

# ANTHROPOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY - THE CASE OF CENTRAL BALKAN REGION

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Terms designing relatives in nuclear family, *mater, pater, filius/a* are very common in Roman inscriptions from the Balkan provinces as everywhere; these denoting relationship in extended family, with lateral or collateral relatives are extremely rare. Names and formulae of nomenclature remain here the main source and the most important element in studying the family and marriage of native people in the Balkans under Roman rule. There is tendency to discuss the onomastic material only in determining different ethnic groups and the frontiers between them. However, if we have a look at the context, that means at connection to other people in the inscriptions, names could reveal the significance of nomenclature and formulas in the mutual relationship within family and community. Only in this way nomenclature could be of significance for sociological researches.

Two regions I have chosen to illustrate the method, the southeastern Dalmatia with the upper valley of Drina and Dardania in southwestern Moesia Superior, represent geographically closed areas, relatively isolated from the rest of the province, in one and another case. It is to expect that some elder social forms, characteristic for the pre-Roman population, survived in the historical times.

Peoples in both regions of the central Balkan area, in eastern Dalmatia and in Dardania, different in names and onomastic formulas, have little in common, but in both of them must be counted with the mixed populations. The population of Dardania is extremely mixed, as it is clearly shown by names that reveal at least three ethnical elements: Illyrian, Thracian and proper Dardan-

ian, probably the oldest one<sup>1</sup>. Different ethnical groups probably with their social systems survived until the Later antiquity and coexisted often at the same place.

The population of Municipium S. (Komini near Pljevlje)<sup>2</sup> and of the settlement by Kolovrat in Prijepolje, in the southeastern Dalmatia, the other region of central Illyricum, with the upper valley of Drina, is similar in onomastic with the peoples which inhabited the coastal zone of the Adriatic, with the tribes of Dalmatae. As it has been reasonable supposed, it was transported from Dalmatian country to the southeast of the province Dalmatia by Romans and settled in the central Balkan regions<sup>3</sup>; similarity in nomenclature in the inscrip-

1. PAPAZOGLU, F., *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times, Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Skordisci and Moesians*, Amsterdam 1978, 131-269, about names 225-245 and PAPAZOGLU, F., "Dardanska onomastika", *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta Beograd* 8-1, 1964, 49-75; PAPAZOGLU, F., "Structures ethniques et sociales dans les régions centrales des Balkans à la lumière des études onomastiques", *Actes du VII Congrès intern. d'épigraphie grecque et Latine, Constanza* 1977, Bucuresti, Paris, 1979, 153-169. Abbreviations in the further text: IMS = MIRKOVIĆ, M.; DUSANIĆ S., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, I, Beograd 1976; MIRKOVIĆ, M., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, II, Beograd 1986; PETROVIĆ, P., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, III/2, Beograd 1995; PETROVIĆ, P., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, IV, Beograd 1979; JOSIFOVSKA B., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, VI, Beograd 1982; ILJUG. = ŠAŠEL, A.; ŠAŠEL, J., *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, I, 1963; ŠAŠEL, A.; ŠAŠEL, J., *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, II, Ljubljana, 1978; ŠAŠEL, A.; ŠAŠEL, J., *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMIII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* III, Ljubljana, 1986; *Spomenik SKA* = VULIĆ, N., *Spomenik Srpske Akademije Nauka*, 71, Beograd (1931) 77 (1934) 98 (1941-1948).

2. The name of the city is preserved only as the abbreviation S.

3. ALFÖLDY, G., *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Budapest 1965, 56-60. On population of Dalmatia see WILKES, J.J., *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 144-192.

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tions from Komini and Kolovrat in the central Illyricum with the onomastics of Delmatae<sup>4</sup> could reflect the habits and social reality as it was once in their old homeland at the beginning of the Christian era, most probably not before the first century AD<sup>5</sup>. In the inscriptions from this region, which are not earlier than the first/second century are still recorded the epichoric names the same as in the region of Delmatae. Isolated as a group, this population probably preserved and conserved some of their characteristics in a new surrounding even in the second and third century AD. There is no chance to discover the system as a whole, but there is some possibility to point out to some peculiarity of the family system.

As illustration of method could be discussed in the following topics:

I. Intermingle of people in the same family belonging to different ethnic groups in Dardania; clan or family group and descent either in the male or female line.

II. The matrilineal descent: mater *Andia* - theophoric female name in Dardania.

III. "Third name" in the central Balkan region, in southeastern Dalmatia, and its social significance: mother and daughter, *amita* and niece.

## THE MULTIETHNIC FAMILY IN DARDANIA

The family in the central Balkan regions, as it appears in the Latin inscriptions, was a small unit. It was organized in the usual Roman way in the majority of the known cases like a nuclear family to day, with patrilineal agnatic descent. Descent was still indicated primarily by patronym or, very seldom, by matronym. The extended family is seldom attested. In the direct line, the family is given in no more than three generations: grandparents, parents and children, which means that kinship is respected to five degrees, ego, parents, grandparents and ego children, grandchildren. No genealogies are documented, what means that the aristocracy did yet not clearly distinguishable even in the

Roman times<sup>6</sup>. There are examples in both regions that demonstrate that the line of descent as a definitely fixed one was in the male line in the majority of cases. The patrilineal ancestry is mostly commemorated. However few in number, traces of the descent in female line also survived.

Epigraphic evidence from Dardania provides grounds for the following suggestions:

The presence of Illyrian and Thracian ethnic component in Dardania was probably a consequence of the pre-Roman migration all over the Balkans<sup>7</sup>. It is highly likely that originally closed endogamous groups, bound religiously and possibly by the common god or may be a totem-god they brought with them, found corresponding exogamous groups in a newly acquired country. In this way newcomers intermixed with the natives, in some cases imposing their own habits on them, in others accepting theirs. There are grounds to suppose, that a) some groups (clan or gens, or syngeneia, or family) remained close and possessed their own names like *Dasii*, not as ethnical different, but as sociologically (patrilineal, matrilineal) specific people; b) some families in Dardania went further in one way or another, peacefully by marriage or by raids, into Thracian countries, keeping their names<sup>8</sup>, but intermingled with others ethnical groups by the way of marriage.

Names belonging different nomenclature, Dardanian and Illyrian, or Dardanian and Thracian, as well as Illyrian and Thracian<sup>9</sup> in the same family encourage supposing the existence of multiethnic families in Dardania. One typical example mentioning three generation of kinship with

6. On this problem in the early Greek society see MENAGER, L.R., "Systèmes onomastiques, structures familiales et classes sociales dans le monde Greco-Romain", *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* XLVI, 1980, 154 ff.

7. On migration in this region see PAPAZOGLU, o.c., n. 1, 210 ff.

8. See the names Andio, Catandio in Ratiaria and in Timok valley, MIRKOVIĆ, M., *Živa Antika* 15, 1966, 391, n. 10.

9. Illyrian and Dardanian names in the same family: *Arheološki vestnik* 31, 1980, no 10: *Aurelius Stilo Babonis* and his wife *Aurelia Ziza Merulae*; *ILJug.* 534: *Septimius Dasius* and *Aelia Nanea*; Dardanian and Thracian names: *IMS* VI 132; Illyrian and Thracian: *CIL* III, 8242: *Sita Dasi* and *Caia Dasi*. To those is to be added the example *SPOMENIK SKA* 71, 1933, No. 334, with daughter *Pitta*, which could be determined as Thracian name (see DESTCHEW, D., *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, o.c., 1957, 371: *Piti Gaete*, *Pittakoj*, *Pittacus*, *Pittalakos* etc.) or indigenous Dardanian (PAPAZOGLU, *The Central Balkan Tribes...*, o.c., 233) and father *Dunus*, probably of Celtic origin. Dardanian names as a separate group, belonging to the eldest population of the region from Naissus to Macedonian border are recognized by PAPAZOGLU, o.c., in note 1.

4. KATIČIĆ, R., "Das mitteldalmatische Namengebiet", *Živa Antika* 12, 1963, 256 ff.; ALFÖLDY, G., "Die Namengebung der Urbevölkerung in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia", *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 15, 1964, 98-102. Cf. WILKES, J.J., *The Illyrians*, 1992, 75 ff. (summarized).

5. Two separate cemeteries, both dating from the first century AD have been discovered in the archaeological investigations until now (see CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, A., "Vorrömische Elemente in der Kultur des Municipiums S. im Dorfe Komini", *Živa Antika* 30, 1986, 227-232).

names belonging to different ethnic groups is related in an inscription found on the territory of the Roman colonia Scupi:

IMS VI 132, Sopište, on the north of Scupi: *Mesta Didae Site f. vixit anni(s) XX h.s.e. Lucius Dicconis f. coniunx et Dida Site pater et Mescena mater et Sita Mesti avius et Mania avia p.f.c.*

The name of the deceased in this case, *Mesta Didae Site*, proves that continuity existed through four generations: the great-grandfather attested to only as the patronym of the grandfather must have been *Mestus*, his son was *Sita Mesti (filius)* and the son's son was *Dida Site*. The great-granddaughter *Mesta* inherited her name from her grandfather's father:

(Mestis)

*Sita Mesti* ~ *Mania*  
 |  
*Dida Site* ~ *Mescena*  
 |  
*Mesta Didae Site* ~ *Lucius Dicconis f. coniunx*

This example indicates that the same names were kept in the family for more than three generations. Since it was firstly inherited in the third generation, it could be supposed that only the name of the deceased ancestor could be given to the newborn child. The formula of nomenclature in use was: person's individuating name + father's name with his patronym. There is no family name. Mother and grandmother are without their father's name. Her husband's patronym *Dicco* not known outside Dardania consists of personal name and father's name in genitive with addition of *filius*<sup>10</sup>, but without father's patronym.

The names *Dida*, *Sita*, *Mesta* and *Mescena* in the same family are believed to belong to different ethnic groups: *Dida* and *Sitas* as being Thracian, *Mesta* as having parallels in Thracia and Asia Minor, and *Mescena* without parallels and because of that probably Dardanian<sup>11</sup>. *Sita* is a frequently cited name in southwestern Dardania (Orahovac, Peć), linked once again with the name *Dida*<sup>12</sup>,

10. About this formula as belonging to the earlier development stage see RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, D., *Ilirska onomastika na latin-skim natpisima Dalmacije*, Split, ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΣ Diss. 1948.

11. PAPAZOGLU, o.c., in note 8, 231. The mother's name *Mescena* could be composite, *Mes(ta)* and *Scen(na)*, probably with the element of her mother's name *Scen-* (like *Scen-uta*, *Scenocalus* and similar), common in the Illyrian regions, see also *Scerulaedus* in Orahovac, *CIL III*, 8242. *Sceno-* and similar, in the middle-Dalmatian name region, see KATIČIĆ, *Živa Antika* 12, 1963, 274.

12. MIRDITA, Z., *Arheološki vestnik* 31, 1980, n. 3 The photo

both Thracian. This intermingling of the different ethnics in the same family suggests that the main division of the people living in southern and central Dardania was not ethnic, and that such differences were not a consequence of national feeling, but lie within the sphere of social anthropology, in division to endogamous and exogamous groups or connected with the mother's or father's totem group<sup>13</sup>.

#### MATER ANDIA: DESCENT IN THE FEMALE AND MALE LINE

However patrilineal origin prevailed in the central Balkan regions, there is reason to assume descent in the female line in some Illyrian families on the basis of some epigraphic texts from Dardania. Descent in the female line is, nevertheless, exceptional and is recorded to never in more than one generations (mother-child). One of these examples is of mater *Andia* in the inscription from *Naissus*:

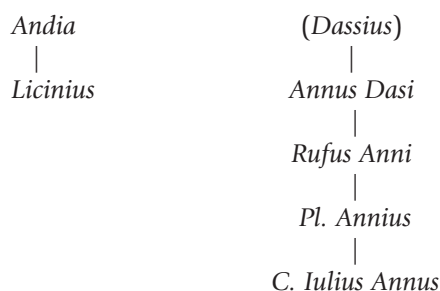
IMS IV 42: a) *D(is) M(anibus) C.Iul(ius) Annus vix(it) an(nis) XX Plannius pater f(ilio) b(ene) m(erenti) et sibi et Licinio f(ilio) Andie (!)* The native origin of the family is confirmed by the inscription on the lateral side of the monument: b) *Rufus Anni vix. an. XXV Annus Dasi pater fil(io) pos.*

Two different stages in social development may be assumed from these two inscriptions on the same monument. The onomastic formula in b) with the patronymic belongs to the earlier one and a) the later phase, under Roman influence, the native name *Annus* becomes a cognomen. The father's name *Plannius* could be read as *Fl.* or *Pl.*

allows the following reading in the l. 3 f.: *et co[n.Di]dae DE...* The form *Dyda* is also attested to. See also *CIL III*, 8242. The first could be linked with the historically known Illyrian names *Scerdis* and *Scerdilaedus* and *Sitas* attested to in Thracia. *Dasius* which is determined as an Illyrian name, is recorded in this inscription as the father's patronym, as well as that of his wife. In both cases, *Dasius*, attested to many times in southern Dardania as *Dassius* and *Dasius* (Orehovac, Gračanica, Peć, Priština) could belong to the same extended family. The same name appears in what is probably a multiethnic family in *ILJug*. 534: *D.M. Septimius Dassius vetera. coortis prim. Montanorum et Aelia Nanea coniunx aei et Ael. Celsinae quae vixit [a]nnis XXX et Aeliae Romanae quae vixit annis XXV filiabus pientissimis et sibi vivi faciendum cur. et Annio (Nanio?) Timenti adfini nostro.* The name *Nanea* is not known outside Dardania. The latter suggests the relationship of two exogamous groups in this region.

13. On significance of totem society as rules regulating marriage or rather sexual intercourse, see FRAZER, J.G., *Totemism and Exogamy*, London 1910, 36, who pointed out the minute subdivision of savage tribes into local groups.

*Annius*, with the old patronym becoming the family name. *Annus*, *Annus* and *Annius* in inscription a), as well as the patronym in inscription b) indicate a clear patrilineal origin, with the father's name. It is an earlier phase in social evolution, before the patronym was transformed in "family name" *Annius* or *Plannius*. Opposite to this patrilineal range, without any mother or wife, *Licinius* is determined as *Andie filius*<sup>14</sup>.



*Licinius* might have been descent in female line. As female name *Andia* is recorded also in an inscription found in the neighboring of *Naissus*, at village Ristovac<sup>15</sup>, and in one discovered in Prizren, in the south of Dardania<sup>16</sup>; *Andia Dassi filia*, probably not the same, appears in the region of Kumanovo, in southeastern Dardania<sup>17</sup>.

Significant is that the father's name is omitted in all texts which mention the mother *Andia*<sup>18</sup>.

The male name *Andius* is also known in southern Dardania<sup>19</sup>. Both the female *Andia* and male *Andius* and *Andinus* must have been theophoric names. An altar from Kačanik, dated from 158 or 159 AD, and probably also another one found not far from the former, in Vučitrn, *Spomenik* 71, n. 98 are consecrated to *Deo Andino*. The name *Andia*, *Andius* and *Andinus*, if related to *Andes*<sup>20</sup>, are often attested to in Bosnia and Dalmatia, *Andius* and *Andinus* belong to the group of Illyrian names common in Dalmatia and the central Illyrian region. It could be considered as one of the Illyrian *nomina sacra*, which have spread over a large territory, such as *Bato*<sup>21</sup>. The absence of a *Deus And-*

*inus* in other parts of Illyricum and the Roman world allows us to consider it as a native deity in southwestern Dardania. It might have been a totem-god and could have given name to people belonging to the same clan, both women and men. As a theophoric name, the female name *Andia* may be considered as designating the descents that once counted the god *Andinus* as their ancestor. Living at one time together in the same place, before the moving of part of the population to Dardania, different clans or tribes could have had a common ancestor or god. At the time of their emigration parts of the primordial community took their totem or god with them and kept him in their new country.

#### THE "THIRD NAME" IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN OF THE PROVINCE DALMATIA

The population in the area to the southeast of the Roman province Dalmatia, as shown by inscriptions from Komini near Pljevlje and Kolovrat by Prijepolje, was mixed. In addition to Illyrian names, classified as central Dalmatian, there are Celtic and even Thracian names documented in inscriptions<sup>22</sup>. No traces of the eventual pre-Roman population in this region have been found until now<sup>23</sup>. The native names, which are recorded in the inscriptions in this region, are related mostly to those in the land of the Delmatian tribe<sup>24</sup>.

The peculiarity of the system of nomenclature in this area lies in the onomastic, with two cognomina in the two-name formula, both male and female. In some examples the third name or second cognomen is in abbreviated form. Names of Illyrian, but also of Celtic origin are to be found among them. The following examples are known:

1. Cermanović, A., *Starinar* 18, 1967, 202, 103. *D.M.S. Pac(on)iae Montanae R( ) q.vi(xit) a. XXXV Aur(elia) Panto G( ) mater filie dulcissime et s(ibi) vive infelicissime p(osuit)*.

2. The same couple, *L. Paconius Barbario - Aur. Panto* appear as parents of *L. P. Barbarus*. The same abbreviation for the third name is to be assumed by

14. About this stage see Rendić-Miočević, D., "Ilirske onomastičke studije", *Živa Antika* 10, 1960 163-171 and id., *Ilirska onomastika na latinskim natpisima Dalmacije*, 33 ff.

15. *IMS* IV 121 (*Ulpia Andia*)

16. *Spomenik* SKA 71, n. 323

17. *IMS* VI, 233

18. See also *IMS* IV, 121.

19. *Arheološki vestnik* 31, 1980, 188 (*Andius Auseri fil.*), and *Spomenik* SKA 71, 1931, 182 (*Ulpus Andinus*).

20. Katičić, R., *Živa Antika* 12, 261

21. Cf. Katičić, R., "Drei altbalkanische nomina sacra", *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja* VII, 1972, 105 ff.

22. Alföldy, "Die Namengebung...", *o.c.*, 74 ff. especially 85 and 98 ff., and Alföldy, *Bevölkerung...*, *o.c.*, 56 f. and 66.. Cf. Wilkes, J.J., *The Illyrians*, 1992, 74 ff.

23. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, A., "Vorrömische Elemente in der Kultur des Municipiums S. im Dorfe Komini", *Živa Antika* 30, 1980, 227-232.

24. See above, n. 2.



their son in another inscription, CERMANOVIĆ, *o.c.*, 201-202: *D.M.S. L. P. Barbaro d.m. R( ) vixit an. XX m. III d. IIII. L.P.Barbar(us) et Aur. Panto filio incomparabili etc. Paconii* were known family in this settlement and even their gentilicum was abbreviated in the inscription. Both monuments, n. 1 and n. 2 have been discovered in the same enclosed burial place<sup>25</sup>.

3. *Spomenik SKA 71, n. 284 (ILJug. 1713) Pljevlje: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) Aur(elia) Titullae Arguriana que v.an.LX Aur(elia) Titulla Cambria amitae p.p.*

4. *Spomenik SKA 98, n. 288 = CIL III, 8302, Komine near Pljevalja : I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Stadius Victor Brizidia v.l.s.*

5. *Spomenik SKA 77, 1934, 17, n. 21 (ILJug. 1731) village Rosulje, not far from Pljevlje: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) T.Aur(elius) Ru[fu]s Belzeiu[s] vius (!) sibi et Aur(eliae) Fuscae B[---] (vix.an(is) XX[---] m[en(sium)--] r(arissimae) m(ulieri) dom[um] aetern[a]m fecit posuit OVB*

6. CERMANOVIĆ, A., *Hommage Marcel Renard Bruxelles 1969, 118: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) Aur(elius) Maximus Argenianus d.m. v(ivus) s(ibi) p(oosuit) et Aur(eliae) Maximine (!) filie(!) quae v(ixit) an(nis) XXX.*

7. *CIL III, 8308: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) P.Ael(io) Pladome[no] Carvanio an(norum) [--prae-fecto?] civitatum [--]m praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) mun(icipii) Aureli S.LO? [et] Aelia[e] Pantoni con[iu]gi eius viva (1) parentibus pientissimis ATEIL Titus, Lupus et Firminus h.p.c. h.s.e.*

### Less sure examples

8. Unpublished inscription, found in Komini: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) Aplis Aurelius Argurinus.*

9. CERMANOVIĆ, A., *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta Beograd 11, 1, 1970, 76 (ILJug. 613): Statiae As[ ]ae f(iliae) [R]isin. v.a. XL C[.] Ascle[piades] SV[ ]co[n]iugi et Stat(ius) Seinssis ? matri p.*<sup>26</sup>

10. CERMANOVIĆ, *Hommage..., o.c.*, 120, 1: *D.M.S. Paul(ae) Gaudene q.v. an. XL Titus PR.R. comp(ari) p(issimae) et sibi vivo p(osuit).*

11. CERMANOVIĆ, *Hommage..., o.c.*, 122, n. 3: *D.M. Claudi[ae] Proculae que vixit annis XXVII Luc[i]us Valens OR coniugi p.p.*

25. CERMANOVIĆ, A., "Neue Funde aus dem Municioium S.", *Mélanges Marcel Renard III, Bruxelles 1969, 116 ff.*; CERMANOVIĆ, A., "Grobница jedne ugledne porodice u Kolovratu kod Prijepolja", *AVes 41, 1990, 227- 234* ; SREJOVIĆ, D., "Grobnice Aurelije Maksimine i Pakonije Montane u Kominima (Municipium S.)", *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja Beograd 8, 1975, 177-189.*

26. *Statii in Komini : C. Stadius Bessio and Stadius Velocianus et Severina*, CERMANOVIĆ, A., «Nekoliko spomenika iz nekropole u kolovratu», *Užički zbornik 1989, 7, n. 4*

12. To the group is to be added the example from Dardania, *Spomenik SKA 71, n. 278, Peć: D(is) M(anibus) Rufinus Dassi PR( ) et Andiae Dassi coniugi memoriam sibi vivi posuerunt. Sta dum venio, memoria superis vixit ann. LX.*

Alföldy, G., *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest, 1965, 62, note 50, as D. Rendić-Miočević before him, *Zbornik za historiske Nauke u Zadru 1, 1955, 135*, recognizes the same onomastic formula in the coastal zone of Dalmatia<sup>27</sup>. An important difference between the formula of nomenclature in the cited examples from western Roman Dalmatia and corresponding ones in Komini is the absence of the patronym in the latter<sup>28</sup>.

The origin of two cognomina in the quoted examples and its significance is uncertain. It is likely that they were not identical in all cases:

There are grounds to suppose the geographic significance of one of the two cognomina, as in the name *L.Baebius Oplus Malavicus* and *C. Oppius Clemens Rusticellus* in western Dalmatia, and in [...or [R]isin(..)] in the inscription from Komine, as quoted above in n. 9 and in note 27. It might have survived from the historically remote times when tribes amongst which phratries and clans were replaced by exogamous local groups which took their names from the districts<sup>29</sup>.

The second cognomen could derive from the patronymic name. Parallel with cognomen like *Cambria* and *Brizidia* are examples from the territory of Delmatae: *ILJug. I 192: Tritano Curbania Triti fil.* 193: *Turus Staticus Triti f. Vendo[...]*; 194: *Ursa Melandrica Aplinis f.*; 195: *Vendo Tritaneria Pinsi f.*

It could be supposed that the purpose of adding the second cognomen in some other cases

27. *CIL III, 10121 (Arba) L. Baebius Opiavi f. Ser. Oplus Malavicus (former Oplus Malavicus Opiavi f.), CIL III, 3015 (Lopsica) : Iulisa C. f. Tertia Toruca (former Tertia Toruca), Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 52, 53 ff. C. Iulius Ceuni f. Ser. Curticus Aetor ( former Aetor Curticus Ceuni f.), CIL III, 15036 (Asseria) C. Oppius C. f. Cla .Clemens Rusticell[us] (former Clemens Rusticellus C. f.?). In G. Alföldy's opinion these cognomina must have derived from former native gentilicum, o.c. Die Namengebung, 85.*

28. The father name appears in Liburnia even in the three-name formula, as in example from *Curicum, CIL III, 13295: Turus Patilius Granp(... ) Opiavi f.*

29. See FRAZER, J.G., *Totemism and exogamy*, London 1910, 83. Cf. for Komini: CERMANOVIĆ, *Hommage..., o.c.*, 120, n. 2: *[D.] M.S. Ratoniae Autumnae q.v.a. XL Scard(onae).*

was in order to distinguish different families or gentes with the same name from each other in one community as those which could intermarry. There is *Statius Victor Brisidia* in n. 4, but also other *Statii* in Pljevlje, such as *Statius* with the Thracian cognomen *Bessio*, or *Statia As[...].ae f. [.].isin*. n. 9. Unfortunately the mutilated text of n. 9 does not permit us to establish the cognomen of the mother with certainty. In the region Pljevlje-Prijepolje the "third" name might have been connected with agnatic kinship, in order to distinguish the family from others with the same name.

Inscriptions concerning relatives, such as n. 1-3 make an important contribution in discussion about the second cognomen of persons in Roman Dalmatia. On one hand, if the interpretation is correct<sup>30</sup>, the same abbreviation of the third name for the daughter in n. 1 and the son in n. 3 in the same family of *Paconii* suggests that cognomina belong to the fathers' lineage. It indicates in the same time the link of the third name with the male descent line. It is also possible to draw the same conclusion on the basis of the inscription n. 1 which mentions the mother and daughter with a different third name, the former *Aurelia Aplo G( )*, the latter *Paconia Montana R( )*. The son of *Aurelia Aplo* is *L. Paconius Barbario R*. On the other hand, however, n. 3 indirectly shows that the second cognomen of the sister and brother in the same family was not necessarily identical: *amita*, the father's sister, was *Arguriana* and her niece, the daughter of her brother was *Cambria*. The first cognomen *Titulla* is identical in both cases and it could have the meaning of the former gentile name, inherited from their ancestors. The name *Aurelius* took the place of the old gentile, while the old designation for gens becomes one of the two cognomina. One of those may have derived from the former patronym. *Cambria* in the aunt's name could be her father's personal name (*Cambrius*?) which becomes a family name like *Arguriana* (from *Argurius*) in that of the niece's name. *Cambria* in the niece's name could derive from supposed *Cambrius*, which appears in the cognomen *Cambrianus*, *CIL III, 8322 = Spomenik SKA 98, 289*; *Arguriana*, the aunt's third name, appears as the cognomen in an unusual onomastic formula *Aplis Aurel. Argurinus* (n. 8) and as *Aurelius Argirianus* in an inscription from this

30. As it appears as the abbreviations for the third name of his sister on the funeral monument which has been found in the same sepulchral place, it could be assumed that it designated the same in the name of *Paconius Barbarion*, however it follows after *d(ecurio) m(unicipii)*.

region, *CIL III, 13849 = p. 2328*<sup>15</sup>. The order of names in the onomastic formula with two cognomina was not fixed, as the name *Aplis Aurelius Argurinus* illustrates, with the old native name, usually attested to as the cognomen in the first place, appearing as the *praenomen* (n. 7).

The presence of two cognomina may be regarded as traces of conservative forms of social life, with individuals bound to the father and to the broader social group or groups to which his ancestors belonged. The formula of the nomenclature preserved in the west of the province of Dalmatia with the patronym and two cognomina may represent a further step in the evolution of the system. The function of the patronym may have been to point out the link with the determined father in classificatory sense.

The example cited in n. 3 with the mother and daughter bearing a different "third name", the daughter having inherited it from her father, indicates that husband and wife belonged to different groups which must have been exogamous. It may be assumed that married couples originated from different ethnic communities, Illyrian and Celtic, as in n. 3<sup>31</sup>. Specific forms in social life could be due also to different geographic origin. As the names show, the population of the Pljevlje-Prijepolje region originated from the Delmatae region, but also partly from the south.

Both cognomina could be related to the descent group, once deriving from the old patronym, once designating a broader group, for instance that of phratry or gens to which the father belonged. However, it is still possible that one of the two cognomina derived from the mother's name in some cases. The binary nomenclature with the first cognomen commemorating the former patronym and the second the matrilineal ancestry might mark the group, bound once by agnatic, once by cognatic relations, as in the good documented *cognatio Nantania* in western Dalmatia<sup>32</sup>.

31. See ALFÖLDY, "Die Namengebung...", 99: *Cambrius, Cambrianus*. Cf. HOLDER, A., *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig 1894-1916. II, 716; *Argurianus*. There is Illyrian place name *Argurium*, see RE s.v.

32. Numerous studies have been written on this subject, the most important RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, "Ilirske onomastičke ...", o.c., 163-171 (= *Iliri i antički svet*, 1989, 769-766); ALFÖLDY, G., "Cognatio Nantania. Zur Struktur der Sipppengesellschaft der Liburner", *Acta antiqua Hungarica* 11, 1963, 81-87. For further studies see ŠAŠEL-KOS, M., "Cybele in Salona: a note, L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine", LE BOHEC, Y. (ed.), *Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay (Latomus 226)*, 1994, 782 ff.

There are epigraphic texts from this region which bear the metronym. One of those could be *Titus Anae Codalianus*, *Spomenik SKA 98, 333*, another example bears inscription quoted above in n. 9, with *Staius Seiensis* holding his mother's nomen gentile. The mother's third name, *[R]isin(iensis?)*, could point to *Risinium* in southern Illyrian coun-

try as her homeland. *Statii* are common names in *Risinium*<sup>33</sup>. The name inherited from mother is also attested to in southern Dalmatia, in an inscription from present-day Podgorica in Montenegro<sup>34</sup>. There are other inscriptions from the same region showing also matrilineal origin, such as in inscriptions from Montenegro<sup>35</sup>.

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33. ALFÖLDY, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 122-123.

34. *Spomenik SKA 71, 297*. The daughter was named *Plaetoria* after her mother: *Plaetoriae Titullae Plaetoria Iulia matri pientissimae*. *Plaetorius* is a Romanized form of Illyrian *Plaetor* and represents the link with the gens or *cognatio*. The father's name was probably *Iulius* and that why is less possible that the daughter was an illegitimate child.

35. ALFÖLDY, *Die Personennamen...*, o.c., 183 *Crinnetisa: Crinetisa [H]armoniae (f) [L]ibonia Placida m(u)nus cum natis suis f.*, *Spomenik SKA, 71, 1931, 123*.