Onomasticon of Roman Anthroponyms: Explication and Application (Part II)*

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CONTENTS

FURTHER APPLICATIONS OF ROMAN NAMES
(Later Roman Interest in Names)

THE ROMANS GAVE US family names, or a system of them. They gave us many words in English derived from Roman personal names. A few are: names of months, *kaiser* and *czar, Fabianism* and *vulcanize, Junoesque* and *saturnine, aurora* and *bacchanal* (which British pubs have corrupted into *Bag o' Nails*). We speak of the Augustan Age, Baevius and Maevius, the sword of Damocles, Lucretian chastity, Lucullan repasts, mithridatizing, Pyrrhic victory, crossing the Rubicon, a Roscius, and some called Christian II of Denmark "The Nero of the

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North." The complete list would require many pages and would include information as obscure as that *ammonia* derives from the temple of Jupiter Ammon and as obvious as that Bellona was a goddess of war, Zephyrus a breeze.

Though we have insufficient space to trace Roman name practices and oddities down to the end of the Roman empire, we may note here one emperor (Commodus) of a period later than the one on which we have concentrated, as illustrative of onomastic interest in late times. We choose Commodus as an example because of numerous aspects of names which his onomamania can concisely point up; then we make some general remarks about a few of the other emperors from his century before moving on to Shakespeare's and Jonson's use of Roman names in their plays.

Commodus, by anyone's standards, was a truly remarkable man. He had 300 concubines, one of whom he named after his mother, incest being one of his many perversions. He also had 300 catamites (Saoterus he used to kiss in public) and once went through 25 consuls in one year (he was a hard man to work for). He got the Senate to agree to call Rome Commodiana and they hailed him as *Pius, Felix, Britannicus, Hercules, Deus.* He loved to play with names: He "used to name men 'one-footed' or 'one-eyed' when he had removed one of their eyes or snapped off one of their feet," writes "Aelius Lampridius," one of the purported authors of the *Augustan History* ostensibly compiled by half a dozen biographers in the late Third and early Fourth Century A.D. Translating that book, Anthony Birley in his Penguin edition of *Lives of the Later Caesars* makes perfectly clear that many of the "facts" as well as the "authors" are dubious, but the fact that Commodus loved names and titles is indisputable. From the time he became emperor on the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 177, whose only living son he was—his twin brother Antoninus died at the age of four—Commodus lived a life of almost unimaginable decadence. For one thing, like Heliogabalus, he admired *onobeli* (men with large organs) and called one of his boyfriends *Onos*, making him a priest of the Rural Hercules. He wanted to make a name for himself as a gladiator and appeared in the arena hundreds of times, thinking himself a kind of Hercules. In fact he even insisted on being called Hercules and changed the name of September to Hercules, as well as August to Commodus, and December to Amazonius. In this he was naming all three months after himself: he wanted to fight in the arena in the guise of an Amazon and called himself Amazonius, dressing one of his concubines as an Amazon as well. These names (and the rest of his calendar) did not catch on, though Dio claims he eventually went so far that he renamed all the months. He collected every imperial title he

could garner and invented some: one was *Primus Palus*. As the chief centurion of a legion was *primus pilus* (first spear), he was *primus palus*, the *palus* being the stake or pike with which he (and other gladiators) trained for combat.

Commodus was a man prepared to replace the head of the Colossus with his own, so it is no wonder he wanted to call Rome by his own name and rename Carthage (Alexandria Commodiana Togata). He wanted to create a "Commodian Age," but it turned out to be a "Great Society" which fizzled. Wherever he could he put up his name and his titles, "not even omitting those gladiatorial and effeminate titles," says one shocked writer. When he died, it was all swept away. The Senate was furious that he was buried rather than dragged away with a hook like the corpses from the gladiatorial arena. The Romans agreed with the Greek doggerel poet who wrote that "Commodus wished to bear the name of Hercules" but "Neither god nor any sort of man shall he be." They wanted his memory to be dragged off to the *spoliarium*; they wanted to erase his name from monuments, expunge him from their history. A *pontifex* Cincius Severus stresses for us the importance to the Romans of commemorative names, their reputation-consciousness (one might say), in this diatribe delivered on the death of Commodus:

> Wrongly was he buried. I speak as pontifex; the college of pontiffs says this. Since I have recounted glad tidings, now I turn to what is needful: I give it as my opinion that those things which that man, who lived only for the destruction of citizens and for his own shame, compelled to be decreed in his own honour, must be wiped out; that his statues, which are everywhere, should be destroyed; that his name be erased from all public and private monuments; and that the months be called by the names by which they were called when that evil first fell upon the republic.

So the names of the months were changed again. *Commodus* went the way *Thermidor* and other relics of the French Revolution were to go. Commodus was "written out" of history more or less the way that men now disappear from the Soviet encyclopedia. To the Romans, the words for *hated* and *invisible* were much alike. They tried to forget the horror and the names of the reign of the despised Commodus. Similarly, they later tried to forget Bassianus (the son of Septimius Severus who murdered his brother and "married" his mother), whom they also hated. When Bassianus called himself by great titles (*Germanicus, Parthicus, Arabicus, Alamanicus* as well as Caracalla), Helvius Pertinax in typically Roman fashion mockingly said he should add *Geticus Maximus,* punning on Geta (his murdered brother) and *Getae* (Goths, whom he had defeated). Earlier they had tried to obliterate the names of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian in similar fashion.

Emperors tried to garner power and titles. The people used them as rewards, in a sense, but tried to withdraw them as punishment. Lepidus was the last of the regular holders of the title *pontifex maximus*. When he died (13 B.C.) Emperor Augustus accepted the title and with it the emperors took on new powers and dignities. Thereafter the title was regularly conferred on the emperor, a gift of the people through the Senate. When Balbinus and Pupienus became joint emperors (A.D. 237), both took the title, though *pontifex maximus* on the face of it does not look like a title that more than one can hold at a time.

Other titles had been created. For example, *pater patriae* was voted to Cicero (after the conspiracy of Catiline) and to Caesar (whom the Senate would have addressed as Gaius Julius and the populace as Gaius Caesar) after his victory in Spain (45 B.C.). Later emperors seem to have received the title on accession, but Marcus Aurelius did not begin to use it until he was in the fifteenth year of his reign. Clearly these titles were not regarded as empty. Nor was *Pius*, first given to Antoninus. Commodus had been the first emperor to use *Felix*, Caracalla was the first to dare *Pius Felix*. Both Augustus and Tiberius had rejected the title *Dominus*, for that is what a slave called his master, but it is significant that Caligula took it up, the same Caligula who set up his own image as a god in Rome—earlier emperors had been adored only in foreign climes—in his lifetime, while Julius Caesar and Augustus were not so honored until after their deaths. Domitian was *Dominus et Deus* and his reputation for meticulous supervision of every detail strongly suggests that so splendiferous a style was not taken except after serious consideration. The coins of Aurelian were the first to declare imperial divinity: DEO ET DOMINO NOSTRO AURELIANO. After a while these emperors began to believe their own propaganda and acted as if they were indeed divinities.

An author in the *Augustan History* we have mentioned addresses Diocletian Augustus as "Your Divinity," and "revered Constantine" is addressed as both "Your Clemency" and "Your Piety." One of the supposed authors of the book is Vulcaius Gallicanus, labeled *V.C.*, *vir clarissimus,* or what Birley translates as "'Right Honourable,' the title of senatorial rank." Birley adds at one point:

> Names, both bogus and genuine, are an obsession with the author (not least in the rather feeble way that he plays on the meaning of names like Verus, Severus, Pertinax, Avidius).

We may look at some of the onomastic details in this *Augustan History* before we conclude this section on late Roman interest in names. *Pertinax*, for instance, came from a freedman father (Helvius Successus)

"who declared that he had given the name to his son on account of his unbroken connection with the wool trade, because he had carried on that business pertinaciously."

Let us glance at some other emperors in reference to naming practices and patterns. Marcus Cocceius Nerva put his name on only one building (the Forum Transitorium, begun by Domitian) but played politics with names otherwise: he ordered the Flavian House (on the Palatine Hill, once the residence of Domitian) to be called The House of the People. He adopted Trajan and shared with him the title *Germanicus*. On the death of Nerva, Trajan had him deified and erected a temple to him. Trajan had been adopted by Nerva as his son and took the name of Nerva, but not Cocceius, so that he was known as Marcus Ulpius Nerva Traianus Caesar. He was also called (Pliny tells us) Father of the Fatherland, and he earned *Optimus* (best) by trouncing the Armenians and *Parthicus* in Mesopotamia, though he was seen as slow to accept such honors. He died at "Selinus in Cicilia" (in Asia Minor) which was "afterwards called Traianopolis."

Hadrian was the son of Publius Aelius Hadrianus Afer (the *agnomen* indicates African origin or, in this case, more likely dark complexion; it might possibly be Aper, a totemic boar). The family was, like that of Trajan, from Spain, though Trajan's had come there to Italica from Umbria and Hadrian's to Italica from central Italy. The latter family came to Spain in the time of Scipio and was, as the name shows, from Hadria. When Hadrian was a boy he was a Graecophile and was nicknamed *Graeculus* (Little Greek); when he grew up he was to rejoice in the office of *archon* of Athens, a title he preferred to all of his many other distinctions. "Aelius Spartianus" in the *Augustan History* says of Hadrian that "although he built countless buildings everywhere, he himself never inscribed his own name on them except on the temple of his [adoptive] father Trajan." But still Hadrian built a bridge named after himself across the Tiber, and his tomb beside the Tiber, and a shrine of the Bona Dea, and "he named many cities Hadrianopolis, even Carthage [*sic*], for example, and part of Athens. He called countless aqueducts by his own name as well."

Names were of interest to Hadrian but he obviously distinguished between where his name would be effective and where it was inappropriate. He was famous for making little use of the *nomenclator*, a slave who told his master the names of those presented to him. He even corrected those who got names wrong. He had a sense of humor: at his great villa at Tibur (Tivoli), some of whose glory has been resurrected for us in recent times, he "inscribed the most famous names of monuments and places there, and called them, for example, Lycium, Academia,

Prytanium, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. So that he might omit nothing, he even made a Lower World."

Hadrian adopted Lucius Aelius Caesar late in A.D. 136 and then Aelius died January 1, A.D. 138, predeceasing Hadrian (who lasted until July 10 of that year). Aelius was no great loss. His frivolities included fastening wings on his courtiers like Cupids and calling them after the winds (Boreus, Notus) and "likewise Aquilo or Circius." To succeed Aelius (Lucius Ceionius Commodus), Hadrian on February 25, A.D. 138 adopted T. Aurelius Antoninus. Dutifully honoring Hadrian, he later became Antoninus Pius.

Antoninus Pius was also careful with names. When the Senate wanted to call the months of September and October *Antoninus* and *Faustinus* after him and his wife, he declined the honor. On the death of his wife, however, he did allow Annia Galeria Faustina to be consecrated *Augusta*. He also commemorated her in other ways. As to the title he himself bore, *Pius*, "Julius Capitolinus" in the *Augustan History* is decidedly undecided. This is what he writes:

> The surname Pius was given to him by the Senate, either because he used to support his father-in-law [Annius Verus], by now [the death of Aelius Caesar]tired and aged, with his hand at Senate meetings—which, to be sure, is not sufficient proof of great dutifulness, since it is more a case of the man who did not do these things being undutiful; or because he had preserved those whom Hadrian, during his ill-health, had ordered to be killed ["a great many persons" wrote "Aelius Spartianus" in his life of Hadrian]; or because he decreed to Hadrian, against the efforts of everyone, unlimited and boundless honours after his death; or because, when Hadrian wanted to do away with himself, by intense watchfulness and care he made it impossible for him to carry that out [one of Hadrian's doctors committed suicide rather than yield to Hadrian's demand in his agony for poison]; or because he was in fact most merciful by nature and did no harsh deeds in his own times [it was the Senate that proscribed Titus Atilius Rufus Titanius for attempted usurpation and Antoninus Pius forbade reprisals on his family].

After Antoninus Pius came Marcus Aurelius, in A.D. 161. He shared power with his adopted brother Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus Caesar Augustus until the latter's death (January, A.D. 169) and later with Commodus (from January, A.D. 177). This is what "Julius Capitolinus" says:

> At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was called after Catilius Severus, his step-grandfather on his mother's [Domitia Lucilla's] side. As a matter of fact, after his father [Annius Verus] died he was called Annius Verissimus by Hadrian, but when he took the toga of manhood he

became Annius Verus. After his father's death he was adopted and brought up by his paternal grandfather [Marcus Annius Verus, who was married to Rupilia Faustina, daughter of Rupilius Libo].

It was when Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius that the imperial family acquired "Aurelian" and Antoninus Pius was married to Marcus' aunt, Galeria Faustina [Augusta], so Marcus became Marcus Aurelius. He was a philosopher and not anxious about titles. At first Marcus Aurelius resisted such titles as *Armenicus* and *Parthicus* and *Medicus*, confirmed for him and his adopted brother Lucius. (In the East, Lucius was rejoicing in the title *Imperator*.) But Marcus Aurelius gladly bore *Germanicus*, for that he had earned himself. One of the name laws of Marcus Aurelius decreed that "each and every citizen should declare his freeborn children before the prefects of the treasury of Saturn within thirty days, having given them a name."

Lucius Verus was less stable. Fond of actors, from Syria he brought Maximinius and called him *Paris* and "Agrippus, surnamed Memphius" whom he called *Apolaustus*. Among his other servants were Coedes and Electus (who eventually killed Marcus Aurelius' son, Commodus) and a freedman named Agaclytus (to whom Lucius married the widow of one Libo, Marcus Aurelius' legate to him in Syria). He wasted a lot of money on horseracing and had a horse named Volucer of the "Green" charioteers sculpted in gold. When the original died, he had the horse buried in state on the Vatican Hill. He called his favorite crystal goblet Volucer also. It was "named Volucer after his beloved horse, that surpassed the capacity of any human draught," says his biographer. There must have been a lot of Roman naming of pets (and pet possessions) like this, all in the tradition of a horse named (*e.g.*) Bucephalos (oxhead) or a sword named Excalibur. Inevitably, the names for pets and prize possessions tend to be lost, but this minor regal figure's story preserves *Volucer* for us. Caligula made his horse *Incitatus* (Excitable) a consul, one of the other pet names we know.

Even more minor was one Avidius Cassius who in the Spring of A.D. 175 was proclaimed emperor in the East. The rebellion of which he was a part was quickly squelched and Avidius Cassius' head was delivered to the emperor at Rome. It was the custom of the Romans to deface the inscriptions of tyrants with mud, and we could denigrate the name of Avidius Cassius here, but both space and information are scant. His life by "Vulcacius Gallicanus" is a tissue of fabrications but curiously enough invents a bogus authority: "Aemilius Parthenianus," alleged author of *Lives of the Usurpers*. He joins the ranks of fake experts such as "Apollonius the Syrian Platonist," "Aelius Maurus" (billed as "freedman of Hadrian's freedman Phlegon" and thus presumably in the

know), "Aurelius Victor, surnamed Pinio," and "Lollius Urbicus, author of a history of his own time." These Latin writers undoubtedly saw the value of names for their invented authorities and these names sound rather plausible, though they are all as invented as Marguerite Youcenar's modern (and very deceptive) *Hadrian's Memoirs*.

Heliogabalus probably scored some sort of high (or low?) when he declared himself to be Mother of the Gods. He "married" a "husband" named Zoticus and nicknamed *Margirus*, because his father had been a cook and this was a frequent stage name of cooks in Roman comedy. This Magirus must have had some name for Heliogabalus as "wife," but we do not know it. Heliogabalus also contracted several marriages with women and gave them and his female blood relatives some odd titles during his brief, but not sufficiently brief, career.

Marcinus wanted to be *Severus* and *Pertinax* and when the Senate granted him *Pius* and *Felix* he refused to be called *Pius*. There are many more facts in the *Lives of the Later Caesars* which Birley makes so readable and which Sir Ronald Syme has aptly described as the work of some anonymous, inaccurate, and inelegant author who nonetheless is always "erudite, a fancier of words, and a collector" of names and name-lore, among other not inconsiderable trifles.

There is much more to say of Roman concern with their own names and with personal and place-names from elsewhere that entered Latin: from the Greek φίλιππος a Roman name for a gold coin, from Cilicia the coarse cloth *cilicium* worn by soldiers and sailors (as we derive from place-names our words *denim, calico*, and some other words for fabrics). In our Autolycean miscellany here we can only hint at the way in which a study of Roman names deeply involves one in the whole of Roman culture.

We shall not belabor that here, but we think it of interest to remark that Roman personal and even place-names—they tacked *Leon*, from *legio*, onto the native *Caer* in Britain, for example—underwent changes down the centuries in the mouths and writings of English-speaking peoples.

To illustrate, let us compare Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's use of them.[79]

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[79] We considered publishing the section on Shakespeare's and Jonson's use of Roman names in another place, perhaps expanding the study to cover the use of Roman names in English literature in general, but on second thought we decided to incorporate it here as certainly related to Roman names and adequately illustrating how they were handled (and might have been handled) by authors familiar to our readers. We suggest that a more complete understanding of the Roman system of names might have enabled the dramatists to play up relationships between the characters which otherwise remain rather obscure, and clearly that knowledge on the part of our readers will enable them to evaluate the dramatists' performance more accurately. True, neither Shakespeare

SHAKESPEARE'S HANDLING OF ROMAN NAMES

Julius Caesar

To begin with perhaps Shakespeare's best-known Roman play, *Julius Caesar* (1599), the characters' names are derived from Shakespeare's principal source, Sir Thomas North's translation (*via* the French of Jacques Amyot, 1559-1565) of Plutarch's *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes.* Plutarch's concerns were mainly ethical, not historical, but the names are generally reliable.

Julius Caesar, who "doth bestride the narrow world like a Colossus," should be Gaius Julius Caesar. Calpurnia, his wife, is correctly named: she is the daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso. The *triumvirs* are Octavius Caesar (Caesar Octavianus, short for Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus),[80]Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius), and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.

The list of senators begins with the name of Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero). Then comes Publius. This is a *praenomen* and is like listing Senator Bob. The rest of his name is unknown. Then comes Popilius (in this case the *praenomen* is missing: the other name is [Popilius] Lenas). Shakespeare's limited repertory company would have been unable to represent all the members of the Roman senate. If in *Henry V* we must "into a thousand parts divide one man," our task here is easier but not inconsiderable.

The conspirators are headed by Brutus. His name ought to be Marcus Junius Brutus or, rather, Quintus Servilius Caepio Junianus, for by this time he had been adopted by his maternal uncle, Quintus Servilius Caepio. Then comes Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus) with his "lean and hungry look." Then comes Casca (Publius Servilius Casca), the "sour" aristocrat related (as his name shows) to Brutus by blood, whereas Cassius was related only by marriage (he married Brutus' third sister, [Junia] Tertia). Also related by marriage was Lepidus, brother-in-law to Brutus by virtue of marriage to an older sister (either Junia Maior or Junia Minor, but which is unknown). One of Brutus' sisters appears to have died unmarried, for Tertia is "third" and yet is described as one of Brutus' *two* sisters. She could not have been [Junia] Tertia unless at one time there had been three sisters.

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nor Jonson is writing history, but their subjects are historical and if facts are not correct they can be corrected. It was an age in which Moses confronted Julius Caesar in one play.

80 This indicates that Caesar (in his will, made public in 44 B.C.) adopted Octavius, making him Octavianus. The chronology is important. Scholars have not made all the use that can be made of onomastic evidence in historical dating. One who touches on this subject is P. R. C. Weaver, who uses linguistic evidence in chronology, "Family Dating Criteria: *Proximi* and *Provincia* in the *familia Caesaris,*" *Journal of Roman Studies* LVIII, 1-2 (1968), 110-123.

Then we have Trebonius (Gaius Trebonius, no *cognomen*) and Gaius Ligarius (no *cognomen*), and Decius Brutus. That would have been Decius [Decimus] Junius Brutus Albinus—we noted *supra* his adoption by Aulus Posthumius Albinus—whose full and correct name was then Aulus Posthumius Albinus Junianus, not Brutus at all, so the connection with the Junia *gens* is obscured. Then come Metellus Cimber (Lucius Tillius Cimber) and Cinna (Lucius Cornelius Cinna), brother-in-law of Julius Caesar when Caesar was married to an earlier wife, Cornelia. He is not to be confused with the other Cinna of the drama (Gaius Helvius Cinna, the poet and friend of Catullus), though the Romans of his own day unfortunately fell into this error and, in fact, killed him because they thought he was the conspirator (Lucius Cornelius Cinna), though he was walking in the funeral procession of Caesar when the mob set upon him.[81]

Two tribunes opposed to Julius Caesar are Flavius and Marullus, one known by a *"nomen"* and the other by his *cognomen*. Their full names were often said to be lost, but they are Lucius Caesetius Flavus (not Flavius) and Gaius Epidius Marullus.

Artemidorus the rhetorician of Cnidos is named in the Greek fashion, his full name distinguishing him from Artemidorus *Aristophanius* (a disciple of Aristophanes), Artemidorus the son-in-law of Musonius Rufus (the Stoic), Artemidorus Daldanius (from his *mother's* birthplace, Daldis in Lydia, for to give his father's, Ephesus, would have confused him with Artemidorus of Ephesus, the geographer). It was Artemidorus Daldanius who asserted that the future is revealed in dreams (his great work was 'ονειροκριτικά, edited by Reiff in 1805 and Herscher in 1864) and it is he who should be the Artemidorus of this play.

The friends of Brutus and Cassius[82] are known by their *nomina* (thrice) and *cognomina* (twice). Those called by *nomina* are Lucilius (Plutarch gives no more information), Titinius, and Volumnius (Publius Volumnius Flaccus, a philosopher). Messala is Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus (the inherited *agnomen* or *cognomen* hinting at

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81 Cinna the poet's big work was *Smyrna*. Some critics have not seen it and are unaware that it is not about the great city of Asia Minor's west coast which still survives—the Turks call it Izmir—but about Smyrna, also called Myrrha (Μύρρα), daughter of Cinyras and mother of Adonis.

82 Unclear relationships in the play might have been clarified had the dramatist understood the Roman naming practices better. No way could be found, however, to hint at a fact even more significant than that Brutus was the brother-in-law of Cassius, and that is that Brutus was rumored to be the illegitimate son of Julius Caesar. If the rumor were true, then Caesar's "Et tu, Brute" with which Caesar finally fell takes on added meaning, for then the assassination was (for Brutus) parricide and Brutus unquestionably (if ungrammatically) dealt "the most unkindest cut of all" (no pun on *cut* and *Caesar,* we assume). Caesar addressing Brutus as his son, though, would more likely have said "Et tu, Marce" or (using his adopted name) "Et tu, Quinte," but if on this occasion he spoke Greek, as all educated Romans normally did, then Suetonius' καὶ σύ, τέκνον is most probable.

"raven"—compare Corvino in *Volpone*), but whether his name suggests a totem or a dark complexion is uncertain. The man Shakespeare calls Young Cato we generally hear of as Cato the Younger (Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis). But the reader will recall that Cato was "of Utica" only after his death in that city (46 B.C., two years before the action of *Julius Caesar*) so perhaps Shakespeare really had in mind that Cato who died at Philippi in 42 B.C. (fitting the time scheme of the play) and who was the son of Cato the Younger.

Pindarus, servant (and former slave) to Cassius, bears as a *cognomen* a Greek name Romanized, as a freedman should. It recalls Pindar (Πίνδαρος), the greatest choral lyric poet of Greece, and suggests learning. Brutus has half a dozen servants who figure in the action: Varro and Strato[n] bear Roman *cognomina* and are freedmen; Clitus and Dardanius have names of Greek origin and are not. *Clitus* (famous) is a Greek ὄνομα functioning in Latin as a *cognomen*; it was the name of Alexander the Great's foster-brother. *Dardanius* is the Roman version of the Greek for "Trojan" and functions as a *nomen*. Brutus' slave Lucius is known by a *praenomen*. Could Lucius be his son? All of Brutus' slaves, we repeat at the risk of boring, should have but one name, *Marcipuer* (or *Quintipor*). That would, admittedly, be a dramatic difficulty and Brutus' tenderness toward Lucius could not be demonstrated in his use of a familiar forename if all the servants had the same name.

It is Shakespeare's period—and perhaps the fact that in Elizabethan companies women were played by boys, which is to say by the junior members of the company—that explains the listing of feminine names at the end of a list of characters, a *dramatis personae* or "masks of the play." We have gone out of Elizabethan order to mention Calpurnia (rendered by Elizabethans as *Calphernia*) with her husband, Caesar. Here we note Portia, "true and honorable wife" of Brutus, so that we may remark that her father was Cato Uticensis, his *nomen* dictating *Portia* (or *Porcia*) for all of his daughters. Portia is presumably the sister of Young Cato and cousin to her husband, Brutus. Such relationships, even had Roman names been used to hint at them, would have escaped most if not all members of his audience, for we shall see that more scholarly men than Shakespeare do not seem fully to have grasped the system of Roman names, in the Elizabethan period.

In *Julius Caesar,* Shakespeare (borrowing his plot as was his custom) leans heavily on translation(s) of Plutarch. For his Roman readers Plutarch did not have to underscore the relationships that names can spell out. He failed to give Shakespeare all the help he needed. Had Shakespeare been more cognizant of the Roman naming

system, he could have distinguished the two Cinnas by their *nomina* and straightened out both the Cato confusion and the relatives of Brutus. He could have stressed the relationship between Casca and Brutus through the shared name of *Servilius* (involving birth and legal adoption) and between Decius and Brutus (involving the name *Junius*). Small points, perhaps, in the light of the achievements of the drama, a candle in the sun, but not unworthy of consideration.

Antony and Cleopatra

Not quite so familiar as *Julius Caesar* is Shakespeare's vast canvas of *Antony and Cleopatra*. The vast canvas is part of the problem: the play has more than 30 scenes, which is fine for the fast-paced action of the Elizabethan theatre's multiple stages and absolutely minimal scenery but hardly recommends itself to the cost-conscious commercial modern theatre where unions (if they had their way) would screw one single set to the floor, or in any case have made that the usual approach. Moreover, though a boy originally played the Serpent of the Nile, which cut down on the clinches, the play has an atmosphere of sex about it which discourages high school teachers from offering it, even those who put *Romeo and Juliet* on reading lists (unaware that students might just ferret out Eric Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy* and discover the "dirty jokes"). It is not in the Bard's Top Ten. Today it is hard to act and ruinous to costume.

Antony and Cleopatra was the product of a mature Shakespeare and was written some time around 1608 or 1609 (although the authority for the text is the First Folio, published after Shakespeare's death). Once again Shakespeare took down a well-thumbed North from his shelf and now added to it a translation (1578) by one "W.B." of a Roman history originally written in Greek by Appianus of Alexandria. He called it ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία. Though Appianus occasionally slips up—he says it takes only half a day to sail from Britain to Spain—his compilation of historical facts is usually correct and always clearly presented. His names are clear.

The "triple pillars of the world" in *Antony and Cleopatra* we have met before in *Julius Caesar*. They are Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius), Octavius (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus officially), and the less competent but none the less ambitious and active Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. The opposing naval leader is Sextus Pompeius, Shakespeare omitting his *cognomen* inherited from Pompey the Great, *Magnus*. Antony's general is Canidius (Lucius Canidius Crassus).

These are the other friends of Antony: Domitius Enorbarbus, Ventidius, and many men with Greek names. Gnaeus Domitius

Ahenobarbus bore a *cognomen* which boasted that when the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) announced to the founder of this family the victory of the Romans over the Latins at Lake Regillus (496 B.C.) to confirm it they changed his beard to a golden or "brass-color." Ventidius is Publius Ventidius Bassus. The Greek-named persons are *Eros* (which we have discussed under slave names), *Philo, Demetrius* (a distinguished foreign name with a ring of grandeur in it, as in Eric Ambler's *The Mask of Dimitrios*) and the less common *Decretas* (chosen). *Scarus* completes the group (derived from the Greek for "parrot fish," a delicacy).[83]

The friends and followers of (Caesar) Octavianus are his lieutenant general Taurus (Titus Statilius Taurus, "The Bull"), Maecenas (Gaius Cilinus Maecenas),[84] Agrippa (Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa), Dolabella (actually Publius Cornelius Dolabella, whose name refers to a hand weapon). Dolabella's step-mother was Cicero's daughter (Tullia). Others are, in Caesar's entourage, Proculeius (Gaius Proculeius, no *cognomen* because he is an equestrian), Thyreus (obscure), and Gallus. Gallus is Gaius Cornelius Gallus (born 66 B.C. and forced to commit suicide in Egypt in 26 B.C.), the first Roman elegaic poet. His love for "Lycoris" (Volumnia Cytheris), an actress who was at one time the mistress of Mark Antony, was his principal subject (and part-time occupation). She had originally still another name, as a slave, but she was freed by Volumnius *Eutrapelus* (persuasive) who persuaded her to be his mistress and freed her so she could. *Volumnia* matches his name, Volumnius. Here is a case of a freed slave taking a name which suggests she has become more or less the daughter of her former master. There may be other examples of this to be found in documents.

Friends and followers of Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great) are Menas (a freedman of Pompey the Great—his other name

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83 Demetrius was the name of kings of Macedonia (one was called Demetrius *Poliorcetes,* "The Besieger," father of Antigonus *Gonatas,* whose son in turn was another Demetrius); kings of Syria (such as Demetrius *Soter,* given that surname by the Babylonians; Demetrius *Nicator,* who recovered his kingdom; Demetrius *Eucaerus*); Greek grammarians (Demetrius Ixion of Adramyttium, Demetrius Magnes of Magnesia, Demetrius Phalereus from Phalerum, Demetrius of Scepsis); Demetrius of Sunium, the philosopher mentioned by Tacitus and Dio Cassius, praised by Seneca; etc.

84 This Etruscan-origin name has come down to us as synonymous with "patron of the arts," for he was sponsor of both Virgil and Horace. Other classical names that are closely connected with certain ideas are *Croesus* = great wealth, *Gallonius* = gluttony, *Lucullus* = gastronomy, *Phalaris* (of Agrigentum in Sicily) = tyranny, etc. We have found no convenient lists of Greek and Latin names synonymous with various things, but throughout both classical and modern literature allusions (*cf.* Shakespeare's "a Daniel come to judgment" and Mistress quickly's malapropism "in Arthur's bosom" for "in Abraham's bosom") of this sort abound and such a list should be made.

was Menodorus, "gift of the moon"), Menecrates (another Greek name—meaning "sustaining strength"), and Varrius (who has the same name as one of the attendants Shakespeare gives the duke in *Measure for Measure* but has no agreed-upon historical basis).

An ambassador from Antony to Octavian is called Euphronius, a Latin version of a Greek name—Euphron was an Athenian writer of comedy—common in schoolmasters. Silius (an officer of the army of Ventidius) bears a name we encountered before with the poet Caius Silius Italicus.[85] A soothsayer and a clown go unnamed.

That "morsel for a monarch" Cleopatra has a name that means "fame of one's country or father." Her maids of honor are Charmian and Iras, names simpler than that mouthful George Bernard Shaw confects for *Caesar and Cleopatra,* Ftatateeta. Cleopatra's attendants also include her eunuch Mardian and the servants Alexas, Diomedes, and Seleucus—Greek names meaning "defender," "bright thought," and "pale." The most famous Seleucus was that captain of Alexander the Great who founded the Seleucid dynasty of Syria, reigned as Seleucus I, and was murdered (280 B.C.). He was called *Nicator* and other kings in his line bore such surnames as *Callinicus* (derived from a place-name), *Ceraunus* (apparently a joke, since this son of Seleucus II *Callinicus* was feeble in mind and body), *Philopater, Epiphanes,* etc. To call a slave *Seleucus* was like calling an American black before emancipation something such as Napoleon, Pompey, Caesar, etc. Such jokes—it is said that tap-dancer Ann Miller had a black maid called *Snowball*—are now considered to be in very bad taste. Octavia is named, of course, for her father, Gnaeus Octavius (no *cognomen* because of equestrian origin) father of Shakespeare's "Caesar."

Coriolanus

Soon after completing *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare wrote *Coriolanus*, using North and enlarging and embellishing the characters of Menenius and Volumnia, Coriolanus' mother and one of the very best

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85 Not to be confused with Silvius (son of Ascanius). All succeeding kings of Alba Longa (the most important town of Latium) were called Silvius. The line is first traced (First Century B.C.) by Alexander *Polyhistor.* Livy went along with the invented 15 generations of Alban kings and gave the names as Aeneas, Ascanius, Aeneas Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus Silvius, Aventinus, Proca, and Amulius. Ovid made it slightly different, calling Latinus Silvius simply Latinus, substituting Epytus for the Capys of Homeric legend, making Agrippa into Remulus, Romulus Silvius into Acrota, Proca into Palatinus. Dionysius makes Atys into Capys Silvius, Capetus into Calpetus, returns to Agrippa, makes Ovid's Acrota into Alladius and Livy's Proca into Procas. Naevius first popularized Aeneas' connection with Rome.

parts in all of Shakespeare. There is a Volumnius whom Brutus asks (in *Julius Caesar*) to hold his sword while Brutus runs on it to commit suicide—"That's not an office for a friend"—who was an historical character. Indeed, Plutarch drew on the eye-witness account of Volumnius for details on the death of Brutus. But there was no Volumnius who was the maternal grandfather of Coriolanus. There is "Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife" in Livy's *Annals* (Book 32), which Shakespeare may have read in Latin or in the English of the "translator-general of his age," Philemon Holland (1600). Historically, Coriolanus' wife was Volumnia (Shakespeare's Virgilia) and his mother was Veturia (Shakespeare's Volumnia). The Bard is mistaken, but only because Plutarch is wrong.

In *Coriolanus*, set in and around Rome and at Corioli (whence *Coriolanus* for the capture in 492 B.C.) and Antium (later Torre or Porto d'Anzo), the dramatist's command of names is shaky, though some of the departures from historical accuracy may have been deliberate. It is a tricky topic.

Before we consider Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* in detail, here is a passage from Plutarch's parallel lives of Alcibiades and Coriolanus (in the translation of Bernadotte Perrin, 1968) which brings up several matters:

> XI. When the multitude had ceased shouting their applause, Cominius took up the word again and said: "Ye cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon the man, when he does not accept them and is unwilling to take them; but there is a gift which he cannot refuse when it is offered. Let us give him this gift, and pass a vote that he be surnamed Coriolanus, unless, indeed, before such act of ours, his exploit has itself given him this name." Thence came his third name of Coriolanus. [*Cf.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ῥωμαϊκὴ ᾽αρχαιολογία VI, 94.]
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> From this it is perfectly clear that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, in this case Marcius, was the common name of family or clan; and that the third name was adopted subsequently, and bestowed because of some exploit, or fortune, or bodily feature, or special excellence in a man. So the Greeks used to give surnames from an exploit, as for instance, Soter [Saviour] and Callinicus [of noble victory]; or from a bodily feature, as Physicon [paunchy] and Grypus [hook-nosed]; or from a special excellence, as Euergetes [benefactor] and Philadelphus [sister- or brother-lover]; or from some good fortune, as Eudaemon [prosperous], the surname of the second Battus ["The Happy," reigned 599-583 B.C. as king of Cyrene, one of the so-called Battiadae]. And some of their kings have actually had surnames given them in mockery, as Antigonus Doson [always-promising] and Ptolemy Lathyrus [vetchling].

Surnames of this sort were even more common among the Romans. For instance, one of the Metelli was called Diadematus, because for a long time he suffered from a running sore and went about with a bandage on his forehead; another member of this family was called Celer, because he exerted himself to give the people funeral games of gladiators within a few days of his father's death, and the speed and swiftness of his preparations excited astonishment. [*Cf. Romulus* X.2.] At the present day [Plutarch probably died in the reign of Hadrian and wrote his βίοι παράλληλοι late in life] some of them are named from casual incidents at their birth, Proculus, for instance, if a child is born when his father is away from home; or Postumus, if after his death; and when one of twin children survives, while the other dies, he is called Vopiscus. Moreover, from bodily features they not only bestow such surnames as Sulla [blotchy?], Niger [black], and Rufus [red], but also such as Caecus [blind] and Claudius [lame]. And they do well thus to accustom men to regard neither blindness nor any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or a disgrace, but to answer to such names as though their own. This topic, however, would be more fittingly discussed elsewhere.

And Plutarch reminds us that we must return to "sweet Master Shakespeare."

There is a hero, Caius Marcius (Livy calls him Gnaeus). His friend is Menenius Agrippa (the historical Agrippa Menenius Lanatas, the *cognomen* suggesting "wool"), "a humorous patrician." The generals against the Volscians are Titus Lartius (whose *cognomen* is not given, if indeed *cognomina* were in use at that early date) and Cominius (Posthumus Cominius Auruncus). The tribunes of the people are Sicinius Velutus (Lucius Sicinius Belutus) and [Lucius] Junius Brutus (historically Lucius Albinius Paterculus, a plebeian who assumed the name Brutus). Coriolanus' son is Young Marcius, though a child is properly referred to by his *praenomen* and not his *nomen* (Little Johnny and not Young Smith).[86] Tullus Aufidius, general of the Volscians, could have Tullus as a *praenomen* at this time, though later it serves only as a *nomen*. The third king of Rome was a Tullus, the sixth Tullius (from the clan of Tullus).

Of added interest in *Coriolanus* is the fact that Shakespeare in V.3 chooses names for two characters who are so minor as not to have

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[86]Shakespeare characteristically uses the formula "Young *X*" rather than "*X* the Younger," though the latter is more British (*cf.* Pitt the Younger). The more modern system seems to be illustrated in the title (or subtitle) of Stanley F. Bonner's new book from The University of California Press, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny,* though we have never heard the latter called anything but Pliny the Younger before.

names in the source material. Two common soldiers meet and exchange comments about events. The Volscian calls his Roman friend Nicanor. The Roman calls his Volscian friend Adrian. Neither of these names is strictly appropriate; Nicanor was the name of a Greek grammarian of the court of Hadrian; that Nicanor was nicknamed *Stigmatios*—because he was a stickler for punctuation. But the Roman is not a Greek. And for the Volscian our bending author chooses a Latin name, or rather the name of the Emperor Hadrian, a man of Spanish origin, though his *cognomen* (Adrianus) refers to his family's original emigration from a town in Picenum, on the spur of the boot of Italy, far from Volscian lands (or Rome for that matter).

Now where did Shakespeare get these names and why did he use them? The second question is most readily answered: to give these bit parts individuality. Where did he get them? We suggest from Σουίδας, the Greek lexicon, which couples the two names in one of its articles. A Latin translation of this work was published in England in 1550. Shakespeare might have seen that.

Titus Andronicus

Scholars have worked diligently on a number of problems. For instance, someone worked out that the middle of the Old Testament is in II *Chronicles* (between verses 17 and 18) and the middle of the New Testament is *Acts* 17 (verse 17). Others have stymied them, and in Shakespearian scholarship *Titus Andronicus* has caused a certain amount of frustration. Some say it may be Shakespeare's first work. Undoubtedly it is a fitfully-interesting, Senecan blood and gore tragedy, first printed in 1594 (a copy of this rare quarto surfaced as late as 1904). The first quarto tells us who played it ("the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembrooke, and Earle of Sussex their Seruants") and even who printed (Iohn Danter) and sold it (Edward White & Thomas Millington), but not who wrote it. It was attributed to Shakespeare by Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598, recently reprinted in facsimile in The English Stage series). But Meres is far from reliable: he attributes to Shakespeare a *Love's Labour's Won* as well as his *Love's Labour's Lost*. Still, as the Spanish say, to a thirsty man even a sour orange is welcome. *Titus Andronicus* turns up in the First Folio (1623) and has concerned Shakespeare scholars since. Some suggest that Shakespeare rewrote or collaborated with George Peele (John Dover Wilson, Ashley) or Thomas Kyd (J. Robertson) and at least since the time of Edward Ravenscroft Shakespeare's hand in it has been doubted.

Permit us to leave these matters to be debated in other forums. Here let us say that, when and if Shakespeare wrote it, we should like to comment on his (or someone else's) handling of the names in the play.

Without involving ourselves in the sources of the Roman-name forms found in the play, we can comment upon the way the names in the *dramatis personae* differ from the regular system of Roman nomenclature and, in fact, how they lack consistency within the list of characters. Even the rather vague setting (the time of Theodosius, A.D. 378-395) would not account for the variations from the norm. As Lady Bracknell says about John Worthing losing both his parents: it looks rather like carelessness.

Saturninus is "son to the late Emperor of Rome," but the emperor is unspecified.[87]There never was an emperor with a known son of this name. His brother's name, *Bassianus*, may have been suggested by Caracalla.[88] *Saturninus* is a *cognomen*, *Bassianus* more of an *agnomen*.

Titus Andronicus is designated by both *praenomen* and *cognomen* but we also know his *nomen*: it must be *Lavinius* because his daughter is Lavinia. His name is, then, Titus Lavinius Andronicus (the *cognomen* implying "manliness"). Shakespeare calls his brother Marcus Andronicus (Marcus Lavinius Andronicus). Titus' sons are designated by *praenomina* (as Shakespeare understands them): Lucius, Quintus, Marcius, and Mutius. But *Mutius* is found in historical records only as a *nomen*. And the *praenomen* form of the *nomen* of *Marcius* (or *Martius*) ought to be *Marcus*. Titus' nephew (Publius) and his grandson (Lucius) are both known by correct *praenomina*.

Of Titus' three other kinsmen, one is designated by a *nomen* (Sempronius), one by a *praenomen* (Caius), and one by a *cognomen*

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87 One of Valerian's generals named Saturninus, disgusted by the debauchery of Gallienus (reigned A.D. 260-268), joined the Thirty Tyrants in rebellion and eventually accepted the imperial title from his troops. He was killed by his own soldiers, as Gallienus had been, but because of his strictness, not his laxity. Another Saturninus (Lucius Antonius Saturninus) led a rebellion against Domitian, and, under the republic, Lucius Apuleius Saturninus organized the plebs but was arrested by Marius, put for safety into the Curia Hostilia, and killed when the mob tore off the roof and pelted him with the tiles. (A slave called Scaeva was rewarded with citizenship for having killed Saturninus.) Claudius Saturninus and Venuleus Saturninus were famous jurists, Pompeius Saturninus a literary man praised by his friend Pliny, and Gaius Sentius Saturninus, Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus, Lucius Volusius Saturninus, and Quintus Volusius Saturninus are names that turn up frequently in lists of the consuls *suffecti,* governors of provinces, etc.

88 He was called Bassianus after his maternal grandfather (the father of Julia Domna—she was the second wife of Septimius Severus) but later Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. *Caracalla*, a nickname, derived from the long tunic of the Gauls, his favorite dress after he became emperor (A.D. 211), as one English king was *Curtmantle* from the short cloak of Anjou he wore. *Cf.* J. P. Wild, "The Caracallus," *Latomus* XXIII (1964), 532-536. (In another connection, Wild has an interesting onomastic note in *Antiquity* XLIV, 1970, 125-130.)

(Valentine). With such a *nomen,* Sempronius could not be a "kinsman"; if he is at all related to the Lavinia family, it must be by marriage, not blood.

One "noble Roman" appears as Aemilius and may be of the very ancient patrician family descended from Mamercus (called *Aemilius* because of the extreme persuasiveness of his language, says Plutarch: δι᾽ αἰμυλίου λόγου). We cannot guess at the rest of his name.

Tamora is a barbarian's name and her three sons are Alarbus, Demetrius, and Chiron. The latter two are Greek names (odd for barbarous Goths). Odder still is the name of Aaron the Moor—that of the brother of Moses.

Cymbeline

The names in *Titus Andronicus,* as we see, are highly irregular, a fact that was no more to trouble Shakespeare or his Elizabethan audience than the anachronous striking clock in *Julius Caesar* or the impossible "seacoast of Bohemia" in *The Winter's Tale.* The dramatic rule is the same for the stage as for the box-office—what the traffic will bear. In *Cymbeline* Shakespeare gets away with a good deal.

Cymbeline is set in mythical Britain and a Roman world no less mythical. Roman names are mixed with others. Roman names include *Posthumus Leonatus* (two *cognomina,* an impossible combination— unless *Posthumus* is to be construed as a *praenomen,*which would be correct, for if it is an *agnomen* the order is wrong) and *Gaius Lucius* (two *praenomina,* which is impossible). Two other characters are designated simply by *nomina*: Cornelius (the honest physician) and Bellarius (the banished Briton). The two sons of Cymbeline, King of Britain, bear Romanized names (*Aviragus* and *Guiderius*) but we are familiar with such things, whether because the early Britons did sometimes Romanize their names or (as may be more likely) the names were Romanized for us by being reported only in Latin documents. Latinized names inevitably occurred when Latin was the learned language. In the Renaissance a similar explanation elucidates such names as *Melancthon* (from *Schwartzerde,* a Greek creation) and *Regiomontanus* (from *Königsberg,* a Latin creation). More of this later.

In *Cymbeline* the names point up a mixture of cultures and are in so vague and distant an historical context that the dramatist is free to call his characters pretty much what he likes. Cymbeline was really Cunobelin, great-grandson of Cassivellanus. His capital, on the banks of the Colne, was Camulodonum (named for the Celtic war god, now Colechester). He was the "Old King Cole" of the nursery rhyme.

The Poet's Progress

There are other Roman and Romanized names scattered throughout the works of Shakespeare but they need not concern us here. Suffice it to say that Shakespeare does not demonstrate in his *dramatis personae* any clear and consistent understanding of the traditions of Roman nomenclature and, in fact, misses some useful dramatic points that strict and correct use of proper names might have made. However, in his later Roman plays, particularly in *Antony and Cleopatra*, he regularly and intelligently employs *cognomina* for Roman males, except, sensibly, in the case of Lucius Canidius Crassus. *Crassus*, if it rang a bell with Shakespeare's audience at all, would probably have meant that Crassus who was part of the first triumvirate (with Pompey and Caesar) and whose name had become synonymous with wealth. If Shakespeare often failed to give his Roman names as much significance as he might have done, at the least, in this instance, he avoided an unwanted connotation of a name.

BEN JONSON'S HANDLING OF ROMAN NAMES

Classical Influences

By way of contrast and comparison, take Benjamin Jo[h]nson, always called Jonson (and his followers "The Tribe of Ben").[89] Jonson was a graduate of the prestigious Westminster School and, as his envious enemies never ceased to remind him, the son (or stepson) of a bricklayer, but well educated in the classics. He was a student of the great Latinist and historian William Camden, whose *Britannia* (1586) went through seven editions in Latin before being translated by Philemon Holland (1610). Jonson collected and daily studied Latin books and prided himself on his scholarship. One might think that his training and his meticulous nature—he saw his own plays through the press, as Shakespeare never did—might have combined to render his works more reliable on such details as classical names than the works of Shakespeare, that graduate of a simple Warwickshire grammar school who went to London and taught himself the art of the theatre under the

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[89]The informal *Ben* even turns up on his tombstone, though the epitaph *O rare Ben Jonson* may be (some say) just badly carved Latin: *Orare* [pray for] *Ben Jonson*. This is a standard story in textbooks and histories of English literature, but correct Latin would have demanded *Orare pro Ben Jonson,* so it looks as if the charming story is wrong.

pressure of daily work in the practical, commercial, penny-catching theatre, that Shakespeare whom Jonson loved "this side idolatry," but still could castigate for "small Latin and less Greek." Writing generations after such classicists in England as Cheke, Erasmus, and Ascham, coming out of a school system that taught Latin grammar in grammar schools, writing tragedies in a country much influenced by the reading of Seneca (and others) and comedies greatly shaped by the teaching of Plautus and Terence as masters of style, what does Ben Jonson of Westminster, reading Latin daily for pleasure, do with Roman names?

Roman Names in Britain

To begin with, we must see Jonson in the context of the tradition of Roman names in Britain. For one thing, he did not inherit any regular system of what the Elizabethans would call "Englyshynge" of Roman names. A classical author might be known by his *nomen* (Virgil, Pliny, Ovid) in English form or by his *cognomen* (Catullus, Tibullus, Cicero), though understandably not by *praenomen* alone. By *nomen* the British knew the general Fabius and the actor Roscius, by *cognomen* Brutus and Lucullus. Emperors such as Elagabalus and Augustus were called by *agnomina,* Caligula by a *signum.* Before Shakespeare's time it became common to refer to Cicero by his *nomen* (as Tully) and Virgil often appeared as Maro (his *cogomen*). Place-names were handled with similar freedom. In the reign of Nero, Londinium (Oppidum Londiniense, Lundinium) is first mentioned. It takes a Latin form, but scholars are undecided what is being Latinized. Is it the name of King Lud (whose name survives in London's Ludgate) or is it *Lyn Dyn* (hill by a pool)? The first British personal name to be found also comes Latinized. It is that of Cassivellanus, "the first recorded personal name in British history," says Sir Arthur Bryant in *The Story of England* (1953). The most important settlement in Roman times was not the crossroads at London but the garrison at York: as the main headquarters of the emperors visiting Britain it saw the deaths of Septimius Severus, Constantinus Chlorus, and many other important persons.

Bergion (or Vergion)[90]the Romans called Juverna, Iverna, Hibernia, once Ptolemy had identified its southcoast people as the Juverni

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[90]Pytheas is the first reliable Greek to mention Ireland (or Land's End?) calling it βέργιον, "western." As for the adoption of Latin names by the "locals," note that inhabitants of municipalities attained Roman citizenship and would thereupon adopt Roman names. Even British kings did so. (We call them British kings though there was no really unified kingdom until Alfred, but Cymbeline acted like a king—indeed like a Roman emperor, issuing silver and gold

(*'Ιούέρνοι*) and what we call Dublin and Connaught the Romans called Eblana and Nagnatae (though they never colonized Ireland as they did England). The Celts the Romans termed Cimri or Celtae. The Welsh (as has been noted) were the Ordovices (north) and Silures and Demetae (south). The Scots and Picts lived up in *Britannia Barbara* (also called Caledonia).

The islands as a whole were called by Aristotle and Polybius *Βρεταννοί* from the Gaelic *Brython (brith* = "painted," with woad—

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coins with Latin inscriptions—and was described as *rex Britannorum.*) Here is G.M. Durant (*Britain: Rome's Most Northerly Province*, 1970, p.8):

> . . . They [Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, and Cogidubnus, King of the Regneses] were allowed to remain as vassal kings. . . .They gained the title/of 'allies of the Roman people'— Tacitus refers to Cogidubnus of the Regneses as 'our most faithful ally.' To this day in Chichester (Noviomagnus Regnensium, the capital of Cogidubnus) you may see preserved under the portico of the Council House an inscribed tablet from a vanished building which the king set up round about this time in this neighbourhood, using the Latin language for his inscription:
>> To Neptune and Minerva, this temple is dedicated for the welfare of the divine house
>> by the authority of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, king and legate of Augustus in
>> Britian. . .
> from which it is obvious that the former British chieftain had not only adopted or been granted Latin names but was very proud of them and of his standing with the Romans.

This seems to be the policy of Agricola (Tacitus who served under him said "when he had struck sufficient terror into the souls of the enemy who wooed them to submission by his clemency") and the habit of some of the British chieftains (to allow themselves to be co-opted by the invader— Cogidubnus was among the first, presumably hoping to get the very best terms, a favored place). What Durant does not note here in his discussion of the adopted name is that the name suggests this king was adopted: *Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus* looks like imperial *praenomen* and *nomen* followed by a Roman version of a foreign name as *cognomen*—the name, in effect, of a freedman of the emperor, his slave given Roman citizenship and linked to the house of the Claudia.

As for the long name on the inscription, it was the custom. In Asia Minor an imperial inscription near Smyrna read:

> The Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixth year, acclaimed Imperator thirteen times, Father of his Country, Consul six times, designated Consul a seventh time, Censor, saw to the repair of the roads.

Such inscriptions are dated in an odd way and might read (*e.g.*) "in the consulship of C. Caesar son of Augustus and L. Aemilius Paulus son of Paulus" or M. AGRIPPA L.F. COS. TERTIVM. FECIT ("Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, had this made in his third consulship," put on the Pantheon rebuilt by Hadrian and retained when it was restored by Septimius Severus). As for high, astounding titles assumed, Romans are outshone by Frederick *Stupor Mundi* and the popes. A monk (Hildebrand) grew so uppity as Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) that he decreed in *Dictatus Papae* "the Pope alone may use the imperial insignia." (Popes already had assumed the diadem, later to be increased to three, as a result of a forgery, the Donation of Constantine, and already had taken to assuming new names on mounting Peter's throne—a practice started by the one who had unfortunately been born "Swinenose.") By Innocent III they were no longer simply *Vicar of St. Peter*; they had become *Vicar of Christ*. Ernst Kantorowicz writes: "The royal High Priest of the Christian Church, the *verus imperator* of the Christian Empire, the first judge of Christendom, these three are one and of one origin: they are the Pope." So the Roman *imperator* and *pontifex maximus* titles have not been allowed to disappear.

oddly, the Britons called their northern neighbors Picts, some say "painted ones"). Later the Romans called them *Insulae Britannicae* and Albion (for the Celtic for mountainous, as in *Alps*, not the Latin for "white," *alba*) or *Insula Albionum.*

The Romans (or rather Roman troops, natives of places as different as Spain and Dalmatia, Thrace and Syria) found the native names strange when they met the various peoples of the British Isles. It must be admitted the names were confusing: the Belgae had moved across the Channel and were thought of by Caesar as inhabitants of Kent and Sussex,[91] though they were in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset; while the Parisii were on the Humber as well as on the island in the Seine or Sequana the Romans called Lutetia Parisiorum and which we call Paris. So the Britons found the Latin names strange as well, and they successfully resisted Latinization.[92] The names that became *London* and *Colchester* were always half English: Lud and Old King Cole were native. The Latin *Londinium* and *Camulodonum* did not stick. *Verulamium* became *St. Albans* after the Christian martyr Albanus in Diocletian's persecutions, though Cowper and Tennyson made the heroine Boudicca better known by a Romanized name, *Boadicea.*

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[91] Actually the people of Kent (today divided into Kentish Men and the Men of Kent by a river) or Catium (suggesting a "corner") were the Cantii. The people of Sussex were the Regni and the town of Regnum was probably Chichester, at the crossing of two important Roman roads. (The Latin *castra*, "camp," produced names all over Britain like Chester, Chesterfield, Winchester, even Castor in Northamptonshire, and Casterbridge in Hardy's novels.)

[92] " 'From the Romans who once ruled Britain,' wrote [Francis] Haverfield, the great student of the archeology of the occupation, 'we Britons have inherited practically nothing.' In the end the Romans left behind them here just three things of value: the first of these would have amused or shocked Caesar, Agricola and Hadrian, for it was Welsh Christianity; the second was the Roman roads; the third, a by-product of the second, was the traditional importance of certain new city sites. . . .But the Latin life of the cities, the villas, the arts, the language and the political organization of Rome vanished like a dream. The greatest fact in the earliest history of the island is a negative fact—that the Romans did not succeed in permanently Latinizing Britain as they Latinized France."—G.M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated History of England* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 14. Lincoln Barnett *et al.* (*The Epic of Man*, 1961, p. 193) sum up Roman influence on Britain succinctly:

> The Romans failed to implant their culture in the British Isles as permanently as they had succeeded in doing in Gaul. They built roads and towns, maintained commerce, recorded the history of their time and enforced a period of law and prosperity. Their skills and learning pervaded much of England. Latin was the official language, but Celtic remained the language of the peasantry, and Celtic folkways were not erased. The pressure from the barbarian invasions in Gaul forced the Romans to draw back, first from Britain and eventually from all Celtic lands.

By the time of Pope Gregory the Great (who said the English visitors to Rome were *non Angli sed angeli*, they were so fair), a Gallic bishop was reproved by His Holiness for wasting his time studying Latin grammar and poetry and where the "angels" trod up in wildest Britain Latin was not known at all.

Romanized names of tribes such as *Brigantes* and *Iceni* and *Catavel-launi* went the way of place-names like *Deva* (though *Chester*, as we have said, is Latin Anglicized), *Aquae Solis* (Bath), *Portus Dubris* (Dover) and provinces such as *Flavia Caesariensis* and *Valentia*. Now a Roman name like *Caledonia* ("place of the forest people") or *Hibernia* has only poetic use. The Britons may have taken up Latin for some professional terminology, but they rejected it for onomastic purposes, on the whole. *Lindom* became *Lincoln*, *Viroconium* became *Wroxeter*.

So when Jonson the classical scholar came to retell the story of Sejanus or of Catiline (after Sallust) he got many of the names wrong or gave them incompletely.

Sejanus, His Fall

His *Sejanus, His Fall* (1603) was written with the help of a "second Pen" (probably Chapman, classicist, translator—as Keats made forever memorable—of Homer, etc.) but classicist Ben stuck no more closely to Roman rules of nomenclature than he did here to classical unities. His history (from Tacitus' *Annales*, IV and V, and Suetonius' *Life of Tiberius* and other authorities) is sound, but his handling of names is not.

Jonson's epigraph for the tragedy is from Martial:

> *Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque Invenies: Hominem pagina nostra sapit,*

but though there are no centaurs, gorgons, or harpies in the play, there are *tribuni, praecones, tubicines, lictores, tibicinces, et cetera,* and Jonson oddly chooses to list the priest as *Flamen* (from his sacred fire), the messenger as *Nuntius,* a servant as *Servus,* and so on,[93] using Latin terms and not English ones. (This was for the reading public, not spectators, of course.)

Caesar may have been right when, one morning in August of 55 B.C. he approached the cliffs of Dover and saw them swarming with armed savages: he pronounced the place "quite unsuitable for landing." He did land later (between Deal and Walmer) and was up against Cassivellaunus and his blue defenders. As Caesar wrote in a passage almost too familiar to young Latin scholars: "All the Britons dye their bodies with woad, which produces a blue color, and this gives them a more terrifying appearance in battle. They wear their hair long, and shave all of their bodies except the head and the upper lip." He added (some onomastic significance here?): "Wives are shared between groups of ten or twelve men, especially between brothers and between fathers and sons; but the offspring of these unions are counted as the children of the man with whom a particular woman cohabited first." Did these fathers name their sons or did the mothers do so? What was the naming system of the early Britons? How did it compare (even compete) with that of Romans in Britain?

[93] *Tribuni* = tribunes, *Praecones* = heralds, *Tubicenes* = trumpeters, *Lictores* = lictors (attendants upon Roman Magistrates), *Ministri* = assistants to the priest, *Tibicines* = flautists. But

More important characters show him less at ease with things Roman. Take the opening lines of the play:

Sab[*inus*]. Haile, CAIVS SILIVS.
Sil[*ius*].   TITIVS SABINVS, Haile.

Jonson (in the quarto only, not the folio edition) helpfully and perhaps a mite pompously gives each of these lines an erudite footnote:

De Caio Silio, vid. Tacit. Lips edit. quarto. *Ann.* Lib.i pag. ii. Lib. II. p.28 et 33,

                                        and

De Titio Sabino, vid. Tacit, Lib. iv. p. 79,

and yet despite the references to Tacitus' *Annals*[94] his scholarship is poor, for Titius Sabinus has no *praenomen* and Gaius Silius no *cognomen.* Jonson invents some Latinate onomastic derivatives, as when Natta asks of someone:

Is he or *Drusian* or *Germanican*?
Or ours? or neutrall?

referring to the factions of Drusus and Germanicus. But he is confused or confusing about historical names.

The characters are "scarce-seen" Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero); *Drusus se* [nior] "th' Emperor's son" (Drusus Claudius Caesar); Nero (not the emperor but the son of Germanicus and grand-nephew of Tiberius), which is to say Nero Julius Caesar; *Drusus iu* [nior], younger brother of this Nero (and thus Drusus Julius Caesar); Caligula (Gaius Julius Caesar nicknamed Caligula), a still younger brother of this Nero (therefore the youngest of Germanicus' three sons), and others. We must pause to note that here we see an impractical use of *senior* and *junior* to distinguish first cousins once removed who both happened to bear the *praenomen* of *Drusus.* The Romans did not use *senior* and *junior* even to distinguish between father and son and this usage was entirely inappropriate. History usually refers to the two Drusus men as simple Drusus (son of Tiberius) and Drusus Caesar (grand-nephew of Tiberius).

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even the scholastic *The Return from Parnassus* (*c.* 1600), played at Cambridge before a university audience and featuring characters called Philomusus, Studioso, Ingenioso, Luxuriso, Gullio (from *gull* = "dupe"), etc., has *A Draper, A Tailor*, etc., not Latin equivalent names. Henry Medwall's play *Fulgens and Lucrece* (1497) does call the maid Jone [*sic*] *ancilla* but she does have an English name. In *Thersites* (an interlude of 1537, sometimes assigned to schoolmaster Nicholas Udall) Miles is the name of the knight. The two messengers in *Gorboduc* (1562), written for lawyers by lawyers at the Inns of Court, are each called *Nuntius.*

94 The real title of *"Annales"* was *Ab excessu vivi Augusti*—an obscure fact.

Other characters are Arruntius (Lucius Arruntius, the geographer): Silius (Gaius Silius, but not the poet best known as Gaius Silius Italicus, born in A.D. 25 and thus obviously much too young to be "the most of mark,. . . in power and reputation equal strong" by the time of Tiberius, who reigned A.D.14-37); Sabinus (Titius Sabinus—note Titius, not Titus—no *praenomen*, as we said); Lepidus ("grave and honest," a Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, but not the *triumvir* of that name); Cordus (Cremutius Cordus, the one in history who dubbed Cassius "the last of the Romans," but whose *praenomen* seems to have been lost, unknown to Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, *et al.*)—Jonson has him described as having "writ annals of late,. . . and very well," annals condemed to be burnt but preserved by his daughter "Marcia," we are told, among others; Gallus (Lucius Asinius Gallus Saloninus); Regulus "a consul" (Publius Memmius Regulus); Terentius (not the poet Terence, nor sharing that ex-slave's name Afer—there is another Afer in this play); Laco (called Gracinus Laco and Gracinus in the play, two *cognomina*—unless one is an *agnomen*), a name that suggests Lacedemonian, a Spartan (*cf.* Horace's "Spartan dog"); Eudemus (a physician, which may explain this Greek name, meaning "good people," perhaps a *cognomen* for a freed slave); Rufus (no other name but an *agnomen* for this spy); the principal of the tragedy, Sejanus (Jonson spells it *Seianvs*, but we need not trouble ourselves with this archaic orthography), who in history was—thanks to his adoption into the Aelian *gens* from the Seia *gens*—Lucius Aelius Sejanus, maybe Lucius Aelius Tubero Sejanus;[95] Latiaris "the reverend spy" (whose name hints at the temple of Jupiter *Latiaris* in a sacred grove on the Alban Hill—perhaps he came from that neighborhood, or some ancestor did, or was a priest); Varro (whose full name is L. Visellius Varro); Tiberius Macro, in history Naevius—an archaic way to render *Gnaeus*—Sertorius Macro, head

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[95]In fact, his father was Seius Strabo, commander of the Praetorian Guard, a post our Sejanus took when the father was made a governor in Africa and one he used as a springboard to power. His plot was to seize the throne. He was aided in his political ambitions not only by his father's position but also by being adopted into the *gens* Aelia. The *Aelia* were important in Spain (producing there the man who was to become the Emperor Hadrian) and put their name on many things, even the city of Jerusalem, renamed Aelia (after Aelius Hadrianus). At one time, however, the Aelius family was very likely the poorest patrician *gens* in the capital: 16 of them lived in a tiny house in Rome. But then Aemilius Paullus married one of his daughters to an Aelius Tubero and the family's prospects improved, especially after the father-in-law made Aelius Tubero a present of five pounds of solid gold out of the booty from the defeat of Perses (or Perseus), last king of Macedonia (168 B.C.). Sejanus may have borne the standard Aelian *cognomen* of *Tubero*. It is surprising that the exact name of so colorful and well-documented an historical figure as Sejanus should be a matter of conjecture.

of the Praetorian Guard subsequent to Sejanus, whom he arrested in A.D. 31); Cotta, one of the "officious friends" and "sponges" of Sejanus, but not one of the several consuls all called Gaius Aurelius Cotta, or one of the consuls called Lucius Aurelius Cotta, or necessarily even of the Aurelia *gens*, for there was (for example) a Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta who fell before the troops of Ambiorix while he and Sabinus were fighting the Euborones in Gaul; Afer (Domitius Afer of Nemausus, or Nismes, in Gaul, whom Quintilian saluted as an eminent orator, though his works are lost to us);[96]Haterius (Quintus Haterius, the rhetorician, who died A.D. 26 in his eighty-ninth year); Sanguinius; Posthumus (called Julius Posthumus) and Trio (called Fulcinius Trio), otherwise unidentifiable; a Minutius;[97] a Satrius and a Natta in the play inconsistently named, for they are identified as Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, and one would perhaps expect them both to be known by *nomina* or both by *cognomina*, not one of each. The women are Agrippina (daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa; "little Agrippa"), Livia (wife of Drusus Senior; better known as Livilla, "little Livia" in history), and Sosia (a daughter of someone of that family of Sosii, perhaps, who in the time of Horace were booksellers in Rome). Opius cannot be further identified but clearly has no connection with Ops (goddess of plenty, wife of Saturnus), from whom was derived *opimus, opulentus, inops,* etc., and our *opulence.*

Jonson has no characters in *Sejanus* with symbolic names such as that of Somnus, found sleeping in his cave in Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, the first court masque of the reign of James I. (Jonson was to write a number of masques himself.) He has no orthographic surprises, such as *Calypha* and *Thelea*, brothers in George Peele's *The Old Wive's Tale* (entered in The Stationers' Register for printing in 1595, after Peele's death as "a pleasant Conceipte called the Owlde Wifes tale") or invented names such as *Scintilla* (in the Restoration it would have been *Sparkish*) in John Lyly's *Endymion, The Man in the Moone* (written in the 1580's, published 1591). He uses Latin

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[96]*Cf.* Tacitus' annals (IV, 52, 66; XIV, 19) and Dio Cassius' history (LIX, 19). He was responsible for the death of Claudia Pulchra, but outlasted Tiberius, as consul in A.D. 39 superintended the water supply in the reign of Nero, and died "as a result of his intemperate habits" (John Warrington, *Everyman's Classical Dictionary*) in A.D. 60.

[97] We cannot tell his name but his family was renowned. An ancestor was elected dictator and had to resign the office because of a bad omen: a rat squealed at the moment of election. Marcus Minucius Augurinus was consul in 497 and 491 B.C., but the *Augurinus* did not relate to an augury, no more than in the case of the *praefectus annonae* Lucius Minucius Augurinus, who lowered the price of corn and won himself popular acclaim and a brazen statue outside the Porta Trigemina.

descriptions (*Praecones*) but does not confect Latin names, such as *Nano*, the "little brother with great wit," a dwarf in Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James IV* (*c.* 1590). There is, however, no consistency in the manner in which characters are listed nor in the way they address each other. On the whole, *cognomina* are used, but not reliably.

Catiline, His Conspiracy

Jonson's other tragedy was *Catiline, His Conspiracy* (first acted in 1611, published in quarto that year and in the First Folio of Jonson's *Workes,* 1616),[98]considered by Jonson to be his better tragedy. (It was revived in the Restoration with Nell Gwynn speaking the Prologue "merrily" dressed "in an Amazonian habit" and boldly revealing 50 percent of the attraction she used to snare King Charles.)

In *Catiline* Jonson seems indifferently to employ *nomina* or *cognomina;* as in *Sejanus,* once again his usual punctiliousness is absent when it comes to names. The play opens with *Sylla's Ghost,* the angry spirit of Lucius Cornelius Sulla.[99]The protagonist is Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catiline). Other characters (with Jonson's listing in the *dramatis personae* expanded, where possible) are: Lentulus (Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the *cognomen* meaning "rather slow"); Cethegus (Gaius Cornelius Cethegus,[100]Curius (Quintus Curius, the *nomen* implying *curio,* a priest of a *curia*—each of the three patrician tribes had ten *curiae* or associations or, as the Chinese might say, tongs); Autronius (Publius Autronius Paetus, the *cognomen* derived from an *agnomen* to be translated "Blinky," "leering," "with a cast in the eye"); Vargunteius (Lucius Vargunteius, who at his trial could find no one to defend him); Longinus (Lucius Cassius Longinus, a relative of the Cassius in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* but not of Longinus the philosopher—the latter was Greek and was called Dionysius Cassius Longinus but the work attributed to him which we have, περὶ ὕψους or *On the Sublime,* is

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[98] It is interesting to note that the reputation of mere stageplays was so low at this time that for Jonson to collect, *proofread,* and publish them was unheard of, and the critics balked at plays being called *workes.* The running title of the quarto, by the way, is CATJLINE.

[99] The Romans had the verb *sullaturire,* "to act like Sulla," the dictator. We have noted our modern words derived from Roman gods (*vulcanize*) and Roman enemies (*mithridatize*). A study should be made of Latin vocabulary derived from Roman personal and place-names. Another could deal with Roman proper names in proverbs and slang expressions in Latin.

[100] *Cf.* Sallusts' *Catilina* (also called *Bella Catilinaria*), 46-55, and Lucan's *Pharsalia,* II, 543. Horace calls the family *cinctuti Cethegi* from their habit of wearing the toga without a tunic underneath and wrapped around like a girdle (*cinctus*) of the Gabii who brought this style from a town in Latium on the Lacus Gabinus.

possibly the work of another Dionysius; the latter was called Dionysius of Halicarnassus (a city originally named Zephyra when founded by the Dorians) to distinguish him from the Dionysiuses of Magnesia, of Mytilene, of Thrace—who was called Thrax, the Dionysius who suggested brass coinage and was called therefore Chalcus, the one called Periegetes from his περιηγήσις τῆς γῆς, etc. (common foreign names caused uncommon confusion in Rome); Lecca (Marcus Porcius Lecca); Fulvius (Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, a *cognomen* on which we have had occasion to comment before); Bestia (Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, who was at the time of the Catilinian conspiracy not tribune, as Sallust says, but only *tribunus plebis designatus*); Gabinius (Publius Gabinius Capito, whose names suggest an origin among the Gabii and also a big head); Statilius (Lucius Statilius, of the noble family which produced the general of Octavian who built a stone amphitheatre in Rome as a gift to the city—he was Titus Statilius Taurus); Ceparius (Marcus Ceparius); Cornelius (Gaius Cornelius); Volturtius (Titus Volturtius); Cicero; Antonius (Gaius Antonius Hybrida, a *cognomen* we explained earlier); Cato (the Younger); Catulus (not Catullus but Quintus Lutatius Catulus); Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar); Qv. Cicero (Quintus Tullius Cicero); Syllanus (Decimus Junius Syllanus); Pomptinius (Gaius Pomptinius); Sanga (Quintus Fabius Sanga, suggesting not so much "blood" as Sancus, a Sabine deity); Petreius (Marcus Petreius from *petra*, πέτρα = "crag," "rock").

The Senators, Soldiers, Servants, and Pages are listed as such, with English words, as is a Porter and (if one can consider *Chorus* an English word by this time) the Chorus who gets the last word in most acts (but not at the end of the play). Allobroges (a "roving tribe" if the Celtic *ail* = "other" and *broge* = "dwelling" is correct) are, like the Lictors, given English plurals. The women are Aurelia (Aurelia Orestilla, a *cognomen*), Fulvia (of the Fulvius family), Sempronia (of the Sempronian clan), and a slave called Galla (from Gaul).

This yields us for *Catiline* no characters known by their *praenomina* (in *Sejanus* we had Tiberius), 15 known by their *nomina* (often with *praenomina* being used occasionally in the course of the drama), and 17 known by their *cognomina*. The *patres conscripti* Jonson calls Senators and there are many references in the play to Roman historical characters (such as Metellus Celer, whose *cognomen* or *agnomen* means "swift" and who lost three legions to the Allobroges), Greek mythology (Hippolytus, Pallas, Calypso, "Sybylls," etc.), etc. Indeed Greek is regarded as a sign of culture—one will recall the blunt Casca's

annoyance at Cicero's speaking Greek in *Julius Caesar*: "it was Greek to me"—and we find this exchange:

> *Sempronia:* Ha' they no *greeke*?
> *Lentulus:* No surely.
> *Sempronia:* Fie, what do I here, wayting on 'hem then?
> If they be nothing but mere states-men.

In Roman times even mere "statesmen" (a word we now reserve for elderly politicians) often could manage Greek: Cicero addressing the crowd in Greek offstage in *Julius Caesar* was reaching a select but not tiny constituency, even if it did exclude Casca. The onomastic ramifications of the classical (*i.e.* Greek) education of certain prominent Romans on the naming system in Rome must have had some effects that deserve to be studied. As we have hoped in this essay to touch on some of the effects of the Roman names upon our culture, so Greek and Latin scholars ought to combine to study in terms of onomastic evidence the Greek heritage in Roman culture. That heritage has been studied in sculpture, in architecture, and in other fields. Why not in names? Such a study would go well beyond a catalogue of Greek names in Latin usage. Was it partly a Greek influence, for instance, that explains why the Romans took up a patronymic system instead of the matronymic system of the Etruscans?

The Poet's Errors

But we stray from Jonson, about whom we must make some general remarks before we conclude this section. In the plays we have briefly noted as well as elsewhere (as in *The Poetaster*, a satiric play in the War of the Theatres) Jonson misses opportunities and make mistakes, odd for a classical scholar who in English (Dryden alleged) "Latinizes too much." In *The Poetaster* he lists *Marc. Ovid* and intends this for Ovid's father. True, the *praenomen* of the father of the poet (Publius Ovidius Naso) is not recorded in history, but we know (and classical scholar Jonson ought to have known) that Ovid had an elder brother (Lucius Ovidius Naso) and no other. Ergo, Ovid's elder brother bore Ovid's father's *praenomen*, Lucius. So "Marcus Ovidius" was Lucius Ovidius Naso. An understanding of the Roman system enables us to supply a name unrecorded in the documents.

On the whole, Jonson makes erratic use of *nomina* when *cognomina* would have been clearer and more fruitful designations for his Roman characters. Is he ignorant, careless, or both? His record does not redound to the credit of classical scholarship in his period, at least so far as onomastics are concerned.

ROMAN NAMES AND ENGLISH

Roman literature, if such a sweeping generalization can be made, seems to share Jonson's erratic interest in names. It is surprising that the tidy Romans did not legislate more on names and that the scholarly Romans did not echo as much as one might have expected the delight of clever Greek authors in playing with names. The study of Greek history and mythology is enlivened with many instances of wordplay: for one, Homer's trickster-hero in the *Odyssey* has a mother whose name says she is "opposed to fame." Pausanias' *Description of Greece* of the second Century B.C. reports wordplay regarding place-names: "For on its [Mycenae's] site the cap (*myces*) fell from his [Perseus'] scabbard, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick a mushroom (*myces*) from the ground. Drinking with joy the water that flowed from it, he gave the place the name Mycenae." This derivation game seems unreliable, but the point is that there was a distinct interest in coming up with some sort of explanation. Some place-names were clear in their origins: all the towns created by Hadrian called Hadrianopolis, Commodus ordering the very name of Rome to be changed to Commodiana (which did not last, any more than he did), great men trying to put their stamp on something more or less permanent or being flattered by others (as when Herod called his seaport Caesarea, because it contained the temple of Augustus, a man who called himself only *princeps* or "first citizen" but became an emperor and a god. "And to Caesar went the glory of the new creation," Josephus the Jewish historian wrote. Then when Herod rebuilt Samaria he dubbed it Sebaste, which was Greek for *Augustus*). Those that were not of clear origin tempted people into guesswork, folk etymologies. It was early assumed that names ought to carry a freight of meaning. A name like *Electra* also alerts us to onomastic richness hidden just below the surface. Greek personal names may have been pretty simple but their literature was full of onomastic subtlety. To what extent did the Romans pick that up? To what extent did the mixture of peoples and languages that made the vast empire enrich Roman names and sensitize Romans to onomastic possibilities? Not to the extent that we might expect but to some degree at least we find that Romans are alert to the onomastic possibilities, that the Romans like to play with names, and nicknames, and have a lively sense of linguistic fun. On the one hand they may turn back to Greek myth to ridicule Antinoüs as *Catamitus* (the Etruscan name of Ganymede, cupbearer to Jove, from which we get *catamite*) but on the other

they will pun in "modern" Latin and invent name jokes and "surnames" (*supernomina*) and, while having little room to express themselves (unlike our contemporaries) in the choice of first names,[101] have at the same time perhaps more sense of history in their *nomina* than we are aware of in our family names. Also, many of the connotations of Roman names may be lost upon us who are so far in time from the people who spoke this "dead language" (or, worse for us, a demotic Latin quite different from the learned, literary Latin that has survived in documents). Languages can be subtle—in Chinese, the difference between the words, or word, for "buy" and "sell" is only in the tone—and often nowhere more so than in connection with something as personal and as colored as a name. We need to give more consideration not only to the carefully-chosen names of literature but to the complex names of historical characters as well. Just as *Dougal* originally was a nickname ("black stranger") for a Norwegian in the mouths of the Irish we now might refer to as *Paddies* or *Micks* and yet, taken up (often as *Dugald*) so thoroughly by the Scots that it tends to carry overtones of kilts and

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[101] In *First Names First* (1977), Leslie A. Dunkling lists a number of names of Latin origin in his top 50 first names for boys in England and Wales for 1975, including Adrian, but Christopher ("bearer of Christ") is basically a Christian name of Greek origin, not a Latin one, and the "number two choice" Mark is not from the Roman "number one choice" Marcus but from the Evangelist. In 1900, Horace and Victor were in the top 50. For girls, *Victoria, Amanda, Angela, Laura,* and *Tina,* among others, are in a sense "Latin names," but Roman women never bore such names. Dunkling quotes *Livian* as one of the more individual black American feminine names. He suggests (p. 148) that reading Shakespeare accounted for plantation owners giving slaves such names as *Marcus, Octavius, Caesar, Cassius, Cato, Cicero, Cornelius, Claudius,* etc. *Marcus* is given now only four times for each 10,000 boys born in the USA and only half as frequently in England and Wales, while it is virtually unknown to call a boy Marcus in Canada, Scotland, or Australia. *Cornelius* scores three in 10,000 in Scotland, none elsewhere. *Julius,* formerly popular with some American Jews, does not even get into Dunkling's lists, though *Julian* is climbing the charts in England and Wales. *Gloria,* once popular with New York Jews, has faded.

 As for place-names, several excellent studies exist of Latin names on the land in both Britain and America, a tendency given a boost by the Classical Revival in the USA. But we must be cautious in discussing Latin place-names. To take the City of London as a convenient example, we find a number of Latin names that are more or less misleading: Amen Corner (where the clergy marching around St. Paul's got to the *Amen* in their prayers—*cf.* Paternoster Row and Creed Lane), Barbican (new blocks on the WWII bombsite, *barbicana* = "fortified tower"), Cloak Lane (*cloaca* = "sewer"), Crosswall (it once crossed the Roman Wall), Fore Street (ran in front of the Wall, OE *fore*), London Wall (following the northern line of the Roman fortifications), Miles Lane (not *miles* = "soldier" as in the literary *Miles Gloriosus* figure but just a corruption of *St. Michael's,* a church built *c.* 1367), Roman Bath Street (so named in 1885, but previously Pentecost Lane, then Bagnio Court—the first Turkish bath in London was built there 1679, a *bagnio*—and Bath Street, which many persons confused with Bath in the West Country), and so on. In London, where Mincing Lane is from the medieval *minchun* = "nun" and Seething Lane from the OE *ceafen* = "chaff" (opposite a corn market), *caveat.*

bagpipes today, so in its time (just as *Marcus* was a "strong" name because of *Mars*) there must have been a Roman equivalent in its psychological connotations for *Herbert* or *Bruce*. Tests have shown that (for some reason) we now regard people named *Adrian* as "artistic." How did the Romans regard the men who bore a similar name? What was, *psychologically,* the Roman equivalent of *Fred* or *Michael*? That is one important aspect of Roman names about which we shall probably never know.

What the Greeks were to the Romans culturally the Romans were to the British, but with less lasting effect. For one thing, the average Roman soldier stationed in the Imperial Province of Britain was not from Italy at all. So quickly did Latin die in the ex-*colonia* of Britain that King Alfred tells us (in his translation of St. Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*) that the language of the Church no longer was understood by many of the religious as they read their daily office in Latin. Literature might be written in Latin all through the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance, but Latin was not generally understood, and we have 30,000 lines of Old English verse surviving even before Chaucer came along to establish himself as an *English* writer in a way that (for example) Bede never could, while it must not be forgotten that it was a Romance (not a Roman) language that the Normans brought with the Conquest, the language which became "within three decades inevitably the daily language, both spoken and written, of nine out of ten of the persons of weight and substance in England."[102]Martial boasted A.D. 96 that his poems were being read, in the original, by the natives in Britain. It did not last. By the time the Romans left (fifth century) their linguistic

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102 John W. Clar, *Early English,* The Language Library, (New York: W.W. Norton 1964, previously published by Oxford University Press), p. 111.

The reader may consult a vast number of books on the influence of the Latin language on English but may be well-advised to begin with reliable and readable general introductions such as Otto Jespersen's *Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin,* G.L. Brook's *A History of the English Language*, J.A. Sheard's *The Words of English*, Mario Pei's *The Story of the English Language,* Bernard Groom's *Short History of English Words*, Simeon Potter's *Our Language*, Charles L. Wrenn's *The English Language,* etc. Authur G. Kennedy and others have compiled essential bibliographies. Oxford's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1884-1933) can offer a lifetime of browsing and discovery.

A convenient and entertaining summary of Britain as a Roman province (A.D. 43-450) is B.M. Durant's *Britain: Rome's Most Northerly Province* (London, 1970) and the scholar can easily move on from there. There more Roman names in British history will be found: Noviomagus Regnensum (Chichester), Watling Street (a laid-down road was a *via strata*), Ostorius Scapula, Julius Agricola, Nodens, and so many more. By "sacredness of individuals," said Emerson, the English have "evolved the principles of freedom." Individuals have also left their names to that "pattern of timeless moments," history.

influence was already fading and if it was later to be reinforced it would be through Germans and Gauls with whom the Romans had earlier had (to use a Latinate word) interaction, so the 20 or 30 percent Latin-derived content of a typical English sentence now is largely second-hand, and we are still italicizing (not romanizing) such printed words as *passim* and *verbatim* (if not *non-sequitur* and *terra firma*) to show they are foreign still to our *modus vivendi*, though various professions retain a Latinate nomenclature (*in re, de minibus, assize, culprit* from the trial of the Earl of Pembroke for murder in 1678 and hundreds of other legal terms, not to mention the medical ones—Sir Leslie Stephen put up a fight against all the words in which —*itis* meant "inflammation," but *appendicitis* and the rest are firmly established and *vermiform appendix* sounds so familiar we scarcely note how throughly Latin it is).

We need not go into here the profound influence of classical literature on English literature, a subject that has filled a great many books by writers such as Bolgar, Highet, and Lucas, but excluding plays which were merely sources or influences, we might just note that up to 1700 Englishmen translated Senecan dramas on more than a dozen occasions (we have translations by Thomas Browne 1558, Jasper Heywood 1559 and later, Alexander Neville 1563, Thomas Nuce 1566, John Studley 1567, Thomas Newton 1581, to name some from the reign of Elizabeth, who herself translated some of the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus* in 1561) and many from Titus Maccius Plautus (anonymous adaptations including *Jack Juggler* 1555, *The History of Error* 1577), and Terence (as early as the anonymous *Andria* 1520 and as late as Lawrence Echard's *Terence's Comedies Made English*, a half dozen plays of 1694). Of course these are only minor examples from a minor aspect of Latin influence, though not without interest, and we cannot undertake to list all the works composed originally in Latin (or translated into that language when English was still not an international tongue). Oliver Cromwell's Latin secretary, John Milton, composed some respectable Latin poems. There is an excellent Latin translation of A.A. Milne's work: *Winnie ille Pu*.

As to the influence of Latin on the whole language, that is a matter for specialized studies in grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, of which there is a plethora. To make the point briefly we need not show how John Colet (*c.* 1467-1519) produced a Latin grammar that was to become the *Eton Latin Grammar* eventually, and even convince English specialists that our language ought to borrow the rules of the classical tongue. Francis Bacon invented *instantia crucis* and *melioration* and *collate*. Thomas

Carlyle created *flamescent, languescent,* and *decadent.* But we need only to quote a few succinct examples of good English:

> Dr. Samuel Johnson's dictionary defined *network* as "anything reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections."

> Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) speaking at the Riding School (London) in 1878, describing Gladstone: "A sophisticated rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself."

> Finally, a single sentence from E.M. Forster of Latinate construction (which may be even more significant than Latinate vocabulary) from a short story, "The Other Boat," written in 1957 or 1958: "Onto him thus desperately situated the Arbuthnots descended."

The case is closed.

So we argue that in general Latin linguistics have helped shape our English, have influenced our *modus vivendi* (or *scribendi*). And many words derived from Latin *proper names*, let alone words derived from the Latin vocabulary, have now come as far from their origins as, for example, the word *pamphlet* from the little booklet called *Pamphilus seu de Amore.*

Roman names can now even be used for humor. In the film *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), a version of the Broadway recycling of the deathless tomfoolery of Plautus and Terence, the late Zero Mostel (who had already adopted a remarkable name) essayed the role of a slave called Pseudolus, working for a character called Senex (which few modern Americans would translate as "old man" but simply deal with as an opaque name). Buster Keaton— another odd first name—played Erronius.[103] The hero was Hero (which is easier on the average consumer than *Hero and Leander*, in which the heroine is the Hero) and the girls peddled by Phil Silvers as a slave master included Panacea (presumably "good for what ails you" or good for everything") and a surprising combination of Edgar Allan Poe and

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[103] The fact that Roman names often end in *-ius* and English adjectives in *-ious* or (sounding the same) —*eous* enables comic writers to play around with the names of characters. On the BBC TV comedy series *Up Pompeii* (suggesting both "hooray for Pompeii" and "up yours"), Frankie Howerd romped among characters so-named. Also, puns are possible: Marcus Well, Titus Hell, etc.

Latin: the dancer Tintinabula. Obviously the writers expected to titillate at least some of the musical's spectators with these little jokes on Roman names. Less amusingly, characters with Roman names turn up in science fiction, on American television's *Star Trek* re-runs, and elsewhere in popular entertainment. A rock group is called *Nervus Rex*.

Today the study of Latin, once the mark of the educated man, has drastically declined: not only is it no longer taught in "grammar" schools but it is increasingly being abandoned as a requirement in graduate schools, and many who hold the doctorate can no longer read their diplomas—if, indeed, their universities still print them in what was once the international language of learning. English-speakers are vaguely aware of the Latinate words in their vocabulary. We used to have the "foolish fantastical who Latin their tongues" (Thomas Wilson, 1553) and now we have the jargon-mongers of *interface*, but not one in a thousand today thinks that *companion* must mean a person you break bread with and not one in many thousands (perhaps millions) realizes that *copybook* derives not from the idea of copying things into it but from the desire to collect examples which might yield *copia* to a rhetorician.[104]Still the non-U live in *domiciles, contact* us by telephone, and (as the alderman Bernard Groom quotes in his *Short History of English Words*, 1965) would change Canning's epitaph on Pitt ("He died poor") to "He expired in indigent circumstances."

THE LATER USE OF ROMAN OR
ROMANIZED PERSONAL NAMES

The use of Latin as the learned language replacing Greek meant that through the centuries scholars Latinized their own names and the names they mentioned in their texts. For instance, in "Classical Pseudonyms in Europe at the Time of the Reformation," a brief paper first delivered at an annual meeting of The American Name Society in New York (December 30, 1964) and later printed in *Names* 14:4 (December, 1966), Ashley discussed the Renaissance habit of Latinizing personal names, a tradition paralleled by Malchas (A.D. 233-*c*.334) who changed his Syriac name (meaning "king") to Porphyry (the Greek for "purple," suggesting "imperial"), the name under which he wrote the lives of

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[104] Defined as "the free flow of discourse essential for oratory" in Walter J. Ong, S.J., *Interfaces of the Word* (1977), p. 150. The Roman Catholic Church now says the Mass in the vernacular (though there are some few Latin Mass diehards) but teaches Latin to seminarians and in some other schools, even keeping up Latin as an international church language by inventing new Latin words such as *pilus Americanus* ("baseball").

Pythagoras and Plotinus, edited the *Enneads* of Plotinus, and wrote *Eisagogue* (an introduction to Aristotelian logic). Some of the Reformation "classical" names mentioned were those of Georg Agricola (né Bauer), Johannes Agricola (né Schneider), Rudolphus Agricola (Roelof Huysman), Andreas Osiander (né Hosemann or Heligmann), Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (né Köpfel), Martin Bucer (né Kubhorn), Johannes Oecolampadias (Johann Hausschein), Copernicus, Servetus, Columbus, Fabricius, Falopius, Pomeranus, Pontanus, Aureolus Paracelsus, and so on.

It would be interesting to examine the influence of Roman names on the names of English authors (and their characters) but here we can illustrate the Latinizing process best with the examples of the Germans whose universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries turned out an army of savants and—but let Paul Tabori (*The Natural Science of Stupidity*, 1959, pp. 95-96) tell the story concisely in his entertaining prose:

> The only trouble was that the new aristocracy [of learning] had no distinguished, sonorous, time-honored names as the aristocracy of birth. They set out to earn immortality with the simple, even vulgar, names of their fathers; and these names stood out like sore thumbs from the acres of polished Latin prose.
>
> *Schurtzfleisch* (Apronflesh) or *Lämmerschwanz* (Sheepstail) were scarcely the right names under which to climb Mount Olympus. . . . Some way had to be found to polish, to make acceptable, such rude and common names.
>
> One of the methods was rather primitive. They simply tagged the Latin ending "us" to the German name . . .
>
> For centuries the authors of weighty books used this "us," in the end achieving a certain distinction and nobility: if someone could boast of this "us," he was bound to be a man of deep learning, while ordinary mortals were not permitted to use it. . . .
>
> No one seemed to realize, however, how idiotic and barbaric it was to tag the Latin "us" on to a German name, creating such monsters, smuggling them into classic texts, spoiling the harmonious whole—even if some of the works were written in kitchen Latin. It wasn't so bad with the simpler names, like *Hallerus, Gesnerus, Mollerus, Happelius, Morhofius, Gerhardus, Forsterus,* and hundreds of Latinized German names became quite familiar through centuries of use; the modern reader accepts them and gradually forgets their grotesque incongruity.

But the modern reader really does not (as Tabori proves with *Buxtorfius, Nierembergius, Ravenspergius, Schwenckfeldius, Pufendorfius,* and *Schreckefuchsius*—"his name didn't become less of a jaw-

breaker because it was Latinized"). Of course easy pronunciation is not, fundamentally, what the tome-toting Teutons were after in these names *mit Prädikat*. Examine this list:

Lämmerschwanz (Sheep's tail) becomes	*Casparus Arnurus*
Rindflesch (Boiled Beef)	*Bucretius*
Brodkorb (Breadbasket)	*Artocophinus*
Hausschein (House shine)	*Oecolampadias* (Greek)
Schwarzerde (Black Earth)	*Melanchthon* (Greek)
Bienewitz (Bee wit? son of a bee?)	*Apianus*
Köppernik (Small onion?)	*Copernicus*
Engelhart ("Angelhard" says Tabori)	*Angelocrator*
Küchenmeister (Kitchen master)	*Archimagrius*
Wolfhart ("Wolfhard" says Tabori)	*Lycosthenes* (Greek)
Kock (Cook)	*Opsopoeus*
Hosenenderle (thus Tabori, "Little end of pants" he adds)	*Osiander*
Storch (Stork)	*Pelargus*
Eisenmenger (Iron mixer)	*Siderocrates* (Greek)
Habermann (Tabori does not translate)	*Avenarius*
Kammermeister (Chamberlain)	*Camerarius*
Karg (Parsimonious)	*Parsimonius*
Birnfeld (Pea Field)	*Pierius*
Beersprung (Bear Jump)	*Ursisalius*
Hemmerlin (Little Hammer)	*Malleolus*
Pfefferkorn (Peppercorn)	*Pepericornus*

Perhaps the present authors ought to have appeared as *Lucus-Fraxinorum* and *Anifinius* (or perhaps some other Latin rendition of what was originally a name derived from the Gaelic *ainbhioth* = "storm"). Such names could hardly be worse than some of Tabori's most egregious examples: *Mammotrectus Buntemantellus, Pultronius Cultrifex, Pardormannus Fornacificis.*

Tabori adds:

Other nations followed the idiotic fashion. Thus the Swiss Chauvin Latinized his honest name into Calvinus. Thus the Belgian Weier became Weirus, the Polish Stojinsky Statorius, the French Ouvrier Operarius, and the English Bridgewater Aquapontanus.

Actually the English did not have to *follow* the Renaissance Germans. We have only to think of such very early Britons as those who trounced Fullofaudes, *dux Britannorum,* and Nectaridus, *comes Litoris Saxonici,* and of warriors such as Ambrosius Aurelianus and early troublemakers such as Pelagius, the heretic. But now we must move on from the Latinized German Scholars to the Germans (and others) who have written about Roman names, where we conclude.

A BRIEF GUIDE TO THE SCHOLARSHIP ON ROMAN NAMES

Finally, before leaving the subject of Roman names (with our emphasis on personal names)[105] we must make brief mention of some more or less related scholarship so as to put our contribution into perspective.

E. Forcellini and V. De Vit produced *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* more than a century ago and in 1897 G.O. Chase in *Harvard Studies* summed up the Roman naming system briefly, a system which (of course) had been referred to in more or less detail in the work of classical scholars from Varro to T. Mommsen. More recently there have been surveys in German (B. Doer, *Die römische Namengebung,* 1973; Solmsen and P. Ott on *Personennamen,* etc.), Italian (E. Campanile, "Su alcuni caratteri arcaici dell' onomastica latina," *AION* VII, 1966, 21−40), French (A. Dauzat, *Les noms de personnes,* 1925), English (G. Bonfante, "The Origin of the Latin Name-System," *Mélanges Marouzeau,* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1948), and other languages (H. Pinkster, "Het latynse naamvalssysteem," *Lampas* III, 1971, 333−348). We thought that the present study would fill a longfelt need and, we hope, will prompt further investigation of some of the topics that an article of this length must perforce only touch upon or omit entirely.

Extant scholarship on *praenomina, nomina,* and *cognomina* from special points of view includes: W. Schulze (1904) and K. Meister (1916) on *Eigennamen* among the Romans; A. Bongioanni on *Nomi e cognomi*

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[105] Besides such standard studies of place-names as A. Dauzat's *Les noms de lieux,* there are studies of Italian names such as Turin (G. Serra's "Sulle origini della forma del nome di Turino," *ASPA* XV, 1933, pp. 245-249) and Etruria (G. Schiassi's "Il Nome Etruria," *Antiquitas* I, 1946, 66-72); F. Ribezzo's "Fatti, fonti e metodi di studio nei la toponomastica di Roma e Lazio [Latium] delle origini" in *Onomastica* II (1948), 29-48; and G. Alessio's "Importanza dell'analisi morfologica nella toponomastica e nell'etnonomastica mediterranea" in *Giornale Italiano do Filologia* XIV (1961), 230-260; to mention some Italian articles. F. Millepierres in French ("Le latin dans les noms de famille," *Hum. (RES) Gramm.* XXX, 7, 1957-8, 6) has a note on how topographical names in later times became personal names when given to foundlings. Of course there are many articles on the name *Italy* and the name *Rome:* F. Altheim on the etymology of *Italia* in *SMSR* (1934), 125-155 (tracing it to *uitulus* and a bull god of the Aegean); K. Olzschka on "Der Name *Italia*" in *SE* X (1936), 263-275, tracing it to the Etruscan *ital* = "bull"; S.P. Cortsen on "Le sens du mot *Italia*" in *Latomus* 1938, 157-163, tracing it to Etruscan *it(i)al* = "une boisson", perhaps of wine; F. Rouhut on *"Italia"* in *WJA* I (1946), 133-53; etc. The name of Rome is the subject of even more investigation and scholarly debate: B. Migliarini, *Sull'origine del nome di Roma* (1929); E. Manni, "Il nome di Roma" in *AAT* LXX (1934-5), 314-, where it is said that Etruscan religious secrecy shrouds its origins; A. Kalmar, *De nomine urbus Romae* (1936); F. Castagnoli on *Roma quadrata* in the Washington University (St. Louis) studies edited by G.E. Mylonas (1951); G. Bossi with "Nuova etymologia del nome *Roma*" in *RPAA* IV (pp. 166-177), where he derives it from ῥώμη, *ruma, rumon, rumino,* the goddess Rumina, as in *ficus Ruminalis*

(1928); F. Lochner-Huettenbach on "Die Namen *Taulus* und *Tullus*," *BN* XIII (1962), 234–238; J. Kaimio, "The Nominative Singular in -i of Latin *Gentilicia*," *Arctas* VI (1969), 23-42; F. Macchi, *La questione del nome Macco* (1973); F. Kluge, who in *PhW* in 1921 (286-289) briefly suggests that *nomen* may derive from *nosco* and mean "known"; M. Leumann in the *Jud-Festschift* (1943) article on "Lateinische *cognomina* auf -*inus* und -*illa*" (150-172), which says that -*inus* was added to the *cognomen* to designate the son of the man who first bore the name (therefore *Caesarion* would be a corruption of this practice after *Caesar*) or to distinguish between sons with the same *praenomen* and that the feminine -*ina* (as in *Faustina*) is replaced by -*illa* (as in *Livilla*) in imitation of the Greek fashion.[106] M. Niedermann has a section on *cognomina* in his *Précis de phonétique historique du latin* (3rd edn., 1953); J. Linderski deals with the *cognomen* of *Competalis* in *Glotta* XXXIX (1960). 145-149.[107] A. Mayer studies the chronology of Latin

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(fig tree); and I. Zoller, "A propositio dell'origine del nome di Roma,"*Roma* I (1929), 86. As with names such as *America* and *Asia*, examined at length in *Names*, *Italia* and *Roma* are subject to many theories about origin. The Latin origins of the present place-names of Italy (and elsewhere) require a whole library of onomastic treatises and on many such names there is considerable disagreement among the experts. In the present study we have ventured to touch upon only a few place-names connected with personal names.

   This is as convenient a place as any to express our debt to such experts as C. Pizzi (Etruscans), Migliorini and other encyclopaedists on *onomastica antica*, Joachim Marquardt (*Privatleben der Römes*) and Ludwig Friedländer (*Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum ausgang der Antonine*) and a host of other German classical experts from Angermann (on patronymics) to Wackernagel, Zimmermann, *et al*. Of especial importance, last but not least, are such works as M. Lambertz, "Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche," *Glotta* IV (1913), 78-143, and V (1914), 99-170, which as Professor Georgacas rightly points out in his review of Kajanto's *Supernomina: A Study of Latin Epigraphy* (1967) in *Names* XVII, 1 was until recent times "the best treatment of the supernomen." This review contains many excellent etymological suggestions which ought to be considered. The largest work of Kajanto is the 418-page study of *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), reviewed in the same issue of *Names* (most of which is devoted to a topic students of classical names will find fascinating, Georgacas' "The Name *Asia* for the Continent; Its History and Origin"). In *Cognomina* Kajanto considered nearly 6,000 Latin names, "representing 133,000 Roman persons named in the records." He finds 20.4 percent of *cognomina* listed derived from *gentilicia*, 11.1 percent derived from geographical names, and lesser percentages derived from "mind," "formal groups," "body," and "circumstances." The names are found for the most part in epigraphical sources (as the title does not indicate in this case) and date from early times down to A.D. 600. His bibliography runs to 140 items, so the reader of the present study, larger in scope, will realize that not even all the major scholarship on Roman personal names can here be noted.

[106] Feminine diminutives like this are prominent in the empire, during which time women first have significant property holdings in their own names. The relationship of naming practices to legal status in Roman, as in other, cultures deserves extended study.

[107] Of more interest is I. Kajanto's study of the origin of the *cognomen* of *Piso* (*Names* 16:1 [March, 1968], 42-50), one of the *cognomina* popular among the Roman nobility derived from names of objects (in this case "mortar"). T.P. Wiseman in *Classical Review* (1965), 19-20 deals with

nomina in *-er* in the *Festschrift* called Μνήμης-χάριν. *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer,* edited by H. Kronasser (1956-7); the Finnish Society of Sciences has published (Helsinki, 1965) I. Kajanto's excellent *The Latin Cognomina* (reviewed in detail by D. Georgacas in *Names* along with other Kajanto works); G. Rolfs writes in Italian on "origine e fonti dei cognomi in Italia" in *AFTL* I (1964-5), 175-184; J. André contributes "Sur la datation des mots latins par les *cognomina*" in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard* edited by J. Bibouw (1969); G. Giacomelli contributes "Form-azioni onomastiche in *-aio* nelle linga dell'Italia antica" to *SE* XXX (1962), 359-367; J. Untermann provides text and charts on *Die veneteschen Personennamen* (1961) and Kajanto on "Peculiarities of Latin Nomenclature in North Africa" (*Philologus* CVIII, 1964, 310-312), both with some reference to Roman names; etc.

The name of slave (*servus*) is the subject of E. Beneviste's "Le Nom de l'esclave à Rome" (*REL,* 1932, 429-440) and we have the names of various slaves in J. Baumgart's Breslau dissertation of 1936: *Die römischen Schlavennamen.* F.F. Bruce (*Glotta* XXV, 42-50) found in Latin inscriptions that participles were used as slave names and in the *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* (V, 1, 1938, 45-60) gave more information on "Some Roman Slave-names;" while P.R.C. Weaver discussed some irregularities in the names of freedmen under the empire in *Classical Quarterly* (N.S. XV, 2, 1965, 323-326). J.N. Adams discussed "Latin Words for *Woman* and *Wife*" (*Glotta* L, 1972, 234-255) but articles on women's names are rare.[108]

Tisensius Gallus. P.R.C. Weaver has a note on *cognomina ingenua* in *Classical Quarterly* (1964), 311-315. Specialized studies range from L. Vidman's "Mantissa ad *gn* in cognominibus urbanis" in *LF* XCIV (1971)—a page—to more than 300 pages by L.R. Dean in a Princeton dissertation of 1916 "A Study of the *Cognomina* of Soldiers in the Roman Legions," mentioned *supra,* Note 78. Researchers should look under such heads as *pronomen* (not a classical word) and other rubrics suggestive of personal names.

Not exactly names, but related to them, are titles, discussed in such articles as: Harsch's note on *rex* in Plautus (*Classical Philology,* 1936); Wagenvoort on *princeps* (1936); Camporeale's *La terminologia magistratuale nelle lingue osco-umbre* (Tuscan Academy, Firenze, 1957); P. van Beneden, *Aux origines d'une terminologie sacramentelle, ordo, ordinare, ordinateo dans la litterature latine avant 313* (Louvain, 1974); B. Maresch on *consul, praetor,* and *iudex* (*MVPhW,* 1929, 88-94); and D. McFayden's *The History of the Title 'Imperator' under the Roman Empire* (University of Chicago, 1920).

108 On *Livia* or *Marcia* we find no specific studies, for example, but the name *Augustus* is part of a dissertation at Götterburg by H. Erkell (1952), an article by S. Reiter in *PhW* (1931)—seen as passive, "he has been increased," that is *augustus* stresses the fact that the bearer is blessed, not that he blesses—and a Dutch monograph (*Augustus,* by F. Muller, Amsterdam, 1927) and an English note ("The Name *Augustus,*" *JRS* for 1915) by F. Haverfield. The latter suggests that the popularity of *augur,* with the idea of increase as in English *augmentation,* stemmed from its use on the coins of

The relationship of Greek and Latin names, however, has been handled from a number of angles: J. Bernard, "Le nom des Grecs en latin," *REA* LIV (1952), 5-12; E. Zografska, "Zum Problem der Griechischen Eigennamen auf -η in der lateinischen Volkssprache," *ZAnt* XVII (1967), 151-159; L. Vidman, "De quibusdam cognominibus urbanis mare insolito formatis," *Glotta* LI (1973), 141-145, on Greek nouns treated as Latin, and *vice versa*; and F. Preisighe, *Nomenbuch, enthaltend alle griechischen lateinischen. . . .*(1922): etc. M.S. Smith covers "Greek Adoptive Formulae" in *Classical Quarterly* XVII, 2 (1967), 302-310. Relationships with other languages are discussed in such works as: U. Coli, "Formula onomastica romana nelle bilingui etrusco latine," *SE* XIX (1946-7), 277-283; E.H. Minns on Latin names "in Russian dress," *JHS* LXVI (1946), 57-60; A. Heinz, "Les adjectifs derivés de noms propres en latin," *Sprawozdania Komisji PAN Odzial w. Krakowie* V (1961), 71-72; R. Hirato's study in the *Studi etruschi* series, *L'onomastica folisca e i suori rapporti con la latina e l'etrusca* (1967);[109] and so on.

The Latin names of tribes and peoples are the subject of numerous articles, including: A. Salač, "Über den Namen der Türken im Griechischen und im Lateinischen," *Eunomia* I (1957), 50-55; O. Szemerényi, "The Name of the Picentes," in *Sprache und Geschichte*, the F. Meier *Festschrift* edited by Coseriu and Stempel (1971); John Pinsent, "Ancius Fabius and the Otacilii," *Phoenix* XVIII, 1 (1964), 18-29; E. Jung, "Réflexions sur le nom *Sequana*," *REL* XLVII (1969-70), 434-461; but not enough has been done on the names of countries and territories, especially those in which the Romans adapted a foreign name, as when they called Spain *Hispania*, picking up the Carthaginian *Spania* = "land of rabbits" or the name from the natives of Britain (mentioned earlier) from the idea of being "painted" with woad.[110]The

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Mark Antony and this produced the title *Augustus. Augustus* was not entirely unpopular as a given name in Victorian England but it is rare now. The name of the popular star of Victorian music hall, Gus Elen, shows that the name *Augustus* was not confined to the upper classes (where *Gus*, however, was not a common mode of address, though there is a *Dolly*—from *Adolphus*—among the well-bred characters in Shaw's *Major Barbara*). Herr Erkell also deals with *Felicitas* and *Fortuna*, but these are to be considered divine names rather than common feminine ones.

[109] J. Duchesne in a note in *L'Antiquité Classique* (1934), 81-89, argues that the name of Pompey is Etruscan in origin. So was that of Pompeii. *Cf.* I. Kajanto, "Cognomina Pompeiana," *NPhM* LXVI (1965), 446-460.

[110] One recalls the old camp (*i.e.*, Boy Scout) lyrics to "Men of Harlech":

Romans come across The Channel
All decked out in tin and flannel.
Half a pint of woad per man'll
Dress you more than these.

naming systems of related peoples are also important to understand and the scholar of Latin names has to reach out to such as V. Besevliev (on Thracian personal names) and M.T. Marlet (on personal names in Gaul).

It is now time for summary studies of the spotty work that has been done on the names of the ancient divinities, the months (some named, of course from divinities in Latin—as our *Wednesday* and *Thursday* come from Scandinavian divinities), plants and animals, etc. On the divine names we have such a mixed bag of articles as: E. Beneviste "Liber et liberi," *REL* for 1936, 51−58: the Erkell article mentioned above; M. Renaud on **yuwen = jeune < yu* (the "force vitale" or "vie féconde") that leads to the name *Juno*, in *Phoibos* V (1950-1), 141-143; H. Hommel on the Latin equivalents of *Pantokrator* in *Theologia Viatorum Jarbuch der kirkl. Hochschule Berlin* V (1953-4), 322-378; E. Vetter on sun gods' names in *Sprache* V (1959), 213-218; J. Gruber on Pan in *Glotta* XXXIX (1960-1), 273-276; R. Schelling on *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* in the Herescu *Festschrift* (or memorial volume) of the Dacoramona Society, Rome, 1964; F. Rebelo Gonçales on *Pollux* in *Euphrosyne* IV (1970), 147-162 and M.G. Santos Palma on *Calypso* in the same volume, pages 187 *ff.*; J.L. Girard on *Minerva* in *AEHE* VᵉSection, LXXX-LXXXI, 2 (1972-3) and (1973-4), 64-65; and the names of Rome, etc. The months the Etruscans named for gods and goddesses[111]but the Romans did not copy that system completely: for

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> *Woad's the stuff to show, men!*
> *Woad to scare the foemen!*
> *Boil it to a brilliant blue*
> *And rub it on you back and your abdomen.*
> *Ancient Briton never hit on*
> *Anything as good as woad to fit on*
> *Knees or neck or where you sit on—*
> *Tailors, you be blowed!*

And so on, about the Romans "with your armours" and Saxons with "pyjamas." Few realize that the name *Britain* says so much about "the true blue Englishman."

[111] *Cf.* H.M. Hönigswald, "On Etruscan and Latin Month Names," *AJPh* for 1941, pages 199-206. In fact, a survey article explaining and comparing the naming of months in various civilizations would be an excellent research project for an ambitious and industrious scholar. The evidence for the way a people perceives and marks the passage of time is of great significance in their *histoire de mentalité*. Today the names of our Sun day and Moon day are scarcely thought about, but they enshrine the attitudes of our ancestors. An emphasis on the use of name study to demonstrate not so much *what people used to say* as *how people used to think* holds far more than antiquarian interest. To our Anglo-Saxon forebears, for instance, January (where the Roman name suggests looking backwards and forwards) was *Se æftera Geōla* (a later Yule), February the *Sol-mōnath* (not Sun but Mud, the soil month), Marc was *Hrēth-mōnath* (fierce? coming "in like a lion"), April was *Eāster-monath* (underlining the Christian festival of rebirth), May brought *Thri-mylce =* "three milkings" of dairy cattle, June and July were *Se aerra Lītha* and *Se æftera Lītha* (the earlier and the

April (for example) see: S.P. Cortsen in *Glotta* XXVI (270-275), A. Pariente in *Emerita* XVI (139-164), and G.E. Maresch in *MVPhW* II (where a connection with Apollo is argued). J. André is the expert on Latin names for plants and animals (*Latomus* XXII, 649-663) and birds (*Les noms d'oiseaux en latin,* 1967), some of which are more or less connected with proper names, as are Latin names for the winds and regions of the sky (K. Nielson, *Rémarques sur les noms latins des vents et des régions du ciel, C&M* VII, 1945, 1-113).

Elizabeth M. Rajec has recently published (Heidelberg, 1977) *Literarische Onomastik: Eine Bibliographie.* Moreover, literary onomastics are featured in such works as W. Strzelecki's *De litterarum romanorum nominibus* (in Transactions of the Wroclaw Society of Science and Letters, Series A, XIX, Wroclaw, 1948); P. Thomas' article in *BAB* for 1927 (46-64) on typical names used for metonymy in Latin literature, in which he discusses the names of persons (real or legendary) so connected with a quality, state, or profession (we have mentioned Roscius) that they "substitute themselves voluntarily for the abstract term"; the work of D.C.E. Swanson (mentioned earlier) and H.L. Axtell (on the names in Cicero) and M. Bacherler (on the names in prose from Velleius to Suetonius), etc. There are also comments on individual names in fiction and legend in various classical handbooks, dictionaries, and encyclopaedias, as well as articles such as that of H. Kleinknecht on *"Loakoon"* (1944). In conducting our present study we have been amazed at the incompleteness and contradictions found in even the most standard and celebrated classical dictionaries.[112]

In the hope of drawing together, sifting, and organizing much of this scattered and incomplete information of Roman personal names and related topics, and going beyond the work of Kajanto and others in Latin onomastics, we offer the present study in the hope that scholars will find it not only a convenient and informative source of information but also an inspiration to research. And now we say *ave atque vale* to our readers

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later mild times), August was *Wēod-monath* (in which even those who know no Old English can hear "weed"), September was *Hālig-monath* ("holy" for harvest festivals or sacrifices, the carcasses perhaps being salted for winter stores), October was when winter fell (*Winter-fylleth,* dark November days needed propitiatory sacrifices (*Blot-monath*), and December was *Se aerra Geōla,* "the earlier Yule," *Vide: Notes & Queries* for April 20, 1889, p. 301. The month names are a "shield of Achilles" summing up Anglo-Saxon life.

[112] We choose almost at random the name *Summanus (summus manium)*; he was an Etruscan god picked up by the Romans and mentioned in Varro, Livy, Pliny, Ovid, Cicero, etc. See what your favorite classical dictionary or handbook does with the name (if anything) and compare the entry with that of other reference works.

with a line from one of the Latin poets who was especially interested in onomastics:

otia sed scopis nunc analecta dedit[113]

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ADDENDUM

Elizabeth M. Rajec's bibliography *The Study of Names in Literature* (New York: Sauer, 1978) lists these works on Roman names and literary onomastics and philology: W. Buchwald's review of D.C. Swanson's *The Names in Roman Verse* (*Gnomon* XLI, 1969); G.D. Chase, "The Origin of the Roman Praenomina" (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* VIII, 1897); Bruno Doer's *Die römische Namengebung* and his dissertation (Berlin) on the same topic, both 1937; D.M. Key's dissertation (Chicago, 1916) on *The Introduction of Characters by Name in Greek and Roman Comedy;* E. Mensching's review of Swanson *(Indogermanische Forschungen* LXXIV (1969); D. Schaller's review of Swanson (*Beiträge zur Namenforschung* IV, 1969); W.M. Seaman's dissertation (Urbana, Ill., 1939) on *The Appropriate Name in Plautus*, two articles on literary names in *Classical Journal* L and LI (1954, 1955) and a dissertation article in *Illinois University Studies in Language and Literature* LVIII (1969); G. Sotiroff's "Slavonic Names in Greek and Roman Antiquities" (*Onomastica* XXXVII, 1969); Martha Stansfield's *The Use of Personal Names in Roman Satire*, a Chicago dissertation of 1932; D.C. Swanson's *A Characterization of the Roman Poetic Onomasticon* (1970); and other items of relevance unfortunately not in her index under "Roman names," such as [Sir] R. Syme's "Personal Names in Annals I-VI" (*Journal of Roman Studies* XXXIX, 1949) which deals with Tacitus, also involved in P. Fabia's *Onomasticon Tacitem* (1900, reprinted 1964) and works by Johanna Schmidt (*BzurN* V, 1954), G. Stümpel (*Name and Nationalität der Germanen*, 1932, reprinted 1963), etc. W.M. Seaman is insufficient on Roman fiction, Swanson is standard on Roman verse, Tacitus is about the only historian adequately covered, and Plautus gets the lion's share of interest in comedy. One can find other items of interest in Dr. Rajec's bibliography by looking under "Vergilius Maro Publius," "Ovidius Naso Publius," etc., but these are not cross-referenced under "Roman names." Note should also be taken of a very important dissertation (Johns Hopkins, 1911) by Professor Gates, wherein are observations concerning non-patrician *nomina,* particularly to the effect that "only in the case of persons of humble origin does Cicero venture to use the combined *nomen* and *cognomen*" (*v.* Part I of this essay, p. 315).

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[113] "The crumb-collector has now given a rest to brooms." *Epigrammaton*, Marcus Valerius Martial, XIV, 82, *Scopae* ("Brooms"). We humbly hope to have accomplished in this article more than Robert Browning's Karshish, that "picker-up of learning's crumbs."