

THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC METHOD APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL POPULATION AB HONESTIORIBUS AD HUMILIORES

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Motto: "The fact that we cannot do all is not an excuse not to do anything"

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The study of Roman provincial population¹ is far behind the research on other aspects of Roman life (economy, arts, religion, army, etc). The amount of data concerning pottery or battles or architecture in the great monographs² surpasses by far the amount of data concerning the population³. This situation seems grievous to me as it is a proof of the fact that we loose from sight the human factor of the Roman civilization. Romans themselves put the human being on the first place, at least in the period of their cultural and moral ascendance. Those who nowadays research the Roman culture are classicists, that is scholars who claim having as precursors the great masters of Renaissance for whom the man was the center of Universe⁴.

As far as I can see, such lagging behind has two main causes.

1. There is a huge gap between historical research (monographs, factual and descriptive his-

tory⁵) on one hand and the linguistic research on the other hand. Historiography approaches events or material vestiges and is less concerned about common people whose modest presence is behind events and vestiges⁶. Linguistic approaches the onomastic (the basis of the research about population) but mainly treats names as if they were events or vestiges and not attached to a person. There is no correlation (or very little) between onomastic data and all the other epigraphic data and even lesser to the general historical context in which people bearing names lived in. Shortly, linguistic studies do onomatology, as Prof. Heikki Solin puts it, in the worst arid tradition of Latinism.

2. The carelessness of a majority concerning the research on Roman population. This carelessness goes from a kind of lenient but mistrustful "paternalism" of some scholars towards such attempts to the total denial of the possibility of ever knowing something on this topic⁷. The lack

5. Being written by different authors the little information provided in these monographs about population is placed in different books in different chapters referring to colonization, natives, romanization, urbanization, grant of citizenship etc. A very rare and happy case if one can find a separate chapter or paragraph like in Mócsy, A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römische Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970. The centripetal positioning of the comments about population forces the scholar to look through thousand of pages in search of a few pages of commentary, which is not productive. And also to make connections between aspects he is interested in and about which he is not and *cannot be* well informed, which is not accurate.

6. There are a few laudable exceptions from among which I will only cite the works of Prof. András Mócsy concerning the population of Pannonia and the methodology to study it as being fundamental to me.

7. Prof. Heikki Solin is the most important spokesman of the first attitude: SOLIN, H., *Anthroponimie und Epigraphik, Hyperboreus, Studia classica* 1, 1 / 2 1994-1995, 93-117, Prof. Hartmut Wolff of the second (see below, n. 22).

* The National History Museum of Transilvania.

1. By provincial population I mean the mass of common people, the *homines loci* and not the high-ranking civilian or military dignitaries of the empire.

2. Monographs that treat either of all the aspects of Roman life in a province or then one aspect of Roman life all over the empire.

3. I did not calculate a ratio of data about population compared to other type of data (archaeological for instance), but I would be surprised if it would not exceed 1:10.

4. "What spirit is so empty and blind, that it cannot recognize the fact that the foot is more noble than the shoe, and skin more beautiful than the garment with which it is clothed?" (Michelangelo).

of interest for prosopographic research on the level of common people is partially derived from the above-mentioned gap between history and linguistics. But it also has other causes, namely the absence of a proper methodology⁸ and the obtuseness of some scholars.

The wrong approach to a general study about provincial population is due to the narrow view on onomastic which is currently adopted⁹ and which consists of basing it only on onomastic. Onomastic is only one of our sources of knowledge about Romans. It should be used at its full power and should be supplemented by other data. The critiques passed on onomastic are:

1. Onomastic contribute more to the knowledge of the social and not the political history¹⁰
2. Onomastic is not enough to lead to historical conclusions concerning Roman provincial population.

The first critique¹¹ is materialized in observations such as that through epigraphy the researcher generally approaches only superior layers, those capable of erecting inscriptions and not to the mass of population¹². As those who study population *through* epigraphy cannot by definition study people who *did not* erect inscriptions, this observation seems redundant to me. Transposing it in another domain of historiography it

8. Highly qualified methodological indications such as those given by Hans-Georg Pflaum, John. J. Wilkes, Louis. Robert or András Mócsy, to cite just a few peaks, were unfortunately not followed and practically ignored by the mass of epigraphists.

9. If one only look at titles from the bibliography, one will find a great majority containing the word "the onomastic", a minority containing the word "the population" and only a few containing the word "prosopography": TATAKI, A., "Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society", *Meletemata* 8, 1988; TATAKI, A., "Macedonian Edessa, Prosopography and Onomasticon", *Meletemata* 18, 1994; KANATSOLILIS, D., *Prosopographia Macedonica from 148 B. C. until the time of Constantine the Great*, Chicago 1984; WOŁOCH, M., *Roman Citizenship and Athenian Elite A. D. 96-161. Two prosopographical Catalogues*, Amsterdam 1973 (*non vidi*).

10. That is that one cannot establish for sure an ethnic origin or a territorial provenance of a person only on the basis of his/her name. But one can, on the same basis, infer as to the person's social status.

11. Largely debated at the colloquium in Paris: *L'onomastique latine. Actes du colloque international du C. N. R. S. no. 564*, Paris 1975, Paris 1977 (further abbreviated as *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1975).

12. ETIENNE, R., *Remarques sur l'onomastique romaine de l'Espagne*, in *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1975; FITZ, J., *Onomastique pannonienne. La population de la Pannonie sous l'aspect de l'onomastique et de l'archéologie*, in *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1975, 395-402.

would be like a medievalist would lament upon the fact that through heraldry he only comes to obtain knowledge about the nobility and not the serves. Does one stop the study of heraldry only because it offers information only about a part of people living in Middle Ages? The same redundancy lacks in the observation that the social class who dedicates inscribed monuments is unrealistically reflected through onomastic compared to those who did lesser or not at all erect inscriptions¹³.

Now, it is true that a complete study of provincial population must also consider other historical sources such as archaeology or anthropology. But an epigraphist can and is supposed to entirely analyze the epigraphic source¹⁴. The source is as it is. No use to lament upon the poverty and scarcity of it. Just take note of these two features of the source¹⁵ and look for a method to surpass them in those boundaries that are of human knowledge. Wanting to do too much or too little are two extremes that should be avoided. As far as the social aspect is concerned, I cannot see why it is surer to deduce¹⁶ the social status of, let's say, C. Iul. Maximus or P. Ael. Felix or Val. Primus¹⁷ than to offer a possible solution as to the ethnic origin of for instance, Aulus Cutius Secundanus.

The second critique proceeds partially from the lack of an adequate methodology that will be described further and partially because of the refuse of some to keep an open mind. It is again true that through epigraphy we only have a small sample from the mass of the people living in Roman times¹⁸. But, first of all, it is the sample we

13. FITZ, *o.c.*, 396.

14. A simple mention of the source in the title ("The Population from X in the light of epigraphy") would instantly avoid critiques of the kind I just mentioned.

15. Which are, in fact, features of our sources of knowledge in all the other branches of science.

16. Exclusively on basis of onomastic.

17. All bearing common and therefore insignificant surnames and who all have equal chances of being both free born citizens or freedmen. Assuming a non-free origin for P. Ael. Felix exclusively based on the fact that generally Felix was a name given to slaves is equally correct or incorrect as to presume a Celtic origin for Iulia Ammia exclusively based upon the fact that her surname is not only Latin but Celtic, too.

18. For instance, only 1 out of 333 persons from Lugudunum are recorded in the inscriptions. "Une base aussi mince n'autorise aucune statistique raisonnable" LE GLAY, M.; AUDIN, A., "Gentilices, romains à Lugudunum", *Revue archéologique de l'est et du centre-est* XIV, 1973, 537. Which is not true. In fact, the authors themselves must have had some statistics done as further they observe: "créée ex nihilo dans une région faiblement occupée, Lugudunum fut habitée par des allogènes."

have and we have to do the best to exploit it. Secondly, even if it is not as great as we would like it to be, it is nevertheless enough. I have made two experiments to verify this, as I, like everybody else, might be mistaken. The experiment was first made here in Cluj-Napoca in 1997 and then repeated in Helsinki, while I was working at the Institutum Classicum Universitatis Helsingiensis in 1999. The experiment consisted of making a list of 1 out of 333 people by opening at random the yellow pages from the two cities. Thus I obtained a sample of the population of these two contemporary towns, a sample equal to that that we have through epigraphic sources from Roman times. I then studied the names, noting down the Hungarian names from Cluj-Napoca and the Swedish names from Helsinki¹⁹. I then counted these names and made a ratio of those bearing names of these origins from the total number of people considered in the experiment (and which was, as I said 1 of 333 from the total number of people listed in the yellow pages). The ratio I obtained was of 25% for Cluj-Napoca and of 15% for Helsinki. Now, through contemporary statistics based on census, I know that there are 20% Hungarians in Cluj-Napoca and 7% of Swedes living in Helsinki²⁰. It is quite close to reality. Not identical, but close enough to be able to state that there is a Hungarian minority in Cluj-Napoca and a Swedish minority in Helsinki and that the Swedish minority from the capital of Finland is smaller than the Hungarian minority from the Transylvanian town²¹.

Statistics and probabilities are very powerful tools put at our disposal in order to overcome the poverty and scarcity of our sources. They are successfully handled in all areas of human knowledge from astronomy and quantum physics to linguistic and archaeology. Of course, it is up to the researcher to introduce data into the statistics and the probabilities. If in our domain of the onomastic, we make statistics on separate names (*gentilia*, *cognomina* etc), that we do not even thoroughly research and that have no significance by themselves, but only attached to the person of the bearer, we definitely will obtain false statistics²².

19. Hungarians and Swedes are the biggest minorities living in the two cities, respectively.

20. According to official census.

21. The bigger deviation in the case of Helsinki is probably due to my feeble knowledge of the two languages (the Finnish and the Swede).

22. As false are for instance, the statistics presented by Prof. I. I. Russu at the Paris colloquium in 1975: 70-75% Latin names, 20% Greek names and the rest of 10 % names of Bar-

Sometimes, the value of onomastic is completely denied not only for the reconstruction of an ethnic origin but also for the social status of a group of persons or of a settlement²³. As prof. Heikki Solin puts it "mitunter geht der pessimismus der Kritiker zu weit"²⁴

I presented above in a very abbreviated manner the situation of the study of Roman provincial population as I came to gradually know it²⁵. Acknowledging it, I thought about a way to advance research in this particular field and after a long period of probing I came up with what I think is a proper methodology. This method is the *prosopography*²⁶, that is a complete collection of *all*

barian origin (Celtic, Thracian, Illyrian, Semitic, etc). I have a great respect for the late Prof. I. I. Russu whose contribution to Dacian-Roman epigraphy is immense and whose vast linguistic and historical knowledge materialized in a lifetime dedicated to science. I do not think that I offend his memory by my disagreement on this topic. My observation on the way he made statistics in 1975 when no one else did better is a drop in an ocean.

23. MAIER, F.G., "Römische Inschriftenstatistik", *Historia* 2, 1953-1954, 318-351 who says that the ratios of the free and non-free population from Italy and Rome are irrelevant. Referring to the possibility of reconstructing the ethnic origin of a person, M. Maier says: "ein sicheres Urteil über die Herkunft gestatten nur Inschriften mit ausdrücklicher Angabe der natio". WOLFF, H., "Kriterien für lateinische und römische Städte in Gallien und Germanien", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 176, 1976, 76-91; WOLFF, H., *Studien zur antike Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für Fr. Vittinghoff*, Köln, Wien 1980, 229-255 (*non vidi*). I indeed wonder how much these gentlemen know about the statistics they are so againt.

24. SOLIN, H., "Anthroponomie und Epigraphik", *Hyperboreus, Studia classica* I, 1 / 2, 1994-1995, 114, n. 60.

25. I did the above presentation without malice. I honestly hope I did not offend anyone's sensitiveness but if I did I apologize. All I wanted to accomplish is the presentation of a new method of investigation in a domain that was neglected and that seems to me of utmost importance: the common people from the provinces of the Roman empire.

26. There was a colloquium in Köln in nov. 1991, *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der Kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie*, hrsg. von WERNER ECK, Köln-Wien-Weimar 1993, but I had no access to it. As far as I can judge only on the basis of the title and the Inhaltverzeichnis, the greatest part of the articles are concerned with the senatorial and the equestrian orders. The other main colloquium on this same topic was held in Athens in 1993: RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute and the Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens, 7-9 Sept. 1993*, Athens 1996. The title itself suggest that the participants accepted also the political aspects deriving from the study of the onomastic, which was not the case in Köln, nor in Paris. From among the three main congresses, this one seems to me the one showing a wider view upon the topic. It seems to me that scholars studying the Greek speaking area of the classical world are more open to onomastic research (see above, n. 9). Is it possible that this attitude is the benefit of the influence of Louis Robert who proposed "faire non seulement l'histoire des noms mais l'histoire par les noms"? This wider

the epigraphic data about the persons who are recorded in the inscriptions from Roman Dacia and the analyze of the results thus obtained as it was and is still done for the members of the senatorial and equestrian orders. The steps I took to work in this manner are the following:

1. The epigraphic inquiry.
2. The ordering and the statistics.
3. The study.

1. The epigraphic inquiry consisted in drawing up of a prosopographic file for each and every individual recorded in the inscriptions from Dacia²⁷. This prosopographic file contains the following entries:

- Onomastic system of the person.
- Ethnic origin and/or territorial provenance.
- Date of citizenship.
- Social status.
- Carrier.
- Worshipped deities.
- Epigraphic record
- Datation.
- Relationship.
- Observations.

The first entry contains the names of the analyzed person. These names must not be studied separately but together. This is why I called this entry *the onomastic system*. Each of the components must be researched as for its linguistic origins²⁸; this research must also include toponyms, oronyms, theonyms, ethnonyms etc. built on the same root or radical, not only the anthroponyms. Having in mind all the linguistic possibilities of all the names of a person (weather he/she has one or five) I then looked for the territorial spread of the names (including all the other proper nouns²⁹). I also constructed myself a scale of fre-

quencies: unique names (1 record in all the empire); very rare and rare names (2-5 records in all the empire); rare names (5 to 10 names in a few provinces); frequent names (10 to 20 names in almost all the provinces); very frequent names (more than 20 in all the provinces or almost). A next step was to find out all the analogies for the onomastic system of the person, let's say all the *P. Aelii Florentini* from the empire. At this stage a particular care was given to gentile names (in case it was not an imperial one) which are more indicative of a certain provenance than the surname. Having gathered all these onomastic data, I proceeded to establish a probable ethnic origin and/or territorial provenance of the person at issue. I first took into account the above mentioned onomastic "facts". But also all the other epigraphic data supplied by the inscription(s): the names of the other family members, the name of the worshipped deity, the belonging to a certain ethnic group (auxiliary units, ethnic *collegia*, etc) and thus could fill in the second entry. The degree of probability with which I might be right or wrong is illustrated both by the fact that for one and the same person I suggested more than one probability as well as by the question marks. In order to make things more easier for the statistics that should be drawn up afterwards, I started this second entry by mentioning the "status" of the ethnicity in relation with Dacia: allogenous (colonist) or native.

The third entry seemed necessary to me from the time I realized that I must rapidly detect the persons who are citizens of long date, that is those bearing republican gentile names or names taken after emperors reigning before Trajan.

The fourth entry concerns the social status: citizen (with a special mention for the veteran), peregrine, freedman, slave either as it is explicitly mentioned on the inscription or as it can be deduced.

The fifth entry is about the military, religious or civilian duties the person had. I must confess that personally I did not give a particular attention to this set of data as there are very good studies about magistracies in Roman Dacia³⁰.

vision is also materialized in the editing of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, by FRASER, P.M.; MATTHEWS, E., Oxford 1987-2000.

27. Prof. C.C. Petolescu from Bucharest, who was one of the reviewers of my Ph.D. thesis suggested to me to work by studying each person through a separate file. His advice is at the basis of my prosopographic file and for this I am very grateful to him.

28. And to consider each of the possible linguistic origins as many names considered Latin have in a certain context a Barbarian counterpart either through consonantic resemblance or translation or taking over, or similar indo-european roots, etc.

29. The territorial spread of anthroponyms is very significant in many cases. See the two great tools upon the topic: *Nomenclator Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indico inverso*, MÓCSY, A.; FELDMANN, R.; MÁRTON, E.; SZILÁGYI, M. (edd.), *Dissertations pannonicae* III/1, 1983; BARNABÁS, L.; REDŐ, F. (edd.), *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. I-IV, Budapest, from 1994 on. Together with the above-cited Lexicon for the Greek names, they give a good image of what was the spread of names in Roman times. All three are very powerful tools.

30. ARDEVAN, R., *Viața municipală în Dacia romană*, Timișoara 1997.

The sixth entry is dedicated to the divinities mentioned in the inscription(s). In the case the worshipped gods are *Dii Manes* I also included the age of the deceased person.

The seventh entry is the epigraphic evidence and the eighth the date both of the dedication of the inscription and the period the person at issue lived. Comes than the ninth entry containing reference to all kind of relationship: kinship first of all but also clientele, commercial, subordinate relation etc. A reference is given to the numbers of all other persons in the repertoire who had one kind or another of relation with the person at issue. Finally, the tenth entry leaves room for some restricted but necessary comments.

2. The arranging of the prosopographic files for each of the sites from Roman Dacia following the arranging of the inscriptions from Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae resulted in what I called a prosopographic repertoire. This contains all the analyzed data about all the persons recorded on the inscriptions and is the basis for statistics and study.

3. The proper study includes historical inferences drawn out from the analyzed epigraphic evidence and from the statistics³¹: ethnic profile of each site, comparisons, links to other provinces, links to other sources, links to the period before the Roman conquest, etc.

THE EXAMPLE OF VALERIUS LAETILLIUS CIL 3 811 (ILIȘUA)

The gentile name *Valerius* is one of those Latin republican family names³² that are most common in the empire³³. In fact, it is one of the most frequent gentile names, following the countless imperial *gentilicia*³⁴. The history of the *Valerii* from

31. One indication that the methodology works well is that I obtained different ethnic profiles for different settlements that are consistent with the historical facts known from all the other sources. It is interesting to mark our without insisting here, that there are sites in Roman Dacia without a definite ethnic profile.

32. SCHULZE, W., *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1933, 107.

33. The territorial spread indicates a high frequency of the name both in the eastern and the western parts of the empire. The only unusual thing would be its lesser recording in Noricum.

34. MÓCSY, A., *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959, 160 who also gives a ratio of the spread of the *Valerii* for the Latin speaking territories, the Danubian provinces being on the first place.

the empire would constitute a monograph in itself. Just a few remarks shall I therefore make as for families of *Valerii* in provinces close to Dacia. In Dalmatia, there are numerous *Valerii* on the cities of the Adriatic coast such as *Aequum*. The population of this city was a mixture of civilians and veterans and just a small number seems to have come directly from Italy³⁵. In Moesia Superior, there are numerous veterans by this name, many of them natives, like in *Ulpianum* for instance. In fact, it is striking the great number of *Valerii* in this province³⁶. In Pannonia, it is mainly spread in the western part of the province and the bearers are mainly immigrants from northern Italy, southern Gaul and Noricum; in the eastern half, they are less numerous and seem to be more from the Greek speaking territories³⁷.

The surname *Laetilius* presents some interesting features. First, if the lecture is correct³⁸, it is a surname ending with the suffix *-ius*³⁹. The phenomenon of constructing cognomina as if they were *nomina* dates from the time the gentile name had begun to fall in desuetude⁴⁰. It began in the 3rd century but was in fact widely spread only in the 4th. It looks like a good reference for dating our inscription that does not have other epigraphic elements for datation.

Secondly, although a Latin name⁴¹, *Laetus* is a substitute for native names in areas with Celtic background⁴². The basic form of this native name is probably linked to the denomination of the Germanic or Alamanic population of the *Laeti*⁴³ who were living next to the *Tungri*⁴⁴. In the 4th century they were colonized in some parts of the Gauls with the duties and the rights of their parents⁴⁵.

35. WILKES, J.J., *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 242-243.

36. MÓCSY, A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970, 100.

37. MÓCSY, A., *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959, 160.

38. The inscription is very damaged.

39. KAJANTO, I., *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, Helsingfors 1965, 115.

40. *Ibidem*.

41. FORCELLINI, A., *Onomasticon Totius Latinitatis* II, Patavium 1920, s. v. *Laetus* showing that the name was equally born by *ingenui*, freedmen as well and by slaves and Christians (because of its meaning); *RE* XII, 1-2 [1924], s. v. *Laetus*; W. SCHULZE, o.c., 177-178; KAJANTO, o.c., 261 (*cognomina* related to human mind); SOLIN, H.; SALOMIES, O., *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum latinorum*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New-York 1988.

42. Same opinion by PAUC, R., *apud AnEp*, 1991, 1210.

43. AMM. MARC., 16, 11, 4.

44. ...*sedem habentes prope Tungros Germaniae Secundae*.

45. *RE*, XII, 1-2, [1924], s. v. *Laeti*. It is emphasized here that

Beside this ethnonym, there are records of toponyms⁴⁶, oronyms⁴⁷, and theonyms⁴⁸ on the root *Laet-*. Records are also of *ingenui* bearing names from this anthroponomastic family (including derivatives such as *Laetianus*, *Laetilianus*, *Laetinus*, *Laetitia* etc.).

In Lugdunensis lived a *Laetus amicus Nigrini Masiae lib.*⁴⁹; *Laetinus Veri qui et Leontinus*⁵⁰; *Sedulia Laeta*⁵¹. In Aquitania: *Laetinus Laeti*, worshipper of *Dea Andea*⁵²; *Iul. C. f. Laetus*, son of *Iulia Dannoesa*⁵³. In Narbonensis: *Iulia Laeta*, worshipper of a local god *Roquetus*⁵⁴. In Germania: *Laetus Catulini*⁵⁵; *C. Fabricius C. l. Laetus*⁵⁶ and another *Laetus*⁵⁷. In Hispania: *Marcus Laetinus* from the family of *Marcus Reburus*⁵⁸; *Laietana*⁵⁹; *Etrilia Laeta Syriaci ex Hispania Baetica Italicensis*⁶⁰ and another *Laetus Aviobrigensis*⁶¹; *M. Laetilius, M. l., Priamus*⁶². In the Danubian provinces: a *Laidus* from the Illyrian population of the *Desidiates*⁶³; *C. Minutius Laetus*, veteran of the VII.th legion, worshipper of the god *Medyzeus*⁶⁴; *Laetus Aquer* (?=*Acheræ*), from the XI.th legion⁶⁵; *Laeta*, one of the four patrons of *Hilarus*, together with *Gaetulicus*, *Gaetulicianus* and *Veneranda*⁶⁶. One record mentions a certain [?L]aetus who might be a *Tunger*⁶⁷.

it is a "Standes- kein Volksname" and that they were known as *Laeti* only in the Gauls.

46. *Laeti*acum, two of a kind, one in Germania, near Metz and one in Lugdunensis, HOLDER, A., *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, vol. II, col 121; *Letoce* in Gallia as well *Idem*, col. 192.

47. *Laeti*, tributary to the river Maas in Belgica (today Lesse), in the region populated by the *Tungri* HOLDER, o.c., col. 120.

48. *Letinno(n)*, god in Lédenon who was worshipped by the *Nemausenses* CIL XII, 2990.

49. CIL XIII, 2309 (*Lugdunum*).

50. CIL XIII, 2456 (*Ambarii*).

51. CIL XIII, 2625 (*Cavillonum*).

52. CIL XIII, 15 (*Conzoranni*).

53. AE 1974, 424 (*Conzoranni*).

54. AE 1998, 882 (*pagus Matavonicus*, near Fréjus).

55. CIL XIII, 6002 (*Tres Tabernae*).

56. CIL XIII, 8379 (*Col. Agrippinensis*).

57. CIL XIII, 7754 (*Niederbieber*, Germania Superior).

58. AE 1994, 864 (*Merida*).

59. CIL II, 6171 (*Barcelona*).

60. CIL XII, 412 (*Massilia*).

61. HAE 1918 *apud Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol 3 (*non vidi*).

62. AE 1975, 522 (*Carthagera*). The author states that *Laetilius* is a very well known gentile name and that the *Laetili* from *Carthagera* were one of the *gentes* who dominated local society, at least in the period of Augustus.

63. CIL VI, 11.

64. CIL III, 6120 (*Philippopolis*, Thracia).

65. CIL III, 7476 (*Silistra*, *Moesia Inferior*).

66. AE 1998, 934 (*Poetovio*).

67. CIL III, 15163 (*Aquincum*). The lecture of the name is uncertain.

As for the form that is probably recorded in Dacia, *Laetilius*, it is spread in northern Italy but only as a gentile name, especially in the territory of *Brixia* where names on this root are of local origin⁶⁸. It might be that the name spread from here to southern Gaul, the Dalmatian coast and in the area around *Poetovio*⁶⁹. Bearers of names on the root *Laet-* and originar from northern Italy are recorded in Belgica⁷⁰; in Britain⁷¹; in Dalmatia⁷² and in Moesia Inferior⁷³.

In central and southern Italy (Rome excepted) only the form *Laetus* is somehow more often recorded. From among derivatives only one *Laetilla* and one *Laetitia*, showing a lack of transmission of the name in families. From among the 20 and some *Laeti* quite a few have the "ausdrücklicher Angabe" of their non-free social status. *Laetilius* as a gentile name is only recorded once and it is a significant record⁷⁴. There are some other interesting records in Italy: a *fundus Laetianus*, named after an owner *Laetus*⁷⁵; *M. Pullius M.f. Arn. Laetus Frentranus* (=ager *Frentanus*)⁷⁶; *Q. Laetinius Q. f. Pom. Firmus Aretio*⁷⁷ and indeed a *Q. Letinius Lupus in Arretium* proper⁷⁸. The gentile name *Laetinius*, derived from *Laetus*, is listed among Italic names⁷⁹ but it is mentioned that the form *Laetilius* is more frequent in northern Italy especially in the area from *Brixia* to *Hasta*, as well as in CIL 2 and 3⁸⁰.

68. UNTERMANN, J., *Die venetische Personennamen*, Wiesbaden, 1961, §163, n. 194, see also map 21. The local form is *laioni* cf. also HOLDER, o.c., vol. II, col. 127: *laio-n* in *Bretolain*; BRAUER, S., *Stand und Status. Municipale Oberschichten in Brixia und Verona*, Bonn 1996 (*non vidi*) who counts 11 *Laetillii* as *nomina*. It is an area the romanization took the onomastic form of making gentile names on Gallic roots and there are inscriptions recording four generations of people bearing epichoric names see CHILVER, G.E.F., *Cisalpine Gaul. Social and Economic History from 49 B.C. to the Death of Trajan*, Oxford 1941, 73, 79.

69. UNTERMANN, o.c., 155.

70. A *Laetorius* from Verona in SCHILLINGER-HÄFELE, "Vierter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII und zweiter Nachtrag zu Fr.Vollmer, Inscriptioes Baivarum Romanae", BRGK 58, 1977, 61 *apud Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III (*non vidi*).

71. From *Luco* RIB 535.

72. From *Augusta Praetoria* CIL III, 8747 (*Salona*).

73. From *Acheræ* CIL III, 7476 (*Silistra*).

74. *L. Laetilius L.l. Rufus* CIL IX (*Beneventum*).

75. RE XII, (1924), s.v. *Laetianus*; it is situated in the *pagus Albensis* near *Veleia* CIL XI, 1147. The inscription dates from 102 A. D.

76. AE 1978, 51 (Rome). The inscription dates from the 1st century A.C. As far as I have found out, it is the oldest record of a person bearing one of the names on the root *Laet-*. The editor thinks that he probably received citizenship after the civil wars.

77. CIL VI, 2381,b.

78. CIL XI, 1823.

79. SCHULZE, o.c., 177-178.

80. *Ibidem*.

The reduced presence of *Laetus* and especially of its derivatives in Italy proper is not surprising for those who accept that the name is also part of the Venetian and Celtic anthroponymy and that in the provinces it is in a great measure if not exclusively of these origins and not Latin.

The territorial spread of the anthroponomastic family of *Laetus* is as follows: central and southern Italy: 1; northern Italy 0.88; Hispania 0.58; Dalmatia 0.33; Narbonensis 0.30; Belgica, Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Britain 0.13; the rest of the provinces where it is recorded 0.05⁸¹.

There are two important analogies for the person from Ilișua. One is the family of a *Val. Laetus* living at *Illiberis* in Baetica in the first half of the 1st century P. C.⁸². The family consists of *L. Val. Laetus*, *M. Val. Vetustus* and *Prima*, slave of the later. *Illiberis* is one of the cities from the Iberian Peninsula to whom a great deal of indirect onomastic indications from Dacia point to. Hispania, is, after northern Italy the second region as for the frequency of names on *Laet-*, and interesting records are to be found here, too⁸³. The other one is of a *L. Val. Laetus* whose name appears on a stamp from northern Italy⁸⁴.

Thus, it looks like in the case of the Dacian-Roman *Valerius Laetilius*, living probably in the 3rd century on the northern frontier of the province, the surname is part of the Celtic and not the Latin anthroponymy.

There are a few possibilities as for the territory where he came from. One is directly from northern Italy⁸⁵. The other one is from any of the regions where the name is also recorded, either as an importation from northern Italy or as a local

anthroponym, namely the Rhine or the Danube. To decide this, I turned toward other epigraphic indications. The names or the other family members were not helpful⁸⁶. But there is the epigraphic mention of the fact that *Val. Laetilius* was a decurion of an *ala Frontoniniana*, that is the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniniana*, stationed at Ilișua⁸⁷. *Laetus* having a kind of connection with the *Laeti* neighboring the *Tungri* and being recorded in Belgica and Germania, it might be that the surname *Laetilius* was extracted from the Celtic-Germanic anthroponymy and not the Venetian one. The general survey of the onomastic of this settlement shows a 33% of people bearing Celtic or Celtic-Roman names⁸⁸. Together with those bearing Latin names but being from the same families as the previous, the ratio goes up to almost 50%. This is a proportion that is very different from the 3% Celtic names counted for the entire Roman province of Dacia. Even more, the study of the Celtic names from Ilișua shows that a part of them are more specific for the Rhine area than for other regions with Celtic background.

The *Tungri*⁸⁹ moved from the right to the left shore of the Rhine and occupied a great part of Gallia Belgica around the river Maas⁹⁰. If they were not Celtized from the beginning, they definitely became Celtized soon enough. The capital of their *civitas*, *Aduatica* (today Tongres) became a regular habitation from the 1st century P. C. first as a military then very soon as a civilian settlement⁹¹.

1. To sum up, the following arguments can be invoked to predict a Tungric ascendance of *Valerius Laetilius*:

2. He bears a surname that is both Latin and Celtic but which in his case is extracted from the Celtic-Germanic onomastic.

3. This surname is recorded on the Rhine and there is probably one bearer who indeed is a *Tunger*.

81. I did not do any inquiry in the Greek speaking territories as it has no significance for our particular case of *Val. Laetilius*. It would have had some if a person bearing such a name, especially if a *gentilicium*, would have been recorded in Dacia as coming from one of those territories.

82. *CIL* II, 2093.

83. Beside the anthroponyms mentioned above (n. 58-62), there is also the record of an ethnicon, *Lai-etani*, population living north of Tarraco HOLDER, *o.c.* vol. II col. 122.

84. *AE* 1997, 528 (territory of Modena).

85. And there are many colonists coming from that region. I will here only mention rapidly: *M. Ulpius Landionis f.* [...] *Acherae* IDR I, 4 (Românași) for whom see also PAKI, A., "Onomasticon Daciae (I). Die Patronymika der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis", *Acta Musei Napocensis* 35/1, 1998, 139-140 and *M. Pollius M. f. Ouf. Hispanus Mediolano* BĂRBULESCU, M., CĂȚINAȘ, A., "Les inscriptions d' un temple de Potaissa", *Politique édititaire dans les provinces de l'empire romain, IIe - IVe siècles de n.è. Actes du II^e colloque Roumano-Suisse*, Cluj-Napoca 1993 49-64.

86. If not for the fact that they do not contradict the prediction for *Val. Laetilius*. These other surnames, *Saturninus*, *Vitalianus* and *Vitalis* are what they call "*cognomina de guerre*".

87. PROTASE, D.; GAIU, C.; MARINESCU, CH., *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița 1997 (monograph); PETOLESCU, C.C., "Unitățile auxiliare din Dacia romană (I)", *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie*, 46/1, 1995, 47-49.

88. Such as *Cittius*, *Cutius*, *Lelius* (*nomina*), and *Ammius*, *Apigianus*, *Atinianus*, *Avitus*, *Iovinus*, *Ioimarus* etc (surnames).

89. The name in Celtic means "the confederates".

90. And one of the tributaries of this river is *Laeti*, see above, n. 47.

91. This information is extracted from an article mainly treating about the Christian and not the Roman *Tungres*: WANKENNE, XLVIII, 265-275.

4. It probably is a surname in *-ius*, an onomastic fact showing the *ingenuitas* of the bearer.

5. The names of the other family members do not contradict any of the above.

6. He is a decurion in an auxiliary unit of *Tungri*.

7. He lived at Ilisua where at least half of the population is of Tungric ascendance.