

Onomastic Remarks on Roman Sardinia

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BEFORE THE ROMANS SEIZED and began occupying the island of Sardinia in 238 B. C., it had been settled by Punic-speaking Carthaginians and by indigenous natives (Protosardi), who had linguistic affinities with the indigenous populations of North Africa (Libyans), Spain (Iberians), and North-west Italy (Ligurians).¹ Hence, the nomenclature of individuals from Roman Sardinia exhibits relationships with these areas, some of which have long since been pointed out.

First, the Punic names preserved primarily on Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions (fig. 1 and 2) as well as in Cicero and on Latin inscriptions (these comprise about 3 percent of the total):²

- Aris (Cic. *Scaur.* frg. 2. 6), a notable from Nora;
- b'łsk (Punic, 32: Tharros), an architect;
- bb'1 (Neo-punic, 8: Bitia), a sufete;
- bd' son of 'bd' (Punic, 26: Nora);
- 'bdh- son of t- (Punic, 32: Tharros), a sufete;
- 'bdkšr (Punic, 32: Tharros);
- 'bdmlqrt son of 'bdmlqrt (Neo-punic, 6: Sulci);
- 'bdšg- (Punic, 32: Tharros);
- 'bd'smn son of ħmlk (Punic, 9: near S. Niccolò Gerrei), sufete;
- Bostar (Cic. *Scaur.* frg. 2. 1), a notable from Nora;
- Cn. Domitius Sincaius (Cic. *Scaur.* 43);
- Himilco Idnibalis (ħmlkt son of 'dnb'1) (*CIL* 10. 7513 = Neo-punic, 5: Sulci);
- Himilco son of Himilco (ħmlkt) (*CIL* 10. 7513 = Neo-punic, 5: Sulci);
- ħmlkt (Punic, 9: near S. Niccolò Gerrei), sufete;
- ħmy (Punic, 32: Tharros), sufete;
- ħnb'1 (Punic, 34: Olbia);
- Iulius M-sal (*CIL* 10. 7841: Vallermosa), sufete;
- łħn' of bodmlqrt, son of ħn' (Punic, 23. 2: S. Pietro);
- mgn (Punic, 29: Nora);
- mgn (Neo-punic, 6: Sulci), son of 'bdmlqrt;

¹ See especially B. Terracini, "Gli studi linguistici sulla Sardegna preromana," *Sardegna Romana*, volume primo, Rome, 1936, 53–80; E. de Felice, "La Sardaigne dans la Méditerranée d'après la Toponymie des Côtes," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, The Hague, 1966, 147–173; V. Bertoldi, "Sardo-Punica," *Parola del Passato* 2 (1947) 3–38; G. Serra, "Appunti su l'elemento punico e libico nell'onomastica sarda," *Vox Romanica* 13 (1953/54) 51–65; G. Lilliu, review of G. Serra, *Scritti vari di glottologia sarda*, *Studi Sardi* 10–11 (1950–51) 579–594.

² The texts of these inscriptions are those of G. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente*, *Studi Semiciti*, 28, Rome, 1967, 83–136.

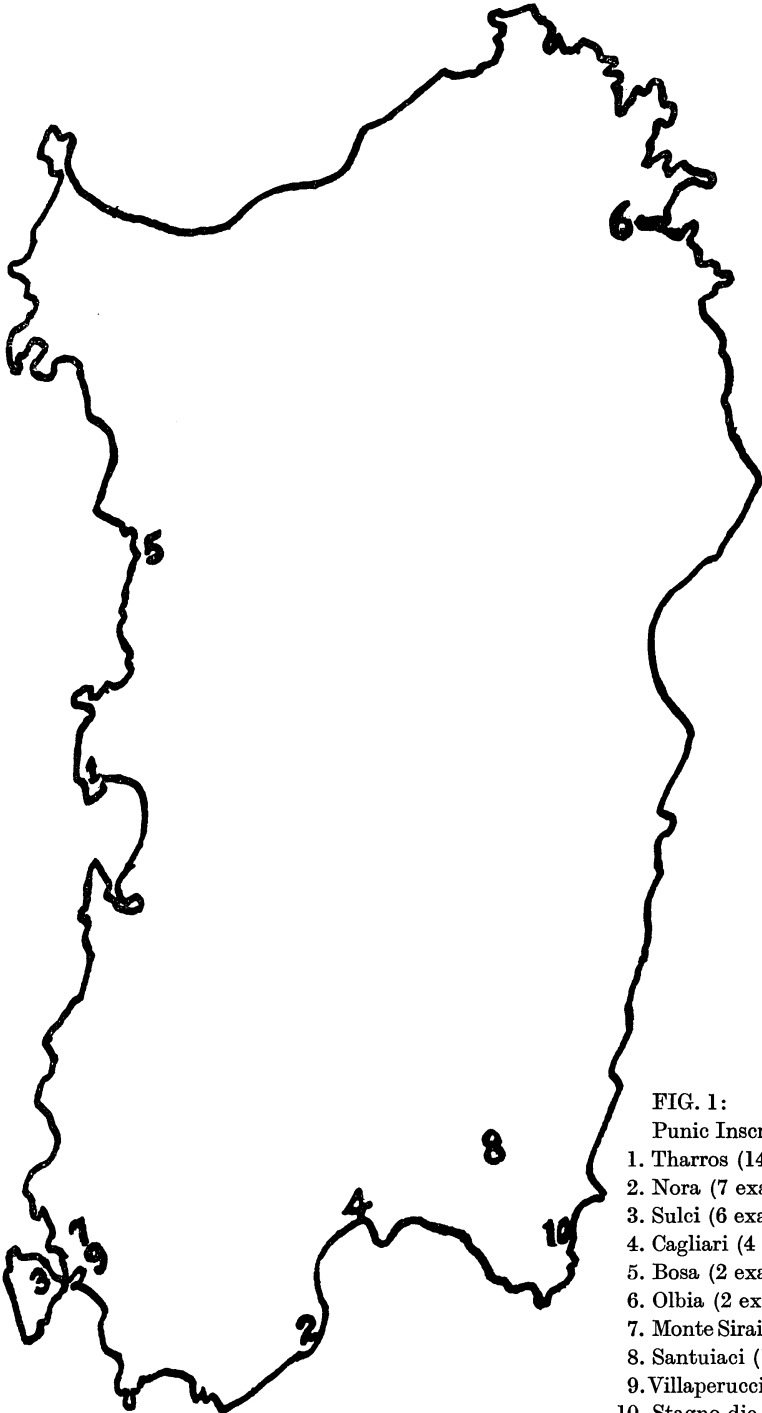


FIG. 1:
Punic Inscriptions
1. Tharros (14 examples)
2. Nora (7 examples)
3. Sulci (6 examples)
4. Cagliari (4 examples)
5. Bosa (2 examples)
6. Olbia (2 examples)
7. Monte Sirai (2 examples)
8. Santuiaici (1 example)
9. Villaperuciu (1 example)
10. Stagno die Colostrai
(1 example)

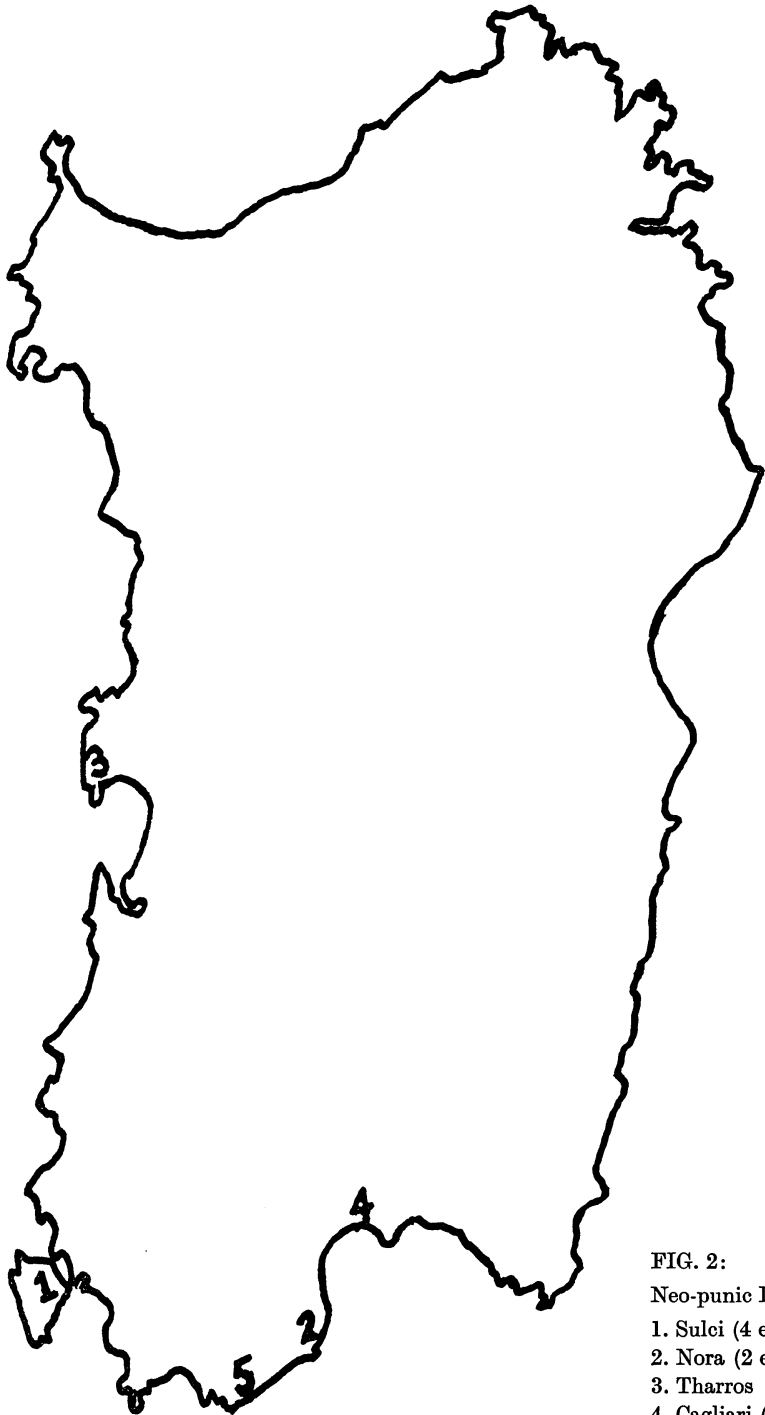


FIG. 2:
Neo-punic Inscriptions
1. Sulci (4 examples)
2. Nora (2 examples)
3. Tharros (2 examples)
4. Cagliari (1 example)
5. Bitia (1 example)

pdy son of 'rš (Punic, 27: Nora);
 phly' (= Pullius?) 'gbr (cf. Agbor: *CIL* 8. 26701) son of mqr' (Neo-punic, 2: Sulci);
 plks (= Felix) khrršy (= Cressius?: cf. *CIL* 10. 5247) (Neo-punic, 2: Sulci);
 Phamea (Cic. *Att.* 13. 9; *Fam.* 7. 24. 2);
 'rkrḥ (Neo-punic, 9: Tharros);
 Saturninus 'nbrys (Neo-punic, 8: Bitia);
 sp' (Neo-punic, 7: Nora);
 --- son of 'tš (Punic, 23. 3: S. Pietro);
 'zr (Punic, 32: Tharros);
 ---h (Neo-punic, 8: Bitia), sufete;
 --hbrk son of šdq (Neo-punic, 1: Sulci);
 ---rt (Punic, 32: Tharros).

Further, many individuals bear nomina which are extremely common in Roman North Africa (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total):

Agria (S. 1. 247: Portotorres): common in Italy (IX: 8; X: 11; XIV: 11), but not in the North (V: 1; XI: 1); especially common in Africa (VIII: 38);³

Apertia (S. 1. 60: Cagliari): VIII: 8; a total of 6 in V, IX, XI, and XIV;

C. Apronius (S. 1. 25: Portotorres), Apronius Iuli — (S. 1. 74: Cagliari), C. Apronius C. f. Postumianus (S. 1. 251: Portotorres): VIII: 40; a total of 16 in V, X, XI, and XIV;

Bennia -ca Flavia -a Nereis O- (?) (S. 1. 55: Cagliari), L. Bennius L. f. Qui. Felix Mini-
 cianus (S. 1. 55: Cagliari), local notable: VIII: 18; a total of 14 in IX, X, and XI;

Marcus Caelestin(i?)us (*CIL* 10. 3601: Misenum), sailor from Sardinia: VIII: 12; a total of 10 in II, X, XI, and XIV;

Cessia Sabina (*CIL* 10. 7586: Cagliari): VIII: 7; X: 1;

Favonia M. f. Vera (*CIL* 10. 7541: Nora), from Cagliari, Q. Favonius A- (*CIL* 10. 7652: Cagliari), M. Favonius Callistus (*CIL* 10. 7541: Nora), Augustalis, Favonius Donatus (*CIL* 8. 9202: Sūr Djuab), soldier in Cohors II Sardorum, Q. Favonius Ru- (*CIL* 10. 7652: Cagliari): VIII: 15; a total of 26 in I²; II; V, IX, X, XI, XII;

Gabinia (S. 1. 65: Cagliari), (St.) Gabinius (Bonu, 124—6),⁴ C. Gabinius Felix (S. 1. 65: Cagliari), P. Gabinius Faustus (*CIL* 10. 7645: Cagliari), Q. Gabinius A. f. Quir. Receptus (*CIL* 10. 7599: Cagliari), local notable: VIII: 60; X: 32; XI: 14; IX: 10; XIV: 6; V: 1;

Gargilia L. f. Gemella (S. 1. 11: Sulei), Gargilius -ianus (*CIL* 10. 7656: Cagliari): VIII: 135; a total of 19 in IX, X, XI, XIV;

Gessia Allia (*EE* 8. 715: Cagliari): VIII: 11; V: 1; X: 4; XI, XII, XIV: 3 each;

³ S. 1 = G. Sotgiu, *Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna*, Padova, 1961; S. 1969 = G. Sotgiu, "Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde," *Annali delle Facoltà... dell'Università di Cagliari* 32 (1969) 5—77; *CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; *EE* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*; Alföldy = G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, Beiheft 4, Heidelberg, 1969; Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies* = I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, Helsinki, 1963; Kajanto = I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965; Pape = W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3d ed., Braunschweig, 1884; Wuthnow = H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930. The formula IX: 8 (e. g.) means that there are eight examples of a name in *CIL*, volume 9. Names which are extraordinarily common and ubiquitous (Cassius, Petronius, Valerius, e. g.) have been left out of account in this study. Some names appear on more than one list.

⁴ Bonu = R. Bonu, *E a dir di Sardegna*, Cagliari, 1969, who provides, on pp. 105—168, a convenient list, with full references, of Sardinian saints (real and apocryphal).

A. Helvidius (*CIL* 10. 7717: Cagliari): VIII: 7; XIV: 4; XI: 2; *cf.* Herennia M. f. Helvidia (*EE* 8. 718: Elmas);

M. Helvius Rogatus (*CIL* 10. 7597: Cagliari): VIII: 101; XIV: 18; XI: 27; V: 27;

Labinia P. f. (*CIL* 10. 7675: Cagliari), Labinius (*CIL* 10. 7675: Cagliari): VIII + *AE*, 1968, 632: 3; XII: 3;

Lerius Fronto (S. 1. 332: unknown location): VIII: 1 possible; XI: 1;

Luria Privata (S. 1. 265: Portotorres): VIII: 63; a total of 24 in IX, X, XI, and XIV;

Magneius L. f. Ouf. Sardus (*CIL* 10. 5663: Frusino), Magnia Lucretia (*EE* 8. 723: near Pirri), L. Magnus Fulvianus (*CIL* 10. 7946: Portotorres), tribunus militum, L. Magnus Fortunatianus Quirina (*CIL* 8. 3185: Lambaesis), from Cagliari; parallels with -ei- are rare (*CIL* 6. 28656: Magnea Donata), perhaps also *CIL* 12. 4977: Mannea Primula; Magnus is more common: VIII: 88; a total of 23 in III, V, X, XI, XII, XIV;

Matius Resus (*CIL* 10. 7816: Pirri): VIII: 23; a total of 10 in IX, XI, XII, XIV;

Mevia Ur--- (*CIL* 10. 7682: Cagliari): VIII: 46; a total of 35 in IX, X, XI, and XIV;

Q. Porcius Clarus (*CIL* 10. 8327: Portotorres), M. Porcius Felix (*CIL* 10. 7514: Sulci), M. Porcius Impetratus (*CIL* 10. 7514: Sulci), local notable, M. Porcius M. l. Primigenus (*CIL* 10. 7514: Sulci), magister Larum Augustalium: VIII: 43; a total of 32 in V, IX, X, XI, and XIV;

Silius Tabernarius (S. 1. 268: Portotorres): VIII: 68; V: 4; IX: 8; X: 19; XI: 14; XIV: 21;

C. Sittius Egnatianus (S. 1. 273: Portotorres): extraordinarily common in VIII;

C. Tutius (*CIL* 10. 8320: Sulci): VIII: 8; X: 2; XI; XIV: 4 each.

As can be seen from fig. 3, the distribution of these names closely parallels what we saw for the Punic names. There are also numerous other names (about 6 percent of the total) which are common in Roman North Africa, but which are so common elsewhere that they cannot be said to be peculiarly African (fig. 4):

Sex. Appuleius (*CIL* 10. 7627: Cagliari): V: 34; IX: 11; X: 83; XI: 11; XIV: 25; VIII: 24;

Aquila Pompeia (*CIL* 10. 7628: Cagliari): VIII: 26; X: 25; V, XIV: 14 each; XI: 12; IX: 8;

Arria Chia (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arria Crispinilla (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arrius -corus (*CIL* 10. 7949: Portotorres), Arrius Callistus (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arrius Iscini- (*CIL* 10. 7917: Cornus), C. Arrius Laetus (*CIL* 10. 7591: Cagliari), miles cohortis Sardorum, Arrius Saturninus (*CIL* 10. 7964: Portotorres): X: 84; VIII: 44; IX: 28; XI: 49; XIV: 24;

Aruntius (*CIL* 10. 7867: Fordongianus): VIII: 71; XI: 27; X: 28; IX: 16; XIV: 14; V: 12;

Caesonia Soteris (*CIL* 10. 7635: Cagliari): V: 4; VIII: 11; IX: 1; X: 19; XI: 5; XIV: 8;

Cornificia Gemina (*CIL* 10. 7645: Cagliari): X: 13; VIII: 7; XIV: 5; XI: 1;

Egnatia (*CIL* 10. 7813: Pirri), Egnatia (*CIL* 10. 7825: Sestu), Egnatia C. f. Iunia (*EE* 8. 717: Cagliari): XI: 58; VIII: 50; X: 45; IX: 35; V: 21; XIV: 12;

Fabricia Primiginia (*CIL* 10. 7593: Cagliari), L. Fabricius Faustus (*CIL* 10. 7845: Usellus), local notable, C. Fabricius Ianuarius (*CIL* 10. 7593: Cagliari), archigybernus: VIII: 38; X: 20; XI: 11; XIV: 10; V: 9;

Lollia Philonice (*CIL* 10. 7963: Portotorres), C. Lollius Crescentianus (*CIL* 10. 7670: Cagliari): VIII: 69; X: 48; IX: 39; XIV: 21; XI: 17;

Lucretia Fortunata (*CIL* 10. 7680: Cagliari), Lucretia Piaeris (*CIL* 10. 7680: Cagliari), Lucretia Venusta (*CIL* 10. 7964: Portotorres), Lucretius (*CIL* 10. 7584: Cagliari), L. Lucretius (S. 1. 219: Austis), Lucretius --- Felix (*CIL* 10. 7679: Cagliari), Lucretius Fortunatus (*CIL* 10. 7680: Cagliari), L. Lucretius L. l. Pacatus (*CIL* 10. 7887: Austis), Lucretius Secundus (*CIL* 10. 7887: Austis), collibertus of preceding: X: 41; VIII: 38; XI: 21; IX: 19; XIV: 19;

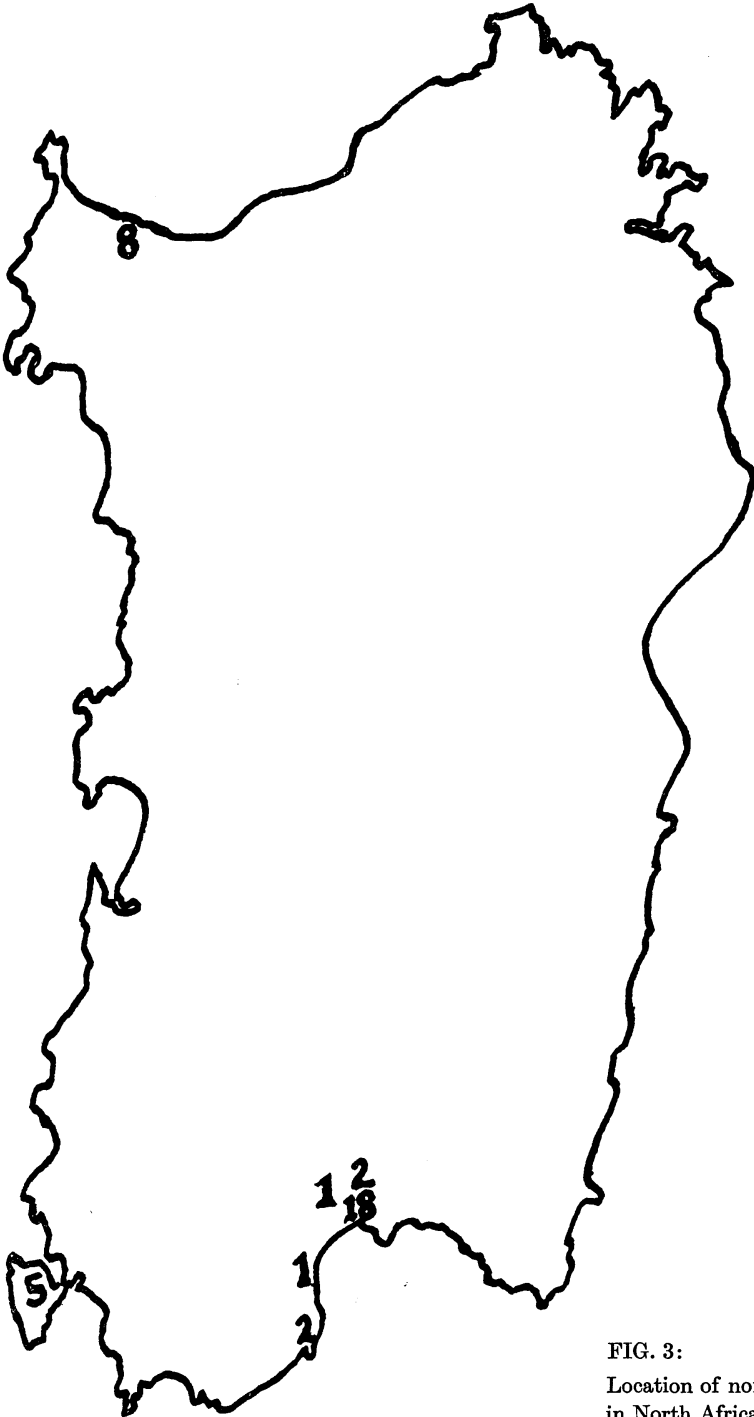


FIG. 3:
Location of nomina common
in North Africa
(n = number of examples)

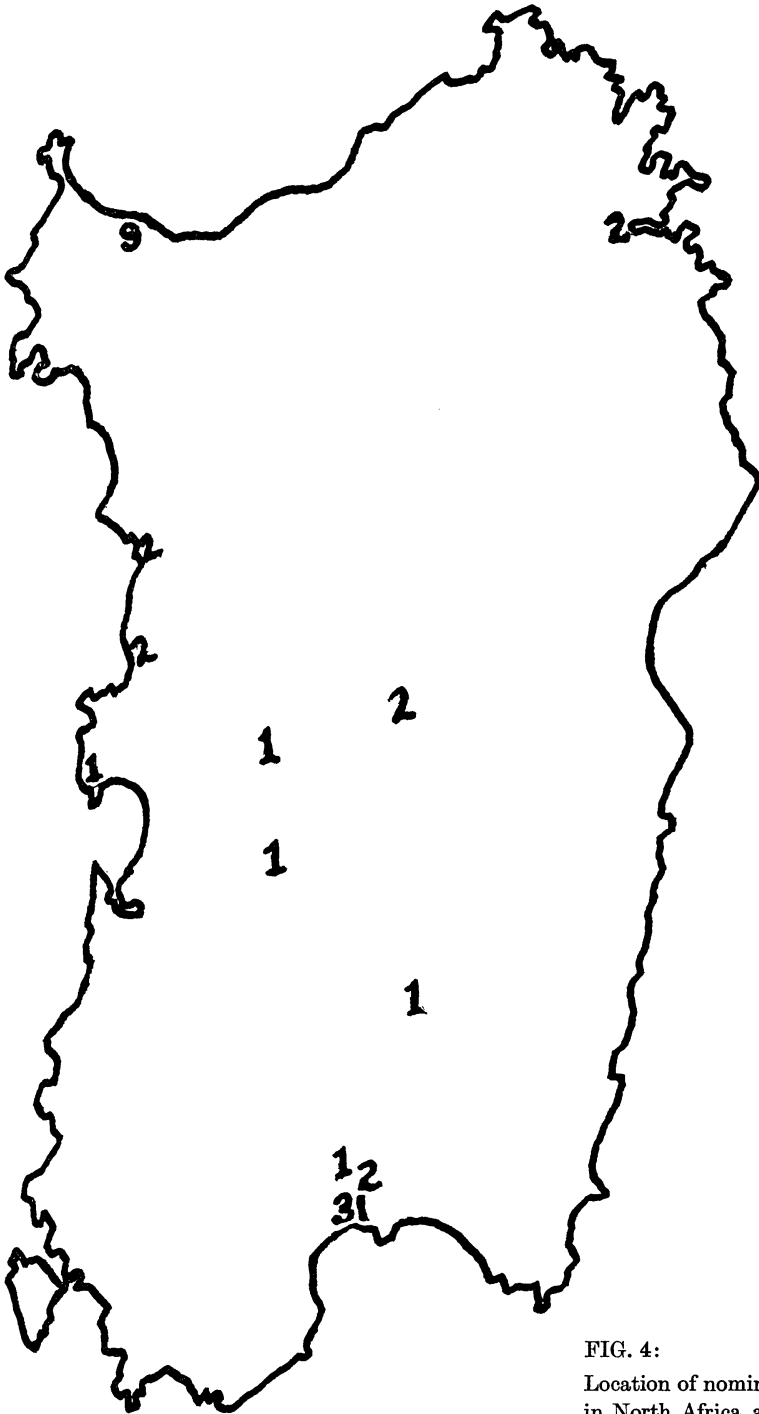


FIG. 4:
Location of nomina common
in North Africa and elsewhere
(n = number of examples)

- Messia (*CIL* 10. 7655: Cagliari): VIII: 31; X: 26; XI: 22; IX: 16;
 M. Nonius Aquilinus (*CIL* 10. 3598: Misenum): X, VIII: 89 each; IX: 48;
 C. Oclatius Macer, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 7891): V: 6; VIII: 4; X: 2; XI: 4; XIV: 2;
 Otacilia Itageni (S. 1. 269: Portotorres): X: 14; VIII: 17; IX: 1; XI: 7; XIV: 23;
 M. Papirius Sp. f. (*CIL* 10. 7688: Cagliari): V: 38; VIII: 37; XI: 36; X: 14; IX: 13;
 XIV: 4;
 Rutilia Amalia (S. 1. 234: Bosa), Rutilia C. f. Ametghesa (*CIL* 10. 7699: Cagliari),
 Rutilia Xanthippe (*CIL* 10. 7817: Pirri), Q. Rutilius (*CIL* 10. 7939: Bosa), Rutilius Ostesis
 (S. 1. 272: Portotorres), Rutilius Veratianus (*CIL* 10. 7817: Portotorres): VIII: 38; IX:
 35; X: 31; XI: 24; V: 20; XIV: 30;
 Sei- (Seia ?) (*CIL* 10. 7987: Olbia), Seia Ursa (*CIL* 10. 7657: Cagliari): VIII: 57; V:
 15; XI: 24; X: 23; IX: 4;
 Sergia Melitine (*CIL* 10. 7701: Cagliari), liberta, Sergis (*CIL* 10. 7775: Cagliari), Ser-
 gius Antoninus (*CIL* 10. 7707: Cagliari), Q. Sergius Q. f. Quir. Quadratus (*CIL* 10. 7915:
 Cornus), local notable: VIII: 36; X, XI: 22 each; IX: 15; V: 10;
 M. Servil- (*CIL* 10. 7987: Olbia), Servilia C. l. Mo- (S. 1. 251: Portotorres), Publius Ser-
 bilius (*CIL* 10. 7628: Cagliari): VIII: 71; V: 41; X: 34; IX: 22; XI: 17;
 Sextia Prima (*CIL* 8. 9198: Sâr Djuab), wife of Abillahas Rummeus, soldier in Cohors
 II Sardorum: V: 34; VIII: 47; IX: 16; X: 26;
 Sossius (S. 1. 227: Tharros) VIII: 33; X: 12; XI: 26; XIV: 12; IX: 5;
 Stertina Fortunata (*CIL* 10. 7703: Cagliari), Stertinius Abitus (*CIL* 10. 7704: Cagliari),
 C. Stertinius Aelianus (*CIL* 10. 7703: Cagliari), C. Stertinius Bacchyllas (*CIL* 10. 7703:
 Cagliari), C. Stertinius Felix (*CIL* 10. 7857: Donigala): V: 2; VIII: 8; IX: 1; X: 13; XI:
 5; XIV: 5;
 Tatia Inc- (*CIL* 10. 7689: Cagliari): X: 18; VIII: 7; IX: 5; XIV: 2; XI: 3; V: 1;
 Verati- (S. 1. 121: Cagliari), Veratius Hermeros (*CIL* 10. 7956: Portotorres): XI: 4;
 VIII, XIV: 6 each;
 T. Vinius Beryllus, father and son (*CIL* 10. 7719: Cagliari): X: 12; VIII: 9; IX: 7;
 XI: 3; XIV: 1.

Further, of African extraction will have been some of the bearers of such ubiquitous names as Cornelius, Cassius, Valerius, not to mention the imperial names Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Aelius, Ulpus. For these, cognomina can assist, for certain cognomina were particularly favored in Punic speaking lands.⁵ The following list encompasses those cognomina which are most common in Roman Africa and are attested in Sardinia (fig. 5); they comprise about 16 percent of the total:

- Abeddea (= Habetdeus) (*CIL* 10. 7744: Cagliari); cf. Kajanto, 217;
 Acrabas (2 examples); Kajanto, 306;
 Adeodata (*CIL* 10. 7745: Cagliari); Kajanto, 216;
 Admonius (= Ammonius) (*Concilia Galliae [314–506]* 1. 15. 70): Presbyter de civitate
 Caralis; VIII: 3; IX: 2; X: 1; V: 1; XIV: 1; observe C. Ammonius Montanus, born at Alex-
 andrea (*CIL* 6. 3093) and C. Hammonius Fortis, born in Egypt (*CIL* 10. 3381);

⁵ Cf. H. G. Pflaum, "Remarques sur l'onomastique de Castellum Celtinatum," *Carnuntiana* (ed. S. Swoboda), Graz, 1956, 126–151; L. A. Thompson, "Settler and Native in the urban Centres of Roman Africa," *Africa in Classical Antiquity* (ed. L. A. Thompson and J. Ferguson), Ibadan, 1969, 132–181; J. Marion, "La Population de Volubilis à l'époque romaine," *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine* 4 (1960) 133–187.



FIG. 5:
Location of cognomina common
in North Africa
(n = number of examples)

- Ampelius (Symm. *Epis.* 2. 33A): VIII: 5; 1 each in V, IX, XI;
 Asellus (2 examples); Kajanto, 325;
 Asinarius (*CIL* 10. 7868: Fordongianus); the only other example is from Carthage (*CIL* 8. 13468);
 Aufidianus (*CIL* 10. 7676: Cagliari); Kajanto, 141;
 Benenatus (S. 1. 329: Olbia); VIII: 22; V: 2; XII: 2;
 Bernaceus (*CIL* 10. 7752: Cagliari) = Bernaclus: *CIL* 8. 2292, 13992–3, 23053;
 Bonifatius (2 examples); VIII: 59; V, IX, XI: 1 each;
 Bonus Homo (*CIL* 10. 7783: Cagliari); Kajanto 274;
 Calvisius/-anus (2 examples); Kajanto, 143;
 Castus (2 examples); Kajanto, 251;
 Catella (Greg. *Ep.* 1. 60, 62); VIII: 3;
 Celsus (S. 1. 307: Castelsardo); Kajanto, 230;
 Dativus (S. 1. 14: Sulci); Kajanto, 298;
 Deusdedit (S. 1969, 88: Cagliari); Kajanto, 217;
 Donatus (3 examples); Kajanto, 298;
 Epiphanius (2 examples); VIII: 8;
 Eutychiuss/-anus (2 examples); Kajanto, *Onom. Stud.*, 74, 83;
 Felix (29 examples); Kajanto, 272;
 Fortunatus (13 examples); Kajanto, 273;
 Fuscus (2 examples); VIII: 65; XI: 22; IX: 12;
 Gaudiosa (*AE*, 1966, 174: Portotorres); Kajanto, 260;
 Germanus (5 examples); Kajanto, 201;
 Hilarus (5 examples); Kajanto, 261; VIII: 59;
 Honoratus (7 examples); Kajanto, 279;
 Ianuarius (14 examples); Kajanto, 218;
 Innocentius (Greg. *Ep.* 13. 6); Kajanto, 252;
 Iucundula (*CIL* 10. 7815: Pirri); Kajanto, 282;
 Iustus (*CIL* 10. 7901: Tharros); VIII: 54;
 Marinius (Greg. *Ep.* 1. 59, 10. 3); VIII: 8;
 Martialis (3 examples); Kajanto, 212;
 Mustulus (S. 1. 14: Sulci); Kajanto, 17f.;
 Peregrin- (S. 1. 124a: Cagliari); Kajanto, 313;
 Perpetua (S. 1. 107, 108: Cagliari); Kajanto, 274;
 Quadratus (3 examples); Kajanto, 232;
 Quintasius (*Conc. Gall.* 1. 15. 70); Kajanto, 174;
 Quobuldeus (*CIL* 10. 7769: Cagliari); Kajanto, 217;
 Reparata (2 examples); Kajanto, 355;
 Rogatus (9 examples); Kajanto, 297;
 Salsula (*CIL* 10. 7643: Cagliari); Kajanto, 261;
 Saturninus (16 examples); Kajanto, 213;
 Saturus (S. 1. 338: unknown location); Kajanto, 233;
 Tabernarius (S. 1. 268: Portotorres); Kajanto, 322;
 Urbanus (9 examples); Kajanto, 311.

Obviously, not every individual who bore one of these names can be related to Africa; Trosius Felix (*CIL* 10. 7709: Cagliari), for example, is probably Venetic (Alföldy, 129). However, they do provide a further indication of the extent to which Roman Sardinia was indebted to its African background.

There are still further names whose best referents seem to be Roman Africa:

- Abillahas Rummeus (*CIL* 8. 9198). soldier in Cohors II Sardorum, is probably African (cf. Wuthnow, 9); he may have been recruited locally;
- Aedilius (*CIL* 10. 7884–5: Austis); cf. *CIL* 8. 15470 (Aedilius Felix);
- Aelia Annia (S. 1. 308: S. Teresa di Gallura); may be Semitic: Wuthnow, 23;
- Aelia Bonavia (S. 1. 98: Cagliari); may be African, for Bonavia seems to be limited to *CIL* 8 (2 examples);
- Ammia (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1913, 90: Grugua); may be Semitic (Alföldy, 147);
- Barex (S. 1. 175: Nuragus); perhaps = Baric (VIII: 33);
- Benets (S. 1. 177: Ales); perhaps = Benis (Wuthnow, 35) or Venetus;
- Brumasius (*Vita Fulgenti*, 51); cf. *CIL* 8. 23020. 3;
- Burce (*CIL* 10. 7809: Pirri); cf. *CIL* 8. 4897; Pape, 225;
- Buttis (*CIL* 10. 7634: Cagliari); cf. *CIL* 8. 27864, 10. 2481, and (perhaps) Pape, 226;
- Celele (S. 1. 177: Ales); a Semitic name (Wuthnow, 64); cf. Preisigke, 170;
- Karitus (*CIL* 10. 7876: Fordongianus); cf. *CIL* 8. 1911, 8576;
- Mislius (S. 1. 177: Ales); cf. *EE* 5. 330;
- Netus (S. 1. 172: Gersei); may be related to Netunus (*CIL* 10. 7864, 8. 23250); but cf. Holder, 2. 738 (Netis);
- Sabdaga (S. 1. 177: Ales) and Zabarda (Greg. *Ep.* 4. 25); probably Semitic (Wuthnow, 48); cf. the names Zaba, Zabbur, Zabda in *CIL* 8;
- Taretius Faric Corneli C. (?) (S. 1. 207: Samugheo); cf. *CIL* 8. 9467: Faricus;
- Tarsalia (S. 1. 182: Seulo); cf. *CIL* 8. 18085a. 16 (Tarsa);
- Valeria Amoccada (*CIL* 10. 7842: Vallermosa) and ---mocada/ebenni Ver- (*CIL* 10. 7848: Usellus) seem to be African;
- Valentius (*EE* 8. 735: Telti); cf. *CIL* 8. 21624 (Valentia Ianuaria);
- Verona (*CIL* 10. 7843: Vallermosa); cf. *CIL* 8. 20321 (Veromna);
- miccina (*CIL* 10. 7751: Cagliari), --thrid (*CIL* 10. 7812: near Pirri), ---uodin
stam--- (S. 1969, 2: Nora), although fragmentary, seem African.

For the distribution of these names, see fig. 6. As could perhaps be expected, there are numerous individuals from Roman Sardinia who bear names whose best parallels are in central and southern Italy. Two individuals proclaim themselves to be Faliscans:⁶

- K. Latrius K. f. (*CIL* 1². 364a = 11. 3078, 7483); cf. *AE*, 1954, 96a;
- C. Salvana Voltai f. (*ibid.*).

There is a fairly large body of names, whose distribution is of some importance (fig. 7), and which has parallels in the regions covered by *CIL* 9 (Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabini, Picenum), 10 (Bruttium, Lucania, Campania, Sicilia), 11 (Aemilia, Etruria, Umbria), and 14 (Latium); these comprise about 7 percent of the total:

- C. Acilius Marcianus, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 6574: near Vellitri): common in North Italy (to which we shall return below), but also elsewhere (V: 23; IX: 15; XI: 19; XIV: 36);
- Acareltorte (S. 1. 217: Ortueri), cf. *CIL* 10. 8053. 149 (Acar-: Oristano): apparently unique, but cf. Acercelinio (R. Hirata, *L'Onomastica falisca* [Firenze, 1967], p. 31);

⁶ Cf. *Monte Sirai II, Studi Semitici*, 14, Rome, 1965, tavola XLIV ("Vaso di tipo falisco").

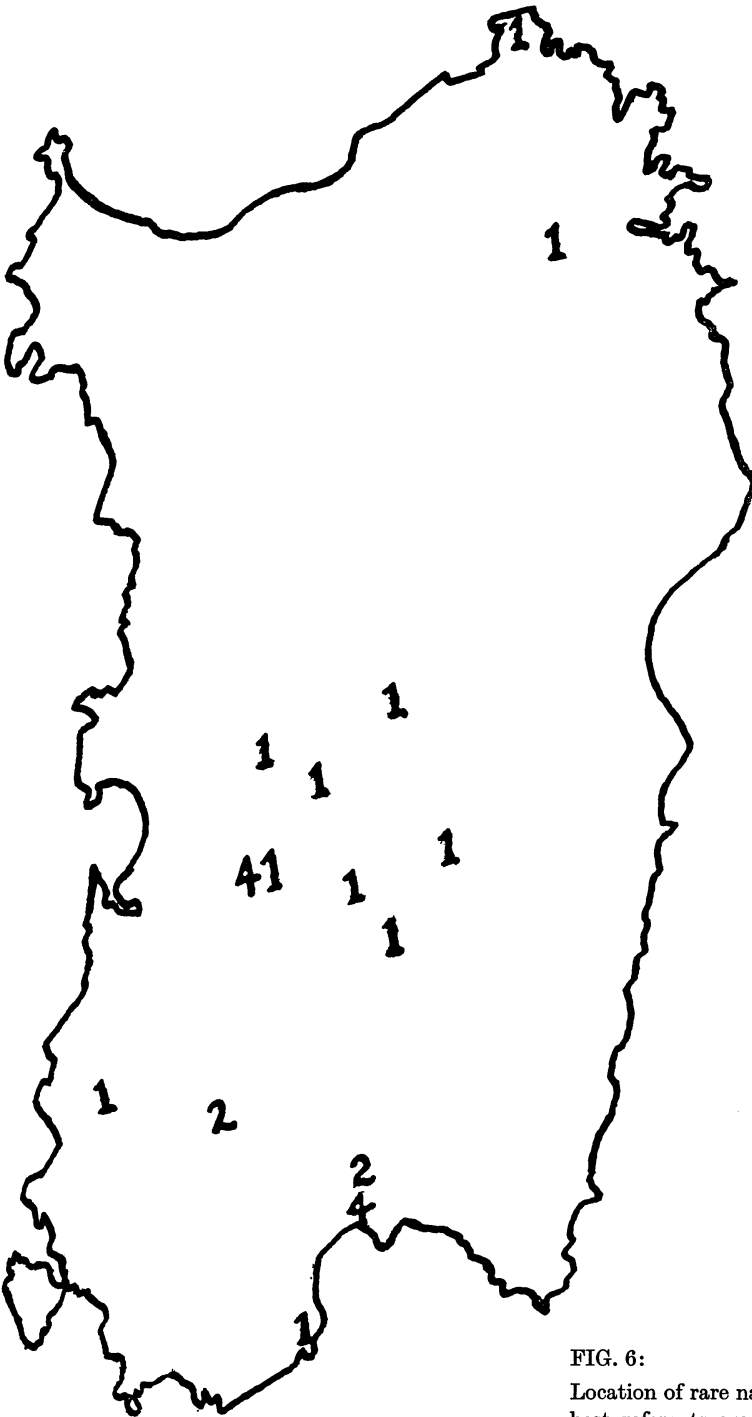


FIG. 6:
Location of rare names whose
best referents are North Africa
(n = number of examples)

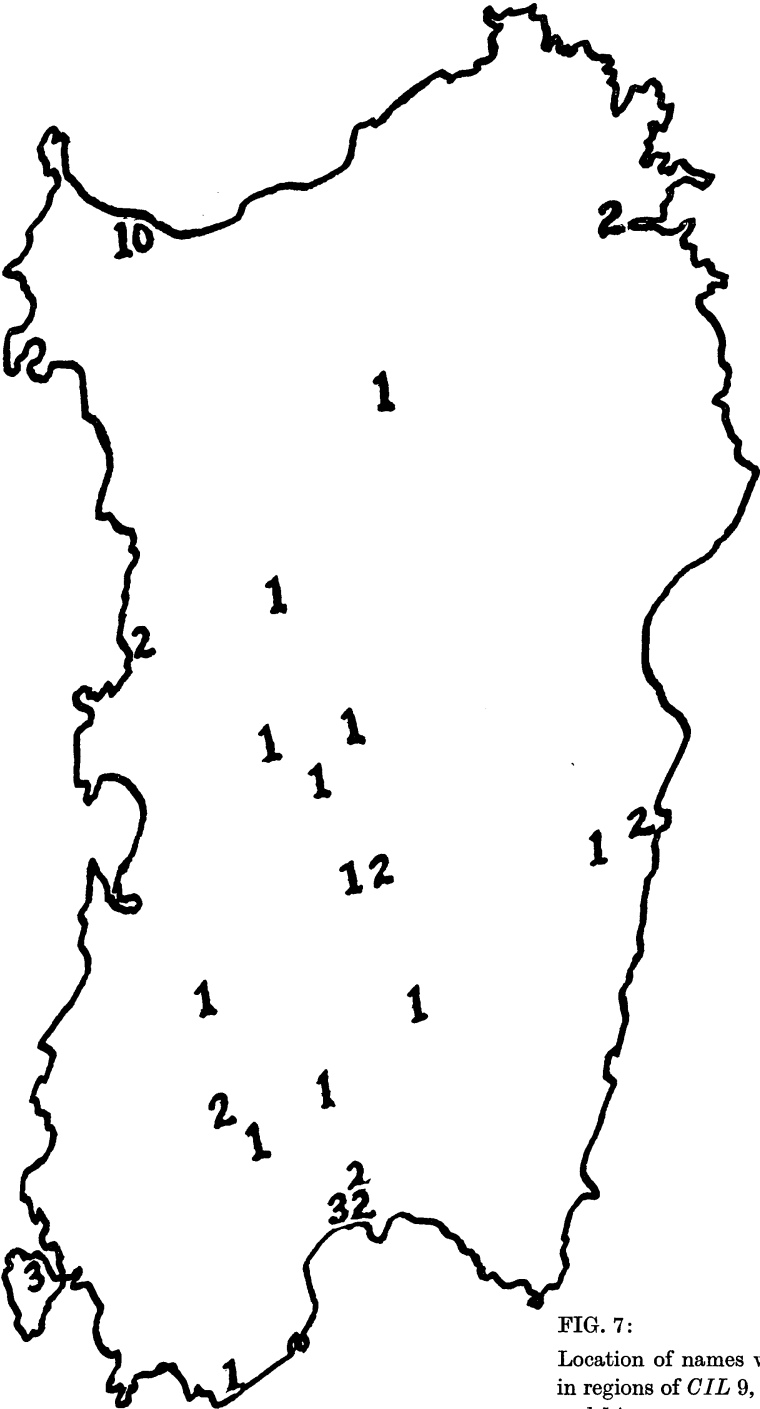


FIG. 7:
Location of names with parallels
in regions of *CIL* 9, 10, 11,
and 14
(n = number of examples)

- Aelius Tosuna (S. 1. 153: Pirri): apparently unique, but (perhaps) cf. Tosnos (*CIL* 11. 2245: Clusium);
- Agisinus (*CIL* 10. 7855: Tortoli): apparently unique, but (perhaps) cf. Agisenna (*CIL* 11. 3233: Nepet);
- D. Alarius Pontificalis, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 7891): Pontificalis seems to be unique; Alarius is paralleled only by Alaria Saturnina (*CIL* 9. 1299);
- M. Alenius Gard- (*CIL* 10. 7722: Vallermosa): V: 6; IX: 3; XI: 8;
- Allenia Urbana (*CIL* 10. 7839: near Vallermosa): X, XI: 1 each;
- Sex. Appuleius (*CIL* 10. 7627: Cagliari): V: 34; IX: 11; X: 83; XI: 11; XIV: 25; VIII: 24;
- Aquila Pompeia (*CIL* 10. 7628: Cagliari): VIII: 26; X: 25; V, XIV: 14 each; XI: 12; IX: 8;
- Arria Chia (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arria Crispinilla (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arrius -corus (*CIL* 10. 7949: Portotorres), Arrius Callistus (S. 1. 100: Cagliari), Arrius Iseini- (*CIL* 10. 7917: Cornus), C. Arrius Laetus, miles cohortis Sardorum (*CIL* 10. 7591: Cagliari), Arrius Saturninus (*CIL* 10. 7964: Portotorres): X: 84; VIII: 44; IX: 28; XI: 49; XIV: 24;
- Ateius Victorini (S. 1. 252: Portotorres): XI: 20; IX: 6; X: 13; XIV: 14; V: 4;
- C. Avidius Speratus, father and son (S. 1. 178: Nurallu): IX: 29; X: 12; XI: 15; XIV: 5; V: 3; VIII: 1;
- Aviena Philumena (*CIL* 10. 7521: Sulci), Sex. Avienus Callicles (*ibid.*): XI: 5; X: 3; XIV, VI: 1 each;
- Babullius -marus (*CIL* 10. 7633: Cagliari), Q. Babullius Urbanus (*ibid.*): X: 9; V: 4; IX: 1;
- Caelonius (S. 1. 72: Cagliari): cf. *CIL* 9. 313: Caelonia Saturnina (unless = Caeionius for Ceionius);
- Caesonia Soteris (*CIL* 10. 7635: Cagliari): V: 4; VIII: 11; IX: 1; X: 19; XI: 5; XIV: 8;
- Calbisius Primitibus (*CIL* 10. 7636: Cagliari): V: 15; VIII: 12; IX: 3; X: 15; XI: 12; XIV: 3;
- Capri(us ?) (S. 1. 89: Cagliari): X: 11; V: 3; IX: 8; XI: 1;
- Cornificia Gemina (*CIL* 10. 7645: Cagliari): X: 13; VIII: 7; XIV: 5; XI: 1;
- Costin(i ?)us (*CIL* 10. 7981: Olbia): cf. *CIL* 11. 6695. 30 (Costini), 3. 12010. 12 and 12014. 215 (Costinius);
- Critonius Hermes (*CIL* 10. 7921: Cornus): X: 7; XIV: 6; IX: 4; V, XI: 3 each; VIII: 1;
- Cursus (or Cursius) (*EE* 8. 737: Olbia); cf. *CIL* 10. 2141 (Cursus), *ILG* 228 (Cursi f.);
- Ducenius Faustus (*CIL* 10. 7716: Cagliari): X: 13; XI: 12; V: 3; XII, XIV: 1 each;
- A. Egrilius A. f. Plarianus (*CIL* 10. 7955: Portotorres): XIV: 120; VIII: 27; Plarius/Plarianus is more rare: Kajanto, 153; *CIL* 11. 1075 add.; *AE*, 1968, 6a; 1969, 87;
- Enii (*CIL* 10. 7814: near Pirri), M. Hennius Simphorus (*CIL* 10. 7647: Cagliari): V, IX: 38 each; X: 18; VIII: 12; XI: 8; XIV: 3;
- Q. Fufius Celsus (*CIL* 10. 7948: Portotorres), Q. Fufius Proculus (*ibid.*): V: 3; VIII: 10; IX: 27; X: 6; XI: 8; XIV: 1;
- C. Fusius Curadronis f. (*CIL* 10. 7854: Ilbone), miles classis: cf. *CIL* 2. 6064; 9. 6080, and 11. 6695. 45 (Fusi Scae, indexed as Fusius Scae.);
- Gelasinus (S. 1. 66: Cagliari): IX: 1; X: 2; XIV: 3;
- Messia (*CIL* 10. 7595: Cagliari): VIII: 31; X: 26; XI: 22; IX: 16;
- Milonius (S. 1. 224: Ozieri): VI, XI: 3 each; 8. 5618; *AE*, 1930, 72; 1937, 62;
- Novia Hygia (S. 1. 170: Nuraminis): X: 59; VIII: 19; IX: 18;
- Quinta Numitoria (S. 1. 268: Portotorres), D. Numitorius Agisini f. Tarammo (*CIL* 10. 7855: Tortoli): V: 1; VI: 40; VIII: 5; IX: 5; X: 15; XI: 5; XIV: 8;
- Otacia Itageni (S. 1. 269: Portotorres): X: 14; VIII: 17; IX: 1; XI: 7; XIV: 23;
- Paccia Ingenua (*CIL* 10. 7687: Cagliari), Paccius Coillius (*ibid.*), L. Paccius Cornelianus (S. 1. 270: Portotorres): X: 50; V: 7; VIII: 8; IX: 25; XI: 24; XIV: 1;

L. Peducaeus Apollinaris (*CIL* 10. 7520: Sulci), C. Peducaeus Marcellus (*CIL* 10. 7838: Decimopuzzu), M. Peducaeus Plautius (Neo-punic, 8: Bitia): X: 4; VIII: 2; V: 1; IX: 5; XIV: 4; XI: 11;

Q. Planius Sardus Eggius Ambibulus: cf. H-G. Pflaum, *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.*, 1963-1965, 143-51;

Ruffia Marcella C. f. (*CIL* 10. 7586: Cagliari): V: 6; VIII: 4; IX: 2; X: 6; XI: 19; XIV: 1;

Rusticelius Felix (*CIL* 10. 7597: Cagliari): V: 1; VI: 28; VIII: 1; X: 1; XI: 2; XIV: 6; Silvanus Tantilianus (S. 1. 41: S. Gavino): for Tantilius, cf. *CIL* 6. 24714; 10. 1574, 2994 (2 examples), 7653;

Sertinia Fortunata (*CIL* 10. 7703: Cagliari), Sertinius Abitus (10. 7704: Cagliari), C. Sertinius Aelianus (10. 7703: Cagliari), C. Sertinius Bacchylas (*ibid.*), C. Sertinius Felix (10. 7857: Donigala): V: 2; VIII: 8; IX: 1; X: 13; XI: 5; XIV: 5;

Sutoria Athenais (*CIL* 10. 7706: Cagliari), Sutoria Euporis (10. 7707: Cagliari), L. Sutorius Cornelianus (10. 7705: Cagliari), L. Sutorius Nicephorus (*ibid.*): V: 2; IX, XI: 1 each; VIII: 6; X: 8;

C. Tamudius Cassianus (*CIL* 10. 3636: Misenum), miles classis: VI: 4; IX: 3; XI: 2; VIII, X, I²: 1 each; *AE*, 1951, 217;

Tarquinus Fili f. Neroneius (S. 1. 209: Samugheo); cf. *CIL* 2. 2430 (Tarquinus Cathroni); 10. 2009; 8. 24051 (Neronius); 10. 747, 2009 (Neronia);

Tarulius Tatens (*CIL* 10. 687: Surrentum), miles classis; cf. 10. 3600 (Tarullius Rufus), 3387 (C. Tarulius Vitalis) — both Sardinians?;

Tatia Inc- (*CIL* 10. 7689: Cagliari): X: 18; VIII: 7; IX: 5; XIV: 2; XI: 3; V: 1;

Tilia (S. 1. 175: Nuragus): X: 30; V: 1; VIII: 1; IX: 3; XI: 2; XIV: 1;

Torbenius Kariti (*CIL* 10. 7876: Fordongianus); cf. 11. 6283 (C. Torbanus L. f.);

Urseli Nispenini (dative case?) (S. 1. 214: Borore); cf. *CIL* 2. 1385 (Ursili---), 14. 1679 (Ursella), 1756 (Ursilla);

C. Vehilius C. l. Rufus (*CIL* 10. 7967: Portotorres): X: 3; IX: 1; XIV: 2; cf. *CIL* 10. 8041. 41, 8046. 27.

Of considerable importance, not only for the nomenclature of Roman Sardinia, but also for the history of migration from the mainland to the provinces in Roman times, is the rather surprising frequency of names which derive from or are most closely paralleled in North Italy, in the region of *CIL* 5 (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total):

C. Acilius Marcianus, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 6574: near Vellitri): common in North Italy (V: 23; Alföldy, 54);

M. Alenius Gard- (*CIL* 10. 7840: Vallermosa): V: 6; IX: 3; XI: 8;

C. Asconius C. f. Fab. Sardus (*CIL* 5. 2829: Patavium); V: 12; XII: 2; XIV: 1;

Atilia L. f. Pomptilla (*CIL* 10. 7563-78: Cagliari), L. Atilius (10. 7564: Cagliari), L. Atilius Felix (*ibid.*), Atilius Modestus (*CIL* 6. 3101): most common in North Italy (V: 147), but found elsewhere as well: VIII: 26; XI: 66; XIV: 28, e. g.;

Benets (S. 1. 177: Ales); if not = Benis, perhaps = Venetus;

Caesilius Hispanus (*CIL* 10. 7595: Cagliari), Caesilius L. f. Met- (10. 7827: Elmas); Hispanus is fairly common in Spain (Kajanto, 199), but Caesilius is not on record there; it may be North Italian (I²: 1; III: 1; V: 6; VI: 8; VIII: 2 (viz., 8. 2830: Caesilius Hispanus and D. Caesilius D. f. Hispanus); XI: 3; XIV: 4; *AE*, 1940, 92; 1959, 141;

Calbisius Primitibus (*CIL* 10. 7636: Cagliari): V: 15; VIII: 12; IX: 3; X: 15; XI: 12; XIV: 3;

Q. Calvisius Euticanus (*CIL* 10. 7636: Cagliari): Calvisius as above; Euticanus, as a non-Christian name, is especially common in North Italy (Alföldy, 198);

- Q. Cadius Firminus (*CIL* 6. 3105), miles classis: X: 5; V: 43; XI: 17; XIV: 3;
 C. Cominius Euplus (*CIL* 10. 7700: Cagliari): V: 70; X: 26; VIII: 31; IX: 18; XIV: 16;
 T. Cutius (*CIL* 10. 7587: Cagliari): II: 4; III: 2; V: 6; VI: 21; VIII: 3; X: 2; XI: 3;
 XII: 1; XIV: 9;
 Enii (*CIL* 10. 7814: near Pirri), M. Hennius Simphorus (10. 7647: Cagliari): V, IX: 38
 each; X: 18; VIII: 12; XI: 8; XIV: 3;
 Eusebia Todote (*CIL* 10. 7630: Cagliari), Eusebius of Vercellae (Bonu, 151–61): com-
 mon in North Italy (Alföldy, 197; V: 16; IX: 4; XI: 3);
 Geminius Ursini (*CIL* 10. 7657: Cagliari), Geminius Vitalis Primogenitus (*ibid.*): V: 32;
 XI: 20; X: 17; IX: 9; VIII: 6;
 L. Graecinus Felix, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 7891): V: 5; XIV: 2; VIII, IX, X: 1 each
 (Graecinius);
 Grame (*CIL* 10. 7668: Cagliari): Pape, 259, records Grammis (vocative Grammi), but
 cf. *CIL* 5. 1249: Gramme;
 A. Licinius Axius (*EE* 8. 722: Masu); for Axius, II: 1; III: 4; V: 5; VI: 11; VIII: 11;
 XI: 2;
 Mutilia Certa (*EE* 8. 713: Cagliari): III: 5; V: 11; VI: 12; VIII: 2; XIV: 3;
 C. Oclatius Macer, Caralitanus (*CIL* 10. 7891): V: 6; VIII: 4; X: 2; XI: 4; XIV: 2;
 Postumius Srtinianus (*CIL* 10. 7666: Cagliari): common in North Italy (Alföldy, 112);
 C. Quinctius C. f. Quir. F---tus (*CIL* 10. 7603: Cagliari): V: 73; IX: 28; X: 25; cf. Al-
 földy, 114;
 C. Rubellius Clytius (*CIL* 10. 7697: Cagliari): V: 6; VIII: 1; X: 2; XI: 2; XIV: 4;
 Secundio (S. 1969, 78: Sulci): V: 8; VIII, X: 5 each;
 Sextia Prima (*CIL* 8. 9198), wife of Abillahas Rummeus V: 34; VIII: 47; IX: 16;
 X: 26;
 Statia Magna P. f. (*CIL* 10. 7951: Portotorres): V: 66; VIII: 21; IX: 36; X: 34; XI:
 21; cf. Alföldy, 122;
 Trofime (S. 1. 344: unknown location): V: 48; X: 29; VIII: 14; cf. Pape, 1558;
 Trosius Felix (*CIL* 10. 7709: Cagliari): very common in V, probably Venetic (Alföldy,
 129);
 Verona (*CIL* 10. 7843: Vallermosa).

An unusually high percentage of these names is from Cagliari, with four others from not far away (two at Vallermosa, one each at Pirri and Masu). Only one each is from two other important cities (Portotorres and Sulci), with only one (and that – Benets – a mere possibility) from the interior of the island. A striking fact is beginning to emerge, one which is also clear from the distribution of Greek names on the island (fig. 8), the individual examples of which are too numerous to list here (they comprise about 15 percent of the total).

In contrast stand those names which are either unique to Sardinia (at least as far as I have been able to discover) or which have only one or two parallels elsewhere (about 7 percent of the total):

- Acareltorte (S. 1. 217: Ortueri); cf. *CIL* 10. 8053. 149 (Acar-: Oristano), Hirata, *cit.*:
 Acarcelinio;
 Aelius Tosuna (S. 1. 153: Pirri); perhaps cf. *CIL* 11. 2245 (Tosnos: Clusium);
 Agbadeus (*CIL* 10. 7809: Pirri);
 Agisinus (*CIL* 10. 7855: Tortoli); perhaps cf. *CIL* 11. 3233 (Agisenna: Nepet);
 Arrius Iscini- (*CIL* 10. 7917: Cornus);

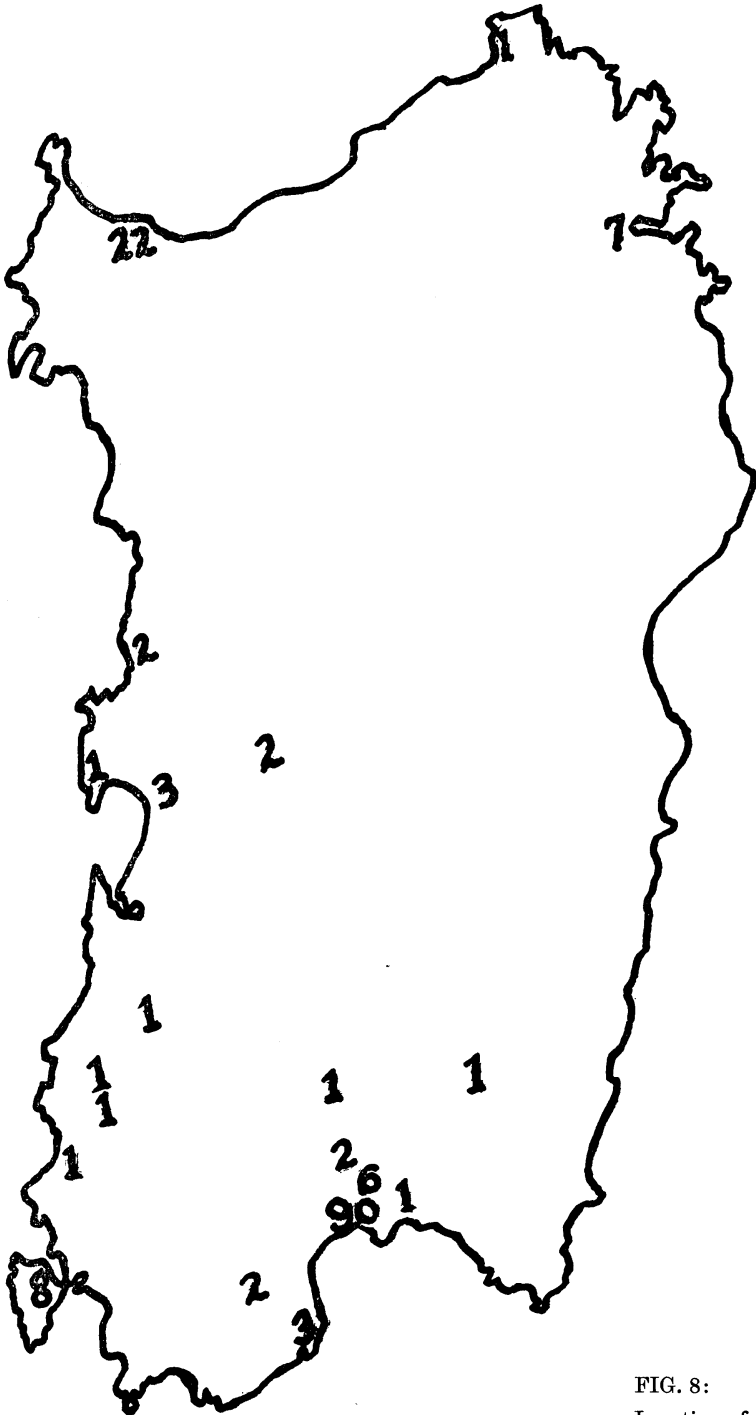


FIG. 8:
Location of Greek names
(n = number of examples)

- L. Au-uden- (S. 1. 161: Elmas);
 Axtinia Sofia (*CIL* 10. 7632: Cagliari);
 Bacoru (S. 1. 177: Ales); for parallels, see M. Lourdes Albertos Firmat, *La onomastica personal primitiva de Hispania Tarraconense y Betica* (Salamanca, 1966), p. 47;
 Barex (S. 1. 175: Nuragus); perhaps = Baric (VIII: 33), but cf. also *CIL* 9. 2742: Baris;
 Bascio Losonis (filius ?) (*CIL* 10. 7870: Fordongianus); cf. (perhaps) Baskia (Pape, 200);
 Batus (= Vatus ?) Rufus (*EE* 8. 709: Cagliari), miles classis;
 Benets (S. 1. 177: Ales);
 C. Beviranus Verus (*CIL* 10. 7873: Fordongianus);
 Bflsa (= Belsa or Beisa) (S. 1. 196: Fordongianus);
 Burce (*CIL* 10. 7809: Pirri); cf. *CIL* 8. 4897; Pape, 225 (Bourka);
 Buttis (*CIL* 10. 7634: Cagliari); cf. *CIL* 10. 2481; 8. 27864; and (perhaps) Pape, 226;
 Caritus (S. 1. 196: Fordongianus) and Karitus (*CIL* 10. 7876: Fordongianus); cf. 8. 1911, 8576;
 Cornelius Estutus (*CIL* 10. 7643: Cagliari);
 Curadro (*CIL* 10. 7854: Ilbone) and Curelo Ner. Cam. (S. 1. 213: Sedilo); cf. Albertos Firmat, *cit.*, p. 101 f.;
 Debos Pat. (S. 1. 176: Nuragus);
 Disanirius Torceri (*CIL* 10. 7872: Fordongianus);
 Etunus (*CIL* 10. 7872: Fordongianus);
 Farsonius Occiarius, miles (*CIL* 10. 7537: Grugua);
 Ferentius Miloni f. (S. 1. 224: Ozieri);
 C. Fusius Curadronis f. (*CIL* 10. 7854: Ilbone), miles classis; cf. *CIL* 2. 6064; 9. 6080. 12, and 11. 6695. 45 (Fusi Scae, indexed as Fusius Scae.);
 Gauga Targuronis f. (*CIL* 10. 7874/5: Fordongianus);
 Inivo (S. 1. 180: Laconi);
 Ioilus (S. 1. 304: Portotorres);
 Iomius (or Ionius) (S. 1. 95-6: Cagliari);
 Iulia Cranila (= Cornelia ?) (*CIL* 10. 7644: Cagliari);
 Iulia Fortunata quae et Epangielosa (*CIL* 10. 7670: Cagliari);
 Iulia Valeria quae et Ginsora (*EE* 8. 730: Macomer);
 Lucinius Aure. (= Licinius Aurelius ?) Nemer N. P. (S. 1. 209: Samugheo); listed as *heredes*, therefore a plurality;
 Lutatia Feifma (?) (*CIL* 10. 7840: Vallermosa);
 Mislius (S. 1. 177: Ales); perhaps cf. *EE* 5. 330;
 Monioritinus (*CIL* 10. 7877: Fordongianus);
 Nercadaus (*CIL* 10. 7888: Austis);
 Netus (S. 1. 172: Gersei); perhaps cf. *CIL* 10. 7864; 8. 23250 (Netunus); Holder, 2. 738 (Netis); *CIL* 12. 5686. 196;
 D. Numitorius Agisini f. Tarammo (*CIL* 10. 7855: Tortoli);
 Optatus Sadecis f. (*AE*, 1929, 169: Mila), Sardus, decurio of a cohors Lusitana;
 Otacilia Itageni (S. 1. 269: Portotorres), mother of an Aelius Docimus;
 Pertius (*EE* 8. 737: Telti);
 Pilsovicila (*CIL* 10. 7614: Cagliari);
 Pohl (*CIL* 10. 7650: Cagliari);
 Sabdaga (S. 1. 177: Ales); perhaps related to Zabdas;
 L. Semmudius (*CIL* 10. 7882: near Macomer);
 Siliso (S. 1. 58: Cagliari);
 Silvanus Neti--- (*CIL* 10. 7864: Fordongianus);
 Socaras Nercanf (?) (S. 1. 232: Tramatzza);
 Src Unnis (?) (S. 1. 333: unknown location);

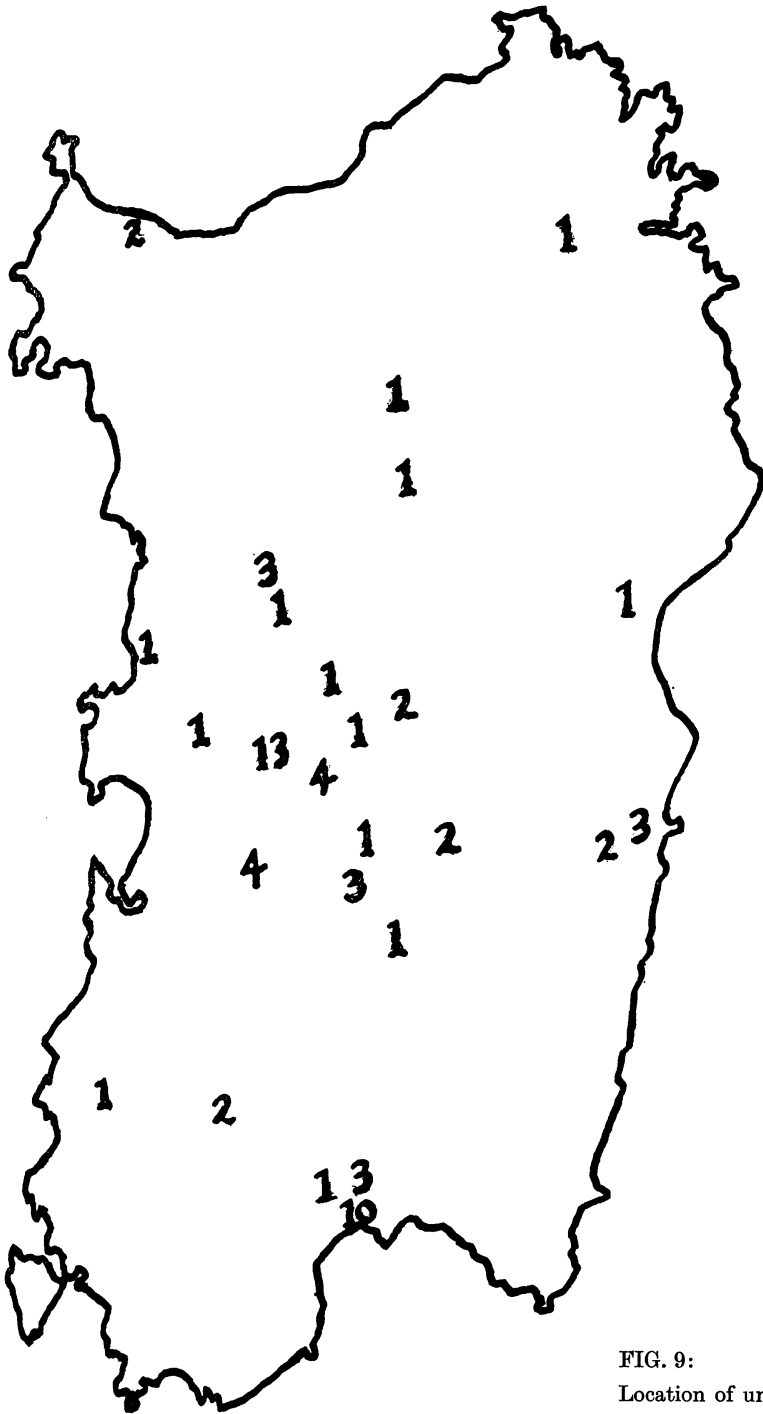


FIG. 9:
Location of unique or very rare names
(n = number of examples)

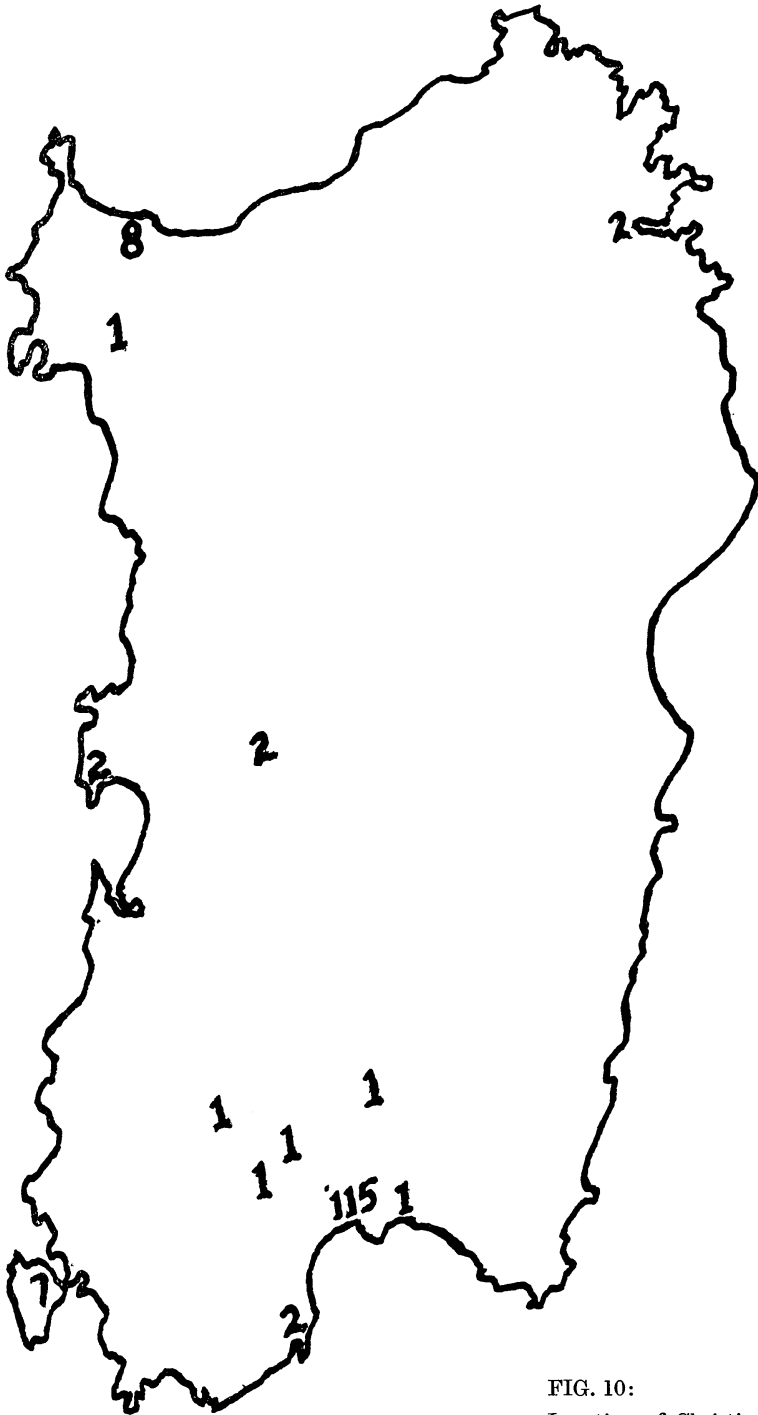


FIG. 10:
Location of Christian inscriptions
(n = number of examples)

Tarcunius Fili f. Neroneius (S. 1. 209: Samugheo);
 L. Tarcunius Heraclianus (*AE*, 1916, 52: Rome), miles classis;
 C. Tarcutius Tarsaliae fil. Hospitalis (S. 1. 182: Seulo);
 Taretius Faric Corneli C. (?) (S. 1. 207: Samugheo);
 Targuro (*CIL* 10. 7874/5: Fordongianus);
 Tarpalaris (*CIL* 10. 7855: Tortoli);
 Tarsalia (S. 1. 182: Seulo); cf. *CIL* 8. 18085a. 16: Tarsa;
 Tarulius Tatens (*CIL* 10. 687: Surrentum), miles classis: cf. *CIL* 10. 3600, 3387;
 M. Tigellius (Cic. *Fam.* 7. 24. lf.; *Att.* 13. 49. lf., 50. 3, 51. 2) and M. Tigellius Hermogenes
 (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 2. 1, 3. 1. 9; Ps.-Acro *ad* 1. 2. 3); cf. *CIL* 6. 8694;
 Torbenius Kariti (*CIL* 10. 7876: Fordongianus); cf. *CIL* 11. 6283;
 Tubmar (*CIL* 10. 7878: Fordongianus);
 Tunila Caresio (*CIL* 10. 7890: Dorgali);
 Ubasus Chilonis f. Niclinus (*CIL* 10. 7884: Austis), tubicen in a cohors Lusitana;
 Urrus (S. 1. 174: Nuragus);
 Ursaris Tornalis f. (*CIL* 10. 7891: Anela);
 Urseli Nispenini (dative case?) (S. 1. 214: Borore); cf. *CIL* 2. 1385; 14. 1679, 1756;
 Valeria Amoccada (*CIL* 10. 7842: Vallermosa);
 Valeria Urekio (*EE* 8. 731: Macomer);
 Valerianus Verseius (S. 1. 208: Samugheo);
 Zabarda (Greg. *Ep.* 4. 25), Dux Sardiniae.

As figure 9 demonstrates, native elements persisted throughout the entire period of the Roman occupation of Sardinia;⁷ and, as is shown both by the series of figures and by the several lists of names, the effects of Romanization – at least in terms of individual nomenclature – are felt largely in the urban, coastal areas, areas which were settled and developed by the Carthaginians and in which Romanization proceeded much as it did in North Africa – even through the Christian period (cf. fig. 10).⁸

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⁷ Cf. M. T. Atzori, *L'onomastica sarda nei Condaghi*, Modena, 1962, 9–11 (“Elemento preromano”).

⁸ I am grateful to the American Philosophical Society for financial assistance and to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton for its hospitality in making this study possible.