Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire

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Contents

CHAPTER 16

Dead Men Walking: The Repatriation of Mortal Remains

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For Harry W. Pleket,
on the occasion of his 85th birthday

Introduction

The return of dead men and women to their native land is a peculiar yet well-attested variant of mobility. The repatriation of mortal remains is a practice which has been observed for kings, rulers and other grandees, from King Saul (2 *Sam* 21.12–14) to the present day. The transference of the remains of Nelson Mandela prior to his burial on 5 December 2013, to the family tomb in Qunu, with all pomp and circumstance befitting his outstanding personality, illustrates that its ideological and ritual importance is still alive in modern society. Nor is such a practice restricted to the great and the good. More common mortals are subjected to this treatment as well, though in a more sober fashion, and provided that they happen to have lived in a well-organised society and have duly insured themselves. *Mutatis mutandis*, more or less the same applies to Graeco-Roman antiquity: literary sources offer a wide range of information about the transference of great leaders, kings and emperors and the honours paid to their mortal remains, from Leonidas to Valentinian II,[1] and inscriptions, ranging from the early Hellenistic to the late Roman period, remind us of the

1 E.g. Pelopidas (Plut. *Pelop.* 33f.); Leonidas (Paus. 3.14.1); Themistokles (Thuc. 1.138); Thucydides (Plut. *Kim.* 4); Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Dem.* 53); Aratos (Plut. *Arat.* 53); Philopoimen (Plut. *Philop.* 21); cf. Pfister 1912: 433–437; on the *translationes* of mythical heroes (Arkas, Oidipous, Pelops, Theseus, and others) *ibid.* 188–216 and 439–443; on Roman emperors see below notes 6 and 83; on the dramatic death of Valentinian II in 392, the transference of his corpse from Vienna to Milan, where it lay unburied in the palace for two months, finally to be placed in a splendid porphyry sarcophagus and interred after an eloquent funeral oration by St Ambrose, see Dudden 1935: 418–421, with references to the sources.

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fact that numerous men and women who have left no other trace than their epitaphs were carried home by loving hands after death.[2] The repatriation of corpses appears to have been more widely spread, both geographically and socially, than has generally been acknowledged (if taken into account at all) in studies of ancient funerary culture or in archaeological reports. Obviously the practice will have implications for migration studies: if either funerary contexts or isotopic evidence points to a local provenance, this does not necessarily imply that *all* the individuals in question did not share in supra-regional mobility.

The reflections which follow are the outcome of an examination of funerary epigrams from the Greek East undertaken with the aim of shedding some new light on mobility and migration.[3] Section 2 can be read as a complement to the conclusions concerning mobility and migration which can be drawn from the epitaphs of people who died and were buried in localities different from those where they had been born. At the same time its results serve as a backdrop to the exploration of further evidence, Greek and Latin, epigraphical and literary. For the sake of convenience, the epigraphical harvest is stored in two tabular surveys (Tables 16.2 and 16.3; below, the inscriptions testifying to posthumous repatriation are referred to by the numbers in these tables, preceded by 'G' for the 43 Greek [46 including G21bis, G36bis and G41bis: see Postscript] and by 'L' for the 32 Latin inscriptions; 'G' and 'L' are arranged according to the geographical order of *SEG* and *AE*, respectively). Most texts explicitly record (or at least allude to) the repatriation of remains of any sort; some mention both death abroad and the presence of a body, bones or ashes in the grave, thereby implicitly attesting the transfer. Both catalogues would have been expanded considerably, had I included epitaphs recording death abroad without specifying the place of burial.[4] Of course,

2 In this study, 'repatriation' is used in the sense of the remains being returned to the birthplace of the deceased. In some cases, the *patria* is of an ideological nature, as e.g. Alexandria was for Alexander the Great, Rome for emperors not born in the City (below notes 6 and 83; cf. also the reburial of a Caucasian prince: below note 26) or Besara (Beth Shearim) for diaspora Jewry (Rajak 2001).

3 Tacoma and Tybout (in this volume). From the 146 epigrams listed in the Catalogue at the end of our joint article, four are irrelevant to the purpose of the present study, which leaves us with 142 items in Table 16.1. For the details of the epigrams in Merkelbach and Stauber (1998–2004) see the Catalogue of Tacoma and Tybout. Below, texts from M.-S. not in our Table 16.2 are referred to by M.-S.'s numbers. Irrelevant: 05/03/03, 16/08/03, and 17/17/01 (migrant/traveller is not the deceased); 14/09/02 (unclear: repatriation or cenotaph or return prior to death?). For nos. G21bis, G36bis and G41bis see the Postscript at the end of this article.

4 Some authors adduce such inscriptions as evidence of posthumous repatriation, e.g. Pflaum 1955: 171 (*CIL* 8, 3660 and 5606) and Habicht 2001: 15f. (*CIL* 3, 5031 and 12, 1750; see below note 39). For different approaches see below note 70.

TABLE 16.1 *Location of death, burial and monument* (*abroad or in patria*) *in 142 funerary epigrams for migrants/travellers in Merkelbach-Stauber,* Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten

1	Death, burial and monument abroad	78
2	Death and burial abroad; monument (also) *in patria* (cenotaph)	21
3	Death abroad; remains repatriated; (re)burial and monument (also) *in patria*	22 (+1[a])
4	Death abroad; monument *in patria*, either a cenotaph or covering remains repatriated	5[b]
5	Death, burial and monument in *patria* (travels in earlier years)	15
6	Death, burial and monument in *patria* (Caucasia); possibly reburial and monument in Rome	1

a 05/03/05 (Table 16.2 G21), also included sub (1) since it commemorates a deceased buried abroad, alludes to the repatriation of the deceased's mother at some earlier point in time.

b 03/06/04, 08/01/31, 08/01/33, 08/06/03, and 16/35/03 record death abroad without specifying the place of burial.

some of these might be cenotaphs, and since archaeological evidence which might have testified to the contrary is generally lacking, we had better remain on the safe side.

Curiously, Greek inscriptions have almost never been discussed[5] in the not so numerous studies of the subject,[6] which are based on Latin literary and epigraphical sources and focus on specific groups, notably emperors and soldiers, or on legal aspects. In what follows the emphasis will be placed on these neglected Greek sources, putting them into a wider perspective to show that the repatriation of corpses is a phenomenon too significant to be left neglected.

5 With the single exception of G9 (cf. below note 30) and G10 by Noy 2000: 193.

6 For Roman grandees and emperors see especially Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118–125 (cf. also below note 83), in a wider chronological perspective including the early Christian martyr cults (for Julian see the commentary of Merkelbach and Stauber *ad* 19/13/13; for Valentinian II see above note 1). Roman soldiers: Pflaum 1955: 170–172; Carroll 2009; legal aspects: Estiez 1995; Schoen 2000: 203–213; Laubry 2007 (exhaustively); for a case study (on L14) Gabba and Tibiletti 1960, with parallels from Latin epigraphy; for collections of Latin inscriptions see also Cracco Ruggini 1995: 121 note 15 (repeating the references in Gabba and Tibiletti, but introducing several errors); di Stefano Manzella 1987: 191f.; Noy 2000: 192–194, and 2010b: 209f. (deceased repatriated to or from Rome); Arena and Bitto 2006, on the motif of 'morte in terra straniera' in Latin epigrams, including some recording repatriation.

Bones, Ashes and the Power of the *patris*: The Epigrams from the Greek East

Unsurprisingly, the overwhelming majority of the travellers or migrants in Merkelbach-Stauber's *Steinepigramme des griechischen Ostens* died in places other than those in which they saw the light of day (Table 16.1 nos. 1–4): the very fact that men lost their lives in foreign regions was usually the reason for recording their provenance or movements. An epigram from Ephesos tells us the story of a student whom death cruelly seized on Lesbos at a tender age:

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου με καταρχόμενον λυκάβαντος
ἄρτι τε ῥητορικῆς ἔργα διδασκόμενον
Λέσβωι ἐν εὐδένδρωι βαρυαλγὴς νοῦσος ἐδάμνα
κοὐκέτι ἐς ἱμερτὴν γαῖαν ἔβην Ἐφέσου·
αὐτοκασίγνητος δὲ καμὼν μάλα πολλά, τοκεῦσι
πένθος ἐπ' ὠκυάλου νηὸς ἔδωκε φέρων·
ναίω δ' ἡρώων ἱερὸν δόμον, οὐκ Ἀχέροντος·
τοῖον γὰρ βιότου τέρμα σοφοῖσι ἔνι.

As I entered my eighteenth year and was just beginning to be taught the art of rhetoric, a most grievous illness befell me on well-wooded Lesbos and I returned no more to the beloved earth of Ephesos. But my own brother has taken great pains to transport their grief[7] to our parents on a sea-swift ship. I dwell in the sacred house of the heroes, not of the Acheron; for such is the end of life for the cultured.

G14; found in Ephesos

The deceased was relatively well off, posthumously at least: his caring brother and parents not only believed that he had found a place among the blissful few who had escaped the cheerless darkness of the Underworld,[8] they also had

7 I.e., 'me, the object of their grief'; for the metaphor cf. G24 v. 5: ὅθεν περισσὸν βαρὺ φέρει λύπης δάκρυ, likewise referring to a student whose corpse was transported home by his brother. For another periphrastic reference to a corpse brought home cf. G21 v. 5: ξείνισεν ἡ γενέτειρ' ἀργαλέοις ξενίοις; rightly Merkelbach and Stauber, *ad loc.*: "Das schlimme Gastgeschenk war die Urne, in welcher die Gebeine der Mutter zurückgebracht worden sind." Cf. also ὀστέα δὲ ὧδε μητρί τε καὶ ἀδελφῇ ἀνιηρὸν κῆδος ἵκανεν in G1.

8 Tybout 2003 concludes that pessimistic feelings dominate in *c.* 70% of the funerary epigrams in Merkelbach and Stauber, vol. 1; subsequent, as yet unpublished research shows that this percentage also applies to their collection as a whole; Wypustek 2013: 10 underlines that "on one and the same tombstone we may sometimes find a combination of

brought his mortal remains back to Ephesos so that he was ensured of a proper burial: at home, in his dearly beloved earth. The epigram they commissioned, though exceptional in the way it emphasises two themes, the great trouble involved in the operation of bringing his remains home[9] and the means of transport, is one of a group of between twenty-three and twenty-seven poems testifying to the repatriation of mortal remains (Table 16.1 no. 3 [and no. 4]; Table 16.2).[10]

The disconcerting message that the student had not been able to return to his native city during his lifetime is nicely countered by the comforting reassurance that he did in fact reach this destination in the end. The desirability of being buried in native soil, here embodied in the latter's epithet *himerte*, is expressed in various ways in other epigrams. The dead are depicted as rejoicing in the knowledge that they had been brought home from foreign soil (G12: γεινώσκων ὅτι ἐκ γῆς Παταρέων εἰς πάτραν μετηνέχθης, "knowing that you were brought from the land of Patara to your fatherland"; G30: [χρῆ]ν δὲ κασιγνήτῳ με χάριν γενετῆρι τε δοῦναι, "I have to thank my brother and father"); they were unlucky to have died as "a foreigner among foreigners" (ξείνος ἐνι ξείνοις ἔθανον… τλήμων), but are better off now that the earth of the *patris* covers their bones (G28). After having been transported to their homeland, they lie in the company of their ancestors and the people dear to them (G31). Dying abroad was a grievous matter in itself: although it could cause relatives excessive sorrow

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contradicting views", so that "epigrams in their entirety constitute a spectrum ranging from 'optimism' to 'pessimism'"; true as this general formulation might be, it obscures the fact that a mood of pessimism prevails.

9 A parallel is found in G9 v. 13 (καὶ καμάτους ὑπέμεινε); cf. also G19, commemorating three brothers from Attaleia who died soon after one another. Attikos had suffered death abroad (v. 4: ἐπὶ ξενίης) aged 13; P. Hamon, *BE* 2011: no. 518, wonders whether he was living in another city – Pergamon? – in order to pursue his studies; his corpse was transported back to Attaleia: ἐς πατρίδαν δὲ νέκυν κόμισαν μόλις ἄνδρες ἑταῖροι. The editors (Staab and Petzl 2010: 4–6) translate, "Ins Vaterland überführten den Leichnam schließlich seine Gefährten", with Staab adding (6 note 5) that the temporal meaning of μόλις also underlines 'die ehrenwerte fromme Leistung der Gefährten… ("schließlich doch noch")'. Cf. however *LSJ*, s.v. μόλις: "with toil and pain, i.e. hardly, scarcely"; like κάμνω in G9 and 14, the adverb expresses the exertions undertaken by Attikos' companions to bring him home.

10 G12–14, 16/17, 19, 21–24, 26–32, 34–39; G21 records the repatriation of a mother in an epigram for her son buried abroad; on G27 see the Appendix. We do not include in Table 16.2 five epigrams on monuments erected in the homeland for persons either repatriated or buried abroad, which consequently may be cenotaphs (Table 16.1 no. 4): 03/06/04 (see below note 19), 08/01/31 and 08/01/33 (see below note 19), 08/06/03, and 16/35/03; we also exclude 20/27/02 = 24/34 (Table 16.1 no. 6), for which see below note 26.

(G19), this might be mitigated somewhat by being able to grant the deceased his last journey home; the latter was the more important especially in such sad cases as that of the girl who did not live to see her own wedding (G34) or the man who met death in an unbefitting manner (οὐχ ὁσίως φθίμενον; G35). The autochthonous tomb of those who had managed to return from abroad before death claimed them (Table 16.1 no. 5) was considered a "reward of life" (κέρδος ἔχων βιότου τὸν τάφον ἐν πατρίδι, "as a reward of life having a grave in your fatherland"; 02/06/14). The contrast between (the earth in) foreign parts and (the earth in) the homeland is highlighted in most epigrams recording posthumous repatriation,[11] and is implicit in poems which allude to the return more succinctly or indirectly.[12]

The epigrams for those who were buried in far-off regions offer a mirror-image of such feelings. To be left to lie in alien soil, far away from family and native community, is a frequent source of lamentation: the *patra* Antiochia "still laments" a wrestler lying in the *gaia xeina* of Halikarnassos (01/12/14); the foreign soil is a poor substitute for that of the homeland (14/16/03), and dying abroad is defined in terms of a failure to return.[13] The contrast between the (earth of the) *patris* and the (earth of the) non-native region is also a *Leitmotiv* in poems of this category.[14]

If it was impossible to retrieve the body, the next best option open to the bereaved family was to erect a cenotaph in a graveyard in the deceased's hometown, so that its members would at least have a tangible and lasting focus for commemoration: a place where the traditional funerary ceremonies could duly be performed, commencing with a symbolic funeral which in the Roman cultural context was called *funus imaginarium*,[15] and which remained a perpetual "object of tears" (δακρύων σκόπος; 18/12/05 v. 4). At least twenty-one (at most twenty-six) stones belong to this category (Table 16.1 no. 2 [and no. 4]).[16]

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11 01/12/18; 01/20/27; 03/02/72; 04/06/04; 09/05/05–07; 10/02/03; 10/02/26; 10/02/29; 10/03/02; 11/07/12; 11/15/01; 22/21/02.

12 03/07/17; 03/07/19; 05/03/05; 09/05/16; 10/03/07; 16/33/03; 16/34/14; 22/49/01 (for the repatriation implied cf. Seyrig 1954: 216).

13 08/01/42; 08/02/01; 16/23/05; 16/52/02; 22/36/01.

14 04/24/06; 06/01/01; 08/08/06; 13/06/03; 16/23/14; 16/35/04; 16/52/02; 17/09/03; 18/12/05; 20/01/03; 22/43/01.

15 *CIL* 14, 2112 (*ILS* 7212; cf. below note 68) II, lines 3–5; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 264E/265B) for the custom, both in Greece and Rome, to organize a burial and erect a monument for a missing person. See Schoen 2000: 206–210, for a survey of the rituals, and the legal and emotional implications, with further references.

16 03/01/06; 03/05/02; 03/07/11; 04/16/01; 05/01/42; 05/01/48; 06/01/01; 08/08/06; 10/06/09; 10/06/13; 13/05/02; 16/23/05; 16/35/04; 16/71/01; 17/09/06; *17/22/01; 18/01/19; 18/12/05;

Some explicitly define the grave as an empty one,[17] but most resort to tactful paraphrases: the stele bears only the name, but the sea has the body (03/07/11); a soldier who died in battle has been denied the earth of the *patra* (06/01/01); the grave lacks the father whom the Syrian earth received (16/35/04); (unspecified) earth covers an athlete who died far from the *patre* (18/01/19); a father could no longer see his son, but erected an altar "on the soil of home" (ἐν πατρίῃ γῇ; 18/12/05); a student drowned at sea, where the Nymphs have hidden him in a cave, has his grave "in the earth of the fatherland" (πατρίωι γâι δ᾽ἔνι; 19/05/03); a mother and two sons do not share the same dust (κόνις), since another earth holds each of them, but a single grave preserves their memory (20/01/03). Three texts simply record the facts (death abroad), allowing the reader to conclude that he is in fact standing in front of a cenotaph.[18] Five epitaphs on monuments erected *in patria* are either inscribed on cenotaphs or on graves containing repatriated remains (Table 16.1 no. 4); two of these commemorate men lost at sea (08/01/31; 08/01/33); their bodies could conceivably have been rescued from the waves and brought home.[19] The motif of (non-)native earth is, as might be expected, also played upon in epigrams on monuments raised for those buried in foreign lands. Some of the deceased were commemorated by two monuments in different places,[20] as explicitly recorded in 03/01/06 (inscription accompanying a statue in Priene which mentions a tomb "elsewhere") and

19/05/03; 20/01/03; 22/33/03; for five poems which are possibly cenotaphs see above note 10. Ricci 2006b records only five of these: 05/01/42 = R. 60 no. 56; 05/01/48 = R. 61 no. 60; 08/08/06 = R. 61 no. 59; 10/06/13 = R. 57 no. 44; 16/23/05 = R. 61 no. 58.

17 08/08/06, 16/23/05: κενὸς τάφος; 16/71/01: τάφος καινός; 05/01/42: κενέομα τάφου; 05/01/48: κενὸς τύμβος; 17/09/06: σῆμα κενόν; 10/06/13: στήλη κενεῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ σήματι. κενὸς τύμβος occurs also in 01/23/03 (v. 5), classified by Ricci 2006b: 61 no. 57, as belonging to her 'Tipo A', i.e., the category of the 'cenotafi veri e propri (*stricto sensu* o di necessità)' (39). However, the epigram clearly states that the 'tomb covers me' (v. 1: [Τύ]μβος μὲν κρύ[πτ]ει με…); consequently the grave is not empty: κενὸς τύμβος is used in the general sense of 'tomb' or 'funerary chamber'; similarly, κενοτάφιον occasionally occurs in this sense in prose inscriptions from Asia Minor (Ricci 2006b: 20–23).

18 03/01/06; 03/05/02; 04/16/01.

19 G16 records a mother bringing back the ashes of her son who had drowned at sea to the *polis* (Erythrai); death on sea also in G8; 22/43/01 states that "sea and land divided me (among them), and thirdly fire" (v. 4), which is best interpreted as a cremation after the body had been rescued from the sea and brought ashore. As to 03/06/04 (Latin/Greek; from Teos): the *tumulus* covers the *ossa* (v. 2); cremation took place in Phrygia (v. 5), "so that the hill (*tellus*) could receive my bones" (v. 6). It is unclear whether the *tumulus*/*tellus* should be located in Phrygia (cenotaph) or Teos (repatriation).

20 Cf. Ricci 2006b: 39f. ('Tipo B').

05/01/42, a cenotaph on Smyrna's shore evoking a tomb with a rock-cut inscription in the foothills of Mount Tmolos (third century BCE):[21]

[Ὅ]στέα μὲν κρύπτει Τμώλος νεάταισιν ὑπ᾽ ὄχθαις
Ἑρμίου, ὀγκωτά δὲ ἀμφιβέβακε κόνις
[τ]ηλεφάης· ξεστὰ δὲ πέτρα καθύπερθε ἀγορεύει
[τ]ὸν νέκυν ἀφθόγγωι φθεγγομένα στόματι·
τοῦτο δέ οἱ κενέωμα τάφου ποθέοντες ἑταῖροι
Σμύρνης ἀγχιάλοις χεῦαν ἐπ᾽ ἀϊόσιν.

The bones of Hermias the Tmolos covers under its foothills, and piled-up sand surrounds them, visible from afar; from above the smoothed rock proclaims (the name of) the deceased speaking with a voiceless mouth; but his friends, longing for him, erected this cenotaph on Smyrna's shore near the sea. (05/01/42)

Returning to the repatriation of corpses, the obvious question this elicits is, is it possible to gather some details about its frequency and about its practical aspects from the epigrams? The chronological range of the texts concerned is roughly in line with the limits set for the larger collection brought together by Tacoma and me for the purpose of our inquiry into migration and mobility: they date from the fourth century BCE to the fourth century CE, the emphasis falling in the Imperial period (which yielded the larger part of the epigrammatic harvest *in toto*). The same applies to the geographical horizon: most of the mortal remains were carried from one place to another in the Greek East, often covering vast distances over land and by sea. Indeed, those of the priest Sakerdos (G22) and the orators/sophists Marcellus (G27; see Appendix) and Proklos (G37) travelled all the way from Athens to Nikaia in Bithynia, to Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis in Paphlagonia and to Maximianopolis in Arabia, respectively; the remains of the jurist Konon were moved from Egypt (Thebais) to Pamphylian Kolybrassos (G36), and those of a certain Alexander from Rome to Kaisareia/Hadrianoupolis (G29). The means of transport is rarely specified. Exceptions include the Ephesian student in the epigram just mentioned who was brought home in a "sea-swift ship" and Konon, who crossed "the vast Nile and the sea" (G36 v. 17).

Most of the deceased commemorated were young men in their twenties and thirties, which is not surprising, since this category dominates the corpus

21 Other epigrams also testify to a double commemoration (burial abroad, though not necessarily crowned by a monument): 03/06/04; 05/01/48; 08/08/06.

of funerary poetry in general. Strikingly, there are only two females, despite the fact that about one-third of all funerary epigrams are dedicated to women: a thirteen-year-old unmarried girl who had left her hometown, Lamounia, probably to live in the household of her uncle, and was brought home at long last by her parents (G34); G21 alludes to the repatriation of the remains of the mother of the deceased. The virtual absence of women is not adequately explained by their low number in the entire collection of 'migratory epigrams' (30 out of 146 in Tacoma and Tybout); the principal reason for their non-appearance is that marriage mobility seems to have been the prime reason of their movements. Therefore they were buried with their husbands, if possible, in the family graves of the latter.

Thirteen epigrams offer some evidence of social profiles: we have two students (G14, 24), a physician and "servant of the Muses" (G32), an eloquent priest and urban benefactor (G22), three legal experts (G30/31, 36), two orators/sophists (G27, 37), an athlete/dancer for whom noble birth is claimed (G29), not to mention one or two soldiers (G23; possibly 39; cf. also 08/06/03). Although this sample is certainly not enough to yield a well-defined general pattern, it is perhaps no coincidence that the educated and cultured element prevails.

Obviously, the considerable time span involved in the whole process meant that the bodies could not be brought home intact. The speed at which the process of natural decay of a human body sets in varies according to a number of circumstances, notably climate, but it is clear that some form of preservation of the corpse was required for long-distance repatriation. In our collection of epigrams, there is no hint of embalming (but see below, Section 4). Cremation would have been necessary to strip the flesh and reduce the body to ashes or bones. The latter perhaps requires some explanation: bones are likely to survive intact when heated for a relatively short duration and not subjected to the very high maximum temperature of the funeral pyre.[22] Several poems speak of bones (ὀστέα) lying in the grave at home, but the term itself does not indicate cremation since it could refer to what had remained after the inhumation of the intact body. Two poems certainly describe the transportation of bones, though without alluding to the cremation required (G29; G31: ὀστέα δ' εἰς πάτρην ὁ πατὴρ ἠνέ[γκ]ατο, "but the father brought the bones to the fatherland"). Unambiguous cases include G17, mentioning a cremation in Klaros (φθονερῆι φλογὶ κάππεσον, "I fell down by the jealous fire") and the subsequent transference of the ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai,[23] and G16 recording ashes being

22 Shipman et al. 1984: 322f., cited by Graham 2011: 103; cf. also Bennett 2010: 217f.

23 Cf. also G16 for σποδιή returned to the same city.

returned to the same city. Two other poems refer to cremation abroad and repatriation of the bones; one is from Kaisareia/Hadrianoupolis (G28):

> Ξεῖνος ἐνὶ ξείνοις ἔθανον Πατροεῖνος ὁ τλήμων
> καὶ λίπον ἐν φλόγμῳ σῶμα καταχθόνιον·
> ὀστέα δ᾽ἐνθάδε μοι ἐν πατρίδι γαῖα καλύπτει·
> τοῦτο τὸ σῆμ᾽ ἐποίησεν Ἀκυλίη ἡ πολύδακρυς
> χυίοὶ Ἀκυλιανὸς καὶ Πατροεῖνος ὁμοῦ
> Ματρῶνα ἡ ποθέουσα πατρός ποτε νόστον ἀκοῦσαι,
> νῦν δὲ καταφθιμένῳ μνημοσύνης ἕνεκεν.
>
> I, unlucky Patroeinos, died as a stranger among strangers, and I left in the flames my body under the earth;[24] but my bones the earth covers here in my fatherland; Aquilia with many a tear made this gravestone, and my sons Aquilianus and Patroeinos together with Matrona, who once longed to hear about the return of her father – but now (they made the grave) in commemoration of the deceased.

The other is G22 (i.e., the series of poems 09/05/04–07), commemorating a man who was evidently a prominent priest and benefactor of his native city Nikaia, where his bones were buried after cremation in Attica (05 v. 7/8 depicts the two regions rivalling each other in paying respect to his remains).[25] In all its conceivable variants, the repatriation of corpses can be defined as a reburial. G32 gives evidence of this: once the earth of a foreign land covered the deceased, but now he is ensconced in a tomb in his native

24 The succinct expression implies that the body was cremated with the ashes left for burial: see the Appendix.

25 The four epigrams (which we assigned the single number G22) belong to a series of five for the Nikaian priest (of the imperial cult or Helios?) Sakerdos and his wife (09/05/04–08 = *AP* 15.4–8; 09/05/05 vv. 7/8: ἁ νέκυν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα / Ἀτθὶς χὰ κόλποις ὀστέα δεξαμένα; cf. also 09/05/06 v. 7/8: ὃν πάτρη μὲν ἔδεκτο φίλον νέκυν, ἤγνισε δ᾽Ἀτθίς / πυρκαϊῇ; 09/05/07 v. 5/6: ἐπὶ γαῖας / Ἀτθίδος ἀρχεγόνου πυρκαϊᾶς ἐπέβαν). For the variant of cremation prior to repatriation cf. also G3, 7 and 42. For fire consuming the σάρκας and leaving the ὀστέα to be buried see also 09/05/12 (v. 1; πῦρ μὲν σάρκας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δ᾽ ὀστέα ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔνεστι) and 22/43/01 (v. 1/2: ὀστέ(α)… / …λίψανα πυρκαϊῆς); cf. also *IG* 2² 12378 (*GV* 1747; Athens; σάρκας μὲν πῦρ…ἀφείλετο / ὀστέα δ᾽…χῶρος ὅδ᾽ ἔχει); *GV* 1748 (Demetrias; v. 1/2: σῶμα μὲν Ἥφαιστος κατενήρατο, καλπὶς ἔχει δέ / ὀστέα μου). The same implications in 03/06/04 (see above note 19) and 18/01/23 (Termessos): νέρθε σοροῦ καύστρη · τὰ δὲ ὀστέα ἀπέθηκε / …οὗ τόδε μνῆμ᾽ ἐσορᾷς, contrasting the place of cremation "beneath the sarcophagus" with the bones ensconsed in it; Merkelbach-Stauber's translation "Unter in dem Sarkophag ist die Urne" is erroneous.

city, Nikopolis.[26] Another epigram, from Arabia (G38), tells us that what remained of a couple long after they had died in different places was brought together in a grave at home by their nephew.

Needless to say, the operation was complex and must have involved considerable trouble and all sorts of expenses. In the ideal situation, implicit in some epigrams, relatives already present at the place of death accompanied the body on its way to its homeland. But in most cases companions or colleagues will have taken care of a traveller's or migrant's funeral. Days, even weeks must have passed before relatives even received notice of the death of their loved one; they would have had to travel, perhaps after deliberations in the family circle, to destinations often beyond their horizons, where they would have had to find out how the body had been dealt with so far and where the remains were located. They would have found either an urn or another receptacle containing the ashes or bones or a grave in which the bones or the intact body had been interred. In the latter case, they would have had to obtain permission to disinter the remains. If time had not already dissolved the flesh, cremation would have been inevitable after disentombment. Finally they would have had to organise transport home.

In all its variants, the whole procedure of repatriation might have taken months rather than weeks. Two epigrams allude to the efforts involved (G14, 19; cf. also G9).[27] That at least twenty-three of the 142 epigrams considered in this study attest to repatriation *post mortem*, implying that about one-sixth of the relatives opted to spare no effort to achieve this end *and* accomplished their objective, is indicative of its vital role and ritual function in the contemporary ways of coping with grief and bereavement.

More Moving Bones on Stones

Though the remaining epigraphical material could not be explored systematically for the purpose of this study, a miscellaneous collection of funerary

26 Transport of the corpse and reburial, though under very different circumstances, possibly appears in 20/27/02 (Table 16.1 no. 6): the text describes a grave in Nisibis, but the stone, now lost, must have been re-erected in Rome (see the comments of Merkelbach-Stauber). This epigram is anomalous in all respects: it was written for a Caucasian prince, Amazaspos, who died while he was accompanying Trajan on his Parthian expedition of 114–117 CE. Possibly Hadrian himself was its author (see *SEG* 52, 986); the epigram is the only one in our series to provide possible evidence of the transfer of mortal remains from a homeland to another place.

27 See above note 9.

epigrams from outside Asia Minor confirms the picture sketched so far while adding some nuances. In the case of the Greek inscriptions, instances of bodies, bones or ashes being sent home could be traced in eleven funerary epigrams from other regions (G1–5, 7–10, 42/43), seven prose epitaphs (G6, 11, 20, 25, 33, 40/41 [to which G36bis and G41bis should be added: see Postscript]) and two honorary inscriptions (G15, 18 [add G 21bis: see Postscript]). As might be expected, the epigrams reflect feelings similar to those expressed in the poems from Asia Minor. We read, for example, about bones having been brought home "since the native soil is sweet also after death and not merely for the living" (G2 vv. 3/4), bones arriving and causing "painful grief" to relatives (G1; ὀστέα δὲ ὧδε μητρί τε καὶ ἀδελφῇ ἀνιηρὸν κῆδος ἵκανεν, "but the bones came here to his mother and brother, a painful grief" [or "grievous mourning"])[28] or bones received by parents in the *patris* of a young athlete as the bitter substitute of the victorious wreaths he had been expected to bring home (G4).[29] We find bones transported in an urn (κάλπις; G5) and "pale bones" (ὀστέα πηγά) carried home after cremation of the flesh (σάρκας) at the place of death (G42). An epigram from Rome tells us the captivating story of a loving widow and a seafaring corpse (G9): Rufinus left Rome for "the city of the Nile" (probably Alexandria), where he "gave his soul to the air, but his body to the earth" (v. 6). His wife, Damostrateia, accomplished the arduous journey to Egypt to return with the body "over the waves" (vv. 12/13: καὶ πέλαγος διέπλευσε καὶ ἤγαγε σῶμα βυθοῖσιν / καὶ καμάτους ὑπέμεινε, "and she crossed the sea and brought the body over the waves and took great pains") and rebury it in the tomb where their two children were later also interred.[30] The transportation of the disinterred dead is evoked in a very vivid image: "and he saw again the light as a corpse and sailed across the sea and went to his own land" (vv. 8/9: καὶ πάλιν εἶδε τὸ φῶς νεκρὸς ὢν καὶ πόντον ἔπλευσε / καὶ χώρης ἰδίης ἐπέβη); "such was Damostrateia's love for her husband" (v. 15: Δαμοστρατείας ταῦτα τῆς φιλανδρίας). Another

28 Cairon 2009: 228–231 no. 72, misses the point, as is evident from her translation which renders ὧδε by "ainsi" and her comment "Il est possible que le rite préalable de la crémation soit la raison du choix de ce mot". We do not include in Table 16.2 the fragment *IGBulg* 4, 1967 (Serdica; undated), though with ὀστέα γάρ μου (L. 5), ἐπ᾽οἰκείαν (L. 6) and a form of the aorist participle of κομίζω (L. 7: κομισα[–]) it is very likely to record the repatriation of bones.

29 For Smyrna as a station on his way from Tomis to Delphi see Robert 1967: 28.

30 Noy 2000: 193, misinterpreted the epitaph: "Rufinus of "Nilopolis", although commemorated in Rome, his remains were taken back to Egypt by his wife, and placed in the tomb where his children were later buried"; cf., however, vv. 2–5: ὃς προλιπῶν Ῥώμης δάπεδον Νείλου πόλιν ἐλθών (…) Μοιρῶν οὐκ ἔφυγεν τρισσῶν μίτον: "who after having left the floor of Rome and having come to the city of the Nile (…) did not escape the threefold thread of the Moirai".

epigram from Rome (G10) is unique both in referring to a repatriation not yet accomplished, and in commemorating a baby aged eleven months: the mother of Salome made a solemn vow to have her daughter's remains brought to her homeland, presumably Syria or Palestine.[31] Yet another epigram offers a glimpse of the cremation ceremony taking place prior to repatriation (G7): after Akrisios of Paros had died in Mylasa, where his city had sent him as a judge, "the Mylasians honoured me with funerary gifts, crowning me with golden branches; and they slaughtered a bull near the fire, paying pious honours to my *daimon* dwelling below with the chthonic gods" (vv. 3–6: ἐκτέρισαν δὲ / Μυλασέες χρυσέοις στεψάμενοί με κλάδοις / ταῦρον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρῇ σφάξαν τιμαῖσι σέβοντες / δαίμονί μου νέρθεν σὺν χθονίοισι θεοῖς). His homonymous son, who had accompanied him as his secretary, took over his father's judicial duties and, after accomplishing their mission, "carried with his dear hands the bones to the fatherland, burying his Parian father in Parian soil" (vv. 11/12). In a series of four epigrams on a family grave for an older and a younger couple (G2), the same transfer of bones is proudly mentioned both in the father's and the mother's epitaph; the son travelled from Edessa to Dyrrhachion to fetch the remains of his father and bury them on behalf of his widowed mother (vv. 7–9: ὀστᾶ δὲ πατρὸς / εἰσενέθηκεν ἐμοὶ Δυρραχίου κομίσας / …ἧχι Φίλιππον ἔθαψεν, ἐμὸν πόσιν; "and he brought me the bones of his father from Dyrrhachion […and he buried me] where he buried Philippos, my husband"). Strikingly, he accomplished this as a youngster, who had not yet reached the eighteenth year of his life: at that age he interred his mother beside her husband.

Remarkably in view of the thirty-four epigrams mentioned so far, I could trace no more than seven Greek prose epitaphs recording repatriation (but see Postscript for two more testimonia: G36bis and G41bis). Though more examples might lurk in the numerous *corpora*, this is all the more significant when we recall that only 2 or 3 per cent of the epitaphs on stone consists of epigrams. The reason for this disproportion must be that there are no standard formulas to convey the message of the body being repatriated (which also makes it difficult to trace them in electronic sources). Such additional information finds its way more easily into funerary poetry, often more generous in providing biographical detail than the generally concise and formulaic prose epitaphs.[32] Two of the latter commemorate young members of elite families in more than average detail. One (G11) is a now anonymous Aphrodisian, son of a consul,

31 See L. Moretti's comments *ad IGUR* 1323.

32 Cf. Renberg 2010: 42f., for similar considerations on the relatively high proportion of epigrams in the epigraphical records of dream narratives.

whose corpse (πτωμάτιον) was transported and buried by his friend Tib. Cl. Eutychianos, who also erected his image.[33] Interestingly, he is also remembered as "contest-president in perpetuity" of the Megala Gordiana Attalea, suggesting that he had travelled to the City to obtain the emperor's permission to upgrade what had been the local Attaleia into a ἱερὸς ἀγών: the name Gordiana refers to an imperial favour (δωρεά) to Aphrodisias. On coins dating to Gordian's reign, the *agon* is called (Γορδιανῆα) Ἀττάληα Καπετώλια, which very probably implies a further promotion to a ἱερὸς εἰσελαστικὸς ἀγών. In either case, the emperor's permission was required. The other (G33) is P. Aelius Cyrillus, who was accompanied *post mortem* to his native city Ankyra by two brothers from Alexandria.[34] Though he is said to have just begun to enjoy the prime of his life, he had been a councillor not only in Ankyra but also in other cities, implying that he belonged to an influential family with supra-regional affiliations. The other five Greek prose epitaphs concern three soldiers (G20, 40/41[35]), a young lawyer (G25) and a father brought "to his own premises" by his son, through the

33 I owe most of the reflections on this text to follow to H.W. Pleket; for the coin issues and further evidence for the contest see Roueché 1993, comment *ad* no. 56, and *SEG* 31, 1638; for δωρεά cf. Robert, *OMS* 5: 795, and 6: 712f.

34 S. Mitchell, *ad I. Ancyra* 306: "It is likely that Kyrillos had gone to Alexandria as a student, perhaps of medicine"; in the ed.pr. (see *SEG* 27, 866), S. Mitchell suggested that "perhaps P. Aelius Cyrillus had business interests in Egypt"; and L. Robert, *BE* 1978: no. 491, has argued that καταξιωθέντες διαδοχῆς (L. 12) refers to the succession of Cyrillus' brothers as heads of a philosophical school.

35 G41 states that a soldier qualified as φιλόπατρις, "after having returned from Germania and having died in the *ala Agrippiana*, was transferred to his place of birth" (Eitha, Hauran; [—]νετο|ς καὶ φιλόπ|ατρις, ἀπὸ Γε|ρμανίας ἀν||ελθὼν καὶ | ἐν εἴλῃ Ἀγρι|ππι|ανῇ ἀπο|θανὼν, εἰς | τὰ ἴδια με||θηνέχθη); this is most naturally interpreted to mean that his detachment was moved from Germany to a place somewhere in the Syro-Arabian region, where he died; Sartre-Fauriat 2001: 152, assumes that his corpse was transported from Germany, which seems incompatible with the Greek text; her argument that no *ala Agrippiana* is attested in Arabia in the third century CE is invalid, since an *ala* of this name is similarly unknown for Germany after the early first century CE (for the latter see *CIL* 13, 6235 [*ILS* 2503]; cf. also 12, 2231). The stone, known from *LBW* 2121 only, is no longer extant and might be dated to the (later?) second century as well. The research on the various formations known under this or an expanded name (*ala* (*I/II*) (*Flavia*) *Agrippiana*; *ala Agrippiana Miniata*), which does not yield a coherent picture, cannot be resumed here. Dąbrowa 1985 curiously twice mentions G41 only in passing (231 note 24; 233 note 31), without taking into account the phrase, "after having come from Germany"; see most recently Weiß 2006: 226 and 281f., on *ala I Flavia Agrippiana*: "die neue Einheit dürfte von Anfang an in Syria gelegen haben" (282; founded *c.* 90, attested in Syria in 129 CE); presumably the *ala* of our text is either this formation or its twin, *ala II Flavia Agrippiana*, known to have been still extant in the early

mediation of the latter's foster-father and tutor, assisted by a friend and trustee of the deceased (G6).

Further evidence of the return of elite members after their deaths comes from posthumous honorary inscriptions (to the following add G21bis: see Postscript). In the troubles which befell western Asia Minor after the death of Attalos III, when the Romans intervened in Asian affairs by helping to put down the revolt of Aristonikos, Apollonios son of Attalos, a citizen of Metropolis, was put in charge of a military detachment sent out by his city to join a large Greek force assembled by the Greek cities to support the Roman cause in a camp near Thyateira (G15; 132 BCE); he was killed in the ensuing clashes. Metropolis resolved "to give his sons permission to construct a *heroon* before the gate on their private property; and to effect speedily the return of the bones, so that (…[Apollonios]…) may receive a fitting burial".[36] The collection of bones from more or less distant battle fields for burial in the native city might be a *sous-entendu* in many epigrams for soldiers.[37] Another category of persons who risked dying far from home were ambassadors, among them Poseidippos who had successfully pleaded the cause of his city Stratonikeia before the Senate in the first century BCE, but died while still in Rome and was given a state burial at home (G18, line 1: [Ὁ] δῆμος ἔθαψεν Ποσείδιππον, "the People buried Poseidippos").[38] An inscription from Rhodes dating to the later Imperial period tells a very similar story, but since there is no reference to burial this might be a cenotaph.[39]

It will have become clear that much of the evidence from the twenty Greek inscriptions discussed so far in this section fits the profile which emerged from the epigrams from Asia Minor. The remains being transported are those of (mostly young) males, with the exception of baby Salome (G10), whose mother perhaps did not succeed in fulfilling her intentions. Where the remains are described, they are almost invariably "bones" (ὀστέα); in G3, "the remains of the ashes" (ashes or bones or both?) are returned; cremation prior to transfer

third century (*TAM* 5.2.935 [*IGR* 4, 1213]). Anyhow, it was apparently sent on an expedition to Germany in the second or third century CE, after which it returned to its base in Syria/Arabia.

36 Lines 42/43; translation Jones 2004: 473; we follow Jones' reconstruction of the events; on the term *heroon*, probably implying cultic honors, *ibid.* 483.

37 E.g. *GV* 767 (Ξάνθον ἐγὼ στάλα κεύθω), 994, 1230, 1417, 1521.

38 Habicht 2001: 14.

39 *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 202 no. 34; it is unclear why Habicht 2001: 16, considers it certain that the ambassador was actually interred by his *phyle* Lindos. The same applies to two *decuriones* from Virunum and Lyon who died on embassies in Rome (*CIL* 3, 5031 [*ILS* 7715] and *CIL* 12, 1750 [*ILS* 7026], respectively; Habicht 2001: 15f.).

of the bones is recorded explicitly in G7 and G42. Looking at social stratification, five men clearly belong to local elites: two represented their cities as ambassadors to Rome (G11, 18), one was a foreign judge (G7), another commanded a military unit of his city (G15), and there is a councillor who held multiple offices (G33); a young athlete (G4) and a young lawyer (G25) might also have been members of esteemed families. Finally, there are three soldiers serving in the Roman army (G20, 40/41; 20 and 41 are cavalry men). The remaining eight (excluding the two children in G8 and G10) apparently could not boast any public qualities worth recording.

For funerary inscriptions written in Latin, I have relied on previous publications.[40] Sifting out doubles, *dubia* and reburials in a local context,[41] the harvest amounts to thirty-two attestations recording supra-regional transport of thirty-four corpses (Table 16.3; L6 and L20[42] both concern two corpses). Systematic investigation of the entire Latin epigraphical corpus would no doubt bring to light more examples, but these would hardly change the overall picture, which by and large fits the evidence from the Greek inscriptions. With ten epigrams (L5–7, 13, 18, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28; some partly in prose), the proportion between poetry and prose is somewhat more balanced, although still imbalanced when it is related to the rare occurrence of epigrams in the corpus of funerary epigraphy in general. As might be expected, Latin epigraphy widens the geographical perspective towards the West, with Rome as the focal point from which and to which transference of corpses took place (to Rome: L1/2, 4, 6/7, 23 [also G9]; from Rome: L3, 5, 15, 17, 19/20, 22, 24, 31 [also G 10/11, 18, 26]). Bodies were sent from the City to northern Italy, Alpes Poeninae, Gaul, Lusitania, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Africa, and others were transported from Spain, Dacia, Pannonia, Britannia and Cilicia to Rome. We have seen from the Greek evidence that the deceased could be commemorated in two monuments: a tomb containing the body and a cenotaph. There are Latin parallels for this custom and from a number of epigrams we learn that the ashes were left at the place of death whereas the bones were returned to the homeland (L3, 5, 7, 13, 18).[43] As in the Greek

40 See above note 6. Laubry 2007: 181–188, offers a catalogue of and valuable comments on 21 inscriptions.

41 Dubia: see above note 4; local context: e.g. Laubry 2007: nos. 2, 6, and 21; *CIL* 6, 2366 (cf. 2365 for the woman's first burial). Also omitted is *CIL* 13, 8648 (*ILS* 2244), providing for the future transference of the bones of a *centurio* from Bononia from a battlefield in the *Bellum Varianum* to Xanthen, where his brother erected a cenotaph: *ossa…inferre licebit*.

42 Erroneously considered a cenotaph by Ricci 2006b: 83 no. 121.

43 As in the Greek epitaphs, differentiating between ὀστέα and σποδιή, or referring to cremation in another way, *ossa* cannot be taken as a metonym for any kind of mortal remains if paired with *cineres*; cf. Laubry 2007: 151 and note 21.

inscriptions, most of the deceased were in their twenties or thirties, and men prevail, though with nine examples women score better than their Greek counterparts. Looking at social profile, one quarter concerns soldiers (L2/3, 11, 24–27, 32 [2, 27 and 32 are *centuriones*]; cf. also 30: wife of an *a militiis*); we have three *liberti* in charge of high offices in the imperial administration (L1, 4, 23, the latter a *procurator* of the gold-mines in Dacia) and a subordinate administrator in the bureau of the *praefectus praetorio* in Ravenna (L21; fifth century CE); a purple merchant-*libertus* (L9) and a woman who was the associate of her husband as a merchant (L28); a freedman-physician, buried by his *patronus* (L13), two students (L16, 22) and a priestess of the imperial cult belonging to a prominent local freedmen family (L19); one woman is termed a *concubina* (L8). No qualifications are given for fourteen deceased in twelve epitaphs (L5–7, 10,[44] 12, 14/15, 17/18, 20, 30/31). On the whole, the army, the imperial administration and an elevated freedman/trade milieu appear to be the strata best represented. This yields a pattern somewhat distinct from that emerging from the Greek evidence, in which freeborn local elites, political as well as intellectual, prevail.

A comparison with the Greek inscriptions testifying to repatriation reveals some other dissimilarities as well. Firstly, the chronological range of the Latin inscriptions is more limited: they all belong to the Imperial period. If it is not the result of a different epigraphical habit, the absence of evidence for Republican times might be coincidental, since from literary sources we know of statesmen and generals transferred to Rome for state burial with elaborate ceremony in the first century BCE,[45] of the magnanimity of victors towards their slain opponents (Caesar sent home the remains of Pompey, Mark Antony those of Brutus; Plut. *Pomp*. 80; *Brut*. 53.3), and of the practice of soldiers killed in battle being brought to Rome until during the Social War the Senate decreed in 90 BCE that, "those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army" (App. *BC* 1.43). Servius (*Aen*. 5.64) states that repatriation was the standard procedure for the Romans in a remote past; accordingly, the possibility of returning the dead from abroad was already provided for in the Law of the Twelve Tables (Cic. *Leg*. 2.24.60).

A more essential difference is that some Latin inscriptions include a cardinal element lacking in the Greek sources: the official permission for the

44 The body transport does not concern Egnatia Aulina, as stated by Carroll 2009: 824, but the second deceased, Lucius Caecilus Longus; correct in Laubry 2007: 184.

45 For Sulla (78 BCE, Cumae to Rome) and the consuls Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa (43 BCE, Mutina to Rome) see Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118f.

relocation of the corpse, granted either by the pontiffs (*pontifices*) for transfers from the provinces to Rome or within Italy (L1, 10) or by the emperor in his capacity of *pontifex maximus* (L4, 23), or by the provincial governor for transportation within his territory (L29). One of these texts concerns a freedman of Trajan, Marcus Ulpius Phaedimus, who died in Selinous in Cilicia in 117 CE; however, his remains were sent to Rome only thirteen years later (L1) *ex permissu collegii pontific(um) piaculo facto*, "with permission of the college of *pontifices* after carrying out a propitiatory sacrifice".[46] The requirement of a propitiatory sacrifice shows that a *translatio corporis* (or disinterment for whatever reason) had legal as well as religious implications, also well attested in Roman legal sources.[47] In a recent comprehensive study of the subject, it has been argued that the record of the transfer in Latin epitaphs served the purpose of public certification of its legal validity in both respects.[48] Confirmation of this might be found in the observation that the emotional element abundantly present in the Greek records is only an undercurrent in their Latin counterparts. The personal touch is not absent, but generally expressed in a pretty sober tone: there is the *pietas* towards the beloved deceased, tangible in the *dulcissima memoria* of a *libertus* for his patron (L1), in a mother addressing her *filius carissimus* (L16), in sisters referring to their dead sister as "more dear to them than their own souls" (L19), or in an "unhappy father" burying the corpse of his son which he had repatriated (L17). Widowers bring home their wives because they had deserved such an honour (L14: *ob merita eius ad maiorum sepulcra*, "because of her merits to the tombs of the ancestors"; L12: *q*[*ua pi*]*etate ac castitate cum eo* [*vivens ta*]*li merito hoc meruerim*, "so that I have deserved this by such a virtue, by my sense of duty and moral purity during my life with him"). The single text pulling out all the stops is an epigram (L28) in which a merchant envelopes his spouse, business associate and housewife in the warmest of terms, deeply mourning her death. With the words *per maria et terras* (L30), another husband discreetly refers to the trouble he took in transporting his wife all the way from Dacia to Lambaesis. The nostalgia for the fatherland, though certainly a key motif in Latin funerary poetry in general,[49] rarely emerges (L. 27: *coniunx patriae gremio mandat…corpus*, "his wife confided his

46 A (much shorter) lapse in time between death and (re)burial is also recorded in L21. Cf. also G38 for a man and wife united in a grave at home long after they had died in different places.

47 Laubry 2007, especially 160–167.

48 *Ibid.* 176: "elle certifie à la communauté que l'auteur du transfert a agi dans la légalité la plus complète, face au droit et face aux dieux".

49 Arena and Bitto 2006.

body to the lap of the fatherland"; L28: *cum in patria mecum rediret*, "when she returned with me to our fatherland"). The reticence in adding a personal element to inscriptions on Latin tombstones on the one hand and the avoidance of the legal aspect on the Greek stones (though the Greek population of the Empire was similarly subject to Roman legislation) on the other, most likely is the result of differences in epigraphical convention.

A general conclusion drawn from our epigraphical *tour d'horizon* might be that the importance of being buried in home soil emerges from both Greek and Latin epitaphs from over the entire ancient world, ranging from the early Hellenistic to the late Imperial period, and that the actual repatriation of corpses was a persistent and structural phenomenon. It might be added that the expectation of being repatriated in the event of death abroad is implicit in the widespread convention of erecting a grave in the *patris* for oneself during one's lifetime.

No Bones, No Ashes: Bodies Embalmed for Transport

The repatriation of P. Aelius Cyrillus (G33) offers the occasion for a brief interlude on embalmment. Considering that Cyrillus' epitaph is engraved on a large sarcophagus, and that he was transported from Egypt, it has recently been argued that his body had probably been mummified in preparation for its return to Ankyra.[50] Papyrological evidence and mummy labels do indeed yield abundant evidence of mummies being transported to the hometowns of deceased individuals within Egypt itself.[51] However, the people concerned are all Egyptians, for whom the unity of body and spirit expressed by this most thorough variant of embalmment was of vital importance. Greeks and Romans, who shared in the age-old belief that the spirit should be set free by the decay of the body, did not consider the latter's perpetual conservation an appropriate treatment. We have seen that cremation, with the ashes and bones remaining, was the normal way for Greeks and Romans to evade the problem of putrefaction during transport.[52] There is no reason to suppose that this was not the

50 Bennett 2010. It should be noted that a sarcophagus is not necessarily indicative of the presence of a corpse or skeleton, "as cremated bodies occasionally were also deposited in sarcophagi" (Carroll 2009: 828, referring to Ortalli 2001: 225–227); a well-known example of a sarcophagus containing a cinerary urn is the Simpelveld Sarcophagus in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

51 Drexhage 1994; Boyaval 1995.

52 Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 3.5: *sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoque modo crematum* (Drusus' son Germanicus, brought from Syria to Rome in 19 CE); the bodies of

case with Cyrillus, or, for that matter, with other deceased transported from Egypt to their homelands (G9, 36). It should be underlined that the remains of travellers or migrants sent from places other than Egypt could end up in a sarcophagus (G24, L12, 16 and 19, sent from Athens, Auximum, the Pennine Valley and Rome, respectively).

Nevertheless, this does not categorically preclude some form of embalmment, as is indicated by a passage in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (2.16) concerning Euodianos of Smyrna who, after successfully occupying some prestigious offices in his native city, held the chair of rhetoric in Rome in the second century CE.[53] He had already buried his son in the City. When he felt his own end was drawing nigh, his intimate friends gathered by his bedside and

> …were consulting about his body, whether they ought to bury it there or embalm it and ship it to Smyrna, when Euodianos exclaimed in a loud voice: "I will not leave my son behind alone". Thus did he clearly enjoin on them that he should be buried in the same grave as his son.

As an alternative to burial in Rome, embalmment would not have been practised for its own sake, but would have been resorted to for the specific purpose of transporting the corpse. The verb used is ταριχεύω, which in classical authors like Herodotus and some later writers, also in papyri, refers to the Egyptian way of dealing with corpses. Nevertheless, the mummification of a Greek in Rome is even more implausible than if it had happened in Egypt.[54] Since ταριχεύω in other contexts indicates salting, pickling, drying or smoking meat and fish (also in Philostratos: *VA* 3.55, of salting fish for preservation, "as is done in the Pontos"), Euodianos' friends might have been thinking of a less rigorous form of the preservation of the body, probably a treatment with ointments, honey or wax to achieve some sort of rudimentary embalmment which would have lasted long enough to ensure its transfer to Smyrna. Ancient authors knew of the preservative qualities of honey and wax, and some also testify to the use of this technique for embalmment.[55] The Spartan kings Agesipolis (Xen. *HG* 5.3.19) and Agesilaos (Diod. 15.93.6; Nepos, *Ages.* 7), for instance, died outside

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Trajan and Septimus Severus brought back from Asia Minor and Britannia, respectively, were also cremated. For details see Cracco Ruggini 1995: 119–121.

53 Rothe 1988: 163–172; cf. W. Schmid, 'Euodianos', in: *RE* 6 (1909): 1153; Bowersock 1969: 24.

54 *LSJ*, s.v.. ταριχεύω e.g. Hdt. 2.86.1; Plato, *Phaedo* 80c8f. For some exceptional Egyptian-styled mummies found in or near Rome see below note 60.

55 Sacco 1978: 77f. note 7; Chioffi 1998: 23; Oziol 1999; Biondi and Manganaro 2010: 62f.

Sparta and were laid in honey and wax, respectively, so that they might be brought home; and the body of the exiled Judaean ruler Aristoboulos II, poisoned in Rome in 49 BCE, was embalmed in honey so that it could be sent back to the family tomb of the Hasmonaeans (Jos. *Ant.* 14.124).

Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.6) qualifies the embalmment of Poppaea Sabina, the second wife of Nero, as a foreign rite,[56] as opposed to the Roman *mos* of cremation. Tacitus' view undoubtedly takes into account that Poppaea's treatment was intended to be permanent. However, embalmment for the purpose of transporting a body is pictured as a Roman custom by Poppaea's contemporary Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 13.459–465), when he gives the ghost of Appius Claudius, the consul who had died during the siege of Capua in the battle against Hannibal, a voice.[57] Silius makes him appear to Scipio, bewailing the fact that he has not yet been buried:

> But the tardy care of my family, while observing vain rites and the people's ceremonies, is slow to place my corpse on the pyre, in order to bring the body all the way to the ancestral tomb. What I beg from you by our rival deeds in war: keep away the ointments [*medicamina*] that would preserve my rotting limbs and allow my wandering spirit to enter the gates of Acheron as soon as possible.
>
> Transl. C.M. VAN DER KEUR

Appius' body was to be treated to last the long journey from Capua to Rome, where it would be cremated; conceivably, the allusion to embalmment is not merely a reference to a quasi-mythical past, but a practice not unfamiliar to Silius' readers.[58] Some epitaphs also record that the body of the deceased is "lying in honey".[59] All this permits the conclusion that temporary embalmment

56 In a similar sense Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.45.108; cf. also Lucr. 3.890–893.

57 Bassett 1963.

58 In *Pun.* 477f. *medicata* (cf. *medicamina* in 464) is used to refer to the Pontic ritual of embalmment; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 2.138f. (*putresque arcanis roribus artus ambrosiaeque rigat sucis*), where Iris is charged with preserving the bodies of the Argive leaders, likewise for future cremation. For these references I thank C.W. van der Keur.

59 Sacco 1978; Chioffi 1998: nos. 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49. Cf. also *I. Kition* 2090 (*GV* 1201; *SEG* 49, 1966): ἐν ἀρώμασι καὶ στεφάνοις ῥοδινοις καὶ σινδόνι λεπτοφυλῇ τρυφερᾷ: "parmi les plantes aromatiques et les couronnes de roses, et dans un linceul délicatement tissé" (Oziol 1999). Merkelbach-Stauber's translation of με…τάρχυσε in 09/12/04 v. 3 as "hat mich (…) einbalsamiert" is erroneous (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ταρχύω: not connected with ταριχεύω); correct Mitchell 1982b: 131f.: "gave me burial".

using ointments, herbs, wax, honey, *vel sim.*, was occasionally practised for bringing home the dead.[60]

Narratives: The Return to the Homeland as a Cultural Norm

At this point a selection of narratives will be adduced to show how deeply the wish to be buried in native soil was anchored in ancient society as a cultural ideal. Occasionally, this material sheds some light on the process of decision making among family and friends which eludes us in the epigraphical evidence.[61]

The anecdote of Euodianos' deathbed is a case in point. What matters is that his comrades spontaneously raised the issue of repatriation rather than that the dying man frustrated their expectations. The situation shows some overtones very similar to the moving story of the death of Augustine's mother, Monica, as reported in the *Confessiones* (9.11). The family was dwelling in Ostia, awaiting embarkation for their native town Thagaste when she fell ill. Long ago Monica had made arrangements for her body to be buried with her husband, and her earnest desire had long been:

> …to make this addition unto that happiness (…) that God had granted unto her, after a long pilgrimage beyond the seas, to have now at last in her own native country, the earthly part of both man and wife covered with the same earth.

60 For the archaeological evidence see Chioffi 1998; *ibid.* 24 for mummification (including desiccation, removal of the brains and evisceration) as opposed (and occasionally overlapping with) embalmment (leaving the body intact and merely applying ointments, etc.). Chioffi does not take into account the practical purpose of transport, which – rather than religious or doctrinal considerations – is probably the rationale underlying the embalmment of at least a proportion of the corpses listed in her catalogue. Some exceptional Egyptian-style mummies found in Rome might belong to Egyptian immigrants (Toynbee 1971: 41f.), though this is not self-evident in view of the popularity of Aegyptiaca; in the case of the 'Grottarossa girl' (Chioffi 1998: 47–50 no. 10), it is now virtually certain that mummification was applied locally by people originating from Rome or its vicinity: see Ciufarella 1998, with further references.

61 For reasons of space, I omit the posthumous returns of individuals which add to the epigraphical *testimonia* (e.g. Mart. *Ep.* 9.30; 6.85; 9.76: Cappadocia to Rome; Philostr. *VA* 8.14: Rome to Melos), including the glorious homecomings of emperors and other leaders who died outside Rome (cf. above note 6 and below note 83).

However, on her deathbed she changed her mind, considering that God would be able to raise her up from any place in the world. "Nothing is far from God", she responded to Augustine's friends, much to their astonishment, to their question of "whether she was not afraid to leave her body so far from her own city?"

Somewhat ironically, the location of Monica's bones turned out to be less indifferent to posterity: first buried in an unknown place, they were transferred to the church of Sant'Aurea in Ostia in the late 6th or early 7th century.[62] In 1430 Pope Martin V ordered the relics of Santa Monica to be brought to Rome, where they were to become the subject of veneration in the Church of Sant'Agostino.

Monica's defiance of conventions was not a generally accepted stance among early Christians. We know of bishops leaving their see in old age and returning to their native places to be buried there,[63] and for examples of the transport of Christian corpses other than those of saints we can turn to our texts G2 and L21. A nice parallel for Monica's argument comes from a very different context: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp*. 1.43.104) reports on the answer the Ionian philosopher Anaxagoras gave on this deathbed, in Lampsakos in 428 BCE,

> to his friends' inquiry about whether he wished in the event of need to be taken away to Clazomenae, his native land: "There is no necessity", said he, "for from any place the road to the lower world is just as far".

Irrespective of whether these three deathbed scenes reflect historical truth, they make it clear that posthumous repatriation was the cultural norm. Like Monica, other people made provisions during their lifetime to ensure that they

62 In 1945 a Latin funerary epigram for Monica was found near the Church of Sant'Aurea in Ostia (the text was already known from a manuscript); first considered the original epitaph dating to the period after her death in 387 AD, it has now been shown to date to the late 6th or early 7th century, when "both Monica's memory and another funerary memorial (…) were erected as part of a concerted campaign to honor important figures from Ostia's Christian past" (Boin 2013: 228–230 [quotation on 229], summarizing Boin 2010: 202–207).

63 Wilhelm 1928: 409; for bishops buried outside their diocese Feissel 1989: 812–813; cf. also Habicht ad *AvP* 8.3.21, on p. 58; Jakobielsky and Van der Vliet 2011 (epitaph of Joseph, bishop of Aswan and buried in Dongola in 668 CE; *SEG* 61, 1543; the editors' assumption [29] that Joseph had suffered exile – supposedly "a turning point and (…) the single most important event in his entire career" – is unfounded).

would reach homely ground also in case of death. The Roman jurist Quintus Mucius Scaevola (*Dig*. 34.4.30.2) records the case of a *pater familias* who, before travelling from Campania to an unspecified province, instructed his heirs both by testament and by codicil to care for his body, to return it to Campania and to bury it in the tomb of his sons. To ensure that his wishes were obeyed, his heirs were to pay a fixed sum (60 gold coins) to a person called Lucius Tutius – probably a travelling companion, who could immediately take care that his testamentary disposition was carried out.

The desirability of being buried in the *patris* is formulated in an exemplary fashion by some authors of rhetorical exercises, those storehouses of *idées reçues*. In Lucian's *Praise of the Native Land* (9) it is taken for granted that:

> every aged man yearns and prays to end his life in it, that there, in the place where he began to live, he may deposit his body in the earth which nurtured him and which contains the graves of his fathers. He thinks it a calamity to be guilty of being a man without a country even after death, through lying buried in a strange land.

In one of his exercises in comparison Libanius opposes the life of the sailor to that of the farmer, arguing that

> The sweetest thing is to be buried in one's native city and to depart from life having said something to one's family. Farming provides this to farmers, but for many of those who have sailed, there is nowhere a grave, but in shipwrecks they have filled the bellies of fish.
>
> Transl. GIBSON 2009: 345

Shipwreck as a particularly horrific form of death is the subject of numerous literary epigrams, which developed into a genre of their own.[64]

In discussing themes from epigrams on stone, I mentioned that dying far from home was considered an aggravating circumstance in itself and caused great grief also for the deceased's relatives. We find this confirmed in a letter of Pliny (5.21) in which he deplores the fate of a dear friend:

> But it is more than sad, it is tragic that Julius Avitus should have died, and died at sea on his way home from the province where he had been

64 Bruss 2005: 88–96; Haussker 2009; on death at sea in epigrams on stone see *ibid.* 30–32 (cf. *SEG* 59, 1967) and Struffalino 2010.

> *quaestor*, far from his loving brother, his mother and his sisters. All this cannot affect him now that he is dead, but must have done while he was dying; and it affects those he leaves behind.

For exiles, the prospect of being deprived of their fatherland and of loving relatives not only during life but also in death, was a hideous one. Such a fate is depicted most eloquently by Ovid in his *Tristia* (3.3.29–46 and 59–72):[65]

> (29–46) Still if my lot has filled out its destined years and if the end of living is come so quickly upon me, how small a thing, ye mighty gods, to show mercy to one on the eve of death so that at least I might have been covered with my native soil! (…) So far away, then, on a strange shore I shall die, and the very place shall render harsh my fate; neither shall my body grow weak upon the familiar couch, nor when I am at the point of death shall there be any to weep, nor shall my lady's tears fall upon my face adding brief moments to my life; nor shall I utter parting words, nor with a last lament shall a loved hand close my fluttering eyes, but without funeral rites, without the honour of a tomb, this head shall lie unmourned in a barbarian land!
>
> (…)
>
> (59–72) O that our souls might perish with the body and that so no part of me might escape the greedy pyre! (…) But my bones – see that they are carried home in a little urn; so shall I not be an exile even in death. This nobody forbids (…) and mingling with my bones the leaves and powder of the nard lay them to rest in soil close to the city, and on the marble tomb carve lines for the wayfarer to read with hasty eye, lines in large characters.

Repatriation: Ideology and Practice

All this puts the picture of widespread, largely voluntary mobility arising from sundry sources into a somewhat different perspective. Perhaps it would have been unlikely for migrants to encounter physical or legal boundaries, but many of them will have had mental barriers to overcome as they set out on their journeys. Numerous inscriptions, especially epigrams, and literary sources testify in one way or another to the extremely strong bonds of affection which connected

65 Cf. also Suet. *Cal.* 15.1; Cass. Dio 63(64).3/4c.

them to their ancestral home and native soil, the trusted communities in which they had grown up in the bosom of the loving families they had left behind. These bonds were to last a lifetime, and beyond: repatriation *post mortem* was, in a sense, an act of reparation – of restoring the natural order disturbed by migration. In our sources, voices which contradict this are rare; few will have shared the cosmopolitism of Petronius Eirenaios,[66] who was evidently as happy to have spent his best years in Caesarea (in Cappadocia?) as he was with Amaseia offering him a home in old age (11/09/01; Amaseia; first-third century CE):

> Πατρ[ὶς] μέν μοι Φρυγία, θρέψε δέ με κόσμος ὁ σύμπας,
> ἤκμασα δ' ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, γῆρας θ' [ὑπε]δέξατ[ο Πόντος (?)]
>
> My native land is Phrygia, but the whole world reared me,
> In full bloom I lived in Caesarea, and [Pontos?] received my old age.

Such feelings clearly did not carry much weight with most Greeks or Romans, no matter how much they chose to wander in a world whose open frontiers allowed them to travel or migrate as often as they wished. Whatever fruits 'foreign earth' might have yielded its immigrants, the outside world remained second rate compared to their homeland.

So much for feelings and ideology, now to the more difficult question of to what extent cultural ideals and preferences influenced actual behaviour. The starting point of this discussion was the surprising proportion of texts recording or implying posthumous repatriation in a larger collection of funerary epigrams testifying to mobility. But the majority of travellers were buried abroad (Table 16.1 no. 1). There can be little doubt that the return to the *patris* so longed for by so many could be effectuated only by a minority, which is likely to have been small, if only in view of the considerable burdens involved in the operation, both in terms of finances and of the time and effort relatives or friends had to sacrifice. To mention some evidence *e contrario*: in our inscriptions, we have hit on a fair number of soldiers returned *post mortem*, but we know that the mass of soldiers who died while in service were buried outside the forts

66 Among them would have been Perikles, according to Thuc. 2.43.3: ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος; the formulation points to the opposite view among 'common men'; cf. also Plut. *De exil.* 13, on wise men buried in foreign soil, and 08/01/36, in which the deceased addresses, with uncharacteristically neutral feelings, "the earth which brought me up and that which got me subsequently and that which received me in its bosom at the end", i.e., Athens, Rome and Kyzikos, respectively.

they garrisoned, or in or near the battlefield.[67] The regulations of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinoos from Lanuvium, founded in 136 CE, include some clauses concerning the death of members outside the city. Differentiation is made according to distance, 20 miles being the watershed for the association to send representatives out to organise the funeral (probably at home, though this is not stated explicitly). Repatriation of bodies is certainly not taken into account for those who died outside this restricted area.[68] At the other end of the social spectrum, we find some cases of elite members whose relatives were buried in foreign soil, among them Catullus' brother and the half-brother of Cato the Younger, and some rare epigraphical evidence testifies to relatives travelling over vast distances to commemorate their beloved dead.[69]

About half of the epigraphically attested repatriations clearly concern elite families. The other half mentions the deceased by name, without adding public offices, *vel sim.*; they must have been ordinary though not poor civilians. It should also be remembered that among those returning home we find soldiers of ordinary rank, *liberti* and a *concubina*. Admittedly, our epigraphical *corpusculum* is small, but this is what might be expected *a priori* in view of the highly formulaic nature of prose epitaphs, which constitute about 97 per cent of Greek and Latin funeral inscriptions. The high score of repatriation recorded in (especially Greek) epigrams, a genre much more invitingly engaged in elaborations upon biographical details, is certainly meaningful. Furthermore, there is the problem, already addressed, of how to classify the numerous epitaphs erected by relatives which either mention or imply death abroad but are silent about how the body had been dealt with. For this category, it is impossible to assess the proportion of cenotaphs versus bodies transferred; nevertheless, it seems unwise to dismiss it as potential evidence for repatriation altogether.[70]

67 Carroll 2009: 825.

68 *CIL* 16, 2112 (*ILS* 7212), lines 26–33; Gabba and Tibiletti 1960: 257; Cracco Ruggini 1995: 122; Schoen 2000: 205; Laubry 2007: 152; Carroll 2009: 825. The *funeraticium* (the sum to cover burial expenses paid by the *collegium*) reserved for members dying outside the 20 miles radius could be claimed by those who had provided for the funeral abroad if they could submit the required legal evidence; some of those who took pains to travel to Lanuvium for this purpose might have taken the cinerary urn with them as well.

69 Cat. *Carm.* 65 and 101; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 11. *CIL* 3, 14406 (*ILS* 8454; two sisters in honour of their uncle; from Gaul to Beroia) and 5, 2108 (*ILS* 8453; a widow in honour of her husband, travelling 50 days from Gaul to S. Floriano, between Feltre and Vicenza).

70 As Ricci 1994: 15 and 45f., categorically does for the many soldiers of Roman urban *militiae* commemorated by their families at home, pointing to the complications and expenses involved in the *translatio*; in a similar sense Ricci 2006b: 8. For more nuanced views see Gabba and Tibiletti 1960: 256 note 4, Noy 2000: 193, and Laubry 2007: 181.

Clues that much of the information on migration, death abroad and corpses transported will forever elude us in our effort to evaluate the epigraphical evidence might lurk in three intriguing pairs of Latin epitaphs.[71] Each consists of two epitaphs, with texts identical but for some orthographical variants and hence commemorating the same person, yet found in places at vast distances from each other. Evidently the three deceased individuals were travellers or migrants commemorated both at their birthplace and abroad; three of the six memorials must have been cenotaphs, while each of the three corpses might or might not have been repatriated. But nothing of this emerges from the inscriptions, which besides the onomastic data are limited to commonplace utterances on life and death. This reticence loudly proclaims that the epitaphs which do provide details on mobility or the absence or repatriation of mortal remains are but the tip of an iceberg.

A final, and in my view strong reason not to conceive of repatriation as a wholly marginal undertaking is that several provisions were made for it in Roman legislation, in imperial *edicta* and *rescripta*.[72] The costs of transporting or shipping the remains of a deceased person were part of the privileged funeral expenses according to Ulpian. Other regulations concerned the exemption from customs duties at the provincial borders; no officials were to detain or interfere with corpses or bones, nor was anyone to prevent them from being transported on a public highway. Disinterment and transport to the place of provenance required the formal consent of the local or regional authorities concerned, especially the provincial governor, whereas movements in or to Rome or Italy were to be authorised by the pontiffs.[73]

All this suggests that the actual number of bodies returned home was considerably higher than we might expect on the basis of inscriptions alone. Therefore, the practice of moving corpses also has repercussions for the study of mobility: an unquantifiable proportion of the dead for whom funerary contexts or skeletal evidence reveal local roots, should in fact be reckoned among the migrants or travellers.

71 di Stefano Manzella 1987: 191f. The couples are *CIL* 6, 11743/*AE* 1980, 767 (Rome/Romula Malva [Dacia]); *CIL* 6, 23942/*CIL* 2, 6130 (Rome/Tarraco); *CIL* 11, 3963/*CLE* 591 (Capena/Illipula [Spain]).

72 For the following see the excellent and exhaustive discussion by Laubry 2007, mainly based on *Dig.* 11.7.12.3/4; 11.7.14.4; 11.7.37–40; 47.12.3/4.

73 *Ibid.* 173; cf. also 155 for the "multiciplité des instances reconnues par le droit romain et capables de fournir l'autorisation de transport."

Appendix. Marcellus from Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis (G27)

The meaning of the distich of which G27 consists does not immediately leap out of the words:

> Ὀστέα Μαρκέλλου στήλη φέρει, οὗ τό τε σῶμα
> καὶ φωνὴν ἐρατὴν Ἀτθὶς ἐδέξατο γῆ

or in Merkelbach-Stauber's translation: "Der Grabstein enthält die Gebeine des Markellos, dessen Leib und liebliche Stimme das attische Land empfangen hat". Now where does Marcellus' body rest: in Paphlagonia (Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis) or in Attica? This problem already puzzled the first two editors, who both suggested emending ὀστέα into ο < ὔνομ > α, since "ὀστέα ne s'oppose pas à σῶμα, mais à ψυχή par exemple et une stèle ne peut point 'porter' des ossements, mais bien une inscription" (Legrand);[74] this would have made the tomb a cenotaph.

As it happens, there are two striking parallels for the opposition σῶμα/ὀστέα in epigrams from the same city. In both, the contrast is between the σῶμα which had been lost abroad[75] and the bones now lying in a grave at home: G28 tells us that the deceased, "a foreigner among foreigners", left his σῶμα "in the flames, under the earth" (implying burial of the ashes after cremation of the flesh), whereas the earth in the πάτρις covers his bones (vv. 1–3); in G26, the σῶμα "dissolved" in Rome, conceivably by cremation,[76] whereas the [fatherland] holds the bones (vv. 1/2: σῶμα μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ λύτ[ο]... / καὶ ὀστ[έ]α ἴσχε[ι πάτρη]; the next verse explores the far more common contrast between ψυχή and ὀστέα, expected by Legrand for G27: ψυχὴν γὰρ ἔχι σύνπασα π[ά]τρη, τὰ δ'ἆρ' ὀστέα θήκη). Yet another parallel, likewise from Paphlagonia but this time from Amastris, is offered by G29, with the σῶμα destroyed by "a demon" and the ὀστέα taken to the hometown and laid to rest in a stone coffin by the

74 Legrand 1897: 94f. no. 5; cf. Foerster 1894: 371f. no. 3; the emendation is reported, but not incorporated into the text by Marek 1993: 206 no. 77. W. Peek (*GV* 1753) and Merkelbach-Stauber (10/02/26) do not address the problem.

75 Σῶμα in the sense of the 'living body, life' (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. σῶμα 2) or the body still intact immediately after death (as if still living, i.e., with the flesh not yet attacked by corruption); cf. the etymological relationship of 'life' and German 'Leib'/'Leben' (Dutch: 'lijf'/'leven'; 'lijf' [body] is still used in the sense of 'leven' in the stock expression 'het vege lijf redden'; cf. also the German Hendiadys 'Leib und Leben retten', and such similar Greek expressions as τὸ σῶμα σῴζειν/σῴζεσθαι or περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνίζεσθαι, both adduced by *LSJ*).

76 Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. λύω II.6: "in physical sense, *dissolve...melt"*, e.g. τὸ θερμὸν λύει (Arist., *Mete.* 384b.11); τι πυρὶ λ. (*Hippiatr.* 52).

deceased's foster-father (vv. 13–15: καί μου τὸ σῶμα Δωρίας ἐπὶ χθονὸς [i.e., Pergamon: v. 12] / ἐμάρανε δαίμων, ὀστᾶ δ'ἐν πάτρῃ λαβών / τροφεὺς Γέμινος λάρνακα ἐς λιθίνην θέτο).

Returning to Marcellus' epitaph with these texts in mind, it becomes perfectly clear that the grave in Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis contains Marcellus' bones, transported home after his death in Attica. Attica took Marcellus' "body and beloved voice", that is, silenced him forever. His φωνὴ ἐράτη is likely to imply that he found an audience in Athens as an orator or sophist; two epigrams in our repatriation series record a very similar situation (G22, 37),[77] and G24 tells about two young brothers who had travelled to Athens to attend the lectures of such teachers. Legrand's objection that "a stele cannot bear bones" is not much of a problem: we can either follow Foerster in assuming that we have a "Grabmal…welches oben den Behälter für den Leichnam trägt"[78] or, preferably, consider στήλη ('gravestone') a metonym for the grave and interpret φέρει in the sense of 'offers', 'presents', 'provides' (that is, 'contains'; cf. Merkelbach-Stauber's rendering "enthält").[79] Hence we might translate this epigram as follows: "The grave contains the bones of Marcellus, whose life and dear voice the Attic land received."

Postscript

Three More Posthumous Repatriations in Greek Prose Inscriptions (G21bis, G36bis, G41bis)

Shortly before this volume went into press, a new Greek inscription testifying to posthumous repatriation was kindly brought to my notice by D.F. Graf and H.I. MacAdam (no. G41bis); they will offer the detailed publication[80] of a short prose epitaph found during recent excavations of a monumental tomb in

77 G22: the priest Sakerdos from Nikaia, who had acquired "the highest gifts of ingenuity and language/eloquence" (09/05/05 v. 6: τὸν φρενὸς ἢ γλώσσας ἄκρα λαχόντα γέρα); G37: the sophist Proklos from Maximianopolis (Arabia); "such was the lot that fell to him, that in famous Athens his spirit flew from his Attic-speaking mouth" (v. 3/4: ὡς ἄρα μόρσιμον ἦεν ἐνι κλειναῖσιν Ἀθηναῖς / θυμὸν ἀποπτῆναι Ἀττικοῦ ἐκ στόματος); for his activities see the commentary of Merkelbach-Stauber *ad* 22/21/02.

78 Foerster 1894: 371f.

79 For a parallel see *GV* 2027 a (*SEG* 16, 829; Meimaris–Makrigianni 2008: no. 68) v. 1: Καρτερίης τόδε σῆμα λίψανον φέρει φθιτόν.

80 Graf and MacAdam, forthcoming; I warmly thank the authors for sharing their article with me prior to publication.

Dafyana (Arabia, Hauran; 22 kms east of Umm el-Jamal, 7 kms west of Umm al-Quttein, 20 km south of Bostra). Dated 312/313 CE, it states that Bennis son of Germanos, *officialis* of an unnamed governor, had died at age 22 in Diospontos (a province in northern-central Asia Minor created ca 308 CE which existed at least until 325 CE) and was brought home (κομισθείς) by his slave (οἰκέτης) Sisinnios; the latter may also have been responsible for commissioning the inscription. Since Bennis' gravestone was found in a "monumental tomb", he was probably interred with members of his family. The epitaph's opening expression (Ἐνθάδε πρῶτος ἐτάφη) is peculiar; Graf and Macadam convincingly argue that ἐνθάδε πρῶτος is very likely to mean "Here for the first time", implying that Bennis had not yet been buried in Diospontos: an indirect testimony of the practice of disentombment for the purpose of repatriation, which is explicitly attested in G32 (see above, Section 2 *in fine*). Sisinnios, then, must have accompanied his master to Diospontos; when Bennis died (in circumstances unknown), he was in a position to organize transport immediately. Whether Bennis merely travelled through Diospontos or served in the administration of the new province remains unclear; his title suggests that he held a lower rank on the staff of a governor (cf. e.g. L21), either of Diospontos or of Arabia.

Among the epigraphic parallels for transportion of mortal remains discussed by Graf and MacAdam are two Greek prose inscriptions which had escaped my notice, thus confirming very soon my suspicion that "more examples might lurk in the numerous *corpora*" which are hard to trace (above, p. 402).[81] The first text (G21bis) offers further evidence for the return of elite members; interestingly, it concerns the top echelon of the Roman imperial administration, not represented in the other inscriptions of our collection (but see G11 for a son or relative of a consular). In 117 CE, prior to August, a honorary inscription for C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus[82] was engraved on the front of a statue base erected in the Asklepieion of his native city Pergamon; these honours were awarded to Bassus by the city of Seleukeia-on-the-Euphrates/Zeugma in recognition of his governorship of Syria-Phoenicia-Kommagene

81 Characteristically, these two inscriptions were brought to Graf's and MacAdam's attention by Christian Habicht and Frank Trombley, respectively, who evidently could draw on memories from previous research (*AvP* 8.3, 21; Trombley 2004: 82); similarly, I owe my knowledge of the prose epitaph G24 to Georg Petzl's intimacy with the Greek epigraphy of Lydia.

82 For ample comment on his impressive career see C. Habicht *ad AvP* 8.3, 21. Bassus died aged ca. 50.

from 115 to August 117 CE. The right side of the base bears a slightly later addition (LL. 26–37, either engraved later in 117 or early in 118 CE) specifying that the honorand had died during a military campaign in Dacia (where he had served as a governor since August 117), that "his body was brought to Asia [i.e., to Pergamon] lifted by soldiers drawn up under the standards of the chief centurio Quintilius Capito" (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἠνέχθη βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν τεταγμένων ὑπὸ σημέα ἑκατοντάρχου πρειμοπειλαρίου Κυϊντιλίου Καπίτωνος), and that he was given a solemn public burial on the order of Hadrian, with his body being carried "at the head of a procession through the whole city and the military barracks" (γεινομένης αὐτῷ προπομπῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολήν); his tomb was financed by the *fiscus*. The military escort of the corpse and the sumptuous public funerary ceremonial have no parallels in our epigraphic documentation, but they are reminiscent of the illustrious transportations of prominent Roman dead to the City known from literary sources.[83]

The second text, yet another prose epitaph, evokes a dark scene on the opposite side of the social spectrum: G36bis relates the tragic story of the two cousins Barsephones and Antiochos, murdered at the rural "inn of Theodoros near [Syrian] Laodikeia" in 342 CE. They were brought over (μετενέχθησαν) for burial to their native village, modern Kfeirhaya in the Antiochene, by three brothers of one of the victims, who also erected the tomb (referred to as an εὐψυχία, unusual in this sense).[84] As pointed out by F. Trombley, most members of the family "have typically Syrian names and seem to have been local folk".[85] This observation fits the inscription's "syntaxe confuse",[86] careless lettering and orthographical errors. The unfortunate cousins and their relatives would never have imagined that we welcome them as a valuable addition to the category of "ordinary though not poor civilians" who constitute "about half of the epigraphically attested repatriations" (cf. above, Section 6).

83 Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118–125, inter alia Sulla (Cumae to Rome in 78 BCE); the consuls Hirtius and Pansa (Mutina to Rome in 43 BCE); Drusus (Nola to Rome in 14 CE); Germanicus (Antioch-on-the-Orontes to Rome in 19 CE); Trajan (Cilicia to Rome in 117 CE); Septimius Severus (York to Romein 211 CE). Cf. also above notes 1 and 6.

84 Literally a 'tomb to give them courage'; cf. the frequent funerary formula εὐψύχει.

85 Trombley 2004: 82 (with a translation of the inscription).

86 As noted by its first editor H. Seyrig, in Tchalenko 1953: 31.

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains*

	References[a]	Provenance stone	Date text[b]	Place of death	Place of burial
	Thessaly				
G1	*GV* 1752	Demetrias	3 BCE	Eidomene (north of Pella)	Demetrias
	Macedonia				
G2	*I. Épidamne* T 527bis; *GV* 2036	Edessa	3–4 CE	Dyrrhachion	Edessa
	Moesia				
G3	*I. Kallatis* 138; *GV* 1279	Kallatis	2–3 CE	Unknown	Kallatis
G4	*I. Tomis* 189; *GV* 1026	Tomis	2 CE	Smyrna	Tomis
	Aegean islands				
G5	*IG* 12.1.140; *GV* 920	Rhodes	3 BCE	Rhodes	Paphos
G6	*I. Cos* 352	Kos	1 BCE–1 CE	Unknown	Kos
G7	*IG* 12.5.305; *GV* 1156; *SEG* 26, 1003; 30, 1062	Paros	1 BCE	Mylasa	Paros
G8	*IG* 12.7.445; *GV* 741; *SEG* 53, 906 ter	Angiale (Amorgos)	3 CE	Unknown	Angiale
	Italy				
G9	*IG* 14, 1976; *IGUR* 1321; *GV* 1169	Rome	3–4 CE	Egypt (Alexandria?)	Rome

a For nos. G 21bis, G 36bis and G 41bis see Postscript.

b 3 BCE = 3rd cent. BCE, etc.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, young, with living mother	Mother and sister	Lost life (ψυχή) in Eidomene, "but his ὀστέα came here as a painful grief for mother and sister"; painting representing a young man holding a scroll
M, adult with son	Son, younger than 18	The son retrieved the ὀστέα and buried them not yet aged 18; at 18, he buried his mother in the same tomb, where he was also interred himself together with his wife later; probably Christian
M, young, with living parents	Parents	Death by illness "in a foreign land"; return of the "remains from the ashes" (λείψανα ἐκ σποδιῆς) to the parents
M, 17 Athlete	Parents	Death in Smyrna on his way to the (Delphic) Pythia; the ὀστέα are covered "by this stone here"
M, young, with living father	Father and brother	Cenotaph; transport of the ὀστέα in an urn (κάλπις)
M, adult	Son	Death "in a foreign land"; transport by son with the support of his tutor and a friend of his father
M, adult; sent to Mylasa as a judge with his son acting as a secretary	Son	Cremation ceremony in Mylasa (golden branches; sacrifice of a bull); transport and burial of the ὀστέα by son
M, 5	Parents	Death at sea; the boy "lies in this grave" (σῆμα; τάφος); burial by mother
M, adult with two children	Wife	Transport of the deceased (νέκρος) over sea by his wife; reburial in Rome in a grave where his two children were also interred later

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
G10	*IG* 14, 2122; *IGUR* 1323; *GV* 1456	Rome	2–3 CE	Rome	Syria or Palaestina (?)
	Caria				
G11	Roueché, *Performers* no. 56	Aphrodisias	3 CE (after 238)	Rome	Aphrodisias
G12	M-S 01/12/18	Halikarnassos	1–3 CE	Patara	Halikarnassos
	Ionia				
G13	M-S 01/20/27	Miletos	2 CE?	Unknown	Miletos
G14	M-S 03/02/72	Ephesos	1–3 CE	Lesbos	Ephesos
G15	*SEG* 53, 1312	Metropolis	132 BCE	Thyateira (area)	Metropolis
G16	M-S 03/07/17	Erythrai	2 BCE	Unknown	Erythrai
G17	M-S 03/07/19	Erythrai	1 CE	Klaros	Erythrai
	Caria				
G18	*I. Stratonikeia* 1206	Stratonikeia	1 BCE	Rome	Stratonikeia
	Lydia				
G19	M-S *04/06/04[c]	Attaleia	1–3 CE	Unknown	Attaleia

c Not in Merkelbach and Stauber. M.-S.-no. assigned by edd.pr. Staab and Petzl (2010) 4–6 no. 2. Now also in *SEG* LX 1288.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
F, 11 months	Mother	Vow of mother to send the remains (λείψανα) "to your fatherland"
M, adult; son or relative of a consular; president for life of the Gordianea Attalea; prob. ambassador to Rome	Friend	Transport of the corpse (πτωμάτιον; unparalleled diminutive of πτῶμα) from Rome, burial and erection of an image by friend
M, with living parents or grandparents	Parents or grandparents	"From the land of the Pataraans you were transferred to your fatherland" (ἐκ γῆς Παταρέων εἰς πάτραν μετηνέχθης)
M, with living brother	Brother	Death far away, but "the earth of Neileus, [i.e., Miletos] which had reared you, has received you (again)"
M, 18; student	Parents, brother	Transport by brother "on a sea-swift ship"
M, adult with sons	Sons	Posthumous honorary inscription for a member of the urban elite killed in the war against Aristonikos; transfer of the ὀστέα to a heroon at the family estate
M, young adult	Mother	Death at sea; transport of the ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai by mother
M, young adult	Mother	Death on a visit of the Apollo sanctuary; cremation in Klaros (τῆι...φλογὶ κάππεσον); transport of ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai
M, adult Ambassador to the Senate	Demos of Stratonikeia	Posthumous honorary inscription; state burial (ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν)
M, 13	Mother (and father?)	Transport of corpse (νέκυς) to the *patris* by friends

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
G20	*TAM* 5.1.474 (+*SEG* 34, 1203); *SEG* 45, 1638	Iaza	223/224 CE	Ephesos	Iaza
	Aiolis				
G21	M-S 05/03/05	Kyme	2–1 BCE	Unknown	Chios
	Mysia				
G21 bis	*AvP* 8.3, 21	Pergamon	117 or 118 CE	Dacia	Pergamon
	Bithynia				
G22	M-S 09/05/04–07	Nikaia	2 CE	Athens	Nikaia
G23	M-S 09/05/16	Nikaia	281 BCE?	Kouropedion	Nikaia
G24	M-S *09/06/21[d]	Nikomedia	Undated [2–3 CE]	Athens	Nikomedia
G25	Dörner (1952) 58 no. 154	Klaudioupolis	Undated [1–3 CE]	Unknown	Klaudioupolis
	Paphlagonia				
G26	M-S 10/02/03	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Rome	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis

d Not in Merkelbach and Stauber; M.-S.-no. assigned by us. Ed.pr. Akyürek Şahin (2011) 349–356, with the corrections of Jones (2014) 29f. See also B. Puech, *AE* (2011) [2014] no. 1260.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, adult with living parents; cavalry soldier stationed in Ephesos	Parents	Buried "here at home" (ὧδε ἐτέθην εἰς τὰ ἐμά), after having been "deprived of the fine company of his comrades in Ephesos"
F, 25	Son	Mother of the deceased, who had previously died abroad
M, ca. 50; governor of Dacia with an impressive *cursus honorum*	The city of Pergamon, on the order of Hadrian	Death during military campaign; military escort of the corpse (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἠνέχθη βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν); solemn public burial with a procession through city and barracks (προπομπὴ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολήν) on the order of Hadrian; tomb financed by the *fiscus*
M, married, with son Priest; benefactor of Nikaia.	Son	Attica, where the cremation took place (ἁ νέκυν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα Ἀτθις), and the fatherland, which received the bones (ὀστέα δεξαμένα), are rivals for the remains (05); πάτρη μὲν ἔδεκτο φίλον νέκυν, ἤγνισε δ' Ἀτθὶς πυρκαϊῇ (06); ἐπὶ γαίας Ἀτθίδος…πυρκαϊᾶς ἐπέβαν (07); large tomb and (or: in the shape of a) pyramid (04)
M, adult; soldier	Unknown	Killed in battle; the ὀστέα lie in a "long tomb" (sc. in Nikaia)
M, 20; student	Brother and one other relative	Two brothers travelled together to study in Athens, where one of them died; transport by brother; "whom Greece had reared, now a stone holds"; Sarcophagus (σόρος)
M, 20, with living parents Jurist	Parents	Death "in a foreign land" and transport home; "already a famous lawyer"
M, adult, married	Wife	σῶμα lost in Rome, ὀστέα in the fatherland in a θήκη (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
G27	M-S 10/02/26 (see Appendix)	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Attica	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis
G28	M-S 10/02/29	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Unknown	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis
G29	M-S 10/03/02	Amastris	155 CE	"Doric land": Herakleia Pontike?	Amastris
G30	M-S 10/03/07	Amastris	144 CE	Troas	Amastris
	Pontos				
G31	M-S 11/07/12	Amaseia	3 CE	Bithynia	Amaseia
G32	M-S 11/15/01	Nikopolis	1–3 CE	Unknown	Nikopolis
	Galatia				
G33	*I. Ancyra* 306; *SEG* 27, 866	Ankyra	2 CE	Alexandria	Ankyra
	Phrygia				
G34	M-S 16/33/05	Lamounia	?	unknown	Lamounia
G35	M-S 16/34/14	Dorylaion	?	unknown	Dorylaion
	Cilicia				
G36	M-S 18/18/01	Kolybrassos	4 CE	Thebais (Egypt)	Kolybrassos

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M Sophist/orator	Unknown	Attica holds the σῶμα, the inscribed grave stone (στήλη) the ὀστέα (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)
M, adult, married with 3 children	Wife, and 3 children	Death and cremation (λίπον ἐν φλόγμῳ σῶμα) abroad (ἐνὶ ξεινοῖς), the earth of the patris covers the ὀστέα (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)
M, 30 Athlete/dancer	Foster father (also his trainer)	"My foster father took with him the ὀστέα and put them in a stone container (λάρνακα ἐς λιθίνην) in the fatherland"
M, 24 Jurist	Father and brother	"I have to thank my brother and father" (sc. for burying me in the fatherland)
M, young adult; jurist; *synedros* (assessor) of the *conventus* of Bithynia	Father	"The father brought the ὀστὲα to the fatherland and laid them inside (this grave here), where (also) the ancestors (rest)"
M, young adult with living parents; doctor and "servant of the Muses"	Parents	"Whom formerly covered foreign earth, but now the tomb in his fatherland Nikopolis": reburial
M, young adult; councillor in Ankyra and other cities	Two brothers	Transported and buried by two brothers "deemed worth of the heirship"; sarcophagus (λάρναξ)
F, 13, unmarried; probably adopted by uncle living abroad	Parents	Death in foreign land, but "the tomb (τύμβος) here helds" the deceased
M, one deceased son	Unknown	"The stone covers the ὀστέα of father and son"; it received the father after he had died in an unbefitting way (οὐχ ὁσίως) on foreign soil
M, adult; jurist (study in Berytos); judge in Palaestina; *assessor* of a *praeses* of the Thebais	Father	Transport by father across "the vast Nile and the sea"

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
	Syria				
G36bis	*SEG* 20, 352	Kfeirhaya (Antiochene)	342 CE	Laodikeia (area)	Kfeirhaya
	Arabia				
G37	M-S 22/21/02	Maximinio-polis	2–3 CE	Athens	Sakkaia – Maximianopolis
G38	M-S 22/37/01	Namara	2–3 CE	Two unknown places	Namara
G39	M-S 22/49/01	Hauran?	271 CE?	Egypt	Arabia (Hauran?)
G40	*IGLS* 13.2.9396; *IGR* 3, 1329	Bostra	320/321 CE	Mesopotamia	Bostra
G41	*IGLS* 16.2.611, forth-coming; *LBW* 2121; *IGR* 3, 1140	Eitha (Hauran)	2–3 CE	Unknown (probably Syria/Arabia)	Eitha (Hauran)
G41bis	Graf and MacAdam, forthcoming	Dafyana (Hauran)	312/313 CE	Diospontos	Dafyana
	Egypt				
G42	*GV* 1827; Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 62	Alexandria	3 BCE	Kaunos	Alexandria
	Unknown provenance				
G43	*GV* 645	Unknown	1 CE	Unknown	Italy

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
2 × M, cousins; young adults, one with 3 living brothers	Three brothers/ cousins	Murdered at a rural inn; brought home (μετενέχθησαν) by their brothers/cousins who erected a "monument to give them courage" (εὐψυχία)
M Sophist/orator	Unknown	"This grave has received" the deceased, who died in Attica
M and F, couple	Nephew	The nephew collected the remains (λείψανα) of his uncle and aunt from different places to bury them in the family grave ("with the ancestors")
M, adult, with living mother and uncle; possibly soldier	Mother and uncle	Death in Egypt of a soldier (?), possibly killed in the campaign of Zenobia (271 CE); report on corpses left unburied in Egypt, contrasted with the burial of the deceased (in Arabia)
M, adult Soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica*	Unknown	"Having died in Mesopotamia, whose ὀστᾶ lie here"
M, adult; cavalry soldier in the *ala Agrippiana*	Unknown	Death during service in the Ala Agrippiana, with which he had "returned from Germany"; transferred from its new station to his birthplace
M, 22; *officialis* on the staff of a governor	His slave	Transported (κομισθείς) by his (house) slave (οἰκέτης)
M, young, with living parents; active in the gymnasium	Parents	The father transported the "pale bones" (ὀστέα πηγά) for interment "here" (in Alexandria), after cremation of the σάρκας in Kaunos
M, 32	Parents, brothers, wife, children	The grave (ἠρίον) is "not empty" (οὐ κενόν), since "brotherly care" sent the ὀστέα from Italy

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains*

	References[a]	Provenance stone	Date text[b]	Place of death	Place of burial
	Rome				
L1	*CIL* 6, 1884; *ILS* 1792; Laubry no. 1	Rome	130 CE	Selinous (Cilicia)	Rome
L2	*CIL* 6, 2464; *ILS* 2089; Laubry no. 3	Rome	Severan	Britannia	Rome
L3	*CIL* 6, 2938; *CLE* 1099; Laubry no. 4	Rome	1–2 CE	Rome	Verona
L4	*CIL* 6, 8878; *ILS* 1685; Laubry no. 5	Rome	2 CE	Carnuntum	Rome
L5	*CIL* 6, 15493	Rome	2 CE	Rome	Amiens
L6	*CIL* 6, 20674; *CLE* 436	Rome	ca. 100 CE	Spain	Rome
L7	*CIL* 6, 24792 = 34154; *CLE* 1062	Rome	1 CE	Unknown	Rome
	Italy				
L8	*CIL* 14, 3777; Laubry no. 7	Tibur	1–2 CE	Sardinia	Tibur
L9	*AE* 1972, 74; Laubry no. 8	Aquinum	1 CE	Aquinum	Placentia
L10	*CIL* 9, 4881; *ILS* 8390; Laubry no. 9	Trebula Mutuesca	1 CE?	unknown (Italy)	Trebula Mutuesca

a Laubry no. = Laubry (2007) 181–188 (nos. of catalogue).

b 3 BCE = 3rd cent. BCE, etc.

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, 28; Imperial *libertus* of high rank, close to Trajan	Imperial *libertus*, *vicarius* of the deceased?	*reliquiae traiectae*; Death in 117 CE; Transport permitted by the pontiffs
M Soldier (*centurio*)	His *libertus* and heir	Possibly killed in the Britannic expedition of Septimius Severus (209 CE); transport by slave; sarcophagus
M; soldier (*signifer cohortis XIIII*)	His heirs	Cenotaph; double commemoration: *ossa relata domum, cinis hic adoperta quiescit*; epigram composed by colleague and friend
M, 42 *Libertus* of Antoninus Pius, high rank in the imperial administration	Wife	*reliquias…ipsa pertulit consecravitque*; possibly killed in the expedition of M. Aurelius against the Marcomanni (170–172 CE); transport permitted by the emperor; urn
F	Two sons	*hic matris cineres sola sacravimus ara, quae genuit tellus, osta teget tumulo*: double commemoration: ashes in Rome (altar); bones sent to Amiens (*tumulus*)
2 × F, mother and daughter	Husband/father	*quas habet hoc…sepulcrum*; death by shipwreck on a voyage to Spain; large double urn
M, with living father	Father	*cineres alius locus, hic habet ossa*: double commemoration: ashes in an unknown place, bones sent to Rome
F, *concubina*	'Husband'	*ossa translata*
M, 35 *libertus*, purple merchant	*conlibertus et socius*	cenotaph; *ossa transtulit*
M	Unknown	*in hoc* (sc. *monumento*) *corpus tralatum est*; the deceased is probably not from Trebula Mutuesca in view of his *tribus* (see Laubry no. 9); Permission of the pontiffs

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
L11	*AE* 1900, 2	Isola del Gran Sasso (area)	3 CE	Falerii	Isola del Gran Sasso (area)
L12	*CIL* 9, 5860; *ILS* 8234; Laubry no. 10	Auximum	2–3 CE	Nikomedia (Bithynia)	Auximum
L13	*CIL* 11, 5836; *ILS* 7794; *CLE* 1252	Iguvium	? [1–3 CE]	Clusinum	Iguvium
L14	*AE* 1992, 813; *Suppl. It.* 9, 293/4 no. 51; Laubry no. 11	Ticinum (area)	3–4 CE	Trier	Ticinum
	Lusitania				
L15	*CIL* 2, 6271	Scallabis Praesidium Iulium	?[1–3 CE]	Rome	Scallabis Praesidium Iulium
	Alpes Poeninae				
L16	*CIL* 12, 118; Laubry no. 12	Aime en Tarentaise	2–3 CE	Pennine Valley (=Valois)	Brigantio (unidentified)
L17	*CIL* 12, 155; Laubry no. 13	St. Moritz	2–3 CE	Rome	St. Moritz
	Gaul				
L18	*CIL* 12, 916; *CLE* 138	Arelate	?[1–3 CE]	Unknown	Arelate
L19	*CIL* 13, 2181; *ILS* 8098; Laubry no. 14	Lyon	2 CE	Rome	Lyon
	Dalmatia				
L20	*CIL* 3, 2083; *CLE* 1060	Salona	2–3 CE	Rome (brother) Sipuntum (sister)	Salona
L21	*CIL* 3, 9518; *ILS* 9045	Salona	437 CE	Ravenna	Salona

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, with living father; Soldier (*speculator*)	Father	*cuius cineres…rettulit pater*: ashes sent to Isola del Gran Sasso (area)
F, 28	Husband, imperial *libertus*	*hic translata*; born in Rome, travelled "in Italy and [the provinces]"; sarcophagus
M, adult *libertus*, physician	Patron	*cineres flammae cessere sepulchro, patronus patrio condidit ossa solo*: ashes buried in Clusinum bones sent to Iguvium
F, 27	Husband	*corpus ob merita eius…ad maiorum sepulcra… perduxit*; sarcophagus
M, 25	Father	*reliquiae hic sitae sunt*
M, 16; student	Mother	*reliquis eius huc delatis*; sarcophagus
M, 25	Father	*pater…corpus eius deportatum hic condidit*
Unknown	Unknown	*in hoc sepulcro sunt ossa…alibi sunt cineres*; fragment
F, 25; priestess of the imperial cult	Two sisters	*corpus…adferri curaverunt*; member of leading freedman family in Lyon; sarcophagus in a mausoleum
M and F, brother and sister, with living mother	Mother	*ossa non iustis intulit exsequiis*
M; subordinate in the office of the praetorian prefect	Unknown	Death in Ravenna on August 19, 437 CE; burial in Salona on October 15 of the same year; Christian

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains* (cont.)

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
L22	*CIL* 3, 6414; *CLE* 588	Scardona (Dalmatia)	4 CE	Rome	Scardona (Dalmatia)
	Dacia				
L23	*CIL* 3, 1312; *ILS* 1593; Laubry no. 15	Ampelum	120–140 CE	Ampelum	Rome
	Pannonia inferior				
L24	*CIL* 3, 4487	Carnuntum	2–3 CE?	Rome	Carnuntum
L25	*CIL* 3, 13374	Aquincum	3–4 CE?	Perinthos	Aquincum
L26	*AE* 2004, 1143; Mároti (2003) no. 54	Aquincum	214–220 CE	Lauriacum (Noricum)	Aquincum
	Africa Proconsularis				
L27	*CIL* 8, 12128; *ILS* 2380; *CLE* 522; *ILTun* 582; Laubry no. 16	Chusira	3 CE?	Gaul	Chusira
L28	*CIL* 8, 152; *CLE* 516; *ILTun* 297; Laubry no. 17	Sommet el Amra	2–3 CE?	Carthage	Sommet el Amra
L29	*ILS* 7742 a; *ILAlg* 1, 1363; Laubry no. 18	Thubursicum Numidarum	2–3 CE	Carthage	Thubursicum Numidarum
L30	*CIL* 8, 2772; Laubry no. 19	Lambaesis	Severan	Dacia	Lambaesis
L31	*CIL* 8, 27532	Henchir el-Kouskiss	2–3 CE?	Rome	Henchir el-Kouskiss
L32	*AE* 1957, 249; *ILAlg* 2^3, 9109; Laubry no. 20	Castellum Arsacalitanum	2 CE	Britannia	Castellum Arsacalitanum

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, 22; student	Father	*cuiusque reversum crudeli funere corpus exequitur genitor*
M, 55; *libertus* of Trajan, procurator of the gold mines	Wife and *libertus*	Cenotaph; *reliquiae… Romam latae*; transport by permission of the emperor
M, 28; soldier of the *cohors I praetoria*	Sister	Death at the *praetorium*; an epigram states that the *ossa* of the soldier and those of his mother lie in the grave
M, 36; soldier	Wife and two daughters	*qui defunctus est Perento et ossua eiius in unc locu sunt* (sic); born in Mursa; apparently stationed in Aquincum, where he lived with his family
M, with grandson Soldier	Wife and son	*relicias corporis sibi allatas*; transport by grandson. participated in Caracalla's campaign against the Alamani; sarcophagus
M; soldier (*cornicularius* and *speculator legionis* in Germania, *centurio* in Gaul)	Wife	*coniux patriae gremio mandat…corpus*
F Merchant (associate of husband)	Husband	Death in Carthage on the couple's way home from Rome
M, 18 Student (*utraque*) *lingua eruditus*	Father, equestrian	*relatis reliquiis*; transport by permission of the governor
F, 27	Husband, *a militiis*	*per maria et terras retulit reliquias.*
M, 21	Unknown	*Romae defunctus…hic situs est*
M, 38, soldier (*centurio*)	Unknown	*hic situs est*