

THEMES IN GREEK AND LATIN
EPITAPHS

BY
RICHMOND LATTIMORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
URBANA

1942

Dioscuri,⁴⁸ and the Shuttle-Maidens of Boeotia, who sacrificed themselves to stay a plague, were made into stars by Persephone and Hades.⁴⁹

The idea of the soul escaping from the earthly body to the sky appears in some of the poems of the *Anthology*, a clear instance being:

τοίης τύμβον ἄθρησον' ἐς οὐρανίας γὰρ ἀταρπούς
ψυχὴ παπταίνει σῶμ' ἀποδυσάμενη.⁵⁰

Such was she: behold her tomb. Her soul has stripped off its body and looks on the courses of the sky.

Here and in several other cases⁵¹ the tomb holds, not the entire being of the dead, but only the mortal or bodily part, while the soul is among the blessed or the stars. The soul of Protagoras has re-joined the σοφοί,⁵² that of one Zenodotus is in heaven with Plato and Orpheus.⁵³ Philip of Thessalonica expresses the contrast somewhat differently:

ἦλθεν δ' εἰς Ἀἴδαο δέμας, ψυχὴ δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον.⁵⁴

The body has gone to Hades, the soul to Olympus.

Here the sky is contrasted not with the tomb but with the house of Death. The contrast is once drawn between the destinies of δέμας and ἦτορ.⁵⁵ That the dead man resides among the stars is asserted, though perhaps not seriously, in an epigram attributed to Plato:

Ἄστηρ πρὶν μὲν ἑλαμπες ἐνὶ ζφούσιν Ἑῶος,
νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις;⁵⁶

Aster, once you were the Morning Star among the living; now you have died and shine as Evening Star among the dead.

§3. In Greek sepulchral inscriptions, when the nature of the soul is mentioned, it is generally conceived as something contained within

⁴⁸ Euripides, *Helen* 138-140.

⁴⁹ Cf. Antonius Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 25; Corinna, fr. 28 Edmonds. For further details and comparison with oriental beliefs, cf. Cumont, *After Life*, third lecture.

⁵⁰ *AP* 7, 337, 7-8.

⁵¹ Cf. *AP* 7, 61, 62; Bianor, *AP* 7, 49; Diogenes Laertius, *AP* 7, 87, 131.

⁵² *AP* 7, 131.

⁵³ *AP* 7, 363.

⁵⁴ *AP* 7, 362, 3.

⁵⁵ *AP* 7, 672. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 18.

⁵⁶ *AP* 7, 670. Cf. also *AP* 7, 64, 391. We may compare Chaucer, *Troilus* 1807-1813:

And when that he was slayn in this manere
His lighte gost ful blisfully is wente
Up to holughnesse of the seuenithe spere
In conuers letynge euerych elemente
And ther he saugh with ful ayssement
The erratyk sterres herkenynge armonye
With sownes ful of hevenyssh melodie.

One is reminded also of the conclusion of Milton's *Lycidas* and of Shelley's *Adonais*.

the body in life and released in death. Much imagery of the sort we find in literature reappears in epitaphs, although rarely in instances from the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. The soul is the breath of life.⁵⁷ It is a garment which the essential man beneath strips off.⁵⁸ The soul is a winged, fluttering thing which escapes:

Ἐνθάδε Ἀκυλεῖνον καὶ τοῦδε Τειμ[ίη]ν συνόμενον
γαῖα φίλη κατέχει ψυχῆς ἀποπ[τ]αμένης.⁵⁹

Here their beloved land holds Aculinus and his wife; for the soul of each has fluttered away.

ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη μ[ε]τὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους
ἦλυθε σή, ναίεις δ' ἐν μακάρῳ[ν] δαπέδῳ.⁶⁰

Your soul has flown away from the limbs to the other divine spirits, and you dwell in the plain of the blessed.

ὥς ἄνεμος γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐπετάσθη.⁶¹

She vanished (?) just like the wind.

It may be spoken of as if it were an eidolon tangled among mortal limbs.⁶² Once both πνεῦμα and ψυχὴ are said to remain, that is, to exist, although the body lies underneath.⁶³ In a Lycaonian inscription we find the strange phrase:

αἵματι καὶ ψυχῆς πνεύματι λε[ι]πόμενος.⁶⁴

Lacking blood and the soul's breath.

Description of the soul's separation from its body may involve imagery which has Orphic associations:

ἔκλιπε καὶ ψυχὰ σῶμα σὸν ἀντίπαλον.⁶⁵

And your soul has escaped the body, its antagonist.

δεσμὸν, ᾧ φύσις συνείχε με.⁶⁶

The bonds in which nature held me.

The soul may be released from the eyes:

ἄχρις οὗτου ψυχὴν μου μητρὸς χέρες εἶλον ἀπ' ὄσσω.⁶⁷

Until my mother's hands took my soul from my eyes.

⁵⁷ EG 184, 4 (Corcyra, 3d cent. B.C.); IG 12, 1, 143 (Rhodes); Salac, BCH 51 (1927), 387 (Cyme). ⁵⁸ EG 403, 5 (Sebastopol, late): σῶμ' ἀποδυσόμενος.

⁵⁹ EG 425, 1-2. Τειμ[ίη]ν instead of Kaibel's Τειμ[ίη]ν would make the verse scan better, though still not properly. Quantities are disregarded throughout this epigram.

⁶⁰ EG 243, 5-6 (Pergamum 2d cent. A.D.).

⁶¹ Guarducci, *Riv. Fil.* 57 (1929), 380 (Aptera, Crete, 3d or 4th cent. A.D.).

⁶² Cf. EG 594, 603, 653 (all from Rome).

⁶³ IG 14, 1720 (Rome). For the ψυχὴ cf. also *Samm.* 1991; Peek, *Ath. Mitth.* 56 (1931), 122.

⁶⁴ SEG 6, 414, 6.

⁶⁵ SEG 3, 612, 4.

⁶⁶ EG 463, 2 (Crommyon, 2d or 3d cent. A.D.).

⁶⁷ EG 314, 24 (Smyrna, 3d cent. A.D.). Mention may also be made of EG 372 (near Cotiaeum, late), in which the ghost of a dead girl returns on the ninth day to comfort her mother. This is the ψυχὴ, temporarily set free. Cf. Rohde 259.

Once death is described in the phrase:

*mens clara recessit.*⁸⁰

As a rule, the departing life-element is *anima* or *spiritus*. A distinction may be recognized between *animus* and *anima*:

*animus sanctus cum maritost, anima caelo reddita est.*⁸¹

Spiritus may be thought of as superhuman and immaterial:

*Terrenum corpus, caelestis spiritus in me
quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic
et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus.*⁸²

However, in phrases such as *spiritum exsoluit*,⁸³ or *iacet sine anima*,⁸⁴ no such meaning seems to be intended.⁸⁵ The soul may be breath; it is taken from the lips of a dying woman by her husband:

*quoius in ore animam frigida deposui.*⁸⁶

§4. From conceptions of the soul such as those considered above, there developed a mode of expression in which its fate after death is contrasted with that of the body. An explicit dualism is frequent. The body is earth and returns to earth; the soul belongs to the air, the winds, or any place which may be localized in the sky. This thought occurs in the fifth-century epigram on the Athenian dead at Potidaea:

Αἰθήρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώματα δὲ χθών.⁸⁷

Air has taken their souls, and earth their bodies.

Other examples follow:

Εὐρυμάχου ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφιάλους διαβολὰς
αἰθήρ ὑγρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ὀδε.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ CE 1770, 1 (Lyon).

⁸¹ CE 1559, 3 (Rome, about 300 A.D.). For the meaning, cf. Buecheler's note on the line. The *animus*, which is intelligent, does not return to the sky; what does is no doubt something akin to the winds.

⁸² CE 591 (near Soracte).

⁸³ CIL 6, 6423.

⁸⁴ CE 1568, 2 (Rome).

⁸⁵ Cf. CE 1559, 13-14:

*hic corpus vatis Laberi, nam spiritus ivit
illuc unde ortus. quaerite fontem animae.*

⁸⁶ CE 1030, 2 (Rome). Cf. CIL 10, 2564 (Puteoli).

⁸⁷ EG 21b, 1. Cf. Thucydides 1, 63.

⁸⁸ EG 41 (Piraeus, 4th cent. B.C.).

THEMES IN GREEK AND LATIN EPITAPHS

The moist air has the soul and the powerful mind of Eurymachus, but this tomb holds his body.

ψυχὴν αἰθέρι δοὺς σῶμα ἐκάλυψε [κάνει.⁸⁹

The soul given to the air and the body concealed in dust.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κεύθει μικρὰ κόνις ἀμφιχυθεῖσα,
ψυχὴν δ' ἐκ μελέων οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ἔχει.⁹⁰

As for this (the body) a little dust which has been shed over it conceals it, but the wide sky keeps the soul which has escaped from the limbs.

In a Corcyrean epitaph⁹¹ four successive couplets give four separate expressions of this thought. An epigram of this kind may well have been patched together out of tags taken from other poems or epitaphs; if this is the case, the theme had by then become a commonplace.

The instances given above generally suggest a prejudice in favor of the soul as against the body; they are not, however, outright assertions of immortality. They may define death as simple separation. Occasionally, the body may be called a loan from the earth,⁹² or the soul from the air:

τὸ δὲ σῶμα καλύπτει
γαῖα, λαβοῦσα γέρας τοῦθ' ὃ δέδωκε πάλαι.⁹³

Earth hides your body, taking back the gift that she gave long ago.

Γαῖα μὲν εἰς φάος ἤρε, Σιβύρτιε, γαῖα δὲ κεύθει
σῶμα, πνοιὴν δ' αἰθέρ' ἔλαβεν πάλιν, ὅσπερ ἔδωκεν.⁹⁴

Earth lifted your body to the light, Siburtius, and earth hides it now, and the air has taken again the breath that it gave you.

τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκεν ἐς αἶρα, σῶμα δὲ πρὸς γῆν.⁹⁵

He has given back his soul to the air, and his body to earth.

Such expressions are compatible with a belief in immortality, but do not imply it. On the other hand, we find cases where immortality is expressly asserted. The aether, which was in particular the upper

⁸⁹ IG 9, 2, 641, 6 (Larisa).

⁹⁰ EG 104b, 3-4 (Athens, Roman period). Cf. EG 148, 164, 225, 243; CIG 2647; SEG 9, 193; Peck, *Hermes* 66 (1931), 474-475. Cf. also a Christian inscription from Athens, CIG 9319, 30, 3-4:

γῇ σῶμα κρύπτει τῇ δὲ γ' ἄλλ' εἰς αἰθέρα
ψυχὴν διέπτει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς τὸ πρῖν.

This has much the same character as pagan epitaphs, and embodies an idea that is often taken over intact in Christian epigraphy. See below, §85. ⁹¹ EG 261.

⁹² See below, §44.

⁹³ EG 288, 2-3 (Cyprus).

⁹⁴ EG 156, 1-2 (Athens).

⁹⁵ EG 642 (Rome).

air⁹⁶ about the stars and planets, was also imagined as the home of the gods and of those dead whose blessed and indestructible estate makes them virtually the equals of the gods. This may be made very clear:

Μητρὶ δέμας γαίῃ προλιπὼν θεοῦτελος ἀνὴρ . . .
αἰθερίας ἀψίδος ἔβη μακάρων μεθ' ὁμειλον.⁹⁷

I, a godlike man, leaving my body to earth, my mother. . . He has gone to the circle of the sky, to the company of the blessed.

ὁστέα μὲν καὶ σάρκας ἔχει χθὼν παῖδα τὸν ἡδύν,
ψυχὴ δ' εὐσεβέων οἴχεται εἰς θάλαμον.⁹⁸

Earth keeps the body and bones of the sweet boy, but his soul has gone to the house of the blessed.

ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ρεθέων πταμένη μ[ε]τὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους
ἦλυθε σή, ναίεις δ' ἐν μακάρω[ν] δαπέδω.⁹⁹

Your soul has flown away from the limbs to the other divine spirits, and you dwell in the plain of the blessed.

εἰ καὶ χηλὸς ἔχει δέμας [ἀγ]λ[α]όν, αὐτὰ[ρ] ἐ[ἰ]ς αἴ[θ]ρην
ψυχὴ ἔβη ἐμέθεν· φθέγγομ' ἀ[ρ]οφραδέως·
ἡθέοις γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς μετὰ μοῖραν ὀλέθρου
ὥς ζῶουσι λαλεῖν πᾶσιν ἐπιχθονίοις.¹⁰⁰

The coffin may hold my glorious body, but the soul has gone hence into the sky. I shall speak plainly. It means that to those who die unwed God has granted that after death they may speak with all men on earth, since they still live (or, as if they still lived).

Once Olympus replaces the general aether;¹⁰¹ but this means only that Olympus stands for heaven, or wherever the supreme god may be.¹⁰² Again, while the body rests in the earth, the soul may be with Zeus.¹⁰³ Once we have the explicit statement of a creed:

Αἰλιανῶι τόδε [σῆμα] πατὴρ ἀγαθῶι πι[νυ]τῶι τε,
θ[ν]ητὸν κηδ[εύ]σα[ς] σῶμα· τὸ δ' ἀθάνατ[ον]
ἐς μακά[ρ]ων ἀνόρο[υσ]ε κέαρ· ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀείζ[ω]ς

⁹⁶ Cf. Cumont, *After Life*, chap. III *passim*. For αἰθήρ as meaning originally and essentially the upper air above the mists of earth, cf. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* 78–79, and index s.v. αἴθρ, αἰθήρ, and Air. But it would be useless to expect this distinction, never formulated with real authority, to be preserved at all times.

⁹⁸ EG 90 (Athens, possibly 4th cent. B.C.).

⁹⁷ *Samm.* 4229, 1, 4 (Sakkara).

⁹⁹ EG 243, 5–6 (Pergamum).

¹⁰⁰ EG 325, 5–8 (Thasos, 2d cent. A.D.). Cf. also SEG 1, 449 (Christian), 570; 4, 192; CIG 3847; IG 14, 1868; EG 652, 654.

¹⁰¹ EG 159 (Athens). For the Islands of the Blessed in this sense, cf. IG 7, 2541 (Thebes).

¹⁰² Cf. Philip of Thessalonica, AP 7, 362, 3. Olympus means "Heaven" sometimes in Christian inscriptions. Cf. also Dieterich 20–21 for the suggestion that Olympus as paradise and the Elysian Fields were originally the same concept.

¹⁰³ Kaibel, *Rhein. Mus.* 34 (1879), 718a, 3–4.

ἡ τὸ ζῆν παρέχει [κ]αὶ θεόφιν κατέβη.
 ἴσχεο [σὺ] στοναχῶν πά[τερ], ἴσχε δέ, μήτερ, ἀδελφούς.
 σῶ[μα] χ[ε]τῶν ψυχῆς· τ[ὸ]ν δὲ θεὸν σέβει μου.¹⁰⁴

The good and discreet Aelianus was given this tomb by his father in concern for his mortal body; but his heart, which is immortal, has leapt up among the blessed; for the soul lives forever, it is what gives life, and it has come down from God. Stay your tears, my father, and you, mother, stay my brothers from weeping. The body is the soul's tunic: but you must respect the god in me.

Here mutilations do not greatly disturb the essential words, and the meaning is plain. As in Empedocles and Plato, the body is no more than the garment of a soul that has its natural and rightful place in the sky. Therefore, death is no evil.¹⁰⁵

The above instances are specifically dualistic; there are many other cases as well in which the soul after death is given a place in the sky or identified with a star. Once we find a prayer that the spirit may be received into heaven;¹⁰⁶ we hear of heavenly souls;¹⁰⁷ a dead man is made to console his mother with the assurance that Zeus the thunderer has caught him up into the starry sky.¹⁰⁸ Astral translation may be clearly expressed:

Στὰς πρόσθε τύμβον δέρκε τὴν ἀνυμφον
 κόρην Διογνήτοιο νηπίην Χοροῦν,
 ἣν θῆκεν Ἄιδης ἐν κύκλοισιν ἐβδόμοις.¹⁰⁹

Stand before the tomb and behold young Choro, unwedded daughter of Diognetus. Hades has set her in the seventh circle.

βωμόν δ' ὥς προσιοῦσ' εὐχὰς θέτο, σεμνὴ ἅπασιν
 ἄστρ' ἔβα ὥς ἀνόσως ᾤχετ' ἐς ἡμιθέους.¹¹⁰

As she approached the altar and was paying her vows, she went, respected by all, to the stars. Thus without enduring sickness she joined the demigods.

The immortal soul may go to Zeus:

οὐδ' ἄρα θνητὸς ἔην, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δ' ὑψιμέδοντος
 τύμβῳ εἰναλέῳ πεπεδημένος ἦνυσεν οἶμον.
 ἐκ ρεθέων δ' ἅμα στείχων σεμνὸν ἔβη Διὸς οἶκον.¹¹¹

Not that he was mortal, but by high design of necessity he ended his

¹⁰⁴ EG 651 (Sabine countryside).

¹⁰⁵ Most of the above instances are cited by Rohde. Cf. p. 572, nn. 135-139.

¹⁰⁶ IG 14, 1561 (Rome, late).

¹⁰⁷ IG 7, 3227a, 3 (Orchomenus).

¹⁰⁸ EG 320 (Thyatira).

¹⁰⁹ Wiegand, *Abhandl. Akad. Berlin* (1908), 6, 46 (Miletus). Cf. Cumont, *After Life* 105.

¹¹⁰ IG, 5, 2, 472, 12-13 (Megalopolis, for a priestess of Isis, late Roman). Cf. also CIG 2892 (Miletus).

¹¹¹ EG 594, 7-9 (Rome, late). Cf. IG 9, 2, 251 (Pharsalus).

journey in the trammels of a sea-tomb. At which time he was freed from the body and went to the worshipful house of Zeus.

Generally speaking, immortality means deification, for it is the substantial attribute which distinguishes the "deathless gods" from mortals. Such honor is claimed for the dead in an apparently early inscription, in which one who has gone *eis* 'Αἴδαν asserts:

ναίω δ' οὐκ 'Αχέροντος ἐφ' ὕ[δ]ασιν, οὐδὲ κελαιὸν
Τάρταρον, ἀλλὰ [δ]ύ[μου]ς ἐ[ύσε]βέων ἔλαχον.¹¹²

I dwell not by the waters of Acheron nor in dark Tartarus. The abode of the pious has fallen to my lot.

Astral deification may be made very clear:

μήτηρ μὴ με δάκρυε· τίς ἡ χάρις; ἀλλὰ σεβάζου·
ἄστὴρ γάρ γενόμην θεοῖς ἀκρεσπέριος.¹¹³

Mother, do not weep for me. What is the use? You ought rather to reverence me, for I have become an evening star, among the gods.

Sometimes we hear that the soul has gone *eis* θεοῖς,¹¹⁴ *és* ἡμιθέους.¹¹⁵ Such a thought is fancifully stated in the epitaph of a young wife who has been rapt away by the Naiads, not by death:

εἶχεν γὰρ χάριν, εἶχεν ἐφ' ἡδυχρόοισι μετώποις,
αἰθέρος ὥστε μένειν ἀθανάτοις δόμοις.¹¹⁶

For there was charm in the sweet complexion of her face, enough for her to remain in the immortal abode of the sky.

In a late inscription from Smyrna,¹¹⁷ the dead man tells at length how his winged soul has gone up into the sky, and been most pleasantly received by the gods, drinking cheerfully in their company. Hermes is his particular patron. This same god is also asked in prayer to guide a dead man among the blessed:

Ἑρμῇ Μαϊάδος υἱέ, ἄγ' εὐσεβέων ἐπὶ χῶρον
ἄνδρα.¹¹⁸

Hermes, son of Maia, lead him to the place of the blessed.

We hear also of the Fortunate Islands, which seem, unlike Olympus, to have been thought of as a place reserved, not for the major

¹¹² IG 12, 5, 62, 7-8 (Naxos, pre-Roman).

¹¹³ IG 12, 7, 123, 5-6 (Arcesine, possibly 1st cent. B.C.). Cf. the epigram (cited above) attributed to Plato, AP 7, 670.

¹¹⁴ Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* 9 (1933), 103 (Mentana).

¹¹⁵ EG 669 (Italy). Cf. also EG 411; IG 9, 1, 877; 12, 2, 383; 12, 5, 304; *Inscr. Perg.* 583; Peek, *Mnem.* 4 (1936-1937), 10.

¹¹⁶ EG 570, 7-8 (Rome, 2d cent. A.D.). ¹¹⁷ EG 312 (Smyrna).

¹¹⁸ Peek, *Phil.* 88 (1933), 139 (Itana, Crete, about 1st cent. B.C.).

solute nonentity is perfectly thinkable, and quite as perfectly unimaginable. You can think yourself away, certainly, but you cannot frame a mental picture of the event, and even the most intellectual materialist, when he happens to fall below his Sunday state of mind, is likely to work with mental images rather than propositions. Naturally then, the layman who caused his epitaph to be inscribed, could think as hard as he pleased of himself after death, as a shadowy ghost, as a citizen of Hades' world or of Elysium, as nothing at all, and still there would remain a certain concern about the remnant of the body in its urn or coffin, and a very immediate sensation of discomfort at the thought of its being cramped or suffocated under a heavy weight. This will go to illustrate the inanity of any facile answer to the question whether the ancients as a rule believed in immortality, for such an answer postulates a consistent manner of thinking which is not humanly possible, even in an advanced and self-conscious society.

§11. It will now be convenient to consider the epitaphs in which immortality is denied. Those which are most emphatic all appear to be late; but this is quite natural, since pagan inscriptions dating from Christian times would have most occasion to dispute one of the most powerful and appealing aspects of the Christian faith.

An epitaph from Teos begins:

Τὶς τοῦμὸν δούστηρον ἐπ' οὐνομα γράψε τὸ χαῖρε;³⁹⁴

Who wrote the "farewell" beside my unhappy name?

This line is followed by a complaint against the irony of the familiar usage, since any expression of farewell is nothing more than a mockery of those who have no perception. We have a complete denial in the following:

σπεύδετε, τὴν ψυχὴν εὐφραίνετε πάντοτε, [θ]νῆ[τοί],
ὡς ἡδὺς βίωτος, καὶ μέτρον ἐστὶ ζῆσις.
ταῦτα, φίλοι· μετὰ ταῦτα τί γὰρ πλέον; οὐκέτι ταῦτα.
στήλλη ταῦτα λαλεῖ καὶ λίθος, οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ.
θύραι μὲν ἔνθα καὶ πρὸς Ἀιδαν ὁδοὶ
ἀνεξόδευτοί δ' εἰσιν ἐς φάος τρίβοι.
οἱ δὲ δὴ δ[ε]λ[α]ιοὶ πάντ[ε]ς εἰς ἀ[νά]στασιν . . .³⁹⁵

Make haste, mortals, and gladden your hearts whenever you can.
For a man's lifetime is sweet and is the measure of his existence.

³⁹⁴ EG 298, 1.

³⁹⁵ Ramsay 232, 19-25 (Eumeneia).

This, friends, is it. For what more could come afterward. Not even this remains. For it is the stone and the stele that tell you all this, not I. The gates are here, and the trodden ways to Hades by which none can come back into the light. But all pitiful wretches (long) for resurrection.

This appears to be an anti-Christian polemic.³⁹⁶ On the other hand, a long poem from Rome is directed against the old-style eschatology of the underworld, which must therefore have retained enough believers to be still worth refuting. One face of the inscription runs:

Μή μου παρέλθῃς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὁδοιπόρε,
ἀλλὰ σταθεῖς ἄκουε καὶ μαθὼν ἅπι·
οὐκ ἔστι ἐν ᾿Αδου πλοῖον, οὐ πορθμεὺς Χάρων,
οὐκ Αἴακος κλειδοῦχος, οὐχὶ Κέρβερος κύων.
ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες οἱ κάτω τεθνηκότες
ὁστέα, τέφρα γεγονάμεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν.
εἴρηκά σοι ὀρθῶς ἔπαγε, ὁδοίπορε,
μή καὶ τεθνακῶς ἀδ[ό]λεσχός σοι φανῶ.³⁹⁷

Wayfarer, do not pass by my epitaph, but stand and listen, and then, when you have learned the truth, proceed. There is no boat in Hades, no ferryman Charon, no Aeacus keeper of the keys, nor any dog called Cerberus. All of us who have died and gone below are bones and ashes: there is nothing else. What I have told you is true. Now withdraw, wayfarer, so that you will not think that, even though dead, I talk too much.

The other part of the poem consists of a protest against useless ceremonies of mourning. In one case, the dead man invites his friends not to bring food or drink to the grave, since that is futile, but rather saffron or frankincense for the sake of memory. The epigram ends:

ταῦτ' ἐνέρων· ζώντων δ' οὐδὲν ἔχουσι νεκροί.³⁹⁸

These things belong to those below: corpses have no part in what the living have.

Desolation before the utter finality of death is best expressed in a late epitaph from Milan:

Ἐνθάδε σοί, Δομνείνα, [ἐ]τελέσ[θη] πᾶσα μοίρη,
ἐνθάδε λοιπὸν ἔχεις στυγερόν οἶκον,
κοῦκέτι σοι φάος ἡελίοιο,
οὐδὲ τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ δώματα Ῥώμης,
οὐδ' ἄλοχος, οὔτε φίλη κασιγνήτη,
ἀλλὰ σε καλύπτουσι [θ]αλερ[ή] ἄμπελος καὶ γῆα ἐν Μεδι[ο]λάνῳ.³⁹⁹

Domina, all your destiny is ended here, and here for the rest of time

³⁹⁶ Cf. Ramsay's notes. He suggests that the subject is a hellenized Jew.

³⁹⁷ EG 646 (3d or 4th cent. A.D.).

³⁹⁸ Geffcken 209 (Astypalaea, late Hellenistic).

³⁹⁹ EG 720.

CHAPTER III

THE UNDERWORLD, CULT, AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF TOMBS

§15. In addition to the epitaphs in which are found direct statements concerning the soul and its fate after death, there are a number which in various less direct ways throw light on the beliefs which the ancients held concerning death. In many cases there are references to the underworld, to heroes and *Manes*, and to the cult of the tomb. These types of statement may now be studied.

Mention has already been made, in the previous chapter, of the underworld. We may briefly reconsider epitaphs which make use of this concept, although it is not possible here to present a full discussion of this enormous subject.¹

Acheron, Styx, Charon, and other such names figure to a considerable extent in Greek sepulchral inscriptions, as well as in the literary epigrams of the *Anthology*. A few examples, in addition to those cited in various places above, may be given here:

Π[ορθ]μίδος εὐσέλμου μεδέων γέρον, ἄς διὰ πάν[τα]
νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερᾶς πείρατα πλείς ποταμοῦ.²

Aged ferryman of the trim boat, in which you range all the reaches
of the river under the dark of night.

κούφη τοιγὰρ ἐμοὶ πέλεται κόνις · ἐν δ' Ἀχέροντι
ὑμνήσω τὴν σὴν, ὦ ἄνερ, εὐσεβίην.³

Therefore the dust is light upon me; and at Acheron I shall sing the
praises of your dutiful care for me, my husband.

"Ἀγγελε Φερσεφόνης, Ἑρμῆ, τίνα τόνδε προπονπέεις
εἰς τὸν ἀμείδητον Τάρταρον Ἀἰδῶ;⁴

Hermes, messenger of Persephone, why do you send him before us to
Hades' Tartarus, where there is no laughter?

ἦλυθα τὴν φρικτὴν εἰς Ἀἰδαο πόλιν.⁵

I have gone to the ghastly city of Hades.

It is the existence of any real counterpart to these names which is
occasionally denied with such vehemence.

¹ Cf. Rohde 535-539; 563, nn. 92, 93; Tolman 105-108; Galletier 45-52. All these authorities take the view, which is accepted here, that the description of the underworld consists mainly of various poetical figures, and seldom has more than a fanciful significance. The pages cited from Tolman contain an exhaustive list of references for the use of this material in Latin verse inscriptions.

² SEG 9, 362 (Cyrenaica).

³ EG 559, 3-4 (Rome, 2d cent. A.D.).

⁴ EG 575, 1-2 (Naples).

⁵ EG 565, 4 (Florence).

manner from the actual tomb of the dead man, for it is the tomb itself which is consecrated to them; or else they are spirits, bogeys almost, who hold in their hands the fortunes of living men and can turn their underworld survival, if they have any, into pleasure or pain. At their vaguest, the *Manes* are any shred of substance or energy which can be carried over after death, the irreducible minimum of all possibilities of immortality. Certainly they are best let alone (*ne tangito, o mortalis*); and the carving of *d. m.* or *d. m. s.* on the tombstone is a gesture of wise reverence toward something which might, after all, be there. But with all its contradictions and irresoluteness, the belief in the divine *Manes* which to some extent persisted among the Romans, is the best testimony to their conviction of immortality. There is more sincerity in the verse inscriptions which refer to the *Manes* than in those which affirm outright that the soul is immortal, or in those which speak of Elysium or the underworld; and there is a far greater proportion of inscriptions in prose.

§18. The Greek translation⁶¹ or equivalent of *d(is) M(anibus)* is *θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις)*. This phrase, nearly always abbreviated, is found on many tombstones from Rome and Italy. That generally *θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις)* is simply a translation of *d(is) M(anibus)* would appear from the following:

*θ(εοῖς) M(anibus).*⁶²

*D(is) θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις) M(anibus).*⁶³

*καλοῖς δαίμοσιν.*⁶⁴

*δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν.*⁶⁵

These last two instances suggest the usual derivation of the word *Manes*; they are spirits who are good, or who at least are called good. These Greek expressions, then, may be free translations. However, the sense is quite different in the following:

*παραδίδωμι τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἥρῳον φυλάσσειν,
Πλούτωνι καὶ Δῆμητρι καὶ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Ἑρινύσιν καὶ πᾶσιν
τοῖς καταχθονίοις.*⁶⁶

⁶¹ That is, the term comes to be used as such, though it seems to have had an independent meaning of its own. It could stand for the underworld gods in general, Hades, Persephone, and the rest. But when it is superinscribed in initials, just as *d(is) M(anibus)* might be, it is being used as a translation. Cf. Wissowa² 239; Otto, *Die Manen* 55.

⁶² *IG* 14, 1893 (Rome). Cf. *IG* 1681a (Rome). ⁶³ *EG* 680 (Rome).

⁶⁴ *IG* 14, 813 (Naples). ⁶⁵ *CIG* 2700b (Mylasa).

⁶⁶ *IG* 3, 1423, 1424 (both from Athens). Cf. *EG* 624 (Capri).

I give this tomb into the keeping of the underworld gods, of Pluto, Demeter, Persephone, the Erinnyes, and all the underworld gods.

Here these same deities are quite definitely identified with the regular Hellenic gods of the underworld; they have even so some correspondence to the Roman *Manes* in their character as powers of death, but the Roman identification is less distinct. Like the *Manes*, the *Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* are invoked for protection or vengeance:⁶⁷

καὶ ἐπάρομαι τοὺς καταχθόνιους θε(ο)ὺς καὶ τὴν ἄνω Σελήνην μὴ
ἔξόν εἶνε ἀνῶξε.⁶⁸

And I solemnly call to witness the underworld gods, and Selene above, that this tomb may not be opened.

In one case they are invoked to protect a five-year-old boy newly arrived among the dead:

ἀλλὰ καταχθόνιοι, Δῆθη(ς) οἱ ναίετε χῶρον,
δαίμονες Ἰλαιοὶ Ἐπιχάρει δέχετε.⁶⁹

But, you divinities of the underworld who dwell by the plain of Lethe, welcome Epichares and be kind to him.

In general, the *Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* appear to be simply the *di Manes* of romanized Greeks.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The subject of warnings and curses directed against those who molest the tomb will be taken up later. See below, §§21-24.

⁶⁸ SEG 6, 784 (Germanicopolis, Cilicia).

⁶⁹ SEG 8, 799, 5-6 (Haunia, Egypt, 2d cent. A.D.).

⁷⁰ I have noted *Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι*, generally abbreviated and sometimes in reverse order, in the following: EG 418, 509, 555, 572, 587, 588, 593, 595, 596, 600, 615, 620, 629, 630, 637, 638, 639, 640, 643, 652, 657, 671, 681, 687, 708, 719, 720, 721; IG 12, 5, 696; 14, 36, 44, 272, 333, 337, 338, 381, 382, 404, 410, 414, 441, 458, 467, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 483, 485, 492, 493, 496, 497, 500, 507, 580, 611, 624, 791, 802, 806, 807, 842, 847, 880, 890, 905, 1316, 1318, 1319, 1322, 1328, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1338, 1344, 1345, 1348, 1349, 1359, 1370, 1371, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1399, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1425, 1429, 1430, 1435, 1444, 1447, 1450, 1454, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1468, 1469, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1476, 1478, 1488, 1503, 1506, 1507, 1510, 1511, 1513, 1513a, 1515, 1526, 1530, 1533, 1535, 1536, 1539, 1543, 1544, 1547, 1559, 1568, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1593, 1597, 1598, 1607a, 1622, 1635, 1643, 1654, 1656, 1658, 1661, 1664, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1676, 1677, 1679, 1681, 1681a, 1686, 1687, 1690, 1691, 1693, 1696, 1698, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1718, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1732, 1733, 1735, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1749, 1752, 1755, 1756, 1761b, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1768, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1783, 1800, 1804, 1808, 1809, 1811, 1816, 1818, 1823, 1829, 1832, 1836, 1841, 1845, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1855, 1859, 1865, 1868, 1874, 1876, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1889, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1900, 1901, 1905, 1919, 1923, 1926, 1927, 1931, 1934a, 1936, 1939, 1940, 1945, 1949, 1955, 1958, 1963, 1968, 1972, 1981, 1987, 1989, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2019, 2026, 2029, 2030, 2033, 2038, 2041, 2048, 2049, 2051, 2054, 2055, 2057, 2060, 2063, 2065, 2070, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2084, 2086, 2087, 2095, 2101, 2106, 2109, 2112, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2195, 2380, 2391, 2436, 2504, 2556; IGR 1082, 1316, 1738; CIA 3, 1423; CIL 8, 21443; CIG 1832, 2041, 3125, 4059, 4078, 4190, 4207, 4230, 4252b, 4253, 4255, 4290, 4292, 4299, 4308, 4452; SEG 1, 324; 4, 105, 110, 112, 133, 158; 7, 902; Samm. 5762; TAM 2, 356, 451, 452; Kaibel, *Rhein. Mus.* 34(1879), 569a, 640a, 643a, 668a, 698a, 699a; *Rev. Arch.* 6, 2, (1933), 438; Maiuri 652; *Liber-tini, Not. Scav.* 13 (1937), 78.

The *χῶρος ἡρώων* is the same, apparently, as the *χῶρος μακάρων*:

ἀ τάλαν, οἰκτείρω σε πολυκλαύστῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,
νῦν δὲ σὺν ἡρώων χῶρον ἔχουσ φθίμενος.⁸²

Poor wretch, I pity you in your much-bewept tomb; but now in death I hope you may share the place (or, the company?) of the heroes.

A Thracian inscription reads:

Ἀσκληῆ χρηστοῦ υἱῷ νέῳ ἥρω.⁸³

Asclas, a good man's son, a young hero.

The use of the term with the implication of exceptional virtue is found in a Christian inscription:

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει ἥρωα σώφρονα καὶ [π]ολύεσθλον.⁸⁴

Here the earth holds a discreet and excellent hero.

The word occasionally refers to living persons.⁸⁵ In a few late verse-epitaphs, the simple meaning "dead man" appears.⁸⁶ On the whole, it was the same, ultimately, with heroes as with the *Manes*; any living body might be thought of as enfolding a power which in death became inhuman; hence anyone was a potential god. But it is not easy to say how much this meant. The word *ἥρωας*, like *d(is) M(anibus)*, might have been cut on the stone without thought, as a matter of course (like "sacred to the memory of"). We even find the dedication *θεοῖς ἥρωσιν*.⁸⁷ These would be the *di Manes*.

It is interesting that the use of this word never seems to have been frequent in Attica. Plato Comicus' ridicule of the Boeotian custom may have had something to do with this, by acting on an already strong and self-conscious feeling for literary tradition. Of the instances found at Athens, only one⁸⁸ appears to belong to an Athenian. The last stage of debility is shown when *ἥρωον* comes to be used as a synonym for *σῆμα*.⁸⁹

⁸² EG 539, 3-4 (Phanagoria, 2d cent. A.D.). Cf. IG 12, 5, 303 (Paros, 1st cent. B.C.)

⁸³ SEG 1, 324. For further instances and comment, cf. Seure, REG 42 (1929), 241-254.

⁸⁴ SEG 1, 453, 1 (Phrygia, 4th cent. A.D.). For further mention in verse inscriptions, cf. EG 279 (Amorgos), 189 (Melos).

⁸⁵ EG 441 (Trachonitis), 674 (Rome, late, of a consul).

⁸⁶ EG 498 (Thebes), 510 (near Doliche), 552 (Rome), 552a (Rome). All are late.

⁸⁷ EG 314 (Smyrna); IG 14, 1795 (Rome); cf. Dittenberger 1243; abbreviated, IG 14, 1572 (Rome).

⁸⁸ IG 3, 1460.

⁸⁹ I have noted the following instances: EG 395 (Amasia); IG 5, 2, 166; 9, 2, 1037; 12, 1, 168; 2, 397; 7, 478; 8, 552; 14, 1759, 1904; IGR 3, 500, 620, 632, 1131; 4, 130, 621, 645, 753, 829, 839, 866, 1360, 1363, 1387, 1465, 1500, 1501, 1592, 1603, 1605, 1613, 1649, 1651, 1656; CIA IG 3, 1423, 1424, 1429; CIG 1812, 2687, 2688, 2690, 2700b, 3032, 3040, 3260, 3282, 3304, 3348, 3359,

§20. There are a few examples from both Greek and Latin inscriptions in which deification is made more specific.⁹⁰ On a stele from Mesembria the dead woman is identified, both by the relief and in the inscription, with Hecate:

Ἐνθάδε ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Ἑκάτη θεὸς ὡς ἑσορᾶς. ἤμην τὸ πάλαι βροτός,
νῦν δὲ ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως. Ἰουλία Νεικίου θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος
ἀνδρός.⁹¹

I lie here, the goddess, Hecate, as you see. Formerly I was mortal, now I am immortal and ageless. Julia, daughter of Nicias, a great-hearted man.

In one curious case a priestess, through her epitaph, assumes oracular powers:

εἴ τις δὲ θέλει τὸ ἀ(λη)θὲς μαθεῖν παρὰ ἐμοῦ, ἵς τὸν βωμόν ἐνευξάσθω
δ' ἂν θέλει, καὶ ἐπιτεύξεται διὰ ἁματός, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.⁹²

If anyone wishes to learn the truth from me, let him come to the altar (tomb) and ask what he will, and he shall have his answer, at any time, night or day.

In a set of three epigrams from Egypt, the first tells how a drowned girl, whose father is represented as speaking, was in fact taken away, as Hylas had been, by the nymphs of the Nile. The second epigram proceeds to identify the girl herself as a nymph, to be worshipped as such:

Οὐκέτι σοι μέλλω θύειν, θύγα[τερ, μετ]ὰ κλ[α]υθμοῦ,
ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἔγνω, ὡς θεὸς ἐξεγένου.
λοιβαῖς εὐφημεῖτε καὶ εὐχολαῖς Ἰσιδώραν,
ἣ νύμφη Νυμφῶν ἀρπαγίμη γέγονεν.

3386, 3411, 3890, 3896-3900, 3902f, h, k, m, n, q, s, 3915, 3916, 3921, 3924, 3962b, c, d, 3963, 4009f, 4243, 4245, 4246, 4259, 4261, 4268, 4278, 4278b, 4290, 4292, 4320, 4418-4424, 4427, 4428, 9275; *TAM* 2, 77, 79, 83, 259, 317, 320, 322, 323, 324, 345, 357, 358, 451, 452, 603, 604, 612, 614, 616, 617, 618, 620, 693; *MAMA* 1, 194, 399, 404, 427; 6, 18, 23, 58b, 205, 207, 210, 224, 228, 229, 234, 235, 237; *SEG* 4, 131, 548, 594; 6, 43, 186, 193, 198, 206, 211, 212, 215, 222, 264, 361, 563, 593, 679, 780; *BMI* 645, 653, 659, 661, 1026, 1043; *Prin. Arch. Ex.* 787, 788; *Inscr. Perg.* 592; Ramsay 63, 209, 215, 221, 227, 229, 236, 244, 256, 260, 262, 273, 276, 278, 309, 310, 312, 318, 321, 322, 331, 350, 355-359, 362, 364, 368, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 380, 385, 386, 388, 389, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399b, 401, 448, 449, 451, 452, 652, 673; Keil-Premmerstein 1, 62, 86, 123; 2, 85; 3, 67, 75, 108, 111, 120, 133, 165, 174, 175; *Stud. Pont.* 131. Many of these are Christian.

⁹⁰ For instances of the formula *τὸν θεὸν σοὶ μὴ ἀδικήσεις*, with full discussion, cf. Wilhelm, *SBA* (1932), 847-859. He establishes that *σοὶ* is not a mistake for *σν*, and that *θεόν* is not the object of *ἀδικήσεις*. Thus the meaning is, not "do not harm the god," but "for God's sake do no injury."

⁹¹ Kazarow, *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* 26 (1930), 2, 122, with commentary. Cf. *MAMA* 6, 232, with commentary.

⁹² Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 129-133 (Thyatira). See his commentary. For another case of the assumption of oracular powers, cf. Calder, *CR* 50 (1936), 214-215.

χαῖρε, τέκος· νύμφη δνομ' ἐστὶ σοι, ἰδέ τε ὦραι
σπένδουσιν προχαῖς ταῖς Ἰσι[δος] κατ' ἔτος.⁹³

No longer, my daughter, shall I make sacrifice to you with lamentation, now that I know you have become divine. With libation and sacrifice glorify Isidora, who was snatched away by the nymphs and became a nymph herself. Hail, my child. You shall be called a nymph, and the seasons pour out their gifts before you in the fulness of the year of Isis (?).

There follows an account of the flowers, wine, and honey to be offered in season.

Again, a young man declares that he has become in every way like the Dioscuri.⁹⁴ Another young man, a Cretan, is enthroned beside Idomeneus:

τοῦνεκ[ά] σε φθιμένων καθ' ὁμήγ(υ)ριν ὁ κλυτὸς Ἀδης
ἴσε πολισσοῦχῳ σύνθρονον Ἰδομενεί.⁹⁵

Therefore amid the throng of the dead glorious Hades has enthroned you beside Idomeneus, the defender of the city.

Other instances of deification or cult are:

θεῖα γίναι, σέο κύδος ἐπιχθονίου θεο[ῖο]
ἐνθεν αἰεὶ ζῶεις καὶ ἀκήρατον οὐνομα σεῖο.⁹⁶

Divine lady, your honor is that of a god upon earth. Therefore you live forever, and your name is untouched.

Ἰλαθι καὶ μοι ὄπαζε νόσων ἄκος ὥς τὸ πάροιθεν·
νῦν γὰρ θειοτέρην μοῖραν ἔχεις βιότο[υ].⁹⁷

Be gracious and grant me relief from disease, as you did before; for now your destiny is nearer the gods than it was in life.

κλαύσατε δαίμονα πάντες.⁹⁸

Weep all for the divine spirit.

Τ[ὸ]ν πατέρα Γάϊον Ἀμμίαν τε μητ[έρα]
Φιλόξενος κατὰ πά[ν]τα τοὺς θεοῖς ἴσους
ἐν τῷδε τύμβῳ[ι] θῆκε, καὶ χαίρου(τ)έ μοι
κούφην ἔχοντες γα[ίαν] ἐν θεοῖς θεοί.⁹⁹

I, Philoxenus, laid Gaius my father and Ammia my mother in this tomb. They are in all ways equals of the gods. I hope you fare well, as gods among gods, with the earth light upon you.

Turning to the Latin instances, we find a dead youth identified with various gods and besought for his good will:

⁹³ SEG 8, 473-475.

⁹⁴ EG 650, quoted at length below, §56.

⁹⁵ IC 1, 8, 33, 9-10 (Knossos, 2d cent. B.C.).

⁹⁶ IG 1380, 1-2 (Athens).

⁹⁷ EG 243, 7-8 (Pergamum).

⁹⁸ EG 368, 8 (Cotiaeum).

⁹⁹ MAMA 4, 362 (Apamea, 2d or 3d cent. A.D.).

§22. As for curses, there are several considerations. Imprecations on the transgressor are not, of course, confined to tombstones, and the forms for the sepulchral inscriptions (which are normally in prose), may be borrowed from the curse-formulae attached to oaths of allegiance, treaties, etc.¹⁴⁷ When such forms are found on gravestones, they are not quite on the same level as the general run of epitaph-formulae in that they have no decorative value. They are put there for a real purpose, that is, to keep away the casual intruder, the vandal, the grave-robber, and even the future owner of the property, who might desire to bury his own dead there or in some other way to disturb the grave. The tomb is *exclusive*.

Generally the formula is something on this order: "So-and-so built this tomb for himself and his family, etc." This usually is followed by the stipulation of a fine, or the enunciation of a curse, to be visited upon anyone who violates these conditions. The following Lycian inscription, taken almost at random, will serve as an example:

Τ[ὸ μ]νημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν Ἐπαγάθος [δῖ]ς, Σιδυμεύς, ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσει [τ]ῇ καὶ Μίῳ (?) Καλλιμήδου καὶ τέκνοις αὐτοῦ Ἐπαγάθῳ τρις καὶ Δείῳ καὶ Ἐπαγάθῳ, ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆναι τοὺς προδηλουμένους ἐν τῷ ἄνω σηκῷ· ἐτέρῳ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ ἄνω σηκῷ.

Epagathus second, of Sidyma, provided the monument for himself and his wife Arsis, also called Mio (?), daughter of Callimedes, and for his children Epagathus third, Deius, and Epagathus. The understanding is that the aforementioned may be buried in the upper chamber, and it is not permitted to bury anyone else in the upper chamber.

There follows a similar set of stipulations for the lower tomb, concluded by the same restriction. Thereafter we have:

ἐὰν δὲ τις θ[ά]ψῃ, ὀφειλ[ή]σῃ τῷ Σιδυμέων δήμῳ [*] , α φ, ὧν ὁ [ἐλένξ]α[s λήμψ]ε[ται] τὸ τρίτον.¹⁴⁸

And if anyone buries (anyone else there), he must pay to the government of Sidyma 1500 drachmae; and of this the informant shall receive one third.

In the case of such inscriptions and of those which embody curse-formulae, the geographical distribution tells us more than the little we know about order in time. The overwhelming majority of in-

Hirschfeld, *Koenigsberger Studien* 1 (1887), 85-144. He considers Lycia to be the special flourishing-ground of the practice of attaching fines to epitaphs. Cf. further Arkwright, *JHS* 31 (1911), 259-275. For a fine in verse, cf. *EG* 502 (Thebes, late).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Glotz in Daremberg-Saglio 3, 752, n. 18; Cumont, *REG* 14 (1901), 29; Ziebarth, *Hermes* 30 (1895), 57-70; Vallois, *BCH* 38 (1914), 250-271.

¹⁴⁸ *TAM* 2, 208 (Sidyma).

stances come from outside of Greece proper; there are more from Phrygia than from anywhere else, and Lycia and Caria are also strongly represented. Of the Athenian examples, two are connected with Herodes Atticus,¹⁴⁹ one has Roman names,¹⁵⁰ while two others, at least, are very late.¹⁵¹ Of the other instances, most are not precisely dated; many have Roman names and are accordingly late, while some are possibly Christian.

In general, the evidence seems quite strong enough to indicate the presence of a special attitude toward death in Asia Minor generally as opposed to the rest of the Greek world, and particularly the cities of Greece proper.¹⁵² It was considered tremendously important that the grave should be untouched save by those for whom it was meant. Furthermore, there must have been a widespread belief that such defensive curses would work, that the religious awe of the public in general would correspond to the intense concern felt by those who built the tomb. This leads us to a consideration of the forms which these imprecations assume.

By far the earliest case we have, a seventh-century epigram from Rhodes, runs as follows:

Σάμα τόξ' Ἰδαμενεὺς ποίησα, ἵνα κλέος εἴῃ
Ζεὺς(δ) δέ νιν ὅστις πημαῖνοι, λειώλη θείῃ.¹⁵³

I, Idameneus, built this tomb to (my own) glory. May Zeus utterly destroy anyone who disturbs it.

Not curses, but warnings to the public, appear in two other metrical inscriptions:

Μή μου ἐνυβρίξεῖς ἄγρον τάφον, ὦ παροδείτα,
μή σοι μηνίσῃ πικρὸν ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας
Περσεφόνα τε κόρα Δαμάτερος· ἀλλὰ παρέρπων
εἶπον Ἀρατίῳ· γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφράν.¹⁵⁴

You who pass by, do not insult my sacred grave, lest you incur the sharp anger of Agesilas and Persephone, maiden daughter of Demeter. But as you go quietly by, say to Aratius: "May you have earth light upon you."

ἦν παρλοῖς εὐφημος ἀεὶ, ξένε, μηδ' ἐπὶ λύμῃ
χεῖρα βάλοις· φθιμένων ὠκυτάτῃ Νέμεσις.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ IG 3, 1417, 1418.

¹⁵⁰ IG 3, 1423.

¹⁵¹ EG 119; IG 3, 1424.

¹⁵² Cf. Rohde, 526; 552-554, nn. 13-14; Ramsay, pp. 98-101; Lorimer, *JHS* 53 (1933), 178.

¹⁵³ Geffcken 17 IG 12, 1, 737. Cf. Bowra, *EGE* 175. I cannot share Bowra's opinion that the dead man is not named or mentioned; the dead man must be Idameneus, who wrote the epitaph while he was still living.

¹⁵⁴ EG 195 (Crete, 1st cent. A.D.).

¹⁵⁵ EG 119, 3-4 (Peiraeus, 3d cent. A.D.).

Down to our own times the city also sacrificed a bull.

A heroized dead man receives the same sacrifice, according to a later, private inscription:

ἐκτέρισαν δὲ
Μυλασέες χρυσέοις στεψάμενοί με κλάδοις,
ταῦρον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρῇ σφάξαν τιμαῖσι σέβοντες
δαίμονί μου νέρθεν σὺν χθονίοισι θεοῖς.²⁷⁵

The people of Mylasa wreathed me with golden branches when they buried me, and they slaughtered a bull at my pyre, thus honoring my divine spirit below along with the chthonic gods.

In one instance it is specified that in case of sacrilege, the offenders must pay a fine and sacrifice oxen to appease the dead:

καὶ θεοῖς καταχθονίοις ὀλοκαυστήσει βούς τελε[ί]ους δέκα.²⁷⁶

And he shall sacrifice ten unblemished oxen to the gods of the underworld.

Victims and the details of sacrifice are specified at length in an epitaph found near Sidyma, Lycia:

βούλομαι καθ' ἔτος θύεσθαι [ἡμ]εῖν ἀλέκτορα καὶ ὄρνειθα τελέα[ν] καὶ
καλ[ὴν] ἄμα τῷ μέλλειν συναῖρειν τὰ γενήματα· ὁμοίως [π]άλιν
ἄμα τῷ μέλλειν τ[ρ]υγᾶν, τὰ αὐτὰ θύματα. καὶ ἔσται τῷ θύοντι
ἐπίδηλα καὶ ἐπικερδῆ, ἐὰν δέ τις παρενθυμηθεῖς μὴ θύσῃ, ἔσται αὐτῷ
ἐπιβλαβῆ.²⁷⁷

I desire that every year a fine, unblemished cock and fowl be sacrificed to us just before the harvest is gathered, and that the same sacrifices be offered likewise just before the vintage. And he who makes sacrifice shall profit by it and it shall become apparent (?), but if in neglect he makes no sacrifice, it shall be to his disadvantage.

There are a number of honorary or testamentary inscriptions which speak of various offerings to be placed on the tomb.²⁷⁸ In sepulchral inscriptions, libations are sometimes mentioned:

εἰ δὲ θέλεις θέλγειν ψυχὴν [τεθνηκότος ἀνδρός,
θέλξο]ν ἐπισπίσας ὅσσα βροτοῖσι [θέμις].²⁷⁹

And if you wish to propitiate the soul of a dead man, do so by pouring to me such things as befit mortals.

καὶ προχοαῖς χαίρω ταῖς ἀπ' [ἐ]μῶν ἐτάρων.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ IG 12, 5, 305, 3-6 (Paros, 1st cent. B.C.).

²⁷⁶ Paribeni and Romanelli, *Mon. Ant.* 23 (1914), 154 (Adanda).

²⁷⁷ Ormerod and Robinson, *JHS* 34 (1914), 5, 10 (Sidyma).

²⁷⁸ Especially in Anatolia. ²⁷⁹ EG 120, 9-10 (Athens, Roman period).

²⁸⁰ EG 619b, 2 (Rome, 2d cent. A.D.). In view of the date and place of this inscription, *προχοαί* might be a translation of *profusiones* and *ἐτάροι* of *sodales*. The reference would then be to the

And I welcome drink-offerings from my friends.

λοιβῆς καὶ θυέων ἄξιον, οὐχὶ γόων.²⁸¹

Deserving libation and sacrifice, not lamentation.

τοῦνεκ]α λοιβαῖσιν [π]άρ[εδ]ρος θυσίαισί τε θάσσωι,
τίμι]α τ'εὐσεβείης πᾶσιν ἔθη[κ]α [γ]έρα.²⁸²

Therefore I sit beside you with libations and sacrifices. I have given you the rewards of piety, which all approve.

The word *θύσαι* ought by rights to indicate a victim, but we can have no confidence that this nicety of language is observed here;²⁸³ compare the following:

τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖ, κηρία καὶ λίβανον.²⁸⁴

Perform the sacrifices of honeycombs and frankincense.

Here the nature of the offerings is specified, as in a few other instances:

οἶνον καὶ μύρα λευκὰ ὁστοῖς τέκνον περιχεύσας.²⁸⁵

Pouring wine and white myrrh over the bones of my child.

ἄλλοι μὲν στεφάνουσι, χοαῖς, δακρύοις τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς
τειμῶσιν τὸν σόν, Μαρκελλεῖνε, τάφον.²⁸⁶

Let others, Marcellinus, honor your tomb with wreaths and libations, tears and dirges.

κήπιτυμβίοις χοαῖς
καὶ στεμάτεσσιν ἀνθέων ἐτησίων
μειλίσσειτ' οὐκ ἄδακρυς.²⁸⁷

With drink-offerings on the tomb and with garlands of flowers in their season propitiate me, not without tears.

The question of the origin and development of such rituals is quite outside the scope of this study, and whether they were meant to propitiate, to feed, or to keep up some bond of connection with the dead cannot be decided here. We may note that one line just cited speaks unequivocally for propitiation:

εἰ δὲ θέλεις θέλγειν ψύχην.²⁸⁸

But if you wish to propitiate the soul.

ceremony called *rosalia*. See below, n. 351. For libations, cf. also *EG* 131, 272b, 440; *TAM* 2, 715; *SEG* 8, 370; Hiller von Gaertringen, *BCH* 36 (1912), 230-239.

²⁸¹ *EG* 569, 10 (Rome, 2d or 3d cent. A.D.).

²⁸² *EG* 199, 5-6 (Telos, 3d or 2d cent. B.C.).

²⁸³ The word *θυεῖν* is also used, Ormerod and Robinson, *JHS* 34 (1914), 9, 13.

²⁸⁴ *SEG* 3, 774, 14 (Itanum, Crete, 1st cent. B.C.).

²⁸⁵ *CIL* 8, 27331a, 2 (Thugga).

²⁸⁶ *EG* 297a, 3-4 (Ephesus, Roman period).

²⁸⁷ *SEG* 7, 69, 3-5 (near Antioch, 1st cent. A.D.).

²⁸⁸ *EG* 120, 9.

Alas, afflicting Tyche, why did you bereave wretched me, the famed glory of my state, of life?

Nemesis appears in the character of Tyche:

ἔσφηλεν δ' ἐλπίδα τις νέμεσις.⁶⁴

Hope wrecked by some nemesis.

§33. However, when death is attributed to divine causes, it is generally the *Moirai* who are named.⁶⁵ In the epitaphs, at least, they have much the character of *Tyche*.⁶⁶ They are ravishers like Hades who whirl down and snatch away mortal lives:

εἰκοστὸν γὰρ ἔτος μὴ πληρώσαντά σε μοῖρα
ἤρπασεν ὠκύμορον, αἰδῖος θάνατος.⁶⁷

For, as you were completing your twentieth year, fate, eternal death, snatched you away untimely.

νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ μαστοῦ μητρὸς ἀφέλετο Μοῖρα σὺν Ἀιδῇ.⁶⁸

But now *Moirai* with Hades has snatched him from his mother's breast.

In one case *Moirai* seems to operate without the aid of natural forces:

οὐτε νέοισι νέος, οὐτ' ἀνδράσι νέϊκος ἀέλρων,
ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' ἐκαθήκε ὑποχρονίῳ βασιλῆϊ.⁶⁹

56 (1931), 129. The rudder of Tyche (οἶαξ) is mentioned, *EG* 491 (Thebes). The usual conception of Fortune in the epitaphs is very much that which survived into the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; for instance Chaucer, *Monkes Tale* 5-8:

*For certaynly, whan fortune lust to flee,
Ther may no man the cours of hir whiel holde;
Let no man truste in blynd prosperite,
Beth war by these ensamples trewe and olde.*

For parallels in the authors, cf. the sources given by Lier, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ Peek *Ath. Mitt.* 57 (1932), 62, 12, 2 (Gaza).

⁶⁵ Cf. especially Weizsaecker in Roscher, s.v. *Moirai*. Singular and plural are used alike, often (in the epitaphs) indiscriminately, though the plural seems to be more specific as designating, not an abstract power, but three very definite goddesses. Weizsaecker notes that they have often the character of representing law and right; but at best, in the epitaphs, they are neutral, the way in which things do happen, neither right nor wrong; at worst, they are no better than Tyche herself. Cf. further Eitrem in *PW* s.v. *Moirai*; Mayer, *Moirai in Griechischen Inschriften*.

⁶⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* 34, 313a, 1-2 (Smyrna). The two are associated by Archilochos; together they control men's lives (8D).

⁶⁷ Kaibel, *Rhein. Mus.* 34 (1879), 313a, 1-2 (Smyrna). Here I use Kaibel's capitalization. *μοῖρα*, I suppose, stands for the impersonal, *Μοῖρα* for the personal sense of the word. Here, however, *μοῖρα* would seem to be in lower case because it is equated with *θάνατος*; but both might well be written with an initial capital.

⁶⁸ *IG* 12, 9, 293, 3, (Eretria, 4th or 3d cent. B.C.). Cf. *Denk. Lyk.* 80, 91; *SEG* 8, 378.

⁶⁹ *SEG* 6, 414, 1-2 (Lycaonia, 2d or 3d A.D.).

I being young did not raise up strife against the young, nor against men, but *Moirai* sent me down as a gift to the underground king.

In one case they are vividly described:

ἀντία γ' ὧ Μοῖραι γαμψοὺς ἐπεθήκατε ἀτράκτους
αὔχενας, εἰ γενέται παισὶ τελοῦσι τάφους.⁷⁰

O *Moirai*, it is perverse (?vain ?) that you hunch your shoulders over the spindle, when parents must bury their children.

The perhaps older meaning also appears frequently, for example in phrases like *μοῖρα θανάτου*, which translates into "the doom of death." The newer meaning may be overlaid upon the old:

Μοῖρα δ' ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἠδέσατο, ἀ[λλ]ὰ πρόμοιρον
ἤγαγεν (ε)ἰς Ἀ[ΐδην].⁷¹

Moirai disregarded my young age and sent me prematurely to Hades.

The course of the *Moirai* is not, it would seem, generally thought of as fixed from an unknown source. They are autonomous, and if their decree seems cruel, then they themselves are cruel. Thus one of the rare prose inscriptions in which they are mentioned runs:

ἡ δὲ πικρὰ Μοῖρα οὕτω ἐμπτώσατο.⁷²

Thus the bitter *Moirai* spun my thread.

§34. In giving causes of death, and in general attitude toward these causes, the Latin epitaphs follow, as usual, the Greek. Here also we have a tendency to record the manner of death when it is unusual or in any way noteworthy; and the conception of what is noteworthy is much the same. Death from sickness or old age is passed over, but death at sea, in battle, in childbed, by murder or

⁷⁰ Peek. *Ath. Mitth.* 56 (1931), 121. This is Peek's interpretation, which I am inclined to follow; cf. however Roussel, *REG* 46 (1933), 273-276, who disputes it. He takes *γαμψοὺς αὔχενας* to be the *ἀγκίστρα* of the spindle, and the whole phrase to mean that the fates spin their thread in reverse of the natural direction. For *γένεσις* (i.e. the birthstar) as the agent of death, cf. Robert, *Mélanges Bidez* 793-794.

⁷¹ *Stud. Pont.* 144a, 3-4 (Gazacene). *Moirai* when it means "doom" or "fate" in the usual impersonal modern sense is confined to the singular number. For the other meaning, "goddess of doom" singular and plural are apparently used without distinction, sometimes both in the same poem, for example *SEG* 4, 573. For a thorough analysis of the uses of *Moirai* and the *Moirai* in Greek inscriptions, cf. Mayer, *Moirai in Griechischen Inschriften*.

⁷² *IG* 12, 9, 1240 (Adepsus). For mention of *Moirai* or the *Moirai*, cf. also *EG* 85, 112, 113, 114, 125, 144, 146, 151, 167, 168, 192, 212, 217, 219, 231, 282, 292, 300, 314, 315, 316, 321, 324, 325a and b, 339, 341, 370, 376, 384, 395, 416, 420, 462, 465, 470, 476, 478, 497, 511b, 520, 540, 550b, 552, 569a, 575, 583, 588, 590, 607, 618, 642, 643, 654, 657, 670, 688, 689, 693, 700, 714, 715, 718, 723, 333a. This will give some idea of the frequency of the term. It would be useless to multiply references further.

CHAPTER V

FIGURES FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF DEATH

§38. The study of the interpretation of death in ancient epitaphs may be concluded by the examination of several characteristic figures of speech which are used to describe it. One of these involves a postscript to the consideration of the Fates; that is, the comparison of a lifetime to a thread. The *Moirai*, like the Norns in the Nordic mythology, were conceived of as spinning a strand of life for every person.¹ This conceit was particularly popular among the writers of epitaphs;² thus we have, for instance:

Οὕτω γὰρ μοῖραι κλωστὸν ἔθεντο μίτον.³

For thus was the thread spun which the *Moirai* gave her.

There are many other examples.⁴ It must, however, be admitted that the instances I have found in the Greek are in a way unsatisfactory. They are well enough distributed geographically, but are never very early (almost all belong, apparently, to the Roman period); and the image is not made clear. Frequently it is given more or less as above, or the weavings of the divinities are vaguely mentioned, for instance κλώσματα θεῶν,⁵ and frequently the thread is made, not equivalent to life, but an instrument of death:

Μοιράων με μίτος πικρὸς ὤλεσεν.⁶

The harsh thread of the *Moirai* destroyed me.

Ἡ μίτος ὥς φασιν Μοιρῶν ἢ δαίμονος ὀργή.⁷

Either the thread of the *Moirai* they speak of, or a divinity's anger.

The most awkward image of all is the following:

πέντε [σ]ε καὶ δέκ' ἐτῶν ὁ βαρὺς μίτος ἤρπασε Μοι[ρῶ]ν.⁸

At fifteen the grievous thread of the *Moirai* snatched you away.

¹ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 20, 128; 24, 209, Callinus 1, 9 D. Discussed by Weizsaecker in Roscher, s.v. *Moirai* 3085-3087; Gruppe, 880. ² Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. *μίτος*.

³ EG 113, 4 (Attica).

⁴ EG 127, 144, 145, 153, 282, 287, 292, 336, 339, 351, 420, 478, 520, 566a, 583, 588, 642, 689, 715, 333a, 646a; *Rhein. Mus.* 34, 663b; IG 5, 1, 1186; 9, 2, 640; 12, 5, 64, 66; 7, 128, 298; 9, 1240; IGR 1, 773; 4, 235; SEG 6, 46; 8, 799; CIG 5363; BMI 1075; Inschr. Perg. 583; Keil-Premierstein 1, 140; IC 1, 5, 43; 22, 58; 22, 59; Peek, *Ath. Mitth.* 56 (1931), 133; Geffcken 222; MAMA 5, 91. ⁵ IG 12, 7, 123 (Arcesine, late).

⁶ EG 274, 1 (Amorgos).

⁷ IG 9, 2, 640, 1 (Larisa).

⁸ IG 5, 1, 1186, 1 (Gythium). It is possible that in such cases the *μίτος* is personified. Cf. Mayer, *Moirai in Griechischen Inschriften* 26-27.

εὐδαίμων Ἑλένη παιδὸς μόνον οὐκ ἐσιδοῦσα,
 ἀλλ' ὁ πατὴρ ἔτλη Λοῦ[κι]ο[s] οὐχ ὅσια·
 εἶδε γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ[ν] ἐμὸν νέκυν, εἶδε δὲ τέκνου
 πῶ[μα]τι λ[α]ινέω σῶ[μα] κ[ατ]ι[σχό]μενον.¹²²

Helen was fortunate, she did not see her child's death, but my father Lucius endured what was unholy; for with his own eyes he looked upon my corpse, he saw his son's body shut in the stone tomb.

οἷς δ' ἔπρεπεν τεύχειν γονέων τάφον, οἷδε θανόντες
 κοσμοῦνται μογερῶν εἰκόσιν ἐκ πατέρων.¹²³

Those who ought to have made a tomb for their parents died and are here duly honored by their afflicted fathers.

The opposite situation is a source of satisfaction:

ὧ φυσικαὶ τοκέων [στ]οργαὶ πρὸς τέκνα ποθεινὰ
 ὥς ὅσταν υἱῶν τ[ὰ]ν χάριν ἀντέλαβον.¹²⁴

For him the natural love of parents for their dear children received this seemly grace in return, from the hands of his sons.

The following is unique in my experience:

*Ω πάτερ, μεμφόμεθα σ' ἀνφότεροι δὲ προθανὼν ἡμῶν ὀλίγον χρόνον
 μητρὸς ἀφήρπασες ἀνφοτέρους, μήδ' ἐλεῶν ἡμῶν μητέρα τὴν
 ἀτυχήσ[ις] (sic), μηδὲν εἰδοῦσα[ν] ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν.¹²⁵

Father, we both blame you because, after dying a little while before us (?) you then took both of us away from our mother. You did not pity our mother's unhappiness, though she got no good from you (us?).

The Latin field offers a very great number of sound examples of this theme. The earliest seem to be:

Alc. 614 sqq.; Phères ought to be willing to precede his son to the grave. Cf. also Herodotus 1, 87; Polybius 12, 26, 7. Here the figure is spoken of as a rhetorical commonplace to describe the horrors of war. Perhaps the best instance from the *Anthology* is by the third-century poet Diotimus, *AP* 7, 261:

Τί πλέον εἰς ὠδῖνα πονεῖν, τί δὲ τέκνα τεκέσθαι,
 ἢ τέκοι εἰ μέλλει παῖδός ὄρῃν θάνατον;
 ἡὐθέψ γὰρ σῆμα Βιάνορι χεῖατο μήτηρ·
 ἔπρεπε δ' ἐκ παιδὸς μητέρα τοῦδε τυχεῖν.

Cf. further *AP* 7, 187 (Philip of Thessalonica), 228, 361, 547 (Leonidas of Alexandria), 701 (Diodorus). With these we may compare Shakespeare, *Romeo* 5, 3, 214-215:

O thou untaught! what manners is in this,
 To press before thy father to a grave?

¹²² *EG* 327, 3-6 (Imbros, 3d cent. A.D.).

¹²³ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 252, 5-6 (Ushak? 2d cent. A.D.). There are three instances from Athens: *EG* 115, 130; Peek, *Ath. Mitth.* 56 (1931), 121. Good examples from other places are: *EG* 190, 334; Keil-Premmerstein 1, 149; *Prin. Arch. Exp.* 798; *IC* 1, 5, 41. Probable examples are: *EG* 207, 480, 579; *IG* 14, 2361.

¹²⁴ *IG* 12, 5, 305 (Paros, 1st cent. B.C.). Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 5, 24-25; *Samm.* 5829, 11-12.

¹²⁵ Mendel, *BCH* 33 (1909), 312-314 (near Prusa). Translation of last clause uncertain; ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν seems to have been intended.

Latin in origin, and further (so far as I have been able to discover) peculiar to the Latin epitaph.

§53. So far I have dealt only with the special circumstance of untimely death as occasion for particular lament in the epitaphs. It is the most usual, but there are others. The manner of dying has some bearing on the attitude of survivors, especially if death is violent or painful. I have already dealt with the exceptional causes of death which are recorded in the epitaphs,²⁰⁸ but reserved discussion of death at sea, as being above others a cause for grief. We know that this was felt to be true, although the evidence in the epitaphs themselves is rather scanty. Hesiod definitely declares:

δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶ θανεῖν μετὰ κύμασιν.²⁰⁹

It is a terrible thing to die among the waves.

Odysseus, in danger of drowning, wishes rather that the Trojans had killed him, so that he might be decently buried.²¹⁰ This feeling is even more emphatically expressed by Propertius:

*nam dum te sequitur, primo miser excidit aevo
et nova longinquis piscibus esca natat;
et mater non iusta piaē dare debita terrae
nec pote cognatos inter humare rogos;
sed tua nunc volucres astant super ossa marinae,
nunc tibi pro tumulo Carpathium omne mare est.*²¹¹

Neither Hesiod nor Propertius ever had much sympathy with the adventurous life. Death at sea is the subject of many poems in the seventh book of the *Anthology*, of which we may single out one by Callimachus:

ὦ φέλε μὴ δ' ἐγένοντο θαλαί νῆες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς
παῖδα Διοκλείδου Σώπολιν ἐστένομεν·
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν εἰν ἁλί που φέρεται νέκυς· ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνου
οὐνομα καὶ κενεὸν σῆμα παρερχόμεθα.²¹²

I wish there had never been any swift ships, for then we should not be grieving for Sopolis the son of Diocleides. But as it is, his body is washed somewhere out to sea, and instead of himself we pass by a name, and an empty monument.

This is perhaps as complete an expression as any.²¹³ In Greek epi-

²⁰⁸ See above, §§29, 34.

²⁰⁹ *Erga* 687.

²¹⁰ *Od.* 5, 308-312. Cf. Archilochus 7 D, 10 D; Andocides, *Myst.* 137-138.

²¹¹ 3, 7, 7-12. ²¹² *AP* 7, 271.

²¹³ Cf. also (for the sake of brevity I may be permitted to omit the names of the authors)

these poets were influenced, directly or indirectly, by inscriptions, as well as influencing them.¹¹⁶

We come now to the consideration of the theme as it appears in epitaphs. It is both early and frequent. Some examples of the earlier style follow:

Εἴτ' ἀστέ]ς τις ἀνὴρ εἴτε ξένος ἄλλοθεν ἐλθὼν,
Τέ[ττ]ιχον οἰκτίρας ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν παρίτω.¹¹⁷

Whether you are a citizen or a stranger coming from elsewhere, take pity on Tettichus, a brave man, as you go by.

ὃ ξένε, εὐλυδρ]ὸν ποκ' ἐναίωμες ἄστν Κορίνθω.¹¹⁸

Stranger, we lived once in the well-watered city of Corinth.

ἀλλ' ὦ ξένε, τὸμ μ' ὑπὸ τύμβωι
θέντα πόσιν μύθοις εὐλογέων παρίοις.¹¹⁹

But, stranger, speak in praise of my husband who laid me under the tomb, and so pass on.

ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, παροδίτα, τὸν ἐκ χθονὸς Ἀλκινόοιο
'χαῖρ' εἰπὼν ἀγαθοῦ παῖδ' ἀγαθὸν Σατύρου.¹²⁰

But go, stranger, having said farewell to the brave son of brave Satyrus, from the land of Alcinous.

Some idea of this theme's variations will appear from a few later examples:

ζῆλωτὸν στέφανον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ὁδόν.¹²¹

A garland admired by those who pass along the road.

κὰν τροχάδην βαίνης, φίλε ὦ παροδεῖτα, βαίὼν ἐπίσ[χου].¹²²

Even if you are going at speed pause for a little, dear wayfarer.

525, 536, 540, 544, 558, 569, 589, 631, 656, 658, 664, 710, 712, 718, 734, 739. Simonides, Erinna, Callimachus, Dioscorides, and Meleager are among those represented. For this theme in early epitaphs, cf. Bowra, *EGE* 177-184.

¹¹⁶ Naturally people in classical times, educated or not, noticed some of those innumerable tombs and tombstones which faced them whenever they left or entered a city. Cf. for instance Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 13: *an tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?* Cf. Propertius 3, 16, 25-26: *di faciant, mea ne terra locet ossa frequenti qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.* Cf. further Sandys-Campbell 1-19.

¹¹⁷ *EG* 1, 1-2 (Athens, 6th cent. B.C.). For other sixth-century examples, cf. *EG* 1a; Kaibel, *Rhein. Mus.* 34 (1879), 2a. These also are from Athens.

¹¹⁸ *IG* 1², 927, 1 (Salamis) on the Corinthians killed in the campaign of Salamis. The reading is guaranteed from Plutarch, *Mal. Herod.* 870c. For the fifth century, cf. also *EG* 22 (Aegina), 23 (Attica); *IG* 12, 9, 285 (Eretria). Cf. *IC* 1, 15, 4 with Guarducci's note.

¹¹⁹ *SEG* 4, 633, 7-8 (Sardes, 4th cent. B.C.).

¹²⁰ *EG* 184, 7-8 (Corcyra, 3d cent. B.C.). For other pre-Roman examples, cf. *EG* 89 (Euboea), 189 (Melos), 199 (Telos), 205 (Halicarnassus), 237 (Smyrna), 258 (Alexandria), 260 (Cyrene); *IG* 5, 1, 724 (Sparta); 9, 1, 164 (Phocis); 12, 1, 141, 147 (Rhodes); 12, 3, 10 (Syme); 12, 3, 220 (Astypalaea); 12, 7, 115 (Arcesine); Paraskenaidēs, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* (1932), 14 (Mytilene); *SEG* 3, 543 (near Philippopolis); Peek, *Mnem.* 4 (1936-1937), 6-8 (Rhamnus).

¹²¹ *EG* 133, 3 (Athens). ¹²² *EG* 288, 1 (Cyprus).

*sat felix videor si modo fama manet.*²²¹

Finally, under a pictorial representation of a butcher's wife selling a goose to a customer are inscribed the lines of Virgil:

*dum montibus umbrae
lustrabunt [c]onvexa polus dum sidera pascet
semper honos nomenq(ue) tuum laudesque manebunt.*²²²

§68. It is noteworthy that women have their share in such claims. We are very far from the Periclean recommendation that women must aspire to be ignored, and we shall find much further evidence of a tendency in the opposite direction. But it is also noteworthy that, in view of the grip which the idea of fame had on the ancient mind, it occupies so little space in these private epitaphs. They are more likely to express a hope of being remembered, not by the world at large, but by their intimates and the members of their families.

Examples of this more modest claim follow:

Σῶμα σὸν ἐν κόλποις, Καλλιστοῖ, γαῖα καλύπτει,
σῆς δ' [ἀ]ρετῆς μνήμην σοῖσι φίλοις ἔλιπες.²²³

Callisto, earth has hidden your body in her embrace, but you have left to your friends the memory of your virtue.

Ἀθάνατος φίλια σῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι παρ' ἀνδρί.²²⁴

Immortal love of your soul remains with your husband.

ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀέμνηστον ἀφείσ' ἀρετὴν τοῖς σοῖς
κηδομένοις.²²⁵

You have given over your virtue, which is what men remember forever, to those who care for you.

εἰς ἀέμνηστον ἡ ψυχή.²²⁶

Your soul, in everlasting memory.

The satisfaction expressed is occasionally striking:

²²¹ CE 1085 and 1086, 4 (Rome). These are interdependent. Cf. also CE 423, 1976(?), 2094(?); CIL 13, 2077, 2437.

²²² CIL 6, 9685 (Rome); *Aen.* 1, 607-609. ²²³ EG 56 (Athens, pre-Roman).

²²⁴ EG 80 (same place and period). ²²⁵ IG 12, 9, 856 (Eretria).

²²⁶ *Samm.* 6138 (Egyptian mummy-cover). Cf. *Samm.* 1208, where *δνομα* replaces *ψυχή*. Cf. also EG 59, 248. By way of contrast, cf. Semonides 2 D:

Τοῦ μὲν θανόντος οὐκ ἂν ἐθυμοίμεθα,
εἴ τι φρονοῖμεν, πλείον ἡμέρης μίης.

Cf. Sappho 58 D. This spirit (naturally) is hardly to be found in epitaphs.

originality of expression, though rarely attended by any literary excellence.

§78. So far I have dealt exclusively with biographical sketches of single persons. We also learn something, at least, about the family both in its narrower and its larger definition; though perhaps the epitaphs give us more the ideal than the actuality. No one can have failed to notice from the quotations I have so far produced that women play a very important part in sepulchral inscriptions, Greek as well as Latin; and there are a number of brief accounts of married life to be found, although it must be admitted that these occur less frequently in the Greek. The following are characteristic of the earlier style:

τῷδε τάφῳ κείται Χαιρεστράτη, ἣν ὁ σὺνευνος
ἔστερξεν μὲν ζῶσαν, ἐπένθησεν δὲ θανοῦσαν.⁷⁸

Chaestrate lies in this tomb. Her husband loved her as long as she lived, and when she died he grieved for her.

Ἡμᾶς καὶ ζῶντας κοινὸν βίον ἥλιος ὦρα
καὶ] τάφος εἰς φθιμένους δέξατο γηραλείους.⁷⁹

When we lived the sun looked down upon our life together; and now we are dead in our old age we have a single tomb.

The prose accounts are also simple; the following may be taken as an example of the late style:

ἦ τις ἔξησεν κα[λῶς με]τ' ἐμοῦ ἔτη xxviii, [μῆνα]ς τέσσερες, ἡμέρας v.⁸⁰

Who was a good wife to me for 28 years, four months, 5 days.

Among later epigrams, especially outside of Greece proper, we find more detailed and emphatic protestations, partly, perhaps, under Roman influence; instances are:

στοργὴ γὰρ μεγάλη τῶν ἀμφοτέρων διέμεινεν,
ὡς ὅπου φῶς τὸ γλυκὺν παρέμεινε ἀκτέϊσι ἐπιλάμπον,
ἡδὺν ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ γλυκὺν ὡς μέλιτι.⁸¹

For the great love between the two of us endured so long as the radiance of her sweet light (of life) remained; she was fairspoken and sweet as honey.

⁷⁸ EG 44, 2-3 (Piraeus, 4th or 3d cent. B.C.).

⁷⁹ IG 12, 7, 113 (Arcesine, 3d B.C.).

⁸⁰ SEG 2, 384 (Dyrrhachium). Not only the Roman numerals but also the exact tally betrays Latin influence. The name is Roman.

⁸¹ EG 719, 7-9 (Rome). The sense of the third line quoted is not quite clear to me.

παρθένον ἥς ἀπέλυσε μίτρην, ἥς ὥριον ἄνθος
ἔσχεν ἐν ἡμιτελεί παυσάμενον θαλάμῳ.⁸²

He loosened her maiden girdle, but he possessed the lovely flower of her beauty only for a half-finished bridal.

Χαῖρε, γύναι Πάνθεια, παρ' ἀνέρος, ὃς μετὰ μοῖραν
σὴν ὁλόου θανάτου πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχω.
οὐ γάρ πω τοίη[ν] ἄλοχον Ζυγίη ἵδεν Ἥρη
εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν ἥδ' ἑ σαοφροσύνην.
αὐτὴ μοι καὶ παῖδας ἐγείναο πάντας ὁμοίους,
αὐτὴ καὶ γαμέτου κήδεο καὶ τεκέων,
καὶ βιοτῆς οἶακα κατευθύνεσκες ἐν οἴκῳ
καὶ κλέος ὑψώσας ξυγὼν ἱητορίης,
οὐδὲ γυνή περ ἐούσα ἐμῆς ἀπελείπει τέχνης·
τοῦνεκά σοι τύμβον τεύξε Γλύκων γαμέτης,
ὃς γέ καὶ ἀθανάτοιο δέμας κεύθει Φιλαδέ[λφου],
ἐ[ν] [θα] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κείσο[μ'] ἀποφθίμενος.⁸³

Lady Pantheia, hail from your husband. My grief for your sorrowful death is everlasting. For never did Hera, Lady of Marriage, look on a wife who was like you for beauty and sober discretion. It was you who bore me children entirely like myself, who cared for your husband and children, who took the helm and steered the household's course and heightened the fame it had in the healing art. For though you were a woman your skill was not below mine. Therefore your husband Glycon honored you with this tomb which also conceals the body of immortal Philadelphus, and where I shall lie myself when I die.

Equally diffuse, less competent, but obviously more sincere is the writer of a semi-metrical epitaph for his wife, concluding:

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ (ὁ) γράψας Νείκων ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς γεγονώς γε, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι·
βασκανθεῖς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄλλῳ τὸ καλὸν παρέδωκα. ἦντιν' ἐγὼ ποθῶ λείαν
διὰ σωφροσύνην καθὼς προγέ(γ)ραφα, κοῦδ' ἐν ὅλῳ ἀνύω. κραυγάζω
κοῦκ ἐπακούει· τῇ στοργῇ μὲν ἐγὼ κατέχω· ὡς εἶχον ἔσωμε τῷ αὐτῷ·
κοῦδ' ἐν ὅλῳ ἀνύω· ὡς ἄνεμος γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐπετάσθη.⁸⁴

I, Nicon, who have written this was her husband, but am no longer. For I gave my lovely one over into the keeping of another, who begrudged me, and I long for her, because of her goodness—as I have already written—and yet it avails me not at all. I lament, but she does not hear. I hold fast by my love, and shall remain even as I was. Yet it avails me not at all; for she vanished, just like the wind.

In Latin, we have a parallel to the Pantheia epitaph quoted

⁸² EG 319, 3-4 (Philadelphia, 1st or 2d cent. A.D.).

⁸³ EG 243b (Pergamum, 2d cent. A.D.), for the wife of a physician. Cf. also the following late epitaphs: EG 363 (Cotiaeum), 405 (Galatia), 435 (Trachonitis), 513 (Eretria, Phthiotis), 525 (near Dium); IG 9, 2, 656, 660 (Larisa); 14, 2014 (Rome).

⁸⁴ Guarducci, *Riv. Fil.* 57 (1929), 378-382 (Aptera, Crete, 3d or 4th cent. A.D.). Translation problematical; see the editor's translation, and her interesting commentary.