

SOME NEAPOLITAN FAMILIES

Martti Leiwo

ABSTRACT: Naples (Neapolis) was the only city in the Western Mediterranean which was maintained by the Romans as officially Greek-speaking city. Thus all the decrees of its boule were written in Greek till the beginning of the 4th century A.D. when the change to Latin suddenly happens. However, it is not clear whether it really was a Greek city, or was it rather a normal Campanian city. With this in mind, the purpose of my paper here is to study some Neapolitan families roughly from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. The mainpoints of the paper are: the acculturation of Greek, Roman and Oscan speaking population, the choice of language in the funerary inscriptions of the Neapolitan family tombs, the choice of names in a family, the possible surviving of the traditional Greek individual names in the Roman nomenclature of Naples.

INTRODUCTION

Neapolis (Naples) in Campania was originally a Greek colony founded in about 470 BC by the inhabitants of Italian Cumae¹. Already at the end of the 5th century BC the Neapolitans had no other options than to let some Samnites enter the city. The immigrants became an Oscan-speaking population in the city, perhaps a minority, which was already well acquainted with Greek culture, because of the long commercial contacts of the Samnites with the Greeks².

Naples was on the side of Romans during the 2nd Punic war, and in 89/88 BC after the Social war, it became a *municipium*³. Since then it was the only city in the western Mediterranean to use extensively Greek in different linguistic contexts. The use of Greek in decrees of the city council continued till the end of the 3rd century AD, but then a change to Latin occurred which must have been prompted by the change of social and political conditions in Italy, which also affected Naples. The Greek language did continue to be used in Naples also after that, however, but not in the official documentation⁴. There seems to have been a community of Alexandrian, and perhaps Syrian Greeks, living in the city⁵.

In this paper I shall present some Neapolitan funerary or votive inscriptions in order to study the population of Naples between the 1st century BC and 2nd century AD. The focus here is on names, and I shall give some examples of the progress of Romanization in Naples. This paper is an

abridged version of part of my extensive work on Naples titled *Neapolitana. A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples*. Comm. Hum. Litt. 102 (Helsinki 1994).

I have divided my examples into three groups each representing a different phase of acculturation.

THE FIRST CULTURAL PHASE. GRAECO-ITALIC NAMES

On April 28, 1921 two barrel-vaulted tombs were found near the Porta S. Gennaro at no. 3, Via Fori⁶. The modern street surface lies ca. 20 meters above the richer tomb which consisted of 6 *loculi* cut in the tufa-rock to form the *sarcophagi* in the

1. This earlier settlement was probably not a city proper. Str. V.4, 7–9; Liv. VIII. 22, 5–6; Lut. *Cat. Hist. fr.* 7, Peter, I, p. 192. See also M. Napoli, “Topografia e archeologia”, *Storia di Napoli*, vol. I (Napoli 1967) 384, 471–472; M. Frederiksen, *Campania* (Hertford 1984) 94, 102.

2. Str. V.4, 7. Frederiksen, *op. cit.*, 107.

3. Liv. XXII. 32; XXIII.1, 5–9; Diod. XXVI.13. Cic., *Balb.* 21; *id.*, *fam.* XIII.30.

4. R. Garrucci, *Cimiteri cristiani di Napoli. Storia dell'arte Cristiana*, vol. 2 (1873); U. M. Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte* (Napoli 1975).

5. E. Lepore, “Napoli Greco-Romana. La vita politica e sociale”, *Storia di Napoli I* (Napoli 1967) 289–290. Cf. Suet., *Nero* 20, 3. Tac., *ann.* XIV. 10; XV. 33.

6. A. Levi, *Mon. ant.* (1926) 384–388; G. Vecchio, *Napoli antica* (Napoli 1985), cat. no. 79, 289. The inscriptions are published also in *SEG 4* (1929) 96–101.

form of bed, each closed with well-fitted tiles. The walls were coated with plaster and painted. I shall describe the paintings in detail as they may be relevant to my subject. Part of the frescoes depicted garlands with flowers, and painted ribbons (*taeniae*). This decoration has a striking similarity with the very fine wall paintings of a subterranean tomb discovered in 1942 near the Macedonian village of Leucadia⁷. This tomb, known as the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, was dated by the excavators to the “middle Hellenistic period”⁸. In the Neapolitan tomb, there was also a wall painting which depicted two huge candlesticks with a large *patera* seemingly of some metal suspended between them and below the *patera* a large silver vase apparently ornamented with gold. In addition, there were comic masks painted with black and red, and various kinds of fruits. It is difficult to date this tomb, but the architecture and the style of the frescoes, with their similarity to the above-mentioned tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, suggests the 3rd century BC. (It should be noted that the frescoes of the Macedonian tomb clearly anticipate the style of the wall paintings of the Roman Republican and Augustan era, however, and, therefore, it is not possible to give an accurate dating for this tomb). The Neapolitan tomb was used by one family during many generations. The decoration suggests a connection with rituals and theatre, perhaps Oscan comedy.

The excavator states that the walls had “*numerosa iscrizioni a lettere greche*”. Fortunately these painted inscriptions were not only recorded but also copied, and are not left, therefore, with just a laconic mention and no inscription as is so often the case with the old local Neapolitan periodicals. The names were painted in black on white plaster. The palaeography is careless and similar to cursive script.

On the right wall were the following names:

Πακέα Ἐπιλύτου
Ἐπίλυτος Ἐπιλύτου
Τάρχιος Ἐπιλύτου
Ἀριστόλη Ἐπιλύτου
Ἐπίλυτος Ἐπιλύτου
Τρέβιος Ἐπιλύτου

They were together, one under the other, as shown here. To the left of them on the same wall were the names: Βίβιος Ἐπιλύτου, Βίβιος Ἐπιλύτου. On the eastern wall, to the left of the door there was Ἐπίλυτο[ς] Τρεβίου. On the northern wall there was:

Ἐπίλυτος Ἐπιλύτου / ἱερεὺς Σεβαστοῦ / Καίσαρος
Βίβιος Ἐπιλύτου
Μόνις Ἐπιλύτου.

The southern wall had only one name Ἐπίλυτος Βιβίου.

In addition, a decree by the city council in honour of Ἐπίλυτος Ἐπιλύτου was found in three fragments in the Catacombs of S. Gennaro in 1975-76. It is the earliest example of the so-called consolation decrees in Naples datable approximately to the Augustan era⁹.

It has been claimed that the name Ἐπίλυτος is unattested elsewhere¹⁰. The name was, however, formed after the Greek models of putting together two common suffixes *epi* and *lytos*. Both of these suffixes frequently occur in names, such as *Epiktetos*, *Epikouros*, *Hippolytos*, *Theolytos* etc. Ἐπίλυτος was a special name in this particular family. It also seems that the name is already known,

7. Ch. I. Makaronas – St. G. Miller, *Archaeology* 27 (1974) 248–259. F.M. Petsas, *Ὁ τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων* (Athens 1966).

8. Makaronas – Miller, *op. cit.*, 251. According to the normal chronology this means the latter half of the 3rd century BC.

9. E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia*. Napoli I (Napoli 1990) no. 81.

10. See Miranda, *op. cit.*, 115. It does not occur in onomastic lexica: W. Pape–G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1863-70), F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle a. S. 1917), F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922), A. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Suppl. al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke* (Milano-Varese 1971), H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch I-III* (Berlin 1982), P.M. Fraser–E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987) (=LGPN).

if not generally recognised. Xenophon has it in his *Oeconomicus* (XI.4), though the text has been furnished with a *crux critica* by E. C. Marchant, the Xenophon editor of the Oxford Classical Texts, and corrected to ἐπιλύτου contrary to the best manuscripts¹¹.

It could also be of some significance that in Syracuse and Tarentum the goddess Demeter had an epithet ἐπιλυσαμένη (Hsch. s.v.). It is not impossible in the context of Neapolitan religious life that a name had a connection with the cult of Demeter. Cicero tells us that the Romans originally chose the priestesses of Demeter/Ceres from Elea and Naples, and we do have epigraphic evidence of the cult of Demeter in Naples (see below)¹². And if the verb ἐπιλύω did have a connection with the cult of Demeter, the form ἐπιλυσαμένη being her epithet, it is possible that an abstract idea connected with the cult was taken as a name.

The family clearly had an Italic origin as can be seen from the names of its other members. The name Τάρχιος seems to be Etruscan, and can be connected with the name tarxi¹³. The other names, except Μόνις, belong to the Oscan context: *Trebius*, Βίβιος = *Vibius*, Πάκεια = *Paccia*¹⁴. Μόνις is attested elsewhere in Naples. We know of a Μόνις Μαμάρχου¹⁵. The name also occurs in Egypt, where it is a male name interpreted as a variant of Μόνιος. In Naples, however, it is plausible to take Μόνις to be of the same type as e.g. Δάφνις, because the abbreviated forms (-is) of the names with the ending -ios are seldom attested in Naples. The name is not typically Greek, but neither is it typically Etruscan or Oscan. To form a complete picture of this interesting acculturation of Greek and Italic elements, we can mention that the seemingly normal Greek female variant of Ἄριστόλαος, viz. Ἄριστόλη, happens to be rare. Actually, I have found only one example of this form of the name from Greece and Asia Minor¹⁶. The form Ἄριστόλα is more common, but certainly not very popular¹⁷.

The only person whose profession is mentioned, is an ἱερεὺς Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος. The man was obviously a priest of the still living Emperor Augustus, because Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ cannot normally refer to any other emperor, and if he were dead, he would be *divus* i.e. θεός. In spite of

the casual nature of the inscription, I believe these rules would have been valid. Augustus allowed cult worship in connection with the cult of Lares in Italy after the year 7 BC¹⁸. Thus this person dates one generation of the family.

In conclusion, in this tomb it is possible to find a representative example of the situation in the city at the turn of the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire: the language of the inscriptions is Greek, the nomenclature is Greek, the names are a blend of Etruscan and Oscan and Greek. The lack of any Romanization is conspicuous, too.

THE SECOND CULTURAL PHASE

At the end of the last century, only a short distance from the tombs of Via dei Cristallini in Via Arena della Sanità a tomb was found, which probably belongs to the same cemetery as those of Via dei Cristallini. The site included several tombs but, because of the danger of collapse and landslide the excavators were able to enter only one of them. It contained two stelai with the following inscriptions¹⁹:

11. The editions have εἰ μὴ πρόην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Νικίου τοῦ (*crux critica*) ἐπιλύτου ἔπρω εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀκολουθούντας αὐτῷ θεατάς. The manuscripts H, G, N have Νικίου τοῦ Ἐπιλύτου which makes a good name with a patronymic. See also Suda s.v. ἐπιλύτης, and Hsch. 4559.

12. Cic., *Balb.* XXIV. 55.

13. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*. Comm. Hum. Litt. 82 (Helsinki 1987), 92; H. Rix, *Das etruschische Cognomen* (Wiesbaden 1963) 64.

14. In this case the Oscan stem *pak-* is borrowed as such in the Greek orthography. It has a graphic variation Πάκκιος ≈ Πάκκιος ≈ Πακκία ≈ Πακία ≈ Πακέα. This kind of variation is seen as normal under the notion of *rusticitas* when it is a loan name.

15. G. De Petra, *MonAL* 8 (1898) 230, Μόνις Μαμάρχου χαῖρε.

16. It is from Delos, *IG* XI 2 145 l. 57 and 154 l. 44: [κυμβίον] Ἄριστόλης Μυκονίας ἀνάθημα.

17. *IG* II² 1393, 1401, 1403, 1409. As a man's name Ἄριστόλας e.g. *IG* IV 1, 96 l. 44 (in the genitive) Ἄριστόλα τοῦ Ἄριστο[κ]ρά[τ]ε[υς].

18. *Der kleine Pauly* II (1967), s.v. Herrscherkult.

19. Ed. G. A. Galante, *Atti Acc. Arch. Napoli* 17, parte I (1893–96) 22–24.

Λουκία Νυμφίου / χαῖρε
Ἡρέννη Νυμφίου / χαῖρε

Obviously the persons in question were sisters, because they have the same patronymic. The name Νύμφιος and the variant Νύ(μ)ψιος were rather common in Naples, and they can be connected with the Italic *Nium(p)sis = Numerius*²⁰. The other name Ἡρέννη (= *Herenna*) is not attested elsewhere, but the male variant *Herennus* occurs sometimes in Republican Roman inscriptions as a praenomen which is usually abbreviated *H. or Her.*²¹ The names are originally Italic, so it seems evident that the family was of Oscan origin but hellenized.

An euergetes of an unknown Neapolitan phratry (φρατρία) was called Λένκιος Ἡρέννιος Πύθωνος υἱὸς Ἄριστος, and he belonged to the Neapolitan nobility²². As a sign of the state of acculturation we can notice the Greek patronymic inside a Roman nomenclature. The inscription can be dated to the end of the 1st century BC, or to the beginning of the 1st century AD, and the patronymic may have been a cognomen of Herennius' father, since the filiation was sometimes informed with the father's cognomen in a Greek community²³. The *Herennii* are attested elsewhere in Naples, and we know of a Ἡρέννιος Μνήστηρ without praenomen, who was a *demarchus* in 71 AD (Miranda, cit. n. 9, no. 84; *ILS* 6460), and from the 2nd cent. BC Γάιος Ἡρέννιος Γαίου Ῥωμαῖος (Ῥωμαῖος) who most probably was a Roman citizen resident in Naples (*IG XIV* 780).

It is interesting to notice the transliteration of the name Lucius, which at the time of this inscription of the son of Python was still Λεύκιος, but changed to Λούκιος also in Naples as we can see in a couple of decrees of the city council from AD 71 as well as in the Λουκία of my example²⁴.

An interesting honorary inscription is Miranda (cit. n. 9) no. 34 = *IG XIV* 756a:

Κομινία
Πλουτογενεία
ἱερεῖα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφό-
ρου, Λ(ουκίου) θυγατρί, γυναικί
Πακκίου Καλήδου ἀρχον-
τικοῦ καὶ μητρὶ Πακκίου

Καληδιανοῦ ἀγορανομικοῦ
μάμμη Καστρικίου Πολλί-
ωνος ἀρχοντικοῦ
Τι. Καστρίκιος Καληδιανὸς
δημαρχήσας τῆ προμάμμη
εὐσεβ<ε>ίας ἔνεκα.
δόγματι vac. συγκλ<ή>του.

This is an honorary inscription which was set up by decree of the city council, here called σύγκλητος, to Cominia Plutogenia, a priestess of Demeter Thesmophorus. Her husband Paccius Caledus is mentioned as an *arkhon* in a consolation decree to Octavius Caprarius datable to the Flavian era²⁵, which means a date not before the middle of the 2nd century AD for this decree, because the dedicator was the great-grandson of Cominia. The language of the inscription is Greek, but its style is more Roman. It was not a Western or Continental Greek habit to enumerate relatives back as far as the great grandmother, whereas in Roman inscriptions as well as in those of Asia Minor this was common, the most typical examples being the imperial inscriptions, which may have been a model for others, and imitated to confer more grandeur to the text.

The inscription offers a rare example of the careers of a Neapolitan family which belonged to the local nobility: Cominia Plutogenia was the wife of an *arkhontikos* Paccius Caledus, mother of Paccius Caledianus, who was an *agoranomikos*, grandmother (μάμμη) of yet another *arkhontikos* Castricius Pollio, and finally the great grandmother (προμάμμη a word used here for the first time) of a *demarkhos* Ti. Castricius Caledianus.

20. Salomies (cit. n. 13) 41.

21. Salomies (cit. n. 13) 72–74.

22. Miranda (cit. n. 9) no. 30 = *IG XIV* 741.

23. See e.g. *SEG* 9 (1938) 241 from Cyrene: *L. Octavius P.f. Camars* = Λούκιος Ὀκτάουιος Ἀφροδεισίου υἱὸς Κάμαρς.

24. E.g. Miranda (cit. n. 9) no. 82 = *IG XIV* 757; no. 85 = *IG XIV* 760.

25. Miranda (cit. n. 9) no. 83 = *IG XIV* 758.

It is very probable that the Greek titles for the Neapolitan magistrates during the imperial era correspond to normal municipal magistrates, but I will not give consideration to that problem on this occasion²⁶. The practice of using traditional names for magistrates continued till the end of the 3rd century AD, but during the imperial era the title *demarkhos* seems to be purely honorary and eponymic, though in the earlier Greek Naples it probably was the title for the leader of the *demos* and therefore a different kind of magistrate than e.g. in Athens. This title was given also to the emperors Titus and Hadrian²⁷.

The inscription is a good example for study as it offers the names of one family of municipal élite comprised of all the three elements prevailing in Naples: Italic, Greek and Roman. Cominia Plutogenia's father was called Λεύκιος or as I believe, for the reasons stated above, written Λούκιος during the Flavian era. *Cominius* was an old Campanian name perhaps of Oscan origin with no specific connection to Naples, though a L. Cominius took part in the war against Samnites in 325 BC. as a war tribune²⁸. But as this happened nearly 400 years earlier, so any connection with him is pure speculative. Λεύκιος or Λούκιος with their feminine variants were popular individual names in Naples. Cominia had a Greek cognomen *Plutogenia*, but this does not prove a Greek origin for her family, because all the other elements connect the names of the family more to an Oscan context. Cominia married into a family with the fairly common name *Paccius*, which is used here already as a gentilicium. The cognomen of her husband was *Caledus* which although not very common is attested in Rome and Pompeii²⁹. Schulze regards it as an Umbrian name, but its existence in Naples and Pompeii refers better to an Oscan context³⁰. The son's cognomen is formed after the father's with the most common Latin suffix *-anus*, *Caledianus*. The name returns finally in Ti. Castricius Caledianus. There appears to be a change of name as the next in direct descent after Paccius Caledus was called Castricius Pollio. Nothing implies that he had been adopted into another family, but naturally this is a possibility. It is perhaps more plausible that he was the son of one of the daughters of the family. As only

masculine relatives were listed in this inscription, we cannot know whether any daughters were omitted, but represented through their husbands' names. In other words, Castricius Pollio was not necessarily the son of Paccius Caledianus, but perhaps that of his sister. We can also notice that the last one listed in our family has the full Roman *tria nomina*, Ti. Castricius Caledianus.

The gentilicium *Castricius* seems to originate from Campania. Some *Castricii* were already active in trade on Delos among the *negotiatores*, and later the name was well attested in Puteoli³¹. As far as I am aware, the *Castricii* are not attested elsewhere in Naples. Some *Cominii* are, however, known to us.

M. Cominius M.f. Mae(cia) Verecundus is mentioned in a bilingual funerary inscription set up by his mother Quintia Dia from the year 59 A.D. This is an interesting inscription, because the funerary text is Latin but the consular dating is Greek, ἐπι ὑπάτων Γ. Οεῖφτανου Ἀπρωωνιανου Γ. Φοντείου Καπίτ(ωνος) (*CIL X 1504* and *IGRR 455, IGXIV 794*). The inscription shows also the official nature of the Greek language in the city. Greek is clearly the language of bureaucracy.

26. For this, see Lepore, cit. n. 5 and Frederiksen (cit. n. 1).

27. Miranda (cit. n. 9) no 20 = *IGXIV 729* = *CIL X 1481*; *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* IXX.1.

28. See O. de Croizant, *Caesarodunum 7* (1972) 299–324; C. Giordano, *La gens Cominia in Nola e il suo contributo alla colonizzazione dell'Africa romana* (Torre del Greco 1979).

29. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*. *Acta Inst. Rom. Fin.*, vol. 8 (Roma 1975) 137, no. 40; as a gentilicium, 147, no. 89.

30. W. Schulze, *Lateinische Eigennamen* (Göttingen 1904) 516; I. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 178.

31. *CIL P 2247, 2504*; J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidents à Délos, mentionnés dans les inscriptions de l'île", *BCH* 36 (1912) 72, 100, 109; G. Camodeca, *L'Archivio Puteolano dei Sulpicii*, vol. I (Naples 1992) 83; *CIL X 1313, 2241, 2242, 2714, 8363*. In Pompeii, Castrén (cit. n. 29) 151, no. 106.

THE THIRD CULTURAL PHASE. ROMAN NAMES

The last of my cultural phases comprises normal Latin inscriptions, which, however, can contain some local colour in their nomenclature. I shall give only a few examples. An interesting inscription is *CIL X 1478*:

Herculi invicto P. Verg(ilius) Restitutus ob insignem numinis

[favorem] honore demarchiae perfunctus aediculam (not aidiculam as in CIL) sta[uit].

The *aedicula* was dedicated to Hercules by P. Vergilius Restitutus who had the same praenomen as the famous poet, who frequented Naples. It is not impossible that he was, or originated from, a freedman of the poet, as the inscription is datable to the latter half of the 1st century A.D. The only other P. Vergilius of this area is attested in Puteoli, a P. Vergilius Ampliatus, in the archive of the *Sulpicii*. He seems to have been a member of this Neapolitan *gens*³². Restitutus was *honore demarchiae perfunctus*, which means he had been a *demarchus*. It was difficult to express in Latin the fact that a person had held some office, as, e.g., the abbreviation *cos.* means that either a person is a *consul* or he had been a *consul*. Another Latin variant of this honorary office is, therefore, found in *CIL X 1491 C. Herbacio Maec(ia) Romano demarchisanti, II vir(o) alimentorum quaestori* etc. where the office was directly transliterated from the Greek aorist in a totally Latin context. But here we have a Latin translation of the term.

During the street reparation works in the extension of Corso Garibaldi, two inscriptions were found in vicolo Cavaleatorio, which belonged to destroyed tombs. Both texts were written on a marble slab. They are as follows (*NSc. 1891, 374*):

d.m. Flaviae Rome coniuge pudicissime f(ecit).

d.m. Antoniae Sabinae que vixit anis XXIII. Iulius Primitibus maritus coiugi benemerenti fecit et Iulio Partenoepo liberto.

The language of these texts has some social variants, or 'vulgarisms'. We can see the graphic variation between <ae> and <e>. The combination Flavia R(h)ome is attested in Rome³³, whereas Ρώμη is not well attested as a genuine Greek name

during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It was predominantly a Roman cognomen belonging mainly to the Empire³⁴. The social status of Flavia Rome cannot be specified, but probably she was a *liberta* or daughter of a freedman. Another linguistic feature here is the dative *coniuge*. I suggest that the form is analogical rather than a "wrong" 3rd declension dative ending. This kind of analogy can be easily explained, because the word is in the middle of two words with this ending (-e). These features date the inscription to the 2nd or to the early 3rd century A.D.

From the same period comes also the other inscription, which is dedicated to Antonia Sabina by her husband Iulius Primitivus, who had a freedman called Iulius Parthenopaeus. The freedman has a cognomen *Parthenopaeus* which recalls the traditional name of Naples, *Parthenope*. Both texts are totally Latin in their formulas and language usage.

Several Roman tombs were found under and near the church of S. Pietro ad Aram at Corso Umberto just after Piazza Garibaldi: twenty chamber tombs and eleven made of tiles³⁵. As far as I know only one funerary inscription can be connected with certainty to a specific tomb, which shows the remarkable difficulty of the identification of Neapolitan inscriptions. A sarcophagus made of clay was situated inside the chamber, and on the floor lay a marble slab with an inscription (*NSc. 1892, 317*):

d.m. Brinniae C.f. Heliadi, filiae dulcissimae, Brinni Menander et Parthenope et Drosis parentes filiae pientissimae fecerunt. vixit annis [...].

It was dedicated to a *Brinnia C.f. Helias filiae dulcissimae* and *pientissimae* by Brinni Menander et *Parthenope et Drosis*. The text was written in standard Latin without variation, and it has the

32. See Camodeca (cit. n. 31) 170

33. Cf. *CIL VI 12230 and 29225*; Solin (cit. n. 10) 1252.

34. H. Solin, "Varia Onomastica IV. Gibt es einen Frauennamen Roma?", *ZPE 39* (1980) 249–254.

35. *Napoli Antica* (Napoli 1985) 490, tav. XIV no. 221.

d.m. abbreviation. All members of the family had Greek cognomina, and one of them recalls again the traditional name *Parthenope*.

Many Brinnii are known to us from the surrounding cities, and Mommsen places all inscriptions he encountered in Naples containing *Brinnii* under Puteoli, but he did not know of this tomb. The gens *Brinnia* had property in Puteoli as early as in 45 BC, and it is possible that the later *Brinni* in Naples had come from Puteoli³⁶.

As a conclusion to this short introduction, we can perhaps try to create some chronological framework, which, however, is based on my more extensive studies³⁷. The phases necessarily overlap each other, because the change was not a simple linear progression. It was rather a state of acculturation, which lasted several generations giving way only slowly to the full Romanization, which, in fact, may not have happened at all at every social level.

During the first half of the first century BC Naples was still mainly a Greek-Oscan city with a very

hellenized Oscan population, which used Greek in its grave inscriptions, but at the same time had a variety of different local Italic names together with Greek ones. Some of the Greek names are rarely or not at all attested elsewhere. In the 2nd half of the 1st century BC and in the 1st half of the 1st century AD, the situation slowly changed and led to a deeper state of acculturation where the Greek nomenclature was gradually transformed to a Roman one, and Roman names and nomenclature appeared more frequently. It seems unlikely that any gentilicia were created or taken from individual names by the freeborn Greek-Oscan population of the city in order to have a Roman name. The acculturation process was over in the beginning of the 2nd century AD, but the inhabitants still used Greek in some occasions for a long time.

M. Leiwo
Institutum Classicum
Universitas Helsingiensis

36. Cic., Att. XIII.50 a *fundus Brinnianus* in Puteoli; cf. Cic., Att. XIII.13–XIV.4 *Brinni libertus, coheres noster scripsit ad me* (date: June 24th, 45); *CIL X 2174* is from Puteoli: *C. Brinnius C.l. Nicephorus*; *C. Brinnius C.l. Nicon* (*CIL X 2175* from an unknown context, Mommsen: *origine opinor Puteolana*) has the same praenomen. They may be freedmen of the same gens which often used the praenomen *Gaius*. Also, many *Brinnii* with the praenomen *Gaius* or

Marcus are attested in Herculaneum, e.g., *CIL X 1403: a laterculus*; *AEp. 1978, 119 a, col III, date AD 41–79*. In the same way *CIL X 1987* and *2176*, which are placed under Puteoli, are from Neapolitan collections, but their place of origin is unknown.

37. See my *Neapolitana, A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples*. Comm. Hum. Litt. 102 (Helsinki 1994).