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A STUDY OF THE GREEK EPITAPHS OF ROME

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

I *Sources*

The Greek epitaphs of Rome have been published in

IG XIV = *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV (Greek inscriptions of the West, edited by G. KAIBEL), numbers 1314—2238. References in heavy type are to this volume. A number of later discoveries are to be found in

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

II *Literature*

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*

CAGNAT, *Epigr. Latine* = R. CAGNAT, *Cours d'épigraphie Latine*[4], Paris 1914.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

DESSAU = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I—III[2], edidit H. DESSAU, Berolini 1954—55.

DIEHL = *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* I—III, edidit E. DIEHL, Berolini 1925—31.

FRANK, »Race Mixture» = T. FRANK, »Race Mixture in the Roman Empire», *American Historical Review* 1915/16, p. 689 ff.

ICVR = *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* I—III, successive editors A. SILVAGNI and A. FERRUA S. I., Roma 1922—1956.

IGLS = *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syria* I—IV, edited by L. JALABERT and R. MOUTERDE, Paris 1929—1955.

LARFELD, *Gr. Epigr.* = W. LARFELD, *Griechische Epigraphik*[3], Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I: 5, München 1914.

LATTIMORE = R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XXVIII: 1, Urbana 1942.

LIDDELL-SCOTT = H. G. LIDDELL & R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1958.

LOCH, »Griech. Grabschr.» = E. LOCH, »Zu den griechischen Grabschriften», *Festschrift Ludwig Friedländer*, Leipzig 1895, p. 275 ff.

MAMA = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I, V, VI, VII, Manchester 1928—56.

NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes* = H. NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes. The information on ancient Christian inscriptions from Rome concerning the duration of life and the dates of birth and death*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. II: 2, Helsinki 1963.

PAPE-BENSELER = W. PAPE & G. E. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3], Braunschweig 1884.

PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani.*

Onomastic Studies = I. KAJANTO, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. II: 1, Helsinki 1963.

RE = *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

ROHDE, *Psyche* = E. ROHDE, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* I—II[4], Tübingen 1907.

Sammelb. = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* I—V, successive editors F. PREISIGKE, F. BILABEL, E. KIESSLING, Strassburg, Berlin u. Leipzig, Heidelberg, Wiesbaden 1915—55.

SCHWARZLOSE = W. SCHWARZLOSE, *De titulis sepulcralibus Latinis quaestionum capita quattuor*, diss., Halis Saxonum 1913.

STEMLER, *Kleinas. Grabinschr.* = H. STEMLER, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, diss., Halle a.S. 1909.

Thes.l.L. = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae.*

TOD, »Laudatory Epithets» = M. N. TOD, »Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs», *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1951, p. 182 ff.

III *Sigla*

In treating of the structural patterns of epitaphs, the following abbreviations have been used:

A = record of age.

Accl. = acclamation.

D = dedication to *Manes*.

Nd.$^{nom./acc.}$ etc. = name of the deceased, set in the nominative, accusative etc.

Nded. = name of the dedicator.

R = word denoting relationship (father, mother, son, daughter etc.).

ORIGIN OF THE PERSONS RECORDED IN THE GREEK EPITAPHS OF ROME

The present study aims primarily at an analysis of the form and style of the Greek prose epitaphs of Rome. The purpose of the study makes it necessary to exclude the epigrams, which thoroughly differ from prose epitaphs in structure and in phraseology. Christian material is also omitted, for Christian and pagan epitaphs so differ that they cannot conveniently be discussed together. Christian inscriptions have been on principle excluded by KAIBEL from the Roman section of *IG* XIV (*ibid.*, p. 239), but it is doubtful whether he has quite succeeded. If an epitaph lacks Christian symbols and specific Christian nomenclature, if its expressions have nothing distinctively Christian in them, and if the location where it was found is not known, or is known only approximately, it is not easy to tell whether the epitaph is to be classed as pagan or Christian. It is therefore no wonder that a number of epitaphs, included by KAIBEL in *IG* XIV without comment, also turn up in collections of Christian inscriptions. I have counted 30 such cases in *ICVR* I—III, mainly in *ICVR* I, which gives the inscriptions of uncertain origin.[1] The editors were not, however, always certain about the Christianity of such an epitaph.[2] Most of the cases have been retained in the present study, for it hardly matters in which group one includes an epitaph which lacks distinctive Christian or pagan features.

Greek epitaphs were found in Rome almost as early as the Latin. The first example is probably **1737** = *CIL* I: 2^2 1045, from the first half of the first century B.C. (see p. 21). The bulk of the Greek material comes from the Imperial times, however, and in Christian catacombs and cemeteries Greek continued to be used down to the end of antiquity.

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[1] *ICVR* 390 = **1439**, 874 = **2059**, 1097 = **1489**, 1860 = **1443**, 2051 = **2113**, 2566 = **1541**, 2567 = **1564**, 2568 = **1628**, 2570 = **1704**, 2571 = **1736**, 2576 = **1821**, 2578 = **1828**, 2579 = **1845** (excluded, partly corrupt), 2585 = **2023** (excluded), 2974 = **1352**, 3976 = **1344**, 3982 = **1485**, 3983 = **1351**, 3990 = **1531**, 3998 = **1576**, 4002 = **1630**, 4021 = **1811**, 4032 = **2008**, 4039 = **2103**, 4739 = **2077***a*, 5659 = **1462**, 5937 = **1358**, 5976 = 9333 = **1365**, 5984 = **1894**, 9288 = **1445**.

[2] Such cases are *ICVR* 2051 = **2113**, 3976 = **1344** (dedication to *Manes* is omitted in *ICVR*, but is given in *IG* XIV), 3983 = **1351**, 3990 = **1531**, 4039 = **2103**, 4739 = **2077***a*.

The origin of the people recorded on the Greek tombstones, sarcophagi, and funerary urns, is not so self-evident as might seem at first sight: who would set up Greek tombstones in a Latin city if not immigrants and slaves or freedmen from Greece and the East? A survey of the material reveals, however, that direct evidence of foreign origin is scanty.

There are 84 cases in which the native places of the dead or of dedicators are stated, and three in which a person is in general said to be of non-Roman origin. The origin is recorded in different ways. Eleven persons have the regular Greek name form consisting of the individual name, the patronymic, and the ethnic, e.g. *Ἀσκληπιόδοτος Μαρκιανοῦ Νικομηδεύς* **1429**[1]. But even persons who bore Roman nomina and who were thus Roman citizens, often had an ethnic tacked on, e.g. *Γ. Ὀστίλιος Ἀγαθόπους Νεικαεύς* **1901**. There were few varieties of expression. In two cases, the word *γένος* was used, *γένος Τύριος* **1348**, and *τῷ γένει Ἐφέσιος* **2104**. But **1368**: *πατρὶς δέ μοι ὑπάρχει Ἀσίηθεν Ἀφροδισιάς*, is quite individual; it is included in a lengthy epitaph which in other respects, too, differs from the general patterns. In epigrams, origin could be stated in less stereotyped forms, and the persons were often described as immigrants, e.g. **1500**: *Νικαίης προλιπὼν Βιθυνίδος — / ἄστυ κλυτὸν γαίην ἦλθον ἐς Αὐσονίων*. In **1627**, a sculptor tells us that he had travelled through *πολλὰ ἄστεα*; in **1561**, an Egyptian qualifies himself as *μέτοικος*.

Native places were clearly stated in most cases, and it is only occasionally that one comes across expressions like **1857**: *ἐξ Ἀσίης ἐλθὼν Ἰταλῇ χθονὶ ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι*, or *Συρίης ἀπὸ γαίης* **1970**, *Αἰγύπτιοι* **2008**. If more than one town bore the same name, ambiguities could be removed by specifications like *Λαοδικεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας* **1372**; cf. **1569** and **1906**. But uncertainty remains in some cases, e.g. *Ἀπάμισσα* **1874**, and *πατρὶς δέ μοι ἦτον Ἀπάμεα* **1890**, which do not tell us whether the town meant was that in Syria or those in Phrygia, Bithynia, and elsewhere in the East. The Syrian town was the most important, however, and may have been meant here.

The material may be tabulated thus (epigrams are included):

Table 1. *Origin of the persons in the Greek epitaphs of Rome*

Asia Minor	North or East Black Sea	Syria	Egypt	Greece	Sicily Italy Gaul	unspecified	total
43	4	12	7	10	5	3[2]	84

[1] The other cases of the regular Greek name form are **1430**, **1532***a*, **1598**, **1636**, **1661**, **1825**, **1878**, **1887**, **1926**, **1944**.

[2] *συνξενειτεύσαντα ἔθηκα τὸν ἀδελφόν* **1413**, *Αὐσονίῃ γαίῃ τέρμα βίου θέμενος* **2010**, *ἀδελφῷ ἐπὶ ξένης* **2026**.

Half of the people thus came from Asia Minor, and the Greek East, considered as a whole, contributed 80 % of the cases.[1]

Small as was the number of the immigrants, it was not much better in regard to s l a v e s a n d f r e e d m e n. There are five examples of slaves and sixteen of freedmen in our material, e.g. *τῷ ἰδίῳ συδούλῳ* **1812** [2]; *Ἀσστ-ράγαλος Νέστορος ἀπελεύθερος* **1434**.[3] This low frequency is all the more surprising considering that in the Latin epitaphs of Rome slaves made up 3 % and freedmen 26 % of the total of persons recorded.[4] Slaves and freedmen, though mostly of Eastern origin and thus Greek-speaking, seem to have preferred Latin on gravestones. It is of course possible that there were more slaves and freedmen in our material than is explicitly recorded, but the number of such cases was not likely to be large enough to alter the statistics materially.

Indirect evidence, then, must be resorted to. It is n o m e n c l a t u r e that is of decisive importance. Extreme caution is, however, imperative in drawing conclusions about origin from personal names. It has been suggested that the infrequency of the genuine Greek name form (individual name + patronymic + ethnic) argues paucity of Greek immigrants in Rome.[5] But nomenclature is not a reliable criterion in this respect. Though a person may be a foreigner, the ethnic may have been omitted; cf. the Attic epitaphs, a third of which belongs to people of uncertain origin (*IG* III: 2[2] 10531—13085), with the demotic or ethnic left out. Neither is the lack of the patronymic a proof of non-Greek origin, for the patronymic was not always used. In Phrygia and Egypt, for instance, it was found in most names, whereas in Antioch and at Larisa, a minority included this element. On the other hand, even if a person bore Roman nomen, this fact does not necessarily imply Roman origin. He may have been a freedman or an immigrant who had been granted Roman citizenship or who, after the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 A.D., had it by right.

In the Greek epitaphs of Rome, most people (64 %) had only a single name, the cognomen of the Latin name system.[6] Now a man bearing only a cognomen may be an immigrant from the East, a slave (slaves always had only a single name), a freeborn man or a freedman who certainly had a nomen but who lacked it on a tombstone to save space, or a person of so

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[1] Cf. M. BANG, »Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven», *Römische Mitteilungen* 1910, p. 247 f.: Syria and Asia Minor also contributed the largest contingents of slaves to Rome.

[2] Other cases are **1739**, **1910**, **1966**, **2057**.

[3] Other cases **1316**, **1323**, **1330**, **1596**, **1673**, **1721***a*, **1731**, **1761**, **1832**, **1855**, **1907** **1946**, **2005**, **2025**, *SEG* XVII 466.

[4] *Onomastic Studies*, p. 6.

[5] FRANK, »Race Mixture», *AHR* 1915/16, p. 694 f.

[6] *Onomastic Studies*, p. 10.

late a period that the nomen had already gone out of use.[1] In Greek epitaphs, still another factor may account for the dropping of the nomen: adaptation to Greek name forms. The bilingual epitaph in *CIL* VI 10122 is illuminating: *Licinia M. Crassi lib. Selene / choraule / / Σελήνη χοραύλις*. The Latin text gives the full name, the Greek, in a Greek fashion, only the individual name. Another Greek feature was the dropping of the indication of the social status.

But though the mere name form is thus of little help in individual cases, conclusions can be drawn from larger groups. It is significant that the single name was much more common on the Greek tombstones of Rome than on the Latin, where its frequency is only 15—16 %.[2] Though the dropping of the nomen, for the reasons tabulated, may account for part of the single name cases, it is doubtful whether it suffices to explain the greatly higher Greek frequency. One can only conclude that a considerable part of the persons bearing only a single name must have been immigrants.

There were, then, more people of foreign extraction having Greek language tombstones in Rome than the infrequency of the ethnics would suggest. Yet it would be going too far to assert that a great majority of the persons recorded in the Greek epitaphs were non-Romans.

It is sometimes stated that the deceased was born in the capital, *πατρὶς μὲν ζαθέη Ῥώμη* **1440**, epitaph of *Ἀττίκιλλα*, daughter of *Βασιλεύς* and mother of four children. Her father may have been a freedman or immigrant of Eastern origin. *Φιλησίη τὴν κλῆσιν, Αὐσονὶς γένος* **2067**, also suggests Roman origin. The corpse of *Ῥουφεῖνος*, born in Rome but perishing at Nilopolis, was brought back to Rome by his wife, who celebrated his memory with an epigram **1976**. The cases in which Rome is given as the native place are certainly few, but it was not customary to record the origin except on the epitaphs of strangers.

It is the origin of the cognomina that is of the greatest importance here. In a previous study I have contended that Latin cognomina were primarily borne by the natives of Rome, Greek and barbarian by slaves, freedmen, and immigrants. One could thus expect Greek cognomina to prevail to the exclusion of the Latin on Rome's Greek gravestones. But it is not so, for 21 % of the cognomina are Latin; the corresponding figure for Latin epitaphs is 41,5 %.[3] There are, it is true, cases of Latin cognomina borne by persons of Greek or Eastern origin, *Βαρβαριανός* **1956** (from Amastris), *Κορνουτίων* **1787** (from Sinope), *Λούκιος* **1815** (from Smyr-

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[1] *Onomastic Studies*, p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

na), *Μάξιμος SEG* IV 105 (Astacos), *Μαρτιάλης* **1372** (Laodicea), *Σεκοῦνδα* **1997** (Regium), *Σερῆνος* **1691** (Laconia), *Φλαβιανός* **2100** (Myrina), *Φουσκῖνος* **2008** (Egypt). *Πρόκλος*, which was very frequent in the East (c. 20 examples in Phrygia, *MAMA* I, V—VII), gives three examples, **1475** and **1771** (Nicomedia), **1970** (Syria). There were a few heterogeneous double cognomina, *Νείκη ἡ καὶ Μαρκελλεῖνα Ἀπάμισσα* **1874**, *Λ. Φοντείος Φόρτις Ἀσκληπιάδης* **2104** (from Ephesus). It is sometimes argued that in such cases the Latin cognomina were a later addition, an attempt to gain respectibility through Latin nomenclature.[1] Foreigners bearing Latin cognomina may have been former slaves who had received Latin cognomina from their masters.[2] It is equally possible, however, that the names had been given them by their parents. Latin nomenclature was by no means unknown in the East, as indexes of papyrological and epigraphical publications reveal. It is significant that the name of the father could also be Latin, thus **1956**: *Ποντιανός*. However, the number of Latin cognomina brought to Rome by foreigners cannot have been very large; the twelve cases represent a bare 14 % of the total of 84 cases in which native places had been recorded. The great majority of the people who came to Rome from the East bore Greek or barbaric cognomina. Most Latin cognomina found in the Greek epitaphs, then, argue Roman origin.

The frequency of Latin cognomina implies more than that most bearers of them were natives of Rome. As *ingenua plebs* scarcely set up Greek gravestones, the bearers of Latin cognomina must have been offspring of freedmen and immigrants. Now a study of the transmission of cognomina reveals that persons with Greek cognomina (who were largely of Greek or Eastern origin) gave their children Greek and Latin cognomina in the ratio of 4.6 : 4.[3] This implies that a number of the bearers of Greek cognomina were likewise natives of Rome. Allowing for the many uncertainties of the calculations, it seems reasonable to conclude that a considerable proportion of the persons recorded in the Greek epitaphs were born in Rome. The rest may have been slaves, freedmen, and especially immigrants.

Here we face another problem. If a considerable number of the persons, though descendants of former freedmen and immigrants, were natives of Rome, why did they occasionally make use of Greek in drawing up epitaphs? Even slaves' and freedmen's epitaphs were usually in Latin (cf. p. 3). Such a problem, which takes us to the realm of individual choice and caprice,

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[1] See *Onomastic Studies*, p. 28.
[2] Cf. FRANK, »Race Mixture», *AHR* 1915/16, p. 692 and 700.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 693.

does not, perhaps, admit of any definite answer. A survey of the Greek material is suggestive, however. In *IG* XIV 1314—2121 (Roman epitaphs, fragments excluded), one finds no less than 135 epigrams, that is, c. 17 %. This is a sizable number, for though Athens had always been famous for her epigrams, among 2050 epitaphs from Imperial times there were only 60 epigrams. This particularly high frequency of the epigrams shows that if persons, who usually had the epitaphs written in Latin, wanted the gravestones to be distinguished by poetic compositions, they preferred Greek with its age-old epigrammatic traditions.[1] This interpretation of the significance of the Greek epigrams is corroborated by the fact that there are 22 Latin epitaphs supplemented by Greek epigrams, e.g. *CIL* VI 20548 = **1703**: *Iuliae C. fil. Laudice et T. Fla[vio] / Aug. lib. Alcimo parentib. opti[mis] / Flavia T. fil. Titiane fecit* etc., followed by a Greek epigram of eight lines on Laodice, who, as the epigram reveals, was a native of Samos.[2] Both parents were thus strangers in Rome, she an immigrant, he a freedman, whereas the daughter, who dedicated the gravestone, was a native of Rome. Greek was thus used in cases to lend the gravestone greater distinction. In not a few prose epitaphs, too, Greek may have been used for purposes of ostentation. This suggests that the persons recorded in Rome's Greek epitaphs were, in general, of a higher social status than the population represented on the Latin gravestones of the city. It is significant that though occupation or profession were not very frequently indicated, the largest single group, 19 cases, was that of doctors.[3]

The above discussion has shown that the people recorded in the Greek epitaphs were of diverse origin: immigrants, slaves and freedmen from different parts of the Greek world, and natives of Rome, descendants of immigrants and freedmen. Since the epitaphic style differed greatly from one region to another, many different traditions must have been imported into Rome. But the influence of the Latin environment must have been equally important, for whether the wording of an epitaph was entrusted to the stone-cutter or whether the dedicators composed it themselves, the Latin models must have been well-known in a city which was virtually bilingual.

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[1] Cf. KAIBEL's remark in *IG* XIV p. 239.

[2] The other examples are *CIL* VI 6225 = **1909**, 7408 = **1813**, 9533 = **1497**, 10049 = **1474**, 12652 = **1892**, 14672 = **1746**, 15038 = **1754**, 16843 = **1537**, 18175 = **1595**, 18487 = **2111**, 19954 = **1935**, 24042 = **1942**, 25084, 25943 = **1994**, 26251 = **2002**, 26282?, 26637a = **2076**, 29152 = **1915**, 32316 = **1512**, 33976 = **2012**, 37586.

[3] The cases are **1330**, **1468**, **1469**, **1478**, **1529**, **1680**, **1750**, **1751**, **1755**, **1757**, **1759** = *PIR* C² 937, **1786**, **1788**, **1879**, **1900**, **1937**, ?**1951**, **2064**, **2104**.

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS OF EPITAPHS

In considering the structure of the Greek prose epitaphs of Rome, one must naturally exclude the fragmentary cases. But one must also omit those epitaphs which record the building of a sepulchre for persons still alive, e.g. **1414**: *Ἀγατὸς Ἀργολικὸς ἑαυτῷ / καὶ Ἀγατῷ Ῥοιφείνῳ ἀδελφῷ / καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπόησεν.*[1] The epitaphs of that type were frequent in Asia Minor, especially in Lycia,[2] but they were numerous in Latin epigraphy, too.[3] These inscriptions lacked a few of the ordinary features of an epitaph, in particular the recording of age. The dedication to *Manes* seems to have been less usual, also; only two out of the fifteen Greek cases have such a dedication, **1911** and **2003**; the former is dubious, *Ὑ(πνῳ) κ(αταχθονίῳ)*? It is further to be noticed that no relationship of dedicators and dead can be established in these epitaphs.

It is, admittedly, often difficult to judge whether an epitaph records actual death(s) or only the building of a sepulchre, for in not a few cases a common monument appears to have been built on the death of a relative, e.g. **1419**: *Γν. Ἀρρίωι / Στρατοκλεῖ / πλάστηι Ἀθηναίωι / Ἀρρία Ἀρτεμισία / ἀνδρὶ τιμιωτάτ[ωι] / καὶ ἑαυτῆι ἐποί[ει]*. This type of an epitaph was particularly frequent in Asia Minor, e.g. in Phrygia, cf. p. 27, fn. 1. The epitaphs which give the age of a user of the monument seem unequivocal, e.g. **1771**: *ΘΚ / Κλ. Μαρινιανὴ ζῶσα τὸ / μνημῖον κατασκεύασεν ἑ/αυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ / ἀνδρὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Πρόκλῳ / Νικομηδῖ ζήσαντι κτλ. — / — καῖ τοῖς ἀπελευ/θέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐσομένοις.*[4] But interpretation becomes more difficult if the person who builds the monument also states his age, e.g. **1444**: *ΘΚ / Αὐρ. Ἀγάθων / ζῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐ/ποίησεν καὶ / τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ / κτλ. — / αὐτὸς δὲ ἔζησα / ἔτη λη.* There are similar cases in Latin epigraphy, e.g. *CIL* VI 25225: *T. Pupillius Roma/nus qui vixit / anis XXXX men/sibus VI diaebus / XX fecit sibi.* In these cases, the monument was already there, but the epitaph was added only on the death of the possessor of the tomb. Such cases have been included in the present study.

The main element of an epitaph was naturally the name of the deceased, which could be used in any grammatical case whatsoever. Since the case

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[1] Other cases **1373**, **1462**, **1464**, **1481**, **1780**, **1862**, **1911**, **1913**, **1914**, **2003**, **2061**, **2090**, ?**2102** (fragmentary), **2120**.

[2] LOCH, »Griech. Grabschr.» *Festschrift Friedl.*, p. 284 ff.; STEMLER, *Kleinas. Grabinschr.*, p. 27 ff.

[3] E.g. *CIL* VI 24321, 24334, 24338, 24354, 24374, 24376, among a small number of epitaphs.

[4] There are similar cases in Latin epitaphs, e.g. *CIL* VI 24323 — *coniugi caris/simo fecit et / sibi et suis liber/tis libertabusque / posterisque eoru<m>*, a frequent clause in Latin epitaphs.

of the name gives valuable clues about the origin of the epitaphic pattern followed, I have used it as the basis of classification. The names of the dedicators were another main element in certain types of epitaphs. In Rome, the dedication to *Manes* and the recording of age were important additional elements. There were many other elements, acclamations, epithets, formulas of dedication, but to avoid making the tabulation of the material too cumbersome, I have omitted them from the following table.

Since the Latin influence upon the Greek epitaphs of Rome is an important problem for us, I have drawn up another table, which in the same way classifies a representative number of Latin epitaphs. These epitaphs have been taken at randon from *CIL* VI, numbers 24321—26321.

Table 2. *Structure of the Greek epitaphs of Rome*

form of the name of the dead	total	without additional elements	dedic. to *Manes*	age	dedicators
vocative	34 7 %	23	3	8	2
accusative	10 2 %	1	2	4	9
nominative	84 16.5 %	36	24	39	20
genitive	20 4 %	8	11	3	8
dative	350 70.5 %	11	200	154	321
total	498	79	240	208	360
percentage		16 %	48 %	42 %	72 %

Table 3. *Structure of Latin epitaphs in CIL VI 24321—26321*

form of the name of the dead	total	without additional elements	dedic. to *Manes*	age	dedicators
?vocative	3	1	—	—	2
accusative	—	—	—	—	—
nominative	385 33 %	212	35	145	66
genitive	182 15 %	50	114	49	111
dative	621 52 %	13	503	257	590
total	1.191	276	652	451	769
percentage		23 %	55 %	38 %	64 %

In the column for epitaphs without additional elements, acclamations have not been registered.

The above tables reveal considerable similarity in the structure of the Greek and Latin epitaphs of Rome. Dedications to *Manes*, records of age

and of dedicators were almost as frequent, and the slight differences might be ascribed to the fact that the Greek material was not large enough to eliminate the influence of »statistical chance». But there was considerable difference in the use of different grammatical cases, and this shows that the Greek epitaphs cannot have been simply modelled upon the Latin.

I shall first discuss the two additional elements, the dedication to *Manes* and the recording of age.

DEDICATION TO *MANES*

Half of the Greek prose epitaphs of Rome contain a dedication *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις*, or similar divinities, and an equal number of Latin epitaphs were dedicated *Dis Manibus*. Since the Greek gravestones of Greece and the East were very rarely similarly dedicated — only in Thessaly, ancient gravestones sometimes ended on *Ἑρμάου χθονίου* or *Ἑρμῆι χθονίωι* [1]-Roman origin can be assumed for this practice. In Rome, dedication *Dis Manibus* began to appear in the Augustan age, but became customary only during the second century A.D.[2] It is a measure of the Latin influence upon the Greek epitaphic style of Rome that dedications *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις* were rare outside of Italy.[3]

Manes had several connotations. In origin the spirits of the dead, it could be an equivalent of *di inferi* and *di paterni*, the ancestral spirits. During the Empire *Manes* often stood for the soul of an individual deceased.[4] In the latter cases, the name was frequently set in the genitive, e.g. *CIL* VI 24332: *D(is) M(anibus) Plotiae Damales*, 24375: *Diis Ma(nibus) M.' Poblici Musaei*. The Greeks used a variety of words to translate *Manes*, and it is legitimate to expect that they tried to find appropriate words to correspond to the different meanings of *Manes*.

In the great majority of cases, the words chosen implied Underworld gods:

Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις **1371**, **1458** etc.

Abbreviations were, however, used in most cases: *ΘΚΑΤ* **1761**, *ΘΚΑ* **1568** etc., *ΘΚΧ* **1359**, *ΘΕΚΑ* **1896**, *ΘΚ* c. 200 examples.

Similar expressions were:

Θεοῖς Χθονίοις **1797** etc., *ΘΧ* **1375**, **1586**, *Θεοῖς Ὑποχθονίοις* **1801**

There were other, less obvious equivalents, too, *Θεοῖς Μνήμασι* **1980**,

[1] *IG* IX: 2 687, 695, 698, 708 etc., c. 20 examples in all from Larisa. Cf. *RE* VIII col. 789, 53; LATTIMORE p. 104.

[2] SCHWARZLOSE p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14, a few examples from the Greek epigraphy of the East.

[4] SCHWARZLOSE p. 19 ff.; MARBACH, *RE* XIV col. 1054, 10.

[Θε]οῖς Ἐριχθονίοις *SEG* XVI 606, Θεοῖς Ἥρωσιν **1795**, abbreviated *Θ H* **1572** and Ἥρωσιν Χθονίοις *SEG* XVII 468. *Μνήμονες* was an epithet of Erinyes (Aesch. *Prom.* 516; Soph. *Aiax* 1390), with whom *Manes*, as powers hostile to the living, were sometimes identified.[1] Ἐριχθόνιος again was a variety of the more usual *Χθόνιος*, the epithet of Hermes as a god of death.[2] Hermes Cthonios or Ericthonios thus had close affinities with *Manes*. The use of ἥρωες was due to the identification of *Manes* and ἥρωες as the spirits of the dead.[3] Such examples show that the Greeks often gave considerable thought to the translation of the Latin *Manes*.

There are no examples in our material in which a Greek equivalent of *Manes* could suggest »ancestral spirits». This is no wonder, for even in Latin this meaning was unusual.[4]

To translate *Manes* as the soul of an individual deceased, the Greeks used the word *δαίμων*, which often stood for the »inner spirit» of a man.[5] The following bilingual epitaph, in which the Latin text gives a dedication *dis inferis* and *Manibus*, the Greek *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις* and *δαίμοσιν*, is illustrating, *CIL* III 191: — *dedicavit monumentum suum in / sempiternum Diis Manibus suis et Fl. Titiae uxoris suae / inferisque* etc., / / — *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ δαίμοσι αὐτοῦ τε καὶ / τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ κτλ.* In this epitaph, *θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* correspond to *inferi*, *δαίμονες* to *Di Manes* as an equivalent of the souls of individual dead. There are eleven gravestones dedicated to *daimones* in the Greek material from Rome:

Θεοῖς δαίμοσιν **1609**, **1611**, *Ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι* **1653**, abbreviated *Θ Δ*, eight cases.

The Greeks did not always bother to translate the formula at all, but had it engraved on their gravestones, usually in Latin letters:

Dis Manibus **1339**, mostly abbreviated, *DM* (19 cases); *DMS* is found once, **1512**.

It is equally possible, however, that in a number of cases a stone purchased for a Greek epitaph already had *DM* on it.

Greek letters were sometimes used, *Δ M* **1413**, **1433**. As an intermediate form we may register *Θ M* **1681***a*, **1893**, where *D(is)* is translated, *M(anibus)* retained.

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[1] MARBACH, *Manes*, *RE* XIV col. 1055, 56, with examples from Roman literature.

[2] *RE* VI col. 446.

[3] MARBACH, *RE* XIV col. 1054, 25.

[4] MARBACH, *ibid.*, col. 1056, 23, can cite very few examples, all of them from literature.

[5] For the identification of *Manes* and *δαίμων* as the inner spirits of a man, cf. Mart. Cap. 2, 162: *Verum illi Manes quoniam corporibus illo tempore tribuuntur quo fit prima conceptio —. Manes igitur hic tam boni quam truces sunt constituti, quos ἀγαθούς et κακοὺς δαίμονας memorat Graia discretio.*

The above suggests that the Greeks mostly chose equivalents which corresponded to *Manes* in the meaning of *di inferi*. Only a bare dozen suggested the soul of an individual. That the Greek-speaking population seldom thought of *Manes* in the latter meaning is confirmed by the following tables, which give the grammatical cases of the names of the deceased immediately after the dedicatory formula. As stated above, the genitive was appropriate if *Manes* stood for the soul.

Table 4. *The case of the names of the deceased after a dedication to Manes in the Greek epitaphs of Rome*

nominative	genitive	dative	accusat.	vocat.	total
27	7[1]	105	1	3	143
19 %	5 %	73.5 %	0.5 %	2 %	—

Table 5. *The case of the deceased after a dedication to Manes in CIL VI 24321—26321*

nominative	genitive	dative	accusat.	vocat.	total	*-ae*[2]
35	114	348	—	—	497	202
7 %	23 %	70 %	—	—	—	—

In the Latin epitaphs, then, the genitive was found in c. 1/4 of all the cases, whereas the percentage was only 5 % in the Greek. Not even after a dedication to *daimones* was the genitive very frequent, for there is actually only one prose example, **1959**. There is another example from an epigram, *Δαίμοσιν εὐσεβέσιν Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καρακουττίου* **1683**.

A few passages give further evidence for the identity of *θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* with the Underworld gods. Thus **1702** runs: *ὧδε κεῖται οἴκῳ ἐωνίῳ παραλημφθε[ὶς] ὑπὸ θεῶν καταχθονίων*, and **1660**: *περὶ οὗ δέομαι τοὺς καταχθονίους θεοὺς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατατάξαι*. In the latter passage,

[1] **1468**, **1503**, **1854**, **1897**, **1958**, **1959**, **2041**.

[2] In case of a woman's name of the first declension, it is mostly impossible to tell whether a dative or a genitive had been meant. A dative is certain only in cases like 24562: *DM / Pompeiae Primit[ivae] / et Larcio Narcisso* etc., a genitive in cases like 24979: *DM / Primitivae f(iliae) v(ixit) a(nnis) III / et Cl. Cerialis f(ilii) v(ixit) a(nnis) VII* etc. The dative is not certain even in cases like 24336: *Dis. Man. / Plotiae Felic/lae coiugi s/ue C. Corneliu/s Abascant(us)*, for we have constructions like 24689: *DM / M. Pomposidi Carpi / coniugi b(ene)m(erenti)* etc., where a genitive, governed by *DM*, is followed by a dative, in turn dependant upon a verb (understood) of dedication.

the Underworld gods figure as the real masters of Orcus. Again, dedications like *ΘΚ καὶ Φλαουίᾳ τῇι ἰδίᾳ συμβίωι* **2073**, cf. **2086**, would not be possible unless *θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* stood for *di inferi*.

All this shows that though the Greek-speaking population of Rome imitated the Roman dedication to *Manes*, they thought of *Manes* rather as *di inferi* than as souls of individuals. For Greeks, to whom the Underworld gods were familiar figures, the former idea was much easier to adopt.

RECORDING OF AGE

According to Tables two and three, 42 % of the Greek epitaphs of Rome recorded the ages of the deceased (or the length of marriage), the percentage being a little lower in the Latin material. The problem of the origin of the recording of age on the Greek gravestones is more complicated than that of the dedicatory formula discussed above. In Latin epigraphy, the practice came into being towards the end of the republican times, but was not yet very common. I have counted seven cases among the republican inscriptions from Rome, e.g. *CIL* I: 2² 1223: *vixit annos VI m(enses) VIII;* 1270: *vixit an(nis) XX;* 1383: *v(ixit) a(nnis) LXX*. Abbreviations were thus already in use, but except for the first example, only the years were given. Age was only exceptionally given in the Greek epigraphy of Greece proper. Among 2050 Attic epitaphs from Imperial Times in *IG* III: 2², there were c. 25 examples; at Larisa (*IG* IX: 2), their number was 15. I have not come across any examples in Syria, *IGLS* I—IV. The recording of age was rare in Phrygia also, for in *MAMA* I, V—VII, Christian material excluded, there were about ten examples.[1] But this reticence was not universal in Greek epigraphy. Thus among 250 inscriptions from Bithynia[2], not all of them epitaphs, there were no less than 42 records of age. It was, however, in Egypt that the recording of age was still more popular than in Rome. In *Sammelb.* I have counted 585 epitaphs, and 304, a little more than a half, also give age, usually with the sigla Ⅼ = *ἐτῶν*.[3] The great majority of the relevant epitaphs belonged to the Imperial period, but a few were from the later Ptolemaic age.[4] The recording of age on Egyptian gravestones is all the more remarkable, for Egyptian epitaphs were largely

[1] As the dating of epitaphs was unusual, nothing certain can be said about the chronology of the recording of age here. *MAMA* V 201 seems, however, to be the earliest, dated A.D. 18 or 19.

[2] *BCH* 1900, pp. 361—426; 1901, pp. 1—92; 1903, pp. 314—324.

[3] The origin of the sigla is not known, see LARFELD, *Gr. Epigr.*, p. 301. The sigla was once found in Rome, too, **1721***a* (p. 701), where the age of a freedwoman, with the barbaric name *Ἰσαρους*, is given Ⅼ *λα'*.

[4] *Sammelb.* 4210 and 7471, »Ptolem. age», 4996, first century B.C.

brief and monotonous, and gave little information about the life and relationships of the dead. This Egyptian practice cannot be ascribed to Roman influence, for the Ptolemaic examples preceded the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. Even in Imperial Egypt, Roman influence must have been negligible, considering the general ignorance of Latin and the small number of Romans resident there.[1] It is altogether probable that the recording of age came into being independently and simultaneously both in Rome and in Egypt. In Greek epigraphy outside of Egypt, it may be due to Roman influence, but Egyptian influence or native origin should not be ignored.

There is one very good criterion of d i r e c t Latin influence: the e x a c t n e s s of the records. In Greek, only the years were normally given, whereas in Latin the length of life might be recorded down to hours. In the Egyptian material of *Sammelb.*, there are only 16 records of age given in months, or months and days, and in almost every case, the exactness was due to some specific causes. Latin influence is obvious in 175, a bilingual inscription, in 5033 (notice the Latin name *Ῥηγῖνος*) and in 5762 (notice *ΘΚ*). Latin influence is also probable in the Alexandrian examples (5045 and 5631). Five of the examples were found on sarcophagi near Thebes, dated A.D. 109—146 (8366—8370). The formulas used in the epitaphs were quite similar (in addition to the exact records of age, *ἐτελεύτησεν* with the date of death); the exactness was thus due to some special circumstances. Exact records of age were rare in Greek epigraphy elsewhere, too. Only the years were given in all the Bithynian examples, likewise in the fifteen cases from Larisa. In Attica and Phrygia there were, it is true, a few records given in months, or in months and days.[2]

It is, then, obvious that the Greeks, though they may have adopted the recording of age from the Romans, gave it in months, or in months and days only in special circumstances, in particular under direct Latin influence.[3] Considering this, it is interesting to compare the exactness of the records of age in the Greek and Latin epitaphs of Rome. The Greek material is tabulated below. Because fragmentary epitaphs, provided the record of age is undamaged, have been included, the total is a little higher than in Table two. Epitaphs giving the ages of more than one person have been counted only once.

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[1] Cf. e.g. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 308.

[2] *IG* III: 2² 7858 (days), 10683 (days), 11473 (months, fragmentary), 12915 (months, fragmentary). *MAMA* I 41 (months), V 201 (days), and VI 218 (days).

[3] *Sammelb.* 175, a bilingual epitaph, is illustrating for the difference between Greek and Latin points of view. The Latin text gives the age of the deceased in years, months and days: *annis V minse uno diebus XXVIIII*, whereas the Greek rounds off: *(ἔτη) ε' μ(ῆνας) β'*. For comment, see B. Keil, *Hermes* 1908, p. 561.

Table 6. *Exactness of the records of age in the Greek epitaphs of Rome*

years	years/ months	years/ months/ days	years/ months/ days/hours	total
110	34	65	9	218
50.5 %	15.5 %	30 %	4 %	—

In the pagan epitaphs of Rome, the proportions of years, years / months, and years / months / days, have been estimated at 50 %—12 %—36 %, respectively [1], figures which tally closely with the Greek frequencies. Latin influence is thus here beyond doubt. Even the most exact record of age, that given in hours, is quite as frequent inasmuch as there are 21 such records in *CIL* VI 24321—26321, 3.5 % out of the total of 581.[2]

The expressions used in recording age were almost without exception highly stereotyped:

ζήσαντι, ζησάσῃ ἔτη	(65 cases)
ἐτῶν	(53 cases)
ἔζησεν ἔτη	(36 cases)
ζήσας, ζήσασα ἔτη	(11 cases)
(ὅς) ἔζησεν ἔτη	(10 cases)

A number of cases were otherwise quite similar, but the verb was *βιόω*, e.g. *βιώσαντι, βιωσάσῃ* **1649**, **2029**, **2079**, *ἐβίωσεν* **1797**, *ὅστις [ἐ]βίωσε* **1611**, *βιώσας, βιώσασα* **1368**, ?**1766**. In a few cases, the accusative was replaced by the dative, e. g. *βιώσαντι ἔτεσιν κτλ.* **2104**, *ἔζησεν ἔτεσι* **1454**; other cases **1337**, **1779**, **2087**. This was probably due to Latin influence, for in Latin epitaphs, the accusative *annos* was usually replaced by the ablative *annis*.[3] The ablative was, however, usually followed by the accusatives *menses* and *dies (horas)*.[4] A Greek epitaph shows a similar construction, *ζησάσῃ ἔτεσιν ζ' καὶ μηνὶ καὶ ἡμέρας ια'* **1758**. This is scarcely anything but a close imitation of Latin usages.

There were a few varieties of formulas. The use of an adjective, *τετραετής* **1476**, and of ordinals, *εἰκοστὸν τέταρτον ἔτος ζησάσῃ* **1709**, smack of

[1] NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes*, p. 34 f., where the statistics of H. ARMINI are quoted for pagan Rome. According to NORDBERG, Christian epitaphs were a little more exact about ages than were the pagan.

[2] Neither ARMINI nor NORDBERG tabulates the records in hours.

[3] LÖFSTEDT, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Uppsala 1911), pp. 54—56; NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes*, p. 35.

[4] LÖFSTEDT and NORDBERG, *op. et loc. cit.*

poetic diction, for similar expressions were frequent in epigrams, cf. **1362,11**; **1422,2**; **1436,5**; **1466,1** etc. *Παραλαβὼν ἐτῶν ιβ', συνζήσας ἔτεσιν η' καὶ μησὶν ε'* **1927**, is certainly unusual. The verb *παραλαμβάνω* means here »to take to wife», and the passage tells us that the deceased had become a wife at the ripe age of twelve, living in wedlock eight years and five months.[1] Finally, *ὅστις ἐπέζησε ἡμέρας θ' τῷ τέκνῳ* **1426**, recalls the Latin *supervixit*, sometimes used in records of age (for examples, see DIEHL III p. 596).

A point which attracts attention is the relatively high number of cases which record the duration of marriage, either alone or in connection with the recording of age, 25 out of a total of 498, the proportion being 21 out of a total of 1191 epitaphs in my material from *CIL* VI. Again, Greek epitaphs showed a greater variety of formulas, whereas Latin was usually content with simple *cum quo / qua vixit*. In most cases, Greek made use of a verb with the prefix *συν-*:

συνζήσας, συνζήσασα **1689**, **1891**, **1927**; in the dative: **1510**, **1573**, **1776**, **1949**, **1966**; *συνέζησέ μοι* **1444**.
συμβιώσας **1709**, *συμβιώσαντι* **1732**, *[συ]μβιωσαμένῃ* **1651**, *συμβιωσάσῃ* **2121**, *συνεβίωσα* **1660**, **1768**.

In the remaining cases, a simple verb was used:
μεθ' οὗ ἔζησα **1371**, **1771**, **1850**, *ζησάσῃ καλῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ* **1582**, *ἔζησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ* **1635**, *ζήσασα σὺν αὐτῷ* **1734**, *σὺν ἐμοὶ ζησάσῃ* **1993**, *μετὰ ἧς ἔζησα* **2054**, *βιώσας μετ' ἐμοῦ* **1702**, *σὺν ἐμοὶ δὲ τῇ συνβίῳ ἐβίωσεν* **1900**.

Two epitaphs record the duration of sojourn abroad with a brother, *ἔτεσιν ε' συνξενειτεύσας* **1413**, cf. **1472**.

It is worth notice that the verb *βιόω* was much commoner in recording the length of married life than in recording age — in the former group nine cases out of a total of 25, in the latter, eight out of a total of 176. The phenomenon may have been due to the influence of the noun *σύμβιος*.

Recording the duration of marriage was probably not of Greek origin, for similar cases were few in Greek epigraphy. I have not found any example in *Sammelb.* Considering that Egyptian epitaphs extremely seldom recorded the dedicators, their reticence in this respect is understandable. There were certainly a few cases in Phrygia, but only one of them, *MAMA* VII 323, is found in a prose epitaph: *συμβίῳ συνζησάσῃ ἔτεσι κγ' μῆνας [...]ἡμέρας κ'*. Even this seems to be due to Latin influence: notice the construction with dative of years followed by accusatives of months and days. The other cases are from epigrams (VI 205 and VII 258). It is in Latin epigraphy that the origin of that epitaphic practice can be sought. There are examples

[1] For the extreme youth of women at the time of marriage, see NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes*, p. 65.

as early as the republican period, *CIL* I: 2^2 1220: *inter nos annos LX vivimus concordes*, and the stereotyped *vixit mecum annos XX*, 1413. During Imperial times this practice, like the recording of age, became commoner, and was imitated on the Greek gravestones of the city.

The fact that the Greek examples were much more numerous than were the Latin may be due to the relatively high social status of the persons recorded in Greek epitaphs, see p. 6. It is also possible, however, that the Greeks adhered to a practice taken over from the Romans more eagerly than did the Romans themselves. At any rate, it is the relatively high frequency of the records of the duration of marriage that explains the slightly higher percentage in age recording in the Greek epitaphs as compared with the Latin.

GRAMMATICAL FORMS OF THE DECEASED PERSONS' NAMES

The problem of the grammatical forms of the names of the dead is intimately bound up with that of the recording of dedicators, and it is thus necessary to discuss both together.

In regard to the grammatical forms, the tables on p. 8 show a greater variety in the Greek than in the Latin material. In the latter, three cases, nominative, genitive, and dative sufficed; the vocatives were so few and, moreover, uncertain that they can be excluded. In the Greek material, all Greek cases were represented, the dative, however, being still more prominent than in Latin epitaphs. It is my purpose in analyzing these different forms to work out their affinities with Greek and Latin epitaphic traditions. I shall begin with the two patterns which were most genuinely Greek, the vocative and the accusative.

There are 34 examples of the deceased's name in the v o c a t i v e, e.g. **1509**: *Βήρυλλα/ἀσύνκριτε/εὐψύχει*, **1531**: *Εὐφύχει Δαφνῖτα,/οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος*, **1823**: *ΘΚ/Λῦσον εὐφύχι*. In all the cases, the vocative was determined by an a c c l a m a t i o n. An acclamation did not, however, always cause the name to be set in the vocative. This was done only in brief epitaphs in which the acclamation formed an i n t e g r a l p a r t of the whole.[1]

Only half of the cases were, however, undisputedly vocatives. The vocative is certain in cases in which the names or the epithets — as in the first example cited — could form vocatives. But there were 14 women's

[1] *Εὐψύχει* or *χαῖρε* were often added to epitaphs which recorded dedicators etc. and where the case of the name was determined by other factors than the acclamation, e.g. **1903**: *D Nded. Nd.dat. μνήμης χάριν A εὐψύχι* or **2086**: *D Nd.dat. Nded. Rdat. A χαῖρε*. I have also excluded the cases in which the name was only repeated in an acclamation, e.g. **1536**: *D Nd.dat. A εὐψύχει Δημήτριε/οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* or in which only an epithet was set in the vocative, thus **1638**: *Nded. Nd.dat. A ἄλυπε χαῖρε*.

names of the first declension and three men's names in *-ων-ιων/ωνος*, **1314**, **1524**, **1739**, which might be nominatives as well. It is only by inference that the names can be classed as vocatives. First, in brief epitaphs, the deceased's name was rarely set in the nominative if an acclamation followed. There are only four cases in my material, e.g. **1598**: *ΘΚ / Εὔδαμος / Κάστορος / Ἀφροδεισεύς, / χαῖρε*, cf. **1418***a* (p. 700), **1555**, **1874**. Again, if a woman's name of the first declension was followed by an epithet of two endings and by an acclamation, the epithet was in the vocative, cf. **1509** cited above; another example is **2098**: *πανάρετε*. All this implies that most names would have been in the vocative if it only could have been formed. Finally, the men's names in *-ων-ιων* were probably also meant to be vocatives, as is suggested by **1739**: *ΘΚ / χαῖρε / Καρπίων / χαῖρε / κῦρί μου*. Since the second *χαῖρε* was followed by a vocative, this must have been the case with the first, too.

There are a few cases which present difficulties. *SEG* XVI 606 *[Θε]οῖς Ἐριχθονίοις / Εὐδαίμων / Μοσχίωνος / εὐψύχι*, has here been classed as a nominative, the regular vocative being *Εὐδαῖμον*. But after the classical period, the nominative and vocative tended to coincide in nouns in *-ν* and *-ρ*.[1] Considering the brevity of the epitaph, the vocative may well have been meant here.[2] Again, **1576** runs: *Εὐ[...]χι / Ἐπίκτη/σις*. The first line probably contained the acclamation *εὐψύχι*. The brevity of the epitaph, and the unusual position of the acclamation at the beginning, lead one to expect a name in the vocative. The name was set in the nominative, however, and even in the post-classical period, names in *-ς* dropped the consonant in the vocative.[3] Unless the epitaph is damaged more than appears in the text, the case remains enigmatic.

That the vocative pattern was genuinely Greek is shown by the infrequency of such typical Latin features as the dedication to *Manes* and the recording of age, three and eight cases, respectively — much below the average. Moreover, the vocative was unusual in pagan Latin epitaphs, chiefly because of the paucity of acclamations. In *CIL* I: 2[2], a number of epitaphs included *salve* or *vale*, but in most cases the deceased were women, which makes it impossible to draw conclusions about the grammatical forms of the names, 130, 1340, 1408, 1476, 1684, 1839. Two of the deceased were men, but in 2095: *C. Umbrius / T.f. salve*, the name is set in the nominative, whereas 2130: *C. Maeci T. / salve*, is fragmentary. The nomen may only have been abbreviated, as was often the case in early epitaphs

[1] See W. Schulze, »Zur Bildung des Vokativs im Griechischen und im Lateinischen», *ΑΝΤΙΑΩΡΟΝ, Festschrift J. Wackernagel* (Göttingen 1923), p. 240 ff.

[2] On the other hand, *Λῦσον* **1823**, cited p. 16, is hypercorrect, for the stem of the name was *-ων*, see Pape-Benseler.

[3] Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

(see p. 21). An epitaph from Caere (2551) certainly runs *L. Atili C.f. Serane*, but the epitaph seems singular, no acclamation being included. There is one certain example of a man's name set in the vocative, but significantly enough, the epitaph is bilingual, 2259: *Q. Avili C.f. Lanuine salve* / / *Κοίντε Ἀνίλλιε Γαίου υἱὲ Ῥωμαίε* / *χρηστὲ χαῖρε*. During Imperial times, vocatives were equally rare. There are three examples in *CIL* VI 24321—26321, all of them, however, women's names, e.g. 26137: *Selicia* / *Q.l.* / *Menodice* / *salve*. It was in Christian epigraphy, especially in the ante-Constantinian period, that vocatives became more usual, largely because of the greater importance and higher frequency of acclamations.[1]

The vocative pattern was much commoner in Greek epigraphy. Greek epitaphs fall into two main types, the Attic and the Asiatic, the former prevailing in most of Greece proper, in Syria, and in Egypt, the latter in Asia Minor and in Northern Greece.[2] They differed in that the Attic type gave only the name of the deceased, whereas the Asiatic also recorded dedicators. Before the Hellenistic age, and in Attica down to the end of antiquity, the name of the deceased was set in the nominative in an epitaph of the Attic type. But after the 3rd century B.C., *χαῖρε* was often added [3], and the name began to appear in the vocative, especially if followed by an epithet, *χρηστός* or *ἄλυπος* (the latter was popular especially in Syria). Whereas *χαῖρε* was found everywhere, *εὐψύχ(ε)ι* was mainly found in Syria, and also in Egypt.[4]

It is, then, obvious that the Greek epitaphs of Rome following the pattern *Nd.*$^{voc.}$ *Accl.* were true representatives of the Attic type. It is thus no wonder that only two of the epitaphs, **2008** and **2118**, recorded dedicators. There was a minor difference, however. Whereas *χρηστὲ χαῖρε* and *ἄλυπε χαῖρε* were common elsewhere, in Rome there were only three examples of the former (**1810**, **1873**, **1953**), two of the latter (**1583**, **1902**). Other epithets were *ἀσύνκριτε* **1509**, *?ἄωρε* **2008**, *κομψέ* **1730**, *πανάρετε* **2098**, *γλυκυτάτη* **1699**.

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[1] See G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* I (Roma 1857—61), p. cx f.

[2] There is no up-to-date and exhaustive monograph on Greek epitaphs. The best treatment is still Loch, »Griech. Grabschr.», *Festschrift Friedländer*, printed 1895. For the epitaphs of Attica, cf. the same author's *De Titulis Graecis sepulcralibus*, diss., Regimonti 1890, for those of Asia Minor, Stemler, *Kleinas. Grabinschr.*, printed 1909.

[3] Loch, »Griech. Grabschr.», *Festschrift Friedländer*, p. 279 f.

[4] As examples of the popularity of the pattern *Nd.*$^{voc.}$ *Accl.*, we may mention the epitaphs from Antioch (*IGLS* 750—988), and the Egyptian material recorded by *Sammelb.* At Antioch, the pattern was followed in almost every epitaph, c. 105 examples in all, the most usual acclamations being *ἄλυπε χαῖρε* (c. 70 cases), *εὐψύχι* (27 cases), and *εὐψύχι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* (six cases). In Egypt, the pattern was followed in 221 out of 585 cases, that is, in 2/5. *Εὐψύχι* was found in c. 60 cases, *χαῖρε* in most of the remaining examples.

Since the epitaphs following the vocative pattern were but slightly affected by the Latin epitaphic style, it is possible that the persons commemorated in them were to a preponderant extent non-Romans and that for the most they were born in those parts of the Greek world where the Attic epitaphic type was in use.[1]

We next turn to the accusative pattern, e.g. **1477**: *Εὐμέλι ζήσαις / Μ. Αὐρήλιον / Σατουρνεῖνον / τὸν λαμπρότατ(ον) / Σεπτίμιος / Ἑρμῆς θρέψας* (the last word is here the equivalent of a noun, »foster-parent«). The accusative pattern was not very common in Rome, only ten examples or 2 % of the total. Because the name of the deceased is the object here, the subject cannot well have been omitted, and dedicators are in fact recorded in all but **1632**: *Ζωσίμην / ἐτῶν ιη'*.[2] A verb is expressed in only one case, *ἔθηκαν* **1676**, in all the others it is omitted.

The pattern *Nded. Nd.*$^{acc.}$ was not unusual in the Greek epitaphs of the Asiatic type. It was found in the south and the east of Asia Minor, especially in Isauria and Cilicia, and in Thessaly it was almost universally adhered to in epitaphs recording dedicators. Verbs of dedication were rare, only in Isauria were *κοσμέω* and *ἀνίστημι* found in a considerable number of cases.[3] The accusative was probably due to an imitation of honorary inscriptions, in which it was the normal case.

No similar use can be found in Latin. There were occasional accusatives in honorary inscriptions, but this was an imitation of Greek, attested by the fact that the accusatives were found in the East or in bilingual inscriptions.[4] In the whole of *CIL* VI, I have found only two epitaphs in which the deceased's name was set in the accusative, 19029: *Gentius / Superam uxorem / rari exempli feminam*, and 34876: *Ti. Claudiu / Ti.l. Faustum / vix. ann. XXXV*, but the latter epitaph seems corrupt. This use of the accusative can only be due to Greek influence. In Christian epitaphs, accusatives were certainly more numerous, but were mostly exclamatory, e.g. *ICVR* 7664: *in pace / Iulianum / v(ixit) a(nnis) XXXIII*; 2910: *Theseum / in pacem*.

The accusative pattern was, then, still more genuinely Greek than was the vocative. Making allowances for the paucity of the examples, the in-

[1] There is little direct evidence to bear this out, however. Six of the persons were put down as strangers, and came from widely different parts of the ancient world, Bosporus **1825**, Ilium **1898**, Argos **1873**, Massilia **1884**, Rhegium **1997**, Tyndaris **1887**. There was a freedwoman, **1907**, and a slave, **1739**.

[2] If an acclamation had followed, the accusative could have been classed as »exclamatory«. In Greek epigraphy, exclamatory accusatives were sometimes found, probably in imitation of Latin, e.g. *Sammelb.* 321: *Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Παντάγαθον εὐψύχι*, and 5725: *Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἀίμνηστον* etc., 11 other epithets, *εὐψύχει*. Latin names suggest Latin influence here.

[3] In *SEG* VI 456—549 (Isauria), there were 13 cases of *κοσμέω* and 17 of *ἀνίστημι*.

[4] E.g. *CIL* III 90, 252, 375 etc.; VI 374 = **987** (bilingual) etc.

frequency of the dedication to *Manes* (only two cases, **1676** and **1707**) implies that Latin influence was here slight. Yet there is an instance of rather subtle Latin influence. In Latin epitaphs, the name of the defunct was usually set at the beginning, a word denoting relationship following the name of the dedicator, as a rule in the dative. The pattern was thus *Nd.*$^{dat./gen./nom.}$ *Nded. R*$^{dat.}$ Such a construction was unknown in the Greek epigraphy of Greece and the East. Now a few of the Greek epitaphs of Rome which set the name in the accusative, observed a similar pattern, e.g. **2091**: *Φλαουίαν Αὐ/ρηλίαν Μα/καρίαν φίλαν/δρον γυναῖκα / Αὐρήλιος Ὑγει/νιανὸς γλυκυ/τάτῃ συμβίῳ.* (**1833** is a further example). Other instances of a similar construction will come up later on.

As to the origin of the people mentioned in the epitaphs of the accusative pattern, the examples are too few to justify drawing conclusions. But it is worthy of notice that a number of the epitaphs seem to be rather late. The lack of the praenomen is significant (**1487**, **1676**, **1707**, **1833**), and so is the frequency of the nomen *Αὐρήλιος* (**1487**, **1707**, **2091**). Moreover, in two epitaphs, **1477** and **1487**, one finds the term *λαμπρότατος* = *clarissimus*, which did not come in use until the second century A.D. (*Thes.l.L.* III col. 1275, 9), The former example, cited in full on p. 19, is probably from the third century A.D., for in addition to the term *λαμπρότατος*, one finds there a typical detached signum, *Εὐμέλι ζήσαις*, and such signa did not come in use until the turn of the second/third centuries A.D.[1]

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The study of the nominative, genitive, and dative patterns is complicated by the fact that Latin epitaphs were constructed in a similar way. Tables two and three, p. 8, show that the nominative was twice so common in the Latin as in the Greek material: 385 (33 %) and 84 (16.5 %) cases, respectively. Ages and dedicators were recorded less often than in the other groups, and the dedication to *Manes* was below the average both in Latin and in Greek epitaphs.

Despite all this similarity, the Greek epitaphs of the nominative pattern cannot be simply stated to have been modelled upon the Latin. In Latin epitaphs from Rome, the nominative, on a whole, represented an older stratum than the other patterns. In the oldest Latin epitaphs, in those found at Praeneste (*CIL* I: 2^2 64—337, from the third/second centuries B.C.), as well as in the material from the vineyard of *S. Caesarius* (*ibid.* 1015—1201, from the first half of the first century B.C.), simple nominatives, interspersed with occasional genitives, were the prevailing form. Genitives became com-

[1] *Onomastic Studies*, p. 34 f.

moner, and datives began to appear, only during the first century B.C., together with the introduction of additional elements, the recording of dedicators and of ages etc. In our material from *CIL* VI, the relative infrequency of additional elements, especially of the most recent addition, the dedication to *Manes*, suggests that the bulk of the epitaphs of the nominative pattern were of an earlier date than most other epitaphs. In the Greek epitaphs of the Attic type, the nominative was, however, popular down to the end of antiquity. The citizens of Athens used it to the exclusion of other forms, but it was common in other regions, also. In the Egyptian material of *Sammelb.*, 585 epitaphs, the nominative was found in more than half of the cases, and the largest single group, 166 epitaphs, observed the pattern $Nd.^{nom.}$ *A*. Because they record ages, these epitaphs date from the Imperial times.

If we, then, think the nominative pattern of the Greek epitaphs of Rome to be an imitation of Latin models, a considerable number of them must be early. There are, to be sure, such cases; **1737** = *CIL* I: 2^2 1045: *Καρνεάδ(ης) / πρὸ εἰδῶν δ' / Μαρτίων*, found in *vinea S. Caesarii*, is from the first half of the first century B.C. This epitaph observes the same pattern as the Latin epitaphs of the same origin, down to the abbreviation of the name.[1] The Latin epitaphs of *vinea S. Caesarii* also gave the month and day of the burial, as did the Greek epitaph. The close imitation of the Latin models here was due to the fact that the funerary urns of this vineyard formed a closed and uniform group.

There were other instances of Latin influence. In addition to the dedication to *Manes* and the recording of age, the recording of dedicators was a Latin feature; the nominative was not used in the Asiatic type of Greek epitaphs. Moreover, the characteristic Latin pattern, $Nd.^{nom.}$ *Nded.* $R^{dat.}$ was sometimes followed; cf. e.g., these Latin and Greek epitaphs, *CIL* VI 24852: *DM / Q. Postumius / Apollinaris / vixit annis VIII / m. VIII d. VII oris V / Pontia Atticilla / mater piissima / filio b.m.f.*, and **1919**: *ΘΚ / Οὐρβᾶνα ἔζησ(εν) ἔτη / δ' μῆν(ας) ς' ἡμέρ(ας) ιη' / Οὐρβικὸς καὶ Νίκη / γονεῖς τέκνῳ γλυ/κυτάτῳ ἐποίησαν.*

However, genuinely Greek features were equally significant. In no less than 26 out of 84 cases, the nominative depends upon a verb denoting »to rest», e.g., *ἐνθάδε κεῖται* **1475**, **1529**, *ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι* **1465**, **1575**, *ἐνθάδε κείμεθα* **1586**, **1874**. Less frequent expressions were *ἐνθάδε ναίει* **1625**, *ἐνθάδε τέθαπ[ται]* **1766**, *ὧδε τέθαπται* **1837**, *ὧδε ἀναπάεται* **1717**. In most pagan examples, the subject precedes the verb. *Ἐνθάδε κεῖται* etc., put at the beginning, was a distinctively Christian feature of a late

[1] In the text of KAIBEL, the abbreviation *Καρνεαδ.* has been erroneously interpreted as a vocative *Καρνεάδ(α)*. Vocatives were unusual save in acclamations.

date.[1] Latin had corresponding expressions, *hic situs | sepultus | conditus est*, see DESSAU III: 2 p. 944 f. In Rome, similar expressions did not, however, equal the Greek material in frequency, for *CIL* VI 24321—26321 has only 19 of them, the total of nominatives being 385. The phrases denoting »to rest» were thus a Greek peculiarity: an imitation of the diction of epigrams, where *ἐνθάδε κεῖται* had been a stock expression since the 6th century B.C.[2] The phrase was not as popular in Greece proper and the East as in Rome. I have counted ten cases among the 2050 Imperial prose epitaphs from Attica in *IG* III: 2.[2] The high Roman frequency may have been due to the fact that imitation of poetic diction was particularly common in Rome where Greek epigrams were so numerous, cf. p. 6.

The g e n i t i v e was not very frequent in the Greek epitaphs of Rome, only 20 cases or 4 %, the Latin frequency being 182 or 15 % of the total.

In the genitive pattern, one must distinguish two totally different groups, those in which the genitive depends upon a dedication to *Manes*, and those in which it is governed by a noun denoting »tomb» or the like, either expressed or understood. According to Table four, seven of the Greek and no less than 114 of the Latin genitives belonged to the former group. As stated p. 11, *Manes* and its Greek equivalents implied here the soul of a deceased person. These genitives naturally followed Latin models very closely, and the peculiar Latin construction, *D Nd.*$^{gen.}$ *Nded. R*$^{dat.}$ was observed in three cases, e.g. **1897**: *ΘΚ | 'Ονησίμου, ἐποι|ήση Αἰλία 'Ολυμ|πιὰς ἀγαθῷ | συμτρόφῳ* (other examples, **1958**, **1959**).

There remained 13 Greek and 68 Latin epitaphs following the regular genitive pattern. In four Greek cases, the genitive was governed by a noun, *μνεία* **1740**, **1741** (»a monument»), **1847** (»memory»), and *τάφος* **1515**. The genitive was followed by *μνησθείς* in **1748**, an epithet of the dedicator. In eight cases, then, the genitive was used absolutely, e.g. **1675**: *Γ. 'Ιουλίου | Βάσσου | ῥήτορος*, a contemporary of Seneca the elder, see *RE* X col. 178; cf. col 180, 47. In this and similar cases, the genitive implied that the deceased was the possessor of the tomb.

The genitive had been in use in Latin epitaphs from the beginning, but it was not unknown in Greek epigraphy, although its frequency was much lower. Among c. 2050 epitaphs from Imperial Athens, only 13 have the names in the genitive, and in seven of them, the genitive depended upon a

[1] I have counted 65 examples in *ICVR* I—III. A late date is argued by the frequency of the expression in St. Paul's cathedral (32 cases) and by the lack of it in Domitilla's catacomb. The former was a late burial place, whereas the catacomb of Domitilla fell into desuetude at the beginning of the fifth century.'*Ενθάδε κεῖται Nd.*$^{nom.}$ was a late Christian pattern elsewhere too, e.g. in Phrygia, see W. M. CALDER, *MAMA* I p. xxi. The Latin equivalent of the formula, *hic requiescit* etc. *Nd.*$^{nom.}$ was likewise Christian and late, see G. B. DE ROSSI, *op. cit.* (p. 18, fn. 1), p. cxi.

[2] W. PEEK, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I (Berlin 1955), pp. 83—119.

noun.[1] In the Egyptian material of *Sammelb.*, there are 22 genitives, many of them governed by a noun denoting »sepulchre». In Asia Minor, the genitive was also found, but was seldom used absolutely.[2]

The foregoing makes it likely that whereas the genitives which were governed by a noun or by the participle *μνησθείς* may have followed Greek models, the cases in which a genitive was used absolutely, as well as those in which it was determined by a dedication to *Manes*, may have been modelled largely upon Latin epitaphs.

In the great majority of cases — 70.5 % — the name of the defunct was set in the d a t i v e. This was due primarily to the fact that if dedicators were recorded — and 72 % of the Greek epitaphs did so — »to erect a tombstone to someone» normally required a dative. A comparison of Tables two and three shows that in Latin epitaphs the dative was much less frequent though the frequency of dedicators was only a little lower than in the Greek material, — 52 %, as against 64 %. The lower frequency of the dative was due to the fact that in a large number of Latin epitaphs the deceased's name was set in the genitive after *DM*, even if dedicators were recorded.

Nded. Nd.$^{dat.}$ was the standard pattern of the Asiatic variety of Greek epitaphs, too, and the epitaphs of Phrygia, for instance, follow it with deadly monotony. Both in Asia Minor and in Rome, a minor element found in almost every epitaph of the above pattern was *μνίας / μνείας / μνήμης χάριν*, a statement that the stone had been raised to preserve the memory of the dead. There were variations of the expression. *Χάριν αἰωνίου μνήμης* **1690**, and *ὑπὲρ αἰωνίας μνείας* **2095**, put special emphasis upon the idea. The preposition *ἕνεκα* was used in some cases, *μνείας ἕνεκα* **1523**, **1657**, *μνήμης ἕνεκε/κα* **1679**, **1772**, and *μνήμης εἵνεκεν* **1536**, a poetic expression. A corresponding phrase is sometimes found in Latin epitaphs, but it is so rare that its Greek origin is easily seen.[3]

The above might lead to the conclusion that the Greek-speaking population of Rome had for the most part observed the A s i a t i c e p i t a p h i c t y p e. Considering that Asia Minor had contributed the largest single contingent of foreigners to Rome (see p. 2), this seems only natural. However, on closer scrutiny, L a t i n c o n t r i b u t i o n appears no less significant.

First, such standard Latin features as the dedication to *Manes* and the recording of age were commoner in the dative than in the other groups (see Table two). Again, in 29 epitaphs the name of the deceased was set in

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[1] E.g. *τόπος* 6153A, 6865 etc., *μνῆμα* 10934, *τάφος* 11265, *θήκη* 12595.

[2] In *MAMA* VI, for instance, there is only one example of a genitive used absolutely, 57: *Γαίου Σεξτίου / Συμμάχου. ζῆ. / χαῖρε.*

[3] *CIL* VI has seven of them, *memoriae causa* 15191, 26726 etc., *ob memoriam* 37540, *propter me[moriam]* 8860.

the dative, though no dedicators were recorded, e.g. **1438**: *Τῇ / γλυκυτάτῃ/ Ἀτταλιανῇ*. There were 31 similar cases in *CIL* VI 24321—26321. Such a use of the dative pattern was certainly a Latin peculiarity; the few examples in the Greek epigraphy of the East are but exceptions to the rule.[1]

Even in the epitaphs which also recorded dedicators, it is possible to detect some subtle Latin influence.

In Asia Minor, the names of the dedicators were almost invariably put first, the pattern being *Nded. Nd.*$^{dat.}$ Among the considerable number of Phrygian epitaphs, I have found only eight in which the order is *Nd.*$^{dat.}$ *Nded.*, e.g. *MAMA* I 282, V 92, VI 26; 123. VI 202 is, perhaps characteristically, bilingual, Latin and Greek. In Rome, half of the Greek epitaphs of the dative pattern which recorded dedicators, 157 out of a total of 321, observed the order *Nd.*$^{dat.}$ *Nded.*, e.g. **1406**: *Γαίῳ Ἀουιδίῳ / Κλεινίᾳ συν/βίωι γλυκυτά/τωι Σωτηρίς*. This must have been due to Latin influence, for in Latin epitaphs, the deceased's name was usually put first. In *CIL* VI 24321—26321, there were, in epitaphs with *DM*, 155 cases in which the name followed, and 330 in which it preceded that of the dedicator. Latin honorary inscriptions may have served as a model here.[2] It is also possible, however, that the order depended upon the dedication of a tomb *Dis Manibus* and the dead person; cf. the two Greek epitaphs in which the dedication to *ΘΚ* and *Nd.*$^{dat.}$ were connected by *καί* p. 12. This minor point of word order illustrates the extent to which the Greek epitaphic style of Rome had been influenced by the Latin environment.

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The discussion has shown that almost all the different Greek epitaphic traditions were represented on the Greek gravestones of Rome. The influence of the Latin epitaphic style was most conspicuous in the dedication to *Manes*, a feature unknown in Greece and the East. The high frequency of the recording of age, and in particular the exactness of the records, also attest Latin influence. On the other hand, the recording of dedicators was common to Latin and to the Asiatic variety of Greek epitaphs.

If dedicators were mentioned, the deceased's name was usually set in the dative. There were, however, a few examples of a peculiarly Greek construction with the name in the accusative. The frequency of the dative pattern was lower in Latin epitaphs because following a dedication to

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[1] *MAMA* VI 295: *Ἐγνατίω / Ῥάπωνι* is the only example so far in the Phrygian material recorded in *MAMA*, and characteristically enough, the man bore Latin names.

[2] On Latin honorary inscriptions, the name of the person honoured was put first, in general in the dative, see CAGNAT, *Epigr. Latine*, p. 259.

Manes, the deceased's name was much oftener in the genitive in Latin than in Greek epitaphs.

If dedicators were not mentioned, the deceased's name was usually in the nominative both in Greek and in Latin epitaphs, but other cases might also be used. The genitive, not governed by a noun, and the dative were due to Latin influence, whereas the vocative, governed by an acclamation, was peculiarly Greek, characteristic of the Attic type.

Even if a Greek epitaph followed a genuinely Greek pattern, it might have Latin features, such as the name of the deceased followed by that of the dedicator and by a word denoting relationship.

A consequence of the interplay of different Greek and of Latin epitaphic traditions was the fact that the Greek epitaphs of Rome presented a m o t l e y p i c t u r e. This was in sharp contrast to the Greek epigraphy in Greece and the East, where the same pattern might be followed within a region with so little variation that other patterns seem exceptions to the rule.[1]

RELATIONSHIP OF DEDICATORS AND DECEASED

In the table below, dedicators and deceased are tabulated according to their r e l a t i o n s h i p. The total of the cases (471) surpasses that in Table two (360) on account of the fact that a number of gravestones recorded the deaths of more than one person. Moreover, whereas only undamaged inscriptions could be used in drawing up the former table, fragmentary cases, provided they mentioned the dedicators, were included here. To increase my material, I have also included the material from the epigrams. On the other hand, all cases recording the building of a sepulchral monument for persons still living have been excluded.

It was a peculiarity of ancient epitaphs, at least of those of Rome, that in the great majority of cases, only o n e m e m b e r o f a f a m i l y

T a b l e 7. *Dedicators and deceased in the Greek epitaphs of Rome*

Dedicators	parents		children			husband	wife	brother/ sister		others
Deceased	son	daugh.	fa.	mo.	both	wife	husb.	br.	sis.	
	105	43	6	14	3	96	50	26	8	120[2]

[1] Cf. *MAMA* VII 499, on account of an epitaph with the name of the deceased in the accusative: »The accusative (characteristic of Lycaonia and common in Northern Galatia) violates the usage of Eastern Phrygia.»

[2] In this category, I have also included all unspecified dedications and all fragmentary cases. It may be worth noticing that c. 40 of the »others» were nurslings and foster-parents.

was mentioned as a dedicator, parent(s), child(ren), husband, wife, brother, sister. In my Greek material from Rome, there are only 11 cases in which more than one member is recorded as a dedicator, a child and the husband or wife, **1532**, **1543**, **1573**, **1756**, **1876**, **1900**, **2093**, a parent and brother **1327**, **1868**, a brother and the husband **1995**. It is possible that the etiquette of the cemeteries required the gravestone to be dedicated by the nearest surviving member of a family, even if other relatives were alive. Thus **1698**, a husband raises a memorial to his wife, calling her *μήτηρ ἱππικῶν*, mother of Roman knights. The sons were obviously still living, but were not mentioned as co-dedicators. Since the surviving spouse and not the children customarily dedicated the stone, the curious disproportion between children and parents buried (148 children and 23 parents) finds a partial explanation.

According to the table, there were twice so many sons as daughters, and three times so many brothers as sisters. Such disproportions can be explained in different ways. Daughters may have been exposed at birth more often than sons, the result being that there were fewer daughters and sisters in the population than could be expected.[1] It is also possible, however, that the deaths of daughters and sisters were treated as less important than those of sons and brothers, and were consequently less often recorded by drawing up an epitaph.

A still more remarkable point which emerges from the above table is the fact that the epitaphs of mothers and wives greatly outnumber those of fathers and husbands. The proportion is 14 + 96 / 6 + 50, that is, almost 2: 1. This is all the more curious inasmuch as husbands in general die before their wives; their epitaphs should therefore outnumber those of wives.

Before going any further, I shall give the corresponding tables for the Latin epitaphs of Rome and for the Phrygian material:

Table 8. *Dedicators and deceased in CIL VI 24321—26321*

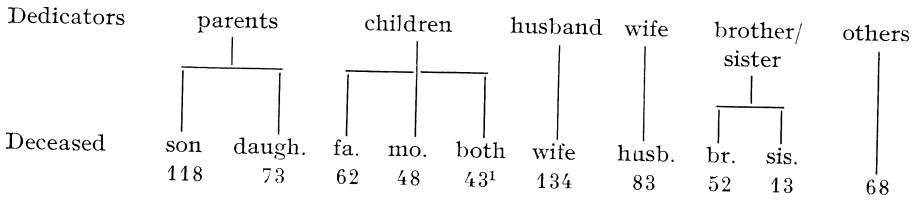
Dedicators	parents		children			husband	wife	brother/ sister		others
Deceased	son	daugh.	fa.	mo.	both	wife	husb.	br.	sis.	
	193[2]	100	28	40	8	209	108	28	12	238[3]

[1] For the Roman practice of exposing female children, see DAREMBERG—SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* II: 1, p. 939; FRANK, »Race Mixture», *AHR* 1915/16, p. 703.

[2] FRANK, »Race Mixture», *AHR* 1915/16, p. 703, gives the percentage of sons as 62.3 % in a count made in 19.000 Roman epitaphs. In my table, the percentage is 65.8 %. The slight difference can be put down to the smaller extent of my material.

[3] Among »others», patrons and freedmen were particularly numerous.

Table 9. *Dedicators and deceased in Phrygian epitaphs*



The tables show that whereas in all three groups sons and brothers outnumbered daughters and sisters, there was considerable difference between Roman and Phrygian epitaphs in regard to the recording of the deaths of mothers and wives, fathers and husbands. On the Latin gravestones of Rome, as represented by my material, the proportion of mothers + wives / fathers + husbands was 40 + 209 / 28 + 108, much the same as in the Greek material, whereas the corresponding Phrygian figures were 48 + 134 / 62 + 83, that is, 2: 1.6. Though wives still outnumbered husbands in Phrygian epitaphs, the disproportion is here easier to account for than in Rome. If we include 20 cases in which the children and the wife dedicate a gravestone, and 52 cases in which a husband, dedicating a gravestone to his wife, makes known that he has built the tomb for himself, too, the number of husbands deceased rises to 155. The corresponding figures for women — five and 31 — raise their frequency to 170. There was still disproportion, but in Asia Minor, the extensive practice of building a sepulchre b e f o r e one's own death complicated matters; in these cases, no new epitaph was attached to the tomb at death, cf. p. 7.

I n R o m e, the number of epitaphs dedicated by wife and children is too small to help us to solve the mystery — four in the Greek, 12 in the Latin material. The building of sepulchres before one's own death must certainly be taken into account, but this practice was not so common in Rome as it was in Asia Minor. Moreover, Roman epitaphs of that type usually listed a considerable number of persons, all of whom, presumably, were still living. If these cases were included, they would add equally to each category — husbands, wives, children, etc. Dedications by a husband of a tomb to his wife, already dead, and to himself were not very frequent — in my Greek material only **1488**, **1513***a*, ?**1713**; but dedications by a wife to her dead husband and to herself were equally numerous, **1419**, **1838**, **1958**. The disproportion cannot, then, be explained this way.

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[1] Since it is unlikely that so large a percentage of parents had died simultaneously, it is probable that the one parent had died and been buried earlier but that the epitaph had been drawn up only after the death of the surviving spouse; cf. *MAMA* VII 146: a man dedicates a gravestone to his son and *τοῖς προκατοιχομένοις Κασσίᾳ μ[η]τρὶ καὶ πατρὶ Τατα [μ]νήμης χάριν*.

I think the only explanation is that even in those classes who could afford it, a death and burial were not always commemorated with an epitaph. The deaths of daughters and sisters, as suggested above, may have been treated as less important than those of sons and brothers. But, admittedly, the low frequency of fathers and husbands remains something of a mystery, and a far more comprehensive study, which would take into account the archeological material, also, is necessary to clear it up.

WORDS AND PHRASES USED IN DEDICATION

In Greek epitaphs, it was not necessary to use a verb denoting the act of dedication or a noun qualifying the object dedicated. In the Greek epitaphs of Rome, a verb of dedication without an object is found in 130 cases, an object without a verb in five cases, and the combination noun + verb in 24 cases, 159 examples in all, a little less than half of the epitaphs which recorded dedicators (360).

If only a verb was used, a noun denoting »sepulchre», »gravestone» or »epitaph» must have been understood as an object. In Asia Minor, the verb mostly used was *ἀνίστημι* (*MAMA* VII p. 156). This verb was very rare in Rome, however, the only case in my material being **1709**. The most popular verb was *ποιέω*, 111 examples. As *fecit* was the commonest Latin verb of dedication in Rome, it is not impossible that *ποιέω* owed its popularity to Latin influence. Other verbs of dedication were *ἀνατίθημι* eight cases, *τίθημι* **1323**, **1459**, **1723**, *προτίθημι* **1891**, *ἐντέλλω* *SEG* IV 113, *κατασκευάζω* **2097**. In three epitaphs, **1317**, **1332**, **1811**, a verb denoting the actual engraving, *ἐπιγράφω*, had been used. There are only two examples of a verb denoting »to bury», **1413**, **1676**, *τίθημι* in both. The names of the dead were naturally set in the accusative. In the former epitaph, we also have an object without a verb, the structure being *D Nd.*$^{dat.}$*Nded.* *τὴν καμάραν* (epithets) *ἔθηκα τὸν ἀδελφόν κτλ.*

The other cases of objects without verbs were *τὴν σορόν* **1452**, *τὸ ἡρῷον* **1759**, *τὸν βωμόν* **1987**. In **1342**: *τὴν κοῦπαν σὺν τῷ τίτλῳ*, both *κοῦπα* = *cupa* and *τίτλος* = *titulus* were Latin loan-words. The former was rare in Greek, and has not been registered in LIDDELL-SCOTT; the latter will be discussed below.

In the combinations noun + verb, the nouns usually denote a sepulchral monument, *μνημεῖον* being the most common of them, seven examples in all.[1] The phrases *μνείαν ἐποίησαν* **1741**, and *μνείαν — τήνδ[ε] ἠτέλεσ(σαν)*,

[1] Other cases, *τύμβον ἀνέστησα / ἔτευξεν* **1927**, *SEG* XVII 474, *τὸν τόπον ἐποίησεν* **1507**, *τὴν μουσόπλαστον λάρνακα ἐποιήσατο* **1347**, *ἠγόρακα σαρκοφάγο(ν)* **1472**, *τάφος — — ὅν ἐκήδευσεν* **1515**, *κατεσκεύασαν τὸ μνῆμα* **2079**.

1470, which fully correspond to the Latin *memoriam fecit*, »made a sepulchral monument», are probably loan translations. I have not found another instance of *μνεία* in this meaning, but *μνήμη* was thus used in some late epitaphs.[1] Two facts argue for this meaning of *μνεία/μνήμη* being due to Latin influence. First, *memoriam fecit* was of so considerable a frequency in Latin epitaphs that it could not escape notice. Again, the specific meaning of *memoria*, »a monument», could easily be taken over by Greek, the usual meanings of *μνεία/μνήμη* and *memoria* being the same, »memory». There were also nouns denoting a gravestone, *στήλη* **1431**, **1660**, **1749**, **1993**, the verbs used with it varying, and an inscribed stone, *τίτλον ἔθηκεν* **1635**, *τίτλον ἐποίησεν* **1639**, **1812**. That *τίτλος*, a Latin loan-word, was used both in Rome and in Asia Minor [2] is not surprising, for it had a more precise meaning than *στήλη*. Greek had, in fact, to resort to a paraphrase like *τὴν στήλην — σὺν ἐπιγραφῇ*, *MAMA* I 308, to express the same thing.

In Greek epitaphs, the motives for dedicating a gravestone were often specified. In the prose epitaphs of the Asiatic type, it was almost invariably *μνήμης χάριν*, an expression which I have already discussed, p. 23. But there were other expressions, too. An adverb might be employed to tell us that the stone had been erected because of the merits of the deceased, *ἀξίως*, *καλῶς ἐποίησεν*, **2009**, **1555**. Again, some outstanding quality of the defunct might be singled out and coupled with the standard phrase, *μνήμης χάριν καὶ φιλανδρίας* **2051**, to a wife, *μνείας χάριν καὶ εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ εὐνοίας πάσης* **1413**, to a brother. But the standard phrase could be dropped, *εὐσεβείας χάριν* **1993**, **2121**, included in epitaphs of wifes, *διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτῆς*, *σωφροσύνης χάριν* **1709**, **2095**, epitaphs of wives. In **1470**: *μνείαν — ἠτέλεσ(σαν) υἱοὶ στοργῆς χάριν*, both *ἠτέλεσ(σαν)* and *στοργή* smack of poetic diction. **2025**, the epitaph of a freedwoman, does not record a dedicator, but the words *διὰ τρόπους*, that is, »because of her good manners», imply a husband or a patron as the dedicator.

The phrases of the above type were genuinely Greek; Latin had only meagre equivalents, e.g. *ob merita*, *CIL* VI 25830, cf. 26094. In Phrygia, similar expressions were still commoner than in Rome, *φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκεν* heading the list with eight examples.[3] The model for the expressions may be found in honorary inscriptions, where motives were regularly announced in a similar way.[4]

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[1] *MAMA* VII p. 156, three Christian examples. LIDDELL-SCOTT, sub *μνήμη*, records an example of *μνήμη* = *μνῆμα* from Rome.

[2] *MAMA* VII p. 156 f., 26 examples, mostly Christian.

[3] Other expressions: *καλοκαγαθίας ἕνεκεν — διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνδρίαν καὶ εὐταξίαν MAMA* I 308, *μνήμης καὶ εὐνοί[α]ς χάριν* V 25, *περί τε φιλαν[δρίας] καὶ σωφροσὺν[ης καὶ εὐ]τεκνίας* V 81, *[δι]ὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔ[ν]ο[ι]αν* V 279, *ἕνεκον φιλανδρίας καὶ οἰκοδεσποσύνης* VI 194, *κύδου[ς [ἕ]νεκκε* VII 57, *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκε* VII 275.

[4] LARFELD, *Gr. Epigr.*, p. 438 f.

FORMULAS OF DEATH

It was a characteristic of pagan epitaphs that formulas of death were rare. In the Greek epitaphs of Rome, there is only one predicate of »dying», *ἀπέδωκεν* **1587**, probably short for *ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα*, cf. KAIBEL, *ad loc.* There is a similar expression in **1702**: *ἀποδοὺς τὸ δάνειον τῆς ζόης*, but this is poetic. Formulas of death, especially predicates denoting »he/she died», were a distinctively Christian feature. I have counted c. 40 such cases in the Greek material of *ICVR* I—III, with *ἐτελεύτησεν* and *ἐκοιμήθη* heading the list.[1] There were, however, a few participles in the pagan material, *τελευτήσας* **2057**, *κατοιχόμενος/μένη* **1408**, **2103**. *D Nd.*[dat.] *κοπιάσαντι ἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία Nded.* **1811**, is one of those epitaphs which have been claimed pagan by some, Christian by the others. According to SILVAGNI in *ICVR* 4021, the phrase implies that the deceased (the husband) had been a gravedigger in the catacomb in which he was buried. But because the dedicatory formula *ΘK* is dimly visible in the first line, the epitaph is probably pagan. *Ταῦτα τὰ χωρία* simply means the actual burial-place: »he has come to rest here». Finally, there is a stone giving the date of death, a rare feature in pagan epigraphy outside of Egypt, *[ἀποθ]ανόντι ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου κτλ.* **1760**. The stone is not Roman, however; it had probably been brought there from Asia Minor, see KAIBEL, *ad loc.*

EPITHETS AND SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS

Epithets, usually given to the dead persons, rarely to the dedicators, were an outstanding feature of Greek and Latin epigraphy. Most persons had only one epitaph, but two or three or even more might be combined, e.g. *τῇ ἰδίᾳ συμβίωι ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἀσυνκρίτῳ καὶ μόνῃ φιλάνδρῳ καὶ φιλανθρόποι SEG* XVII 468. Adverbial expressions were often used instead of, or in addition to, epithets, e.g. *[ἀνδρὶ] κλυκυτάτῳ καὶ ἀσυνκρίτῳ, ζήσασα σὺν αὐτῷ σεμνῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως* **1734**. The table below tabulates the material obtained from the Greek and Latin epitaphs of Rome and from Phrygian inscriptions. Epithets found in epigrams have been excluded, whereas those found in epitaphs recording the building of a sepulchre for living persons have been included.

A rough estimate of the frequency of epithets in each group can be made by comparing the total of epithets with the number of epitaphs, c. 800 Greek and 2000 Latin epitaphs from Rome, c. 1750 epitaphs from Phrygia

[1] For Christian formulas of death in Latin inscriptions, see NORDBERG, *Biometrical Notes*, p. 49 ff.

Table 10. *Epithets in the epitaphs of Rome and Phrygia*

	Rome, Greek	*CIL VI* 24321—26321	Phrygia
simple epithets	192	693	181
double »	21	117	9
triple »	4	11	—
more than three	1	4	—
total of persons having epithets	218	825	190

(*MAMA* I; V—VII), not all of them, however, pagan. By far the greatest frequency is thus found in the Latin material from Rome. Double and triple epithets were also more numerous in this than in the other groups.

This higher Latin frequency is symptomatic of the greater importance of epithets in Latin epigraphy. Epithets were found in Latin inscriptions as early as the republic, and conglomerations of them were already usual.[1] In Greek epitaphs of the Attic type, that is, almost everywhere save in Northern Greece and Asia Minor, epithets were common only in acclamations, χρηστός and ἄλυπος being the most popular of them, see p. 18. In Egypt, however, double, triple and even quadruple epithets were frequent in acclamations, but even here, little variation is observable in the choice of epithets.[2] In the Asiatic type, epithets were not included in acclamations, but their frequency, as the Phrygian material reveals, did not equal that of typical Latin epitaphs. Though the Greek epitaphs of Rome did not contain such a multitude of epithets as the Latin, they were nevertheless much more frequent than in Asia Minor. Conceding the relatively high social status of the people recorded in the Greek epitaphs of Rome, one may conclude with a fair amount of certainty that Latin environment contributed to the popularity of epithets in the Greek epitaphs of Rome.

It has been suggested that the epithets given the dead might throw light upon the ancient conceptions of virtues, the epithets most often used indicating the qualities most admired.[3] With due consideration for the highly stereotyped nature of epithets, there may be some truth in this. But before discussing the problem, I shall give, in an alphabetical order, all the epithets found in my Greek and Latin material from Rome. As

[1] E.g. *CIL* I: 2² 1406: *femina sanctissum(a) frugi pia;* 1366: *amantissuma suis fide maxsuma pia.*

[2] *Sammelb.* 6164: ἄωρε πασίφιλε ἄλυ<πε> χρηστή χαῖρε includes the epithets most often found in Egypt.

[3] Tod, »Laudatory Epithets», *ABSA* 1951, p. 183 f.

it is important to find out what epithets were given to different members of a family, the material has been arranged in columns which give the frequencies of father and mother, son and daughter, husband and wife; all remaining cases have been included in the column for »others». This column also registers the epithets found in epitaphs not recording dedicators. All double, triple, etc., epithets have been distributed; bracketed entries refer to both parents.

The frequency of epithets of different members of a family differs to some extent. As a basis of comparison, one must take the deceased members of a family tabulated on p. 25 f. The numbers of deceased and of epithets are not, however, directly comparable, for the former tables include material obtained from epigrams, the latter epithets given to living persons by builders of sepulchres. Making allowances for all these facts, it seems that adults had more epithets than children. In the Greek group, parents, husbands and wives shared 104 epithets, the number of the dead being 169. Corresponding figures for children were 77/148. In the Latin group, the figures for adults were 500/393, for children 223/293. The disproportion is thus more remarkable in Latin epitaphs. The higher frequency of adults' epithets may have been due to the fact that adults already had more qualities and accomplishments recordable.

Epithets in the Greek epitaphs of Rome

	father	mother	son	daugh.	husb.	wife	others	total
ἀγαθός	—	—	—	—	3	2	7	12
ἀγαθώτατος	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
ἁγνός	— (1)	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
ἁγνοτάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ἀείμνηστος	—	2	—	3	—	3	1	9
ἄξιος	—	1	2	1	1	2	4	11
ἄλυπος	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
ἄμεμπτος	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
ἀμίμητος — ἀμείμητος	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ἀναμάρτητος	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ἁπλουστάτη	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
ἄριστος	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
ἀστομάχητος	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ἀσύνκριτος	—	—	2	—	3	3	3	11
ἄφθορος	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
ἄωρος	—	—	3[1]	—	—	—	—	3

[1] The dedication *ἀώροις τέκνοις* **2038**, though ambiguous, has been for convenience treated as a dedication to two sons.

Epithets in the Greek epitaphs of Rome

	father	mother	son	daugh.	husb.	wife	others	total
γλυκύτατος	1	4	34	18	16	18	21	112
ἔντιμος — ἔντειμος	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
ἐπιζήτητος	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
εὐνοήσας	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
εὐπρόσδεκτος — εὐπρόσδετος	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
εὐσεβής	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	3
εὐσεβέστατος	1	1	—	—	2	1	3	8
εὐτυχεστάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ἥρως	—	—	4	—	—	—	4	8
θαυμαστός	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
θεοφιλεστάτη	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
καλή	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
καλόμαλλος	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
κομψός	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
κυρία	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
μακαρία	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
μό[ναν]δρος	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
πανάρετος	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
πιστή	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
[πισ]τοτάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ποθεινότατος	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
σεμνή	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
σεμνοτάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
σπάταλος	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
σώφρων	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
σωφρονεστάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
τίμιος — τειμιος	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
τιμιώτατος	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	4
φίλανδρος	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
φιλάνθρ<ω>πος	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
φιλόλογος	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
φιλόστοργος	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
φίλτατος	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	3
χρηστός	—	1	1	—	1	1	4	8
χρηστοτάτη	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
ψυχή — ἀγαθή	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
ἀείμνηστος	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
ἄκακος	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
ἀσύνκριτος	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
total 52 epith.	2 (1)	10	53	24	34	57	69	250

Epithets in CIL VI 24321—26321

	father	mother		son	daugh.	husb.	wife	others	total
amantissima	—		—	—	—	—	2	—	2
anima —									
benemerens	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
dulcis	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
dulcissima	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
bona et benedicta	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
benedicta	—		—	—	1	—	1	—	2
benemerens	21	(5)	13	36	8	76	127	170	456
benemerita	—	(1)	1	—	—	—	5	1	8
bonus	1		—	—	—	—	—	—	1
cara	—		—	—	—	—	1	—	1
carissimus	4		—	21	9	24	59	23	140
castissima	—		—	—	—	—	4	—	4
desiderantissima	—		—	—	—	—	1	—	1
dignissimus	—		—	—	—	1	1	3	5
dulcis	—		—	2	—	—	—	—	2
dulcissimus	1		9	39	22	9	12	18	110
fidelis	—		—	—	—	—	1	—	1
fidelissimus	—		—	—	—	—	2	1	3
frugalissimus	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
inconparabilis	—		1	2	1	4	5	1	14
indulgentissimus	1		—	—	—	1	—	1	3
ingenuosissimus	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
innocentissima	—		—	—	—	—	2	—	2
iucundissimus	—		—	1	—	—	—	—	1
merens	—		—	—	—	—	1	1	2
merentissima	—		—	—	—	—	1	—	1
merita	—		—	—	—	—	1	—	1
obsequentissimus	—		—	—	—	—	—	1	1
optimus	1	(1)		5	2	6	24	13	52
pius	1		2	2	1	—	2	3	11
pient/pi/issimus	6	(2)	10	46	21	1	10	11	107
rara	—		1	—	—	—	—	—	1
rarissimus	1		—	2	—	—	6	1	10
sancta	—		1	—	—	—	3	—	4
sanctissimus	—	(1)	2	2	—	—	18	2	25
univira	—		—	—	—	—	2	—	2
total 33 epith.	37	(10)	40	158	65	122	291	256	979

The above lists reveal several differences between Greek and Latin epithets. In the Greek material, the number of different epithets was 52 and the number of occurrences 250, whereas the corresponding Latin figures were 33 and 979. The Greeks thus had a greater variety of epithets to choose from. Again, in the Greek material there were 15 superlatives out of a total of 52, that is, one fourth; in the Latin, 18 superlatives out of a total of 33, that is, more than a half. All this argues less conventionalism and stereotyping in the Greek than in the Latin material.

There were considerable differences in the meaning between Greek and Latin epithets. A classification of epithets is beset with difficulties and somewhat arbitrary.[1] Nevertheless, it is possible to read some facts of interest from the above lists. The larger Latin material may be taken first. A considerable number of the epithets were general laudatory terms, obvious in epitaphs mostly dedicated to members of the same family, *carissimus, dulcissimus, inconparabilis, optimus, rarissimus*. But such very frequent epithets as *benemerens (benemerita, merens, merentissima, merita)* and *pius/pientissimus* had a more precise meaning. In a characteristically Roman way, they lay emphasis upon the performance and reward of duty. The implications of *benemerens*, mostly abbreviated *b.m.*, are illustrated by a passage like *CIL* VI 26192: *cui pro meriteis ab coniuge gratia relatast;* the deceased was shown gratitude (by raising a memorial) because of her services to the dedicator. The epithet *benemerens* was a reduction of this idea to a formula; *de* was often added to make the meaning clearer, e.g. 24580: *DM / Pompiliae / Amianthi / de coiugi / benemeren/ti fecit Cae/cilius Crispi/nus* etc. The tabulation of the material reveals that *benemerens* was oftenest given by wives to husbands or by husbands to wives; in the group of the »others», it was very frequently given by freedmen to patrons or vice versa. Because the idea of doing one's duty by others was more important in these than in the other groups, one can conclude that even so frequent an epithet as *benemerens* was not given arbitrarily, but mostly with due consideration to its implications. Again, *pius/pientissimus* was mainly given to children (67 examples out of a total of 107), indicating the importance attached to filial piety among the Romans.[2]

The largest single group of the dead was that of wives, and they share more epithets than do the others. Their epithets, *amantissima, castissima, fidelis, fidelissima, innocentissima, sanctissima, univira*, emphasize tenderness, chastity, fidelity as women's virtues. Women were praised for

[1] Cf. Tod, »Laudatory Epithets», *ABSA* 1951, p. 188.

[2] That *pius/pientissimus* suggested piety towards parents etc. and not towards the gods, is brought out by the frequent addition *in suos/suis*, an expression popular especially in Baetica (*CIL* II), c. 160 examples.

similar old-fashioned virtues in verse epitaphs, also.[1] This again suggests that epithets were often nothing but reductions of generally accepted ideas to formulas.

The problems presented by the Greek material are more complicated, for here one need take into account not only typical Greek attitudes but also Latin influence. A comparison with Latin epithets and with Greek epithets uncontaminated by heavy Latin influence is thus necessary. Phrygian epithets have been examined for the latter purpose.

By far the most frequent Greek epithet in Rome is *γλυκύτατος*, 112 cases out of a total of 250. Though it fully corresponds to *dulcissimus*, it is not likely of Latin origin, for the same epithet was still more popular in Phrygia, 139 cases out of a total of c. 200 occurrences. This epithet was unknown or rare in the Attic type. In the Egyptian material of *Sammelb.*, the epithet is found four times (2480, 2482, 5188, 6702);[2] in Imperial Attica there is not a single example. Conversely, *χρηστός* and *ἄλυπος*, the most frequent epithets in the epitaphs of the Attic type, were not very popular in Rome, three and eight cases, respectively. This shows that in regard to epithets, too, Rome's Greek epitaphs belonged more to the Asiatic than to the Attic type.

Translations of Latin epithets seem to be rare. *Ἀμείμητος* **1347**, and *ἀσύνκριτος* passim, correspond to *inconparabilis*. Since no similar epithets are found in Phrygia or elsewhere, they may be due to Latin influence.[3] Like *inconparabilis*, they were mostly given to husbands and wives (eight cases out of a total of 13, the corresponding figures for *inconparabilis* being nine and 14). *Ἄξιος* seems to be a Greek equivalent of *benemerens*. But it was much less frequent, only eleven cases, as compared with 456 examples of *benemerens*. This demonstrates that the Latin influence upon the Greek epithets of Rome was not unlimited.

Numerous epithets had actually no equivalents in Latin. This is especially true in regard to the epithets which were not laudatory. Thus *ἀείμνηστος*, given almost exclusively to women,[4] *ἐπιζήτητος* **2072**, and *ποθεινότατος* **1347**, indicate the sorrow of the dedicators; *εὐτυχεστάτη* **1484** and *μακαρία* **1905**, again suggest that the deceased had led a happy life. Special attention must be paid to *ἄωρος* ?**2008**, **2038**, primarily given to children. This epithet was popular throughout Greek epigraphy.[5] Unlike

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[1] Lattimore p. 295 ff.

[2] In the last two examples, the recording of dedicators points to Roman or Asiatic influence.

[3] Cf. Tod, »Laudatory Epithets», *ABSA* 1951, p. 184 f.

[4] Including two cases in connection with *ψυχή*, there were eleven instances, but only **1364** belongs to a man.

[5] In the Attic epitaphs of the Imperial times, only *IG* III: 2² 8469; in Syria it was more frequent, *IGLS* 193, 748, 938 etc.; in Egypt, third in popularity after *χρηστός* and *ἄλυπος*. In Phrygia, it was found 26 times, second only to *γλυκύτατος*.

most Latin epithets, it strikes an elegiac note. Similar epithets were frequent in Asia Minor.[1]

As to the laudatory epithets, a few of them were general adjectives of praise, *ἀγαθός* passim,[2] *ἀγαθώτατος* **1782, 1939**, *ἀνὴρ ἄριστος* **1900**, *ἀσύγκριτος*, *γλυκύτατος*, *φίλτατος* passim. Though the Greek epithets here resembled the Latin, no reciprocal influence need be assumed. Again, the conception of women's virtues seems to have been rather similar in both Greek and Latin epitaphs. The Greek epitaphs of Rome record epithets for wives such as *ἁγνοτάτη* **1809**, *ἀναμάρτητος* **1731**, *ἀστομάχητος* **2095**, *μό[ναν]δρος* **1526**, *[πισ]τοτάτη* **1651**, *σεμνή* passim, *σεμνοτάτη* **1816**, *σώφρων* **1634**, *σωφρονεστάτη* **1490**, *φίλανδρος* *SEG* XVII 468. Chastity, fidelity, obediance were women's virtues here, too. Nevertheless, one cannot postulate any direct influence of Latin epithets upon the Greek or vice versa. The similarity of women's epithets was largely due to a similar conception of woman's role.

Otherwise, Greek and Latin laudatory epithets differed greatly in that the epithets emphasizing the doing of one's duty by others and of filial piety were rare in Greek. *Ἄξιος* was due to Latin influence and was not very frequent; *εὐσεβής/εὐσεβέστατος*, eleven cases, besides being less popular than its Latin equivalent, was not a children's epithet in the Greek epitaphs of Rome. Moreover, it may also have had religious implications, cf. **1664**: *εὐσεβὴς περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους*. Instead, Greek epithets seem to accentuate the idea of a »good man», who avoids causing unnecessary trouble to others — this is the meaning of *ἄλυπος*, so frequent in Greek epigraphy [3], one who leads a blameless and exemplary life, *ἄμεμπτος* **1639, 1859**, *εὐπρόσδετος* **1741**, *πανάρετος* **2098**, *ψυχὴ ἄκακος* **2077**, one who is wellwishing, affectionate and helpful, *εὐνοήσας* **1413**, *φιλόστοργος* **1809**, **1967**, *φιλάνθρ<ω>πος* *SEG* XVII 468, *χρηστός* passim[4], *χρηστοτάτη* **1488**, one who is uncorrupted, simple, and respectable, *ἄφθορος* **2088**, *ἁπλουστάτη* **1610**, *ἔντειμος* **1761** *τείμιος* **1577**, *τιμιώτατος* passim.

A few epithets refer to excellences other than moral. Thus *κομψός* **1730**, frequent in Egypt,[5] suggests a refinement of manners, *φιλόλογος* *SEG* IV 111, a love of learning. *Ἐν λόγοις φιλοσόφοις καὶ ἤθει θαυμαστός* **1900**, »admirable in philosophical debates and in character», is more a brief prose eulogy than an epithet proper. (Name corrupted) *καλὴ καὶ σπάταλε*,

[1] *Ἀτυχέστατος* *MAMA* VII 545, *ταχύμοιρος* VI 275, 325, *ἀγύναιος καὶ ἄτεκνος* VI 213.

[2] The epithet plays upon the deceased's name in **1319**: *Ἀγαθίαι ἀγαθῶι / τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν / τέχνην*.

[3] Tod, »Laudatory Epithets», *ABSA* 1951, p. 187; *μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς λυπηθίς* **1832**, conveys the same idea, cf. **1660**.

[4] Tod, *ibid.*, p. 186: »goodness in action», »helpfulness».

[5] *Sammelb.* 11, 5056, 6124, 6591.

εὐψύχει, οὐδεὶς [ἀθάνατος] **1984**, »fair and wanton», are somewhat unusual epithets in an epitaph, but the woman may have been a courtesan. Another example of an epithet commemorating bodily charm is *καλόμαλλος* **1476**, epithet of a boy.

It is characteristic of the lukewarm religious outlook of the Imperial times that epithets stressing the piety of the deceased were very few. *Pius/pientissimus* referred almost always, and *εὐσεβής/εὐσεβέστατος* in most cases, to dutiful behaviour towards relatives. The only example of a religious epithet in my material is *θεοφιλεστάτη* *SEG* II 525. The adjective had both a passive, »dear to the gods», and an active, »loving gods», meaning (LIDDELL-SCOTT, *s.v.*). The former meaning was more common, especially if used as an epithet, and may have been intended here.

The word *ἥρως*, though not an epithet proper, can be discussed here. The term, mostly given to sons, was primarily popular in Northern Greece.[1] Though the origin of the term is to be sought in the heroifying of the illustrious dead, on common gravestones it scarcely had a meaning other than »dead».[2] Its use was introduced into Rome by immigrants and slaves from the regions where it was popular.

In Greek epitaphs, a d v e r b s used in connection with a verb of »living», could express ideas similar to epithets.[3] The adverbs found in the Greek epitaphs of Rome, *ἀλύπως* **2086**, *ἀμέμπτως* nine cases, *ἡδέως* **1850**, *ἱλαρῶς* **1664**, *καλῶς* ten cases, *κοσμίως* **1577**, **1966**, *πιστῶς* **1709**, *σεμνῶς* **1734**, were mostly used in connection with a verb recording the length of marriage, 16 cases out of total of 26, and expressed ideas of a good and happy life similar to the epithets proper. The two latter adverbs, as is fit, refer to wives.

Epithets might belong to d e d i c a t o r s as well, though their epithets were never so frequent as those of the dead — 10 cases in my Greek, 39 in my Latin material. As I have not found similar epithets in the prose epitaphs of Asia Minor, the usage would seem to be of Roman origin. They chiefly expressed the sorrow of the p a r e n t s at the death of a child.[4] In the Latin group, *infelicissimus* heads the list with 19 examples; other, less frequent epithets were *dolentes, infelix, miser*. But the epithets might also express the a f f e c t i o n felt for the dead, and the p i e t y of the dedicators, which explains the epithets *carissimus* and *pientissimus*, four and eleven cases, respectively (none of the bearers of the epithet *carissimus*

[1] *IG* IX: 2 recods c. 65 examples only from Larisa.

[2] F. DENEKEN, Roscher's *Myth. Lexicon* I: 2, col. 2553 f.

[3] See e.g. *IG* III: 2² 10626: *<π>ρομοίρως*, 11474, 12753: *καλῶς*. *IG* IX: 2, 943 (Larisa): *καλῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως*. *BCH* 1900, p. 371 and 1901, p. 88 (Bithynia) *κοσμίως*, 1901, p. 59 *ὁσίως*. *MAMA* V 20: *ἀμένπτως*. *Sammelb.* 2033: *καλῶς*, 5760: *ἀλύπως*.

[4] In the Latin material, the dedicator is a sister in two cases, a husband or wife in three, children in two, friend or master in one case each. In the Greek material, the dedicator is a husband in **1748**, brother in **1515**, grandfather in **1487**.

is a parent). A few of the Greek epithets were close imitations of the Latin: *ἀτυχής* **1917**, *SEG* IV 111, *[ἀτ]υχέστατοι* **1499**, and *δυστυχής* **1487**, correspond to *infelix/infelicissimus*. But parents' sorrow at their bereavement was also expressed in less stereotyped forms; in **2116**, for instance, the parents call themselves *πανδάκρυτοι*, an undoubted poetic reminiscence.[1] Two epithets expressed other ideas than sheer grief, *μνησθείς* **1748**, cf. p. 22; *‹λ›οιπο‹ύ›μενοι* = *λειπόμενοι* »left behind», an epithet of parents, **2008**.

ACCLAMATIONS

Acclamations, usually addressed to the dead, sometimes to the survivors or passers-by, and normally placed at the end of an epitaph, were much commoner in Greek than in Latin epitaphs. Among 2000 epitaphs in *CIL* VI 24321—26321, there were c. 20 acclamations, among c. 800 Greek epitaphs, 77. The frequency was thus tenfold. Moreover, Greek acclamations were more original than were the Latin, where *salve, vale,* and *sit tibi terra levis,* account for most of the material.[2] Greek acclamations, usually in Greek [3] letters, less often in Latin [4], were often found on Latin gravestones. The phenomenon was due to causes similar to those of the popularity of Greek epigrams: the paucity of Latin acclamations, and the desire to display one's knowledge of Greek culture, see p. 6.

In Greek epigraphy, acclamations were especially popular in the epitaphs of the Attic type, where *χαῖρε* was a frequent addition from the third century B.C. on (see p. 18). *Χαῖρε* did not imply a simple »farewell» but a wish of well-being and rejoicing after death, cf. *χαῖρε παρὰ θεοῖς* **1856**.[5] In many cases, the acclamation was addressed by the deceased to passers-by: *χαῖρε παροδεῖτα* **1431** (there is an identical example in **1732**), *χαίρειν τοῖς ἄνω* **2083** (other examples **1372** and *SEG* IV 115). Greetings were exchanged between passers-by and the dead person, *χαίρετε* (by the dead person) *καὶ σύ* (by passers-by) *SEG* XVII 468, or between the deceased and the dedicator, *χαῖρε. καὶ σύ* **2006**; cf. **1739**, quoted p. 17.

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[1] Similar, less stereotyped epithets were *συνκαμών* **1515**, and *καὶ νέκυν στέργων* **1520**.

[2] In *CIL* I: 2^2, there are eight examples of *salve*, eight of *vale*, two of *vale salve* or *salve vale*, one of *ave*. The formula *sit tibi terra levis* is once found in a republican epigram (1214), but became popular during the Empire (five examples in *CIL* VI 24321—26321). Even this acclamation was of Greek origin, see Lattimore p. 65 ff. For other acclamations, cf. Dessau III: 2 p. 947.

[3] *Χαίρεται. ταῦτα CIL* VI 13236, *χαῖρε. καὶ σύ* 16512, 16941, 22918, *εὐψύχι* 23287, 29675, 33170, *εὐψύχι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* 11082, 21278, 29010, *ἀνθρώπινα* 9240; other acclamations 19761, 20201, 23709.

[4] *Cyria chere* 24216, *eupsychi* 17212, *eupsychi, udis athanatos* 10889, 21617, *doe se Osiris to psycron hydor* 20616.

[5] Other examples in Loch, »Griech. Grabschr.», *Festschrift Friedländer*, p. 278.

Εὐψύχι, almost as popular as *χαῖρε* in Syria and Egypt (see p. 18), was frequent in Rome, also. Though it often had a meaning similar to *χαῖρε*, e.g. *εὐψύ[χι] παροδεῖτα* **1465**, which scarcely differs from *χαῖρε παροδεῖτα*, the original meaning of the verb, »to be of good courage» (LIDDELL-SCOTT), should not be forgotten. The departed is entreated to »take heart». To take heart because of what? In epitaphs, it can only be because of the inevitableness of death. This interpretation is confirmed by the frequency of the acclamation in connections which imply disbelief in immortality, especially *εὐψύχι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* **1531**, **1536** etc., eight examples in all.[1] (For examples in Latin epitaphs, see p. 39, fn. 3 and 4). A similar view of a total annihilation at death is expressed in **1832**: *εὐψύχι, Ἀταλάντη, ὅσα γεννᾶτε τελευτᾷ*, and in **1879** (at the end of an epigram): *εὐψυχῶ Νικομήδης, ὅστις οὐκ ἤμην καὶ ἐγενόμην, οὐκ εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ λυποῦμαι.*[2]

Ancient ideas of the afterworld were contradictory and often confused, belief and disbelief being equally represented on gravestones.[3] It is therefore no wonder that *εὐψύχι* is also found in connections which express belief in immortality. The acclamation is sometimes accompanied by references to the heavenly joy the dead will find in the realm of Osiris, the Egyptian god of death much worshipped in Imperial Rome, *εὐψύχει, κυρία, καὶ δοίη σοι ὁ Ὄσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* **1488**, **1782**. (For an example in a Latin epitaph, see p. 39 fn. 4). The imperative may here have a meaning similar to *χαῖρε*, compare **2098**, *εὐψύχι μετὰ τοῦ Ὀσείριδος* with **1856** quoted p. 39. The acclamation is, as is natural, of Egyptian origin.[4]

These two acclamations form the bulk of my Roman material, 33 cases each. The frequency of *εὐψύχι* is worthy of notice, for in this respect the Roman epitaphs resembled those of Syria and Egypt more than those of other regions. *Χαῖρε* is found in an epitaph which records the dedicators in 12 cases, *εὐψύχι* in 14 cases. The figures are below the average of dedicators, 64 %. This suggests that even in Rome, the acclamations were primarily used in epitaphs which imitated the Attic type, see p. 18.

In another connection I have drawn attention to the fact that the signa in *-ius/-ιος*, popular since the turn of the second/third centuries A.D., had been modelled upon Greek acclamations, especially those with the

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[1] ROHDE, Psyche II p. 394 f.; LATTIMORE p. 253. M. SIMON, "*Θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος*", *Rev. de l'hist. des relig.*, 1936, pp. 188—206, contends that the acclamation only implies the obliteration of bodily existence, not of the soul. SIMON makes too much of a few cases, primarily Jewish or Christian, in which the usual implications of the acclamation had been reversed, and gives far-fetched parallels from the Bible of *θάρσει* used in contexts expressing belief in immortality. Because *εὐψύχι* is seldom replaced by *θάρσει* in this acclamation (*Sammelb.* only 5939, *IGLS* only 157), these parallels have no bearing upon the problem.

[2] There is a similar example in **2190**.

[3] ROHDE, *Psyche* II pp. 379—396; LATTIMORE p. 48 ff.

[4] ROHDE, *ibid.*, p. 390 f. Examples, *Sammelb.* 3449, 5037, 5718, 6941.

(Vulgar) ending -ι, *εὐψύχι* etc.[1] In the Greek epitaphs of Rome, there are good examples of signa in the making. *Εὐφρόνι εὐψύχι* **1433**, which ends an epitaph dedicated by a father to his son, has been taken by KAIBEL for two imperatives. But there is no corresponding verb (LIDDELL-SCOTT, *s.v. εὐφρονέων*), whereas *Εὐφρόνιος* is instanced as a late personal name (PAPE-BENSELER). It is thus probable that *Εὐφρόνι* was a signum, coined at the moment of drawing up the epitaph. Like most »detached signa», it was a kind of epithet; the dedicator could have written *εὔφρον εὐψύχι* as well. *Ἀγέντι, εὐψύχι, κἀμὲ μένει τὸ θανεῖν* **2117**, closes an epigram dedicated by a husband to his wife. Since the epigram expresses belief in immortality (lines 4—5), the acclamation implies: »be of good courage, for I shall die, too (to join you in heaven)». The name of the wife was *Χρήστη*, and *Ἀγέντιος* was her signum, probably coined after her death (from the Latin participle *agens*). The implications of her signum are enigmatic, however. Women's signa usually had masculine endings.[2] The above example illustrates the origin of this anomaly: because the signa were usually set in the vocative, and were modelled upon, and often accompanied by, verbs of acclamation in -ι, women's signa were also set in the masculine to avoid the disharmony of -ια / -ι. Finally, *εὐστάθι* **1464**, can be a verb of acclamation as well as a signum in -ιος. But because there is a verb *εὐσταθέω*, which often had a meaning similar to *ὑγιαίνω*, a verb of acclamation (LIDDELL-SCOTT), it is possible that *εὐστάθι* is here an imperative. The use of the verb was appropriate in this epitaph, for it does not record a death, but the building of a tomb for further use. »Be in good health» is a natural enough acclamation upon such a stone; cf. *ἔρρωσθαι* below.

The other acclamations were equally important. *Εὐτυχεῖτε* **1949**, addressed by a dead person to passers-by, does duty for the more frequent *χαίρετε*. The verb *ἔρρωμαι*, »to be in good health» (LIDDELL-SCOTT), frequently used in ending a letter, is also found. *Ἔρρωσθ' εἴ γε τι ἔστι κάτωι* **1873**, is one of those acclamations which express doubt about the reality of afterworld. The dedicator is not sure whether any Underworld exists for the dead to continue life in, and hear his final farewell. *Ἔρρωσθαι* **1481**, as is fit, ends an epitaph stating the building of a tomb for living persons.

Ταῦ[τα] **1413**, is short for *ὁ βίος ταῦτα*, an acclamation which advises resignation in face of the inevitableness of death; the acclamation was popular in the West, and appeared often on Latin gravestones.[3] *Εὐμέλι ζήσαις* **1477**, includes a signum in -ιος (for the dating of the epitaph, see p. 20). *Ζήσαις* is not infrequent in Greek inscriptions, but it is mostly

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[1] *Onomastic Studies*, p. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] LOCH, »Griech. Grabschr.», *Festschrift Friedländer*, p. 289 ff.

found on rings and signets and especially on drinking-vessels, where it is appropriately preceded by the imperative *πίε*.[1] The meaning of the acclamation is clear enough in these connections: »may the possessor of the object live long and enjoy life». The acclamation in **1477** was not modelled upon such cases, however. It was rather an imitation of those Latin inscriptions in which a detached signum was followed by *vivas*, *vivatis* (examples, DESSAU III: 2 p. 877). Though such acclamations were chiefly found in votive and honorary inscriptions, they were not unknown in epitaphs.[2] Since one cannot wish a dead person a long life, the acclamation had either lost its meaning here, conveying a simple »farewell», or it embodied a wish of continued existence after death. At any rate, in funerary inscriptions *vivas* was a characteristically Christian acclamation.[3] *Εὐμέλι ζήσαις* is thus about the only Greek acclamation in Rome which shows Latin influence. *Εὐμέλιος* was not likely a *nomen sodaliciarium*, as KAIBEL, *ad. loc.*, suggests. It is rather an individual signum, a kind of epithet, and may have had reference to the deceased's character.

Ἔκ τ‹ῶ›ν ἐμῶν τοῦτό μοι μόνον **1373**, is an acclamation which is not unknown in Christian epigraphy.[4] Though **1373** has also been claimed Christian, found as it is in a catacomb [5], it may well be pagan. Since a multitude of pagan inscriptions have been recovered from catacombs, an epitaph found in a catacomb is not necessarily Christian. At any rate, this acclamation has a similar overtone of resignation as have most other acclamations: after death a man, of all his possessions, can call only the tomb his own.

There were four acclamations which were individual and not stereotyped. *Ἐν μύροις σου, τέκνον, ἡ ψυχή* **1836**, pictures Paradise as sweet-smelling. *Εἰ μὲν ἦν τὸ Μοιρῶν σθένος ἀμίψασθαι, οὐκ ἄν ἔθανες* **1562**, in an epitaph dedicated by a fosterfather to his nursling of one and a half years old, represents, in a typical Greek fashion, *Moira* as the cause of death.[6] The dedicator intimates that if it had been possible to make a bargain with Fate, he would have preferred to die in place of the child. A similar reference to *Moirai* as the arbiters of death is found at the end of an epitaph recording the building of a tomb for future use, **2003**: *Τὰ δὲ [λοι]πά, Ἡράκλειτε* (the builder of the monument) *εὔφραινε [θυμ]ὸν ἀφθόνως. τὸ γάρ ποτε [δεῖ]ν σε*

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[1] Examples, *IG* XIV p. 763. The popularity of the acclamation *πίε ζήσαις* is seen in the fact that it appears often in Latin letters, *pie zeses*, see *CIL* XV 7012 7025, 7028, 7032 etc., twelve examples in all.

[2] E.g. *Petrei bibas = vivas*, DESSAU 7806, *Argenti, tu nobis bibes = vives*, DESSAU 8127.

[3] See C. M. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg 1917), p. 142.

[4] A. FERRUA, *Epigraphica* 1940, p. 11 f.

[5] FERRUA, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cf. LATTIMORE p. 150 f.

θανεῖν Μοίραις μεμέληται. Like so many ancient gravestones, this, too, advises one to enjoy life while there is still time, for the Fates have decided every one's hour of death.

In *ἰς ἐῶνα Βενετιανούς, Πρίνκιπι* **1503**, *Βενετιανοί* stands for *Venetiani*, the Blue faction of Circus games. The deceased, addressed by his signum *Πρινκίπιος* [1] (his real name was *Βασίλιος*), is exhorted always to favour the Blues. This is an unusual acclamation in an epitaph, but the man may have been a fanatical backer of the Blues.[2]

The formulas used in protecting the grave against violations may be, for convenience, discussed here. Graves were usually protected by threats of fines or of curses.[3] Examples of the former, more matter-of-fact threats, are **1452** and **1862**. There are three examples of curses, but in none of them is divine wrath called down upon the transgressor — a fact which, unless due to mere »statistical chance», is symptomatic of the lukewarm attitude towards the gods during the Early Empire. In one case the formula is paraphrased in Latin, **1337**: *μὴ ἐνοχλήσῃς τῷ τάφῳ μὴ τοιαῦτα πάθῃς περὶ τέκνων // Ne sis molestus ne patiar<i>s hoc, et ollas inclusas cave*. This represents the type of curses in which the violator is threatened with a loss of his children.[4] The man who drew up the epitaph had a poor knowledge of Latin, as is betrayed by the clumsiness of the translation. The threat was repeated in Latin for the benefit of Greekless transgressors. Again, *μ<ή>τε αὐτῷ θάλασσα πλωτὴ μηδὲ γῆ βατή* **1901**, also represents a definite type, those in which the transgressor is denied »land and sea».[5] Finally, *ἄνθρωπε μὴ κινήσῃς τὰ ἀκίνητα* **1339**, recalls passages in classical Greek literature in which a similar expression was used of violations of sacred places (LIDDELL-SCOTT, *s.v. ἀκίνητος*).

CONCLUSION

The Greek epitaphs of Rome were set up partly to and by persons of foreign origin, immigrants and slaves/freedmen from the East, partly to and by natives of Rome, offspring of immigrants and freedmen, who preferred Greek to the more usual Latin for one reason or another, perhaps chiefly for decorative purposes.

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[1] There has been some discussion of whether the ending is *KIIIC* or *KIIII*. The latter reading, accepted by KAIBEL, seems correct, for the word obviously represents a signum in the vocative case.

[2] For the enormous importance of Circus factions in Imperial Rome, see L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II[9] (Leipzig 1920), pp. 34—36.

[3] LATTIMORE p. 106.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 113 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Latin influence was most obvious in the dedication of a grave to *Manes*, an un-Greek feature, and in the recording of age, which was rare in Greek epigraphy, Egypt excepted. The Greek equivalents of *Manes* stood less often for the soul of the individual deceased and more often for Underworld gods than was the case on Latin gravestones. In the recording of age, the exactness of records, often down to hours, was distinctively Roman. A few of the structural patterns were obviously Greek, especially those in which the deceased's name was set in the vocative (governed as a rule by an acclamation) or in the accusative. In the nominative and genitive patterns, Greek and Latin traditions were equally represented. The most frequent construction, which recorded dedicators and in which the name of the deceased was in the dative, was common to Latin and to the Asiatic variety of Greek epitaphs. Though mainly Asiatic, the pattern betrays considerable Latin influence in that the name of the deceased was frequently put first, an un-Greek feature.

Latin influence was less conspicuous in the phraseology of the epitaphs. The replacement of *ἀνίστημι* by *ποιέω* as the usual verb of dedication may have been due to an imitation of *fecit*. Otherwise the phrases were genuinely Greek, in particular the typical formula of Asiatic epitaphs, *μνήμης χάριν*. Epithets were more usual in Rome than elsewhere in Greek epigraphy, with the possible exception of Egypt. A few epithets may have been Greek equivalents of popular Latin epithets, but most of them were genuinely Greek both in formation and in meaning. Acclamations were a Greek feature. *Χαῖρε* and *εὐψύχι* were equally numerous, the frequency of the latter arguing Syrian-Egyptian influence.

The Greek epitaphs of Rome were thus an amalgamation of Greek and Latin features, an indication of the bilingualism of the capital in Imperial times. Again, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt contributed most of the Greek features, a fact which reflects the origin of the majority of Rome's immigrants and slaves.

INDEX OF GREEK EPITAPHS OF ROME DISCUSSED

(A number after a comma denotes a footnote)