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PERSONAL NAMES ON THE TERRITORY OF PAEONIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD¹

Abstract: An overview of personal names in the valleys of Axios, Pčinja and Astibos, with an emphasis to the ethnical belonging of names and roots, for which there are different opinions (especially the ones which were included to Thracian anthroponomy), but are in fact epichoric. Some of them, e.g. Μουκ-, Μεστ- and some personal names (e.g. Τηρης) should be analyzed in the frames of anthroponomy of the Balkans.

There are dozens of studies on the personal names of the inhabitants of the territory where once was the Paeonian kingdom², which, as historic events and the time when the monuments were raised (Roman Imperial Period) indicate, were included in the studies of Macedonian anthroponomy. Researches in onomastics, especially in anthroponomy, are usually accompanied with an ethnical sign, i.e. most of the scholars insist that the origin of names should be strictly determinated. However, they do not have common opinions about most of the names which are going to be analyzed here. Even more, their opinions are sometimes completely opposite to each other. There is epigraphic evidence which confirms the presence of Paeonian elements even in Roman times³. The intension of this text is not to argue with the researchers, but to give a picture of the anthroponomic material used in the above mentioned territory in the Roman period.

One part of the names, which is small, sometimes has unknown bases or roots, or they are not in accordance with the typical ways of construction of personal names in Macedonia, so in epigraphic or linguistic studies they were treated as Thracian or Illyrian. The main

¹ I wish to express my deep gratitude to Academician S. Dušanić for his fruitful suggestions during my work on this text.

² The name Paeonia, i.e. territory which was named under this term in Roman times includes middle valley of Axios (from Bylazora – Veles to Demir Kapija – Stenai) and valleys of Pčinja and Astibos.

³ F. Papazoglu, 1991, 274.

reason for this is the lack of *Corpus* of inscriptions from this territory, which makes them unavailable to many scholars.

Except for the inscriptions from *municipium Stobensium* and from the cities which are known from solitary public inscriptions, the epigraphic material from other parts are mainly private, so they offer a lot of anthroponomical material. However, very important fact, which always has to be concerned, is that the valley of Astibos is at a low level of archaeological and epigraphical excavation.

What we can surely say about Paeonia in the Roman period is that most of the personal names are epichoric and Greek. There is a considerable, but not big number of Latin names, which are present not only among Roman citizens, who, if they were domestic, usually have preserved their ethnic tradition in their *cognomen* or *signum*. Roman names are also borne by peregrines, like in other Roman provinces.

The most rare epichoric name in this region is the female one Ἀμμακῶ, which is confirmed only three times in the middle valley of Axios⁴. It is not attested in Asia Minor, neither in other parts of the Balkans, so we can connect this name with Paeonia⁵. The dative form Ἀμμακῶνι, gives the suffix *-o*, *-onis* that was stated to be Illyrian⁶, both for male and female forms, because of its use in middle Dalmatia⁷ and in Polimje⁸, but this example shows that it can not be sure at all. In all three inscriptions Ἀμμακῶ bears Macedonian onomastic formula and their fathers are Ποσιδώνιος, Ζώσιμος and Δάδης. The last one is also very rare in Macedonia and it is confirmed only four more times: in Berioia⁹, Amphipolis¹⁰, Ichnai¹¹ and in the middle valley of Strymon¹². However, it is usual in Asia Minor¹³. Considering that it was found in Egypt, Pontus Euxinus and Propontis we can agree that the name was originally from Asia Minor, spread in a wide

⁴ N. Proeva, ŽA 38, 1988, 58-59 from Barovo: Ἀμμακῶ Δάδεος; two other unpublished inscriptions: Ἀμμακῶ Ποσιδωνίου from the vicinity of Veles and Ζώσιμος Ἀμμακῶνι τῆ θυγατρὶ from Negotino.

⁵ N. Proeva, ŽA 38, 1988, 59: the closest analogy of the name are Celtic forms for fem. and masc. Ammaca and Ammacus.

⁶ e. g. commentary on *IMS* VI, 132.

⁷ R. Katičić, ŽA 12/2, 1962, 281-282 and 287.

⁸ M. Mirković, *GCBI* XIV/2, 1975, about Venuco.

⁹ *EKM* I, 181 - Δάδα ἡ[ρ]ώισσα.

¹⁰ M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 91- Καλίστρατος Δάδου.

¹¹ A. Tatakis, *Macedonians abroad*, 113, No. 6 (= *IG* II² 8944) - Εὐριδίκη Δάδου.

¹² Detschew, 110.

¹³ Zgusta, §244-1-6.

territory. Confirmation can be found in different suffixes and case forms of its male and female forms.

A unique name, mentioned twice in Tikveš is the ethnic Σκουπίνα, used as a personal name and as a *cognomen*¹⁴. This, like many other segments, shows that Scupi and Stobi had very frequent exchanges of the inhabitants in the Roman Imperial period. There is Ἀττικός, another ethnic used as a personal name on the same inscription where one Σκουπίνα appears.

The male name Κῆσος or Κήσης can also be included in rare names. In this region it is found only once, but it was also confirmed with one specimen in neighbouring regions, Pelagonia¹⁵ and Dardania¹⁶. The last one declared himself as *Macedo*. Even some scholars included it in the anthroponomy of some of the protohistorical tribes of the Balkans, others thought it was Thracian or that its character is Illyrian because of the suffix *-us*, *-unis*¹⁷. Some of them even said that it is *nomen sacrum*¹⁸, but we still do not have the exact answer. The context in which the name appears in the province Macedonia is usually with personal names typical for Macedonia and Greek names: Μέστος, Μακεδών, Ποσιδώνιος, Φίλιππος and Μαντα. Therefore, maybe the best conclusion would be that Κῆσος/Κήσης was confirmed in three Macedonians.

There are some names, which were attached to different anthroponomies by different scholars. Δουλης¹⁹, an epichoric name, is present in our region, as well as in other parts of Macedonia²⁰. There are a number of anthropomorphic stelae in very primitive style, where Δουλης with some other epichoric names is mentioned²¹. There are theses that the name was Thracian²², but in the province Thracia it

¹⁴ *Spomennik* 98, 115: Ἀττικός κε Λύκα ὁ γονεῖς κε Νικέρως κε Σκουπίνα ἐπόησαν Χιονηνη ... and Ž. Vinčić. *1000 godini antika vo Tikvešijata*, Negotino, 1996. No. 64: Φλαουία Σκουπεῖνα.

¹⁵ *IG X 2, 2*, 204 from Kalen or Peštani: Κῆσος Μεστου.

¹⁶ *IMS VI 99* from Skopje: Cesus Mestri f(i)lius).

¹⁷ F. Papazoglou. *Sur quelques noms "thraces" en Illyrie*, *GCBI XII*, 1974. 64.

¹⁸ N. Proeva. *Epihorski iminja*. 90.

¹⁹ *Spomennik* 71, 75 from Makreni, Veles: Δουλης Β----στε.

²⁰ *IGBulg. IV 2286* from Debrene: Νηνας Δουλευ[ς]: *IG X 2, 1*, 249: [--- Δο]υλευς; 441 and 564: Αὔρ(ήλιος) Δουλης; 728 and 1002: Δουλης from Thessalonica; *IG X 2, 2*, 198: Ζωῖλος Δουλευς; 200: Δουλης Βειθους; 277: Δουλης Εὐβούλου; 279: Δουλης Κοτους; 326: Δουλης Κετρεπιπολεως; 347: Δουλης Νικολάωι from Pelagonia and Derriopos.

²¹ F. Papazoglu, 1977, 76. adn. 42.

²² Detschew, 152-153: Kurzform der zusammengesetzten PN mit vorderglied Doula-, Dula, which are Thracian according to him.

was found only two times in this form²³. The female name Μαντα appears in Macedonia²⁴ and it is connected with Greek forms Μάντις, Μαντώ, Μαντίας and Μάντων, but the form confirmed in Paeonia is only the female Μαντα. The form Μαντύης is present among Paeonians and in Asia Minor²⁵, so therefore there are some theses that it has to be considered as a testimony of their Brygian substratum²⁶. Female Μωμα²⁷, and male Κουτεζ²⁸ and Σιτα²⁹ are also confirmed as epichoric names, although there were some attempts that they should be included to the Thracian and to the Illyrian anthroponomies. Epichoric are also the male name Τορκος³⁰ which is confirmed in Macedonia³¹ and it is not found in Asia Minor and in Thracia³² and the female Χιόνη³³, confirmed among Macedonians also in the form Χιωνίδης³⁴, and found only twice in Thracia³⁵.

²³ *IGBulg.* III, 2, 1876, with unknown origine, assigned as Thracia and *IGBulg.* IV, 2202 from Kadin Most: Σκήνη Μουκτιανοῦ Δουληους.

²⁴ In this region: *Spomenik* 71, 151 from Kavadarci - Ἀλεξάνδρος Μαντας; *Spomenik* 98, 128 from Drenovo - Μαντας τῆς γυναικός; *Spomenik* 75, 114 from Vešje - Μαντα; *IG X 2*, 1 from Thessalonica in form Μαντα: 357, 846, 849, 920; Μαντω: 437, 489, 869, 898; as a *cognomen*: 307 and 441; *EKM* 1 90 and 142B from Beroia; M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, No 39 from Gazoros - Μάντι[ας] Κερζούλα; A. Tataki, *Macedonians abroad*, 50, No. 42 from Samothrake - Διονύσιος Μάντας; 55, No. 81 - Μάντις Καιπρίζου Μακεδῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως; 209 No. 15 - Μαντύης, Παίων, brought by Megabazos in Asia; *EAM* 153, Lyncestis - Μαντα. *LGPN IV* gives 31 appearances of this name in Macedonia, Thrace and Northern Shores of the Black Sea (www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk).

²⁵ Zgusta, §868-1 – 3.

²⁶ E. Petrova, *Brigi*, 183.

²⁷ *Spomenik* 98, 398 from Krušica – Μωμα Πουβλίω τῷ ἀνδρὶ; *IG X 2*, 2, 351 from Bela Crkva – Μεστυλας Δουλεος ἐναντῷ καὶ συνβείῳ Μωμα κε Μεστρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ; *IG X 2*, 1 from Thessalonica in form Μωμο: 296, 298, 476, 515, 919, 1001; *IMS VI*, 133 from Sredno Konjare gives Momonio (cf. F. Papazoglou, *Sur quelques noms "thraces" en Illyrie*, *GCBI XII*, 1974, 68; E. Petrova, *Brigi*, 184; N. Proeva, *Epihorski iminja*, 92).

²⁸ *Spomenik* 98, 165 from Resava: Ζήνων Κουτέως (cf. N. Proeva, *Epihorski iminja*, 91).

²⁹ *Spomenik* 71, 174 from Resava: Βυρδίων Σίτα (cf. F. Papazoglou, *Sur quelques noms "thraces" en Illyrie*, *GCBI XII*, 1974, 68; E. Petrova, *Brigi*, 184; N. Proeva, *Epihorski iminja*, 93).

³⁰ *Spomenik* 98, 140 from the vicinity of Kavadarci: Ποσιδάντιος Τόρκου.

³¹ Detschew, 513; *IG X 2*, 1 from Thessalonica: 296, 446, 849 and 926 and a form Τορκτον: 891.

³² This is the reason that makes Detschew's (513) thesis about Thracian suffix in twostemmed names in e-grade –*τερκος*, unacceptable.

³³ *Spomenik* 98, 115 from Vataša (cf. footnote 14) and A. Keramidčiev, *ŽA* 23/1, 1973, 150-152 from Šlegovo: Κλαυδία Χιόνη.

³⁴ M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 22: Χιωνίδης Δημητρίου from Kasandea, and he lived in Olynthos and A. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad*, 43, No. 1: Ἀνδρόνικος Χιωνίδου and No. 2: Δίκατος Χιωνίδου.

³⁵ *IGBulg.* III, 1, 1517: Ἀὐρηλία Χιόνη and *IGBulg.* IV 1949: [---ἀρχι]έρεια Χιόνη.

Especially interesting from the point of defining the belonging to an ethnic is a group of names in the valley of Astibos and is usually connected with Thracian names. However, the territory and the context where these names appear shows that they were accepted by several populations in the Balkans.

On the votive icon from Štip we found Μουκας Βαβου³⁶. In the same group of icons there is, Μουκιανός Π[----], too³⁷. We have Iulius Mucianus from the vicinity of Kratovo³⁸ and Mucacanthus Dizae from the vicinity of Probištip³⁹. The root Μουκ- is spread over the territory of the central Balkans with different suffixes: Μουκας, Mucatus, Mucianus, Mucacanthus (Μουκαζενις, Μουκαπορις, Μουκατραλις) and Μουκασης. There is also Roman *gentilicium* Mucius, so we have examples for all of these forms: Μουκας and Μουκασης with Greek suffixes -ας, -ασης found in Macedonia, Mucatus, which is characteristic for Dardania, Μουκακενθος, Μουκαζενις, Μουκαπορις, Μουκατραλις with Thracian endings in Thracia, and Mucianus with the frequent suffix -ianus (-ιανός). The examples are very confusing at the first sight. Namely, Ζαικενθης Μουκασου was declared as Παροικοπολίτης Μακεδών⁴⁰, even his name with ending -κενθης is Thracian. In Dardania, it appears only in a form Mucatus three times⁴¹. One of the inscriptions is grave monument of Delus, daughter of Mucatus, *domo Albanopoli*. The second one belonged to Mucasa, which is equal to Mucata, and its relief depicts Dardanian burial customs. Names from the same root were found in the valleys of Strymon and Nestos, but also in whole Thracia⁴², where, as a rule, the root has Thracian endings -κενθης, -ζενις, -πορις and -τραλις, or it appears in the form Μουκιανός. The form Μουκας appears in three cases and one of them has the patronymic Ἀλεξάνδρου⁴³, an example which shows that this form is typical for Macedonia. The situation is the same with the form Μουκάσης, which was found in

³⁶ M. Ricl - A. Panev, *ZPE* 101, 1994, 144, No. 7.

³⁷ M. Ricl - A. Panev, *ZPE* 101, 1994, 142, No. 2.

³⁸ A. Keramidčiev, *ŽA* 23/1, 1973, 147-148.

³⁹ A. Keramidčiev, *ŽA* 15/1, 1965, 109-112.

⁴⁰ A. Tatakis, *Macedonians abroad*, 147, No. 6 and 7.

⁴¹ *IMS* VI, 142 from Gorno Solnje: Posis Mestylu f(ilius) Fl(avia) Delus Mucati f(ilia) dom(o) Albanop(oli)...: *IMS* I, 90 from Babe: Iovi sacrum Iuppiter Crescens Mucati v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito): Dobruna-Salih E., *Illyria antiqua*, Zagreb, 2005, 199-208; M D Mucasa Dydie vixit annis sexaginta Pirusasa Pirustia fecit coniugu oei from Kamenica, Eastern Kosovo.

⁴² *IGBulg.* I-V, passim.

⁴³ *IGBulg.* V, 5438 from Philippopolis (Plovdiv).

Thracia only once⁴⁴. This is why this name should be considered as a name originating from the protohistorical substrata of the paleobalkan populations, to which were attached different suffixes, depending on which ethnic accepted it⁴⁵.

The name of the father of Μουκας, Βαβης or Βαβος, has the unique appearance in Paeonia, but it is present in Asia Minor⁴⁶. Recalling to the fact that this is still not enough excavated territory, we cannot be sure if this was a name, that belonged to the old traditions, or he was a colonist from the East.

In one of the examples, Μουκ- has Thracian ending *-centhus* and a patronymic Διζα⁴⁷, which is, most probably, Thracian, because it is rare in Macedonia and frequent in Thracian regions. We have another Διζες in Štip⁴⁸ and Βιθυς Διζαστου from Παροικόπολις ή Μακεδόνων⁴⁹.

Other examples show complicated situation in the valley of Astibos: there are one Δεντος and one Παιβης. We have Δεντις in Lyncestis⁵⁰ and Δεντο[υ]ς in Kavala⁵¹. Detschew mentions some Διοσκουρίδης Μουκασου, φυσι δε Παιβου and one two-syllabled Μουκαπαιβης⁵². More examples were found in Philippi⁵³, Amphipolis⁵⁴ and Rome⁵⁵. However, this could not be a proof for their Thracian origin.

Another root used in different variations is attached to this group, Μεστ-, and it is typical for Macedonia. The simplest form has the ending *-os* and *-a* for the male and female form Μεστος and Μεστα. Other forms have suffixes such as *-υλος*, *-υλα*, all over Mace-

⁴⁴ *IGBulg.* IV 2151 from Caristorum (Kopilovci): Μουκασης ΕΠΙΕΥ---

⁴⁵ Detschew, 316 thinks that these Mucasi are simplified forms of the earlier twostemmed name which began in Mouka-, Moka-, and there are intensions that Mucius, Mucianus is a Latin personal name which an Etruscan root or that it could be connected with the Phrygian ethnicon Μοκκαδηνοί.

⁴⁶ Zgusta, §133-1 – 16.

⁴⁷ A. Keramidčiev, *ЖА* 15/1, 1965, 109-112.

⁴⁸ M. Riel - A. Panev, *ZPE* 101, 1994, 143, άδ. 6: Διζες Β[αβου] – dedicated to Zeus, the same as Δεντος and Παιβης.

⁴⁹ A. Tataki, *Macedonians abroad*, 147, άρ. 1 and 2 – one of the *Makrobioi*.

⁵⁰ *IG X 2*, 2, 10: Δεντις Νουμηνίου from Živojno.

⁵¹ Detschew, 125.

⁵² *IGBulg.* II, 754 found between Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis in Thracia.

⁵³ [A. Velleius] Paibes.

⁵⁴ Παιβις Ανβου.

⁵⁵ D M Aurelius Paibae. eq. leg. II Parth.

donia. The Thracian ending *-κενθος*⁵⁶ is known in Eastern Macedonia, together with other forms *Μεστος* and *Μεστυλας*. There is one *Μεστικενα* in Pelagonia⁵⁷ and one *Mescena* in Scupi⁵⁸. In Thracian regions names from this root are found extremely rarely⁵⁹.

Another unpublished grave inscription from Šlegovo in the vicinity of Kratovo was erased for *Τηρης Ἐπτήλου ὁ καὶ Ταίς*⁶⁰. *Τηρης* was found in many places: *Ἰούλιος Τηρης* in Lyncestis, from *cohors I Flavia Bessorum*⁶¹, *Μενελάς Τηρου* in Orestis⁶² and *Τηρης Πτολεμαίου, Μακεδών* in Egypt⁶³. There is even *Τηρης Δίζου* in Thracia⁶⁴ in the context of names, which makes a confusing situation: on the same inscription there are Thracian names (*Ἐπταικένθος, Δίζας, Αὐλουπορις*), one Latin (*Μάρκος*), one belonging to the Brygian/Phrygian substratum of the inhabitants of this region (*Βειθυς*), one uncertain (*Σαικελης*) and the above mentioned root *Μουκ-* in a form *Μουκκας*. One more time in Thracia we found *Τηρης* accompanied with Dative form *Παιώνι*⁶⁵. We can not say with certainty if this was an ethnonim or a personal name. In the same context, it appears in the valley of Strymon, where *Τηρης* is father of *Βειθυς* and of *Ἀμύντας*⁶⁶. This is why we should doubt about its Thracian origin, although the name is most frequent in Thracia⁶⁷, especially because there are hypotheses that it can also be Roman *cognomen*. His *signum* *Ταίς* is present in Asia Minor and there are some hypotheses that it

⁵⁶ *IGBulg.* IV 2337: [Μ]εστικενθος: 2343: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μεστικενθος; and 2350: Μεστικενθος Βαστακειλου.

⁵⁷ *IG X 2, 2, 250*: Μεστικενα Δουλεος.

⁵⁸ *IMS VI, 132*: Mescena mater.

⁵⁹ *IGBulg.* I² 47: Ἰουλίου Μεστον, *IGBulg.* II 589: Αὐρήλις Μεστον and 751: Μεστυπαιβης, *IGBulg.* IV 2214: Ταρσας Μεστικενθου and *IGBulg.* V 5828: Μεστικενθος.

⁶⁰ R. Petkovski, *Dekorativnite elementi na rimskite nadgrobni spomenici megu sredniot tek na Aksij i Strimon*, (MA thesis defended in Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje), Skopje, 2005, cat. No. 115.

⁶¹ *IG X 2, 2, 45* from Gorno Srpci.

⁶² *EAM 186* from Idranica.

⁶³ A. Tataki, *Macedonians abroad*, 497, No. 236.

⁶⁴ *Spomenik 98, 280* from Piro: [Τήρου] Ἐπταικέν[θου] καὶ Δίζα Ἐκενθο[υ] καὶ Ἐπταικένθου [καὶ ---] Τήρου Δίζου καὶ Μούκκου Μάρκου καὶ Βειθυος Μού(ι?)κου καὶ Σαικελ(?)εήους Αὐλουπόρεος.

⁶⁵ *IGBulg.* III, 2, 1595 from Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora). G. Mihailov reads the inscription this way, however previous editors allow that it could be read as the ethnonim *Παιώνιος*].

⁶⁶ *IGBulg.* IV 2291 from Laskarevo: Ἀμύντα Τηρου.

⁶⁷ *IGBulg.* I-V, passim.

is an epichoric Mysian name⁶⁸. We can only suppose why this man had such a *signum*.

It is obvious that some Thracian names were in use in the valley of Astibos, but it does not mean that the region was settled by Thracians, because other names among the peregrines are epichoric, Greek or Roman. It is natural that in a mining region we can expect migrations of inhabitants from the neighboring province. Comparison of names, as we concluded before, shows migrations and exchanges of population in an other neighboring province, Moesia Superior.

Strict definition for belonging of some personal name to ethnically determinated population is probably not the most correct method. First of all, we talk about inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period, which followed after two big changes in the Balkans: after the Hellenistic period, when exchanges of people and all their ethnic characteristics, including personal names, were usual, and after the Roman conquest, which brought considerable influences. Except this, the lack of ancient literary sources where persons with ethnical identity are mentioned is very big, although we must be careful with the few examples of those which came to us, because they were created in the Roman period, too.

We considered personal names, which are doubtful about their origin and probably therefore they were attached to different ethnic groups of the Balkans. Some approaches, for example, analyzing the context of the names of somebody's relatives, usually father's and mother's name, could sometimes be dangerous. Some scholars even try to identify this group of names in the cases when the name is attested in Asia Minor, too, which surely indicates that the migrations of peoples in 2nd and 1st millennium BC had influenced the names, it does not mean that it has to be counted as paleobalkan name. Another problem appears when one name originates from the paleobalcanic languages, which are not completely documented, so we can not conclude about etymologies and their phonetic specifics, so the best way in most cases would be to term those names as epichoric. When the names of smaller ethnics, like in our case Paeonians, are analyzed, we face the problem of big populations, like Macedonians, Greeks, Thracians and Illyrians, and consequently the fact that they were in situation to accept a lot of them. This is why many onomastic studies in the 20th century were in a manner of the pan-Thracian and pan-Illyrian theory. The final conclusion is that the most correct way of

⁶⁸ Zgusta, §1497-2.

classifying the names is surveying the places and the frequency where they appear.

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