (Nonia) Varilla (*PFOS* 576)
Varronilla	Varronilla (*PFOS* 781 = *PIR*² V 291)
Vera (2)	Arria Plaria Vera Priscilla (*PFOS* 101) Plaria Vera (*PFOS* 612 = *PIR*² P 447)
Vet(t)illa	Valeria Vetilla (*PFOS* 778 = *PIR*² V 247)
Vettula	Funisulana Vettula (*PFOS* 395)
Violentilla	Violentilla (*PFOS* 809 = *PIR*² V 672)
Viriola	Attia Viriola (*PFOS* 126)
(Victrix?)	Caedicia (Victrix?)[722]

ii) Second century (from Trajan to Septimius Severus)

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
Aciliana	Catinia Aciliana (*PFOS* 200)
Aemiliana	Aemiliana (*PFOS* 39)
Aequa	Ennia Aequa (*PFOS* 342)
Africaniana	Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38)
Agrippiana	Gellia Agrippiana (*PFOS* 405)
Agrippina (8)	Aemilia Agrippina (*PFOS* 23) Antonia Agrippina (*PFOS* 76) C[la]udia V[et]tia Agrippina (*PFOS* 256) Fabia Agrippina (*PFOS* 348) Plotia Agrippina (*PFOS* 619bis = *PIR*² P 521) Stat(ia) Agrippina (*PFOS* 724 = *PIR*² S 889) Sulpicia Agrippina (*PFOS* 740 = *PIR*² S 1027)
Agrippinilla	Pompeia Agrippinilla (*PFOS* 625 = *PIR*² P 667)

[721] There is, to be sure, the gentilicium *Triarius* (cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*; also several senatorial Triarii on record). But the name also appears as a cognomen already in the republican period (e.g. Valerius Triarius, friend of Cicero; *Brut.* 76, 266), and besides has its origin in the military term *triarius*, i.e. an appellative. Our Sulpicia C. f. Triaria is only known from a Roman water pipe stamp (*CIL* XV 7550), and in lack of any further information it seems better to consider *Triaria* a real cognomen here (to be fair, we do not even know for sure if she was of senatorial status). Compare also the nomenclature of Sulpicia Triaria, daughter of C. Sulpicius Agatangelus and Vibia Vibiana and wife of L. Nonius Verus (*CIL* XI 1017; c. 331-370 CE). In the case of Pomponia Triaria (*PFOS* 642), on the other hand, we seem to be dealing with a nomen used as a cognomen (see 'Nomina used as cognomina' above.

[722] H. Dessau has identified Caedicia, wife of Flavius Scaevinus (Tac. *ann.* 15, 71), as the woman attested as *Caedicia M. f. Victrix* (*IG* XIV 722; *CIL* VIII 22637,23; X 6252). This, however, is far from certain.

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
Albina	Canidia Albina (*PFOS* 186)
Aprulla	Lucilia Aprulla (*PFOS* 509)
Aquilina (2)	Memmia Aquilina (*PFOS* 538) Rufia Aquilina (*PFOS* 669 = *PIR*^{2} R 162)
Asiana	T[---]a Cornelia Asiana (*PFOS* 749)[723]
Asiatica	[---] Seneciana Asiatica (*PFOS* 696 = *PIR*^{2} S 379)
Atticilla	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla (*PFOS* 236)
Avita (2)	Caecilia Avita (*PFOS* 155) Annia Maleca? Avita (*PFOS* 63)
Balbilla	Atilia Balbilla (*PFOS* 117)
Balbina (2)	Cl(audiae) Balbinae (*PFOS* 225 & 226)
Bassa	Geminia Bassa (*PFOS* 407)
Bassiana (2)	Iallia Bassiana (*PFOS* 420) Iulia Soaemias Bassiana (*PFOS* 460)
Bassilla (4)	Bassilla (*PFOS* 142) Gav[ia] [---] Bassilla (*PFOS* 401) [P]obilicia Bas(s)illa Torquata (*PFOS* 621 = *PIR*^{2} P 1044) Pomponia Bassil(l)a (*PFOS* 636 = *PIR*^{2} P 768)
Bassula (3)	Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula (*PFOS* 264) Stertinia Bassula (*PFOS* 734 = *PIR*^{2} S 914)[724] Stertinia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana (*PFOS* 735 = *PIR*^{2} S 915)
Blandiana (?)	Claudia Blandiana? (*PFOS* 228)[725]
Caeliana	Pullaiena Caeliana (*PFOS* 661 = *PIR*^{2} 1079)
Calida	Volumnia Calida (*PFOS* 833 = *PIR*^{2} V 958)
Calvina	Iulia Calvina (*PFOS* 431)
Camilla (?)	Tib. Claudia Camilla? Alfidia Ceonia? (*PFOS* 230)[726]
Campanilla	Attia Campanilla (*PFOS* 123)
Celerina (3)	Celerina (*PFOS* 206)

[723] One of the *matronae senatoriae* in the *ludi* of 204. The gentilicia *T[arri]a* and *T[ampi]a* have been suggested, but other restorations are also possible

[724] Attested in suburban brick stamps (*CIL* XV 2201-2205). The possibility exists that she is identical with the polyonymous Stertinia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana (*PFOS* 735 = *PIR*^{2} S 915).

[725] The reading of the cognomen (in *SEG* XX 66 = *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962), p. 1943 nr. 10) is uncertain. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford in *Anatolian Studies* suggest the form *Biacliana* (Βιακλιανή). They, however, note that the letters are "very badly worn", and moreover, the name *Βιακλῆς does not seem to be anywhere on record (0 hits in the *LGPN*). Perhaps the form *Blandiana* (cf. *PFOS* 228), is more plausible after all.

[726] The cognomen might in fact be *Camilia.* The name *Ceionia,* in turn, has traditionally been read as *Celonis*, but this seems uncertain. Kajava 1994, p. 195 has suggested *Ceionia*, which I am willing to accept.

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
	Fonteia Celerina (*PFOS* 387) Numisia Celerina (*PFOS* 579)
Celsina	Iulia Celsina (*PFOS* 432)
Celsinilla	Aelia Celsinilla (*PFOS* 11)
Cethegilla (3)	(Calpurnia) Cethegilla (*PFOS* 178) Cl(audia) Cethegilla (*PFOS* 232) (Gavia) Cornelia Cethegilla (*PFOS* 402)
Clara (2)	Aemilia Clara (*PFOS* 24) Didia Clara (*PFOS* 312)
Claudiana	Terentia Claudiana (*PFOS* 755 = *PIR*^{2} T 104)
Clementiana (2)	(Flavia) Clementiana (*PFOS* 364) Fufidia Clementiana[727]
Consortiana	Seia Potitia Consortiana (*PFOS* 693 = *PIR*^{2} S 330)
Cornuta	Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia? Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna (*PFOS* 708 = *PIR*^{2} S 569)
Crispina (5)	Asinia Crispina (*PFOS* 114) Bruttia Crispina (*PFOS* 14) Crispina (*PFOS* 303) Laberia Mar[cia] Hostilia Crispina Moecia Cornelia (*PFOS* 478) Novia Crispina (*PFOS* 577)
Crispinilla (3)	Caedicia Luc[illa?] Crispinilla (*PFOS* 162) Flavia Crispinilla (*PFOS* 366) Marcia Crisp[inill]a (*PFOS* 523)
Dignitas	Cominia Vipsania Dignitas (*PFOS* 266)
Domna (2)	Iulia Domna (*PFOS* 436) Servenia ... Domna (*PFOS* 708 = *PIR*^{2} S 569)
Fadilla (4)	Aurelia Fadilla (*PFOS* 137) Claudia Fadilla (*PFOS* 237) Fadilla (*PFOS* 356) Iulia Lupula Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 444)
Fadiula (=Fadiola?)	Pomponia Fadiula (*PFOS* 637 = *PIR*^{2} P 771)
Falconilla	Pompeia Sosia Falconilla (*PFOS* 632 = *PIR*^{2} P 681)
Faustilla	(Cornificia) Faustilla (*PFOS* 295)
Faustina (12)	[Acilia] Faustina (*PFOS* 3) Annia Aurelia Faustina (*PFOS* Annia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 57)

[727] Attested at Teanum Sidicinum in 166-170 CE as *c(larissima) p(uella)* (*AE* 2013, 316). The inscription also records her father L. Fufidius Pollio *c(larissimus) i(uvenis)* and grandfather L. Fufidius Pollio (*cos.* 166).

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
	Annia Faustina (*PFOS* 58) Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (*PFOS* 61) Anniae Galeriae Faustinae (*PFOS* 62-63) Domitia Faustina (*PFOS* 323) [---] Faustina (*PFOS* 358) Fundania Faustina (*PFOS* 394) Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (*PFOS* 827 = *PIR*^{2} V 911) Vitrasia Faustina (*PIR*^{2} V 771 = *PFOS* 820)
Favonilla	Marcia Favonilla (*PFOS* 524)
Flaccilla	Domitia Flaccill[a] (*PFOS* 324)
Flaccinilla	Iunia Flaccinilla (*PFOS* 471)
Flavola	(Hedia) Terentia Flavola (*PFOS* 411)
Frontina (2)	Sallustia Frontina (*PFOS* 679 = *PIR*^{2} S 104) Sosia Frontina (*PFOS* 719 = *PIR*^{2} S 780)
Fundana	Annia Fundana (*PFOS* 59)
Fuscina	Matuccia Fuscina (*PFOS* 534)
Galla (4)	Caelia Galla (*PFOS* 163) Cocceia Galla (*PFOS* 265) Laberia Galla (*PFOS* 477) Quintia Galla (*PFOS* 662 = *PIR*^{2} Q 49)
Gargonilla	Caninia Gargonilla (*PFOS* 188)
Gaviana	Ae(milia?) Gaviana (*PFOS* 26)
Gelliola	Fabatia Polla Fabia Domitia Gelliola (*PFOS* 345)
Gemellina	Aelia Gemellina (*PFOS* 13)
Germanilla (2)	Caerellia Germanilla (*PFOS* 168) [P]omponia Germanilla (*PFOS* 639 = *PIR*^{2} P 774)
Gratilla	Veturia Gratilla Thais (*PFOS* 795 = *PIR*^{2} V 520)
Hilaritas	Vibia Hilaritas (*PFOS* 801 = *PIR*^{2} V 596)
Honorata	Aemilia Honorata (*PFOS* 27)
Isaurica	Flavia Seia Isaurica (*PFOS* 380)
Iucunda	Didia Iucunda (*PFOS* 315)
Iuliana	Sextia Iuliana (*PFOS* 714 = *PIR*^{2} S 686)
Iuncina	Sosia Iuncina (*PFOS* 721 = *PIR*^{2} S 782)
Laenilla	Laenilla (*PIR*^{2} L 61)[728] Mummia Laenilla (*PFOS* 557)
Laeta	[---]nia Laeta (*PFOS* 694)[729]

[728] Nomen unknown. She is only known through the account of Aelian (*de nat. anim.* 7, 15).
[729] One of the *matronae senatoriae* in the *ludi* of 204 (cf. Pighi 1965, p. 14). Her nomen is restored in *PFOS* as *[?Sempro]nia* but a number of other restorations could also come into question (cf. Kajava 1988, p. 91.)

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
Lepida (2)	Calpurnia Lepida (*PFOS* 179) Valeria Lepida (*PFOS* 771 = *PIR*² V 236)
Liviana	Carminia Liviana Diotima (*PFOS* 190)
Lucilla (6)	Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla (*PFOS* 54) Aur(elia) Lucilla (*PFOS* 138) Domitia Lucilla (*PFOS* 329)[730] Manilia Lucilla (*PFOS* 518) Pactumeia Lucilla? (*PFOS* 593 = *PIR*² P 41)[731] Triaria Ignatia Lucilla (*PFOS* 766 = *PIR*² T 345)
Luciola	Salvia Luciola (*PFOS* 684 = *PIR*² S 156)
Luculla	Servenia ... Luculla Domna (*PFOS* 708 = *PIR*² S 569)
Lupula	Iulia Lupula Arria Fadilla (*PFOS* 444)
Macrina (2)	Clodia Macrina (*PFOS* 260) Memmia Macrina (*PFOS* 539)
Maeciana	(Claudia) Maeciana Alexandra (*PFOS* 241)
Maesa	Iulia Maesa (*PFOS* 445)
Magna (2)	Pactumeia Magna (*PFOS* 594 = *PIR*² P 42) Plancia Magna Aquillia (*PFOS* 610 = *PIR*² P 445)
Magnilla	Iulia Magnilla (*PFOS* 447)
Manliola (2)	Acilia Manliola (*PFOS* 4) Cornelia Manliola (*PFOS* 286)
Marcella (5)	Iulia Marcella Commagene (*PFOS* 448 Lus(ia) Ruf(ia) Marcella (*PFOS* 513) Minicia Marcella (*PFOS* 552) Ruffia Marcella (*PFOS* 670 = *PIR*² R 163) Statoria Marcella (*PFOS* 733 = *PIR*² S 893)
Marcellina (4)	Antiae Marcellinae (*PFOS* 70-71) Casconiae Marcellinae (*PFOS* 191-192)
Marciana (7)	Aemilia Marciana [---] Pietas (*PFOS* 33) Aemilia Tertulla Marciana (*PFOS* 38) [C]assia Marcian[a] (*PFOS* 197) Clodia Marciana (*PFOS* 261) Flavia Polymnia Marciana (*PFOS* 375) Iulia Valeria Marciana (*PFOS* 463) Paccia Marciana (*PFOS* 590 = *PIR*² P 20)[732]

[730] The mother of the emperor Marcus Aurelius is also called *Domitia Calvilla* in one passage of the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Marci* 1, 3), but this name is nowhere else to be found and should be be disregarded as an error (or unreliable at the very least).

[731] She is recorded in a *fistula* found at the Aventine hill (*CIL* XV 7507). The cognomen may also be read *Lucilia*.

[732] Her cognomen is *Marcia* in *HA, Vita Severi,* but epigraphic evidence from Africa shows that the correct form is *Marciana* (*IRT* 410-411; *CIL* VIII 19494 = *ILS* 440 = *ILAlg* II.1 565).

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
Marciola	Claudia Marciola (*PFOS* 245)
Marsilla	Tullia Marsilla Quentinia Rossia Rufina Rufia Procula (*PFOS* 767 = *PIR*² T 396)
Marullina (2)	Cor(nelia) Marullina (*PFOS* 287) Neratia Marullina (*PFOS* 569)
Materna	Caecilia Materna (*PFOS* 156)
Maxima (7)	Aemilia Cornelia Scribonia Maxima (*PFOS* 25) Aiacia Maxima (*PFOS* 42) Caelia Maxima (*PFOS* 164) Iuventia [---] Maxima (*PFOS* 476) Seia Maxima (*PFOS* 692 = *PIR*² S 692) Sossia Maxima (*PFOS* 722 = *PIR*² S 793) Statiliae Maximae (*PFOS* 728 & 729 = *PIR*² S 862 & 863)
Maximilla	Numisia Maximilla (*PFOS* 581)
Modesta	Oscia Modesta ... Patruina Publiana (*PFOS* 587 = *PIR*² O 155)
Modestiana	Modestiana (*PFOS* 554)
Naevilla	Naevia Naevilla (*PFOS* 565)
Nepotilla	Iulia Nepotilla (*PFOS* 4509
Nerulla	Memmia Nerulla (*PFOS* 540)
Novella (2)	Papia Novella (*PFOS* 598 = *PIR*² P 125) Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Potitiana (*PFOS* 706 = *PIR*² S 563)
Octavilla (2)	Fl(avia) Neratia Septim[ia] Octavilla (*PFOS* 372) Septimia Octavilla (*PFOS* 697 = *PIR*² S 500)
Pacata	Prastinia Pacata (*PFOS* 652 = *PIR*² P 930)
Pacula	[Roscia?] Pacula (*PFOS* 666 = *PIR*² R 99)
Pansina	Varia Pansina (*PIR*² V 288)
Papiana (2)	Fl(avia) Papiana (*PFOS* 373) Vedia Papiana (*PFOS* 783 = *PIR*² V 326)
Patruina	Oscia... Patruina Publiana (*PFOS* 587 = *PIR*² O 155)
Paul(l)a (4)	Cl[audia] Paula (*PFOS* 247) Paulla (*PFOS* 601 = *PIR*² P 166) Postumia Paulla (*PFOS* 650 = *PIR*² P 903) Tituleia Paula Rufina (*PFOS* 761 = *PIR*² T 283)
Paul(l)ina (5)	Arminia Paullina (*PFOS* 91) Aemilia Paulina Asiatica (*PFOS* 35) Arria Caesennia Paulina (*PFOS* 97) Lollia Pauli[na] (*PFOS* 505) Pontia Paulina (*PFOS* 644 = *PIR*² P 833)

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
Petroni[ana]	[Caecilia] Petroni[ana] (*PFOS* 157)
Pia	Attia Pia (*PFOS* 124)
Picentina	Antonia Picentina (*PFOS* 79)
Pietas	Aemilia Marciana [---] Pietas (*PFOS* 33)
Placida (2)	Cornelia Placida (*PFOS* 289) Mulvia Placida (*PFOS* 555)
Plotina (3)	Betitia Plotina (*PFOS* 146) Desticia Plotina (*PFOS* 310) Marcia Tarria Plotina (*PFOS* 750 = *PIR*^{2} T 27)
Polla (8)	Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla (*PFOS* 56) Fabatia Polla Fabia Domitia Gelliola (*PFOS* 345) Otacilia Polla (*PFOS* 588) Sextia Asinia Polla (*PFOS* 713 = *PIR*^{2} S 684) Sossia Polla (*PFOS* 723 = *PIR*^{2} S 784) Valeria Polla (*PFOS* 776 = *PIR*^{2} V 244) Vettulena Polla (*PFOS* 793 = *PIR*^{2} V 507) [---]ensia Polla (*PFOS* 622)
Pollitta (3)	Fl(avia) Pollitta (*PFOS* 374) Fufidia Pollitta (*PFOS* 388) Rutilia Pollitta (*PFOS* 675 = *PIR*^{2} R 265)
Pompeiana	Laberia Pompeiana (*PFOS* 479)
Postuma	Antonia Postuma (*PFOS* 80)
Potitiana	Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Potitiana (*PFOS* 706 = *PIR*^{2} S 563)
Prisca (7)	Cassia Cornelia Prisca (*PFOS* 195) (Caunia) Prisca (*PFOS* 203) Cutia Prisca (*PFOS* 307) Flavia Prisca (*PFOS* 376) Fulvia Prisca (*PFOS* 390) Memmia Prisca (*PFOS* 541) Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana (*PFOS* 676)
Priscilla	(Curtia Iulia?) Priscilla (*PFOS* 304)
Privigna	Cornelia Privigna (*PFOS* 290)
Procilla (3)	[N]eratia Proci[lla] (*PFOS* 571) Marcia Caelia Procilla (*PFOS* 165) Servenia Cornuta ... Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna (*PFOS* 708 = *PIR*^{2} S 569)
Procula (13)	Claudia Vilia Procula (*PFOS* 257) Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula (*PFOS* 264) Cornelia Procula (*PFOS* 291)

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
	(Egnatia?) Procula (*PFOS* 339) Flavia Procula (*PFOS* 377) [G]avia Procula (*PFOS* 404) Iunia Proc[ula] (*PFOS* 473) Licinia Procula (*PFOS* 496) Munatia Procula (*PFOS* 563) Numisia Procula (*PFOS* 582) Rufia Procula (*PFOS* 671 = *PIR*² R 165) Tutilia Proc(u)la (*PFOS* 768 = *PIR*² T 441) Tullia ... Procula (*PFOS* 767 = *PIR*² T 396) L. Fulvia Numisia Procula (*CIL* VI 1629)[733]
Publiana	Oscia Modesta ... Patruina Publiana (*PFOS* 587 = *PIR*² O 155)
Pudentilla	Manlia Pudentilla (*PFOS* 519)
Quadratilla (2)	Asinia Quadratilla (*PFOS* 115) Calpurnia Quadratilla (*PFOS* 181)
Quartilla (2)	Neratia Quartilla (*PFOS* 572) Titia Quartilla (*PFOS* 760 = *PIR*² T 276)
Quintina	Didia Quintina (*PFOS* 316)
Regilla (3)	Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla (*PFOS* 66) Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla (*PFOS* 56) Claudia Regilla (*PFOS* 248)
Regina (2)	Domitia Regina (*PFOS* 332) [Se]rgia Au[reli]a Regina (*PFOS* 700 = *PIR*² S 539)
Romana	Sempronia Romana (*PFOS* 695 = *PIR*² S 376)
Rufiana	Porcia Rufiana (*PFOS* 648 = *PIR*² P 873)
Rufilla (2)	Aem(ilia) Rufilla (*PFOS* 36) Iulia Rufilla Augurina (*PFOS* 458)
Rufina (12)	Annia Rufina (*PFOS* 67) Atilia Rufina (*PFOS* 120) Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38) Claudia Rufina (*PFOS* 249) Flavia Rufina (*PFOS* 378)

[733] The inscription, also recording Publicius Reginus, *eques Romanus*, is only preserved through a 17th century manuscript. The reading *L(ucia) Fuluia Numisia Procula c(larissima) f(emina)* is proposed by M. Kajava 1999, but it is not certain; cf. *AE* 1999, 197. She could be the daughter of L. Fulvius Rusticus Aemilianus, who was consul towards the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius and who, according to a hypothesis by E. Groag, would have married Numisia Procula (cf. *PIR*² F 557).

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
	Lusia Galeria Rufina (*PFOS* 511) Macrinia Rufina (*PFOS* 514) Maria Rufina (*PFOS* 531) Serv(a)ea Novella Rufina Potitiana (*PFOS* 706 = *PIR*² S 563) Teia Rufina (*PFOS* 752 = *PIR*² T 53) Tituleia Paula Rufina (*PFOS* 761 = *PIR*² T 283) Tullia ... Rufina ... Procula (*PFOS* 767 = *PIR*² T 396)
Rustica	Vesia Rustica (*PFOS* 791 = *PIR*² V 434)
Sabina (5)	Arria Sabina (*PFOS* 102) Calpurnia Sabina (*PFOS* 182) Cl(audia) Ant(onia) Sabina (*PFOS* 218) Larcia Sabina (*PFOS* 486) Vibia Aurelia Sabina (*PFOS* 800 = *PIR*² V 592)
Sabiniana	Rutilia Prisca Sabiniana (*PFOS* 676)
Sacrata	Attia Sacrata (*PFOS* 125)
Saturnina (2)	Antonia Saturnina (*PFOS* 81) Fulvia Saturnina (*PFOS* 392)
Scantilla	Manlia Scantilla (*PFOS* 520)
Secunda (3)	Calpurnia Secunda (*PFOS* 183)[734] [---] Secunda (*PFOS* 690, cf. n. 117) Secunda (*PFOS* 691, cf. n. 117)
Secundilla (3)	Mundicia Secundilla (*PFOS* 564) Rufria Secundilla (*PFOS* 673 = *PIR*² R 178) [Tria?]ria Magia Secundil[la] (*PFOS* 100 = *PIR*² T 346)[735]
Seneciana	[---] Seneciana Asiatica (*PFOS* 696 = *PIR*² S 379)
Senecilla	Aninia Senecilla (*PFOS* 48)
Sertoriana	Betutia Sertoriana (*PFOS* 147)
Servianilla	Cornelia Servianilla (*PFOS* 293)
Servilla	Plautia Servilla (*PFOS* 618 = *PIR*² P 487)
Severa (3)	Aemilia Severa (*PFOS* 37) Catilia Severa (*PFOS* 199) Cl(audia) Severa (*PFOS* 250)
Sextilla	Aurellia Sextilla (*PFOS* 139)
Statianilla (2)	Fl(avia) Statianilla (*PFOS* 381) Servaea F[l(avia)] Statianilla Valeriana (*PFOS* 705 =

[734] Status unclear. She is only known as the owner of *figlinae Tempesinae* in the early 2nd century (*CIL* XV 610-611; *LSO* 521-522; Setälä 1977, p. 85).
[735] The restoration of the nomen is not certain. *[Ar]ria* has also been suggested (cf. the entry in *PIR*² T).

TRAJAN - SEVERUS	
	*PIR*² S 562)
Tertulla (4)	Aemilia Tertulla Marciana Cornelia Rufina Africaniana (*PFOS* 38) Decia Tertulla (*PFOS* 309) Grania Tertull[a] (*PFOS* 409) Trebicia Tertulla (*PFOS* 763 = *PIR*² T 318)
Tiberina	Fla(via) Tiberina (*PFOS* 382)
Titiana (4)	Claudia Titiana (*PFOS* 252) Fabia Titiana (*PFOS* 355) Flavia Titiana (*PFOS* 383) Maesia Fabia Titiana (*PFOS* 515)
Torquata (3)	Metilia Torquata (*PFOS* 549) [P]oblicia Basilla Torquata (*PFOS* 621 = *PIR*² P 1044) Sextia Torquata (*PIR*² S 689)
Urbana	Lucia Licinia Urbana (*PFOS* 498)
Urbica	Valeria Urbica (*PFOS* 779 = *PIR*² V 248)
Valentilla	Curtia Iulia Valentilla (*PFOS* 305)
Valeriana (2)	Maiana Valeriana (*PFOS* 517) Servaea F[l(avia)] Statianilla Valeriana (*PFOS* 705 = *PIR*² S 562)
Varanilla	F[---]a Varanilla (*PFOS* 397)[736]
Var(i)a (2)	Mummia Var(i)a (*PFOS* 559)[737] Postumia Varia (*PIR*² P 906; perhaps identical with *PFOS* 651 = *PIR*² P 905)
Varenilla	Cl(audia) Varenilla (*PFOS* 254)
Venusta	Flavia Venusta (*PFOS* 384)
Veranilla	Aurelia Veranilla[738]
Vic[t]orina	Licinia Vic[t]orina (*PFOS* 497)[739]

[736] The nomen perhaps was *Furia* or *Flavia*, but this is uncertain, since the father is unknown.
[737] Kajava 1987, p. 37 ff., has proposed that the cognomen was in fact *Varia*, despite the reading of *CIL* XV 1310 as *Vara*.
[738] Attested as *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* in 212-215 CE together with her husband Q. Cerellius Apollinaris and daughter Cerellia Veranilla, also *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)* (*CIL* VI 41180 = *AE* 1969/70, 193).
[739] She probably did not have the cognomen *Hispella*, as has been argued by Kajava 1988. The name was more likely a part of her husband's name (C. Hispella Gavius Saturninus).

iii) Third century CE (from the Severan period to Diocletian)

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
Aemiliana (2)	Aemiliana (*PIR*² A 312) Calpurnia Ceia Aemiliana[740]
Aequa	(Iulia) Camilia Aequa (*PIR*² I 654) [---] Aequa (*PIR*² A 429; possibily identical with the former)
Africana	Manlia Pontia Luculla Africana (*PIR*² M 165)
Agrippina	L. Iulia Apronia Alfena Agrippina (*PIR*² I 646)
Albina	C. Nummia Ceionia Umbria Rufia Albina (*PIR*² N 239)
Apelliana	Flavia Annia Apelliana (*PIR*² F 410)
Aquilina	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Aquilina (*PIR*² S 939)
Arrian[a]	[---]lia Crispina Arrian[a] (*PIR*² C 1583)
Augurina (2)	Attia Flavia Veratia Augurina Novatilla (*PIR*² V 395) Pr(a)ecilia Au[g]urina (*PIR*² P 921)
Aureliana	Danacia Quartilla Aureliana (*PIR*² D 6)
Avita	Iulia Avita Mamaea Augusta (*PIR*² I 649)
Avitiana	Nitonia Avitiana (*PIR*² N 106)
Baebiana (2)	Cl(audia) Baebia Baebiana (*PIR*² C 1079) Afinia Gemina Baebiana (*PIR*² A 439)
Bassa	Cl(audia) Bassa (*PIR*² C 1082)
Caeciliana	Publilia Caeciliana (*PIR*² P 1057)
Candida	Pompeia Fulcinia Candida (*PIR*² P 673)
Cas(s)iana (2)	Iuliae Cas(s)ianae (mother and daughter, cf. *PIR*² I 656)
Casta	[---]ia Casta Si[---]nilla (*PIR*² C 532)
Celsinilla	Aelia Celsinilla (*PIR*² A 290)
Certiana	Egnatia Certiana (*PIR*² E 38)
Cethegilla	Pupienia Sextia Pau[lina] Cethegilla (*PIR*² P 1086)
Claudiana (2)	Claudiana Eusebia (*PIR*² C 751) Coelia Claudiana (*PIR*² C 1250)
Clementina (2)	Arri[a ---]r[--- Cl]ementina (*PIR*² A 1117a) Iallia Clem[en]tina (*PIR*² I 6)
Corneliana	Mummia Tarruntenia Corneliana (*PIR*² T 32)
Crescentina	Cannutia Crescentina (*PIR*² C 400)
Crispina	[---]lia Crispina Arrian[a] (*PIR*² C 1583)

[740] She is attested in Africa as *c(larissima) f(emina)* and the wife of Q. Aradius Rufinus *c(larissimus) v(ir)* in *AE* 1995, 1653 from c. 221-250 CE; she was also honoured at Rome by her *libertus* in the same period (*AE* 1986, 29).

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
	Lucia Lorenia Cornelia Crispina (*PIR*² L 345)
Domitiana	Domitia Domitiana (*PIR*² D 176)
Domna	Vibia Domna (*PIR*² V 594)
Egyptilla	Egyptilla[741]
Etruscilla	Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla Augusta (*PIR*² H 136)
Faustina	Annia Aurelia Faustina (*PIR*² A 710)
Faustinilla	[---]nia Faustinilla (*PIR*² F 126)
Flaccilla	Fl(avia) Demetria Flaccilla (*PIR*² F 414)
Flaccina	Varinia Flaccina (*PIR*² V 267)
Flaviana	[---] Flaviana [---]na (*PIR*² F 177)
Flavianilla	Flavia Flavianilla (*PIR*² F 421)
Florentina	Vergilia Florentina (*PIR*² V 413)
Florina	[Viria] Florina (*PIR*² V 717)
Frestana (2)	Acilia Frestana (*PIR*² A 89) Acilia Gavia Frestana (*PIR*² A 90)
Frontina	Fonteia Frontina (*PIR*² F 478)
Frontoniana	Tiberia [Claudia] Frontoniana (*PIR*² C 1094)
Fusca	P. Martia Sergia Fusca (*PIR*² M 349)
Fuscinilla (2)	Fabia Fuscinilla (*PIR*² F 76) Seia Fuscinilla (*PIR*² S 327)
Gemina	Alfinia Gemina Baebiana (*PIR*² A 439)
Germanilla	[P]omponia Germanilla (*PIR*² P 774)
Gordiana	Ulpia Gordiana (*PIR*² V 875)
Granilla	[L]argia Granilla[742]
Grata	C. Vettia Grata (*PIR*² V 496)
Hilaritas	Vibia Hilaritas (*PIR*² V 596)
Honorata (4)	[---]lia Honorata (*PIR*² H 193) [Pollenia] Honorata (*PIR*² P 541) Octavia Honorata[743] Pullaiena Honorata (*PIR*² P 1080)
Honoratiana	Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata (*PIR*² F 424)
Ianuaria	Lauria Ianuaria (*PIR*² L 429)
Italica	Annia Italica (*PIR*² A 717)
Iuliana (4)	Aurelia Flavia Iuliana (*PIR*² A 1654) Iulia Iuliana (*PIR*² I 673)

[741] Attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in Numidia during the second half of the third century together with her daughter Marcella (*AE* 2006, 1803).
[742] Attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* in a Roman *signaculum* from the third century (*CIL* XV 8584).
[743] Attested as a Vestal virgin towards the end of the third century (*CIL* VI 2138).

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
	Rania Flavia Iuliana Optata (*PIR*² R 26) Ulpia Iuliana (*PIR*² V 876)
Iuniana	[---] Maxima Iuniana (*PIR*² M 387)
Iusta (2)	Aurel(ia) Iusta (*PIR*² A 1656) Turrania Iusta (*PIR*² T 415)
Laeta	Clodia Laeta (*PIR*² C 1194)
Lepida	Flavia Lepida (*PIR*² F 427)
Lolliana	(Hedia) Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla (*PIR*² H 43)
Lucana	Manilia Lucana (*PIR*² M 144)
Lucilla	Iulia Lucilla (*PIR*² I 675)
Luculla	Manlia Pontia Luculla Africana (*PIR*² M 165)
Manliola	Acilia Manliola (*PIR*² A 91)
Marcella (3)	(Aurelia) Marcella[744] Gallonia Octavia Marcella (*PIR*² G 52) Turcia Marcella (*PIR*² T 400)
Marianilla	[V?]aleria Marianilla (*PFOS* 532; *PIR*² M 280)[745]
Marina	[H]onoratia Marina (*PIR*² H 200)
Mariniana	(Egnatia) Mariniana (*PIR*² E 39)
Maxima (8)	[---] Maxima Iuniana (*PIR*² M 387) Claudia Maria Maxima Martia Secunda (*PIR*² C 1107) Porcia M[a]xima Optata (*PIR*² P 872) Reginia Maxima (*PIR*² R 39) [Ru]fia Vestin[a] Maxi[ma] (*PIR*² R 166) Rufria Maxima (*PIR*² R 177) Vibia Maria Maxima (*PIR*² V 598) Vitruvia Maxima (*PIR*² V 775)
Modesta (2)	Iunia Aiacia Modesta (*PIR*² A 471) Volumnia Modesta (*PIR*² V 959)
Modestina	V[in]elia Modestina (*PIR*² V 652)
Nemesiana	[A]urelia Nemesiana (*PIR*² A 1663)
Nepotiana	[---] Nepotiana (*PIR*² N 45)
Numisiana	Publilia Numisiana (*PIR*² P 1058)
Nummula	Nummula (*PIR*² N 242)
Openda	Numidi[a? ---] Openda Valeriana (*PIR*² N 205)
Optata (5)	Aelia Optata (*PIR*² A 304 = *PLRE* I, p. 648) Cornel(ia) Optata A[---] Flavia (*RE*-S XIV nr. 442a)[746]

[744] *C(larissima) f(emina),* attested in *AE* 2006, 1803 together with her mother Egyptilla (see above) and father Aurelius Marcellinus.
[745] The nomen could perhaps also be *[G]aleria*. See also n. 199 above.

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
	Furcilia Optata T[---]na[747] Iulia Flavia ... Honoratiana Optata (*PIR*² F 424) Rania Flavia Iuliana Optata (*PIR*² R 26)
Orbiana	Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana (*PIR*² S 101)
Orestilla	Fabia Orestilla (*PIR*² F 79)
Pacata	(Claudia) Pacata[748]
Paetina	Pomponia Paetina (*PIR*² P 778)
Paterna	Cassia Paterna (*PIR*² C 529)
Paul(l)a (2)	Iulia Cornelia Paula Augusta (*PIR*² I 660) Postumia Paulla Avidia Procula Rutilia Proba (*PIR*² P 904)
Paul(l)ina (4)	Caecilia Paulina (*PIR*² C 91) Iunia Paulina (*PIR*² I 862) Iunia Paulina (*PIR*² P 169) [T]arruntenia Paulina (*PIR*² T 33)
Peticianilla	Fl(avia) Veratia Peticianilla (*PIR*² V 396)
Pia (2)	[B]etitia Pia (*PIR*² B 121) Corn[elia] Claudia Pia (*PIR*² C 1486)
Plautilla	P. Fulvia Plautilla (*PIR*² F 564)
Plotina	(Desticia?) Sallustia Plotina (*PIR*² S 106)
Praenestina	Claudia Papia Netonia Insteia Praenestina (*PIR*² C 1111)
Praetextata	Cornelia Praetextata (*PIR*² C 1494)
Prisca	Iulia Prisca[749]
Privata	Pontia Privata (*PIR*² P 835)
Proba	Postumia ... Procula Rutilia Proba (*PIR*² P 904)
Procula (3)	Fulvia Procula (*PIR*² F 566) [Iul]ia Procula (*PIR*² I 694) Postumia ... Procula Rutilia Proba (*PIR*² P 904)
Proculina	Claudia Proculina (cf. *PIR*² P 790)
Prospera	Aelia Prospera (*PIR*² A 308)
Pulchra	[---]antia Pulchra (*PIR*² P 1074)
Purgilla	[Aradia] Ros[cia ---] Calpurnia Purgilla (*PIR*² A 1018)

[746] Attested in *AE* 1965, 21 (Arabia) as the wife of Claudius Sollemnius Pacatianus (*PIR*² C 1030) and mother of (Claudia) Pacata, *c(larissima) p(uella)*.
[747] Attested as *c. f.* in Africa. The inscription is published in Brancato 2015 nr. 89, but the reading seems to be far from secure.
[748] Cf. her mother Furcilia Optata T[---]na above *s.v.* 'Optata'.
[749] Status unclear. Attested in a *fistula aquaria* (*CIL* XV 7477; cf. *PIR*² P, p. 401).

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
Quarta	Publicia Quar[ta] (*PIR*² P 1045)
Quartilla	Danacia Quartilla Aureliana (*PIR*² D 6)
Rogatilla	Aemilia Rogatilla (*PIR*² A 426)
Romana	Flavia Romana (*PIR*² F 439)
Romula	Romula (*PIR*² R 85)
Rufilla	(Hedia?) Terentia Rufilla (*PIR*² T 107)
Rufina (4)	Iunia Arria Rufina (*PIR*² I 855) Naeviae Antoniae Rufinae (*PIR*² N 18-19) Pomponia Rufina (*PIR*² P 779)
Sabiniana	Antonia Tertulla Valeria Asinia Sabiniana (*PIR*² A 1251)
Sabinilla	Appia Veturia ... Sabinilla (*PIR*² A 956)
Salonina	Cornelia Salonina Augusta (*PIR*² C 1499)
Saturnina	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Saturnina (*PIR*² S 940)
Secundilla	Egnatia Secundilla (*PIR*² E 42)
Serena	Varinia Serena (*PIR*² V 268)
Servilla	(Hedia) Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla (*PIR*² H 43)
Severa (6)	Aurelia Severa (*PIR*² A 1667) Calpurnia Rufria Domitia Severa (*PIR*² C 333) Claudia Caninia Severa (*PIR*² C 1084) Cuspidia Severa (*PIR*² C 1634) Iulia Aquilia Severa (*PIR*² I 648) M. Otacilia Severa Augusta (*PIR*² M 266)
Severiana (3)	[---]lia Severiana (*PIR*² S 621) Claudia Sestia Cocceia Sev[e]eriana (*PIR*² C 1123) Praecilia Severiana (*PIR*² P 922)
Severina (2)	Campia Severina (*PIR*² C 379) Ulpia Severina Augusta (*PIR*² V 880)
Subatiana (2)	Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Aquilina (*PIR*² S 939) Ti. Cl(audia) Subatiana Saturnina (*PIR*² S 940)
Supera	C. Cornelia Supera Augusta (*PIR*² C 1502)
Tertulla (2)	Antonia Tertulla ... Sabiniana (*PIR*² A 1251) Hydria Tertulla (*PIR*² H 236; cf. *PLRE* I, p. 882)
Tigris	Aur(elia) Tigris (*PIR*² A 1668)
Torquata	Gavidia Torquata (*PIR*² G 87)
Urbica	Magnia Urbica Augusta (*PIR*² M 99)
Valentilla	Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla (*PIR*² A 1396)
Valeriana	Numidi[a? ---] Openda Valeriana (*PIR*² N 205) Varia Non[--- V]aleriana (*PIR*² V 287)
Varia (3)	[Fla]via Postu[mia] Varia (*PIR*² F 435) Nummiae Variae (*PIR*² N 240-241)

SEVERAN PERIOD - TETRARCHY	
Vera	Cocceia Vera (*PIR*² C 1231)
Veranilla	Cerellia Veranilla[750]
Verissima	Caenia Verissima (*PIR*² C 147)
Vestin[a]	[Ru]fia Vestin[a] Maxi[ma] (*PIR*² R 166)
Violentilla	Maria Aurel(ia) Violentilla (*PIR*² M 325)

a) Greek and other foreign cognomina

The situation is quite different with Greek and other clearly foreign cognomina. With the exception of derivations from some old republican cognomina, of the type *Orestilla* (< *Orestes*), there are hardly any cases on record before the Flavian period, and it is only in the course of the second century, as Greek senators start to enter the Roman senate in greater numbers, that the cases become more numerous.

i) From Vespasian to Hadrian

VESPASIAN – HADRIAN	
Alcia	Vibullia Alcia Agrippina (*PFOS* 806 = *PIR*² V 615)
Ammiana	Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla (*PFOS* 216)
Archelais	Varia Archelais (*PFOS* 780 = *PIR*² V 286)[751]
Dryantilla	Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla (*PFOS* 216)
Eurydice	Iulia Antonia Eurydice (*PFOS* 428)
Hegetoris	Arruntia Hegetoris (*PFOS* 104)
Helena	Claudia Helena (*PFOS* 238)
Iotape	(Iulia) Iotape (*PFOS* 441)
Platonis	Aelia Platonis (*PFOS* 19)
Tisamenis	Claudia Tisamenis (*PFOS* 251)

ii) From Antoninus Pius to Commodus

ANTONINUS – COMMODUS	
Alexandra	(Claudia) Maeciana Alexandra (*PFOS* 241)
Alexandria (2)	Annia Alexandria (*PFOS* 53)

[750] Cf. her mother Aurelia Veranilla above under the women of the second century.

[751] There is also Tib. Claudia Aureliana Archelais, attested at Heraclea in Pontus as κρατίστη (*I.Heraclea Pontica* 8), but other than that, her status is unclear. She is regarded as senatorial in *PIR*² C 1077, but Kajava 1994, p. 195 is more sceptical.

ANTONINUS – COMMODUS	
	(Avidia) Alexandria (*PFOS* 129)
Amphiclea	Flavia Amphiclea (*PFOS* 363)
Antipatra	Fla(via) Gellia Antipatra (*PFOS* 370)
Apphia	Carminia Apphia (*PFOS* 189)
Aristonice	Ulpia Aristonice (*PFOS* 823 = *PIR*² V 873)
Arsasis	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsasis (*PFOS* 221)
Artemidora	Cl(audia) Artemidora (*PFOS* 222)
Athenais	Marcia Annia Claudia Alcia Athenais Gavidia Latiaria (*PFOS* 55)
Bacchis	Cl(audia) Bacchis (*PFOS* 224)
Basilo	Claudia Basilo (*PFOS* 227)
Calliste	Afinia Calliste (*PFOS* 40)
Callisto	(Claudia?) Callisto (*PFOS* 229)
Chilonis	Iulia Chilonis (*PFOS* 433)
Cyrilla	Aur(elia) Cyrilla (*PFOS* 135)
Demetria	Sergia Demetria (*PFOS* 701 = *PIR*² S 540)
Demo	Haruspicia Demo (*PFOS* 410)
Dryantilla	Claudia Dryantilla Platonis (*PFOS* 234)
Elpinice	Appia Annia Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla (*PFOS* 56)
Elpis	Plautia Elpis (*PFOS* 616 = *PIR*² P 485)
Epi[ph]an[i]a	L[uc]ia Aurelia Epi[ph]an[i]a (*PFOS* 136)
Eupatoris	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla (*PFOS* 236)
Heraclia	Domitia Heraclia (*PFOS* 325)
Isidora	Lar(cia?) Isidora Nea (*PFOS* 484)
Laodice	Volusia Laodice (*PFOS* 837 = *PIR*² V 988)
Maleca	Annia Maleca Avita (*PFOS* 64)
Mandane	Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla (*PFOS* 236)
Menestrate	Flavia Cornelia Caecilia Menestrate (*PFOS* 365)
Menodora	Flavia Menodora (*PFOS* 385)
Moscharo	Atria Moscharo (*PFOS* 122)
Nea	Lar(cia?) Isidora Nea (*PFOS* 484)
Phaedrina	Vedia Phaedrina (*PFOS* 784 = *PIR*² V 327)
Philippa	Aelia Caecilia Philippa (*PFOS* 9)
Platonis	Claudia Dryantilla Platonis (*PFOS* 234)
Polymnia	Flavia Polymnia Marciana (*PFOS* 375)
Soaemias	Iulia Soaemias Bassiana (*PFOS* 460)
Strat[o]nice	Iulia Taria Strat[o]nice (*PFOS* 461 = *PIR*² S 461)
Thais	Veturia Gratilla Thais (*PFOS* 795 = *PIR*² V 520)
Tlepolemis	Claudia Tlepolemis (*PFOS* 253)

iii) From Septimius Severus to Diocletian

SEVERUS – DIOCLETIANUS	
Aetheria	Aetheria (*PIR*² A 433)
[Aga]thoclia	Maevia [Aga]thoclia (*PIR*² M 584)
Alexandria (3)	Appia Alexandria (*PIR*² A 954) Marcia Aur(elia) Alexandria (*PIR*² M 250) Flavia Alexandria (*PIR*² F 408; cf. *PLRE* I, p. 44)
Apa	Pompeia Apa (*PIR*² P 668)
Apphiane/Affiane	Iunia Affiane (=Apphiane) (*PIR*² I 854; cf. *PLRE* I, p. 26)
Arsinoe	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsinoe Telema[chis] (*PIR*² C 1074)
Asclepianilla	Accia Asclepianilla Castorea (*PIR*² A 29)
Atossa	Aurelia Volusia Quirinia Atossa (*PIR*² A 1671)
Castorea	Accia Asclepianilla Castorea (*PIR*² A 29)
Chelido	Ostoria Chelido (*PIR*² O 168)
Cilonis	Insteia Cilonis (*PLRE* I, p. 205)
Eusebia	(?) Claudiana Eusebia (*PIR*² C 751)
Chrysogone	Cornelia Salonina Augusta *agnomine* Chrysogone (*PIR*² C 1499)[752]
Comasia	Publia Valeria Comasia (*PIR*² V 235)[753]
Cyriace	Iunia Cyriace (*PIR*² I 858; *PLRE* I, p. 237)
Demetria	Fl(avia) Demetria Flaccilla (*PIR*² F 414)
Diogenia	Insteia Diogenia (*PIR*² I 35)
Diotim[a]	Domitia Diotim[a] (*PIR*² D 175)
Dryantilla	Sulpicia Dryantilla Augusta (*PIR*² S 1028)
Dymiana	Sulpicia Dymiana *signo* Eucomis (*PIR*² S 1029)[754]
Eucomis	Sulpicia Dymiana *signo* Eucomis (see n. 754)
Habroea	Flavia Habroea (*PIR*² F 423)
Heuresis	Accia Heuresis Venantium (*PIR*² A 30)

[752] Wife of the emperor Gallienus. The agnomen *Chrysogone* is attested for her in Ionian and Lydian coins (cf. *PIR*² C 1499 for references). While it was clearly her name, its use was probably restricted to certain Greek-speaking areas, and it can hardly be considered a part of her official Roman nomenclature.

[753] The cognomen is derived from the cognomen of her father P. Valerius Comazon (*cos.* II 220; *PIR*² V 59).

[754] The text appears in *AE* 1964, 179 (Utica) as *C. Sulpiciae [C. f.] Dymianae,* but as H. Solin points out (*Analecta Epigraphica* p. 79), the name *Dymiana* is hardly possible; the name was more likely *Didymiana.* The signum *Eucomis* (attested in the vocative form ΕΥΚΟΜΙ) is a late form of Εὐκόμιος. The name can hardly be considered a real cognomen, or a part of her official Roman nomenclature at least. For supernomina, cf. Kajanto 1966.

SEVERUS – DIOCLETIANUS	
Leontis	Aelia Leontis (*PIR*² A 298)
Melpis	Domitia Melpis (*PIR*² D 184)
Menecratilla	Aelia Menecratilla (*PIR*² A 302)
Pasinice	(Flavia) Pasinice (*PIR*² F 423)
Patra	Quirinia Patra *signo* Pegasis (*PIR*² Q 54)[755]
Pegasis	See above; cf. also n. 754.
Pelagia	Iulia Pelagia (*PIR*² I 688)
Phaedrina	Flavia Phaedrina (*PIR*² F 433)
Philina	Flavia Philina (*RE Suppl.* XIV *s.v.* 'Flavius' nr. 239a; cf. *PIR*² P, p. 137).
Pithias	Aelia Pithias (*PIR*² A 306)
Potamilla	Vibia Potamilla (*PIR*² V 599)[756]
Salamallias	L. Iulia Apronia Maenia Salamallias (*PIR*² I 647)
Sosandris	Memmia Sosandris (*PIR*² M 489)
Sosipatra	Cl(audia) Sosipatra (*PIR*² C 1124)
Telema[chis]	Tib. Cl(audia) Arsinoe Telema[chis] (*PIR*² C 1074)
Theoclia	Theoclia (*PIR*² T 165)
Theonilla	Theonilla (*PIR*² T 173)
Theonis	Cl(audia) Theonis (*PIR*² C 1126)
Zenobia	Septimia Zenobia Augusta (*PIR*² S 504)

Appendix 3. Freeborn women's cognomina in epigraphic sources in the republican and early Augustan periods

The following lists are in alphabetical order. Women of senatorial families are excluded from the material. For the methodology, see 3.2.

[755] Cf. also Volussia Quirinia Patra (*PIR*² V 989, non-senatorial), to whom she must have been related.

[756] She is recorded in her epitaph: *D(is) M(anibus) Vibiae Po/tamillae c. f. matri / Atilius Ma/ximianus / fecit* (*CIL* VI 4129 = *Analecta Epigraphica*, p. 67 = *AE* 1974, 144). The possibility remains that she was not at all senatorial, but that *c. f.* stands for *C(aii) f(ilia)* instead. Compare for example *CIL* XII 4277 from Gallia Narbonensis, with the text *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae / Eutychiae / c. f. / ipsa / sibi.* It seems to me unlikely that Iulia Eutychias was a senatorial woman; the formula with *sibi*, for example, is unusual in senatorial epitaphs. I would therefore restore the abbreviation *c. f.* as a (misplaced) filiation *C(aii) f(ilia)* rather than the title *c(larissima) f(emina)*. While the filiation would conventionally be placed before the cognomen, it is also occasionally found after it.

a) Latin/Italic cognomina

ALBANA: Caesennia Sp. f. Albana (*CIL* XI 3417 = *SECI* p. 130 nr. 83, Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE).

AMOENA (2): Flavia P. f. [Am]oena (*CIL* VI 33316 = *CLE* 967 = *AE* 1894, 20, early Augustan);[757] Iunia L. f. Amoena *ex provinci[a] Baetica municipi[o] Italica* (*AE* 1992, 153 = 1996, 108, Augustan).[758]

APULA: Maria C. f. Apula T. (*CIL* XI 6090, Urvinum Mataurense, first. c. BCE).[759]

AUCTILLA: Ebrilia M. f. Auctilla (*CIL* VI 38297 = *AE* 1901, 143, Aug.-Tib.).[760] The diminutive *Auctilla* presupposes the existences of the name *Auctus/a* in the family tree (perhaps her father; or perhaps the diminutive form was simply preferred because of its feminine connotations?). *Auctus/a* in its turn was a particularly common name in the city of Rome,[761] but it was also particularly common among the *liberti.* It is quite possible that this woman was a daughter of a freedman.

BARCHILLA: Veia N. f. Barchilla (*PompIn* 70 = *ImpPomp* 3ES, Pompeii, early Augustan), daughter of N. (Veius) Barca, whose cognomen was transmitted to her in a suffixed form.[762]

BASSA (2): Aemilia C. f. Bassa (*SupplIt* 3-V, 11 = *AE* 1988, 416, Volcei, Augustan);[763] Ancilia L. f. Bassa (*CIL* XI 3406 = *SECI* p. 142 nr. 173, Tarquinia, 75-50 BCE).

[BAS?]SILLA: Baebia T. f. [Bas]silla, *calchidicum municipibus suis dedit* (*CIL* XI 1189 = *ILS* 5560, Veleia, early Augustan).

CERULA: Volumnia L. f. Cerula (*InscrIt* X,4, 363, Tergeste, 25-1 BCE).

CORNUTA: Pavillia C. f. Cornuta (*CIL* X 2832 (Puteoli, 40-1 BCE).[764]

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[757] It is possible that she was *P. l.,* not *P. f.* in which case she would not belong to this catalogue. Autopsy could perhaps help in solving the matter..

[758] Her status is not entirely clear. She may also be *P(ubli) l(iberta).* Autopsy could perhaps help. The restoration of the cognomen, however, stands, as *amoena* is also used in the first line of the funeary poem.

[759] The cognomen is also attested in later periods, cf. *CIL* IX 249 (Tarentum): Titia P. f. Apula; also *RICIS* II 605/1101 (Gallia Narbonensis): Ecimaria T. f. Apula.

[760] The inscription also mentions her husband L. Tarius Phylagurgus, who seems to have been a freedman.

[761] Kajanto 1965, p. 18.

[762] She is attested together with her husband N. Agrestinus Equitius Pulcher (who had two nomina and a cognomen). Her father is known from another inscription as a local magistrate candidate (*CIL* IV 49).

[763] Attested together with four other people: Q. Insteius Q. f. Pom. Cimber, Q. Insteius Q. f. [---], Insteia Q. f. Firma, and Gresia C. f. Tertia (for the two women, see 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2.).

[764] The inscription mentions members of her family remarkably in four generations, but Cornuta is the only one to bear a cognomen: her mother (?) Instania M. f., father C. Pavillius C. f., brother C. Pavillius C. f. C. n., aunt Pavillia C. f., grandfather C. Pavillius Ti. f., and great-grandfather Ti. Pavillius M'. f., along with his sister Pavillia Ma(ni) f. The full text, for clarity's sake: *P]avillia Ma(ni) f(ilia) / Ti(berius) Pavillius Ma(ni) [f(ilius)] / C(aius) Pavillius Ti(beri) f(ilius) / C(aius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) Ti(beri) n[epos(?)] / Ti(berius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pavillia C(ai) f(ilia) / Instania M(arci) f(ilia) / C(aius) Pavillius C(ai) f(ilius) C(ai) n(epos) / Pavillia C(ai) f(ilia) Cornuta.*

DECMA: Hosia C. f. Decma (*ILLRP-S* 76 = *AE* 1991, 146, Rome, 50-1 BCE).

FAUSTA (3): Atilia Sp. f. Fausta (*CIL* VI 6797 = *Epigraphica* 56 (1994), p. 180 (by G. Mennella), Augustan-Tiberian);[765] [Va]leria Cn. f. Fausta (*Hispellum*, p. 256, Hispellum, Augustan-Tiberian); Hostilia C. f. Fausta (*CIL* V 8191 = *InscrIt* X,3, 63 = Mander 2013, 240, Eraclea Veneta, Augustan-Tiberian).[766]

FIRMA (2): Insteia Q. f. Firma (*SupplIt* 3-V 11 = *AE* 1988, 416, Volcei, Augustan);[767] Lanna Firma (*CIL* V3655, Verona, late Republic).[768]

FLACCA: Calpurnia L. f. Flacca (*CIL* IX 5223, Asculum Picenum, 50-1 BCE).[769]

GALLA (9):]lia Q. f. Gal[la?] (*CIL* VI 26505 = I² 1386, late Republic);[770] Nummia L. f. Galla (*CIL* VI 27692, Aug.-Tib.);[771] Veratia A. f. Galla (*AE* 2006, 282, Stabiae, Aug.-Tib.);[772] Spedia C. f. Galla (*AE* 1969/70, 179, Cosilinum, Augustan);[773]: T[e]ia Q. f. [G]alla (*CIL* XI 6610, Pisaurum, first c. BCE);[774] [C]aesia T. f. Galla (*CIL* XI 4603, Carsulae, 25-1 BCE); Cannutia C. f. Galla (*CIL* V 4071, Mantua, Aug.-Tib.);[775] [Ar]atria C. f. [G]alla (*IAquil* I 842 = Campedelli 2014, 140, Aquileia, Augustus-Tiberius); [De]cia Q. f. Ga[l]la (*CIL* V 973, Aquileia, 50-31 BE).

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765 She is attested together with her daughter Caesia Sp. f. Primigenia (see above).

766 The inscription also mentions her sister Hostilia C. f. Quarta (see above).

767 For more details, see Gresia C. f. Tertia below; cf. also Aemilia C. f. Bassa (above).

768 The inscription also mentions her father L. Lannus Primi f., uncle C. Lannus and mother-in-law Tertulla Tordina. Note the men's lack of a cognomen and the use of the praenomen by the other woman. While Firma's own nomenclature does not include the filiation, it seems clear that, being the daughter of a freeborn man, she also was freeborn.

769 Attested with her husband whose name is not well preserved but who perhaps also had a cognomen: *[---] Ocbrotsini T(iti) f(ilii) Fab(ia) Mam[---] / [C]alpurniae L(uci) f(iliae) Flaccae ux{s}(oris).* The husband's nomen has a rather local flavour to it. The item *Mam[---]*, following the indication of his *tribus*, might be interpreted as a cognomen, but this is difficult to tell.

770 Attested with two *liberti*, who both have a cognomen. As for her own cognomen, it could in theory also be her husband's name, i.e. *Gal[li] (uxor).*

771 Attested C. Tuccius L. f. Ste(llatina) Calvos (her half-brother), L. Mucius L. f. Pap(iria), and three *liberti*: *C(aius) Tuccius L(uci) f(ilius) Ste(llatina) Calvos sibi et / Nummiae L(uci) f(iliae) Gallae sorori et / L(ucio) Mucio L(uci) f(ilio) Pap(iria) et / L(ucio) Pomponio L(uci) l(iberto) Anchialo et / Corneliae Q(uinti) l(ibertae) Hermionae et / P(ublio) Cominio P(ubli) l(iberto) Claro.* Nummia Galla's relation to C. Tuccius Calvos is defined by the word *soror.* We may only assume that they had a different father, since their nomina differ from one another.

772 Attested with her husband L. Scanius L. f. Men. and son who had the same name as his father (both of whom are without a cognomen). The inscription also mentions a *liberta,* Horatia Q. l. Prima, perhaps the son's wife.

773 The inscription also mentions her father and brother, both called C. Spedius C. f. Bassus, as well as her mother, whose name survives only partly, but she probably did not have a cognomen. The can only be restored as *[---]ae Spedi,* the latter item representing the husband's name.

774 Together her husband(?) L. Gaius L. f. Pol. Nerva. The exact provenance of the inscription is unknown.

775 The inscription also mentions her husband [M. Cornelius] Soccio and daughter Cornelia M. f. Procula (see below): *] Soccioni patr[i] / et Cannutiai C(ai) f(iliae) / Gallai matri / et Corneliai M(arci) f(iliae) / Proculai f(iliae) an(norum) IIII.*

GAVA: Variana C. f. Gava (*CIL* XI 5981 = I² 2122, Ad Calem).[776] Or should the cognomen perhaps be read *Gav(i)a*?

HILARA: Septumia M. f. Hilara (*CIL* X 8239 (Cominium, first c. BCE).

IANUARIA: Pomponia Cn. f. Ianuaria, *v(ixit) a(nnos) II me(nses) IV* (*AE* 2006, 332, Brundisium, Augustan-Tiberian period).

LIBERA: Pomponia C. f. Libera (*CIL* X 4298, Capua/Casilinum, first c. BCE).[777]

LONGA: Etrilia L. f. Longa (*CIL* I² 155 = *Cippi*, p. 111 nr. 53,3, Praeneste, *ante* 82 BCE).

MACA: Sariena Sex. f. Maca (*CIL* V 6942 = I² 2158 = *Torino*, p. 75 nr. 78, Augusta Taurinorum, late Republic/Augustan).[778]

MAGNA: Iulia C. f. Magna, *vix(it) an(nos) XII* (*CIL* VI 27509, Aug.-Tib.).[779]

MAGUL(L)A: Caesia V. f. Magul(l)a (*CIL* IX 3216 = I² 1783, Corfinium, late Republic). The cognomen seems to be derived from the gentilicium *Magius* with the suffix *-ulla,* in the same way as e.g. *Fadulla* (from *Fadius*) or *Statulla* (from *Statius*).[780]

MAIOR (3): Minucia N. f. Maior (*CIL* VI 22556 = I² 1340, Rome, 100-31 BCE); Sergia L. f. Maior (*MAAL* 1910, 15, Teanum Sidicinum, 50-1 BCE); Freia Cn. f. Maior (*CIL* X 4146, Capua, early Augustan).

MARCELLA: Voranica P. f. Marcella (*CIL* V 466 = *InscrIt.* X.3, 128, Piquentum, 25 BCE - 25 CE).[781]

MAX(S)IMA/MAX(S)UMA (18): Attia Q. f. Maxima, *v(ixit) a(nnos) XXVIII* (*BCAR* 1923, 83 = *MGR* 1994, 258, Augustan-Tiberian period); Casponia P.

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[776] Attested with T. Vedius V(ibi) f., Caedia C. f. Secunda (followed by *Ved.*), Vib. Vedius Sert(oris) f., and T. Vedius T. f., who dedicated the monument *parentibus.* The item *Ved()* after Caedia Secunda's name requires some explanation. It has been restored as *Ved(ia),* and it certainly has to be an abbreviation of that nomen (see e.g. *CIL* XI 5981 and the *EDCS*). As far as I see it, there are two possibilities: either there is a third woman, who was simply called *Ved(ia)* (with perhaps the filiation lost), and who probably was a sister of one of the Vedii (suggested by E. Bormann in *CIL* XI), or we are dealing with a gamonymic, in which case *VED* would be an abbreviation for *Ved(ii) (uxor).* The first option seems more plausible, given the positioning of the items: *VED* is in a separate column next to *CAEDIA · C · F* (after a small gap), and not under it like *SECVNDA*. For a similar reason it seems implausible that *Secunda* would be the praenomen of *Ved(ia),* since it would be odd if the two items were placed in different columns and also with a significant distance from one another. As for the patronymic in the nomenclature of Vib. Vedius Sert. f., it usually been erroneously restored as *Sert(iti),* but a much more likely option is the praenomen *Sertor,* hence *Sert(oris) f(ilius).* Cf. Salomies 1987, p. 46f.

[777] The name could suggest that her parents perhaps were of servile background themselves and wanted to emphasize their daughter's freeborn status through the cognomen.

[778] The cognomen shows Celtic substratum, cf. *Maco, Macco* in the area; also the personal name *Maccus*. Also the Latin word *maccus/a,* 'buffoon', is a possible meaning, though a pejorative one (so not very likely).

[779] Attested with C. Titius C. l. Storax and C. Iulius Lyrus, the latter perhaps being her father.

[780] Cf. Solin's comments in *Arctos* 48 (2014), p. 412f. The inscription also mentions Caesia C. f. Scina (see below).

[781] Also a certain [--- A]balicus Maxim[us] is mentioned, whose status is not stated but who seems to bear a cognomen as well.

f. Maxima, *sacerdos Cereris publica populi Romani Sicula* (*CIL* VI 2181 = 32443 =*ILS* 3343 = *AE* 1997, 103, late republican);[782] Serennia Sp. f. Maxsuma (*CIL* VI 7547, late republican/Augustan);[783] Plaedatia C. f. Maxuma (*AE* 1991, 414, Aquinum, Augustan period);[784] Amatia Q. f. Maxim(a) (*CIL* X 1153 = I² 1612 = *ILLRP* 230, Abellinum, 60-31 BCE);[785] Aufidia St(ati) f. Maxima (*CIL* X 1273 = *ILS* 6344, Nola, Augustan-Tiberian);[786] Lucceia Cn. f. Maxima (*CIL* X 3689 = *AE* 2005, 369; *AE* 2010, 301; 302, Cumae, Augustan);[787] Nutia M. f. Maxima (*AttiAccLinc* 1901, p. 140, 266, Capua/Casilinum, Augustan-Tiberian);[788] Septimia T. f. Maxuma (*CIL* IX 1528, Pagus Veianus, Augustan);[789] Annia Sp. f. Maxsima (*CIL* XI 6180 = *CLE* 1795 = *SupplIt* 18-S, 19 = *AE* 1995, 485, Suasa, Augustan);[790] [H]erennia L. f. Maxima (Sensi 1990, p. 163 nr. 28, from Mevania, Augustan); Appia Q. f. Maxima (*AE* 1990, 416, Verona, 70-31 BCE);[791] Fabia L. f. Maxuma (*IAquil* I 1092, Aquileia, 25 BCE-25 CE);[792] Gavillia Q. f. Maxima (*CIL* I² 2190 = *ILLConcordia* II, 82, Concordia, late republican/Augustan):[793] Laelia C. f. Maxima, who seems to have died at the age of 100 (*CIL* V 320 = *InscrIt* X,3, 189, Tergeste, early Augustan); Saticia P. f. Maxuma (*InscrIt* X,3, 92, Piemonte, 25-1 BCE); Sentia C. f. Maxsuma (*CIL* V 4080, Mantua, Augustan-

[782] She originated in Magna Graecia and was, according to Hemelrijk 2015, granted Roman citizenship for performing the rites of Ceres on behalf of the Roman citizens. For the date, cf. Rüpke 2005, nr. 1096; cf. also *DPRR* CASP4641.

[783] She is recorded together with her husband M. Maecius M. l. Hilarus, mother-in-law Clodia M. l. Tyrannis, as well as her husband's stepfather M. Clodius M. l., second wife Perpernia P. l. Athenais and father P. Perperna Ↄ. l. Philargyrus.

[784] Recorded together with her husband M. Licinius M. f. Ouf. Crassus and their son, also called M. Licinius M. f. Ouf. Crassus. They probably belonged to the municipal elite, whose nomenclature clearly imitates that of the senatorial Licinii Crassi of Rome, cf. Solin 2015, p. 22.

[785] Her husband A. Freius A. f. Gal. Mercurial(is) also has a cognomen, while their two sons are simply styled as *P. L. Freis filiei.*

[786] The inscription also mentions her son P. Sextilius P. f. Fal. Rufus, who was a magistrate in Nola and Pompeii, and her husband (or at least her son's *vitricus*) L. Petronius L. f. Fal. Verus, who was also a *decurio* at Nola.

[787] Attested in several Cumaean inscriptions, she clearly was a locally prominent woman. Compare also the nomenclature of Lucceiae Cn. f. Polla & Tertulla (below), to whom she was probably related.

[788] Attested together with Valeria C. f. [P]aula (see below).

[789] The inscription also mentions her parents T. Septimius P. f. Ste(llatina) and Postumia P. f. Rufa (see below in 3.2.1.3.). Note that her father does not have a cognomen, but her mother does.

[790] Mentioned with her husband C. Visenus C. l. Dendrio (a freedman), and their son C. Visenus C. f. Deliberatus.

[791] Mentioned together with T. Vassidius Exomni f. Namulla and Tedua Lasta. Appia's own nomenclature is clearly Roman, but that of the two other people suggests a context of rather recent Roman status.

[792] Mentioned together with two freedmen (L. Fabius L. l. Urbanus & L. Fabius Ↄ. l. Mansuetus) and two freedwomen (Fabia L. l. Clara & Fabia Ↄ. l. Arbuscula).

[793] She is commemorated by her freedwoman, who is simply styled as *Cale*.

Tiberian); Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma (*CIL* V1764 = *InscrIt* X,4, 391, Forum Iulii, late republican/Augustan).[794]

MEDUL(L)A: Clodia L. f. Medula Prima (*Pais* 1180 = *IAquil* III 3407, Aquileia, late 1st c. BCE).

MINOR (2): Samiaria M. f. Minor Q. (*CIL* I² 271 = *ILLRP* 869 = *Cippi*, p. 180, nr. 117,10, Praeneste, *ante* 82 BCE); Tettia A. f. Minor (*CIL* XI 1934 = I² 3364 = *ILLRP* 638 = *ILLRP-S* 147 = *ILS* 2685 = *AE* 1979, 245, Perusia, 20-1 BCE).[795]

MODESTA: Petillia Q. f. Modesta (*IAquil* I, 561 = *AE* 1921, 111 = *IEAquil* 253 (Aquileia, Aug.-Tib.).[796]

PAULLA / POLLA (25):[797] Eppia L. f. Paulla Voltenniana & Eppia M. f. Polla (*CIL* VI 17247 = 25 BCE-25 CE);[798] Vettia L. f. Polla (*NSA* 1950, 84 = *AE* 1980, 186, Aguzzano, Augustan);[799] Apsennia Q. f. Paulla (*CIL* I² 1545 = *ILLRP* 564, Casinum, 133-27 BCE);[800] Atania D. f. Polla (*NSA* 1938, 63,23 = *EpOst* 1350, Ostia, 50-1 BCE);[801] Pontia P. f. Pol(l)a (*AE* 1996, 433, Teanum Sidicinum, 20 BCE-20 CE);[802] Aesquillia C. f. Polla (*AE* 1911, 71, Pompeii, Aug.-Tib.);[803] Atleia C. f. Polla (*CIL* X 4416, Capua/Casilinum, Aug.-Tib.);[804] Fufia Q. f. Polla (*AE* 1990, 223e, Allifae, Augustan);[805] Heia M. f.

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794 Attested together with her mother-in-law Apusidia C. f. Secunda (below).

795 The inscription also mentions her son C. Atilius A. f. Glabrio, who was an equestrian auxiliary prefect, thus belonging to the local elite.

796 Her husband C. Mutillius C. f., *decurio Aquileiensis,* did not have a cognomen.

797 Also *Paula, Pola.* Cf. also the suffixed forms *Paullina* and *Pollitta*.

798 The inscription was set up by Q. Eppius Q. f. Cor. Ruf(us), and it also mentions Clodia C. l. Silenio (perhaps the dedicator's wife?). The exact relationship between the dedicator and the two Eppiae is difficult to explain, since they all share the same nomen but the filiation differs in each case. Even more noteworthy is the fact that *Eppia L. f. Paulla* is directly followed by *Voltenniana mater.* It seems unlikely that Eppia Paulla would have borne an additional cognomen and therefore it is more reasonable to assume that we are dealing with two different people here: Eppia Paulla and her mother Voltenniana. This also leads to the discovery of an otherwise unattested gentilicium, i.e. *Voltennianus.*

799 Attested together with L. Vettius Ↄ. l. Alexand(er), Vettia Ↄ. l. Hospita, and Vettia L. l. Eleutheris.

800 Her husband N. Savonius N. f., *pr(aetor),* does not bear a cognomen.

801 Attested together with her son C. Atanius C. f. Bassus who also has a cognomen and peculiarly the same nomen as his mother. Since he was clearly born in a legal marital union (hence C. f.), the use of the maternal nomen cannot be explained by illgetimacy. One option would be that the father was also an Atanius, but this is somewhat doubtful, since *Atanius/a* was a rare nomen; it is seldom found in the Latin West, and in Ostia this is the only case. The name is, however, found in various parts of the Greek East but not in great numbers (Salomies 2010, p. 198). The inscription, however, makes no mention of the father—or perhaps it did, but a significant part of the text has been deliberately erased.

802 Attested with her husband M. Mestrius M. f. Ouf. (who does not have a cognomen), and sons M. (Mestrius) M. f. Ouf. Falco and (Mestrius) M. f. Ouf. Pollio.

803 Her husband N. Herennius N. f. Men. Celsus was *d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) praef(ectus) fabr(um)*.

804 She is attested together with M. Visellius C. f. Ter. Balitor, who probably was her husband.

805 The inscription also mentions her mother Gavia M. f. Rufa (see below), father Q. Fufius M. f., and brother Q. Fufius Q. f. Ter. Rufus.

Polla (*CIL* X 1305, Nola, Aug.-Tib.);[806] Lucceia Cn. f. Polla (*CIL* X 3685 = *ILS* 4040, Cumae);[807] Valeria C. f. [P]aula (*AttiAccLinc* 1901, p. 140 nr. 266, Capua/Casilinum, Aug.-Tib.);[808] Valeria C. f. Polla (*AttiAccLinc* 1901, p. 15 nr. 22, Capua/Casilinum, Aug.-Tib.);[809] Curtia Salvi f. Polla (*CIL* IX 2115 = *AE* 1945, 121, Pastina, 40-20 BCE);[810] Patulacia M. f. Polla (*AE* 1996, 457 = 1997, 391, Aeclanum, Aug.-Tib.);[811] Publicia Sex. f. Paulla (*CIL* IX 5088, Interamnia Praetuttiorum, late republican/Augustan);[812] Calventia C. f. Polla (*CIL* XI 5461 = *SupplIt* 13, p. 307, Asisium, Augustan);[813] Magia M. f. Polla (*SupplIt* 18-S, 16 = *AE* 2000, 543, Suasa, Augustan);[814] Calpurnia L. f. Paula (*CIL* XI 2205 Clusium, Early Augustan); Persia C. f. Polla (*AE* 1995, 501, Populonia);[815] Audasia C. f. Paulla (*CIL* V 3503, Verona, 50-1 BCE);[816] Iuncia Rufi f. Pol(l)a (*CIL* V 6937 = I² 2153 = *Torino*, p. 65 nr. 67, Augusta Taurinorum, late Republic/Augustan);[817] Nonia C. f. P[o]lla (*AE* 1999, 652, Sarsinam Fulvii, Augustan);[818] Vibia T. f. Polla (*CIL* XI 1132 = Criniti 2013, p. 66f nr. 8), Veleia, Augustan);[819] also two cases from outside Italy, one from Spain and the other from Africa: [---]mia P. f. Polla, Augustan (*CIL* II,5, 1284 = *HEp* 1996, 574 = *AE* 2015, 580, Astigi, Augustan period);[820] Asyllia L. f. Pol⌜l⌝la (*CIL* VIII 24679 = *Gummerus* I, 316, Carthago, Augustan?).[821]

[806] The inscription also mentions M. Heius C. f. Gal., who most likely was her father.
[807] Fore more details, see Lucceia Cn. f. Tertulla Pia Galli above (3.2.1.1.).
[808] Attested together with Nutia M. f. Maxima (3.2.1.1.). Perhaps related to Valeria C. f. Polla below.
[809] The inscription also mentions her father C. Valerius [---], mother Octavia, son L. Annius L. f. Fal. Celer, and husband L. Annius L. f. Fal. Pollio. Due to her name and location, a connection to Valeria C. f. [P]aula could be suggested.
[810] Her parents Sal. Curtius L. f. Stel(latina) and Curtia did not yet have a cognomen.
[811] Her husband [--- M]agullius N. f. Cor. Flaccus was *pontifex IIIIvir aed(ilis) IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*.
[812] Attested together with her husband L. Ampius L. f. and son L. Ampius L. f. Severus.
[813] Her husband L. Vistinius and mother Gavia, both without a cognomen, are also attested in the inscription.
[814] Note that her husband L. Scoedius L. f. Cam. did not have a cognomen.
[815] Attested with her father C. Persius A. f. Gal., brother L. Persius C. f., and mother Gallonia M. f. Quar(ta) (see above in 3.2.1.1.).
[816] The inscription also mentions C. Audasius Boduaci f., who was possibly her father and a first-generation Roman citizen.
[817] *Rufus* is well attested in the region, not only as a cognomen, but even in patronymics like here; cf. also L. Cornelius Rufi f. in *CIL* V 497 = *InscrIt* X,3, 37.
[818] Attested with her husband and son, whose names survive poorly, and her daughter-in-law Metilia M. f. Verecunda (see above in 3.2.1.2.).
[819] Her husband L. Arranius P. f. Gal. and son L. Arranius L. f. Gal. are both without a cognomen. The dating is according to N. Criniti 2013, p. 66f nr. 8.
[820] Attested with her two sons [---]s Q. f. Pap., and [---]ucius Q. f.
[821] She was a *medica* who lived for 65 years, according to the text. The inscription may also be from a later period.

PAULLINA: Fadia C. f. Paullina (*CIL* XI 5936, Tifernum Tiberinum, Augustan).[822]

POLLITTA: Memmia P. f. Polḷitta (*CIL* XI 3457 = *SECI* p. 146 nr. 205, Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE).

POSILLA: Basilia Sp. f. Posilla (*CIL* VI 28422 = I² 1408 = *ILS* 8396 = *ILLRP* 934, late Republic/Augustan);[823] Calidia Q. f. Posil(la) (*CIL* VI 14065 = I² 1266, late Republic);[824] Numisia Q. f. Posilla (*CIL* VI 23133, 50-1 BCE);[825] [---]ecia L. f. Posilla (*CIL* X 5817, Aletrium, Aug.-Tib.);[826] Helvia C. f. Posilla (*CIL* IX 852, Luceria, Augustan);[827] Praeconia C. f. Posilla (*CIL* XI 4438, Ameria);[828] Pomponia C. f. Posilla (*SECI* p. 122 nr. 22 (Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE); Aiteia L. f. Posilla (*CIL* V 1779, Forum Iulii, Augustan);[829] Gavia L. f. Posilla (*AE* 1979, 252, Bononia, Augustan);[830] Trebia Q. f. Posilla (*CIL* V 7448 = VI 28774a = *AE* 1995, 523, Forum Fulvii, Aug.-Tib.);[831] furthermore one case from outside Macedonia: Avia A. f. Posilla (*SEG* 43, 457 = *AE* 1995, 1389 (Thessalonica, Augustan period).[832]

POSTUMA: Valeria L. f. Postuma (*CIL* VI 6982, Augustan-Tiberian).[833]

PRIMA (4): Valeria L. f. Prima (*AE* 1971, 56, Rome, late Republic/Augustan);[834] Vettia P. f. Prima (*CIL* VI 39034a, Augustan-Tiberian);

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[822] The inscription also mentions C. Fadius C. f. Lem., *cent(urio) leg(ionis) XI,* who was probably her father. One could speculate that her mother perhaps was a *Paulla,* but this is pure guesswork.

[823] Attested with her husband C. Veius T. f. Ma⌜e⌝(cia). The last component of his nomenclature is somewhat problematic: Degrassi in *ILLRP* restors it as *Mai(or),* but it could also very well be his *tribus,* emended thus into *Ma⌜e⌝(cia)* (thus the form in the *EDCS*). In fact, the *tribus* seems like a more appropriate solution, since it would not be extraordinary for a freeborn man to not have a cognomen in this period.

[824] The inscription also mentions her father Q. Calidius Q. l. Parnacis and (her mother?) Maria Ↄ. l. Glucera.

[825] Attested with her freedman Q. Numisius Orestes.

[826] With [] Rufreius M. f. Ani., [] Rufreius M. f. Ani. Gallus, [---]tia L. f. Rufa, and two liberti, [] Rufreius M. C. l. [---]philus and [Ru]freia M. l. Dorcas.

[827] Attested with her husband(?) Q. Egnatius M. f. Cla(udia), who does not have a cognomen.

[828] For more details, see her daughter Artoria Sex. f. Secunda (above in 3.2.1.1.).

[829] Note that her husband T. Suttius L. f. Sca(ptia) does not bear a cognomen.

[830] Attested together with [Li]burnia L. f. Hile, who bears a Greek cognomen (see below).

[831] The inscription mentions her husband M. Vibius M. f. Pom, son M. Vibius M. f. Homuncio, and daughter-in-law Lusia C. f. Vera.

[832] She was clearly a woman of wealth and prominence. According to a bilingual inscription she built and consecrated a bath complex and a portico in Thessalonica with her own money: Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῶι / Σεβαστῶι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τῆι πόλει / Ἀυία Αὔλου θυγάτηρ Πόσιλλα τὸν / ναὸν καὶ τὰ θερμὰ καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν / καὶ τ[ὰ]ς περει[κειμέν]ας στοὰς τῶι ὕδατι ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου // *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Aug(usto) pontif(ici) max(imo) / et Herculi et civitati Thessalonicensium / Avia A(uli) f(ilia) Posilla aedem aquas piscinam et / porticus circa piscinam de suo*. She is also known from a bilingual dedication of a local temple to Isis, in which the name *Posilla* is placed before her nomen—and written with an omega instead of an omikron (*SEG* 43, 458 = *RICIS* I, 113/532 = *AE* 1993, 1392): *Isi / Posilla Avia A. f(ilia) / aedem reficiun(dam) / et pronaium fac/iundum cur(avit) de suo* // Εἴσιδι / Πώσιλλα Ἀυία / Αὔλου θυγάτηρ τὸν / ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν / καὶ τὸ προνάϊον ἐπό/ησεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου.

[833] Attested together with Q. Petillius Amphio and Ocrisia P. l. Iucunda in a columbarium with many funerary inscriptions of former slaves.

Antistia P. f. Prima (*AE* 1913, 71, Pompeii, Augustan);[835] Maria C. f. Prima, sister of Maria C. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 1293, Aquileia, Aug.-Tib.).[836]

PRIMIGENIA: Caesia Sp. f. Primigenia (*CIL* VI 6797 = *Epigraphica* 56 (1994), p. 180, by G. Mennella; Augustan-Tiberian).[837]

PRISCA (2): Vibia Prisca Festi f. (*CIL* V 6944 = I² 2160 = *Torino*, p. 78 nr. 81 (Augusta Taurinorum, late Republic); Voltilia C. f. Prisca (*CIL* V 464 = *InscrIt* X,3, 151, Piquentum, 25 BCE – 25 CE).

PROCULA (3): [A]nnia Cn. f. [Pro]cula (*CIL* XI 5578, Asisium, Augustan); Cornelia M. f. Procula (*CIL* V 4071, Mantua, Augustan-Tiberian);[838] Graecinia P. f. Procula (*CIL* V 440 = *InscrIt* X,3, 180, Tergeste, 25 BCE – 25 CE).

PUELLA: Luria L. f. Puella (*AE* 1971, 56).[839]

QUARTA (12): Postumia Sp. f. Quarta (*ILLRP-S* 27 = *AE* 1991, 106, Rome, 50-1 BCE);[840] Turrania Quarta P. f. (*CIL* VI 7232, Augustan);[841] Vesonia L. f. Quarta (*AE* 2001, 450, Rome, 50-31 BCE);[842] Carnia T. f. Quarta (*CIL* X 4981, Venafrum, Augustan-Tiberian);[843] Pa(---) Quarta P. f. (*SupplIt* 22-A, 115 = *AE* 1995, 402, Corfinium);[844] Ursia A. f. Quarta Aconi (*CIL* XI 1984, Perusia, 50-1 BCE); Gallonia M. f. Quarta (*AE* 1995, 501, Populonia,

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834 The inscription also mentions her mother Luria L. f. Puella (see *s.v.* 'Puella') and M. Caecilius M. f. Mai(cia). The item *Mai()* most likely stands for the indication of the *tribus,* that is *Mai(cia)* = *Maecia*, just like in the case of C. Veius T. f. Mai(cia) (see n. 823 above). If Veius was Luria Puella's husband, he surely was not the father of Valeria Prima, since their nomina differ from each other.

835 Note that her mother Septumia L. f does not have a cognomen.

836 The inscription also mentions their father C. Marius L. f., who does not have a cognomen, and mother Seia Ↄ. l. Aletia.

837 Attested together with her mother Atilia Sp. f. Fausta (see below). In the normal case, the indication *Sp(uri) f(ilius/a)* would suggest illegitimate birth (Buraselis 1996; Salomies 1987, p. 54ff.), whereupon the child would enter their mother's status and take her name—but since the nomina of Atilia Fausta and Caesia Primigenia differ from each other, one could assume that at least Caesia's father actually carried the praenomen *Spurius.* But even in this case it seems like a strange coincidence that both women are labeled *Sp. f.* In the end, it is difficult to say what the legal situation behind this family was. For all we know, there may hay have been a more complex situation concerning adoptions and other such matters in the background.

838 Mentioned together with her parents [---] Soccio and Cannutia C. f. Galla (see below)

839 For more details, see her daughter Valeria L. f. Prima above.

840 The inscription also mentions a freedman and a freedwoman, both belonging to the same family: T. Postumius T. l. Nicepor, *aur(i)fex de sacra via,* and Postumia T. l. Rodine.

841 Mentioned together with a freedman, C. Vibius C. l. Epaphras, who was perhaps her husband.

842 The inscription also mentions Flavia [---]ulla, who perhpas had a cognomen in ending in-*ulla*. Her status and relation to Vesonia Quarta are unknown.

843 Attested together with her husband(?) M. Popillius C. f. Cicero, whose cognomen was probably taken over from the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum.

844 Mentioned together with P. Mar(ius) Rus(ticus. The item *Pa(---),* preceding her cognomen, was probably an abbreviation of her nomen, but it is difficult to say anything more of it. In theory it could even be that she was not a Roman citizen at all (and thus had no gentilicium), which would also explain the unorthodox placement of the filiation after *Quarta*.

Augustan);[845] Hortensia P. f. Quarta (*CIL* XI 3445 = *NSA* 1885, 154 = *SECI* p. 145 nr. 196, Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE; Vibia C. f. Quarta Cossuti (*CIL* XI 3374 = *SECI* p. 140 nr. 156, Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE);[846] Aibutia Quarta Lic. f. (*CIL* V 6925 = I² 2140 = *Torino* nr. 52, Augusta Taurinorum, late republican/Augustan);[847] [---]ia M. f. Quarta (*AE* 1995, 590, Concordia, Augustan-Tiberian period);[848] Curiatia L. f. Quarta (*CIL* V 3007, Patavium, Augustan).[849]

QUARTILLA (2): Marcia L. f. Quartilla, *v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV* (*CIL* IX 6097, Brundisium, Augustan-Tiberian period); Aconia L. f. Quartilla, *annor(um) VI* (*CIL* XI 1983, Perusia, Augustan).

QUIN(C)TA (7): Baia T. f. Quinta (*CIL* X 307 = *InscrIt* III,1, 214, Tegianum, 50-27 BCE);[850] Ovilonia M. f. Quinta, daughter (?) of the former (*CIL* X 308 =*InscrIt* III,1, 215, Tegianum); Graecia A. f. Quinta (*CIL* XI 1736, Empoli, Augustan);[851] [Ce]stia T. f. [Q]uinta (*InscrIt* X,4, 107, Tergeste, 25 BCE-25 CE);[852] Geminia L. f. Quinta (*CIL* V 8960 = *InscrIt* IX,1, 154, Pollentia, Augustan-Tiberian period);[853] Pontia C. f. Quincta (*CIL* V 2240, Alti-

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[845] The inscription also mentions her husband C. Persius A. f. Gal., son L. Persius C. f., and daughter Persia C. f. Polla (see below). Note that both her husband and son lack a cognomen, while she and her daughter both have one.

[846] Her husband [-] Cossutius P. f., *IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*, is also mentioned. They clearly belonged to the local elite of Tarquinia.

[847] There are elements, which do not suggest a profound level of 'Romanness'. Firstly, the filiation is placed after the cognomen. Secondly, the patronymic *Lic.* seems to represent a rare praenomen, i.e. *Lic(inus)*, which is attested as a personal name in Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Salomies 1987, p. 126 nr. 15).

[848] She is attested together with her husband]ttius T. f. and two other men: [---]ttius P. f. Philargur(us) and [---]ius T. f. Titullio. All of the gentilicia are fragmentary, but the patronymics of the two latter men indicate that they were not brothers, although one of them may have been the son of the Quarta and her husband (who are labelled as *pater* and *mater*): *]ttius T(iti) f(ilius) pater / [---]ia M(arci) f(ilia) Quarta / mater / [---]ttius P(ubli) f(ilius) Philargur(us) [---]ius T(iti) f(ilius) Titullio / f(ecerunt).*

[849] Attested together with her husband T. Petronius T. f., son P. Petronius, brother Q. Curatius L. f. Celer, and Mucia L. f. Rufa, who perhaps was her mother or mother-in-law.

[850] The inscription also mentions her husband (?) M. Ovilonius L. f. Lucanus. Her daughter Ovilonia M. f. Quinta (with the same cognomen) is attested in another inscription (see the following case).

[851] Attested together with her husband L. Gavius Q. f., their two sons C. & L. Gavii L. f., and her brother-in-law A. Gavius Q. f. Note that all the men are without a cognomen.

[852] The inscription also mentions her sister [Ces]tia T. [f. ---], whose name survives only partly. We do not know if she also had a cognomen.

[853] Attested with her husband L. Caesius Sp. f., their three sons C(aius) (the dedicator), M(arcus) and Q(uintus) Caesii L. f., her grandson L. Caesius C. f., her granddaughter Caesia C. f. Secunda, and her daughter-in-law Mucia M. f. Rufa. Notably all men in three generations are without a cognomen. The relationship of these people with one another may be deduced from the original text: *L(ucio) Caesio Sp(uri) f(ilio) / patri / Geminiae L(uci) f(iliae) Quintae / matri / M(arco) Caesio L(uci) f(ilio) fratri / Q(uinto) Caesio L(uci) f(ilio) fratri / L(ucio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) filio / v(ivis) Caesiae C(ai) f(iliae) Secundae f(iliae) / Muciae M(arci) f(iliae) Rufae uxori / C(aius) Caesius L(uci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) / test(amento) fieri iussit.*

num, first. c. BCE);[854] Titia Stabilionis f. Quinta (*CIL* V 4072, Mantua, Augustan-Tiberian period);[855] Volginia L. f. Quincta (*CIL* V 438 = *InscrIt* X,3, 133, Piquentum, 25 BCE-25 CE).[856]

RECEPTA: Norbana C. f. Recepta (*AE* 1972, 110, Tarentum, Augustan-Tiberian period).[857]

RUFA (24): Resi[a] T. f. Ru[fa] (*AE* 1982, 305, Ferentinum, early Augustan); [---]tia L. f. Rufa (see [---]ecia L. f. Posilla above); Gavia M. f. Rufa (*AE* 1990, 223e);[858]: Graeceia P. f. Rufa (*CIL* X 1555 = *ILS* 3256, Puteoli, Augustan); Ofillia C. f. Rufa (*CIL* X 1213 = I^2 1610 = *ILLRP* 520, Abella, 50-1 BCE);[859] Staia C. f. Rufa (*CIL* X 4291 = I^2 3124, Capua/Casilinum, 50-1 BCE);[860] Lollia M. f. Rufa (*AE* 1987, 282, Canusium, Augustan);[861] Magia L. f. Rufa (*AE* 1984, 243, Canusium, Aug.-Tib.);[862] Postumia P. f. Rufa (*CIL* IX 1528, Pagus Veianus, Augustan);[863] Ansia Tarvi f. Rufa (*CIL* X 292 = I^2 1688 = *ILS* 5430 = *InscrIt* III,1, 207 = *ILLRP* 574, Tegianum, late Republic);[864] Caesia P. f. Rufa (*AE* 1996, 462, Copia, late Republic/early Aug.);[865]

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854 The inscription also mentions her husband, whose name, however, survies in fragments only. The text can be restored in the following manner: *[---] Iuni[us ---] f(ilius) Fa[b(ia) ---] / O[---] / testamento fie[ri] / iussit sibi et / Pontiai C(ai) f(iliae) Quinctai uxo[ri] / suae.*

855 Note that her husband C. Maesius L. f., who is also mentiond in the inscription, does not have a cognomen.

856 She was buried together with her husband P. Flaminius Macer who also bears a cognomen.

857 She is attested together her husband C. Carrinas C. l. Aphrodisius.

858 For more details, see her daughter Fufia Q. f. Polla above.

859 The inscription also mentions her husband [-] Mullius C. f. Macer, a local magistrate.

860 Attested together with L. Plotius L. l. Philippus, a freedman and probably her husband.

861 The inscription also mentions Sex. Mutronius Q. f. who was probably her husband. The text as a whole is restored in the editions in the following way: *Sex(tus) Mutroniu(s) / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sac{i}e<r=D>d(os) / Lollia M(arci) f(ilia) / Rufa sit{e}i.* However, based on the picture in the *EDCS,* also another reading can be proposed: *Sex. Mutroniu(s) / Q. f. Acte Dio / Lollia M. f. / Rufa sitei.* In this case we would also be dealing with two slaves called by the Greek names *Acte* and *Dio.*

862 The inscription also mentions her son P. Arrius P. f. Ouf. Rufus who shares the same cognomen with his mother. While Magia Rufa may have received the cognomen for semantic reasons, this was clearly no longer the case with her son, who, instead, was simply named after his mother.

863 With her husband T. Septimius P. f. Ste(llatina) and daughter Septimia T. f. Maxuma (see above). The inscription also mentions Iunia D. l. Hilara, second wife of T. Septimius.

864 She had a gate and walls built, by the decree of the local council, around a sacred grove *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*. As for *Tarv(i)us,* it was, according to Salomies 1987, p. 92, probably her father's praenomen, since it would have been most peculiar to use a cognomen in this position in the republican time, and "somit scheint *Tarv(i)us* ein sonst unbekanntes Pränomen zu sein".

865 She clearly belonged to the local aristocracy in Bruttium. She set up the monument to her husband L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Rufus, her father-in-law, L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Rufus, her brother-in-law L. Annelius L. f. Aem. Cordus, as well as to herself and to her mother-in-law Safinia L. f. Her relationship to the elder L. Annelius Rufus and to L. Annelius Cordus is described with the words *pater* and *frater,* which obviously should not be understood as references to her actual father and brother, but rather to her father-in-law and brother-in-law (since she was married to the younger L. Aemilius Rufus). For clarity's sake, the original text: *L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo p(atri) [tr(ibuno) mil(itum) pont(ifici) IIIIvir(o) iur(e) d(icundo) iter(um)] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo f(ilio) IIIIvir(o) [iur(e) d(icundo) Caesiae P(ubli)*

Helvia L. f. Rufa (*CIL* IX 1616, Beneventum, 40-21 BCE);[866] Rutilia Sex. f. Rufa (*CIL* IX 4487 = I² 1886, Amiternum, late Republic);[867] [R]utilia Q. f. Rufa (*CIL* IX 6287 = I² 1741, Beneventum, late Republic);[868] Ursia T. f. Rufa (*SupplIt* 4-T, 70 = *AE* 1951, 195c, Trebula Suffenas, 50-1 BCE); Volsa C. f. Rufa (*AE* 1995, 424, Trebula Suffenas, Aug.-Tib.);[869] Pontia L. f. Rufa (*CIL* XI 5333, Hispellum, Augustan); Ruspuleia L. f. Rufa (*CIL* XI 5281 = I² 3382 = *ILLRP* 611, Hispellum, Aug.-Tib.); Veturia L. f. Rufa (*CIL* XI 5348, Hispellum, Augustan); Campatia Q. f. Rufa (*CIL* XI 3644 = I² 1940 = *CIE* 5902 = *Studi Etruschi* 44 (1976), p. 195 = *SECI* p. 236 nr. 701, Caere, 75-50 BCE);[870] Campatia Q. f. Rufa, perhaps identical with the former (*CIL* I² 2729 = *CIE* 5902 = *SE* 44 (1976), p. 195 = *SECI* p. 197 nr. 460, Caere); Calventia M'. f. Rufa (*CIL* V 2704, Ateste, Augustan);[871] Mucia L. f. Rufa (*CIL* V 3007, Patavium, Augustan);[872] also a bilingual inscription from outside Italy: *SEG* 61, 433 = *AE* 2011, 1124 (Dyrrachium, early Augustan): *Maxsuma Hetria L(ucii) f(ilia) Rufa /quom liberreis salvete.* / Μαξίμα Ἑτρίου (sic!) Λευκίου /Ῥοῦφα καὶ τέκνα /χαίρετε.

RUFILLA: Campatia Sp. f. Rufilla (*AE* 1990, 342, Fabrica di Roma, Augustan-Tiberian period);[873] also one case from Africa: Manlia D. f. Rufilla (*CIL* VIII 24867, Carthago, 50-44 BCE).

SABINA (5): Vineia M. f. Sabina (*CIL* VI 21230 = I² 1326, first c. BCE);[874] Turia C. f. Sabina (*CIL* X 4817, Teanum Sidicinum, Augustan); Fabia L. f.

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f(iliae) Rufae uxori] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Cordo // fratri // III[Ivir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) Safiniae L(uci) f(iliae) socrui] / ex testamento Ca[esia P(ubli) f(ilia) Rufa uxor fecit HS XXV(milibus)]. It may also be worth pointing out that for these Annelii the cognomen was an individual item instead of a hereditary one, meaning that it was the cognomen rather than the praenomen that distinguished the two brothers from one another. There seems to be, by the way, no other attestations of the gentilicium *Annelius* anywhere else. Furthermore, no Safinii are known from anywhere in Bruttium or Lucania (besides the woman of this inscription), but there are some Caesii on record in Atina, Paestum, and Vibo Valentia (although no one called *Publius*); *CIL* X 348; 387; 69; I² 3159; cf. also the comments in *AE* 1996, 462.

866 Attested together with her husband M. Lisidius Q. f. Pub(lilia) and son C. Lisidius M. f. Ste(llatina), both of whom are without a cognomen, as well as three *liberti* of the family.

867 With her husband T. Tadius At(ti) f. Qui. Drusus The husband's father seems to have been called by the Sabine name *Attus* (cf. Salomies 1987, p. 68, including this case). They perhaps belonged to the local Sabine elite. Note also the existence of another Rutilia Rufa in Samnium (below).

868 Compare the nomenclature Rutilia Sex. f. Rufa above.

869 Attested with L. Annius C. f. Ani(ensis) and L. Annius L. f. Ani(ensis) Rufus (probably her husband and son).

870 The cognomen appears as *Rum* (?) in both *CIL* and *CIE* (and also in the *EDCS*), but the form *Rufa*—suggested by Kaimio—is much more likely.

871 With her husband Q. Terentius L. f.. and her two *nepotes*, who are styled as *L. M. Blattii.*

872 Attested together with Curiatia L. f. Quarta (see above).

873 Her husband's name does not survive but the inscription records him with a rather impressive career: *] aed(ilis) cur(ulis) et honore usus IIvir / iure dicundo II(vir) quinquennalis pontif(ex) cur(ator) / pecuniae publicae iterum a decurionibus / per tabellam creatus testamento fieri iussit / arbitratu Campatiae Sp(uri) f(iliae) Rufillae uxoris*.

874 Attested with her father(?) M. Vineius Urbanus (status unclear) and six *liberti* , five of whom seem to have been connected to the Licinii Luculli.

Sabina (*CIL* X 4133, Capua/Casilinum, Aug.-Tib.); Manlia L. f. Sabi[na] (*CIL* IX 4922 = I² 1836 = *CLE* 62, Trebula Mutuesca, Late Republic); Allia Sp. f. Sabina (*CIL* XI 4903, Spoletium, 50-1 BCE).[875]

SALVIA (2): Murrasia Cn. f. [S]alvia (*AE* 1981, 328, Sentinum, 50-30 BCE); Tertia S(alvi?) f. Salvia, whose cognomen seems to have come from her father (*CIL* XI 2015, Perusia, 100-51 BCE).

SATURNINA (2):[876] Duronia Q. f. Saturnina (*CIL* XIV 2188, Aricia, Augustan-Tiberian);[877] Fannia L. f. Saturnin(a) (*CIL* XI 2012 = *SupplIt* 30, p. 174, Perusia, 100-51 BCE).[878]

SCINA: Caescia C. f. Scina (*CIL* IX 3216 = I² 1783, Corfinium), with Caesia V. f. Magula (see above). The cognomen may not in fact be of Latin origin. Perhaps from the Greek σχῖνος (Lat. *sc(h)inus*), as suggested by H. Solin.[879]

SECUNDA (27): Mar[---] Q. f. Secunda (*CIL* I² 3014 = *AE* 1969/70, 27, Rome, first c. BCE); Nonia T. f. Secunda (*CIL* VI 19247 = *AE* 1983, 35, late republican period); Helvia C. f. Secunda (*AE* 2015, 303 = *EpRom* 2015_01_029, Casinum, 133-31 BCE);[880] Artoria Sex. f. Secunda (*CIL* XI 4438, Ameria, Aug.-Tib.);[881] Caedia C. f. Secunda (?) (*CIL* XI 5981 = I² 2122, Ad Calem, late republican period);[882] Conetania L. f. Secunda (*CIL* XI 4608 (Carsulae, Augustan-Tiberian); Neriana C. f. Secunda (*CIL* XI 4617, Carsulae, Aug.-Tib.); [---]ossia T. f. Secunda (*CIL* XI 5005 = *SupplIt* 29, p. 289, Trebia, Aug.-Tib.);[883] Murria Q. f. Secunda (*CIL* I² 3308 = *CIE* 6188 = *SECI* p. 229 nr. 655, Caere, 100-76 BCE); Apusidia C. f. Secunda (*CIL* V1764 = *InscrIt* X,4, 391, Forum Iulii, late republican/Augustan);[884] Attia M. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 6439, Ticinum, 50-1 BCE);[885] Barbia L. f. Secunda, *aedem*

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875 Attested together with a freedman L. Pipedius L. l. Tyrannus, who was probably her husband.

876 The name is in this category for calendaric reasons (*dies Saturni*). It could also well be that in many cases it was chosen because of its aristocratic connotations, since *Saturninus* is attested for several senators in the period (e.g. the Volusii Saturnini).

877 Attested together with Q. Duronius Q. l. Pamphilus (perhaps her father).

878 In absence of the last letter, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the last item of her nomenclature was in fact a reference to her husband, i.e. *Saturnin(i) (uxor),* but this option seems to me more unlikely.

879 Cf. Solin 2014, p. 413.

880 Her mother Afinia L. f. Helvi, who is also mentioned in the inscription, does not have a cognomen.

881 She set up the inscription/monument to her father Sex. Artorius Sex. f., her mother Praeconia C. f. Posilla (see below), and her two brothers Sex. Artorius Sex. f. and L. Artorius Sex. f. Note that her father and brothers do not have a cognomen, while she and her mother both do.

882 Cf. Variana C. f. Gava and some analysis of the inscription in n. 776.

883 Attested with her husband T. Rubrius T. f. Aem., who does not have a cognomen, and their son T. Rubrius T. f. Aem. Crispus, who has one.

884 The inscription also mentions her two sons Q. Caedius P. f. Pup (*sexvir Tergeste*) and C. Caedius P. f., both of which without a cognomen, as well as her daughter-in-law Vinisia Q. f. Maxuma (see below).

885 She is attested together with C. Camillius C. l. Corumbus, who perhaps was her husband.

signum por[ti]cus d(e) s(ua) d(edit) (*CIL* V 412 = *ILS* 3482 = *InscrIt* X,3, 77, d. 25 BCE-25 CE); Caesia Ti. f. Secunda (Tirelli 2003, p. 23, Opitergium, Augustan-Tiberian);[886] Calpurnia C. f. Secunda (*InscrIt* X,3, 47, Siparis, 25 BCE-25 CE);[887] Cassia L. f. Secunda, *an(norum) LXXX* (*CIL* V 435 = *InscrIt* X,3, 179, Tergeste, Augustan-Tiberian)*;* Curtia L. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 2452 = I^2 2192, Selva, late republican(?));[888] Hortia C. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 916 = *IAquil* II, 2859, Aquileia, Augustan period);[889] Iulia Iulli f. Secunda and her daughter Lucia M. f. Secunda (*IAquil* III 3425, Aquileia, 50-1 BCE);[890] [P]ontia Sex. f. [Se]cunda (*AE* 2002, 552, Tarvisium, 100-71 BCE);[891] Rauconia M. f. Secunda (*IAquil* II, 1479, Aquileia, Aug.-Tib. period);[892] Retinacia L. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 1841, Iulium Carnicum, Aug.-Tib. period);[893] Summia L. f. Secunda (Lettich 2003, nr. 461 = Buonopane 2016, p. 168, Aquileia, 50-1 BCE);[894] Terentia T. f. Secunda (*CIL* V 2518 = I^2 1412, Ateste, late republican);[895] Titia C. f. Secunda and her daughter Silia C. f. Secunda (*AE* 1991, 796, Tarvisium, Aug.-Tib.);[896] Vibia Q. f. Secund(a) (*CIL* V 7601, Alba Pompeia, Augustan);[897] [V]olginia P. f. [Se]cunda (*InscrIt* X,3, 182, Parentium, Augustan); Maria C. f. Secunda, sister of Maria C. f. Prima (see above); Lucia M. f. Secunda (*IAquil* III 3425, Aquileia), daughter of Iulia Iulli f. Secunda (3.2.1.1.).

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886 The inscription also mentions her husband Q. Gellius Q. l. Antiochus and son C. Gellius Q. f. Pap(iria), *IIIIvir.*

887 She set up the monument to herself and her parents C. Calpurnius Proculus (of unspecified status) and Ionia, *L. Callami l(iberta).*

888 She is mentioned as *nurus* of a woman styled simply as *Maxima*; also mentioned together with Maxima's two *nepotes* Q. Novellius Q. f. Crescens (perhaps Secunda's husband?) and Sex. Novellius Q. f.

889 Her husband Q. Gavius Q. f. Aquila, *decurio tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a populo,* belonged to the equestrian aristocracy (cf. Démougin 1988, nr. 156). Peculiarly enough, their daughter Gavia Q. f. had no cognomen, despite the fact that both her parents had one.

890 The inscription also mentions Iulia Secunda's husband M. Lucius M. l. Davus and son M. Lucius M. f. Labeo.

891 Her husband M. At[---]n[i]us L. f. Lucanus, who appears in the inscription, also had a cognomen.

892 She is mentioned together with C. Servilius C. l. Veneto, who probably was her husband.

893 The inscription also records her husband C. Retinacius C. f., *IIvir,* and children Retinacia L. f. Gaia and L. Retinacius L. f. Crispus. Note that her husband does not bear a cognomen.

894 The inscription is divided in four parts, which can be restored in the following way: *Summiae L(uci) / f(iliae) Secu(n)dae // Q(uintus) Ves[---] // L(oca) n(umero?) LV // Pompon[iae] / Optata[e].* In the second part there seem to be remnants of a man's name, which however is too fragmentary to be properly read. The fourth part records a woman called Pompon[ia] Optata, whose status is not specified.

895 Attested together with her husband C. Veturius A. f., her father-in-law A. Veturius A. f., and her mother-in-law Petronia A. f. Tannia (see below) who also bears a cognomen, unlike the two men.

896 The inscription also mentions Titia's husband C. Silius C. f. and son M. Silius C. f. Note that both men are without a cognomen.

897 Her husband L. Geminius L. f. Cam(ilia) and son M'. Geminius L. f. Cam. are both without a cognomen.

TERTIA (23/24): Coṛuncania Sp. f. Tertia (*CIL* VI 10319 = 21216 = I² 1400, Augustan);[898] Fufia P. f. Tertia (*CIL* VI 2171, 50-30 BCE);[899] Iunia L. f. Tertia (*CIL* VI 24627 = I² 1367a = *ILS* 4420; cf. also *SIRIS* 426, late republican);[900] Trebia Q. f. Tertia (*CIL* VI 38697 = I² 1351 = *ILLRP* 951, 70-31 BCE);[901] Trebia M. f. Tertia (*AE* 2001, 489, first. c. BCE);[902] Plautia L. f. Tertia (*ZPE* 199 (2016), pp. 220-222, Signia, 70-30 BCE);[903] Precilia Q. f. Tertia (*CIL* XIV 2317, Albanum, Aug.-Tib.);[904] Aiedia L. f. Tertia (*CIL* IX 5138, Interamnia Praetuttiorum, 50 BCE - 50 CE);[905] V[---] P. f. Tertia (*CIL* IX 2118, Santa Maria de Voto, Augustan);[906] Vibbia L. f. Tertia *CIL* IX 1403, Trevico, late republican/Augustan);[907] Gresia C. f. Tertia (*SupplIt* 3, 11 = *AE* 1988, 416, Volcei, Augustan);[908] Aiedia L. f. Tertia (*CIL* IX 5138, Interamnia Praetuttiorum, 50 BCE-50 CE);[909] [M]inucia Cn. f. Te[rtia?] (*Epigraphica* 71 (2009), p. 373 (by L. Gasperini) = *AE* 2009, 336, Blera, 71-1 BCE);[910] Albia L. f. Tertia (*CIL* V 8328 = *IAquil* III, 3395 = Lettich 2003, nr. 58, Aquileia, 50-1 BCE); Arkaia C. f. Tertia (*IAquil* I, 732 = Lettich 2003, nr.

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898 Attested together with (her husband?) C. Licinius C. l. Trup(h)o, *mag(ister) desig(natus)*.

899 The inscription also mentions her brother L. Antestius Cn. f. Hor. Sarculo, who was *salius Albanus*, and several *liberti* connected to his family. Fufia Tertia is labelled as Sarculo's *soror*, but since their nomina and filiations differ from each other, one can only assume they had different fathers (unless there was a case of adoption in the background).

900 She appears in a list of melanephoroi of an Egyptian cult, including two *ingenui* without a cognomen, C. Pomponius C. f. Ser. and Sex. Coelius Sex. f. Col., at least six freedpersons (all with a cognomen), and two women of unknown status whose names seem to be fragmented The text in its entirety: *C(aius) Pomponius C(ai) f(ilius) Ser(gia) / melanep(h)orus / Marcia L(uci) l(iberta) Salvia / melanep(h)ore / C(aius) Publili(us) C(ai) l(ibertus) Trupho / melanep(h)orus / Sex(tus) Cloelius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / {R} Col(lina) / Iunia |(mulieris) l(iberta) Nebris // Valgia A(uli) l(iberta) Truphera / Maria P(ubli) l(iberta) Salvia / C(aius) Marius |(mulieris) l(ibertus) Antiochus / Secunda / [[---]] Salvia / [[---]] / Iunia L(uci) f(ilia) Tertia*.

901 The inscription also mentions Sex. Oppius T. l. Surus, a freedman, who probably was her husband.

902 She is attested together with two other *ingenui*, T. Aebutius T. f. Hor. and Hostilia A. f., both of whom are without a cognomen.

903 The inscription also mentions her father L. Plautius, grandfather L. Plautius M. f. Ouf. Scurra, and a freedwoman, Rusticelia Ↄ. l. Rufa (possibly her grandmother?). Note that the grandfather had a cognomen but had not given one to his son.

904 Attested together with her husband M. Antistius M. f. Fab(ia) and son M. Antistius M. f. Fab. Saturninus. Note that her husband does not have a cognomen.

905 Mentioned together with her father L. Aiedius M. f. and mother Novernia T. f., both of whom lack a cognomen. In other words, she represented the first generation in her family to have a cognomen.

906 Attested together with her husband [---] f. Gal(eria), son Q. Vinius Q. f. Gal., and daughter Vini[a] Q. f. Note that both her children (and husband) are without a cognomen.

907 Attested together with her mother Maria M. f. and brother C. Vibbius L. f. Ser(gia). Note that her brother was not given a cognomen (and we have to assume that her father did not have one either).

908 She is recorderd together with Insteia Q. f. Firma and Aemilia C. f. Bassa (see below for both), and also Q. Insteius Q. f. Pom. Cimber and Q. Insteius Q. f. [---].

909 She is mentioned together with her father L. Aiedius M. f. and mother Novernia T. f., both of whom lack a cognomen.

910 The inscription also mentions her husband [--- Ca]nulei[us ---] Col. Cilo, *scr(iba)*. Both names are rather fragmentary.

193, Aquileia, Aug.-Tib.);[911] Cassia L. f. Tertia (*CIL* V 4072 (Mantua, Aug.-Tib.); Cornelia M. f. Tertia (*AE* 1979, 265, Opitergium, Augustan); Maecia C. f. Tertia (*CIL* V 383 = 3576 = *InscrIt* X,3, 60, Eraclea Veneta, Aug.-Tib.);[912] Metella C. f. Tertia (*AE* 1973, 236 = 1976, 226, Forum Gallorum, Aug.-Tib.);[913] Pinaria P. f. Tertia (*CIL* V 6939 = I² 2155 = *Torino*, p. 73-74 nr. 76, Augusta Taurinorum, Augustan); Pontia Sex. f. Tertia (*CIL* V 1805, Ad Tricesimum, Aug.-Tib.);[914] Turpilia M. f. Tertia (*AE* 1993, 749, Corona, Aug.-Tib.);[915] [---] Stati f. Tertia (*CIL* V 1384 = I² 3427 = *IAquil* III, 3463, Aquileia, 50-1 BCE);[916] also one uncertain case: Licinia P. f. Tert[---]*AE* 2000, 471, Asculum Picenum, 50-30 BCE).[917]

TERTULLA (6): Cupie{i}nnia L. f. Tertulla, *ultuma suorum* (*CIL* VI 16614 = I² 1297 = *ILLRP* 918 = *AE* 2014, 125 = *EpRom* 2015_00_010, late republican/Augustan);[918] [--- Luc]ceia Cn. f. Tertulla Pia Galli (*CIL* X 3685 = *ILS* 4040, Cumae, Augustan);[919] Talania Q. f. Tertulla (*CIL* IX 848, Luceria,

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[911] The inscription also records her husband L. Alfius L. f. Statius, whose mother Maxuma L. f. and sisters Statia Alfia L. f., Secunda Caesia M. f., and Galla Caesia M. f. are also present in the text. Judging by the different nomina, the two Caesiae probably had a different father than L. Alfius Statius and Statia Alfia. The inscription also provides a good example of a case, in which women's praenomina and cognomina are used side-by-side.

[912] Attested together with her husband (?) T. Corneli[us] Felix, whose exact status is not specified.

[913] Note that her husband C. Graecinius C. f. Pol. and son L. Graecinius C. f. Pol. do not have a cognomen, while she and her daughter Graecinia C. f. Galla both do.

[914] Attested with her husband P. Veidius C. f. Burro, son C. Veidius P. f., and daughter Veidia P. f. Maxuma (see above).

[915] Note that her husband C. Acutius C. f. does not have a cognomen.

[916] Recorded with three men who are styled as P. P. f. Statius, [---] P. f. Lucullus, and [---] P. f. Tertius, none of whose nomen either survives or is given. Despite the peculiar way of presenting these individuals, there seems to be no reason to believe they did not have a gentilicium.

[917] Her cognomen does not survive completely and the restoration remains somewhat uncertain—but *Tert[ia]* seems the most likely option (unless *Tert[ulla]*; perhaps autopsy could help). The picture in *Picus* 20 (2000), pp. 32-34 nr. 1 (by G. Paci), and also provived in the *EDR*, does not provide much clarity on the matter, since the exact extent of the object and therefore, what is lost, seems to be difficult to measure. Furthermore, it is possible that the monument in fact dates from a later period.

[918] The inscription has been previously dated as early as the late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE, but according to a more recent estimation by S. Panciera, the inscription is more likely from a later period (possibly Augustan or Tiberian). See Panciera 2014/2015; cf. also the commentary in *EpRom* 2015_00_010.

[919] It is unclear if *Pia* is to be understood simply as an adjective describing her or as a second cognomen. It would be unusual for a woman to have two cognomina at such an early period, but it is not impossible. In any case, she is attested together with two men, styled as *Cn. Lucceius pater et filius pr(aetor)*—quite possibly her father and brother—and another freeborn woman with a cognomen, Lucceia Cn. f. Polla (see below), who probably was her sister. They clearly belonged to the local elite, as the men had restored a shrine of Demeter, and the women a temple, its surrounds, and a portico *p(ecunia) s(ua)*. It is unclear whether the two women are the daughters of Gnaeus Lucceius the elder or Gnaeus Lucceius the younger (since both have the same name)—but this does not change the fact that they both have a cognomen, whereas the two men do not.

Augustan);[920] Graecinia L. f. Tertulla (*CIL* XI 3441 = *SECI* p. 145 nr. 193, Tarquinia, 50-25 BCE); Gallia C. f. Tertulla (*CIL* XI 181, Ravenna, Augustan-Tiberian); Deciria Q. f. Tertulla (*CIL* XIV 2187, Aricia, 50-1 BCE), whose cognomen was derived from that of her mother Deciria Q. l. Tertia.

VERA: Cominia C. f. Vera (*CIL* IX 6790 = *Aesernia* 119 = *AE* 1999, 553, Aesernia, first c. BCE).

VERECUNDA: Metilia M. f. Verecunda (*SupplIt* 17, 5 = *AE* 1999, 652, Forum Fulvii, Augustan).[921]

b) Nomina used as cognomina

MASURA: [---]a T. f. Masura (*CIL* XI 4195 (Intermna Nahars, Augustan period).[922] *Masura* is to be understood as a gentilicium used in place of a cognomen. It is in fact attested as a gentile name in the very same town in the second century CE (cf. *CIL* XI 4276).

MIMISIA: Alfia C. f. Mimisia, an equestrian *matrona* from Hispellum (*CIL* XI 5278 = *ILS* 6624, late Republic/Augustan).[923] *Mimisius/a* is gentilicium, which in this case was used as a cognomen.[924]

NERIA: Epidia P. f. Neria (CIL IX 1927 = I² 1739 = *ILS* 8073, Beneventum, late Republic).[925] Like in the case of *Masura* and *Mimisia* above, *Nerius/a* is gentilicium, which in this case is used as a cognomen.

SUETIA: Sentia C. f. Suetia (*CIL* IX 5283, Castorano, Aug.-Tib.), her cognomen *Suetia* being a gentilicium.[926]

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[920] The inscription also mentions Tertulla's husband M. Croni(us) Sp. f., their son A(l)banus, her mother-in-law Iucunda, and freedwoman Talania Ↄ. l. Helpis.

[921] She is attested together with her husband and father-in-law, whose names survive only partly, and her mother-in-law Nonia C. f. P[o]lla (see below).

[922] The inscription also mentions her son [C. Albi]us T. f. Pansa, who was a local *IIIIvir.* The same Albius Pansa is attested in *CIL* XI 4206 = *ILS* 5645: *T(itus) Albius C(ai) f(ilius) Pansa, IIIIvir i(ure) / d(icundo), [p]ontifex, C(aius) Albius T(iti) f(ilius) Pansa filius, IIIIvir [i(ure) d(icundo)] / opus theâtri perfect(um) in muliebrib(us) aerámentìs adórnaver(unt).* As for Masura's nomen, the restorations *[Iuli]a* and *[Albi]a* have been suggested (cf. *CIL* and *SupplIt* 19, p. 61), but the nomen could equally well be something else as well.

[923] She is attested together with the equestrian C. Alfius C. f. Lem. Rufus and C. Alfius C. f. Lem Quadratus, one of whom was her husband: *C(aius) Alfius C(ai) f(ilius) Lem(onia) Ruf(us) IIvir quin[q(uennalis)] / col(oniae) Iul(iae) Hispelli et IIvir / quinq(uennalis) in municipio suo Casini / C(aius) Alfius C(ai) f(ilius) Lem(onia) Quadratus VIv[ir] / equo publico in honore aed(ilitatis) est mortuu[s] / Alfia C(ai) f(ilia) Mimisia ux{s}or.* Cf. Alvarez Melero 2018, p. 80 n. 24.

[924] *Mimesius* and *Mimisius*: Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium*, p. 119.

[925] The inscription also mentions her husband C. Petuellius Q. f. Fal., who does not have a cognomen.

[926] Cf. Solin & Salomies, *Repertorium.* The inscription also mentions her husband P. Audienus Q. f. Fab. Capito.

c) Greek and 'foreign' cognomina

AGELE: Versiculana Sp. f. Agele, with her mother Versiculana Daphne (*CIL* X 4397, Casilinum, Aug.-Tib.). The Greek cognomina and the fact that she was *Sp(uri) f(ilia)* suggest servile origin.

CELIDO: Collia L. f. Celido, *v(ixit) a(nnos) LXXX* (*SECI* p. 156 nr. 268, Tarquinia, 100-75 BCE), the cognomen corresponding to the Greek Χελιδών.[927]

CHILA: Statia C. f. Chila (*SupplIt* 20, 168 = *AE* 1981, 263, Venusia, early Augustan).[928]

DADA: Caesia M. f. Dada (*CIL* VI 14004, Aug,-Tib.); compare the Greek name Δάδας.[929]

FREMA: Baebia Q. f. Frema (*AE* 1982, 379, Aquileia, 50-1 BCE).[930] The cognomen seems to be Venetic (from the stem *Frem-/vhrem-*).[931]

HELPIS: Caesellia L. f. Hel{s}pis (*CIL* IX 87 = *AE* 1980, 280, Brundisium, Augustan-Tiberian period).

T(H)ANNIA (2): Sentia A. f. Thannia (*CIL* XI 2443 = I² 2025, Clusium, late Republic); Petronia A. f. T(h)annia (*CIL* V 2518 = I² 1412; see Terentia T. f. Secunda in 3.2.1.1.). The name was a common Etruscan female praenomen.[932]

VOLTIOMNA: Vaxsonia L. f. Voltiomna (*CIL* V 418 = *InscrIt* X,3, 86, Tergeste, Augustan-Tiberian period).[933]

There is also *PIRA* (or *GLAPIRA*): [L]ucilia C. f. Pira (*CIL* XIV 2259, Albanum, Aug.-Tib.).[934] This case is somewhat dubious. The cognomen *Pira* is difficult to explain. Perhaps a better reading could be *[L]ucilia Glapira* (the letters *LA* perhaps in a ligature), in which case the cognomen would corre-

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927 This is also one of the earliest cases of a cognomen, if the date given by Kaimio in *SECI* is correct. She was, however, likely a descendent of a *libertus*, in which case the use of a cognomen is more expected.

928 The inscription also mentiones Octavia Ↄ. l. Arbuscula and C. Statius C. l. Statius, who was perhaps her father. Peculiarly enough, his nomen and cognomen seem to have been identical with each other.

929 The name gives 59 hits in the *LGPN* online.

930 She is attested together with two *ingenui*, two *liberti* (one of whom has a cognomen), and a woman of unclear status, who is styled as Secunda L. f. She is perhaps to be understood as the daughter of Baebia Frema and her husband(?) L. Tudicius C. f., in which case she would bear the nomen *Tucidia*. The last person in the inscription, who appears as *L. Tucidi L. f. Cervoli* and is restored as *L. Tucidi(us) L. f. Cervoli(us)* in *AE* 1982, 379, was probably her brother. The restoration *Cervoli(us)* seems plausible, if we assume that he had a nomen as his cognomen.

931 Cf. Untermann 1961, p. 147.

932 For examples of *Thannia* as a cognomen, cf. Kaimio 1972, p. 75.

933 The inscription also mentions her husband L. Mariarius Sex. f., son Sex. Mariarius L. f. (who set up the inscription), and daughter Mariaria L. f. [---]. The cognomen *Voltiomna* is clearly a local name, cf. Degrassi in *InscrIt*: "Voltiomnae emendandum mihi esse videtur ex cognomine quod alibi in Histricis titulis redit" (cf. *InscrIt* X,3, 120: *Voltiomn(us) Taesalocus an(norum) LXX, [---] mociu[s*.

934 Attested together her husband [A]esopus, who was *Caesaris Augusti disp(ensator)*.

spond the the Greek name *Glaphyra* (cf. A[u]l[e]na [G]lapira, recorded in *CIL* X 4926 from Venafrum). Assuming that this is the case, it seems unlikely that we are even dealing with a freeborn woman.

Appendix 4. Hypothetical cases

a) Father's cognomen transmitted in an identical form

1. Claudia Aesernina (*PFOS* 215), attested as *sacerdos divae Augustae* at Narona in the mid-first century CE (*CIL* III 1796 = *ILS* 3327). Her father is not explicitly stated but it is generally believed that he was M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (*pr.* 19 CE).
2. (Cassia?) Longina (*PFOS* 196). Her nomen is not known, but it is assumed that she was the daughter of C. Cassius Longinus (*cos. suff.* 30).
3. Volusia Torquata (*PIR*^{2} V 991 = *PFOS* 838), known from several funerary inscriptions of her slaves and freedmen by her nomen and cognomen.[935] Given the distinctive nature of the names, it is reasonable to assume that she was the daughter of L. Volusius Torquatus (*PIR*^{2} V 984), brother of L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos*. 56).
4. [C]aecinia A.f. Larga (*PFOS* 160), daughter of an A. Caecina who most likely had the cognomen Largus.[936]
5. Luccia C. f. Telesina (*PFOS* 508), known from her funerary inscription from the time of Domitian (*CIL* VI 21563). Based on her name it seems probable that she was the daughter (or sister?) of C. Luccius Telesinus (*cos.* 66).
6. Servenia Cornuta (*PIR*^{2} S 568 = *PFOS* 707), known from several Phrygian inscriptions, one of which attests her as the daughter of a man, whose name is fragmented (*MAMA* VI 254). However, it seems clear that this man must have been L. Servenius Cornutus (active under Nero; *PIR*^{2} S 566). Her cognomen was perhaps transmitted to Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpuria Valeria Secunda Cotia(?) Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna (*PIR*^{2} S 568), that is, if she was her daughter.
7. (Fabia?) Fabulla Asiatica(?) (*PFOS* 351) has been identified as the daughter of M. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion in 69 CE, who was chosen as a leader by the Vitellian troops (Tac. *hist.* 3, 14). This assumption seems to be based solely on Fabulla's cognomen. Furthermore, it seems to me dubious that she ever had the cognomen *Asiatica.* She appears in the so-called testament of

[935] The inscriptions are *CIL* VI 9725 = 27558; VI 17442; VI 29550; and possibly VI 30556,26. However, she should not be confused with the polyonymous Licinia Cornelia M. f. Volusia Torquata (*PIR*^{2} V 992), whom she in any case was related to.

[936] The cognomen was used by senatorial Caecinae; cf. *PIR*^{2} C 101; 102; also *PIR*^{2} S 718 for C. Silius A. Caecina Largus; notably, also an A. Caecina Largus is known, who could be Caecinia Larga's father.

Dasumius from 108 CE as *Fabul[l]a Asiatici* (*AE* 1976, 77 = *ZPE* 30 (1978), p. 286 (W. Eck); cf. also *AE* 1978, 16), and Apollonius of Tyana, in a letter to her husband Valerius (i.e. D. Valerius Asiaticus), refers to her simply by her cognomen *Fabulla* (Apollonius of Tyana, *epist.* 58, 7). The existence of the name *Asiatica* is based on a fragmentary Cretan inscription (*ICret.* IV 303), which records '[---] Asiatica, wife of Valerius Asiaticus', who has been identified as Fabulla (thus *PFOS* 109 = 351). The identification may well be correct, but in this case it could be thought that the Cretans simply made an error in regard to her name. Another option is that we are dealing with two different wives of Valerius Asiaticus.[937]

8. Pomponia Galla (*PFOS* 638). Her parents are unknown but the nomenclature of her brother C. Pomponius Gallus Didius Rufus (*procos.* of Crete and Cyrenaica 88/89 CE) suggests that the cognomen *Gallus* was perhaps a recurring item in the male line.
9. Etri[lia] Afra (*PFOS* 344), attested in *CIL* II 2077 (Iliberris) as the wife of Q. Valerius Vegetus (*cos.* 91). Based on the name, it has been assumed that her father was Etrilius Afer (*PIR*^{2} E 102).
10. Didia Galla (*PFOS* 314), only known through the nomenclature of her slave (*CIL* IX 2903, Histonium). It is assumed that she was the daughter of A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento (*cos.* II 80; III 83?).
11. Cilnia Procula (*PFOS* 209), attested in two inscriptions from Caere (*CIL* XI 3697-3698). Given the location and her name, it is clear that she was related to the Etruscan Cilnii Proculi, but how exactly, is less clear. It is assumed that she was the daughter (or granddaughter) of C. Cilnius Proculus (*cos. suff.* 87).
12. (Vibia) Sabina (*PIR*^{2} V 600 = *PFOS* 802), wife of the emperor Hadrian, attested in numerous sources but never by her nomen. Based on the nomenclature of her daughter and her freedmen it has been concluded that her father was probably called L. Vibius Sabinus (cf. *PIR*^{2} V 570).
13. Valeria C. f. Paulina (*PIR*^{2} V 242 = *PFOS* 775), known from a *fistula aquaria* (*CIL* XV 7561). She may (or may not) be the daughter of C. Valerius Paulinus, the friend of Pliny (*cos. suff.* 107; *PIR*^{2} V 164).
14. Pactumeia R[ufina?] (*PFOS* 595), attested at Pergamum in the mid-second century (*IGR* IV 513). The case is highly speculative, since the restoration of her cognomen is based on her assumed kinship with the Pergaminian senator L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (*cos.* 142), who may (or may not) have been her father.
15. Valeria M. f. Urbica (*PIR*^{2} V 248 = *PFOS* 779), attested as the owner of a brick-factory (*CIL* XV 1488). She was most likely related to Valerius Urbicus, who was *cur(ator) operum locor(umque) public(orum)* in 138 CE (*PIR*^{2} V 227), being perhaps his daughter or sister—but this remains hypothetical.
16. Prastinia C. f. Pacata (*PFOS* 622), attested in Thamugadi, Numidia, in the mid-2nd century (*CIL* VIII 17898). It has been plausibly assumed that she was the

[937] Cf. Solin 1993, p. 29 n. 142.

daughter of C. Prastina Pacatus Messalinus (*cos.* 147), who was *patronus col(oniae)* of Thamugadi (*PIR*² P 926).[938]

17. Iulia Ti. f. Severa (*PFOS* 458bis), father unknown but he was perhaps one of the Iulii Severi of Galatea, in which case she was perhaps related to Iulia Severina (*PFOS* 459)—but this is highly speculative, since her status and origin, amongst other things, remain unclear.[939]
18. Fabia Agrippina (*PFOS* 348), attested in Ostia in the latter half of the second century (*CIL* XIV 5394). She has been identified as the daughter of C. Fabius Agrippinus (*cos.* 148; *PIR*² F 20). Furthermore, it has been assumed that her mother was Aemilia Agrippina (*PFOS* 23), who is attested in an Ostian inscription together with Fabius Agrippinus (*CIL* XIV 4450), in which case Fabia Agrippina's cognomen would be identical to that of both of her parents.
19. Sextia T. f. Torquata (*PIR*² S 689), wife of Appius Cl(audius) Martialis [---]nius [S]ilvinus, *leg(atus) Augustor(um) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae),* attested in Moesia inferior during the latter half of the second century (*AE* 2012, 1262) . Quite clearly she was connected to Sextius Torquatus (*PIR*² S 679), known from *CIL* XV 7536 from around the same period. Their exact relationship is unclear, but it is not impossible that they were father and daughter. The husband is probably identical with Appius Claudius Martialis, who was active in Thracia between 166-169, or his son (*PIR*² C 931; cf. *AE* 1998, 1169).
20. Novia Crispina (*PFOS* 577), attested as the wife of Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (*homo novus*; *PIR*² A 754) at Thibilis in 164 (*CIL* VIII 18893 = *ILS* 1091) and at Gerasa in 166/167 CE (*AE* 1899, 23 = *SEG* 7, 822 = *IGR* III 1368). It is generally assumed that she was the daughter of L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus (*cos. suff.* 150?; *PIR*² N 180).
21. Catilia Severa (*PFOS* 199). Her father is not known, but she was probably the daughter of one of the Catilii Severi from the Greek East.[940]
22. Postumia P. f. Paulla (*PFOS* 650 = *PIR*² P 903), wife of M. Iuventius Secundus (*cos. suff.* at the end of the 2nd c.), known from various *tituli* at Brixia, where she clearly originated.[941] It has been suggested that she was the daughter of the Brixian senator P. Statius Paullus Postumius Iunior (*PIR*² S 879), which seems to me plausible, but remains nonetheless hypothetical. Compare also the nomenclature of the polyonymous Postumia Paulla Avidia Procula Rutilia Proba, who is attested as *sacerdos Div(a)i August(ae)* at Brixia (*CIL* V 4458 = *InscrIt.* X, 5, 247)—and to whom Postumia Paulla must have been related.
23. Pontia Paulina (*PFOS* 644 = *PIR*² P 833), attested as one of the *matronae senatoriae* in the Secular Games of 204 (*CIL* VI 32329,17 = Pighi 1965, p. 158). It is clear

[938] It is generally believed that C. Prastina Messalinus (*PIR*² P 926) is identical with C. Prastina Pacatus (*PIR*² P 929), and that he even bore the gentilicium *Ulpius* as part of his full nomenclature (see the entries in *PIR*²).
[939] She is only attested on a Roman *fistula* (*CIL* XV 7478).
[940] Cf. L. Claudius Severus, who entered the senate under Trajan, C. Claudius Severus, and Cn. Claudius Severus (Halfmann 1979 nrs. 38; 39; 156).
[941] For a comprehensive list of sources, consult the prosopographical entries.

that she was related, perhaps daughter, to C. Pontius Paulinus (*PIR*² P 814), who is mentioned on line 15 of the same inscription.

24. [Caecilia] Petroni[ana] Aemiliana (*PFOS* 157), attested in *AE* 1931, 42 = *ILTun* 1162 (Thuburbo) as the *neptis* of Sex. Caecilius Volusianus (*homo novus* from Africa). Based on this it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus and sister of Caecilius Aemilianus, who was killed by Caracalla. Her other cognomen perhaps came from her mother, but this is pure speculation.
25. [Roscia] L. f. [P]acula (*PIR*² R 99 = *PFOS* 666), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* and wife of M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper (*PIR*² N 116) at Brixia between 221 and 250 CE (*CIL* V 4342 = *InscrIt* X, 5, 136). She was probably the sister of L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus (*cos.* 223) and daughter of L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus (*cos.* 187; cf. the stemma in *PIR*² R p. 75).
26. Cuspidia Severa (*PIR*² C 1634), possibly the daughter of Cuspidius Flaminius Severus (*cos*. 230; *PIR*² C 1633).
27. Iulia Decimi filia Cas(s)iana, *clarissima femina* (*PIR*² I 656), daughter perhaps of Iulius Cassianus (*PIR*² I 248), but this is uncertain. Her cognomen was also transmitted to her homonymous daughter (mentioned in *CIL* II 4994 at Olisipo).

b) Cognomen coined from the father's name with *-ina*

1. *Sergia L. f. Paulina* (*PIR*² S 542; *PFOS* 703), daughter, it seems, of L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*² S 529)—or in any case one of the L. Sergii Paulli.[942]
2. *Iulia Severina* (*PFOS* 459), father's identity unknown, but he was probably one of the Iulii Severi of Galatea, where she is attested (cf. Appendix 4a nr. 18 above).
3. *Iulia Procu[l]ina* (*PFOS* 456), probably the sister of C. Iulius Proculus (*cos. suff.* 109; *PIR*² I 497). It is quite likely that their father also had the name *Proculus* (many senatorial Iulii Proculi are known; cf. *PIR*² I 491-493).
4. *(Pompeia?) Celerina* (*PFOS* 627), attested in *CIL* XI 1735 (Ager Pisanus) as the second wife of L. Venuleius [Montanus] Apronianus (*cos. suff.* 92; *PIR*² V 376).[943] The hypothesis is that she was the daughter or sister of L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer (*cos. suff.* 77; *PIR*² P 662)—but this is speculative at best.
5. *Corn(elia) L. f. Marullina* (*PFOS* 287), attested as *c(larissima) f(emina)* at Ausculum (*CIL* IX 662). Her nomenclature indicates a connection to the Cornelii and the Eggii Marulli. There are various hypotheses concerning her background, but the most convincing one seems to be that she was the daughter of L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (*cos.* 184) and and a Cornelia (cf. *PFOS* 277).[944] In this case she

[942] Cf. *PIR*² S 527-529.
[943] E. Groag in *PIR*² C 633 has identified the husband as L. Venuleius Apronianus (*cos.* II 168), but this has since been debunked.
[944] Raepsaet-Charlier offers a good summary of the different hypotheses, cf. *PFOS* 287 (p. 256).

seems to have borne the maternal gentilicium instead of the paternal one, which was not completely uncommon for senatorial women.[945]

6. Note also that Pompeia Celerina (*PIR*² P 670; *PFOS* 626), Pliny's mother-in-law, was probably *not* the daughter of L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer (*PIR*² P 662).[946] In fact, they may not have even been related. However, her cognomen clearly was a suffixed derivation from *Celer*.

c) Cognomen coined from the father's name with *-illa*

1. *Sulpiciae C. f. Galbillae*, (*PIR*² S 1030-1031; *PFOS* 741-742), two homonymous sisters, who set up a funerary monument in Rome to their paedagogues (*CIL* VI 9745). Based on their nomenclature and the approximate date of the inscription, it has been assumed that they were the daughters of C. Sulpicius Galba (*cos.* 22; *PIR*² S 1000), but this is not certain.
2. *Iulia Procilla* (*PFOS* 454), parents are not known by name, but her father was possibly an equestrian Iulius Proculus (cf. C. Iulius Proculus, *cos. suff.* 109), in which case she was the niece of Iulia Procu[l]ina below. Note that the cognomen *Procilla* was not technically derived from *Proculus* (with the root *Procul-*), but from the root *Proc-*, as if *Proculus* itself was a suffixed form.
3. *[N]eratia Proci[lla*] (*PFOS* 571), known from *CIL* IX1132 (Aeclanum) as the wife of [C.] Betitius Pietas. It has been assumed that she was the sister of L. Neratius Proculus (*cos.* c. 145; *PIR*² N 63), which in turn leads one to suspect that the cognomen was used in the paternal line.
4. There is furthermore *Vettulena T. f. Quadratilla* (*PIR*² V 509 = *PFOS* 794), attested in her funerary inscription (*CIL* VI 28729). Given her nomenclature, it seems likely that she was connected to T. Vettulenus Quadratus (*PIR*² V 506), possibly being her daughter, but this remains a matter of speculation.

d) Mother's cognomen transmitted in an identical form

1. *Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpuria Valeria Secunda Cotia(?) Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna* (*PIR*² S 568), a polyonymous woman, attested at Ankyra as the wife of P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus (*IGR* III 192). It has been suggested that she was the daughter of Servenia Cornuta (*PIR*² S 568; see above).
2. *Sosia Frontina* (*PIR*² S 780; *PFOS* 719), known from *CIL* VI 17461 through the nomenclature of her slave. Based on her name, it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Q. Sosius Senecio (*cos.* II 107) and Iulia Frontina (*PFOS* 440). This would also make her the sister of Sosia Polla (*PFOS* 723; where her cognomen came from is not clear).

[945] See Nuorluoto 2017, p. 264ff.
[946] As convicingly argued by Salomies 1992, p. 118f.

3. *Acilia Manliola/Malliola* (*PFOS* 4) seems to be attested in a brick-stamp, perhaps from the mid-second century (*CIL* XV 2225). The text is poorly preserved and unfortunately no picture is provided, but based on Dressel's description in *CIL*, I find the following reading most plausible: *Ex pr(aediis) Acili(ae) Mallioḷaẹ / of(f)ic(ina) Felicis*.[947] It could also be that the same lady is identical with one of the two priestesses called Μαλίολα in *IGUR* 160—the other one perhaps being Cornelia Manliola (*PFOS* 286).[948] It is also assumed that Cornelia Manliola was her mother, her father in turn being M'. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 124). How exactly the mother came to have the cognomen *Manliola* is unclear, but it was clearly derived from the gentilicium *Manlius*. Compare also the nomenclature of Acilia M'. f. Manliola (*PIR*^{2} A 91), who was honoured as the daughter, granddaughter, and great-granddaughter of consular Acilii Glabriones at Allifae in the early third century (*CIL* IX 2333 = *ILS* 1133). To further complicate matters, I would not completely rule out the possibility that the woman known from the brick-stamp and the woman honoured at Allifae may have been the same person—in which case Cornelia Manliola was not her mother, and the origin of the cognomen remains unclear.
4. *Munat[ia] M. f. Procula* (*PFOS* 563), attested at Rome in 165 CE (*CIL* VI 41128 = 1465 = 31661). She was most likely the daughter of M. Munatius Popillianus (*PIR*^{2} M 730) and Cocceia Bassula Numisia Procula, whose *fistulae* are found in the same location (*CIL* XV 7456; cf. *PFOS* 264).[949]
5. *Vedia Papiana* (*PIR*^{2} V 326), attested at Ephesus during the reign of Commodus.[950] It has been assumed that she was perhaps the sister of the Ephesian senator P. Vedius Papinianus Antoninus (*PIR*^{2} V 322) and Vedia Phaedrina (*PIR*^{2} V 327; see also the stemma on p. 173), whose mother seems to have been Fl(avia) Papiana (*PFOS* 373)
6. *Cl(audia) Cethegilla* (*PFOS* 232), attested at Rome (*CIL* VI 16273). Based on her nomenclature it has been assumed that she was the daughter of Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus (candidate for *cur. aed.* 172/173?; *PIR*^{2} C 873) and (Gavia) Cornelia Cethegilla (*PFOS* 402). The cognomen is a derivation from *Cethegus*, the

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947 The text, restored as such, would be in accordance with the identification made by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*. In the *EDCS* text is currently restored as *Ex pr(aediis) Acili(anis) M(arci) Alli OIAT[---] / of(f)ic(ina) Felicis*, which is not the most satisfying solution, nor is Dressel's *Ex pr(aedis) Acili(anis?) Malli O . . . .* (vel *M. Alli O . . . .*) / *ofic(ina) Felicis*.

948 As is suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*, p. 255.

949 Her mother in turn was probably related to Stertinia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana, who perhaps was her mother (as suggested by Raepsaet-Charlier in *PFOS*, p. 235; 584). However, this is somewhat dubious. Stertinia (...) Aeliana was married to Q. Camurius Numisius Iunior (*cos.* 161) and if Cocceia (...) Procula was their daughter, it would seem somewhat peculiar that she did not bear the nomen *Camurius*, unless we are to expect that the father's primary nomen was in fact *Numisius*. This is not impossible, as is known from numerous examples of polynymy (cf. Salomies 1992), but one should in any case approach the matter with some caution.

950 She is one of the prytaneis in *IEphesos* 47 (line 16) and she also set up a statue base for her brother, whose name is not preserved (*IEphesos* 732A). Furthermore, she seems to appear in a record of decorations to Artemis (*SEG* 34, 1124).

ancient cognomen of one branch of the patrician Cornelii, which was taken over by the Salvidieni Orfiti of Scipionic descent (as well as some other families of the imperial period, e.g. the Gavii of Verona). Our Cethegilla, in turn—if identity is correct—was connected to the Salvidieni Orfiti through her mother's family.[951]

e) Cognomen from a grandparent or some other relative (other than the parents)

1. *Iunia Calvina* (*PFOS* 469), daughter of M. Silanus (according to a widely accepted hypothesis by Mommsen), whose mother in turn was Domitia Calvina (*PFOS* 321; see 4.3.2.1. above).[952] For her sister Iunia Lepida, see 4.3.2.1.
2. *(Nonia) Varilla* (*PFOS* 576), attested through the nomenclature of her freedman in *AE* 1992, 506 (Reate, 31-70 CE). It is generally thought that she belonged to the Nonii Quinctiliani, who were connected to the Quintilii Vari in the same way as the early imperial Appuleii (see Ch. III for Appuleia Varilla). In this case the cognomen may have come from a paternal grandmother (or a more distant relative).
3. *Pomponia Q. f. Bassil(l)a* (*PFOS* 636), attested as the owner of *praedia* and *figlinae* in the mid-second century (*CIL* XV 1376-1378). Based on her nomenclature, it has been assumed that she was perhaps the daughter of Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus (*cos. suff.* 121) and sister of Q. Pompo[niu]s Bassianus (*PIR*^{2} P 697). If the stemma in *PIR*^{2} P, p. 329 is correct, her paternal grandmother was Bassilla (*PFOS* 142).
4. *(Antonia?) Antia Marcellina* (*PFOS* 71), daughter of M. Antonius Antius Lupus (active under Commodus) and Claudia Regilla (*PFOS* 248). There is also an earlier Antia Marcellina (*PFOS* 70), and, based on onomastic grounds, it has been assumed that she was the mother of Antonius Antius Lupus and thus the paternal grandmother of the younger Antia Marcellina.
5. *Domitia Vettilla* (*PFOS* 333), possibly the granddaughter of Valeria Vettilla (*PIR*^{2} V 247; cf. also the family tree in *PIR*^{2} V p. 124).

[951] Compare also the nomenclature of Cethegilla's brother Ti. Claudius Saethida Cethegus Frontinus (*PIR*^{2} C 1005).
[952] Mommsen 1913, vol. VIII, p. 200.

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