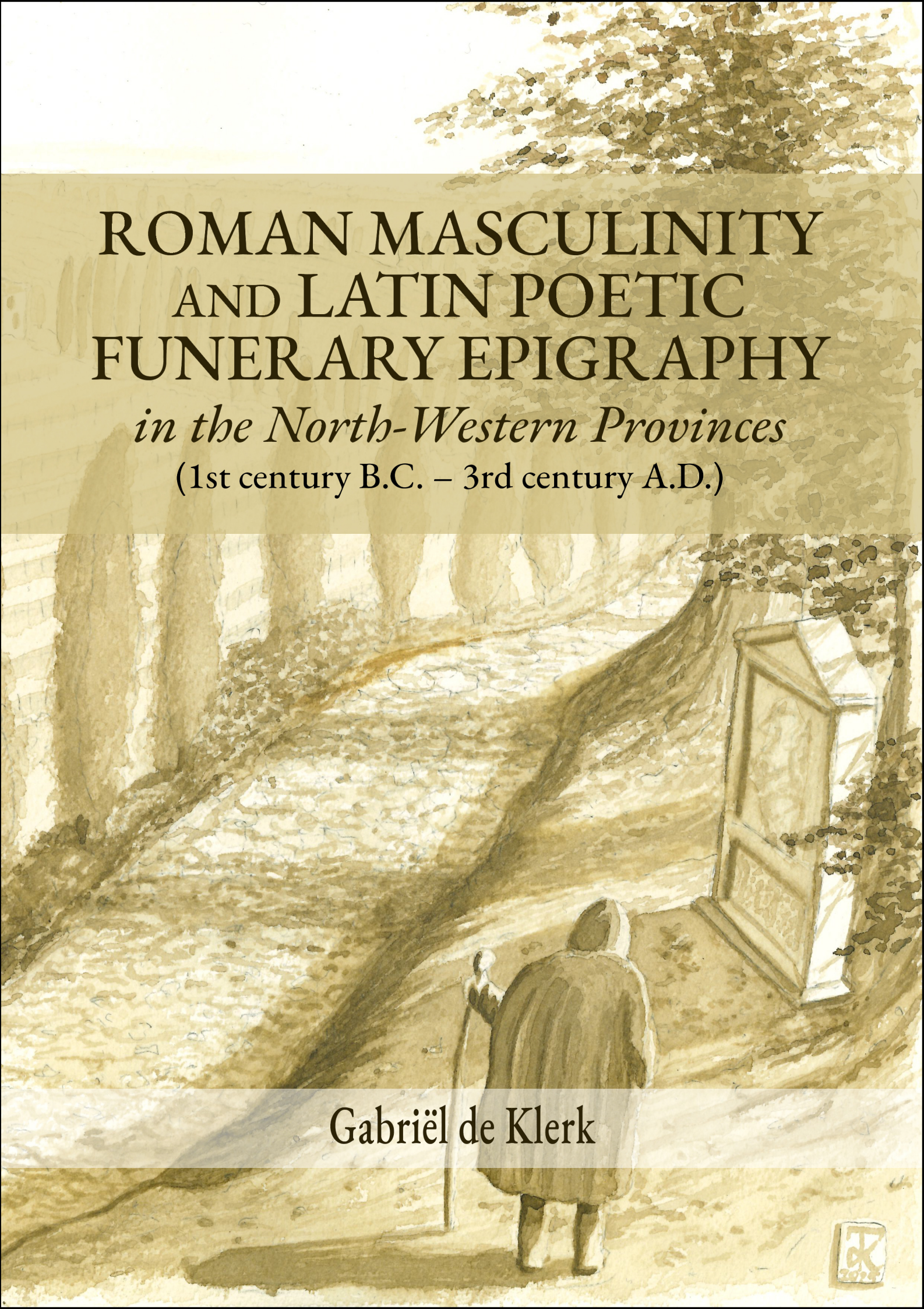


A watercolor illustration in warm, earthy tones. In the foreground, a person wearing a dark, hooded cloak and holding a long staff stands with their back to the viewer. They are looking towards a large, rectangular stone tomb or sarcophagus on the right. The tomb has a pedimented top and a central panel with a faint relief. The scene is set in a forest with tall, slender trees and a path leading towards the tomb. The overall mood is somber and contemplative.

ROMAN MASCULINITY AND LATIN POETIC FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY

in the North-Western Provinces

(1st century B.C. – 3rd century A.D.)

Gabriël de Klerk



A dissertation submitted to attain the academic degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

Roman Masculinity and Latin Poetic Funerary Epigraphy

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century A.D.)

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List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations for the main scientific corpora in this dissertation derive from Wellington 2003. When a suitable abbreviation is not readily available, reference is made to the author's surname and the year of publication.

<i>AE</i>	L'Année épigraphique, Paris 1888ff.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore 1885ff.
<i>ASRSP</i>	Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, Rome 1877ff.
<i>BCTH</i>	Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques, Paris 1883ff.
<i>Bfoligno</i>	Bollettino Storico della Città di Foligno, Foligno 1978ff.
<i>Brusin</i>	Giovanni Brusin. Inscriptiones Aquileiae. Vol. I-III. Udine 1991-1993.
<i>Cambi-2010</i>	Nenad Cambi. Die Sarkophage der lokalen Werkstätten im römischen Dalmatien (2. bis 4. Jh. n. Chr.). Split 2010.
<i>Cholodniak-1897</i>	Johannes Cholodniak. Carmina Sepulcralia Latina. Petropolis 1897.
<i>CIL</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin 1863ff.
<i>CIL-SupplIt</i>	Ettore Pais. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Supplementa Italica. Rome 1884.
<i>CLE</i>	Franz Bücheler. Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Vol. I-II. Leipzig 1895-1897; Ernst Lommatzsch. Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Vol. III. Supplementum. Leipzig 1926; Paolo Cugusi, Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi. Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Vol. IV. Carmina in provinciis reperta. Berlin 2023.
<i>CLEHisp</i>	Paolo Cugusi, Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi. Carmina latina epigraphica hispanica post buechelerianam collectionem editam reperta cognita: CLEHisp, Faenza 2012.
<i>CLEMoes</i>	Paolo Cugusi, Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi. Carmina latina epigraphica Moesica (CLEMoes), Carmina latina epigraphica Thraciae (CLEThr). Bologna 2008.
<i>CLEPann</i>	Paolo Cugusi, Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi. Studi sui carmi epigrafici: carmina latina epigraphica Pannonica (CLEPann). Bologna 2007.
<i>EDCS</i>	Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby. http://www.manfredclaus.de/
<i>EE</i>	Ephemeris Epigraphica. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum. Rome 1872-1913.
<i>Epigraphica</i>	Epigraphica. Rivista italiana di epigrafia. Milan 1939ff.

- Galieti*-1948 Alberto Galieti. Contributi alla storia della diocesi suburbicaria di Albano Laziale. Rome 1948.
- Gerov*-1989 Boris Gerov, Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Sofia 1989.
- Hamdoune*-2011 Christine Hamdoune. Vie, mort et poésie dans l'Afrique Romaine d'après un choix de Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Brussels 2011.
- Helttula*-2003 Anne Helttula. Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'isola sacra. Rome 2007.
- ICUR* Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae: Nova Series. Rome 1922ff.
- IDR* Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Bucharest 1975ff.
- ILAfr* Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique. Paris 1923.
- ILAlg* Inscriptions Latines d'Algérie. Paris 1922ff.
- ILJug-1* Anna Šašel, Jaroslav Šašel. Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et edita sunt. Ljubljana 1963.
- ILJug-2* Anna Šašel, Jaroslav Šašel. Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt. Ljubljana 1978.
- ILJug-3* Anna Šašel, Jaroslav Šašel. Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt. Ljubljana 1986.
- InscrIt* Inscriptiones Italiae. Rome 1931ff.
- Lazzaro*-1993 Luciano Lazzaro. Esclaves et affranchise en Belgique et Germanies romaines d'après les sources. Paris 1993.
- NDSA* Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità. Rome 1876.
- Pancieri*-1977 Silvio Panciera. Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica Romana. In: L'onomastique latine. Paris 1977. 191-203.
- PCM* Fabiano Pagano, Francesco Gentile. Puteoli, Cumae, Misenum. Rivista di Studi e notiziario del Parco archeologico dei campi Flegrei. Naples 2021.
- Rend. Pont. Ac. Arch.* Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archaeologia. Rome 1923ff.
- RIB* Roman Inscriptions of Britain. Oxford 1965ff.
- RIC* Roman Imperial Coinage. London 1923ff.
- RIU* Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns. Budapest 1972ff.
- RPC* Roman Provincial Coinage. Paris 1992ff.
- SEG* Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Leiden 1923ff.
- Solin*-2022 Heikki Solin, Mario Nassa. Il padre piange la morte prematura del figlio. Una singolare iscrizione di Soria. In: Le epigrafi delle Valle di Comino. Atti del diciassettesimo convegno epigrafico. Atina 2022. 41-45.

<i>ThLL</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Leipzig 1900ff.
<i>TitAq</i>	Péter Kovács, Ádám Szabó. Tituli Aquincenses. Budapest 2009ff.
<i>UbiEratLupa</i>	Ubi Erat Lupa database: www.lupa.at .
<i>VAMZ</i>	Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu. Zagreb 1879–1892, 1895–1942, 1958ff.
<i>Visconti-2021</i>	Amedeo Visconti. Massimiliano Lanzillo, Studi sull'Irpinia antica. Naples 2021.

Introduction

1.1 Research Outline

The Roman masculine ideal was a distinct gendered model that represented the male qualities, characteristics and values to which Roman men aspired and by which they measured their worth and place within ancient society. Based on the concept of *virtus*, i.e., manliness and courage, the *vir* was an idealised representation of the core values that any Roman man sought to achieve and exhibit.¹ Importantly, these ideals that came to constitute Roman masculinity were not innately trusted to all biological males but required attainment. These traits were presented as achievable and, consequently, also susceptible to being lost.² While biologically born men were perhaps more disposed to inhibit masculine traits, the realisation of the ideal Roman *vir* was based on degrees of conformity to and deviance from socially constructed ideals and was not anatomically or biologically coded.³ Such ideals and ideologies were not set in stone and differed between periods, regions and sociocultural contexts and, at times, were seemingly contradictory.⁴ Thus, being born a Roman man was not sufficient to qualify as a *vir*. One also needed to display it.

This concept of masculinity corresponds closely to the modern notion that gender is not biologically given but is socially constructed. In the words of De Beauvoir: “one is not born, but rather becomes, woman.”⁵ Such contributions led to the rise of the ‘second-wave feminism’ during the 1960s and 70s and, consequently, these feminist movements led to advancements in the studies of women and gender and, in turn, to further research into men and masculinity.⁶ Consequently, the study of Roman masculinity emerged mainly during the final decades of the 20th century and was propelled by an interest in women, (homo-)sexuality and gender in antiquity. It was simultaneously driven by developments in other fields, including sociology, which produced many of the pioneering works on gender theory.⁷ It is therefore evident that

¹ Manwell 2007, 113.

² Manwell 2007, 114.

³ Gleason 1994, 80-81; Osiek/Pouya 2009, 47-48.

⁴ Asikainen 2018, 5, 12.

⁵ De Beauvoir 2011, 283. The connection between Roman authors’ notions on gender and De Beauvoir was also made by Gunderson 2000, 96.

⁶ Foxhall 2013, 6, 11-12.

⁷ Foxhall, 1998, 1-2; Tosh 2011, 17.

a significant proportion of the concepts that form the foundation of the study of ancient men and masculinity derive from sociologists, which include the social construction of gender (referred to above) and the expression of gender as a component of identity.⁸

Traditionally, Roman gender and masculinity studies have been carried out by analysing ancient literary texts, which encompassed historical prose, literary epic, novels, poetry, philosophical and medical texts, oratory and (private) correspondence.⁹ The use of archaeology and material culture as a viable source material has often been relegated to a secondary rank, partly because literary sources usually refer to or reflect upon gender ideals more directly than archaeological remains.¹⁰ While the textual evidence provides valuable insights into the study of gender and masculinity, it is not without bias, which gives rise to two specific problems: the first is that the majority of literary evidence is written by and for men with a definite lack of textual evidence on the perspective of women;¹¹ the second is that the literary evidence almost exclusively reflects on the attitudes, aspirations and ideals of the cultural, educated elite.¹² These texts were primarily produced by the Roman upper class. As such, the ideologies of the lower classes are always recounted rather indirectly and relatively infrequently in the literary evidence.¹³ While the former interpretational issue does not directly hinder the study of Roman masculinity as much as the latter, it nevertheless creates an imbalance in the study of ancient gender overall.

Funerary epigraphy has offered a way forward from this bias: in contrast to the literary evidence, funerary inscriptions were created by and for men and women, and their subjects included Roman aristocrats, senators, (local) magistrates, freedmen, public functionaries, local artisans, merchants, soldiers and their families, but also those confined to the fringes of Roman society, such as gladiators and slaves.¹⁴ Importantly, funerary inscriptions came to serve as a medium for the display of status and were used as a means of self-representation: they allowed for both the living and

⁸ Gleason 1994, xxvi.

⁹ Foxhall 2013, 6, 11–12.

¹⁰ Scott, E. 1995, 174, 183.

¹¹ Shepard Kraemer 2010, 5; Surtees/Dyer 2020, 1–2.

¹² Foxhall 2013, 16.

¹³ Kuefler 2001, 8.

¹⁴ Carroll 2006, 3, 16.

the dead to leave a lasting testimony, which they could influence to a certain degree, on how they precisely were and wished to be remembered. As such, ancient individuals, either through their relatives, friends or by themselves, could imprint their identity for eternity — or so they hoped — on the funerary monuments that reflected their earthly accomplishments, aspirations, attitudes and convictions. The grave monument thus not only indicated the *locus* of the individual burial but, most important for this dissertation, allowed for the preservation of a wide range of messages that alluded to grander themes of identity, such as status, social relations, profession, age or gender both through text and image.¹⁵

As a result, many studies of women in antiquity have turned to epigraphy, as it offers a way to study those social groups otherwise unrepresented in Roman scientific discourse. Similarly, funerary epigraphy offers scholars of men and ancient masculinity a viable portal into how men in the Roman provinces, from diverse backgrounds, periods and origins, wished to be remembered. This perspective has been largely absent from modern scientific discourse on Roman masculinity. The lack of this perspective is problematic because, as previously stated, the current scholarly debate on Roman masculinity is heavily and disproportionately coloured by the attitudes and concepts of the Roman elite. It is unfortunate that this approach does not take into account the experiences of a significant proportion of the Roman population, namely the males who were socially and economically disadvantaged compared to the sociocultural elite in Rome. Furthermore, it fails to exploit the untapped potential of funerary epigraphy for the study of ancient masculinity and gender. This potential has been used numerous times to advance the study of women in antiquity but has not yet been employed for studies of Roman masculinity on a large scale.

This dissertation seeks to fill this lacuna and expand the present scientific understanding of ancient Roman masculinity and the construction of gender in antiquity. To achieve this, we shall focus on two concepts related to Roman masculinity, emotion and virtue, and study how these concepts are represented in funerary epigraphy. The main corpus of this dissertation consists of funerary verse inscriptions (as opposed to prose inscriptions) since, as will be explained in more

¹⁵ Carroll 2011, 65–66.

detail in the methodology (paragraph 1.3), verse inscriptions provide significant advantages for the study of the representation of identity and ancient masculinity, especially when contextualising those findings with literary evidence. This also introduces another objective of this dissertation, namely to pay specific attention to the interplay of emotion and virtue between Latin funerary epigraphy and Roman textual evidence to contextualise the concepts of emotion and virtue within the current body of ancient masculinity studies. Finally, this dissertation will assess the uses of emotion and virtue in funerary inscriptions by both men and women to determine possible similarities and differences in the display of these concepts for each particular gender and to create a deeper understanding of gender in epigraphy. To delineate the epigraphic evidence more precisely, this dissertation will study primarily the funerary epigraphy from the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. and of non-Christian character. Thus, this dissertation will answer the following questions: firstly, to what extent were emotions and virtues presented as distinct masculine concepts in Latin funerary verse epigraphy in the north-western Roman provinces between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D.? Secondly, how does this gendered representation differ between epigraphic and textual sources? Thirdly, how does the representation of gendered emotion and virtue differ in epigraphy between men and women? And fourthly, to what extent does the addition of verse on Latin funerary epigraphy influence the representation of (gendered) emotion and virtue?

The value of the research of this dissertation lies primarily in the fact that, as stated earlier, it contributes to the present understanding of masculinity by accessing how the subaltern members of Roman society presented themselves in Roman funerary epigraphy. By doing so, this dissertation contributes to the field of ancient masculinity studies, which has been dominated mainly by focussing on members of the Roman elite. Furthermore, this dissertation's analysis provides a viable means of studying ancient gender via funerary epigraphy, a source type that, until now, has been relatively underrepresented in ancient masculinity studies. Connected to this is that, until now, funerary epigraphy has not been used to study ancient virtue and emotion. Thus, this dissertation also adds to the fields of ancient emotion and virtue studies, both with a rich scientific tradition. Finally, it explicitly addresses these topics through the lens of verse epigraphy. This dissertation's research thus contributes to multiple

fields of study –gender, masculinity, virtue, emotion and verse epigraphy in antiquity – and shows how research in these fields can be approached from different angles.

Of course, this dissertation's analysis comes with its limitations. These will be addressed in more detail in the methodology. Still, it is important to briefly highlight the most pressing matters: first, its geographical focus is the north-western provinces and is therefore limited to the epigraphic evidence from this region. It does not relate to masculinity in, for example, the Roman East or other provinces that make up the Roman Western Empire. The same limitation applies to this dissertation's temporal boundaries, as the chronological demarcation is 300 A.D. and will therefore not study the topic of masculinity in Late Antiquity. Furthermore, the study of epigraphic sources brings advantages and disadvantages, of which the fragmented and dispersed nature of the material is only one. Similarly, while the analysis of funerary epigraphy ameliorates modern understandings of Roman gender and masculinity, it does not replace the findings that have been made based on textual evidence. Instead, it supplements it and should be studied with other source types. As such, the conclusions of this dissertation will not allow for overt generalisations of masculinity in antiquity but should be held at face value instead. It shows not who or how Roman men experienced masculinity in antiquity but how they presented themselves considering such gendered ideologies.

As part of this introduction, this dissertation will continue with a review of the existing academic literature on the most important topics discussed here. Following this, the methodology of this dissertation will be discussed, which also entails a more detailed analysis of the sources and this dissertation's corpus and the analysis comprising the bulk of this dissertation. It will consist of two thematic parts: the first will focus on emotion, while the second will study virtue. Since these separate analyses come with methodologies and limitations of their own, their respective approaches shall be examined at the beginning of each chapter and include a review of the relevant ancient literature, discussing some key concepts necessary to understand the analysis. A discussion or synthesis of the studied material will follow each analysis. After the analysis, this dissertation will conclude with a conclusion that will refer to the topics discussed, and questions raised above.

1.2 Literature Review

This paragraph will provide the reader with an introduction to the most important topics discussed in this dissertation and give an overview of critical pieces of academic literature published in the past. It will focus on Latin funerary epigraphy and self-representation, gender and masculinity in antiquity, and funerary epigraphy and verse epigraphy. Thus, it will not examine the topics of emotion and virtue as they are dealt with separately in their respective analytical chapters. Instead, this paragraph will create an understanding of how the topics of epigraphy, representation, and gender have been addressed in the past and illustrate to what extent the lacuna in existing literature is prevalent among these sources.

1.2.1 Funerary Epigraphy, Self-Representation, and Identity

The study of Roman inscriptions as a medium for self-representation emerged primarily during the 1980s through the efforts of Alföldy and Eck, who borrowed the topic of self-representation from the archaeological study of Roman monuments such as temples, triumphal arches and statues and applied it to Roman inscriptions for the first time.¹⁶ Individually from each other, they published several works during the 80s and 90s that specifically focused on the self-representation of the (senatorial) elite in Rome and the provinces through the study of honorific, funerary, building or votive inscriptions. In 1982, for example, Alföldy published “Individualität und Kollektivnorm in der Epigraphik des römischen Senatorenstandes,” in which he examined the inscriptions made by the *ordo senatorius* to examine their connection to a collective identity and the presentation of “Sozialprestige.”¹⁷ Alföldy has also published two regional studies on the inscriptions of local statue bases, the first in 1979 on Hispania Tarraconensis and the second in 1984 on *regio X Venetia et Histria*, and how their content both adheres to larger frameworks of Roman identity presentation and also shows local nuances.¹⁸ Similarly, Eck has primarily studied the Roman senatorial elite through genre-specific research, such as his work on the social dimension of the use of age of death in senatorial funerary epigraphy.¹⁹ His 1984 study of senatorial self-representation during the age of Augustus based on honorific

¹⁶ Niquet 2003, 145. For such archaeological studies, see Hölscher 1978, 1980, 1984.

¹⁷ Alföldy 1982, 37.

¹⁸ Alföldy 1979, 1984.

¹⁹ Eck 1981.

inscriptions illustrates the forms that intersocial senatorial competition took in epigraphy at a time when the emperor claimed most of this rivalry, as “inscriptions ... could be not only a means of documentation but also a way of influencing public opinion, of presenting an individual to the public.”²⁰ Furthermore, Eck also published in funerary inscriptions without a specific focus on the elite, such as his article on inscriptions from the *necropolis* of St. Peter or his contextual study of epigraphic peculiarities on the funerary inscriptions of the city of Rome.²¹ Significantly, both Eck and Alföldy, perhaps spurred on by the tradition of self-representation on archaeological remains, pay specific attention to both inscription and monument in their studies, and do not treat the topic of self-representation exclusively through one medium or the other. This is perhaps most evident in Eck’s study of the possible relationship between the display of social status and the size of the monument.²²

Following Alföldy and Eck, a whole corpus of studies has been published since the 1980s, dealing with topics of identity, self-representation and monumentality to varying degrees. Similarly, an increasing number of studies have focused explicitly on funerary epigraphy, making it possible to create a literature review of some of the themes, social groups and sub-themes of identity specifically addressed in Latin funerary epigraphy. In part following Eck, some of these studies remain focused on the representation of the senatorial class in Rome, such as a publication by Niquet in 2000, which studies the self-representation of the Roman senatorial class, with particular attention to the difference between Christian and pagan epitaphs through the study of Late Antique honorific and funerary monuments, with special attention to the senatorial wives.²³ In the late 1990s and early 2000s, on the other hand, there was a shift in attention as studies moved from Rome to the provinces, but also from the (local) elite to the subaltern groups of society. Exactly what drove the study of Latin epigraphy towards these new subjects is a matter of debate, but it coincided with (and was perhaps spurred on by) an intensifying debate about the topic of Romanisation and the extent to which monuments and monumentalism corresponded to a broader sense of belonging and ‘being Roman.’²⁴ Although the

²⁰ Eck 1984, 132.

²¹ Eck 1987, 1989.

²² Eck 1998.

²³ Niquet 2000. For the senator’s wives, see 187–199.

²⁴ On the topic of ‘Romanization’, its rejection and its ongoing debate in the 1990s: Woolf, G. 1998; Mattingly 2004, 5–8. On the notion of ‘belonging’ on Roman epigraphy: Meyer, E. 2011, 194–197.

debate on Romanisation has its roots in the early 1900s, in the 80s and 90s scholars increasingly began to use epigraphic data not only from the elite but from *all* available social groups to study specific subsets of identity. As such, they began to consider themes such as ethnicity, citizenship and origin as matters of ‘cultural identity.’²⁵ Notions that lay at the forefront of self-representation studies now became part of more significant debates of Roman epigraphy.²⁶ Similarly, studies which primarily focussed on the study of Roman cultural identity began to incorporate views of different ‘types’ of identity, such as when Mattingly argued in 2004 that epigraphy, alongside notions of belonging, can reflect on status, wealth, origin, relations to imperial government and power, religion, language, literary, gender and age.²⁷ Although Mattingly notes that such categories should not be used to make broad generalisations about identity in antiquity, given that epigraphy reveals only a fraction of what constituted ancient identity, they do reveal a mixture of these different types and allow for the study of their specific subsets.²⁸

Thus, in the 90s and 2000s, influential studies were published that focused mainly on specific types of identity, many of which find a correlation in Mattingly’s summary above. Usually, such studies focus on local or regional case studies in which cultural interaction between dominant and subordinate cultures played a significant role in the formation of identity, but studies began to consider increasingly the marginalised or subaltern groups of society. While it will not be necessary to elaborate on all subsets of identity, it might suffice to give an overview of some of the relevant literature to paint a complete picture of how specific groups of society or subsets of identity are addressed in funerary epigraphy. The above recalls how studies such as those of Eck, Alföldy and Niquet focused on Rome’s (ruling) elite.²⁹ Other studies

²⁵ The term *romanisation* was famously coined by Mommsen, although its problematic nature was mainly expeditied by Haverfield 1905. A more recent overview of the Romanisation debate and the ongoing efforts to ‘de-romanise’ Classics and Ancient History: Millett 1990, although this work nevertheless primarily focuses on the local elite of Roman Britain, rather than those of the lower levels of society.

²⁶ This is clearly visible in an article by Woolf, who notes that “the primary function of monuments in the early Empire was as devices with which to assert the place of individuals within society” and “inscriptions were intended to defy change and to entrench a particular view, in this case of the self.” Woolf, G. 1996, 29, 32.

²⁷ Mattingly 2004, 10–11.

²⁸ Other general works on the topic of identity, self-representation and funerary epigraphy: Alföldy/Panciera 2001; Niquet 2003; Alföldy 2011.

²⁹ Another work that specifically deals with identity in funerary epigraphy from the city of Rome is Feraud Gruénais 2003.

explicitly concerned with Roman social groups studied the provincial elite,³⁰ social groups such as freedmen,³¹ the legions and their soldiers,³² the provincial population,³³ gladiators,³⁴ or religious minorities,³⁵ or specific sub-themes of identity such as nomenclature,³⁶ language,³⁷ civic and ethnic origin,³⁸ profession,³⁹ or dress and clothing.⁴⁰ All of these studies have thus used epitaphs to examine how ancient individuals presented their identities, what specific topics they wished to address, and what convictions and attitudes motivated such expressions of identity. However, as will become apparent in more detail below, while relatively many studies have been published on the female identity in funerary epigraphy, almost nothing has been published on men and masculinity in Latin epitaphs. In order to trace this phenomenon, it is important to focus specifically on gender identity in Roman funerary epigraphy and to show how this relates to more prominent debates and studies on women, gender, and men in antiquity.

1.2.2 Gender and Masculinity in Antiquity and Funerary Epigraphy

In order to gain insight into the emergence of gender and masculinity as facets of identity in Roman antiquity, and to assess the extent to which this theme has been explored in Latin epigraphy, it is essential to provide a brief overview of the discipline's origins within the broader landscape of gender studies as an academic field. The introduction has already reflected briefly on the roots of ancient masculinity studies in feminist and gender theory. It is essential to structure the historiography in this manner, as the topic of ancient masculinity is, as will become clear, deeply entrenched in advancements made in gender studies outside of the field of ancient history.

The idea that gender, like other forms of identity, was a social construct that gained notoriety in 1949 De Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* when she signified that

³⁰ Stylow 2001; Mouritsen 2005; Pochmarski 2007.

³¹ Hope 1997a; Weber 2007.

³² Hope 2000b, 2003; Schmidt Heidenreich 2017; Gui/Petrut 2018.

³³ Hope 2001; Jaeger, 2007; Slawisch 2007; Alföldy 2011; Varga 2017.

³⁴ Hope 2000a; Mouritsen 2005; Pochmarski 2007.

³⁵ Rutgers 1995; Mitchell 2014.

³⁶ Rutgers 1995, 139-175; Stoev 2017.

³⁷ Gatzke 2013.

³⁸ Derks 2009; Grüll 2018.

³⁹ Vomer Gojković 2007; Varga 2020.

⁴⁰ Freigang 1997; Fascady 2009; Rothe 2009; Carroll 2012.

gender categories such as ‘woman’ were social constructs as they were formulated by society typically dominated by the ‘first sex’, viz. the male.⁴¹ Subsequent feminist movements, most notably the ‘second-wave feminism’ of the 1960s and 1970s, resulted in the lasting establishment of the study of women in scientific discourse. However, separate literary, historical and social trends produced distinct differences in feminist concepts and ideas, notably between French and Anglo-American feminism.⁴² The European field of history witnessed a significant advancement in the status of women as a historical subject with the emergence of the *Annales* school, which focused on marginalised groups within the community.⁴³ Simultaneously, women’s studies in North America first entered the domain of antiquity notably through the emergence and development of the *Women’s Classical Caucus* in 1972 and the appearance of a special issue of *Arethusa* in 1973, dedicated to women in antiquity.⁴⁴ However, it was Pomeroy’s *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, & Slaves* (1975) that propelled women’s studies to new popularity.⁴⁵ The first monograph dedicated solely to the place of women within ancient society, Pomeroy covered both the lives of women in classical Greece and Republican and Imperial Rome.⁴⁶ Following Pomeroy, many subsequent studies were committed to the scientific illustration of ancient women in monographs, collections of articles and sourcebooks.⁴⁷

From the mid-1980s onwards, the academic perspective of gender studies in antiquity began to look beyond the horizon of women’s studies, as the subject shifted towards writing about ancient (homo)sexuality, a trend once again promulgated by a seminal work published outside the field of ancient history: Foucault’s four-volume *History of Sexuality*⁴⁸ became one of the most influential pieces of scholarship on sexuality and gender to date, as the philosopher explored the relationship between power, society and knowledge.⁴⁹ It is again indicative of how scientific approaches to antiquity have emerged from the field of sociology, as Foucault’s structuralist

⁴¹ Sawyer 2001, 10.

⁴² Gambaudo 2007, 94.

⁴³ Foxhall 2013, 6.

⁴⁴ McClure 1997, 260.

⁴⁵ Ancona 2021, 1.

⁴⁶ Pomeroy 1975, xv.

⁴⁷ A few examples suffice: Foley 1981; Lefkowitz/Fant 1982; Cameron/Kuhr 1983; Gardner 1986; Cantarella 1987; Pomeroy 1991; Garlick/Dixon/Allen 1992; Archer/Fischler/Wyke 1994; Levick 1995; D’Ambra 2006; Hemelrijk 2015.

⁴⁸ Foucault 1978, 1985, 1986, 2021.

⁴⁹ Foxhall 2013, 12.

approach to homosexuality remained highly relevant to subsequent topics, as both proponents and opponents engaged with his theory and incorporated the issue of power structures into their subsequent studies of gender in society at large.⁵⁰

The rising popularity of studies devoted to women and (homo)sexuality gave way to the upsurge of a new theme dedicated to the topic of gender as a separate phenomenon. A seminal work on the study of gender and its application to the historical discipline is Scott's 1986 article, which analysed how historians treated the topic of gender in the past and how they should approach such research in the future. Her article 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' propelled the study of gender as an analytical category distinct from the landscape of theoretical discourse on sexuality.⁵¹ Following Scott, gender theory discourse started to produce its separate movements, most notably transgender and queer theory, the most famous of which is Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990),⁵² in which the social construction of gender and identity comes to the fore as Butler argues that gender roles are 'performed' rather than given.

The combined force of advances in feminist, women's and gender studies in sociology and history has led to a specific interest in men as a scholarly subject. Analyses that focused on men and masculinity studies used sexuality, feminism and gender theory to study this new type of subject material.⁵³ Since the 1990s, masculinity has expanded into the academic world of antiquity. In *Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit bei Tacitus* (1994), Späth studied the relation between masculinity and femininity in the Annals of Tacitus and how some aspects of this gender discourse are visible in Roman society. Similarly, Gleason's *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Representation in Ancient Rome* (1995) studied the rhetoric of masculinity as a means of self-representation for the male elite during the Second Sophistic. Following Gleason, Foxhall and Salmon edited two works published simultaneously in 1998 that featured essays exploring gender in antiquity: *Thinking Men: Masculinity and its Self-*

⁵⁰ A few examples of the most influential works on ancient sexuality: Cantarella 1988; Halperin 1990; Halperin/Winkler/Zeitlin 1991; Cohen 1991; Thorp 1992; Richlin 1993; Hallet/Skinner 1997; Brisson 1997; Hubbard 2003; Davidson 2007; Boehringer 2007; Blondell/Ormand 2015; Ingleheart 2015.

⁵¹ Scott, J. 1986.

⁵² Butler, J. 1990.

⁵³ For example, the earliest historical analyses of masculinity, which emerged in the literary and social sciences, focused on masculine styles and tendencies inspired by feminist theory: Kahn 1981; Schwenger 1984; Brod 1987; Connell 1987, 1995.

Representation in the Classical Tradition (1998) focused on the self-image of masculinity, or how men perceived masculinity through language, art, performance and thought, while *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (1998) discussed masculine ideologies that were present in ancient times, such as the ideals available in institutions like the imperial cult or Roman law. The emphasis on masculinity, particularly in the literary evidence, led to a close examination of male virtues as expressions of masculinity. Gunderson, in *Staging Masculinity* (2000), explored the performance of the 'good man' in ancient oratory through historical and sociological theorists, most notably Bourdieu, Foucault and Butler. Dupont, in turn, explored the verbal practices specific to Roman male sexuality in his *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique* (2001). Similarly, Rosen and Sluiter published a collection of essays examining what it meant to 'be a man' through a study of the concept of *andreia*, or male courage, in Roman and Greek contexts in their *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (2003). Likewise, McDonnell studied masculinity through the subject of *Virtus* in his *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (2006). Albrecht applied sociologist Connell's influential framework of hegemonic masculinity through a close reading of Livy, following Späth's notion of 'narrative performances,' in *Hegemoniale Männlichkeit bei Titus Livius* (2016). Goldberg focused on the role of virility within the Republican and Imperial political landscape of Rome in *Roman Masculinity and Politics from Republic to Empire* (2020), while Weidauer's *Männlichkeit Verhandeln* (2021) combined sociological theory with literary evidence to contrast Roman with barbarian and Greek representations of masculinity. Other works showed the convergence of masculinity with other topics, such as the physical manifestation of masculinity. Gleason, for example, published an essay on the relationship between physiognomy and masculine and feminine appearance in 'The Semiotics of Gender'.⁵⁴ Finally, Olson used clothing and ornaments as a layer to shape and simultaneously haze gender roles and behaviours, focusing on masculinity in her *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (2017).

While the foregoing has sketched the environment of the still growing and vibrant field of gender, women's and men's studies in ancient history, a closer look

⁵⁴ Gleason 1990.

reveals that the majority of analyses of ancient attitudes towards topics of gender use primarily (and at times even exclusively) literary sources rather than archaeological sources and that studies that do use archaeological finds dispense with the study of inscriptions and instead focus mainly on the art and symbolism on ancient monuments. The bibliography above makes this painfully obvious: for example, the two publications by Foxhall & Salmon, which together produced 22 essays on masculinity, made only passing reference to inscriptions in their footnotes, while Goldberg's work utilised only a single inscription (the so-called *Duenos* inscription, dating from between the 7th and 5th century B.C.). Similarly, sourcebooks on the topic of gender and sexuality, such as Larson's *Greek and Roman Sexualities: A Sourcebook* (2012), omit epigraphic evidence almost entirely, except for two references (one mentioning the *Gunaikomos* and a graffiti inscription on a Pompeian brothel).⁵⁵

However, this is not to say that research on epigraphy and gender does not exist. Since the 1990s, a steady corpus of studies has been written on ancient gender, men and women in funerary epigraphy, although the published material suggests a clear dominance of women's studies over men's. As far as general works in epigraphy and gender are concerned, only a few remain. Some monographs focus on both men and women, examining gender as a prosopographic and biographical statistic alongside categories such as age and profession. Two main works that deal with epigraphy in this way are Hope's *Constructing Identity* (2001)⁵⁶ and Adams and Tobler's *Romano-British Tombstones* (2007).⁵⁷ Another work dealing with both men and women in funerary epigraphy is Keegan's *Roles for Men and Women in Roman Epigraphic Culture* (2016), which explores the topics of gender, ethnicity and social class by analysing the funerary oration inscribed on Roman epitaphs.⁵⁸ The intersectionality of gender and ethnicity in funerary epigraphy is similarly addressed in an article by Carroll (2013),⁵⁹ where she focused on epitaphs from the Rhine and Danube frontiers and showed how epitaphs allowed for identification with both local and imperial identities, mainly by way of clothing and adornment.

⁵⁵ The big exception being the sourcebook on Roman women in western epigraphic culture, see fn. 45.

⁵⁶ Hope 2001.

⁵⁷ Adams/Tobler 2007.

⁵⁸ Keegan 2014.

⁵⁹ Carroll 2013.

As noted above, the attention given to the subject of ancient women is both the result of a general trend within ancient studies towards a particular interest in marginalised groups in ancient society, such as women, children or slaves, and part of the growing popularity of women's studies within academia. This has resulted in a substantial bibliography of works that deal with the subject. As will become apparent, these works far outperform the relatively younger field of man's studies in terms of quantity. Some general works focus on the representation of women in (funerary) epigraphy, such as Jeppesen-Wigelsworth's *Portrayal of Roman Wives in Literature and Inscriptions* (2010)⁶⁰ or Hemelrijk's *Women and Society in the Roman World* (2020).⁶¹ Furthermore, a large corpus of studies focuses on the role of women in a specifically masculine setting such as the military camp.⁶² Other studies analyse specific subsets of what is considered female identity, such as Larsson Loven's study of the depiction of wool work in funerary epigraphy,⁶³ Riess' study of female virtue,⁶⁴ or Müller's study of the woman's marginalisation to other subthemes of womanhood such as widowhood.⁶⁵ All these works combine epigraphic with archaeological and literary evidence and, when studying epitaphs, they analyse both the textual and the iconographic material. These rather general studies are supplemented by analyses of specific individual epitaphs of women, most notably those versified epitaphs that stand out for both the quantity of inscribed lines and quality of their contents, which is then studied for their implications for the field of ancient gender as a whole. For example, the *Laudatio Turiae*, the *Laudatio Murdiae* and the epitaph of Allia Potestas received much attention,⁶⁶ but also smaller and less famous epitaphs were scrutinised for their relevance to the topic of ancient female studies.⁶⁷

In contrast, masculinist studies of ancient epigraphy still leave much to be desired. In archaeology, some articles have been published on the relevance of masculinist approaches to material culture.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the field of Roman

⁶⁰ Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010.

⁶¹ Hemelrijk 2020.

⁶² Brandl 2008a, 2008b; Greene 2016; Crook 2020.

⁶³ Larsson Lovén 2007.

⁶⁴ Riess 2012.

⁶⁵ Müller 2010.

⁶⁶ For the *Laudatio Turiae*: Horsfall 1983; Hemelrijk 2004. For the *Laudatio Murdiae*: Lindsay 2004. For the epitaph of Allia Potestas: Horsfall 1985.

⁶⁷ For example, Carroll 2012.

⁶⁸ For example Alberti 1997; Knapp 1998; Skogstrand 2011.

epigraphy lags incredibly behind women's studies. Those works that are published focus mainly on masculinities within marginalised spheres. For example, one study of Ivleva focuses on homosexuality among Roman soldiers at the frontier,⁶⁹ while Hagelin's article specifically studies masculinity among freedmen.⁷⁰ Another such article concentrates on masculinity in gladiator epitaphs, a specific group of socially marginalised men.⁷¹ Other types of epigraphy, such as graffiti, were also studied to some extent in terms of what they reveal about masculinity.⁷² Nevertheless, epitaphs are rarely used to discuss more prominent issues of masculinity in ancient Roman society, especially not in the same numbers as women's studies. Even as recently as 2022, one organised conference dedicated to "epigraphy and gender in the Greco-Roman World" failed to produce a single paper on men or masculinity; instead, all contributions dealt exclusively with women and womanhood.⁷³ While it is clear from the wealth of research material that gender (whether male, female or both) can be viably studied through funerary epigraphy, the subject of men and masculinity is rarely explored.

1.2.3 Latin Verse Epigraphy

It has been stated that verse epigraphy offers specific advantages over their prose counterparts for the study of gender. This will be further elucidated in the methodology. However, to contextualise verse epigraphy as a source material for Roman history, it is essential to sketch out briefly the development of the primary source, specifically since many of the works referred to below are used for the epitaph's analysis in this dissertation. Verse inscriptions were, for the first time, structurally collected by Bücheler in two volumes in 1895 and 1897, with a *supplementum* being published by Lommatzsch in 1926.⁷⁴ This seminal work called the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (*CLE*) has 2299 Roman verse inscriptions and brought to light a subgenre of inscriptions that became the focus of entire studies in their own right. The contents of subsequent publications that focused on the Latin *carmina* (as verse inscriptions are otherwise called in reference to the *CLE*) are quite diverse:

⁶⁹ Ivleva 2020.

⁷⁰ Hagelin 2020.

⁷¹ Garraffoni 2011.

⁷² See Feitosa 2010; Garraffoni 2022.

⁷³ <https://classicalstudies.org/sessionpanel-title/epigraphy-and-gender-greco-roman-world>.

⁷⁴ Bücheler 1895, 1897; Lommatzsch 1926.

several sylloges in the style of Bücheler and Lommatzsch focus on the collection and metrical organisation of Latin verse inscriptions, such as Cholodniak's *Carmina Sepulcralia Latina* (1897),⁷⁵ Engström's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1912),⁷⁶ Purdie's *Latin Verse Inscriptions* (1935),⁷⁷ and Zarker's *Studies in the Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.⁷⁸ More recent editions, however, have moved away from the task of collecting all the extant inscriptions and have instead specified their focus either geographically or thematically.⁷⁹ For those geographical studies, a large part of the work has been undertaken by Cugusi and Sblendorio Cugusi, who have published a vast collection of works on verse inscriptions in individual Roman provinces or cities.⁸⁰ These studies are compiled in Cugusi's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica IV. Vol. 1: Carmina in provinciis reperta* (2023), which contains all editions of the surviving provincial verse inscriptions according to Bücheler and Lommatzsch.⁸¹ Other editions with a geographic focus are publications such as those by Pallarés et al.,⁸² Fernández Martínez,⁸³ Camacho,⁸⁴ Hamdoune,⁸⁵ Schumacher⁸⁶ and Morelli.⁸⁷ Other studies, thematic in nature, focus on particular aspects of the verse inscriptions, such as Hoogma's 1959 dissertation on the influence of Vergil,⁸⁸ Sander's study of pagan and Christian verse epitaphs⁸⁹ or Kruschwitz' analysis of Saturnian meter in Latin verse inscriptions.⁹⁰ There have also been several collections of essays on verse inscriptions that focus on the interplay between epigraphy, philology and history, combining both thematic and geographical studies of verse inscriptions.⁹¹ The study of verse

⁷⁵ Cholodniak 1897.

⁷⁶ Engström 1912.

⁷⁷ Purdie 1935.

⁷⁸ Zarker 1958.

⁷⁹ Although the *CIL* is planning the publication of a volume dedicated solely to verse inscriptions in the future.

⁸⁰ Cugusi 2003, 2006, 2010, 2014; Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2008, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2015.

⁸¹ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2023.

⁸² Gómez Pallarés/Martín Camacho/Del Hoyo Calleja 2005.

⁸³ Fernández Martínez 2007.

⁸⁴ Martín Camacho 2010.

⁸⁵ Hamdoune et al. 2011.

⁸⁶ Schumacher 2012.

⁸⁷ Morelli 2020.

⁸⁸ Hoogma 1959.

⁸⁹ Sanders, G. 1991.

⁹⁰ Kruschwitz 2002.

⁹¹ For example: Limón Belén/Fernández Martínez 2020; Horster 2023.

inscriptions is enriched by sourcebooks that offer translations and multiple online databases solely dedicated to the edition of *carmina*.⁹²

1.3 Methodology

While the above paragraphs have set the stage for the analysis, it is essential to discuss structurally how this dissertation will attempt to achieve its objectives. First, this paragraph will provide an overview and contextualisation of Latin verse inscriptions, which includes a basic understanding of what Latin inscriptions offer for the study of Roman history and, specifically, how verse inscriptions allow for the study of gender as undertaken in this dissertation, and the advantages and drawbacks of the chosen corpus of source material, i.e., inscriptions from the north-western provinces. This is followed by a discussion of the hermeneutic considerations that make up the corpus of this thesis: the parameters by which the relevant inscriptions are collected, their advantages and disadvantages, and how they aid the research of this thesis. The corpus is presented in Appendix 1. Finally, the general layout of the analytical chapters of this dissertation is discussed.

1.3.1 Funerary Verse Inscriptions as a Source for Self-Representation

It is estimated that the total number of Latin inscriptions found and edited ranges between 300,000 and 500,000, with new inscriptions being discovered and catalogued daily.⁹³ The majority of these are funerary monuments with around 75% identified as epitaphs.⁹⁴ These monuments range from elaborately decorated funerary stelae, tomb towers, pyramids and mausoleums to the smallest and simplest unadorned stone slabs, their common denominator being that they are all erected to commemorate the dead. The commemoration of the deceased was most directly achieved by the inclusion of an inscription on a funerary monument which, in terms of contents, ranged from merely recording the deceased's name or a formulaic Latin phrase to elaborate funerary poems that reflected on the life and death of the

⁹² The CLEO-database (<https://institucional.us.es/cleo/?lang=en>) is open and has mapped the verse inscriptions from Hispania, and parts of Gallia and Britannia; the MAPPOLA-database is currently still under construction (<https://mappola.eu/>).

⁹³ The exact number depends on the inclusion of *instrumenta domestica* (inscribed texts on everyday items), which in certain areas make up as much as 70% of the total number of inscriptions and thus heavily inflate the total number of inscriptions: Beltrán Lloris 2015b.

⁹⁴ Beltrán Lloris 2015a.

departed. As such, funerary monuments and their contents, both text and symbol, were fabricated in a wide variety of manners, especially as local or regional trends and personal and individual stylistic preferences influenced the monument and subject matter.⁹⁵ These factors enabled individuals to commemorate themselves, their relatives and their friends in myriad of ways.

While the practice of inscribing Latin text on durable material has been attested in the 7th century B.C., the oldest epitaph, that of Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, originates from the 3rd century B.C.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, funerary inscriptions did not become widespread until the first century B.C., reaching its peak of popularity in the third century A.D., after which the total number of inscriptions declined in the 4th century and remained significantly lower in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages than in the early Imperial period.⁹⁷ While every individual was theoretically allowed to erect a monument for the dead, financial barriers and personal motivation influenced significantly whose memory was remembered in stone.⁹⁸ These persons that made up the commemorators (and the commemorated) were diverse in terms of their geographic and chronological distribution, origin and personal experiences. Nevertheless, the monetary prerequisites suggest that the group of commemorators must have been of the same minimal level of financial prosperity.

Like the choice of the type of monument, monumental contents were motivated both by empire-wide and regional commemorative trends, individual preferences and the financial resources of the relatives. On the most basic level, funerary inscriptions provided the deceased's name, at times accompanied by the age of death and the dedicator's name. More elaborate inscriptions recorded the deceased's filiate relation, such as the names of the father or (former) master, their land or place of origin, tribal or military filiation and (former) profession. Frequently, Latin epitaphs began or ended with specific formulaic (abbreviated) phrases, such as D.M. (*dis manibus*), H.S.E. (*hic situs est*) or F.C. (*faciendum curavit*).⁹⁹ The most elaborate inscriptions, however,

⁹⁵ Carroll 2006, 8–9.

⁹⁶ Although a precise dating cannot be established, most consider the oldest Latin inscriptions to be the earlier mentioned Duenos inscription (*CIL* 1², 4, 700-400 B.C.), the Castor and Pollux dedication (*CIL* 1², 4, 2833, 600-500 B.C.), and the Forum Romanum cippus (*CIL* 1², 1, 600-500 B.C.). For the epitaph of Barbatus, see *CIL* 6, 1284 (Rome, 270-151 B.C.).

⁹⁷ MacMullen 1982, 244.

⁹⁸ Woolf, G. 1996, 37.

⁹⁹ For a more elaborate list of such stock phrases and their abbreviations: Geist 1969, 16f.

went beyond such basic prosopographic information and stock phrases and reflected instead, among other topics, on matters such as the afterlife, the futility or fleeting nature of life or the inevitability of death: they interacted with the surviving relatives or the anonymous passer-by and offered them both philosophical deliberations as well as comforting or warning words.¹⁰⁰ The elaborate funerary inscriptions thus reflect simultaneously Roman commemorative trends and individual preferences. Epitaphs provide a significant cross-section of Roman society. They offer viable information on the demography of Roman society and allow for an analysis of how ancient individuals wished to be remembered and how they interacted with the concepts and attitudes associated with ancient society and culture.

One specific subset of Latin epigraphy, namely the verse inscription, is renowned for its more elaborate funerary inscriptions and is arguably the best genre of epitaphs for studying masculine concepts. As their name suggests, this type of inscription consists wholly or partially of Latin verse lines and thus forms a specific subset of Latin poetry that encapsulates specific epigraphic and literary traditions prevalent in Roman society. For example, for funerary epigraphy, both verse and prose monuments use the same stelae, sarcophagi and other types of grave monuments to display their contents, and both types of grave inscriptions are often found in the same geographic funerary settings.¹⁰¹ That is not to say that both kinds of inscriptions are found in similar numbers. In fact, verse inscriptions form the minority and, in most Roman settlements, make up only between 1 and 2% of the total number of discovered inscriptions.¹⁰² For example, some of the cities studied in this dissertation attest to this: paragraph 2.5.2.4 show that only two out of the more than 100 funerary inscriptions from Sirmium are versified. In contrast, some Roman settlements have a relatively higher percentage of verse inscriptions. Salona (Dalmatia), for example, records at least 25 versified epitaphs (paragraph 2.5.4.4) out of the hundreds of inscriptions. However, these form the exception rather than the rule.

In the same manner, verse inscriptions follow those epigraphic formulaic phrases found on prose epitaphs and, at times, even incorporate those in the meter

¹⁰⁰ Carroll 2006, 4.

¹⁰¹ For example, the inhabitants of the military camp of Tilurium (Dalmatia) produced both verse and prose inscriptions on the same type of the so-called door-type-stele: Sanader/Miličević Bradač/Demicheli 2013, 483–484.

¹⁰² Schmidt 2015, 764–765.

from which their poems are composed. For example, one versified epitaph from modern-day Trigueros (Baetica) incorporates the formulaic phrase *sit tibi terra levis* in its pentametric verse line.¹⁰³ Similarly, *bene merenti* is found in a trochaic line from a 2nd century A.D. epitaph from Cupra Maritima,¹⁰⁴ and one epitaph from Municipium even combines *Dis Manibus* and *sit tibi terra levis* in a single metric line.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, such standard phrases are often relegated to the inscription's *prae-* and *postscripta*, which similarly include the name of the deceased and dedicator(s). Generally, the poem itself is reproduced only after these standardised lines of bibliographic information. As will become apparent in the following chapters, certain attitudes and phrases typical of Latin funerary epigraphy are attested on both types of monuments. However, poetic inscriptions often contain — and subsequently utilise — their allocated extra space for a more distinct and elaborate display of feelings and attitudes.

That is not to say that all verse inscriptions consist of perfect meter. In fact, the poetic 'correctness' of many verse inscriptions varies greatly, and some of these are often marked as imperfect because of their unsound meter. Different types of meter might be used throughout the epigraphic poem, and the already incomplete state in which monuments have often been found and transmitted, more often than not, have thus resulted in an uncertain determination of the poet's metric ambitions. Similarly, interpretation is hampered by the fact that some inscriptions consist of such few lines that it is uncertain whether the line was purposefully meant to be poetic or if any metrical resemblance is coincidental instead. For example, one inscription from Doclea contains a particular line that some modern editors identify as an iambic meter.¹⁰⁶ However, the similarities between standard speech lines and iambic meter often hinder a clear interpretation of the author's intention. Usually, such identifications, especially without any other evidence of poetic influences, are dubious at best.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ *CIL* 2, 952: *si quis es praeterie(n)s lege sit tibi terra levis* (Trigueros, 170-230 A.D.).

¹⁰⁴ *AE* 2001, 915: *carissimo et bene merenti fecit, qui mi(hi) facere debuit* (Cupra Maritima, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* 3, 12396: *s(it) d(is) M(anibus) t(uis) terra [l(evis)]* (Municipium, 271-330 A.D.).

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* 3, 8289: *has pro meritis sedes carissimo coniugi memoriam posuit* (Doclea, 1-300 A.D.).

¹⁰⁷ Engström 1912, 423 identifies it as metric, while other editions omit the monument. Cicero himself comments on the similarities between iambic meter and prosaic speech: *Cic. Orat.* 3.182: *Nam cum sint numeri plures, iambum et trochaeum frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catule, vester, qui natura tamen incurrunt ipsi in orationem sermonemque nostrum.*

The poem's quality reflects the poet's skill. Scholars have discussed the general level of Latin proficiency among the dedicators, and some historians and philologists have even stated that poorly formulated poems attest to the poet's limited understanding of the Latin language. The relatively small corpus of inscriptions makes it difficult to arrive at tangible conclusions about the cause of explicitly poor meter quality. It requires a relative abundance of comparable material – a prerequisite that is often missing.¹⁰⁸

It is important to note that the authorship of the poem is influenced by the Latin poets from the Roman Empire. This is evident in the fact that verse inscriptions often show their influence by literally copying lines from famous literary works. In other cases, such quotes are adjusted to fit the inscription's meter, or they are completely transformed and taken out of context. The extent to which these quotations are successfully applied thus also reflects on the Latin proficiency of the artist. An inability to successfully transport literary influences on the inscription reflects bad craftsmanship and an unsatisfying command of the Latin language. This, in turn, has led to some debate amongst scholars about the extent to which funerary epigraphy can be considered actual Latin poetry of the same denomination as the likes of the *Aeneid* or Horace's lines, or whether we are dealing with a type of subaltern and amateurish type of Latin poetry. These discussions about the authorship are further stunted by the fact that it is uncertain in most cases who specifically was responsible for the creation of the poem. Were grave verses influenced by standardized texts, collected in books and circulated throughout the province? Or were specific local poets hired to create individualistic grave poetry? How often were the stonemasons involved with the funerary poetry on their monuments? Or was it the job of the deceased's commemorators to create the poem? These questions have to be asked. In fact, a study about the attitudes found in such inscriptions makes claims about their place in Roman society, so it is crucial to understand their scope and consensus. If these inscriptions are only copied from a phrasebook rather than formulated by the commemorators themselves, can they be trusted to echo ancient attitudes about gender? Most inscriptions do not reflect on their respective authorship; such details are transmitted only sporadically via an acrostic, but even then, only the poet's name

¹⁰⁸ When such material is abundant, conclusions about the quality can be made. See, for example, MacCrostitie Rae 1991, 6–8.

is conveyed; the most basic information about the poet's life is left out. This leaves one to question the extent to which the authors of the funerary monuments were 'educated' by ancient standards. Moreover, we must consider how representative some of the attitudes found on the verse inscriptions are for Roman society, whether on a local, regional or empire-wide level.

There is always a distinct possibility of shared authorship between specific verse inscriptions, and regional studies often consider the option that multiple verse epitaphs were formulated or constructed by the same (funerary) poet, especially when epitaphs share an approximate dating and localisation. For example, one study discusses the verse inscriptions for soldiers from Tilurium and compares their shared authorship based on their differences and similarities.¹⁰⁹ In other cases, epitaphs are grouped based on their contents, as sometimes the exact (partial) inscriptions are found on different monuments from the same location. Like specific iconographic trends, particular poetic phrases are found in monuments from the same settlement.¹¹⁰ In the most extraordinary cases, whole poems are attested from different parts of the Roman Empire. One such poem is found in multiple epitaphs from Pannonia and Palaestina.¹¹¹

Verse inscriptions share several advantages with prose inscriptions for the study of ancient attitudes, some of which have already been discussed. Nevertheless, there is one specific advantage to focusing on verse over prose inscriptions: verse inscriptions tend to be longer, and they discuss specific convictions and attitudes in more detail than generally found on Latin epitaphs. Like prose epitaphs, the *carmina* reflect on biographic material and consist of formulaic phrases, but, unlike the grave monuments, they provide information on a wide range of subjects. They poetically summarise and laud the lives of the deceased, allude to funerary themes such as death and the afterlife, reflect on matters of life and death in general, and offer either comfort to the relatives or highlight their sorrows.¹¹² Where such themes are often

¹⁰⁹ Sanader/Miličević Bradač/Demicheli 2013.

¹¹⁰ See Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015. For example, from Tilurium, compare *CIL* 3, 9733: *tumulum contempla meum, lege et moraris, iam aliquid reciveris* (Tilurium, 9-56 A.D.) with *ILJug*-3, 1950: *tumulum contempla meum, lege et moraris, iam scies quae debeas* (Tilurium, 1-40 A.D.), or from Salona, with differing dating, compare *CIL* 3, 2628: *quod si longa magis duxissent fila sorores, aequius is[te] lapis complecteret ossa paterna* (Salona, 351-400 A.D.) with *CIL* 3, 2183: *quod si longa magis duxissent fila sorores, aequius iste lapis patris super ossibus esset* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.).

¹¹¹ Discussed in more detail in paragraph 2.5.6.4.

¹¹² Trout 2013, 2-4; Pikhaus 1978, 20-21.

only sporadically touched upon in prose inscriptions and, by their briefness and fleeting nature, require comparison in bulk, single verse inscriptions offer an exceptional opportunity to study specific ancient convictions.¹¹³

It is clear that the extent to which Latin poetic conventions impact the inscription's language and content must be considered. Unless specific lines are directly attested on other verse inscriptions or borrowed from Latin literary texts, it is almost impossible to discern the extent to which verse inscriptions engaged with particular topics in the way that they did because they were specifically ordered to be written down as such by the commissioner, the poet and the stonemason, or because specific (unwritten) conventions and rules prevalent in Latin poetic discourse dictated it as such. Kruschwitz suggested that the form of the poetry follows rather than precedes content, and it could be expected that specific poetic constraints or conventions do not influence the general theme at the core of the inscription.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, as this dissertation focuses primarily on the attestation of particular terms rather than the sentiments preceding them, it is important to consider the possible bias for specific Latin words over others based on metrical or poetic convictions when discussing the virtues and emotions most prevalent on Roman epigraphy.

1.3.2 Corpus

The corpus of primary sources for this dissertation has been compiled based on a number of factors: firstly, the Roman inscription needs to consist partially or wholly of Latin verse and must be funerary of nature; secondly, the inscription needs to be pagan of character and cannot represent the identity of a Christian individual. This is primarily done to delineate the material by focusing specifically on pagan inscriptions, but also because the topic of emotions and virtues will be addressed by the literary evidence of ancient pagan writers. Christian influences have been excluded from this research to prevent the mixture of different attitudes and to study solely masculine concepts that adhere to the pagan tradition. Only inscriptions that have been dated with any certainty between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. will be considered to further delineate the corpus. Thus, inscriptions that cannot be dated with any certainty to this

¹¹³ Schmidt 2015, 765.

¹¹⁴ Kruschwitz 2013, 198.

period are not included in the study. Fourthly, highly fragmented inscriptions are omitted from the study, in which neither the person concerned, nor the inscription's context is detected. Only inscriptions that provided at least some clarity about the relationship between these words and the deceased or their relatives are considered. Fifthly, to further delineate the corpus into a manageable and coherent group of inscriptions, only funerary monuments deriving from the north-western provinces of the Latin West (i.e. Britannia, Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, Belgica, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior) will be considered; finally, only inscriptions dedicated by or for men are included.

In total, 39 Latin verse epitaphs match the prerequisites above and will be thoroughly studied in this dissertation. These are presented in Appendix I. Reference will be given in accordance with the presented appendix, which states their respective corpus number and *princeps editio* and shows the edition used in this dissertation. This appendix is used as a basic overview of the sources; their respective analyses will give a profound analysis of the inscriptions' edition, characteristics, context and content.

1.3.3 Dissertation's Methodology

This dissertation will focus specifically on emotion and virtue, two concepts that, in one way or the other, relate to masculinity in antiquity. Since their connection to masculinity will be studied-depth in the contents of the following chapters, it will suffice to only briefly introduce the relation between emotion and virtue respectively with masculinity: attitudes, opinions and questions related to what constitutes (Roman) masculinity were, at least to a certain extent, deeply rooted in convictions about how one dealt with their moral character and emotional self-regulation. Thus, the concepts of emotion and virtue intersected with gender in discussions about which virtues were considered masculine, which were regarded as effeminate, how a 'proper' Roman harnessed their emotions, and what such expressions of gender identity meant for one's place within ancient society. As will be shown in the next chapters, such questions about gender were frequently addressed in the literary tradition and form an important part of our modern understanding of what it meant to be a 'masculine' Roman.

The topics of emotion and virtue will be examined as follows: each analytical chapter will discuss one of these two concepts and create the context of their ancient understanding by contextualising them within the literary evidence. Each concept can be broken down into different categories and sub-themes, such as emotion in *dolor* or *flere*, virtue in *virtus* or *innocentia*. This provides the context against which the epigraphic use of these sub-themes can be understood. Each concept will be studied in a slightly different way, as they require a separate methodology. Their specific methodology will be scrutinised in their respective methodological paragraphs. This is followed by an analysis of the corpus. Each epitaph listed in Appendix I that refers to the concepts of emotion or virtue will be studied separately. These analyses will be categorised on the basis of their attestations: attestations of *lacrimare* will be studied together with its other attestations; *pietas* will show all attestations of the virtue, etcetera. These virtues and emotions are themselves contextualised again with all relevant literature. Furthermore, their uses will be contextualised by an in-depth study of all attestations on Latin funerary epigraphy, both prose and verse. This will only include non-Christian inscriptions, non-fragmentary that can be dated between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. Unless otherwise stated, all inscriptions studied in this dissertation fall within these parameters. This epigraphic contextualisation will demonstrate how the specific verse inscriptions studied here deviate from the norm and how they conform. It will also show how the virtues and emotions are used in epigraphy, determine which differences between the genders can be identified and how they align with the larger debates surrounding these concepts in epigraphy. When more than one emotion word or virtue term is attested, the findings will be summarised in a short conclusion. After analysing each chapter, we shall discuss the findings in a larger synthesis. While some epitaphs refer to multiple virtues or emotions, we will discuss them separately, although we will refer to their other uses. Finally, the findings of these two analytical chapters will be summarised and contextualised in the conclusion of this dissertation. Reference to inscriptions will be made by including the most prominent editorial reference, the inclusion of the Latin text (when applicable) and the provenance by the date and location of the inscription. The editorial reference will be made, if possible, primarily to the *CIL* or to the *AE*. If such references are not in place, other editions will be used.

The verse inscriptions that are part of the corpus will be studied in-depth by a close reading and will be contextualised against the literary and epigraphic contexts created in the introductory paragraphs of each chapter's subthemes. We shall study the three inscriptions that show the virtue *integritas* (paragraph 3.4.3) in relation to what ancient literature has to say about these virtues and also in what respect the virtue has been attested in the Latin funerary epigraphy of the Roman Empire. It also includes references Roman provinces other than those from which the corpus derives. Only those emotions and virtues found within the corpus, however, will be studied comprehensively. All the tallies found in the epigraphic introductory paragraphs will also include the references to the verse inscriptions of this corpus. Since funerary monuments cannot be studied separately from their contexts, each reading will consist of references to their monumental context (where, when and how were they found) and similarly elucidate on the (epigraphic) context of their find spot (which other monuments have been found in the settlement/city/region? How many of these are verse? How many of these show the same iconography as the inscription?) as well as their funerary symbolism. After the edition and translation of the epitaph, its contents will be scrutinised and studied both for their significance for gender relations and for their versified contents. It is only in light of such close readings, that the findings of the separate monuments can be compared in paragraphs that study the specific uses of the emotion and virtue words.

EMOTION

2.1 Introduction

Hos tibi dat versus lachrimans sine fine patronus ...

“these verses your patron, weeping without end, gives you...”¹¹⁵

This passage is one of 52 lines dedicated by Aulus in the 1st century A.D. to commemorate the life and death of his freedwoman Allia Potestas. In a manner typical of Roman funerary epigraphy, the inscription emphasises the virtues and characteristics of the deceased, but also the status of the commemorator(s) and the monument’s donor(s). In this instance, the inscription informs the reader of the dedicator’s wish to grant this verse inscription to Allia as a parting gift, “as a gift to you who are lost” (*muneris amissae*). Significantly, the inscription, which not only reflects on the life of the deceased but also on that of the benefactor, states that the patron grieved for his freedwoman by *lachrimans sine fine*. Thus, the inscription monumentalises the dedicator’s emotions, and he explicitly expresses his grief by invoking tears.

On the surface, Aulus’ emotional statement appears tame and, from a modern Western perspective, could be interpreted as a natural reaction to loss since crying is considered a common way of expressing and releasing emotion in the 21st century. However, evidence from historical times and other cultures indicates that excessive displays of emotion were viewed as effeminate and a sign of a lack of self-control. Roman men were expected to maintain a certain level of emotional control during periods of grief, particularly those of the upper class who frequently operated in the public sphere. For example, in a letter to his friend Titius, Cicero reprimands his *familiaris* for his immoderate behaviour after his son’s loss, as his excessive mourning damaged his reputation.¹¹⁶ A couple of years later, however, Cicero himself became the subject of ridicule due to his public outbursts of weeping over the untimely death of his daughter Tullia. The correspondence between Cicero and his friend Atticus shows

¹¹⁵ *CIL* 6, 37965 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.). Translation provided by Horsfall 1985, 257.

¹¹⁶ Cic. *Fam.* 5.16: *etenim eum semper te et privatis in rebus et publicis praestitisti, tuenda tibi ut sit gravitas et constantiae serviendum*. “In fact, the qualities you have displayed both in private and public business entail the necessity of preserving your dignity and supporting your character for consistency.” Translation provided by Shuckburgh 1908–1909.

how rigidly the public expressions of grief were influenced by social regulations, as similar to Cicero's initial letter to Titius, Atticus feels obliged to warn Cicero of the repercussions of his public grief for his *gratia* and *auctoritas*.¹¹⁷ These few examples illustrate the disparity between the experience of private emotions and the display of public expressions in ancient society and highlight how such expressions were governed by sociocultural norms and beliefs about popular perception. Nonetheless, comparing the display of Aulus' self-confident manly tears on Allia Potestas' epitaph with Cicero's correspondence reveals an inconsistency in the evaluation of public expressions of emotion. It suggests that attitudes toward such manifestations differed, as they prompted divergent displays of masculinity.

This contrast in the evaluation of masculine emotional expressions serves as the foundation for this chapter, which seeks to demonstrate how emotions were represented by men and for men in versified epitaphs. This analysis investigates the portrayal of masculinity in epitaphs by analysing the use of emotions in verse inscriptions, focusing on the north-western provinces. This chapter will examine the extent to which men expressed their emotions in epigraphy and the specific feelings that were conveyed. Furthermore, it will study how these attestations compare to the presentation of these emotions in other sources, especially literary texts. It also includes a discussion on how the expression of emotions by men differs from the literary and epigraphic evidence. We finally examine how men and women expressed emotion differently and how these differences can be traced back to gendered norms prevalent in the ancient funerary sphere.

To address these considerations, this chapter is divided into six paragraphs. The following (paragraph 2.2) will provide a summary of the Roman literary works concerning the subject of emotion. This paragraph will clarify and nuance the most prevalent beliefs on emotion and its implications for the representation of masculinity in ancient Roman writing by discussing the topic across the genres of philosophy, rhetoric and medicine. As a result, this paragraph will focus primarily on the late Republican philosophical teachings of Lucretius and Cicero and the early Imperial philosophies of Seneca. At the same time, the rhetorical writings of Quintilian and the

¹¹⁷ Cic. Att. 12.40.2: *quod scribis te vereri ne et gratia et auctoritas nostra hoc meo maerore minuatur*. "You say you are afraid my influence and my authority will be lessened by this sorrow of mine." Translation provided by Winstedt 1918.

medical writings of Galen will provide a perspective on ancient emotions and their application outside the realm of ancient philosophy. This paragraph will be supplemented by a discussion of Vergil's *Aeneid*, whose authority and influence in ancient popular culture warrant a discussion of its use of emotions and its implications for the display of masculine emotion in Latin epigraphy.

The second section (paragraph 2.3) discusses prose funerary epigraphy as a source for the study of emotion and, by comparing it to existing literature on the subject, discusses the pitfalls and benefits that epitaphs offer for analysing masculine expressions of emotion. As will become apparent, this chapter argues for a methodology based in part on the highly influential work of Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2006). These will be described in paragraph 2.4, depicting the methodology employed in this chapter. It will also include a discussion of the design of the list of emotions, which is a crucial component of the theoretical framework upon which the analysis is based. This analysis will be presented in paragraph 2.5, the core of this chapter. Finally, the analysis's findings will be compiled and examined in paragraph 2.6.

2.2 Emotions in Roman Literature

The philosophical preoccupation with the analysis of emotion can be traced back to the ancient Greeks and Romans.¹¹⁸ They philosophised about the nature of the mind and its role in the development of passions, but also pondered about what emotions are, how they are processed in the human body, the extent to which they impact one's health, the effects of emotion on society and how one should attend to his emotions. Roman thinkers, influenced by Hellenistic philosophical schools of thought, paid significant attention to the mechanics of the mind and its implications for creating emotions, as well as the role of the mind in forming the emotions and its impact on human interaction. The Romans based their ideas on Greek writings and applied it to various genres and subjects, such as Roman popular literature and scientific and medical writings. To better comprehend the arguments of the Roman philosophers, it will be useful to briefly discuss Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, whose views on emotion and the soul have advanced the field since Plato's systematic

¹¹⁸ Some general works on the topic of emotion in the Graeco-Roman world are Braund/Gill 1997; Knuuttila 2004; Cairns/Nelis 2017.

introduction of the subject significantly. Aristotle's impact on the subject is so substantial that his influence is felt not only by all other Hellenistic philosophical schools, but also by modern writers concerned with emotion studies.¹¹⁹

It is mainly in the *Ethica Nicomachea* that Aristotle develops his ideas about the emotions. In this work, Aristotle discusses the importance of the *pathè* for the formation and development of virtue and morality in the good man.¹²⁰ Thus, Aristotle connects the topic of emotions with ethics and introduces into philosophy a dialogue about the role of emotions for the good and wise individual. The wise man, according to Aristotle, learns throughout his life to manage his emotions, both good and bad, in a socially acceptable manner. Even when certain emotions interfere with the reasoning part of the mind, Aristotle contends, contrary to Plato, that the sage should not suppress them. These emotions are natural and innate to every individual and play a significant role in moral education. Therefore, suppression and extirpation of emotions result in the total disconnection from the human experience and should thus be avoided.¹²¹ Moreover, because Aristotle was interested in the social functioning of emotions and its implications for the moral education of the good man, he paid considerable attention to the emergence of emotions in the context of social relationships.¹²² This led him to believe that emotions arise from and are influenced by human judgment.¹²³ Aristotle introduces the cognitive component to the study of emotions by asserting that past, present and future evaluations of events influence the formation and reception of emotions. For instance, fear is caused by the anticipation of future harm or pain, whereas hatred may result from the evaluation of past injustice.¹²⁴ These emotions come from human reactions and responses and are therefore impacted by reason, even though the experience of the emotion feels wholly disconnected from rational evaluation.

Stoicism is one of the major Hellenistic schools of thought that would oppose Aristotelian notions on emotional matters. This strand flourished in popularity during Roman times, with its influence most clearly evident in the writings of Roman philosophers such as Cicero and Seneca. Its scholarly stance on emotions derives from

¹¹⁹ Knuuttila 2004, 1–2.

¹²⁰ Polleichtner 2009, 44.

¹²¹ Knuuttila 2004, 5–6.

¹²² Knuuttila/Sihvola 1998, 14–15.

¹²³ Dabrowski 2016, 9.

¹²⁴ Fortenbaugh 1975, 12.

Chrysippus's (ca. 274–206 B.C.) *Peri Pathon*, which promotes the notion that emotions are diseases of the soul. When emotions arise, they intrude upon the soul, clouding clear and rational judgment. Therefore, the virtuous man should strive to be as emotionally detachable as possible, to the point where no emotions are experienced.¹²⁵ In contrast to Aristotle, who argued that the virtuous man controlled his emotions in accordance with the social situation, the Stoics believed that the Stoic sage was completely devoid of all passion.¹²⁶ This emotional freedom, which they named *apatheia*, is the objective of the Stoic philosopher.¹²⁷

Although the Peripatetics and Stoics hold very different views about the extent of human manipulation of emotions, they share the cognitivist perspective in that they both believe that emotions result from cognitively induced opinions or values about real-world stimuli.¹²⁸ However, the schools hold divergent views on the extent to which these value judgments can be classified as negative or positive. For Stoics, who condemn all forms of emotion, all value judgments are inherently negative. The Peripatetics, contrastingly, argue that at least some of these evaluations are beneficial and, therefore should not be categorically condemned as negative.

Turning to the Roman world, Cicero's (106–43 B.C.) writings on emotion offer the principal Roman Stoic viewpoint on the topic. In the *Disputationes Tusculanae*, he discusses emotions at length and pays particular attention to grief and desire. In accordance with Stoic doctrine, Cicero treats emotions as disturbances of the soul: *omnis autem perturbationes animi morbos, philosophi appellant*.¹²⁹ To achieve virtue without impediment, these disturbances must be cured therapeutically.¹³⁰ Furthermore, Cicero argues against the Aristotelian view that emotions have a place in the life of the wise man; like Chrysippus, he argues that all emotions should be banned from the conscience, or at least suppressed by all means.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the cognitivist viewpoint present in both the Stoic and Peripatetic schools is prevalent in his works: *est igitur causa omnis in opinione ... sed etiam reliquarum omnium*

¹²⁵ Knuuttila 2004, 55.

¹²⁶ Nussbaum 1987, 129.

¹²⁷ Knuuttila 2014, 464.

¹²⁸ Lyons 1999, 24.

¹²⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.9: "but the philosophers call all disturbances of the soul diseases." Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

¹³⁰ McConnell 2021, 158.

¹³¹ Woolf, R. 2015, 201.

perturbationum.¹³² Cicero describes in depth how his quartet of primary emotions (pleasure, desire, pain/distress and fear) is rooted in perceived good or bad in either the present or future. To eradicate emotions, one must eliminate these erroneous perceptions by emphasising their fallacy and correcting them accordingly.¹³³

*Ergo haec duo genera, voluptas gestiens et libido, bonorum opinione turbantur, et duo reliqua, metus et aegritudo, malorum. Nam et metus opinio magni mali independentis et aegritudo est opinio magni mali praesentis, et quidem recens opinio talis mali, ut in eo rectum videatur esse angi. ... Sed enim omnia ista ex errorum orta radicibus, quae evellenda et extrahenda penitus, non circumcidenda nec amputanda sunt. ... Sed omnis eius modi perturbatio animi placatione abluatur illa quidem, cum doceas nec bonum illud esse, ex quo laetitia aut libido oriatur, nec malum, ex quo aut metus aut aegritudo*¹³⁴

Thus, two genera, wild delight and desire, are caused by beliefs about what is good. The other two, fear and distress, are caused by beliefs about what is bad. Fear is a belief that some serious evil is impending, distress a belief that a serious evil is present. Specifically, it is a fresh belief, and the evil is of such a nature that it seems right to be pained by it. ... All the emotions spring from the roots of error: they should not be pruned or clipped here and there, but yanked out completely. ... To be sure, all emotions of that sort could be washed away by that form of consolation which teaches that the circumstances which give rise to gladness or desire are not goods, and those which give rise to fear or distress are not evils.¹³⁵

In the above passage, Cicero discusses how pleasure and lust arise from beliefs about the good, while fear and sorrow arise from beliefs about future or present evil. These opinions are based on false beliefs, which will heal the emotionally afflicted upon revealing their ineffective nature.

In addition to having an extensive Roman and Stoic perspective on the subject of emotions, Cicero was also instrumental in the development of a Latin philosophical vocabulary based on its Greek predecessors. As such, Cicero translated Greek philosophical concepts and terms that were significant to Stoic, Epicurean and

¹³² Cic. *Tusc.* 3.24: "the whole cause, then, is in opinion: and this observation applies ... to every other disorder of the mind." Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

¹³³ McConnell 2021, 159.

¹³⁴ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.25; 4.57; 4.60.

¹³⁵ Translation provided Graver 2002.

Peripatetic doctrine, among others. This compelled the philosopher to consider the meaning and context of such terms actively and to defend his translational choices in his works.¹³⁶ One such instance is his use of *perturbatio* for the Greek *pathos*: although the Greek writers did not use a single word to refer to what modern people call ‘emotion’, it is generally agreed that *pathos* (from *paskhein* – “to suffer” or “experience”) comes closest to the modern concept.¹³⁷ Similarly, Cicero recognises that the Latin language lacks a precise translation for the Greek *pathos*, and he discusses the issue in *De Finibus*: *nec vero perturbationes animorum ... quas Graeci pathè appellant*.¹³⁸ Cicero calls the Greek *pathos* a *perturbatio animi*¹³⁹ and explains that he would have called it a disease if not for the fact that not all emotions, as understood by the ancient Greeks, can be considered diseases in the strict sense. As a result, Cicero translates Greek terminology into Latin and elaborates on his choices which, in this particular instance, shed light on his (general) attitude towards emotions.

Seneca (4 B.C.–65 A.D.) was another Roman philosopher of great importance to the philosophy of ancient emotion. In Stoic fashion, he agrees with Cicero that human emotions were vices that clouded the mind and should therefore be eliminated.¹⁴⁰ In addition, Seneca, like his Stoic predecessors Cleanthes and Chrysippus, argues for a belief-based approach to curing one’s flawed judgments that lead to emotions.¹⁴¹ According to Seneca, when a person is confronted with the fallacy of his beliefs, the emotions that arise from those beliefs are compensated by logic and therefore diminish. Consequently, judgment gives rise to emotions, but it also has the ability to suppress them: *alter ille motus, qui iudicio nascitur, iudicio tollitur*.¹⁴² The emotionally afflicted are, therefore, required to reflect on their state of mind. In ideal conditions, this process leads to the reasonable conclusion that the judgment of the afflicted is false: *ne irascamur praestabimus, si omnia vitia irae nobis proposuerimus et illam bene aestimaverimus. Accusanda est apud nos, damnanda; perscrutanda eius mala*

¹³⁶ Lévy 2021, 71.

¹³⁷ Konstan 2006, 3–4.

¹³⁸ Cic. *Fin.* 3.35: “Moreover, the emotions of the mind ... the Greek term for these is *pathos*” Translation provided by Rackham 1931.

¹³⁹ Sugu/Chatterjee 2010, 110.

¹⁴⁰ Cooper 1995, 10.

¹⁴¹ Kaufman 2014, 111.

¹⁴² Sen. *Ira* 2.4.2: “they differ from an emotion which is brought into existence and brought to an end by a deliberate mental act.” Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

et in medium protrahenda sunt.¹⁴³ Consequently, the disruptive emotion is subdued by a corrective approach to one's own judgments.¹⁴⁴

However, Seneca does not wholly agree with other Stoics regarding the cognitivist theory of emotion and goes a step further by discussing the concept of 'first movements'.¹⁴⁵ Seneca calls these processes *principia proludentia adfectibus*, referring to the physical or mental processes that precede emotion.¹⁴⁶ Importantly, these movements, according to Seneca, are involuntary: *Et ut scias quemadmodum incipiant adfectus aut crescant aut efferantur, est primus motus non voluntarius, quasi praeparatio adfectus et quaedam comminatio*.¹⁴⁷ These rudiments are feelings that are not initiated by assent and can, therefore, not be explained by the cognitivist perspective on emotions.¹⁴⁸ As these feelings are instantaneous and reflexive, they are not considered emotions per se, as they might arise in even the most accomplished of sages (*humanae sortis eveniunt ideoque etiam sapientissimis accident*).¹⁴⁹ Seneca argues that, despite the fact that pre-emotions and passions are distinct, the former gives rise to the latter: *ergo adfectus est non ad oblatas rerum species moveri, sed permittere se illis et hunc fortuitum motum prosecui*.¹⁵⁰ Thus, pre-emotions transform into proper emotions only when the individual is moved by their judgment and decides to act on it.¹⁵¹ As a result, Seneca argues that the initial feelings of lust or excitement, for example, are not necessarily emotions (and should not be confused with them) because they occur involuntarily.¹⁵² Instead, emotions are the result of the voluntary judgments based on these initial movements, which then give rise to the

¹⁴³ Sen. *Ira* 3.5.3-4: "We shall succeed in avoiding anger, if from time to time we lay before our minds all the vices connected with anger and estimate it at its real value: it must be prosecuted before us and convicted: its evils must be thoroughly investigated and exposed." Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

¹⁴⁴ Cooper 1995, 11-12.

¹⁴⁵ It has been argued that Seneca based his idea on the first movements on the older Stoic writers' thoughts on *propatheiai*: Graver 2007, 87.

¹⁴⁶ Sen. *Ira* 2.2.5.

¹⁴⁷ Sen. *Ira* 2.4.1: "Furthermore, that you may know in what manner passions begin and swell and gain spirit, learn that the first emotion is involuntary, and is, as it were, a preparation for a passion, and a threatening of one." Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

¹⁴⁸ Konstan 2015, 174-175.

¹⁴⁹ Sen. *Ira* 2.2.2: "one of those things which evolved by the conditions of human life and which, therefore, may happen even to the wisest of us." Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

¹⁵⁰ Sen. *Ira* 2.3.1: "A passion, therefore, consists not in being affected by the sights which are presented to us, but in giving way to our feelings and following up these chance promptings." Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

¹⁵¹ Tsouna 2011, 200.

¹⁵² Sen. *Ira* 2.3.2.

emotions of, in this case, jealousy or happiness. However, this does not imply that pre-emotions are irrational: they still necessitate rational thought because they are based on an interpretation of the impulse. Excitement, for example, is still based on a rational connection between the impulse and impending happiness. The reaction is differentiated from the second motus, which is the actual emotion, due to its involuntary nature.¹⁵³

Epicureanism was another major Hellenistic school that found renown in the philosophical circles of ancient Rome. Based on the writings of the eponymous Greek philosopher Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), Epicureanism offered a perspective on numerous philosophical topics that contrasted sharply with Stoicism. The sage, according to the Epicureans, pursues *ataraxia*: whereas the Stoics pursue a complete extirpation of all emotions, the Epicurean pursuit of *ataraxia* instils a desire for freedom from worry and anxiety.¹⁵⁴ Although Epicurus did not specifically discuss the relationship between *ataraxia* and emotion¹⁵⁵, the Greek philosopher Philodemus (c. 110– c. 40 B.C.) did provide insight into this topic. He argues that the wise man must pursue happiness to attain *ataraxia* (i.e., the opposite of worry and anxiety). Philodemus asserts that happiness is attained through the elimination of human distress, which is rooted in certain emotions.¹⁵⁶ He distinguishes between ‘good’ or justifiable emotions and those deemed ‘bad’ or inappropriate. In his pursuit of happiness, the wise man experiences only positive emotions, thereby avoiding irrational feelings. As a result, the sage is capable and permitted to feel emotion, provided that they do not impede his pursuit of *ataraxia*.¹⁵⁷ In addition, like the Stoics and Peripatetics, Philodemus argues that emotions are based on judgments and beliefs and that they are thus cognitive of nature.¹⁵⁸

In the context of the Roman period, Lucretius’ (99–55 B.C.) *De Rerum Natura* is considered the definitive work on Epicurean doctrine. The text encompasses a wide range of topics, including the senses and cosmology. However, the ideas presented regarding the workings of the mind and spirit, and their implications for ethical

¹⁵³ Konstan 2017, 235.

¹⁵⁴ Striker 1990, 97.

¹⁵⁵ Annas 1989, 145.

¹⁵⁶ Tsouna 2007, 216.

¹⁵⁷ Konstan 2013, 203.

¹⁵⁸ Tsouna 2007, 220; Sanders, K. 2008, 364.

considerations, are particularly relevant to this analysis.¹⁵⁹ Lucretius, at times with the fervour of a preacher, attacks many of the social and cultural values of the late Republic, including military or political success. He endeavours to demonstrate to the reader that Epicurean philosophy is the only means of preserving the Roman mind.¹⁶⁰ This is due to the fact that for Lucretius, in accordance with Epicurean doctrine, the pinnacle of philosophical pursuit is the attainment of a tranquil mind: *sed mage pacata posse omnia mente tueri*.¹⁶¹ The greatest opponent of *ataraxia*, according to Lucretius, is human fear.¹⁶² Specifically, Lucretius argues that the fear of death impedes happiness due to its extremely painful effects on the human mind.¹⁶³ In a therapeutic manner, Lucretius chooses to alleviate the pain by demonstrating the extent to which fear impedes the human experience. Thus, in the case of fear, Lucretius focuses primarily on illuminating the negative impact of emotion. Although this negative approach may suggest a Stoic attitude towards emotions in general, the opposite is true: even when Lucretius does not elaborate on the usefulness of emotions, these attitudes can be inferred from passages in which he discusses the extent to which people succumb to anger or fear. In doing so, Lucretius indicates that emotions such as anger and fear are positively viewed to a certain extent.¹⁶⁴

This section highlighted the many ways in which the Roman late Republican philosophical debate on emotion was structured. To understand the extent to which these ideas were ingrained in Roman society, it is beneficial to examine three subsequent strands of writing from the Imperial period. Despite their apparent divergence from the topic of emotion, the three strands in question are rhetoric, medicinal writing and epic poetry.

Quintilian (35–100 A.D.) is one of the most prominent Roman rhetoricians who emphasised the role of emotions in public oratory. Quintilian's ideas about the negotiation of emotions for the persuasion of public perception are supported by a

¹⁵⁹ For Lucretius, the soul is divided into two parts: the spirit (*anima*) and the mind (*animus*), of which the former houses in the entire body while the latter rests in the chest. It is furthermore mainly the *animus* that controls the emotions. See Lucr. 3.141–142.

¹⁶⁰ Gale 2009, 2–3.

¹⁶¹ Lucr. 5.1203: “but rather in possessing the ability to contemplate all things with a tranquil mind.” Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

¹⁶² Lucretius does not explicitly use *ataraxia* but refers to the mental state with different words, such as *templum serena* or *placata mente*: Morrison 2013, 223.

¹⁶³ Nussbaum 1989, 306.

¹⁶⁴ Aronoff 1997, 24.

combination of philosophical, psychological and practical perspectives.¹⁶⁵ These convictions are most evident in Quintilian's discussion of emotions in relation to *ethos* and *pathos*. Along with *logos*, these three concepts have formed the core framework of effective persuasion for ancient rhetoricians since Aristotle first introduced them. Quintilian posits that there are different ways in which the rhetorician's ability to persuade relies on emotional appeal. Emotional appeals can be divided between appeals based on *ethos* and *pathos*.¹⁶⁶ The former seeks to appeal to emotions based on the positive judgment of a character's personality, for example the rhetorician's trustworthiness or his sincerity. The latter aims to invoke a certain emotional state in the audience, to the extent that a judge or jury is moved by heavy emotions.¹⁶⁷ To help clarify this distinction, Quintilian himself compares *ethos* with comedy and *pathos* with tragedy: appeals based on *ethos* (made to the character of the speaker) always wish to instil emotions of the positive and kind association, such as affection and fascination; in contrast, appeals based on *pathos* (made to invoke heavy emotions) often rely on strong feelings of hatred, envy, and dislike.¹⁶⁸ Despite this distinction, Quintilian does not categorically classify emotions as either belonging to *ethos* or *pathos*. Instead, they are different gradations of the same passions.¹⁶⁹ As such, Quintilian organises the emotions based on their *modus operandi*, which is contingent upon the specific context and audience of the speech in question.

Quintilian does not state his position on the rationality (or irrationality) of the creation of emotions. Nevertheless, passages of the *Institutio Oratoria* permit the inference that he views emotions as fundamentally irrational, insofar as they (temporarily) divert the audience from the realm of reason. For example, book 6.2.5–6 contains the following text:

ubi vero animis iudicum vis adferenda est et ab ipsa veri contemplatione abducenda mens, ibi proprium oratoris opus est. Hoc non docet litigator, hoc causarum libellis non continetur. Probationes enim efficiant sane ut causam nostram meliorem esse iudices putent, adfectus praestant ut etiam velint; sed id quod volunt credunt quoque.

¹⁶⁵ Webb 1997, 112.

¹⁶⁶ Gill 1984, 159.

¹⁶⁷ Katula 2003, 8.

¹⁶⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.20; Gill 1984, 160. For another clear, although somewhat dated, explanation of Quintilian's distinction, see Sattler 1947, 62.

¹⁶⁹ Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.12.

But the peculiar task of the orator arises when the minds of the judges require force to move them, and their thoughts have actually to be led away from the contemplation of the truth. No instruction from the litigant can secure this, nor can such power be acquired merely by the study of a brief. Proofs, it is true, may induce the judges to regard our case as superior to that of our opponent, but the appeal to the emotions will do more, for it will make them wish our case to be the better. And what they wish, they will also believe.¹⁷⁰

In this passage, Quintilian compares emotion with logical arguments, suggesting that emotions allow the orator to persuade the audience outside of the boundaries of reason. Therefore, emotions preclude the use of reason, prompting Quintilian to identify passions as the opposite of rationality. This distinction between emotion and reason is found in passage 6.1.28:

Nam cum etiam veros dolores mitiget tempus, citius evanescat necesse est illa quam dicendo effinximus imago: in qua si moramur, fatigatur lacrimis auditor et requiescit et ab illo quem ceperat impetu ad rationem redit.

Time assuages even genuine grief, and it is therefore inevitable that the semblance of grief portrayed in our speech should vanish yet more rapidly. And if we spend too much time over such portrayal our hearer grows weary of his tears, and returns once more to the rational attitude from which he has been distracted by the impulse of the moment.¹⁷¹

Here, Quintilian distinguishes the brief period during which an individual is susceptible to emotion and contrasts this moment with when rationality eventually returns to the listener. He thus implies that emotions influence the audience's ratio.

The medical texts are another essential type of Roman writing connected to the field of emotion. This topic is most prominently represented in the works of Galen of Pergamon (129– c. 216 A.D.), whose approach to ancient medicine completely revamped the field, resulting in his fame enduring well into the Middle Ages. His influence extended not only to the borders of the Roman Empire but also to the Islamic spheres of influence.¹⁷² His impact on Roman medicine and his popularity among the Roman elite, most notably the emperor Marcus Aurelius, serve to

¹⁷⁰ Translation provided Butler, H. 1920.

¹⁷¹ Translation provided by Butler 1920.

¹⁷² Pormann/Savage-Smith 2007, 9–10.

demonstrate the significance and irreplaceability of his contributions to the ancient Roman field of medicine.¹⁷³ The influence and effects of the mind – and the emotions – over the body were crucial to Galen’s understanding of the human body.¹⁷⁴ In contrast to the Peripatetics, Stoics and Epicureans, Galen believes that emotions are derived from an irrational force that causes them to disobey reason.¹⁷⁵ Galen divides the soul into the *thumos* and the *epithumêtikos*, much like Plato. The former serves as the mechanism underlying emotions, while the latter stimulates primal desires. Consequently, although the *thumos* is irrational by nature, it is susceptible to reason; the *epithumêtikos*, which is also irrational, can only be subjugated but never fully controlled. If *pathos* is aroused, however, both halves operate irrationally.¹⁷⁶ Galen does not distinguish between different emotions, but he treats them all as irrational, as they are all caused by the irrational part of the soul instead of human cognition and are therefore basically irrational.¹⁷⁷ Rationality is only capable of restraining irrational emotion in the case of the *thumos*, but only after the initial igniting of irrational emotion.¹⁷⁸

Galen’s position regarding the involvement of emotions in the sage is ambiguous. On one occasion, Galen mentions that he is convinced that the individual is to be completely devoid of all passions.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Galen later refines his argument in the *affectuum dignotione* by stating that only the immoderate passions should be eradicated; the other emotions needed only to be moderated and brought

¹⁷³ Nutton 2019, 31.

¹⁷⁴ Nutton 2019, 68.

¹⁷⁵ Harkins 1963, 28.

¹⁷⁶ Singer 2022, 27.

¹⁷⁷ Singer 2022, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Gal. *Aff. Dig.* 6.7: δύο γὰρ ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δυνάμεις ἀλόγους, μίαν μὲν, ἣς θυμοῦσθαι τε παραχρῆμα καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς δόξασί πλημμελεῖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔργον ἐστί. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ταύτης καὶ τὸ μὴν ἄχρι πλείονος, ὃ τοσοῦτω πλείον ἐστί θυμοῦ πάθος, ὅσῳ καὶ χρονιώτερον. ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν δύναμις ἄλογος ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἡδὺ προπετῶς φερομένη, πρὶν διασκέψασθαι, πότερον ὠφέλιμόν ἐστι καὶ καλὸν, ἢ βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακόν. “we have in our souls two irrational powers. The one [the *thumos*], has for its task to become angry and wrathful on the spot with those who seem to have treated us ill in some way. It is also a function of this same power to cherish is wrath for a longer period since the passion of anger is greater in proportion to the length of time it endures. The other irrational power in us [the *epithumêtikos*] is the one by which we are carried forward to what appears to be pleasant before we have considered whether it is helpful and good or harmful and bad.”

Translation provided by Harkins 1963.

¹⁷⁹ Gal. *Aff. Dig.* 3.1: Επειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα διὰ τὴν ψευδῆ δόξαν γίνονται, τὰ δὲ πάθη διὰ τὴν ἄλογον ὀρμὴν, ἔδοξέ μοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐλευθερῶσαι τῶν παθῶν. “Since errors come from false opinion while the passions arise by an irrational impulse, I thought the first step was for a man to free himself from his passions.” Translation provided by Harkins 1963.

under control.¹⁸⁰ So, in contrast to the Stoics, Galen argues that not all emotions have been eliminated; however, Galen does not go as far as the Epicurean line of thought in arguing that one could differentiate between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ emotions: for Galen, all are intrusive, but only a few must be eradicated completely. Others require mere repression.¹⁸¹

Furthermore, Galen’s medical theories significantly influenced his explanation of the causes and treatments of emotions. Galen argues that emotions were not only caused by the soul but also originated from and affected the physical state.¹⁸² In accordance with Hippocrates’ humoralism, Galen believed that moods and emotions were caused by imbalances in the four humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile.¹⁸³ Galen offers a pathopsychological explanation for the cause of divergent temperaments and emotions in different people based on the fact that the division of these humors gave rise to the temperament prevalent in human experience. Although Galen does not present a comprehensive framework for understanding emotions in a somatic context, he does demonstrate a correlation between emotions and an individual’s physiological functioning.

While the preceding examples demonstrate the numerous ways in which emotion is incorporated into the writings of a variety of ancient Roman authors with diverse professional backgrounds — be it philosophers, rhetors or physicians — its implications for the study of emotion in poetic funerary epigraphy are minimal, as will be demonstrated in the analyses of the sources below. This is due to the fact that the aforementioned sources were produced by and for those privileged few who were part of the educated Roman elite.¹⁸⁴ This intended audience is in contrast to that of the (versified) funerary inscriptions, the contents of which were commissioned primarily by those below the social margins of the elite who, despite being literate to a certain extent, were culturally and socially less articulate.¹⁸⁵ It is unclear to what

¹⁸⁰ Knuuttila 2004, 93–94.

¹⁸¹ Hankinson 1993, 203–204.

¹⁸² Von Staden 2012, 63.

¹⁸³ Flakerud 2012, 631.

¹⁸⁴ Morley 2010, 12.

¹⁸⁵ The literacy rate in the Roman Empire has been roughly estimated between 10% and 20%, but a consensus is not reached. The main problem lies in the definition of the term ‘literacy’, with a proportion of the Romans being able to write and read their own name or being able to understand standardized pieces of texts, but not being able to fully and comprehensibly read literature: Hedrick 2011, 169.

extent particular philosophical ideas and attitudes are reflected in provincial funerary epigraphy. The users and audience of this form of inscription differ from the literate elite in terms of their social and cultural norms and values.¹⁸⁶ The writings of Cicero and others like him reflect the opinions and concepts of a relatively limited reading community, predominantly comprising the aristocracy. They do not, however, reflect the attitudes of the Roman Empire's general populace.¹⁸⁷

This does not imply that these writings did not find their way beyond the reading communities that revolved around their original authors. After the initial drafting stages of the edition of the works during which copies were distributed to the author's closest friends and acquaintances, the creator lost control over the text with the publication of the final work. From then on, in theory, everyone could acquire copies of the work.¹⁸⁸ The distribution of literary works amongst personal friends constituted a significant factor in the dissemination of such works throughout the Roman Empire. The formation of personal relations constituted the core of the text's primary audience and, for this reason, literary works are typically titled after their recipients. For example, the three surviving *Consolationes* of Seneca are all addressed to and named after individuals who were close to the philosopher and to whom the original manuscripts of the works were primarily addressed.¹⁸⁹ Texts initially circulated throughout the empire primarily through private relationships, and it was mainly through these literary networks that copies of works were distributed to individuals who had no personal connection to the author.¹⁹⁰

Outside of the scope of personal connections, there were only limited means by which Roman literature circulated throughout the empire. Copies of the original texts could be distributed through scribes, either those located within the confines of a fixed space in the province or those accompanying legionary movements, who could be assigned the task of copying manuscripts if the client so desired.¹⁹¹ As the demand for such professionals increased, these scribes, whose primary responsibility was the

¹⁸⁶ The extent to which the average consumer of funerary epigraphy was influenced by the philosophical debates described above is one of the aims of this chapter.

¹⁸⁷ Habinek 1998, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Starr 1987, 213–215.

¹⁸⁹ The *Ad Polybium* was directed to the imperial freedman of Claudius, the *Ad Marciam* to the daughter of a friend of his, and the *Ad Helviam* to his mother.

¹⁹⁰ Starr 1987, 215.

¹⁹¹ Hedrick 2011, 182.

transcription of public and private records, began to function as literary copyists.¹⁹² Nevertheless, copy-making still required access to the original text. While there is clear evidence for the existence of commercial bookstores in Rome, almost no evidence is available from outside of the empire's capital.¹⁹³ Instead, there is more evidence of private or public libraries throughout the empire facilitating the production and availability of literary copies.¹⁹⁴ These libraries aided in the distribution of literature to individuals who, for example, lacked access to bookstores or could not draw on the collections from their circle of acquaintances.¹⁹⁵ In the provinces, libraries were primarily organised with the help of private collections or the benevolence of (local) aristocrats,¹⁹⁶ although pre-existing libraries survived into Roman times as well.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, access to those public institutions (or lack thereof) greatly influenced the accessibility of literary works to the provincial inhabitants of the empire. Those who lacked access to private collections and were not admitted to the inner circle of influential noblemen with these literary authors could only partially satisfy their demands by utilising the resources of nearby public libraries. When not enough copies were readily available, requests were sent to acquaintances in other parts of the empire.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the act of copying was significantly impeded by the associated costs, which were exorbitant and beyond the means of those with limited financial resources.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹² White 2011, 272.

¹⁹³ For bookstores in Rome, both in the Republican and Imperial period: Cic. *Phil.* 2.21: *tabernae librariae*; Catull. 14.17–18: *librarium scrinia*; Gal. *Libr. Propr.* 1.1: ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ Σανδαλρίῳ, καθ' ὃ δὴ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Ρώμῃ βιβλιοπωλείων ἐστὶν; Mart. 1.3: *Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas, cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacent*; Mart. 1.117: *Argi nempe soles subire Letum: contra Caesaris est forum taberna scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis*; Gell. *NA* 2.3.5: *emptum in Sigillariis*; Gell. *NA* 5.4.1: *Apud Sigillaria forte in libraria ego ... consideramus*.

¹⁹⁴ There is a clear connection made to the number of public libraries and the districts of bookshops mentioned in the passages in the footnote above, demonstrating a close correlation between both spheres of literature circulation: White 2011, 276.

¹⁹⁵ Dix 1994, 282.

¹⁹⁶ Gamble 2012, 26.

¹⁹⁷ In Asia Minor, a library in Pergamum was already established during the rule of the Attalids (Casson 2001, 48), while Ephesos' public library was erected during the 1st and 2nd century A.D. (Finley 2014, 277). Around the same time, the 'Neon' library in Sagalassos was built (Waelkens 2015, 216), as well as the library of Nysa (Mamoli 2007, 409). For Greece, Gellius informs the reader of the existence of a library in Patras (Gell. *NA* 18.9.5: *bibliotheca Patrensis*), as well as one in Italia, in Tibur (Gell. *NA* 19.5.4: *bibliotheca Tiburti*).

¹⁹⁸ Cicero, for example, extensively borrowed books from his friend Atticus: Cic. *Att.* 4.14.1: *velim domum ad te scribas ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus ac si ipse adesses cum ceteri tum Varronis*.

¹⁹⁹ Martial mentions that he would prefer his friends to purchase his works from the bookstore rather than receive a copy from him, thereby omitting the costs associated with copying it: Mart. 4.72. There is debate about the specific costs of the copying of books and scrolls: Hedrick 2011, 169; Matijević, K. 2020, 300.

In any case, the literacy levels, accessibility to literature and the costs of making copies all affected the circulation of literary works in the Roman West and consequently had a significant effect on the distribution of literary works from authors within the province. The flow of ideas in the above-mentioned philosophical, medical and rhetorical literature was irregular, as it relied on numerous factors frequently beyond the control of both author and audience.²⁰⁰ This has implications for the manner in which the content of the epitaphs is discussed. To illustrate, the text poses the question of whether Galen's works were known and read by the Greek-speaking populace of the Roman eastern provinces. Even the Greek works of Galen, whose reputation as a medical author was known throughout the empire, must have had a limited audience in terms of his literary output: although they circulated among his friends and prominent scholars of Rome, Athens and Alexandria, the recipients must have originated largely from the same social Greek-speaking circles, as it only attracted the attention of the educated, well-versed elite.²⁰¹ Due to the complexity of the scientific and philosophical works, combined with the low literacy rate throughout the empire and a closed network of circulation, the emotional attitudes expressed in these works had a relatively small audience.

Vergil's *Aeneid* is a significant exception to the Roman literary tradition described above. This work, composed between 29 and 19 B.C., was unrivalled in the Roman literary landscape and hailed as an exemplary work of Roman epic literature from its inception to the point of where it became a standard text in the Roman classrooms and was taught to the earliest contemporary readers of Latin literature.²⁰² The *Aeneid* became embedded in the cultural fabric of both central and peripheral Roman populations, as reflected in the numerous references to the epic found throughout the Roman Empire. Evidence can be found in graffiti, artistic depictions, utensils, theatre and funerary epigraphy from Britannia to Judaea.²⁰³ These indicate that Vergil's work, or at least selected passages and lines, were well-known not only by the cultural elite but also by all social classes of Roman society.²⁰⁴ The *Aeneid* stands out in comparison to the previously mentioned Roman literary works, as the

²⁰⁰ On the topic of literacy and how regional, social, and cultural differences contributed to disparate literacies in the Roman Empire: Kolb 2018.

²⁰¹ Pietrobelli 2019, 9.

²⁰² Perkell 1999, 12.

²⁰³ Tarrant 2019, 43–44.

²⁰⁴ Horsfall 1984, 50.

latter's influence was relatively limited in comparison to Vergil's. Obviously, the relatively low rate of literacy and the high cost of manuscript copies must have hindered the dissemination of Vergil's work to some degree. However, as the sources attest, the *Aeneid* was also disseminated by way of oral traditions (public recitations, readings and conversation) and art (sculpture, mosaics, paintings).²⁰⁵ Due to this, its contents and, crucial for the analysis of this chapter, its attitude towards a broad range of topics must have reached an audience that would not have otherwise encountered Roman literature.

Aeneas' portrayal as the idealised Roman man was central to the *Aeneid* and its reception by the Roman people.²⁰⁶ His reputation as the Roman paradigm has been reiterated by ancient and modern authors alike.²⁰⁷ In particular, in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is mainly characterised by the adjective *pius*.²⁰⁸ In addition, Aeneas has been associated with numerous other qualities and virtues, including *constantia*, *consilium*, *virtus*, *clementia*, *humanitas*, *iustitia*, *moderatio* and *fides*.²⁰⁹ Despite the ready association of Aeneas with Roman virtues, the hero did not always correspond to Roman ideals and therefore did not always serve as the 'ideal' model of Roman virtue and emotion. Aeneas functioned as a hero because he exemplified the idealised virtues prevalent in Roman society during Vergil's time, but this does not imply that all of Aeneas' actions are morally clear.²¹⁰ On other occasions, such as when he murders Turnus, Aeneas' emotions are presented in a morally ambiguous light (as will be shown below).

Importantly, Aeneas' portrayal as a paradigm of exemplary Roman behaviour also reflects on his emotional display.²¹¹ In contrast to the philosophical, medical and rhetorical writings discussed previously, the *Aeneid* provided a much broader understanding of an emotion shared by all social strata, not just the elite. The

²⁰⁵ Hedrick 2011, 169.

²⁰⁶ Moore, M. 2021, 17.

²⁰⁷ Galinsky 1969, 2–3.

²⁰⁸ For example, Vergil ascribes *pietas* to Aeneas in the opening lines of the *Aeneid*: Verg. *Aen.* 1.10: *pietate virum* and subsequently calls him *pius Aeneas* on many occasions: *Aen.* 1.220; 4.393; 5.685; 8.84. Aeneas also refers to himself as such, as *pius Aeneas* (Verg. *Aen.* 1.378). See also Michels 1997, 405. The characterization of *pius Aeneas* is also found in other ancient sources, such as Sen. *Ben.* 3.37.1: *quid non pietas potest?* and Hor. *Carm.* 4.7: *pius Aeneas*.

²⁰⁹ Williams, R. 1967, 35. It has been argued that the *Aeneid* followed Rome's conventional triad of virtues, i.e. *virtus*, *pietas*, and *fides*, with the addition of *clementia*, and thus offered a moral program to the Roman reader: Toll 1997, 50–51.

²¹⁰ Perkell 2019, 1.

²¹¹ Polleichtner 2009, 39–40.

popularity and cultural significance of the *Aeneid* are also attested by the fact that it was the quintessential literary work to which pupils of Latin education were exposed. In his discussion of primary education in the Roman world, Quintilian mentions that it was customary for students to begin reading lessons with Homer and Vergil. Quintilian even reflects on the fact that, despite the fact that students are not cognitively developed enough to comprehend all of the works' literary aspects, they still appeal to their imagination and serve as an excellent introduction to the subject of verse and Roman literature:

Ideoque optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet, quamquam ad intellegendas eorum virtutes firmiore iudicio opus est: sed huic rei superest tempus, neque enim semel legentur. Interim et sublimitate heroï carminis animus adsurgat et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat et optimis inbuatur.

It has accordingly been an excellent custom that reading should commence with Homer and Vergil, even though to understand their merits there is need of mature judgments; but for the acquisition of judgment there is abundance of time; for they will not be read only once. In the meantime, let the mind of the pupil be exalted with the sublimity of the heroic verse, conceive ardor from the magnitude of subjects, and be imbued with the noblest sentiments.²¹²

The final sentence emphasises Quintilian's belief that epic verse, particularly that of Homer and Vergil, is capable of evoking emotion in the reader, even among those who do not fully comprehend the literary devices and stylistic elements employed by the authors.²¹³ Augustine (354–430 A.D.) and Orosius (385–420 A.D.) who, similarly discuss the significance of the *Aeneid* in Roman education three centuries after Quintilian, attest to Vergil's prominent place in the elementary education of the Roman Empire's inhabitants. For example, Augustine mentions the following:

*Nempe apud Vergilium, quem propterea parvuli legunt, ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri, secundum illud Horatii: Quo semel est inbuta recens servabit odorem teste diu.*²¹⁴

²¹² Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.5. Translation provided by Murphy/Wiese 2016, 228.

²¹³ Syed 2005, 18.

²¹⁴ August. *De civ. D.* 1.3.

There is Vergil, who is read by boys, in order that this great poet, this most famous and approved of all poets, may impregnate their virgin minds, and may not readily be forgotten by them, according to that saying of Horace, “the fresh cask long keeps its first tang.”²¹⁵

Like Augustine, Orosius argues that the purpose of teaching Vergil to the impressionable youth at such a young age is to instill its stories in their minds forever:

Paucis praeterea annis intervenientibus, Aeneae Troia profugi adventus in Italiam quae arma commoverit, qualia per triennium bella exciverit, quantos populos implicuerit odio excidioque adflixerit, ludi litterarii²¹⁶ disciplina nostrae quoque memoriae inustum est.

School exercises have engraved on our memory how a few years later Aeneas, an exile from Troy, arrived in Italy which took up arms against him, the war he waged for three years, and the peoples that he ensnared in hatred and did to death.²¹⁷

Thus, both in the early Imperial period of Quintilian and in the late Roman period of Augustine and Orosius, the *Aeneid* played a prominent role in Roman education to the extent that the Romans felt that it was so embedded in their educational system that it was similarly ingrained in their memory.

This then raises the issue of how Vergil displayed Aeneas’ emotions in the *Aeneid*. Importantly, Vergil’s *Aeneid*, and thereby his portrayal of Aeneas, did not conform solely to any of the philosophical schools outlined above and his emotional expression is not confined to either.²¹⁸ Scholars are generally in agreement that Aeneas does not strictly exhibit emotions according to one of the Hellenistic schools. Rather, the hero of Vergil’s *Aeneid*, along with other characters, exhibits multiple differing interpretations without maintaining or favouring one philosophy over the other.²¹⁹ For example, it has been argued that Aeneas’ *pietas* should be interpreted as

²¹⁵ Translation provided by Dods 1913.

²¹⁶ Importantly, Fear translates *ludi litterarii* with ‘school exercises’, even though the Latin term usually refers to the institution that provides the most basic form of literacy to those students that could not afford schools that were thought by grammatists or rhetoricians. Apparently, even at the level of the poorest classrooms, Vergil was thought thoroughly to the students: Kaster 1988, 24.

²¹⁷ Oros. 1.18.1. Translation provided by Fear 2010, 67.

²¹⁸ While Vergil had friends and acquaintances in both Epicurean and Stoic circles, this does not lead to a clear show of allegiance to any philosophical school: Braund 1997, 205–206.

²¹⁹ Gill 2004, 216; Polleichtner 2009, 279.

being reminiscent of the Stoic school of thought.²²⁰ In contrast, modern scholars have argued that Vergil's primary source of inspiration for Aeneas' character was Epicureanism, specifically Lucretius' concept of the *animus* as the seat of the mind.²²¹ As such, it is the scientific consensus that Vergil held an eclectic perspective on emotion.²²² This ambiguity of Vergil's philosophical adherence is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that certain characters are shown to be emotionally ambivalent, such as when Aeneas is overcome with feelings of vengeance when he sees Pallas' belt.²²³ This specific passage has been interpreted as both anti-Stoic and "unambiguously moral"²²⁴, demonstrating that Vergil's sentiments can be interpreted either way, to the extent that both Stoics and Epicureans find arguments for their attitudes in the same literary passages.

Instead, Aeneas' emotions revolve mainly around the virtue of *pietas* mentioned above. Aeneas, who occasionally acts out of a sense of duty, repeatedly plays out his emotions around this virtue. As a result, sometimes his emotions attend to his *pietas*, but test the hero and force him to revisit and reevaluate his previously held beliefs regarding his sense of duty at other times.²²⁵ Therefore, Aeneas is not portrayed as lacking or suppressing emotions; rather, Vergil portrays him as someone who displays emotions frequently. Vergil's depiction of emotion stands in stark contrast to that of all Hellenistic schools, offering a perspective on emotion that reached a much larger audience than any philosophical school through the dissemination of the *Aeneid*.

Vergil's popularity amongst the layers of Roman society does not correspond automatically to a single Roman viewpoint on emotion, especially since literature provides only partially for the educational framework by which Roman standards about public displays of emotion are formulated. Variations and deviations are to be expected, mainly because the reception and appreciation of the *Aeneid* will continue

²²⁰ Bell, A. 1999, 276. This conception can be traced back to Augustine, who uses Aeneas as an example of Stoic morale (August. *De civ. D.* 9.4).

²²¹ Nelis 2009, 490. Vergil's connection with Epicureanism is not in the least considered circumstantial, given the influence of Philodemus on Augustan poetry: Armstrong, D. 2003, 3.

²²² Cairns 2003, 314.

²²³ Verg. *Aen.* 12.940–952.

²²⁴ Galinsky 1988, 323. For the anti-Stoic viewpoint: Putnam 1990, 16; Edwards 1960, 164, who has identified Aeneas' feelings of vengeance towards Turnus, not only this passage but in the whole *Aeneid*, as rather un-Stoic.

²²⁵ Wilson, J. 1969, 67.

to vary greatly according to social and cultural factors. Nevertheless, the *Aeneid*'s popularity cannot be denied, as it is evidenced by the numerous depictions of his works in media, such as statues²²⁶, mosaics²²⁷ and even provincial coinage.²²⁸ As such, part of this chapter's analysis will determine the extent to which Vergil's depiction of Aeneas' emotions appears in versified funerary epigraphy.

Literary evidence is thus an invaluable, albeit one-sided, resource for any discussion of ancient emotion, as it enables the reader to comprehend emotion not only from a philosophical but also from a rhetorical, medical and epic perspective. The preceding then shows that there are multiple ways to interpret how the ideal Roman man would handle his emotions. However, these sources are limited in the study of emotions, as they only prescribe how a good man should ideally harbor his emotions; to grasp the extent to which these convictions reached, one must look to sources beyond literary evidence. Latin funerary epigraphy, specifically verse inscriptions, only come into play when it is clear how the populace in the provinces, and not just the aristocratic elite in Rome, gave meaning to their emotions and used them to identify the portrayal of an ideal man. These provide insight into the beliefs and attitudes of their users, who employ specific emotions to effectively mourn the deceased.

2.3 Funerary Epigraphy and the Emotions

Until now, ancient studies of emotions have mainly made use of ancient literary texts. As demonstrated by the preceding passages, such textual evidence is organised around narrative structures and, as such, provides ample space for the description of emotional states.²²⁹ They describe and interact with emotions, making them extraordinarily useful for their study. However, the subject of ancient emotions has only been touched upon sporadically in the study of epigraphy. The existing studies

²²⁶ See, for example, a statue group from Augusta Emerita featuring a statue of Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius: Edmondson 2012, 2.

²²⁷ Although only attested sporadically, a group of five mosaics featuring each a specific episode from the *Aeneid* is found in or around the southern French city of Aix-en-Provence: Lavagne 1994.

²²⁸ Provincial coinage featuring Aeneas survives from the reigns of Augustus (*RPC* I 652, 2306), Trajan (*RPC* III 1561), Hadrian (*RPC* III 1032, 1566, 1570, 1576, 1577), Marcus Aurelius (*RPC* IV.1 4623, 5225, IV.2 85, 91, 11301) and Commodus (*RPC* IV.1 9502, 9879, IV.2 67). The provincial coinage featuring Aeneas almost solely derives from the Roman East. Imperial coinage featuring Aeneas has been issued at the mint of Rome during the reigns of Galba (*RIC* I 483), Trajan (*RIC* II 801), Hadrian (*RIC* II.3, 2900-2903, 2924), and Antoninus Pius (*RIC* III, 91, 615, 627).

²²⁹ Cairns/Nelis 2017, 10.

focus primarily on themes of grief and mourning. Consequently, funerary inscriptions are the primary sources utilised. In Tsagalis' *Inscribing Sorrow*, which focuses on the Attic epitaphs of the 4th century B.C., the theme of emotion is implicitly discussed in the chapter on expressions of social concerns, where the author focuses mainly on the virtues of ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη.²³⁰ Similarly, an article by Westcott published in 2011 examines the role of emotional expressions in the funerary commemoration of three epitaphs discovered on the Isola Sacra.²³¹ However, these studies examine epigraphy in isolation from literary evidence and the monument's iconography. In contrast, the vast majority of studies, particularly those dealing with verse inscriptions in the funerary sphere, are based on a comprehensive study of literature to ground and contextualise their findings. Tafaro's article on the relationship between Martial and Latin verse inscriptions, for example, illustrates its literary reception through an 'epigraphic lens'.²³² Similarly Gorostidi published an article on emotional responses to premature death in Roman literature and epigraphy. According to the evidence, the expression of emotion was constrained by both its private and public appearance and thus differed between literary and epigraphic sources. Nevertheless, the expression of emotion could occur, as the funerary sphere touched upon themes such as regret, solitude and feelings of neglect on the part of the commemorators.²³³

Chaniotis is one of the few authors to have published extensively on emotion expressed in non-literary sources. In 2012, he studied the emotional content of speech acts recorded on Greek and Roman public inscriptions.²³⁴ In 2013, he examined the explicit and implicit invocation of emotions in Hellenistic public decrees through their display and concealment.²³⁵ Additionally, Chaniotis published three collections of essays on the display of emotion. The first, titled *Unveiling Emotions*, focuses almost exclusively on traditionally undervalued source groups, including epigraphy, papyri

²³⁰ Tsagalis 2008. Like this chapter, Tsagalis initially starts with a typology of the terms before exploring their use in the epigraphic evidence.

²³¹ Westcott 2011. Westcott highlights some of the difficulties that social historians working with epigraphic evidence face and addresses these problems via three inscriptions that represent the epigraphic sources of the Isola Sacra. These inscriptions are primarily valued on their relation with other archaeological finds rather than with available literary material.

²³² Tafaro 2022, 179.

²³³ Gorostidi Pi 2019.

²³⁴ Chaniotis 2012b.

²³⁵ Chaniotis 2013.

and archaeological remains.²³⁶ Four articles focus specifically on epigraphy and emotion: the article “Moving Stones” by Chaniotis is an introduction to the field of emotional Greek epigraphy, demonstrating how emotional language can be found in a variety of inscriptions, both explicitly and implicitly, and that, due to the social context of the inscriptions, attitudes found on these inscriptions are subject to change.²³⁷ In a second paper, Chaniotis discussed the emotional vocabulary used in inscriptions to shape a conversation between God and man.²³⁸ Salvo studied emotion on durable objects that contained prayers, such as metal tablets and stone stelae,²³⁹ and Kuhn focused on the role of emotion in Graeco-Roman acclamations.²⁴⁰ In the second and third volumes, Chaniotis expanded the scope of study to include literary and medical writings, as well as historiography, oratory, onomastics and art.²⁴¹

Chaniotis promotes the use of all types of epigraphic evidence as a viable source for the study of emotions, arguing that “all inscriptions are emotional, but some inscriptions are more emotional than others.”²⁴² Inscriptions are the result of desires, goals and objectives of social agents, they are subject to a selection and composition process that influences their representation. As these social agents (such as private individuals as well as public institutions) are influenced by “emotions that serve social functions and adhere to social rules,” their emotions are apparent in their representations, such as inscriptions.²⁴³

Importantly, Chaniotis intends to expand his study of epigraphy beyond the realm of funerary epitaphs.²⁴⁴ Even the most formal or brief inscriptions are created in part by emotion and should therefore be studied by historians as emotional objects. Consequently, Chaniotis argues that emotion is mostly found in epitaphs and funerary epigrams, but also in decrees, acclamations, vase inscriptions, graffiti in public spaces

²³⁶ Chaniotis 2012d. In particular the article of Masséglià 2013 aims to demonstrate the usability of archaeological sources, such as ornamentation and architecture, specifically their metaphorical interpretation, for emotion studies.

²³⁷ Chaniotis 2012c.

²³⁸ Chaniotis 2012a.

²³⁹ Salvo 2012.

²⁴⁰ Kuhn 2012.

²⁴¹ Chaniotis/Ducrey 2013; Chaniotis 2021.

²⁴² Chaniotis 2012c, 97.

²⁴³ Chaniotis 2012c, 94.

²⁴⁴ Chaniotis 2012c, 97.

and religious texts, such as oracular inquiries, confessions, prayers and healing testimonies.²⁴⁵

As an illustration, Chaniotis recalls how even a simple dedication with the Greek formula of εὐχήν or κατ'εὐχήν ("in fulfillment of a vow") displays preliminary emotions such as gratitude and fear, even though they are not explicitly stated in the inscription.²⁴⁶ Chaniotis also cites the small wishes found on ostraca ("Menon of Gargettos, the king of the idiots"), which, through their interpretation, reveal emotions such as fear, envy and anger.²⁴⁷ This method of analyzing sources for the study of emotion is appealing because it permits the use of inscriptions that do not explicitly mention them, such as edicts, acclamations, dedications, sherds, etc. These seemingly non-emotive inscriptions thus become viable source material for the study of their emotional value. Chaniotis' approach to epigraphic emotions is thus inclusive in that it seeks to incorporate multiple types of epigraphic sources into the field of emotion studies, and interpretive in that it examines emotions that are not always explicitly stated in the texts but are formulated through the context of the inscriptions. Chaniotis' methodology differs from that employed in this chapter in this respect. As opposed to Chaniotis's search for emotions "beyond" the linguistic and stylistic evidence found on inscriptions, this chapter places the limit on the visible and discernible. Although it is tempting to look for emotions that might be implied in the inscriptions, it is the author's conviction that such inquiries lead to anachronistic interpretations – since such studies of the implicit can never be based solely on unbiased judgements – especially when conceived on the basis of province- or empire-wide evidence, which already brings with it the problem of generalisation. Notwithstanding the significance of Chaniotis's research in enriching the study of ancient emotions with non-literary sources, his identification and contextualisation of emotions beyond the palpable renders his interpretation largely inapplicable to this chapter. Through explicit symbolic and linguistic references, this chapter seeks to highlight the various uses of emotions and their applicability for the concept of Roman manliness. This methodology for the study of epitaphs has only been performed

²⁴⁵ Chaniotis 2012c, 98–100.

²⁴⁶ Chaniotis 2012c, 95–96.

²⁴⁷ Chaniotis 2012c, 97.

outside of the field of ancient history, primarily by Rosenwein in her use of the concept of ‘emotional communities.’²⁴⁸

In her book *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* published in 2008, which explores emotional discourse in Early Medieval Europe, Rosenwein first formulated and applied the concept of ‘emotional communities’ on a large scale. Rosenwein defines emotional communities as “groups of individuals who adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and who value – or devalue – the same or related emotions.” Emotional communities may coexist, may predominate source material or may provide only a glimpse of their existence.²⁴⁹ These emotional communities could exist within certain institutions or physical or mental communities and did operate on multiple levels. Consequently, an individual could be a member of multiple emotional communities in their daily lives.²⁵⁰ For example, a local manager’s emotional expressions towards his employees during working hours may be relatively authoritative and impersonal compared to the emotional vocabulary he uses in his private relationships, such as with his spouse or close friends. When comparing these instances, the sociocultural norms that define the emotional vocabulary are distinct. This difference is primarily explained by the manager’s position in relation to the dialogue partner. This results in the formation of distinct emotional communities with distinct rules of emotional vocabulary. Furthermore, coexisting emotional communities were not always compatible. When certain norms of emotional expression became irreconcilable, they could have a detrimental impact on both the individual and collective levels. In the case of the manager, such conflicts in emotional vocabulary may be the result of a change in social dynamics, for example, if the manager’s partner joins the team of employees.

Rosenwein examines emotional communities through the use of ‘emotion words’, which are expressions that define, convey and give meaning to emotional mental constructions.²⁵¹ These assertions of an emotion are found in writing, so long as they constitute intelligible wording. For *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Rosenwein compiles Latin emotion words attested in ancient and early-

²⁴⁸ The concept is cited on multiple occasions by Chaniotis, but almost always solely in passing: Chaniotis 2012d, 17, 42, 139, 300, 362, 391.

²⁴⁹ Rosenwein 2006, 2.

²⁵⁰ Matt/Stearns 2014, 8.

²⁵¹ Rosenwein 2008, 93.

medieval sources to examine the emotional communities of early medieval Europe. This list includes words that not only represent emotions (such as *aegritudo* – ‘distress’ or *libido* – ‘desire’), but also precede or are the result of them. Rosenwein refers to the latter category as ‘emotion markers’. Examples are *lacrimae* (tears) or *rubor* (blushing from shame). Rosenwein’s list contains over 100 emotion words and markers in total. Rosenwein cross-references this list with various source dossiers, including funerary epigraphy, exegesis, hagiographies and private letters. These are evaluated based on the source material’s explicit and implicit use of emotion words.²⁵² Examining the quantity, usage and interpretation of emotion words ultimately leads to the mapping of distinct emotional communities within the source material that thus highlights, depending on the available material, geographical, social and cultural differences between individuals, communities and societies.²⁵³

2.4 Methodology

As stated in the introduction, the epitaph is a medium that not only provides prosopographic information on the deceased and their relatives but, in some cases, also allows the dedicator to express their thoughts on subjects of life, death and the afterlife. Due to the emotionally charged nature of death and funerals, epitaphs frequently referenced and even centered on the emotions that arose during and after the death stage, causing the memorial to contain elements of grief. As will become apparent, ancient epitaphs display a range of emotions, from anger and despair to love and fidelity. Thus, epitaphs provide direct and concrete evidence of how ancient people desired to express their emotions and honor their relatives through the display of these passions. For this chapter, it is essential to study how, if at all, these emotional displays made use of specific concepts known from other texts than epigraphy and how these concepts were rooted in social and cultural norms that are determined by gender. This chapter has already demonstrated that there are numerous divergent approaches to the verbal expression of emotion of the ideal Roman man. This chapter will analyse the extent at which the ancient Romans – those not traditionally associated with the social echelons of the literary tradition – adhered to the same set of rules for the display of emotions in funerary epigraphy. In addition, this chapter will

²⁵² As noted by Jan Plamper in his concise analysis of Rosenwein’s study: Plamper 2015, 69–70.

²⁵³ Rosenwein 2006, 191.

study how far gender-based roles determined emotional display. Consequently, this chapter will concentrate on the concept of masculinity and its implications for the presentation of emotion in versified epitaphs.

The analysis of masculine emotions in the versified funerary epigraphy will utilise an emotion list to map and compare the use of emotion words in the funerary inscriptions, comparable to Rosenwein's study of emotional communities but reduced to a single medium. Rosenwein's methodology is a significant advancement of emotion studies in multiple ways: the methodology provides a clear framework for the study of emotions in textual sources, such as epigraphy. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it would appear that emotion studies in pre-modern societies are primarily limited to literary sources, leaving epigraphy largely outside the scope of study. Rosenwein has demonstrated that it is possible to expand the scientific scope of emotion studies by incorporating previously marginalised sources. This approach permits the study of emotions within the confines of their ancient context, but in a comparative manner, as emotions are identified based on their co-occurrence in the literary tradition. This, has the advantage that the study of emotions in epigraphy is embedded in the Latin literary tradition, which, as this chapter has shown, is replete with emotional language.

Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities for the general study of epigraphic sources has one major pitfall: the list of emotion words is limited since it highlights only those emotions that were expressed by words. Consequently, a cross-examination between an emotion word list and an epigraphic corpus loses figures of speech, metaphors and other themes that would otherwise be interpreted as displaying or as being associated with emotion. As a result, the emotion list method does not consider symbolic or contextual evidence, as these cannot be explicitly cross-referenced with the literary tradition. Symbolism might be evoked linguistically by emotion markers, but it remains accessible only through literary expression. Plamper argued that Rosenwein circumvented this problem by addressing these 'implied emotions.' However, upon examining the chapter in epigraphy, it is evident that Rosenwein's analysis of emotional communities did not incorporate imagery or other implied emotions.²⁵⁴ Nonetheless, as previously stated, it is not the aim of this chapter

²⁵⁴ Plamper 2015, 69–70. Rosenwein address implicitly mentioned emotions in other chapters, such as the 'beating of the chest' by Queen Fredegund: Rosenwein 2006, 117.

to study the implied and hidden emotions in epitaphs. Since the main focus is addressing those emotions which are explicitly invoked in epitaphs, this shortcoming does not impede this study's analysis. As such, this chapter will follow the methodology of Rosenwein in the sense that an emotion list will be used to identify emotions in epigraphy; the concept of emotional communities will not be considered.

The analysis of epitaphs will follow a thematic structure that entails a study of those emotion words associated with grief (*dolor, luctus, maeror*), followed by its associated emotion markers (*flere/lacrimare, gemitus*). Subsequently, the epitaphs displaying *amor* and *laetitia* will be studied. Due to the fact that some inscriptions contain multiple emotion words, the initial discussion of the emotion word or marker in the inscription will arrange a more elaborate description of the monument. Any subsequent study of the same epitaph will rely solely on an analysis of the emotion word with reference to the epitaph's first discussion within the chapter. For instance, since multiple emotion words are attested in the inscription dedicated to Principius (*CIL* 3, 8385), each individual emotion word will be studied separately in its respective paragraph to facilitate the comparative analysis between the epitaphs that display the same emotion words. The initial description of Principius' epitaph occurs in paragraph 2.5.1.4, while paragraphs 2.5.2.3 and 2.5.7.3 only discuss its use of *luctus* and *laetitia*. In addition, only paragraphs that analyze multiple verse epitaphs will conclude with a discussion of the material. As a result, *maeror, gemitus, and laetitia* will not feature such a discussion.

A note on Rosenwein's selection of emotion words: Rosenwein has included a number of endearments and personal characteristics in her emotion list, such as *carissimus, dilectissimus, dulcissimus, tristissimus* and *miserabilis*.²⁵⁵ When such adjectives refer to the moral characteristics of a person and are attested in the corpus, they will be studied individually in the next chapter. The remaining terms of endearment, although perhaps categorised as expressions of emotion, will not be analysed because they are not considered emotion words or markers per se. In addition, some inscriptions contain Latin words that, despite being closely related to or derived from a particular emotion, will not be studied here as they do not refer to

²⁵⁵ For Rosenwein's full emotion word list, see Rosenwein 2006, 52–53.

the emotion itself. For the corpus, this applies to *cupiebat* in **inscription no. 4**, which expresses a wish or desire rather than the emotion of longing (*cupiditas*).²⁵⁶

2.4.1 Authors and Exceptions

The emotion words to be cross-referenced with the thesis' corpus will be drawn from a wide range of literary sources. These are partially based on the philosophical debate outlined in this chapter, utilising the emotional lexicon from select works of Cicero and Seneca. The list will be supplemented by the works of Aulus Gellius and of Quintilian, who has been discussed above. The latter is included because of its relevance to the discussion of emotions in oratory, as outlined above, and Aulus Gellius is featured because he is one of the few Latin literary sources from the Imperial period to write about emotions.²⁵⁷ Finally, the list will be supplemented with emotion words derived from the *Aeneid*, as its prominence in the literary landscape of the Roman Empire, as outlined earlier in this chapter, justifies its use for a study of emotions in the social strata that existed below that of the philosophers and authors of Rome.

This list is by no means exhaustive, as it does not include every emotion word used by Roman authors who wrote about emotion. Some literary sources are specifically omitted for two reasons: firstly, certain Roman writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. composed their works in Greek. For example, Calvenus Taurus (105–145 A.D.), Marcus Aurelius (121–180 A.D.) and Plotinus (204–270 A.D.), who all wrote about the importance of emotion in the formation of the ideal man, do not contribute to the list of Latin emotion words for the simple reason that their works are not written in Latin.²⁵⁸ This is also found in Galen who, regardless of his influence on ancient medicine and emotion, wrote primarily in Greek and is hence unsuitable for a contribution to a Latin emotion word list. Secondly, Christian authors have been omitted from this study since they redefined and introduced a different context for the use of emotions than pagan authors despite making use of the same emotional vocabulary. These authors are incompatible with the study of pagan verse epitaphs

²⁵⁶ *CIL* 13, 3712 (Augusta Treverorum, 1-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14850 (Salona, 1-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 26**); *AE* 1967, 375 (Aquincum, 201-270 A.D. **Inscription no. 4**).

²⁵⁷ Martial is omitted primarily because no modern study of the poet's use of emotion has been written, in part because he does not explicitly refer on the matter like the above-mentioned Greek and Roman philosophers, but also because his epigrams are of such a short nature that they do not warrant larger studies on his attitudes towards emotion in general.

²⁵⁸ For essays on both authors and emotion: Engberg-Pedersen, 1998; Emilsson 1998.

because they philosophised about emotions for different reasons and studied emotions using different means.²⁵⁹ Although there are linguistic and, at times, substantive similarities between Christian and pagan emotional philosophy, the theological convictions that stimulated and authorised the writings of the Patristic authors are fundamentally distinct from those of the Graeco-Roman authors who wrote on the subject of emotion. Consequently, the use of early Christian theologians and philosophers for an emotion list for the study of pagan epitaphs is inappropriate.

2.4.2 Emotion Word List

As stated above, the emotion words will be compiled from the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius and those of Vergil in the *Aeneid*. These will all be listed in Table 1, where an overview of their first attestations, as well as cross-attestations in the other authors, will be shown. Rosenwein identifies 60 different emotion words in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*. 56 of these signify emotions, while four are emotion markers.²⁶⁰ In some cases, Rosenwein provides both the verb and the noun of a word, given the fact that both are used interchangeably but consider the same emotional value. Cicero uses three different Latin terms, although semantically similar, to refer to emotions in general: *perturbationes*, *commotio animi* and *elatio animi*.²⁶¹ In addition, as stated in paragraph 2.2, Cicero differentiates the emotions based on perceived good or bad in the present or in the future. As such, his emotion words can be clustered around these four groups. The first group, consisting of emotions based on positive beliefs in the present, are clustered around the Latin term for "pleasure", namely *voluptas*, and are *malevolentia* ("spite"), *delectatio* ("enchantment"), *iactatio* ("vainglory"), *gaudium* ("joy"), and *laetitia* ("gladness"). The second group describes the emotions grounded in positive beliefs about the future, which are grouped under the term *cupiditas* or *lubido/libido* ("desire"), namely *ira* ("anger"), *excrescentia* ("heatedness"), *odium* ("hatred"), *inimicitia* ("rancor"), *discordia* ("soreness of heart"), *indigentia* ("need"), *desiderium* ("yearning") and *spes*

²⁵⁹ These Christian authors openly interacted with ancient philosophical Schools, such as Lactantius' interaction with Stoicism, Peripateticism, and Platonism, before turning to Christianity: Thorsteinsson 2020, 331. These helped shape new Christian concepts and ideologies. For example, the concept of 'first movements' was rethought and developed into Evagrius' concept of 'temptations' and Gregory the Great's concept of 'cardinal sins': Sorabji 2000, 357–370.

²⁶⁰ Rosenwein 2006, 40.

²⁶¹ Respectively Cic. *Tusc.* 4.10, 4.11, 4.13.

("hope"). The third group of emotions are based on negative convictions about the present and are grouped under the header of *aegritudo* ("pain"; "distress"). These are *invidere/invidentia/invidia* ("envy"), *aemulari/aemulatio* ("rivalry"), *obtrectare/obtrectatio* ("jealousy"), *misereri* ("pity"), *angi/angor* ("anxiety"), *lugere/luctus* ("grief"), *maerere/maeror* ("sorrow"), *lamentari/lamentatio* ("mourning"), *sollicitari/sollicitudo* ("worry"), *dolere/dolor* ("anguish"), *adflictari/adflictatio* ("affliction"), *desperare/desperatio* ("despair"), *invidentia* ("envying"), *miser cordia* ("pity"), *aerumna* ("weariness") and *molestia* ("sadness"). Finally, the fourth group consists of those emotions grounded in negative beliefs about the future and are considered part of *metus* ("fear"): *pigritia* ("indolence"), *pudor* ("shame"), *terror* ("terror"), *timor* ("fright"), *pavor* ("panic"), *exanimatio* ("petrification"), *conturbatio* ("agitation"), *formido* ("dread"), *dentium crepitus* ("chattering of teeth"), *pallor* ("paleness"), *rubor* ("blushing") and *tremor* ("trembling").

Following Cicero, Rosenwein identifies three additional emotion words that derive from Seneca.²⁶² As Table 1 shows, many of the emotion words first used by Cicero are also found in Seneca and, therefore, need not be reiterated. *Affectus*, for one, is Seneca's word to describe the passions and may be freely translated as "emotion"²⁶³; *audacia* describes "recklessness"²⁶⁴ and *amor* "love".²⁶⁵ Certain emotion words Seneca discusses in *De Ira* are found already in the works of Cicero, such as *ira*, *libido*, *metus* and *odium*.²⁶⁶ Despite the fact that Cicero spends adequate time and paper on the topic of *amor*, Rosenwein mentions the word only through Seneca.²⁶⁷ If the approximate dates of publication between Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* and Seneca's *On Anger* are taken as reference points, the emotion list with Cicero and Seneca comprises the period between 45 B.C. and 45 A.D. Furthermore, Vergil and Quintilian were added. While Vergil's publication date of the *Aeneid* does little for the chronological span of the emotion list, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* marginally increases its range to 95 A.D. The chronological span of the authors from which these words derive is roughly 150 years and only accounts for roughly half of the

²⁶² Rosenwein 2006, 39.

²⁶³ Sen. *Ira* 1.1.1.

²⁶⁴ Sen. *Ira* 1.1.7.

²⁶⁵ Sen. *Ira* 1.3.6.

²⁶⁶ *Ira*, *libido*, and *metus* are already found in Sen. *Ira* 1.1. *Odium* is first attested in Sen. *Ira* 1.3.

²⁶⁷ For Cicero's take on the emotion of (erotic) love, see Cic. *Tusc.* 4.68–76.

chronological span that this thesis entails. This lacuna can be slightly amended by a passage from Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* (ca. 177 A.D.). In one section, Gellius recalls traveling on a boat during stormy weather with a Stoic philosopher, where both were brought to emotions by the storm's intensity.²⁶⁸ From this passage, Gellius provides multiple words that concern emotions. He mentions three synonyms for "turning pale" from fear: *pallere* (19.1.8), *palescere* (19.1.17) and *albescere* (19.1.21). Furthermore, Gellius distinguishes between being "courageous" (*intrepidus*, 19.1.5) and "unterrified" (*interritus*, 19.1.5) on the one hand, and being "afraid" (*timere*, 19.1.8) and "frightened" (*pavidus*, 19.1.6) on the other. Finally, Gellius discusses "fear" (*pavefactus*, 19.1.9) and "to frighten" (*exterrere*, 19.1.6).

Three emotion words derive from Quintilian, which are *adfectus* to describe an emotion²⁶⁹ as well as *miseratio* ("pity, compassion") and *invidiosus* ("invidious, instilling hate").²⁷⁰ Ten emotion words stem from Vergil. The first book describes Aeneas and the sailors as being *laetus* ("happy/high in spirits")²⁷¹ to set sail (1.35). Some time later, in the midst of a storm at sea, Aeneas' limbs are sent into a spasm by *frigor* ("shivers"): *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra* (1.92), which finds a parallel in 12.951, when Turnus is killed by Aeneas.²⁷² In Carthage, Aeneas visits the temple of Juno, which holds depictions of the Trojan war. The depiction of Hector's body fills Aeneas' heart with an enormous "sigh" (*gemitus*, 1.485). In book 2, Aeneas is overcome by *fur* ("rage", 2.595) when he sees Helen hiding away during the sack of Troy. In book 4, when Mercury bids Aeneas to leave Carthage, Aeneas responds that he and his men were ready to follow Mercury's command *ovantes* (4.577: "with a feeling of triumph").

Lacrimae/lacrimare is invoked multiple times in connection with Aeneas. These could be connected to the fate of Troy, such as in *Aen.* 1.441 and 1.464, or because Aeneas is physically removing himself from familiar lands: Aeneas tells Dido that his eyes filled with tears (*lacrimans*, 3.10) after leaving Troy behind while, some time later, Aeneas describes himself again as crying upon leaving the lands of Helenus to set sail to Italy (3.492: *hos ego disgredeus lacrimis adfabar abortis*). More often than

²⁶⁸ Brachtendorf 1997, 297.

²⁶⁹ Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.1. Also found as *affectus* in, among others, Cicero and Seneca, see fn. 263.

²⁷⁰ Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.20.

²⁷¹ Translation provided by Ahl 2007.

²⁷² Polleichtner 2009, 75–76.

not, however, Aeneas cries for his friends, his family or for the sake of love. Aeneas once describes how he, his son and wife wept as he pleaded with Anchises [sic.] leave burning Troy (2.651). Aeneas also mourns, with tears, the deaths of his wife Creusa (2.790), his friend Palinurus (6.1) and his friend Pallas (11.29, 11.62). On multiple occasions, Aeneas weeps for Dido: first in book 4, when he faces the tales of Dido's lament given by her sister Anna (4.449: *lacrimae volvuntur inanes*), the second time when he faces Dido in the underworld (6.467, 6.476).

Less frequently, but still too primarily associated grief, the emotion-marker *flere* ("to cry") is invoked three times in connection with Aeneas. On all occasions, the hero mourns his friends and family. The first time in 2.279, when Aeneas talks about the sack of Troy to Dido, when Aeneas sees Hector in his dream. Upon seeing the numerous wounds inflicted on his friend, he approaches Hector filled with tears (*ultra flens ipse videbar compellare virum et maestus expromere voces*). The second time, Aeneas finds himself crying while building the funeral pyre for his friend Misenus (6.177: *flentes*). At the final time, Aeneas cries upon seeing his father in the underworld, crying out of frustration for being unable to embrace his father: *sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat* (6.699).

On multiple occasions, the adjective *saevus* is found throughout the *Aeneid* in connection with heavy emotions. However, the first attestation in terms of Aeneas is only found at the end of book 11, when it speaks of "the savage Aeneas" (11.910: *saevum Aenean*). Throughout book 12, however, Aeneas is much more often associated with *saevus*, such as in 12.387, when he is *saevit* ("[he] rages") because of the wound inflicted by a Latin arrow. Much more telling, however, is the passage in 12.889, when his heart is filled with *saevo* when he runs to Turnus.²⁷³

Aeneas is described as *ardens* (10.514, "in a rage") upon hearing of the death of Pallas by the hand of Turnus. Similarly, *fervidus* is also attested a few times in the *Aeneid*. At first, the adjective is connected to others, such as Hercules and Turnus, before, in the last sentences, it is ascribed to Aeneas, upon giving Turnus the killing blow: *hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit fervidus* (12.951).

²⁷³ The identification of *saevus* with Aeneas is, according to De Grummond, invoked for the association with *dolor* and *ira*, two emotions that both strike Aeneas in the final moments of the *Aeneid* and, as Vergil shows earlier on, is also a theme heavily connected with deities such as Juno: De Grummond 1981, 50.

The emotion list for this chapter thus consists of 85 emotion words. These are compiled in Table 1. The list is primarily organised in chronological sequence of the authors involved, starting with Cicero and ending with Aulus Gellius. The emotion words that are introduced to the list by each ancient author are sequenced alphabetically. The exception to this are Cicero's emotion words, which are first ordered on the basis of his four clusters of emotions, preceded by the three words Cicero uses to describe emotions in general. Each of Cicero's five categories is delineated by the relevant key emotion word in bold. Within each of these five categories, each specific emotion word is again ordered alphabetically. This list covers, to varying degrees, the emotional language utilised by certain Roman philosophers and writers who authored their works in Latin. One difficulty in applying the emotion list to the corpus, however, is the fluctuating meaning of the emotion words: the emotion words offer snapshots of how these words were used specifically within the context of the author's respective work. A direct comparison between, for instance, Cicero's use of *ira* in the 1st century B.C. and its attestation on a funerary inscription from the 3rd century A.D. may only be superficial, given that the meaning or interpretation of words may change not only over time, but also between social and cultural layers. To counter this issue, each corresponding emotion word will first be studied for its application in literary works. This will include not only the works mentioned above but also those that have thus far fallen outside the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, it is interesting to see which words are used by multiple authors. To accommodate this, the emotion list will be presented in Table 1, indicating where and by whom these words were used. The grey cells indicate the respective authors that provided the emotion words. The subsequent references display only the first occurrence of the emotion word in the respective works of the authors, when the word is present. For example, the table reveals that *dolere*, which was added to the emotion list by Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, was subsequently mentioned in the works of Vergil, Seneca and Quintilian, but not Aulus Gellius. Similarly, *pudor* is present in all five sources, whereas *pavefactus* and *palescere* appear only in one.

It is essential to understand that the decision to use verse inscriptions over prose inscriptions in this study of ancient attitudes is based on the subgenre's use of elaborate wording, repetition of formulas and recurrences of themes. This demonstrates a clear preference for a distinctive language style by the deceased or

those commemorating them. Verse inscriptions were used more frequently than prose to display emotions, as shown in Table 2, which collects the data of all emotion words studied in this chapter. Of the 442 emotion words found in this sample, 322 derive from verse inscriptions, leaving only 27% (120 attestations) to originate from prose inscriptions. The results show that, in all eight emotion words studied in this chapter (*dolor*, *luctus*, *maeror*, *flere*, *lacrimare*, *gemitus*, *amor*, *laetitia*), the number of instances on verse inscriptions is always greater than that on prose epitaphs. Verse attestations have the overwhelming majority in almost all cases. The only exceptions are *dolor* and *amor* (both around 60% verse vs. 40% prose attestations, see Table 2), where the evidence is only slightly in favour of verse epitaphs. Furthermore, it is notable that words typically associated with emotions and the funerary sphere (such as *gemitus*, *fletus*, *lacrimae*, *luctus*, *dolor* and *maeror*) are also predominantly found in verse epitaphs. Interestingly, even words not commonly linked to mourning, such as *laetitia* and *amor*, are represented in a majority of verse inscriptions.

Studying emotions on inscriptions through the geographical scope of this thesis is justified. The geographical distribution of the inscriptions shows that there is no disproportionate discrepancy between the general geographical distribution of inscriptions and that of emotion words: table 3 shows the geographical distribution of each of the emotion words across the city of Rome and the provinces. The table shows that almost 40% of the attested emotion words originate from the city of Rome, while roughly 30% are found in Italy. In this regard, the data from table 3 generally corresponds with the geographical distribution of Latin inscriptions as a whole, as most of the Latin inscriptions originate from Rome and the Italian peninsula.²⁷⁴ Outside of the Italian peninsula, the number of emotion words drops sharply and ranges between one and twenty one emotion words, depending on the province. This coincides with the phenomenon that the total epigraphic output of the provinces declines in comparison with Rome and the rest of the Italy. Table 4 offers a comparison between the number of emotion words, as collected in table 3, and the total amount of funerary inscriptions found in different Roman provinces. This table similarly includes the city of Rome and the Italian peninsula. The table allows for a cross-reference of the relative percentage of inscriptions found in any specific region of the

²⁷⁴ Beltrán Lloris 2015b, 137–139.

Roman Empire. A comparison of the percentages shows that both in terms of emotion words and total number of (versified) funerary inscriptions, most inscriptions derive from Rome. Next up is the Italian peninsula, followed by the provinces listed in roughly descending order. Overall, the geographical distribution of emotion words largely follows that of the funerary verse inscriptions, as well as the trend discernible in Latin funerary inscriptions in general. In most cases, the percentages are rather similar, and fluctuations are based on the relatively low number of attestations.

Two remarks in regard to these fluctuations are necessary: the first concerns the data from Rome, which shows that the emotion words take up a relatively larger percentage of their total than the number of epitaphs does. As table 4 shows, roughly 40% of the total number of emotion words derive from Rome, while the city 'only' accounts for roughly 35% of the total number of inscriptions. The second remark concerns a contrasting trend, as a comparison of the data of certain provinces, such as Noricum or Lusitania shows a relatively smaller percentage of the total number of emotion words/markers than funerary inscriptions. While it is rather difficult to ascertain the causes of such differences, they could be explained with specific regional preferences for certain phrases or emotion words that are not prevalent in other provinces, thus leading to a smaller or larger number of total attestations in that region. Of course, many variables determine the epigraphic output of a province, including population density, the local epigraphic tradition, (Latin) literacy, geographical spread, the level of urbanism and the availability of stone or other durable material. Furthermore, this chapter's analysis does not represent an all-inclusive empire-wide survey of all emotions on Latin epigraphy but focuses only on those emotion words attested in the corpus of this thesis. As such, this chapter's analysis will make no broad statements regarding all verse inscriptions in the Roman Empire or all attestations of emotions in epigraphy. In addition, the fact that certain provinces, such as Alpes Graiae, are not attested in Table 3 does not mean that their inscriptions do not display emotions outright, or that the emotional epigraphic habit of these provinces differentiates from the other provinces; rather, the epigraphy of these provinces does not show any of the eight emotion words studied in this chapter. As such, they are omitted from the tables.

Table 1: Emotion Words and their Attestations

The references are all collected from the Perseus Digital Library (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>), consulted on December 10th, 2022.

Emotion Word	Cicero (106–43 B.C.)	Vergil (70–19 B.C.)	Seneca (1–65 A.D.)	Quintilian (35–96 A.D.)	Aulus Gellius (123–180 A.D.)
<i>commotio animi</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.11	-	-	-	-
<i>elatio animi</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.13	-	-	-	-
<i>perturbatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.10	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.19.8	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.9	-
<i>voluptas</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 3.660	<i>Ira</i> 1.3.4	<i>Inst.</i> 3.1.2	NA 1.6.2
<i>delectatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 3.4.6	NA 1.19.20
<i>gaudium</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.66	Aen. 1.502	<i>Ira</i> 1.18.4	<i>Inst.</i> 11.3.86	NA 2.27.3
<i>iactatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.19.1	<i>Inst.</i> 11.1.15	-
<i>laetitia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.12	Aen. 4.514	<i>Ira</i> 2.6.1	<i>Inst.</i> 5.10.73	NA 2.27.3
<i>malevolentia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	NA 4.15.2
<i>cupiditas</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.12	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.5.10	-
<i>desiderium</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 2.20.1	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.17	NA 6.8.7
<i>discordia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.423	<i>Ira</i> 2.35.5	-	NA 2.12.1
<i>excrescentia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	-
<i>indigentia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 2.21.1	-	NA 9.8.1
<i>inimicitia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 3.23.6	<i>Inst.</i> 6.1.22	NA 19.8.4
<i>ira</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 1.4	<i>Ira</i> 1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.6.58	NA 1.26.3
<i>libido</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.21	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.7.21	NA 10.3.5
<i>lubido</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	NA 10.3.5
<i>odium</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 1.361	<i>Ira</i> 1.3	<i>Inst.</i> 3.5.10	NA 1.3.30
<i>spes</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.88	Aen. 1.209	<i>Ira</i> 1.15.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.7.16	NA 1.13.3
<i>aegritudo</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	-	-
<i>adflicari</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	-	NA 12.5.2
<i>adflicatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 2.20.4	-	-
<i>aemulari</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 10.1.62	NA 2.23.3
<i>aemulatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 11.1.16	NA 14.3.1
<i>aerumna</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 9.3.15	NA 2.23.10
<i>angi</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 8.260	-	-	-
<i>angor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	NA 1.3.8
<i>desperare</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 12. pr. 2	-
<i>desperatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 2.20.4	<i>Inst.</i> 10.3.14	-
<i>dolere</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 1.9	<i>Ira</i> 1.12.2	<i>Inst.</i> 6. pr. 14	-
<i>dolor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 1.25	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 6. pr. 5	NA 2.6.12
<i>invidentia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	-
<i>invidere</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 4.234	<i>Ira</i> 1.16.6	<i>Inst.</i> 9.3.1	-
<i>invidia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.90	<i>Ira</i> 1.12.3	<i>Inst.</i> 3.1.21	NA 2.27.2
<i>lamentari</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	-	-
<i>lamentatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	-
<i>luctus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.12	<i>Ira</i> 3.5.4	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.26	NA 1.24.3
<i>lugere</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 4.82	<i>Ira</i> 2.6.2	-	-
<i>maeror</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 2.7.1	-	NA 3.15.4
<i>misereri</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 2.143	<i>Ira</i> 2.10.5	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.6	NA 20.6.10
<i>miserecordia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.16.3	<i>Inst.</i> 6.1.21	NA 6.3.18
<i>molestia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 3.13.2	-	NA 1.3.6
<i>obtrequare</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	-	-	-	NA 4.15.1
<i>obtrectatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	NA 14.3.7
<i>sollicitari</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.83	Aen. 3.389	<i>Ira</i> 2.4.2	<i>Inst.</i> 6. pr. 8	-
<i>sollicitudo</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.3.8	<i>Inst.</i> 4. pr. 1	NA 12.12.22
<i>metus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.218	<i>Ira</i> 1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.8.12	NA 2.29.12

Emotion Word	Cicero (106–43 B.C.)	Vergil (70–19 B.C.)	Seneca (1–65 A.D.)	Quintilian (35–96 A.D.)	Aulus Gellius (123–180 A.D.)
<i>conturbatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	-
<i>dentium crepitus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.19	-	-	-	-
<i>exanimatio</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	-	-	-
<i>formido</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.76	<i>Ira</i> 2.11.4	-	NA 5.14.22
<i>pallor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.19	Aen. 4.499	<i>Ira</i> 2.3.2	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.31	-
<i>pavor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 2.228	<i>Ira</i> 2.16.1	-	NA 10.26.10
<i>pigritia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	-	<i>Ira</i> 3.2.1	-	-
<i>pudor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 4.55	<i>Ira</i> 3.1.2	<i>Inst.</i> 6.3.24	NA 9.11.6
<i>rubor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.19	Aen. 12.66	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.4	-	NA 2.26.5
<i>terror</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 7.58	<i>Ira</i> 1.5.3	-	NA 1.7.20
<i>timor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.16	Aen. 1.202	<i>Ira</i> 1.10.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.8.40.	NA 1.11.17
<i>tremor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.19	Aen. 6.55	-	-	NA 2.28.1
<i>ardens</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.39	Aen. 10.514	<i>Ira</i> 3.1.1	<i>Inst.</i> 10.1.90	NA 13.24.2
<i>fervidus</i>	-	Aen. 12.951	<i>Ira</i> 2.15.2	-	-
<i>flere</i>	-	Aen. 2.279	<i>ira</i> 1.12.1	-	NA 2.13.4
<i>frigor</i>	-	Aen. 1.92	<i>Ira</i> 2.19.2	<i>Inst.</i> 5.7.31	NA 19.5.6
<i>fur</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.11	Aen. 2.594	<i>Ira</i> 3.1.3	-	NA 1.18arg
<i>gemitus</i>	-	Aen. 1.485	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.4	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.31	NA 1.26.7
<i>lacrimae/lacrimare</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.77	Aen. 1.441	<i>Ira</i> 1.2.5	<i>Inst.</i> 4.2.77	NA 1.23.10
<i>laetus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.67	Aen. 1.35	<i>Ira</i> 2.10.5	<i>Inst.</i> 10.46	NA 2.27.5
<i>ovantes</i>	-	Aen. 4.577	-	-	NA 5.6.21
<i>saevitia</i>	-	Aen. 11.910	<i>Ira</i> 1.4.3	-	NA 3.2.15
<i>affectus</i>	-	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.1	-	NA 1.26.11
<i>amor</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 4.68–76	Aen. 1.171	<i>Ira</i> 1.3.6	<i>Inst.</i> 6. pr. 7	NA 1.3.30
<i>audacia</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.20	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.1.7.	<i>Inst.</i> 4.4.2	NA 3.7.12
<i>adfectus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.11	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.6.5	<i>Inst.</i> 6.1.1	NA 6.8.6
<i>invidiosus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.20	NA 4.9.13
<i>miseratio</i>	-	-	-	<i>Inst.</i> 6.2.20	NA 10.3.7
<i>albescere</i>	-	Aen. 4.586	-	-	NA 19.1.21
<i>exterrere</i>	-	Aen. 3.307	-	-	NA 19.1.6
<i>interritus</i>	-	Aen. 5.427	<i>Ira</i> 3.2.6	-	NA 19.1.5
<i>intrepidus</i>	-	-	<i>Ira</i> 1.12.2	-	NA 19.1.5
<i>pallere</i>	-	Aen. 4.26	<i>Ira</i> 3.4.1	-	NA 19.1.8
<i>pallescere</i>	-	-	-	-	NA 19.1.17
<i>pavefactus</i>	-	-	-	-	NA 19.1.9
<i>pavidus</i>	-	Aen. 2.489	<i>Ira</i> 2.11.4	-	NA 19.1.6
<i>timere</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 3.14	Aen. 1.661	<i>Ira</i> 1.4.1	<i>Inst.</i> 3.1.5	NA 19.1.8

Table 2: Distribution of Emotion Words across Verse and Prose Funerary Epigraphy, 100 B.C. – 300 A.D.

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Emotion Word	Verse Attestations	Prose Attestations	Total Attestations
<i>Dolor</i>	65% (105)	35% (56)	161
<i>Luctus</i>	85% (40)	15% (7)	47
<i>Maeror</i>	68% (15)	32% (7)	22
<i>Flere</i>	91% (53)	9% (5)	58
<i>Lacrimare</i>	87% (41)	13% (6)	47
<i>Gemitus</i>	100% (9)	0% (0)	9
<i>Amor</i>	57% (45)	43% (34)	79
<i>Laetitia/laetus</i>	74% (14)	26% (5)	19
total	73% (322)	27% (120)	442

Table 3: Geographical Distribution of Emotion Words/Markers on Funerary Inscriptions (Prose and Verse), 100 B.C. – 300 A.D.

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Province/city	<i>Dolor</i>	<i>Luctus</i>	<i>Maeror</i>	<i>Flere</i>	<i>Lacrimare</i>	<i>Gemitus</i>	<i>Amor</i>	<i>Laetitia/ Laetus</i>	Total	Average percentage per region of total
Roma	75	17	8	20	24	2	25	5	176	39.82%
Italia	43	12	8	20	13	2	24	6	128	29.00%
Dalmatia	11	3	1	4	4	1	3	1	28	6.33%
Hispania Citerior	1	3	-	1	3	-	5	1	14	3.17%
Germania Superior	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	12	2.71%
Mauretania Caesarensis	3	4	2	-	-	1	-	-	10	2.26%
Baetica	3	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	9	2.04%
Africa Proconsularis	1	1	-	2	-	1	3	-	8	1.81%
Pannonia Inferior	4	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	8	1.81%
Numidia	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	6	1.36%
Pannonia Superior	3	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	6	1.36%
Macedonia	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	5	1.13%
Alpes Maritimae	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	0.90%
Dacia	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	4	0.90%
Belgica	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	0.68%
Gallia Lugdunensis	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	0.68%
Noricum	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	0.68%
Gallia Narbonensis	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.45%
Germania Inferior	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	0.45%
Lusitania	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	0.45%
Moesia Inferior	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	0.45%
Moesia Superior	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	0.45%
Sardinia	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	0.45%
Alpes Cottiae	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.23%
Aquitania	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.23%
Britannia	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.23%
Total	161	47	22	58	47	9	79	19	442	~100%

Table 4: Total number of emotion words/markers, verse funerary inscriptions, and prose and verse inscriptions, 100 B.C. – 300 A.D.

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Region/province	Total emotion words/markers	Total verse funerary inscriptions	Total funerary inscriptions (prose and verse)
Roma	176 (39.82%)	390 (37.57%)	24606 (34.57%)
Italia	128 (29.00%)	307 (29.58%)	21309 (29.75%)
Dalmatia	28 (6.33%)	43 (4.14%)	4257 (5.94%)
Hispania Citerior	14 (3.17%)	36 (3.47%)	2342 (3.27%)
Germania Superior	12 (2.71%)	15 (1.44%)	1310 (1.83%)
Mauretania Caesarensis	10 (2.26%)	9 (0.87%)	264 (0.37%)
Baetica	9 (2.04%)	34 (3.28%)	1294 (1.81%)
Africa Proconsularis	8 (1.81%)	33 (3.18%)	1774 (2.48%)
Pannonia Inferior	8 (1.81%)	18 (1.73%)	1005 (1.40%)
Numidia	6 (1.36%)	8 (0.77%)	2517 (3.51%)
Pannonia Superior	6 (1.36%)	28 (2.70%)	1613 (2.25%)
Macedonia	5 (1.13%)	5 (0.48%)	523 (0.73%)
Dacia	4 (0.90%)	10 (0.96%)	950 (1.33%)
Alpes Maritimae	4 (0.90%)	1 (0.10%)	199 (0.28%)
Noricum	3 (0.68%)	4 (0.39%)	1555 (2.17%)
Belgica	3 (0.68%)	2 (0.19%)	731 (1.02%)
Gallia Lugdunensis	3 (0.68%)	12 (1.16%)	382 (0.53%)
Lusitania	2 (0.45%)	7 (0.67%)	1088 (1.52%)
Moesia Superior	2 (0.45%)	24 (2.31%)	716 (1.00%)
Moesia Inferior	2 (0.45%)	21 (2.02%)	666 (0.93%)
Germania Inferior	2 (0.45%)	5 (0.48%)	663 (0.93%)
Sardinia	2 (0.45%)	6 (0.58%)	551 (0.77%)
Gallia Narbonensis	2 (0.45%)	9 (0.87%)	389 (0.54%)
Britannia	1 (0.23%)	8 (0.77%)	431 (0.60%)
Aquitania	1 (0.23%)	2 (0.19%)	365 (0.51%)
Alpes Cottiae	1 (0.23%)	1 (0.10%)	119 (0.17%)
Total	442	1038	71619

2.5 Analysis

2.5.1 *Dolor*

This paragraph begins with a review of the relevant Roman literature on the use of and attitudes towards *dolor*.²⁷⁵ *Dolor* had multiple meanings and its interpretation was context-dependent. A distinction was made between *dolor* in the sense of physical pain and *dolor* of emotional or mental pain. In the latter sense, one of the interpretations of *dolor* is that it signifies grief or mourning. However, the distinction was not always strictly upheld and, emotional stress and physical pain in the context of grief were frequently signified by the emotion words. Furthermore, ancient authors did not strictly differentiate between *dolor* and other words generally used to describe grief. As such, the literary discussion will also briefly reflect on some of the synonyms for grief used synonymously with *dolor*, namely *luctus*, *metus* and *maeror*, and which were also attested in the corpus. Subsequently, the use of *dolor* in epigraphic evidence will be compared with the textual sources. This entails a brief analysis of *dolor* on prose and verse epitaphs in general, which shows how the emotion word was used in different contexts by different groups. Only then will the sources from the corpus be studied in-depth. Thus, the analysis of *dolor* will study the general use of the emotion word and also provide an analysis of four specific verse epitaphs from the corpus that allow a more in-depth understanding of its use and application in particular cases.

2.5.1.1 Literature

In the Latin lexicon, *dolor* related to physical and mental pain. In the former context, *dolor* stands for pain caused by bodily injuries, disease and wounds and thus refers to bodily afflictions and physical suffering.²⁷⁶ In the latter context, *dolor* describes mental pain, principally the result from emotions, such as feelings of anger, desire or,

²⁷⁵ In the analysis of this emotion word and every subsequent word or marker, the nominative singular noun is used to refer to any inflections attested in epigraphy or in literature, as well as to the verb-form of a noun. As such, *dolor* refers in similar manner to, for example, *doloris* or *doloribus*, as to, for example, *doleo* or *dolueritis*. The exception is the paragraph on *flere* and *lacrimare* (paragraph 2.5.4), where the verb-form will symbolize any of its inflections in verb- and noun-form.

²⁷⁶ For example, Lucr. 2.17–18: *nisi ut qui corpore seiunctus dolor absit*; Cic. Leg. 2.43: *dolore corporis*; Sen. Ep. 30.14: *primum sperae se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu*.

important for this paragraph, grief.²⁷⁷ Notably, the principle of grief was so closely related to *dolor* that the term was mostly used as a synonym for sorrow rather than pain.²⁷⁸ Thus, whereas the English language or that of the ancient Greeks differentiates between grief and pain, the Latin language does not.²⁷⁹ This is corroborated by Cicero, who comments that no distinction is made between grief and pain in Latin.²⁸⁰ That is not to say that Cicero used *dolor* only to refer to the emotion of grief: throughout book 3, Cicero interchangeably uses *luctus* as well as *maeror* to describe grief in a similar sense as *dolor*.²⁸¹ Only in book 4 (4.18), does Cicero briefly explain their difference: *maeror aegritudo flebilis* – grief with tears; *luctus aegritudo ex eius qui carus fuerit interitu acerbo* – grief at the bitter death of someone dear; *dolor aegritudo crucians* – excruciating grief. Despite this differentiation, Cicero uses the emotion words interchangeably and does not strictly apply their definitions.²⁸² Other Roman authors seem more reluctant to use these emotion words interchangeably for grief: in contrast to Cicero, Lucretius uses *dolor* mainly for physical pain and *luctus* and *metus* for mental pain.²⁸³ Importantly, to describe grief following a death, Lucretius uses *maeror* rather than *dolor* and, therefore, does not apply the Latin term to physical or mental pain as freely as Cicero.²⁸⁴ Coming back to Seneca, however, the different emotion words are used interchangeably to refer to grief, although *dolor* and *luctus* seem to have the author's preference.

Additionally, Cicero, Lucretius and Seneca also have differing opinions on how to approach and remedy grief. Cicero, whose stance towards emotion overall is rather stoic (as shown in paragraph 2.2), contends that he is dissatisfied by the Hellenistic philosophers, both Epicureans and Stoics, for their focus on classification and

²⁷⁷ Cicero on *dolor* from anger: Cic. *Div. Caec.* 64: *etenim si probabilis est eorum causa qui iniurias suas persequi volunt, qua in re dolori suo ... servient.* Lucretius on *dolor* from love: Lucr. 4.1066–1067: *nec retinere semel conversum unius amore et servare sibi curam certumque dolorem.*

²⁷⁸ Wilson, N.f 2013, 137.

²⁷⁹ Erskine 1997, 40–41. The ancient Greeks used πένθος to describe pain for untimely death, although even this term was not always used to describe grief per se: Konstan 2006, 244.

²⁸⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.23: *sic aegritudo in animo nomen habet non seiunctum a dolore.*

²⁸¹ Erskine 1997, 41n14.

²⁸² Graver 2002, 127.

²⁸³ Lucretius explicitly makes this distinction in Lucr. 3.459–461: *... corpus ut ipsum suscipere inmanis morbos durumque dolorem, sic animum curas acris luctumque metumque.*

²⁸⁴ For Lucretius on grief following death: Lucr. 3.906–908: *at nos horrifico cinefactum te prope busto insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque nulla dies nobis maerorem e pectore demet.*

definition of emotions rather than practical advice.²⁸⁵ As a result, Cicero wrote a now-lost *consolatio* for himself in 45 B.C. following the death of his daughter and his self-imposed retirement from the public life of Rome.²⁸⁶ In this *consolatio*, Cicero vehemently combines the philosophies of different Hellenistic philosophers, although the Roman author later concedes that his temporary rejection of Stoic philosophy was due to a grief-inflicted insanity and that the Stoic method of rejecting heavy emotions was sound all along.²⁸⁷ Fortunately, Seneca's *consolationes* were much better preserved. They consist of three separate works, the *Consolatione ad Marciam* (his friend's daughter), *ad Polybium* (a freedman) and *ad Helviam* (to his mother), as well as *epistulae* 63 and 99. Importantly, the tone of Seneca's consolatory works depends heavily on the receiver and its purpose. To Helvia and Marcia, for example, Seneca maintains that while it is not wrong to feel emotions, they should not exceed the socially expected time and that one should not remain unhealthily long in mourning.²⁸⁸ To his male audience, however, Seneca takes on a sterner tone: he tells Lucilius, in a traditionally Stoic fashion, that it is best not to mourn at all.²⁸⁹ When grief is inevitable, Seneca again maintains that one should not mourn longer than necessary and without excess.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, in his letter to Marullus, Seneca contends that the man has mourned his child's death longer than deemed socially acceptable and did so in a morally weak (and unmanly) manner: *diceretur molliter ferre*.²⁹¹ Seneca confronts Marullus with *convicia*, rather than *solacia*²⁹² and goes on to show how

²⁸⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.9: *Quia Chrysippus et Stoici cum de animi perturbationibus disputant, magnam partem in his partiendis et definiendis occupati sunt, illa eorum perexigua oratio est, qua medeantur animis nec eos turbulentos esse patiantur.*

²⁸⁶ *Consolationes* were usually written for, rather than by, the grief-stricken, as will become clear from Seneca's examples. Despite their practical intention, such *consolationes* often remained philosophical of nature: Baltussen 2012, xiv.

²⁸⁷ On combining all strands of Hellenistic philosophy: Cic. *Tusc.* 3.76: *ut fere nos in Consolatione omnia in consolationem unam coniecimus: erat enim in tumore animus, et omnis in eo temptabatur curation.* On eventually coming back to Chrysippus' Stoicism: Cic. *Tusc.* 3.79: *Chrysippi ad veritatem firmissima est, ad tempus aegritudinis difficilis.*

²⁸⁸ Sen. *Helv.* 16.1, 16.5: *... et nullo inhumana duritia ... ne feminae quidem te sinent intabescere volneri tuo, sed leviores necessario maerore cito defunctam iubeunt exsurgere*; Sen. *Marc.* 1.7: *renovat se et corroborat cotidie luctus et iam sibi ius mora fecit eoque adductus est, ut putet turpe desinere. Quemadmodum omnia vitia penitus insidunt, nisi, dum surgunt, oppressa sunt, ita haec quoque tristitia et miseria et in se saevientia ipsa novissime acerbitate pascuntur et fit infelicis animi prava voluptas dolor.*

²⁸⁹ Sen. *Ep.* 63.1: *Illud ut non doleas, vix audebo exigere: et esse melius scio.*

²⁹⁰ Sen. *Ep.* 63.1: *molesto fero decessisse Flaccum, amicum tuum, plus tamen aequo dolere te nolo. ... lacrimandum est, non plorandum.*

²⁹¹ Sen. *Ep.* 99.1: "and was reported to be rather womanish in his grief." Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

²⁹² Sen. *Ep.* 99.2: *Solacia expectas? Convicia accipe.* "Is it solace that you look for? Let me give you a scolding instead!" Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

other great Romans in the past have handled their grief over the death of their sons with dignity by not lingering in their sorrows for too long.²⁹³ Importantly, this letter contrasts sharply with Seneca's *consolatio ad Marciam*, as Marcia, who similarly mourns the death of her son far past the expected time of mourning, is spoken to with less stern words than Marullus, possibly because she is a woman. As in Marullus' case, Seneca offers advice to Marcia by providing examples of illustrious Romans in the past. For Marcia, Seneca chooses a female role model, namely Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of emperor Tiberius. Seneca's harsh tone towards Marullus can be explained if one is to assume that *molliter*, can be read as 'effeminate' given that it describes Marullus' weak state of mourning his son.²⁹⁴ In this reading, Seneca deliberately creates a distance between Marullus' mourning and the socially correct way of mourning by the linguistic choice for effeminate wording. This is substantiated by *Ep.* 99.17, where Seneca contrasts manly mourning versus womanish grief: *videt aliquem conlabentem et corpori adfusum: effeminatum ait et enervem*.²⁹⁵ Thus, Marullus' mourning is first and foremost unfit for a proper Roman man. Despite Seneca's harsh tone, later in his letter, he slightly alters his stoic stance and implores Marullus to focus on the happy moments rather than the one sad occasion of death.²⁹⁶

In contrast to Cicero and Seneca's essentially Stoically influenced practical *consolationes* stands Lucretius' didactic poem *De Rerum Natura*, which depicts a distinctly different attitude towards grief and mourning than the Stoics. Lucretius treats grief as a natural sentiment – something shared by humans and animals – and does not arise out of false beliefs or perceptions.²⁹⁷ Curing grief, therefore, was not aimed at confounding the feeling itself but rather the false beliefs that arose from it.²⁹⁸ This view is corroborated by a passage from Plutarch, which demonstrates that Epicureans argue that grief, tears and groans for the deceased should not be

²⁹³ Sen. *Ep.* 99.6: *numerabilia sunt exempla eorum, qui liberos iuvenes sine lacrimis extulerint, qui in senatum aut in aliquod publicum officium a rogo redierint et statim aliud egerint*. "There are countless cases of men who have without tears buried sons in the prime of manhood — men who have returned from the funeral pyre to the Senate chamber, or to any other official duties, and have straightway busied themselves with something else." Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

²⁹⁴ Wilson, M. 2012, 97; Sandnes 2016, 37.

²⁹⁵ "They see a man who collapse and clings to his dead; they call him womanish and weak." Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

²⁹⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 99.23; Wilson, M. 1997, 52.

²⁹⁷ Lucr. 2.355–360: *at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans novit humi pedibus vestigia pressa bisulcis, omnia convisens oculis loca, si quaet usquam conspicere amissum fetum, completque querellis frondiferum nemus adistens et crebra revisit ad stabulum desiderio perfixa iuveni*; Konstan 2013, 202.

²⁹⁸ Konstan 2013, 204.

suppressed, as this suppression only leads to insanity. Rather, feeling pain and grieving is better than repressing it.²⁹⁹

Turning finally to the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is displayed with *dolor* in a number of situations. On one occasion, *dolor* is used to refer to physical pain experienced by Aeneas because of an arrow wound: *indigno nati concussa dolore* (12.411). Much more often, *dolor* refers to Aeneas' mental pain. This could be caused by Aeneas' painful memories of the fate of Troy (2.3: *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem*) and would thus be caused by past experiences leading to present pain. Still, it is mostly through present affairs that Aeneas experiences mental *dolor*. For example, Aeneas experiences *dolor* when his ships and crew find themselves amid a storm (1.208: *perit altum corde dolorem*; 1.384: *nec plura querentem passa Venus medio sic interata dolore est*), but also Venus senses Aeneas' *dolor* about the destruction of Troy, which creates a feeling of anger towards Helen (2.594: *Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?*). In two cases, *dolor* is used to describe the pain felt by grief for the deceased. The first is for his wife Creusa, who died during the sack of Troy and speaks to the hero through her ghost: *quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori, O dulcis coniunx?* (2.776). The second features at the climactic end of the *Aeneid*, as Aeneas strikes down Turnus out of his grief for Pallas: *Ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira terribilis* (12.945–947). The pain felt by Aeneas due to the grief for his friend Pallas functions as the catalyst for his anger, which leads to him killing Turnus.

2.5.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

Between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D., *dolor*, both as a noun and a verb, is attested widely across the epigraphic funerary landscape of the Roman Empire and is found in a total of 161 funerary inscriptions, of which 105 are found in verse inscriptions and 56 in prosaic inscriptions.³⁰⁰ Since the emotion word is attested in high numbers, this paragraph will focus on a representative selection of the different employments of *dolor* in the funerary monuments and map its most prominent uses.

²⁹⁹ Konstan 2013, 204–205.

³⁰⁰ A rare republican inscription uses *dolor* to emphasize the blameless character of the deceased: *CIL* 6, 23551: *ex quo nihil unquam doluit nisi cum is non fuit* (Rome, 100–1 B.C.). There are more examples from the 3rd century A.D., such as *AE* 2010, 1302 (Aquincum, 271–300 A.D.), which commemorates the pain caused to the mother by her son's death: *quantos mi reliquisti dolores in plenius doleor quotumi in fati periti*.

Dolor is used in both prose and verse inscriptions to denote the grief felt by the relatives for the deceased. For example, the inscription for Geminia Agathe Mater (Rome, 2nd century A.D.) underlines several times how death causes sorrow to the relatives, even though it implores them not to grieve excessively over their loss.³⁰¹ Another Roman verse inscription invokes the pain of the commemorator by including *dolor* twice in adjective-form: *etiam dolentis casus adversos lege, Trebius Basileus coniunx quae scripsi dolens*.³⁰² This inscription makes it clear that *dolor* signifies both grief and the process of mourning that the commemorator undergoes. After all, grief is the reason for his adverse fate. In these two examples, *dolor* is both the result of death as well as a process the relatives endure as they live on after the departure of their spouse, friend, family member or acquaintance. Extended variations of expressions that denote grief as insurmountable are attested in both verse and prose inscriptions of the Imperial period, as death causes *maximo dolore* (CIL 6, 41431), *perpetuus dolor* (CIL 13, 2054), *aeternum dolorem* (AE 1928, 71) or *dolor immensus* (CIL 6, 10969). Another frequently attested formula that uses *dolor* is the ‘*nihil nisi ...*’ phrase, which is also found in both verse and prose inscriptions and takes on the voice of the commemorator who notes that the only grief caused by the deceased in their life was the result of their death. For example, CIL 13, 2205 tells *nihil dolui nisi mortem*, while CIL 6, 8827 writes *nihil dolui nisi quod mortus est*. A variation that is attested less is *nihil dolui nisi quod me reliquit* (CIL 6, 25595).

While the examples above all use *dolor* to refer to the grief caused by the dedicatee’s death, many other inscriptions invoke the emotion words to reflect on the painless or sorrowless quality of life the deceased experienced during their lifetime. This is mainly found in inscriptions that employ the phrase *sine dolore*. This reinforcement of the deceased’s positive values by the negation of a negative value is often found in virtues as well.³⁰³ As such, epitaphs could include *quaerella*, *discordia*, *bile*, etc. For *dolor*, the meaning is inverted as it indicates that the deceased lived their

³⁰¹ CIL 6, 19007: *Nec parvae doleat requiem mei perquam Faventius ... est mihi nam mater, pater et praecesserat olim nec doluit casum ... quos cuncti parentes solando vitae dulci retinete preceantes ne dolor augeat seu maeror tristis abundet*. (Rome, 100-200 A.D.). The inscription invokes *dolor* on three occasions: to bid one Faventius to not mourn Geminia’s death, to commemorate the fact that Geminia’s parents did not get to mourn her death since they died before her, and to implore the readers or relatives to support her remaining family, so that their pain will not grow further.

³⁰² CIL 6, 28753 (100-300 A.D.). The inscription is an acrostic that forms the name of the deceased Veturia Grata.

³⁰³ Shaw 2002, 210.

life free from any grief or pain. Other similar phrases to convey the same sympathies are *nullum dolorem* or *non sit dolor*.

2.5.1.3 The *nuncius Augusti* Sabinus

Inscription no. 1 originates from Augusta Treverorum (Belgica) and is provisionally dated to 3rd century A.D.³⁰⁴ Neither provenance, the exact measurements nor iconography are known, as only the inscription of the monument itself is transmitted through the manuscript of Christophorus Browerus (1559–1617), stating that it originates from Trier and was discovered there in 1522.³⁰⁵ The inscription was subsequently taken up in Burman's *Anthologia Latina* (1773) and is here referred to as being located in the monastery of St. Mathias of Trier.³⁰⁶ In Brambach's *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* (of 1867), the inscription is recorded as missing.³⁰⁷

Qui dolet interitum mentem soletur amore. / Tollere mors vitam potuit post fata superstes / fama viget; periit corpus sed nomen in ore est / vivit laudatur legitur celebratur amatur /⁵nuncius Augusti velox pede cursor [– – –] / cui Latiae gentis nomen patriaeque Sabinus. / O crudele nefas tulit hic sine crimine mortem / damnatus periit deceptus fraude latronum; / nil scelus egisti fama est quae nescit obire. / Posuit Turius.³⁰⁸

Whoever mourns a departed soul shall be comforted by love. Death can take away life according to destiny, but the glory will always remain present. The body perishes, but the name stays in the mouth: it lives, it is praised, read, glorified, loved, the messenger of Augustus, who was quick on his feet, a runner [---] to whom was given the name of the Latin tribe and of his fatherland, Sabinus. O cruel injustice has struck this one, condemned him to death without charges, he died, snatched away by the anger of robbers. Nothing, crime, have you accomplished. A reputation is good when it cannot be destroyed. Turius has built (this monument).³⁰⁹

The inscription is dedicated to Sabinus who, as the inscription informs the reader, originates from the Sabina region, a part of the Augustan *regio* IV (Samnium): *cui*

³⁰⁴ As will become clear later in this paragraph, the inscription has been dated to the 3rd century A.D. based on the uncertain connection between brigands and existing turmoil in the region caused by the formation and dissociation of the Gallic Empire (between 260 and 274 A.D.). Nevertheless, an earlier date is also possible.

³⁰⁵ Browerus 1671, 53.

³⁰⁶ Burman 1773, 22, no. 23.

³⁰⁷ Brambach 1867, no. 780.

³⁰⁸ Lazzaro 1993, 81.

³⁰⁹ Translation in translation in German provided by Wierschowski 2001, 388, no. 545.

Latiae gentis nomen patriaeque Sabinus.³¹⁰ Sabinus is identified as a *nuncius Augusti* and was part of the imperial personnel functioning as letter-bearer or messenger of the imperial house within the *cursus publicus*. Consequently, it is generally assumed that Sabinus was either a slave or a freedman, since couriers were often recruited from these social classes.³¹¹ Other inscriptions originating from the *civitas Treverorum*, from the reign of Tiberius until the 3rd century A.D., have been found, which also attest (former) slaves of the imperial household.³¹² Similarly, Lazzaro expects Turius, the dedicator, to also have a servile background, although the inscription sheds no further light on this matter.³¹³

The inscription shows that Sabinus was killed by *latrones* – brigands or robbers. Modern authors have suggested that Sabinus' death at the hands of *latrones* coincided with the establishment and disintegration of the Gallic Empire (260–274 A.D.), when the region of Trier found itself in a particularly difficult period of heightened trouble.³¹⁴ However, this view is not substantiated by comparative epigraphic material, since deaths by robbers have often been attested on the epitaphs of other regions and different time periods of the Roman Empire as well and, per definition, are not contained to the Gallic Empire or the 3rd century A.D.³¹⁵ The fact that brigandage was an empire-wide problem and not specifically contained to the late 3rd century A.D. is similarly attested by several inscriptions referring to the existence of a *praefectus arcendis latrociniiis*, who was specifically tasked with the

³¹⁰ There are but few examples that make such an explicit correlation between a person's name and origin on an epitaph: Wierschowski 2001, 388. The inclusion of *latiae* in the line in question has led to some debate about the exact name of the deceased, although in general Sabinus over Latinus is adopted: Meyers 1964, 92; Lazzaro 1993, 81.

³¹¹ Binsfeld, A. 2006, 171.

³¹² *CIL* 13, 4194: *Mer[curiali]s, Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* (Niederemmel, near Augusta Treverorum, 150–300 A.D.); Lazzaro-1993, 18: *M(arcus) Aurelio Materno Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* (Augusta Treverorum, 150–200 A.D.); Lazzaro-1993, 20: *T[ib(eri) Aug(usti) [l]ibert[us]* (Augusta Treverorum, 14–37 A.D.); Lazzaro-1993, 24: *Caesaris (servus)* (Augusta Treverorum, 1–200 A.D.).

³¹³ Lazzaro 1993, 81.

³¹⁴ For the idea that Sabinus' epitaph might be dated to the Gallic Empire: Stein/Ritterling 1932, 57; Meyers 1964, 92. It has furthermore been suggested that, based on small linguistic choices, the inscription might be dated later as it would be Christian, although Lazzaro notes that there is no evidence to consider it a Christian epitaph and that paleographic research only can be conducted with the original inscription intact: Lazzaro 1993, 81. Wierschowski notes that the inscription gives no clear reason to prefer any date over the other: Wierschowski 2001, 388.

³¹⁵ These inscriptions range from the reign of Augustus until the 3rd century A.D. and are found both in the centre, near Rome, up to the periphery in North Africa, Hispania, and the Danubian regions. For a concise list of such inscriptions: Shaw 1984, 10n25, who notes that although the numbers are quite limited, they nevertheless indicate that brigands were a serious threat for travelers, given their extensive reference in epitaphs that otherwise are rather reserved in such articulations of deaths.

repression of banditry. This magistracy is documented in early epitaphs dating from the 1st century A.D. until the 3rd century A.D.³¹⁶ As such, it provides only scant evidence to the period of the monument and should not be taken as evidence for its provenance to the Gallic Empire.

The inscription, save the *subscriptum posuit Turius*, is composed of hexameters. Love is invoked twice: once through *amore* in line 1: *qui dolet interitum mentem soletur amore*. This line does not focus on the deceased, but rather on the love felt by the dedicator: whereas death instils pain in the relatives, love offers consolation and solace. In this context, *amor* is seen and portrayed as an antidote. The second line, *tollere mors uitam potuit, post fata superstes fama viget*, follows a similar pattern to the first: it displays the inevitability of death but also offers perspective on the matter by illustrating to the reader how death should not lead automatically to despair. As the next part of the inscription explains, the memory of the deceased lives on while the body has succumbed to its mortal coil. The body perishes, but the name remains on everyone's lips, assuring that the memory of the deceased continues to live on after death. Cugusi proposed that this line is based on a famous line from an epigram of Ennius (239–169 B.C.), which, in a similar vein, reads *nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu faxit. Cur? Volito vivos per ora virum*.³¹⁷ It is remarkable to note that the inscription explicitly mentions its commemorative function. It unmistakably addresses the notion that the Romans believed that the inscription was a viable option for perpetuating the memory of the deceased, as it allowed the relatives to continue reminiscing, honouring and celebrating the deceased's legacy.

This idea is reiterated and reinforced again in the final line of the verse: *fama est quae nescit obire*. The immortality of the fame of the deceased displayed in this inscription is also attested in several other verse epitaphs. For example, *CLE* 922 (Concordia, 66 A.D.) recalls *fama* explicitly through *fama perennis erit*. Other inscriptions use different wording to convey the same message: *CIL* 6, 6593 (Rome, 1–50 A.D.) writes *post obitum satis hac femina laude nitet*. An inscription from Verona dated to the 2nd century A.D. similarly recalls that death does not stop the deceased

³¹⁶ AE 2006, 836 (Briga, 14–54 A.D.), is dated as such by Köstner 2013, 95–96. Three other inscriptions that attest to the magistracy are all from Germania Superior: AE 1978, 567: *[pra]efect(o) arce[ndis] [latroc(iniis)]* (Noviodunum, 71–200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 5010: *praefec[ti] arcend(orum) latroc[in(iorum)]* (Noviodunum, 70–150 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6211: *latr(ocinis) ar[c(endis)] praef(ectus)* (Hochstetten-Dhaun, 171–300 A.D.).

³¹⁷ Cugusi 1982, 73.

from continuing to live on: *functa iaces hic, vivis vivesque Secundo Laelia, tuo debent nec benefacta mori* (CIL 5, 3653). Finally, CIL 8, 2756 from 3rd century A.D. Numidia talks about the survival of the name and family through the memory of the deceased: *postrema haec sunt enim mortis solacia, ubi continetur nominis vel generis aeterna memoria*.³¹⁸

Epigraphic evidence suggests that *fama* was a particularly popular value to include in epitaphs, both for freedmen and members of the elite. In Italy during the principate, 35 inscriptions dedicated to freedmen include the word *fama*. The value in these inscriptions was used to honour the deceased freedmen for their professional ardour and social steadiness.³¹⁹ In light of this, Sabinus' epitaph refers to the *fama* for his excellence as *nuntius* and additionally reinforces this by the inclusion of *velox pedecursor*. Similar references to *fama* from or around the *civitas Treverorum* are scarce: in the province of Belgica, only one 4th century A.D. Christian inscription talks about *fama* in a similar sense.³²⁰ Nevertheless, in the neighbouring province of Germania Superior, one *defixio* emphasises the importance of *fama* in the life of a Roman man, as it bids to destroy the *fides*, *fama* and *facultas* of the victim.³²¹

Dolere makes its appearance in the first line and is in direct contrast with the love of the relatives. The inscription makes it clear that the grief caused by death can be conquered by the power of love. As will be explained in more detail in paragraph 2.5.6.3, this prophylactic quality of *amor* is not attested in any verse inscription that can be dated before the 4th century A.D. Love is much more often described as the factor that causes pain and sorrow for the deceased. There is, for example, one 3rd century A.D. funerary inscription from Carthage that reads *non dolor est, ut quem amas pereat* and thereby laments the pain experienced from losing a loved one.³²² Similarly, a 4th century A.D. Christian epitaph from Nola reads *iam me vincet amor, nequeo tenere dolorem*.³²³ Here, love is equalled with pain, saying that although the pain cannot be

³¹⁸ Some verse inscriptions from the 4th and 5th century A.D. with comparable viewpoints have survived as well: Flach 1999, 457.

³¹⁹ MacLean 2018, 42. MacLean suggests that a gendered use of *fama* was upheld amongst freedmen, as the *fama* of women was honoured mainly in light of their role within the domestic setting: Maclean 2018, 46.

³²⁰ CIL 13, 3256: *ut quem fama dabat rebus superaret honorum et vitam factis posset sperare perennem* (Durocortorum, 367-370 A.D.).

³²¹ Urbanová 2018, 90-91, DTM 6 – no. 234.

³²² CIL 8, 25006.

³²³ CIL 10, 1338.

prevented or overcome, love ‘defeats’ the commemorator. In the case of Sabinus’ inscription, the roles are reversed, and the *dolor* of the commemorator is eased by the *amor* he felt – and still feels – for the deceased.

In a way, this particular sentiment aligns with the Epicurean concept of redirecting thoughts of pain towards happy memories: love alleviates the sorrow. The idea of emphasising the positive side of a relationship rather than dwelling on the negative impact of death corresponds to Seneca’s letter to Marullus, where Seneca argues that it is better to focus on the positive memories that spring from one’s relationship rather than dwelling on the negative impact of death: *si quos sermones eius, si quos quamvis parvoli iocos cum voluptate audieras, saepius repete.*³²⁴ Rather than mourning, Seneca contends, it behests the good man to remember: *hoc prudentem virum non decet; meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.*³²⁵

2.5.1.4 Principius the sailor

Inscription no. 2 originates from modern-day Turbe in the municipality Travnik (Bosnia-Herzegovina), located in the province of Dalmatia and dates between 200 and 300 A.D. The inscription is carved on a 106 cm high and 60 cm wide marble stele. The inscription is flanked by a motif of trailing vines filled with heart-shaped leaves and grapes, while the top of the inscription features a horizontal line of flowers. The top of the monument is broken off, showing only half of the engraved medallion, which is accompanied by two palmettes.³²⁶ The motif of vines (with or without grapes and heart-shaped leaves) as a frame is also found elsewhere in the vicinity of Travnik³²⁷ and, more broadly, in the Dalmatian hinterlands.³²⁸

The monument was first discovered during excavations of a Roman building and was subsequently edited by Moritz Hörnes in 1880.³²⁹ Not much known of the building in which the monument was located: Carl Patsch only notes that the

³²⁴ Sen. *Ep.* 99.23: “And whatever words, whatever jests of his, no matter how much of a child he was, may have given you pleasure to hear – these I would have you recall again and again.” Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

³²⁵ Sen. *Ep.* 99.24: “this quality does not befit a man of sense: he should continue to remember, but should cease to mourn.” Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

³²⁶ Lozić 2021, 182, no. 167.

³²⁷ For example, *CIL* 3, 12761 (Fazlići, 130-170 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12768 (Bilimisce, 300-350 A.D.).

³²⁸ For example, *CIL* 3, 9740 (Delminium, 150-300 A.D.), *CIL* 3, 13863 (Pazarić, 200-300 A.D.); *ILJug*-3, 1582 (Breza, 101-150 A.D.); *ILJug*-3, 1637 (Municipium Salvium, 100-200 A.D.); *ILJug*-3, 1806 (Grkovci, 130-200 A.D.).

³²⁹ Hörnes 1880.

inscription was found on the property of one Ali Osman-Agica and that it was moved after its discovery to the Travnik gymnasium-school.³³⁰ Roman presence is more readily ascertainable on the Gradina-mountain, which is located close to Turbe and held a *castellum* (or similar fortification). This presence of a building is only substantiated by coins from the reigns of Claudius, Galienus, Constantine and Constantius, as well as rings, vessels, tubes and spinning whorls.³³¹ Only four other prose Latin inscriptions originate from Travnik, two of which are heavily fragmented.³³² Of the remaining two, one similarly shows a decorated relief, with the motif of a horse rider and a man holding a scroll.³³³

*Ultima clausurunt Par/carum stamina filo / Principii miserandi diem / quem gloria nisi /⁵ avus adque pater puerum / dedere [pr]aeclara / militia patroque suo iun/xere fovendum / cum primum pulchra lanu/¹⁰gine annos / spectantes magnun patri/ae columenque futurum / heu miseri gloriari sibi laetamque senectam. / Crudele(m) luctum domui /¹⁵ Ravenna remisit / hoc miseros titulo pro/prium signasse dolorem.*³³⁴

The Parces' last threads closed the life of poor Principius, who, out of a desire for glory, was enlisted as a mere boy with the honourable military service by his grandfather and father and was united with his uncle to be fostered when he first reached the age of beautiful beard-growth, seeing that he would become a great pillar to the fatherland and, o miserable ones, boasting about the happiness of their old age. Ravenna sent cruel mourning back home; with this worthless monument they express their grief.³³⁵

The inscription features nine lines of hexameter and commemorates the life and death of Principius. The poem begins with a clear reference to the Parcae, the three female personifications of fate who decide on life and death through the act of wool spinning. This is why the invocation of *ultima stamina* is made.³³⁶ Hörnes was correct to draw a comparison with a passage from Lucan: *Tristia non equidem Parcarum stamina*.³³⁷

³³⁰ Patsch 1893, 707.

³³¹ Hoffer 1897, 243–244.

³³² *CIL* 3, 13876; *ILJug*-3, 1616. Both inscriptions do not allow for a precise dating.

³³³ *CIL* 3, 2765; *CIL* 3, 2766. Both dated between the 1st and 3rd century A.D.

³³⁴ Mesihović 2011, 28.

³³⁵ Author's translation.

³³⁶ Wasdin 2017, 186.

³³⁷ Lucan. 6.777; Hörnes 1880, 201.

The theme of the Parcae's thread is attested on other epitaphs throughout the Latin West as well as in Dalmatia, although it is only found on verse inscriptions.³³⁸

A young man died in Ravenna. The inscription tells the reader that the father and grandfather of Principius survived the boy and dedicated the monument to their deceased family member.³³⁹ The inscription does not provide the age of either Principius or his (grand-)father, but the young age of the man is indicated through *cum primum pulchra lanugine sumeret annos*. Again, Hörnes notes the similarity between this line and one from Latin literature, in this case the *Aeneid*, as it recalls *prima lanugine malas* (Vergil, *Aen.* 10.324).³⁴⁰ This particular trope is found in two other inscriptions, both composed in verse, one from Moesia Superior: *ora puelli sparsa genas lanugine barbae prime*³⁴¹, the other from Italia: *quem fatum eripuit prima lanugine*.³⁴² The inscription further indicates that the young man's body was transferred from Ravenna back to his homeland in Dalmatia: *crudelem luctum domui Ravenna remisit*. Nothing else is provided by the inscription on Principius' life other than that his father and grandfather sent him to the military, where his uncle took care of him (*avus adque pater puerum dedere praeclara militia patruoque sui iunxere fovendum*). The name is quite rare in the area, although Hörnes indicates that two Latin inscriptions refer to one Principius.³⁴³

The inscription does not explicitly mention that Principius was part of the navy; this is deducted as the inscription recalls that Principius was part of the military and either was stationed or died in Ravenna. Tacitus mentions on several occasions that many Dalmatians, who were renowned for their naval skills, comprised the fleet in Ravenna: *Lucilius Bassus classis Ravennatis praefectus ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Dalmatae Pannonique erant* (*Hist.* 3.12); *classem Dalmatae supplevere* (*Hist.* 3.50). What is more, Demicheli identified a total of 66 epitaphs, displaying 78 individuals that survive from members of the Misene and the Ravennate navy. These epitaphs either directly or indirectly make mention of their Dalmatian origin.³⁴⁴ Remarkably, the Principius-inscription is the only verse inscription among

³³⁸ Hörnes 1880, 201.

³³⁹ Demicheli 2015, 393, no. 64.

³⁴⁰ Hörnes 1880, 201.

³⁴¹ *CLE* 2636 (Singidunum, 200-230 A.D.).

³⁴² *CLE* 1547 (Pula, 1-100 A.D.).

³⁴³ *CIL* 3, 4335 (Brigetio, 251-350 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 6414 (Scardona, 300-500 A.D.).

³⁴⁴ Demicheli 2015, 395-397.

all 66 epitaphs. Coincidentally, none of the other 65 navy-related epitaphs make any reference to grief or a similar emotion. Granted, a few of Demicheli's catalogued inscriptions are military diplomas. However, it is still remarkable that, out of the entire sample, the verse inscription is the only one that explicitly addresses grief.

This grief is made explicit by the commemorators in the last sentence: *dolor: hoc miseros titulo proprium signasse dolorem*. It underlines the sorrow caused by the death of Principius, which signals that *dolor* is used to signify the pain felt by relatives in their mourning for their deceased family member. What is more, the sentence makes the emotion explicit: the commemorators do not hide their grief or use metaphors to express their pain. Rather, it defines the emotions (or at least one) of the mourners in clear-cut words. The inscription reflects also on the communicative nature of the epitaph. It unambiguously denominates the inscription as a proper medium for the display and conveyance of their emotion. This is crucial because it proves that the commemorators believed that the death of their relative allowed them to openly express their grief. They did not just follow the socially accepted forms of grief through behaviour, movement, and clothing. They also displayed their grief on durable material that would — by all reasonable expectations — last beyond the appropriate period of mourning.

Apart from the above-mentioned inclusion of *dolor*, the inscription thus holds another exceptional position within the socio-cultural context of the Roman fleet: although epitaphs belonging to Dalmatian marines of the Ravennate fleet are quite common, the Principius-epitaph is unique in that it is the only inscription composed in verse lines. Moreover, the verse lines attest of Roman literary influence of Vergil and Lucan, indicating that the creator of the text, either a stonemason or private person, was proficient in the Latin language. Velleius Paterculus confirms the competence of the Dalmatians in the Latin language and notes that the Illyrians of the inland Balkans “possessed not only a knowledge of Roman discipline but also of the Roman tongue as early as in the early Principate; many also had some measure of literary culture, and the exercise of the intellect was not uncommon among them.”³⁴⁵ The inscription corroborates Paterculus' assertion. It irrefutably demonstrates that at

³⁴⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.110.5: *Omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae, plerisque etiam litterarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio*. Translation provided by Shipley 1924.

least some of the inhabitants of Dalmatia had a profound affinity for Roman literature. They not only knew the works of Roman classical poets such as Vergil and Lucan, but also used lines from those poets to compose their Latin epitaphs in verse.

2.5.1.5 The shipwrecked Ursinus

Inscription no. 3 was found in Baska Voda, which roughly corresponds with Aronia (Dalmatia) and is dated to the 3rd century A.D. The inscription is carved on a limestone slab that measures 0.98m in height and 0.37m in width. It is carved into a framed text field ornamented with a rounded pediment on top. The pediment is flanked by two simple palmettes as acroteria. Inside of the round pediment, a rosette is centred. It was first edited by Pavlović-Lučić in 1793 and subsequently published in his *Marmora Macarensia* (1810). Pavlović-Lučić explains that it had already been excavated by the local presbyter Jacobus Banovichius years before his publication, with no additional information on the find spot provided.³⁴⁶

Not much has been published about Baska-Voda and its ancient inhabitants. Based on the Peuteringer map, Pavlović-Lučić contends that the ancient site was probably called Oneum, although in reality Oneum (modern-day Almissa) is placed (too far) to the north-west of Baska-Voda.³⁴⁷ Much closer on the Peuteringer map lies the place Inaronia, which morphologically would correspond to the coastal Dalmatian town.³⁴⁸ However, the place is still ill-defined and could, quite possibly, also incorporate the nearby town of Makarska.³⁴⁹ The boundaries as well as the ancient function and judicial status of Baska Voda are therefore uncertain. Seven inscriptions originate from Baska Voda, all epitaphs and dated between 150 and 330 A.D. Only the inscription of Ursinus is inscribed in verse. Two of these inscriptions display the same *gentilicium* as the dedicator, which will be discussed in more detail below. Two inscriptions have survived in fair conditions: *CIL* 3, 1901 is displayed on a rectangular stele. The text is featured in a rectangular frame and topped by an unidentifiable head; *CIL* 3, 1902 is similarly a rectangular stele. Here, the monument features a rectangular pediment with a rosette inside. The pediment is flanked by leaves and vines. The

³⁴⁶ Pavlović-Lučić 1810, 64.

³⁴⁷ Pavlović-Lučić 1810, 64–65.

³⁴⁸ Škegro 2008, 293.

³⁴⁹ Serventi 2010, 22; Ivšić 2012, 110.

nearby town of Makarska has seven inscriptions, one of which is an epitaph.³⁵⁰ The funerary monument, a prose inscription dedicated to one Licinia Prima and Licinius Gerontius, has been lost according to the *CIL* and can therefore not be compared for similar physical traits and iconography.

*D(is) m(anibus) / M(arcus) Allius / Firminus / Ursino f(ilio) /⁵ C(ai) Septimi / Carpopo/ri delica/to infeli/cissimo p(uero)/¹⁰ naufragio / obito an(norum) XI/ cuius mem/bra consum/sit maris per /¹⁵ se. Quot nomen / titulus praestat / suisq(ue) dolo/rem.*³⁵¹

To the spirits of the departed. Marcus Allius Firminus for his son Ursinus, delight of Gaius Septimius Carpoporus, a most unlucky boy, who died in a shipwreck at the age of 11, whose body the sea has devoured. How many a time does an inscription display a name on it – and thus bring pain to the relatives.³⁵²

The inscription is dedicated to the boy Ursinus, who died at the age of 11. As the inscription informs the reader, the boy died in a shipwreck and his body was taken by the sea. The dedicator is one Marcus Allius Firminus, the father of Ursinus. The *nomen gentilicium* Allius is often found in the Baska Voda region³⁵³ and is the most widely attested *nomen* in the area.³⁵⁴ The inscription explains that Ursinus was the ‘delight’ of one Gaius Septimius Carpoporus. The exact nature of the relationship between Carpoporus and Ursinus is not disclosed, although the term *delicato* often refers to a boys’ role as his master’s favourite and beloved slave. Nevertheless, *delicatus* could also refer to familial relations, potentially that between orphan and guardian, as well as other affectionate relations, such as that between boy and pederast.³⁵⁵ One could argue that the inclusion of the father on the epitaph, as dedicator, indicates that the child could not have been in the care of someone else or would not have been advertised as child-pet for someone else’s pleasure, but this practice was not

³⁵⁰ *CIL* 3, 1898. The other inscriptions are two votives (*CIL* 3, 1896; *CIL* 3, 1897), two stamps (*CIL* 3, 314-4a; *CIL* 3, 134), one artist inscription (*CIL* 3, 10188-78), and one honorific inscription (*CIL* 3, 13873).

³⁵¹ Follows the edition of Harvey 2004, 142, no. 111.

³⁵² Translation provided by Kruschwitz on his personal blog:

<https://thepetrifiedmuse.blog/2014/03/23/the-cold-grave-that-is-the-deep-deep-sea/>.

³⁵³ *AE* 2000, 1173: *Allia Messia* (Baska Voda, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1900 (Baska Voda, 150-300 A.D.): *Allia M[...]* *A[...]*.

³⁵⁴ Maršić 2018, 44. Alföldy notes that the name was commonly of soldiers stationed in Iader and Tilverium, while the attestations of the name in Baska Voda might be the result of settled veteran families: Alföldy 1969, 57.

³⁵⁵ Rawson 2003, 261.

uncommon in the Roman Empire.³⁵⁶ However, the probability that this inscription deals with a slave child is unlikely, as the monument mentions the father of the boy, who, by carrying the *tria nomina*, indicates that his — and subsequently Ursinus' — social status would not be that of a slave. Furthermore, a survey conducted by Laes on the use of the term *delicatus* in both epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that the term was often used as an endearment that signals affection and fondness rather than a slave-master relationship.³⁵⁷ It is therefore likely that Ursinus had a free status and that *delicatus* was used as an endearment.

In the final line, the only one composed in verse, the author makes a clear statement about the power of words: *quot nomen titulus praestat suisq(ue) dolorem*. This use of *dolor* is in stark contrast to the epitaph of Sabinus (**inscription no. 1**). While the memory of the deceased is displayed with *amor* in the former monument, it is indicated by *nomen* here and offers no solace. Instead, it instils grief and causes sorrow. However, similar to the epitaph of Principius, **inscription no. 2** (and that of Aurelia Marcellina, which we shall discuss in greater detail in paragraph 2.5.1.6 below, **inscription no. 4**) the inscription of Ursinus explicitly mentions the emotive character of the monument: the reading of the name, which in a narrow sense could signify literally only the name but, in a broader sense, could be defined as the entire inscription or monument, caused the dedicator and possible future readers to be stricken with grief. The difference between this epitaph and the emotive character of Principius' inscription, however, lies in the fact that, in Principius' case, the inscription was meant to display the grief of the commemorators. It explicitly mentions that, by displaying the monument, they wished to express their grief. In the case of Ursinus' epitaph, however, the commemorators phrase the grief as the unintended but simultaneously unavoidable product of the display of the name. Leaving the name from the monument is no option for the commemorators, despite the pain it causes; relatives had to learn to deal with the grief caused by the name and possibly the entire monument as one of the realities. The opposite sentiment – to omit the name to avoid grief or pain – is also expressed at least once on the Latin epigraphic evidence: one verse inscription from Carthage expresses *nomen non dico nec quod vixerit annis, ne*

³⁵⁶ Laes 2003, 312n31.

³⁵⁷ Laes 2003, 304–305.

dolor im mentem cum legimus maneat:³⁵⁸ “I do not say the name nor for how many years he lived, so that the pain does not linger in our mind when we read it.”³⁵⁹ Apparently, the grief that the name entails weighed up against the prospect of a monument dedicated to an anonymous boy.

2.5.1.6 The *beneficiarius consularis* Victorinus

Inscription no. 4 utilizes *dolor* as well. It originates from Campona (modern-day Nagytétény near Budapest), Pannonia Inferior, and is dated to the 3rd century A.D.³⁶⁰ The inscription is emblazoned in its entirety on the long side of an otherwise unornamented limestone sarcophagus (2.15m long, 0.88m deep and 0.73m high), with the *subscriptum* (*et pater Aure(lius) Petalaius pientissimae*) featured on the right side of the main text.³⁶¹ Campona was an auxiliary fort first built during Domitian’s reign (81–96 A.D.) and later fortified in stone and permanently occupied during the reign of Trajan.³⁶² It lay in the vicinity of Aquincum and has yielded several Latin epitaphs, even though this is the only versified inscription.

*Bonae memoriae coniugis c(arissimae). / Hoc iacet in lapide Aure(lia)
Marcellina pien/tissima coniunx quam lapis ipse tegit rap/tam de luce
serena. Huic aetas prima cum /⁵ florebat in annis inuida fatorum genesis /
mihi sustulit illam superante genetrice / sua quae se cupiebat ob illam ante
morti dari / qum sibi flebilis casus acciderit. Filius/que permansit
Innocentius. Quicumque /¹⁰ legis nostros tu nosti dolores. Sic apud / Elysias
sedes aeterna per gaudia uiuas. / M. Iul(ius) Victorinus benefic(iarius)
co(n)s(ularis) f(aciendum c(uravit) /et pater Aur/e(lius) Petalaius /¹⁵
pientissimae.*³⁶³

In loving memory of a dearest wife. In this (stone) lies Aurelia Marcellina, a beloved woman; the stone itself hides her, abducted from the clear light. When her age flourished in the early years, an enviable course of destiny seized her from me; she was outlived by her mother, who wanted to die for her before her daughter's tearful fate befell her. Innocentius, the son,

³⁵⁸ CIL 8, 25006 (Carthago, 200-300 A.D.).

³⁵⁹ Interestingly, this monument does not only omit the name of the deceased; it similarly excludes the name of the dedicator, only referring to the dedicator (the master) with *libertatem dedit*. In a society that seems extremely preoccupied with the commemoration of both living and dead through durable monuments, where the explicit inclusion of names, lives, and deeds are a distinctive feature of funerary commemoration, the exclusion of any nomenclature outrightly contradicts this aspect.

³⁶⁰ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 105.

³⁶¹ For an image of the inscription: Adamik 1999, 159.

³⁶² Karavas 2001, 22–23.

³⁶³ AE 1999, 1261.

remained. And whoever you are, you who read, know our pain: so better live at the Elysian seats! M. Iulius Victorinus, the *beneficiarius consularis*, made this monument together with the father Aurelius Petalaius, for the most pious (woman).³⁶⁴

The monument is dedicated to Aurelia Marcellina by her husband Marcus Iulius Victorinus, and Aurelius Petalaius, her father. The inscription tells the reader that Marcellina died prematurely and that she was survived by the dedicators and her mother. The husband of the deceased, Victorinus, is identified as *beneficiarius consularis* while Petalaius is qualified only as the *pater*. The name Iulius Victorinus is attested elsewhere in the vicinity, as four inscriptions from Aquincum make mention of the same name: one is a funerary inscription dedicated to Iulius Victorinus, *centurio* in the *legio IV Flavia Felix*, and is dated between 170 and 230 A.D.³⁶⁵; the second, a votive dedication to Fortuna Augusta, is dated to 193 A.D. and mentions one Caius Iulius Victorinus who is *aedilis* and *decurio* of Aquincum.³⁶⁶ The third is dated to 259 A.D., also a votive offering, and is dedicated by Caius Iulius Victorinus the *aedilis* and *duumvir*;³⁶⁷ the fourth, dated to 198 A.D., is also a votive monument dedicated by a freedman of Caius Iulius Victorinus, *decurio* of the *colonia Aquincum*.³⁶⁸ The disparity between the dates suggests that not all inscriptions pertain to the same person, but some overlap is possible.³⁶⁹ In three cases, these members of the family of Iulii Victorinii function as high magistrates within the confines of the municipality of Aquincum, while in one case, the Iulius Victorinus is a centurion within the army. **Inscription no. 4** similarly refers to the military career of Iulius Victorinus as *beneficiarius consularis*. The *beneficiarius consularis* was part of the administrative and military staff of the provincial governor and would have resided by the governor's side in Aquincum, the capital of Pannonia Inferior.³⁷⁰ Victorinus would thus have enjoyed a relatively non-militant lifestyle as *beneficiarius consularis* and may have acquired considerable wealth during his time serving within the ranks of the provincial governor. Although *beneficarii* could be drafted from civil circles, they

³⁶⁴ Author's translation.

³⁶⁵ *CIL* 3, 3555.

³⁶⁶ *CIL* 3, 10398.

³⁶⁷ *CIL* 3, 10440.

³⁶⁸ *CIL* 3, 14347.

³⁶⁹ Schallmayer 1990, 333.

³⁷⁰ Dise Jr 1997, 284–285.

were almost always promoted from the ranks of the legions.³⁷¹ It is likely that Victorinus, after his time in the legion, was promoted to the rank of *beneficiarius consularis*, after which he undertook a civic career and held one or multiple public magistracies, coinciding with the magistracies mentioned on one or more inscriptions.³⁷² Similarly, it could be possible that (some of the) inscriptions from Aquincum refer to a (contemporary) family member of Victorinus and that both were part of the same local family that held a certain level of influence in the region. Unfortunately, the inscription gives no evidence to verify such claims. Of the deceased's father, not much else is known, although onomastic research suggests that Petalcius or his family originated from Thrace.³⁷³

To turn to the dedicatee: Marcellina is said to have died at the age of 25 and, similar to **inscription no. 2**, the premature nature of her death is signalled by the floral feature in the prime of youth (*prima cum florebat in annis*). The employment of *florere* as a verbal antithesis of death is a frequent theme in epitaphs in the Roman provinces, and variants are attested on multiple metrical funerary inscriptions. For example, *CLE* 1005, dedicated to a forty-year-old soldier from Mogontiacum, refers to his life flowering pleasantly before death ended his faith (*cum mea iucunde aetas florebat ab annis advenit fatis terminus ipse*).³⁷⁴

The line *quicumque legis nostros tu nosti dolores* addresses the grief of the commemorators. Like no. 2, this inscription refers to the communicative character of the epitaph: the inscription was not only meant to convey details of the deceased to the public but also to express the feelings of the relatives and to provoke these in the reader. The funerary monument thus refers explicitly to its own communicative and emotive character. Again, it makes the emotions felt by the male dedicators explicit and, moreover, puts them on durable material. The words were meant to stand the test of time and signify the pain to everyone who would read it.

³⁷¹ Dise Jr 1997, 284.

³⁷² Schallmayer 1990, 333.

³⁷³ Schallmayer 1990, 333.

³⁷⁴ Other examples are *CIL* 3, 2609: *florebat cunctis mortalibus aetas* (Salona, 101-130 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9499: *ille meo officio assiduo florebat ad omnis* (Rome, 100-50 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 38824: *quom maxime florebat reliquit parentibus luctum* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.).

2.5.1.7 Aelius Fronto's family

Inscription no. 32 is featured on a monument that originates from modern-day Vereb, south of Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior), on the route between the city centres of Gorsium and Aquincum.³⁷⁵ The *terminus post quem* is 196 A.D., since Aquincum was elevated to the rank of *colonia* during that year. Cugusi, based on onomastic evidence, suggests that the inscription should be dated to the late 2nd century and the first years of the 3rd century A.D.³⁷⁶ The limestone monument is 173 cm high and 99 cm wide.³⁷⁷ It is damaged both at the top and at the bottom, leaving only a fragmentary rendering of *aedicula*-themed iconography that decorated the top and only the upper part of the inscription that featured on the bottom. The *aedicula* depicts the remains of five persons which presumably were originally six, given the space on the monument: four adults and two children. Of the adults, only the face of the rightmost is preserved. The depiction shows a man who places his hand on the shoulder of the child standing before him. Next to him stands a woman, face missing, holding a fruit basket. Next to her stands another man, now faceless, holding a scroll in his hands. Of the fourth adult, almost nothing, except for a hand on the shoulder of the other child, is preserved. Both the children are boys who each hold an apple.³⁷⁸ Below the *aedicula* is a *Totenmahl*-scene, depicting two standing figurines, male and female, next to a centralised table that holds fruit, bread and a pan. Below the *Totenmahl*-scene is the inscription:

*D(is) M(anibus). / P. Aelio ꝛFꝛrontoni d[e]c(urioni)/col(oniae)
Aq(uincensium) flaminico /qui vixit annis / LIII et P. Aelio Vindici /⁵ fi[lio]
qu[i] vixit an[n(is) -] I / ꝛeꝛt [Aelia]e Lucrorin(a)e / fil(iae) q(uae) [vi]xit
ann(is) / VIII et P. Ael(io) In/petrato filio / qui vixit ann(is) / VI cui vita
par/va mors valde / citata fuit quem / flentes doleunt / miserieque paren/tes
Sept(imia) Decora/ta coniugi pien/[ti]ssimo et filis / [co]mmunibu[s] et
Ael[ii] Inpetra[tus] et / De]coratus [lib(erti) pos(uerunt)].³⁷⁹*

To the spirits of the departed. For P. Aelius Fronto, *decurio* of *colonia Aquincensium*, priest, who lived for 53 years. Also for P. Aelius Vindex, son, who lived for 1 year. And for Aelia Lucrorina, the daughter, who lived for 8 years. And for P. Aelius Inpetratus, the son, who lived for 6 years, whose little life was very swiftly followed by death, whom the poor weeping

³⁷⁵ *AE* 2002, 1176.

³⁷⁶ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 103.

³⁷⁷ *RIU* 6, 1377.

³⁷⁸ Barkóczy 1986, 97–98.

³⁷⁹ Edition from *RIU* 6, 1377.

parents mourn. Septimia Decorata (by testament ordered this to be made) for her most devoted husband and the children of both. Aelius Inpetratus and Aelius Decoratus, the freedmen, made this monument.³⁸⁰

The monument is dedicated by two freedmen, presumably former slaves of the deceased judging by their *cognomen*, to one Aelius Fronto, his wife Septimia Decorata and their three children, Aelius Vindex, Aelia Lucrorina, and Aelius Inpetratus. The inscription tells us that the monument was commissioned on the orders specified in the will of the wife, Septimia Decorata. All three children died in their infancy at the age of one, eight and six years old respectively. However, only Aelius Inpetratus receives additional attention in the inscription, as the monument explicitly states that the parents mourn for him and for the fact that he died so young.

The father's illustrious civic career is well documented on the monument: Fronto served as *decurio* of Aquincum, making him a member of the *colonia's* senate. Furthermore, he served as *flamen* of the *colonia*, adding to the list of magistracies that placed Fronto at the forefront of the local elite. One of Fronto's ancestors must have also been part of the local aristocracy of Aquincum, given the fact that Fronto's *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* indicate how his Roman citizenship can be traced back to the reign of Hadrian,³⁸¹ who raised the city to the rank of *municipium* during his reign.³⁸² As such, Fronto's sons, his daughter and freedmen carry the same *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium*.

Importantly, there is a discrepancy between the iconography and the epigraphy found on the monument. Firstly, the number of people found on the epitaphs does not match the number of people recorded in the inscription while, secondly, the gender and specified age of the people is mismatched. Not including the two *liberti* who dedicated the monument, it should depict three children between the ages of one and eight as well as two adults, a male and a female.³⁸³ Instead, the monument shows two children and four adults. Inaccuracies between the inscription and those depicted in funerary portraits is often confined to an incorrect illustration of age, where a child is

³⁸⁰ Translation partially provided by Mander 2013, 320–321.

³⁸¹ Many people in the northern provinces were named Publius Aelius, especially from the equestrian ranks of provincial society: Mrozewicz 1999, 39.

³⁸² Fishwick 2002, 282.

³⁸³ Although often babies and young children are depicted with a more mature body, they are not omitted from monuments altogether. At times, even, the sculptor still depicts the newborn as a baby rather than a more mature person: Carroll 2014, 162.

portrayed too old or too young, or where it is already depicted in a more mature form or often concern the omission of some of the commemorated family members.³⁸⁴ These inconsistencies are usually attributed to the fact that such epitaphs were more concerned with the idealistic display of Roman family values rather than a realistic show of the deceased.

The inscription refers to the *dolor* of the parents in line 11, where the inscription specifically denotes that the grief caused by the death of their six-year-old son Aelius Inpetratus caused them to grieve while weeping. It is unclear why the middle child is singled out as causing grief to the parents, rather than the one-year-old son and eight-year-old daughter. However, it is likely that the death of Inpetratus was the most recent and thus deserved additional commemoration. In any case, it is a rather straightforward display of mental pain caused by the death of a child.

2.5.1.8 Discussion

A comparison of the use of *dolor* between the five verse epitaphs studied above reveals clear trends. It is worthwhile to briefly summarise the findings of each separate epitaph. The monument dedicated to Sabinus uses *dolor* in an optimistic manner as it adheres to the idea that, despite the grief caused by death, one should find solace in the love felt for the deceased: the body may decay, but the fame and memory of the deceased will continue to live on. This coincides with the Epicurean view on how one should remove his pain, but also aligns with Seneca's view on how it is a good thing to remember the dead. The monument dedicated to Principius, who was sailor in the Ravennate fleet, is less positive and mentions that the inscription represented a display of the grief felt by the commemorators. This coincides with the inscription dedicated by the *beneficiarius consularis* to his wife Aurelia Marcellina. Again, *dolor* is invoked to define the emotion one should feel while reading the monument; it is the monument that displays the sorrow felt by the commemorators. Finally, the inscription dedicated to the *delicatus* Ursinus uses *dolor* to signify the emotion felt by those reading the name – and, in turn, being reminded of their loss.

The epitaphs above show three distinctly different takes on *dolor*: the epitaph of Sabinus has a rather ambivalent stance towards *dolor*; It does not deny that death

³⁸⁴ Huskinson 2007, 327.

should lead to grief, however, it maintains that this grief can be transformed into comfort. The rather positive attitude displayed on Sabinus' epitaph shows a perspective that is unattested in other funerary epigraphy. It is almost diametrically opposed to the display of grief in other epitaphs, not in the least by the verse inscriptions studied in the remainder of this paragraph. Ursinus' epitaph contrasts with that of Sabinus, as it blames the epitaph for the pain of grief, which is an unintended but necessary by-product of displaying the name of the deceased. The inscriptions of Principius and Marcellina fall in between these two opposites, stating that the grief of the commemorators is displayed through the epitaph and that the passers-by should be made aware of this. The inclusion of *miseros* in Principius' case unambiguously depicts the monument in a negative light. Marcellina's account simply states that the monument displays their grief. The inscription for Aelius and his family uses *dolor* in a clear and straightforward manner, reflecting on the fact that death caused the pain – without any hint of positive or negative connotations.

Inherent to the attestations of *dolor* on the epigraphic evidence is the fact that the commemorators chose to make the emotions they felt explicitly cognisable. The epitaphs do not hide the emotions; rather, the inscriptions elaborate on the grief felt by the dedicators and, in two cases, even point to the emotive character of the monument: the inscription for Principius notes how it was a way for the commemorators to display their grief and make it known and recognisable to others, while the inscription for Marcellina notes that, through reading the inscription, the commemorators share their sorrow with a wider audience. In comparison with the different uses of *dolor* as described in paragraph 2.5.1.2 (that *dolor* can be used to indicate both the presence and absence of grief), *dolor* is utilised in these verse inscriptions exclusively to denote the grief of the commemorators. The chosen inscriptions show that grief could be displayed in epitaphs that were erected by men: Sabinus was commemorated by Turius (a friend or acquaintance, possibly a fellow slave or freedman); Principius was remembered by his father and grandfather; Ursinus was similarly commemorated by his father; while Marcellina, the only female dedicatee of the four inscriptions, was honoured by her husband Victorinus. In three cases, the grieving persons are explicitly mentioned by name. Only in the case of Principius, the father and grandfather remain anonymous. the commemorators felt

comfortable enough to display their grief explicitly in the capacity of a non-related, a family-member or a spouse.

Even though the total number of epigraphic *dolor*-attestations is too large to make precise comments on the specific use of *dolor* between prose and verse inscriptions, some observations are in place. Compared to the other emotion words that will be studied, the distribution of *dolor* amongst prose and verse inscriptions is more evenly dispersed (65% verse versus 35% prose). Some of the topics described above, such as the monument or the name of the deceased being the cause of pain, are also found on prose epitaphs. One 3rd century A.D. inscription from Rome commemorates a son, as the inscription reads *hic est situs in dolore patris*, referring to the pain caused by the death of the son and his monument.³⁸⁵ Nevertheless, this specific example uses less elaborate wording than verse inscriptions to express the same sentiment and, in a sense, follows the formulaic phrase often found on (prosaic) epitaphs, namely *hic situs est*. In a similar manner, most of the prose inscriptions refer, in a rather limited way to *dolor* as the descriptor of the commemorators and do not, in contrast to the verse inscriptions, provide more detailed clarification on how they are affected by grief and what specifically causes their sorrow, etc. Some exceptions exist, such as the *Laudatio Turiae*, which confronts the reader in a very elaborate manner (or the listener, since the inscription was originally a *laudatio funebris*) with the grief of the surviving husband.³⁸⁶ Similarly, another prose inscription confronts the reader very directly with the cause of his *dolor*, which he blames on the acts of a *curans* (physician) that caused his wife's death.³⁸⁷ Nevertheless, such uses of *dolor* are the exception, and in general, prose inscriptions remain much quite reserved in their expressions of grief. In contrast, verse inscriptions are much more elaborate in their emotional wording and lend themselves more aptly to such displays of grief.

Compared to the literary evidence, the epitaphs studied above- yield several findings: as previously stated, the inscription of Sabinus shows Epicurean tendencies and, to some extent, follows the counsel of Seneca, in the inflection of negative emotions, such as grief, towards positive emotions of comfort and love. The other inscriptions, however, do not shed light on the matter of grief as understood in the

³⁸⁵ *AE* 2005, 199.

³⁸⁶ *CIL* 6, 41062 (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*).

³⁸⁷ *CIL* 3, 3355 (Brigetio, 200-300 A.D.).

literary tradition. Unlike the Stoics, they do not seek to suppress it, nor do they make efforts to bend their grief, as the Epicureans would have seen it. Similarly, these three inscriptions do not reflect an attitude towards grief in a way that would fit one of the *Consolationes*. Rather, the monuments show a use of *dolor* that falls outside of the philosopher's debate concerning the composure of 'the good man' in grief. Sorrow is either felt by the commemorators with the monument reflecting that grief, or the monument is the source of the sorrow felt by the commemorators. In this sense, the inscription's employment of grief corresponds more closely to that as of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, where the hero's grief is caused by memories of the deceased, and Aeneas is portrayed not as reigning in his emotions, but rather by experiencing them. The unique position of the material studied in this paragraph is supplemented by the fact that the choice for verse over prose in three of the four inscriptions is unique in the epigraphic context of their location: the Principius epitaph is the only verse inscription of Travnik (out of five pagan epitaphs), Ursinus' inscription is the only monument dedicated in verse in Baska Voda and Makarska (from a combined number of eight pagan monuments), while Marcellina's epitaph is the only one versified, originating from Campona (out of 15 Imperial monuments). Only the inscription of Sabinus is located together with other versified epitaphs.

2.5.2 *Luctus*

Luctus is an emotion word that, similar to *dolor*, could be employed to describe sorrow or grief, while *lugere* could indicate the act of mourning. As such, there are clear similarities in the way in which ancient authors advise to approach *luctus*, especially when the two emotion words are used synonymously. Still, like *dolor*, *luctus* was not solely associated with the act of mourning. Their presence is also evident outside the funerary sphere. This paragraph will demonstrate how the emotion word is used in Latin literature, followed by how this is reflected in the epigraphic evidence from the Roman Empire. It will show how *luctus* differs from *dolor*, namely that in epitaphs, it almost exclusively refers to the grief of the commemorators. In contrast, *dolor* can also be used to refer to the presence or absence of pain experienced by the deceased. However, when combined, the emotion words displayed a distinct interaction that is not attested by other emotion words in epitaphs. By conducting an in-depth study of

the four inscriptions of the corpus of this thesis that exhibit either *luctus* or *lugere*, we can enhance our understanding of the epigraphic use of *luctus*.

2.5.2.1 Literature

Luctus is not easily defined. This is partly because many authors used the emotion word interchangeably with other terms such as *dolor* or *maeror*. It has already been mentioned that Cicero uses *luctus*, *maeror* and *dolor* to indicate grief, although in the *Tusculan Disputations*, he differentiates *luctus* from the other words as *luctus aegritudo ex eius qui carus fuerit interitu acerbo*.³⁸⁸ Some 400 years later, Augustine presents the same distinction in similar terms: *luctus est tristitia de amissione carorum*.³⁸⁹ Thus, compared with *dolor*, where the emotion could simultaneously refer to physical and mental pain, *luctus* refers to mental pain. Moreover, the pain is explicitly linked to the death of a person. While *dolor* can indicate pain caused by anger, love, or desire, *luctus* is exclusively associated with the distress caused by sorrow following the death of a person.

Cicero, in other texts, provides ample examples of this situation, such as the grief felt by Theseus for the death of his son Hippolytus.³⁹⁰ Moreover, he links the occurrence of *luctus* directly with grief following the death of a person and the ceremony of the funeral in his defence of Roscius: *hunc miserum, luctu perditum, qui nondum etiam omnia paterno funeri iusta solvisset*.³⁹¹ The connection with the funeral is also made explicitly in Horace: *absint inani funere neniae luctusque turpes et querimoniae; conpesce clamorem ac sepulcri mitte supervacuos honores*.³⁹² The death as a cause of *luctus* is also found in other writings, such as Propertius' Elegies, as it is

³⁸⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.18: "distress at the untimely death of a person who had been held dear." Translation provided by Graver 2002.

³⁸⁹ Aug. *Serm.* 1.2.5.

³⁹⁰ Cic. *Off.* 1.32: *Ex tribus enim optatis, ut scribitur, hoc erat tertium, quod de Hippolyti interitu iratus optavit; quo impetrato in maximos luctus incidit.* "for, as the story runs, of the three wishes that Neptune had promised to grant him the third was this: in a fit of anger he prayed for the death of Hippolytus, and the granting of this prayer plunged him into unspeakable grief." 3.94: *Cui cum tres optationes Neptunus dedisset, optavit interitum Hippolyti filii, cum is patri suspectus esset de noverca; quo optato impetrato, Theseus in maximis fuit luctibus.* "When Neptune offered him three wishes, he wished for the death of his son Hippolytus, because the father was suspicious of the son's relations with his stepmother; and when this was granted, Theseus was overwhelmed with grief." Translations provided by Miller 1913.

³⁹¹ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 23: "this miserable man, overwhelmed with grief, who had not yet performed all the ceremonies of his father's funeral." Translation provided by Yonge 1916.

³⁹² Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.21–24: "No weak lament, no mournful stave; all clamorous grief were waste of breath, and vain the tribute of a grave." Translation provided by Conington 1882.

used to describe the emotion felt by Aurora for the possible loss of her son Memnon.³⁹³ Similarly, Helios is described by Ovid as deeply mourning for the death of his son Phaeton, surrendering his mind to grief.³⁹⁴ Also Silius Italicus describes the (future) grief felt by Hannibal over the suspicion that some of his men might die: *quos ubi conspexit tristi clamore ruentis doctor, praesago percussus pectora luctu*,³⁹⁵ as well as the sorrow of Gaius Scipio, speaking from the underworld, for his own death and that of his brother: *sed me luctus habet*.³⁹⁶

Paragraph 2.5.1.1 already described Lucretius' stance towards the matter of grief, where he differentiates between *dolor* (to describe physical pain) and *luctus* and *metus* (for mental pain). In that paragraph, Lucretius' stance towards grief is motivated by the idea that such emotions were inherent in both humans and animals and were, therefore, 'natural sentiments'. In order to cure grief, one should therefore focus on eliminating the false beliefs that arose from it. In the few times that Lucretius uses *luctus*, he expands on the notion that one should focus on the unproductive beliefs, rather than the emotion itself. This is best described in book 3. Here, Lucretius wonders why people mourn the dead, when death is nothing more than a return to eternal rest: *illud ab hoc igitur quaerendum est, quid sit amari tanto opera, ad somnum si res redit atque quietem, cur quisquam aeterno possit tabescere luctu*?³⁹⁷ Lucretius maintains that one should not be concerned about death, because death brings an end to suffering and pain: *tu quidem ut es leto sopitus, sic eris aevi quod super est cunctis privatus doloribus aegris*.³⁹⁸ Thus, it is unnecessary to remain in grief or mourning forever; rather, one should find solace in and focus on the end of suffering.³⁹⁹

³⁹³ Prop. 2.18.16: *cui maiora senis Tithoni gaudia vivi, quam gravis amisso Memnone luctus erat*. "For her, the joy of having Tithonus alive, though old, was greater than the heavy sorrow of having lost Memnon." Translation provided by Katz 2004.

³⁹⁴ Ov. Met. 2.381–385: *squalidus interea genitor Phaethontis et expers ipse sui decoris, qualis, cum deficit orbem, esse solet, lucemque odit seque ipse diemque datque animum in luctus et luctibus adicit iram officiumque negat mundo*. "in squalid garb, meanwhile, and destitute of all his rays, the sire of Phaethon, as dark as when eclipse bedims his Wheel, abhors himself and hates the light, shuns the bright day, gives up his mind to grief, adds passion to his woe, denies the earth, his countenance, and thus laments." Translation provided by More 1922.

³⁹⁵ Sil. Pun. 5.587: "When Hannibal saw them hasting with loud lament, his heart was stricken with foreboding grief." Translation provided by Duff 1961.

³⁹⁶ Sil. Pun. 13.694.

³⁹⁷ Lucr. 3.909–911: "the person who takes this attitude should be asked how a happening that involves a return to sleep and repose can be so bitter that anyone should pine away in undying grief." Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

³⁹⁸ Lucr. 3.904–905: "You, for your part, are wrapped in the sleep of death and will remain so for the rest of time, exempt from all painful sufferings." Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

³⁹⁹ Konstan 2016, 7.

Luctus, as the sorrow for the deceased, is not only attributed to human beings, but is also connected to animals. Both Columella and Plinius the Elder dedicate passages to the death and mourning of bees: *cum frequenter aliae mortuarum corpora domiciliis efferent, aliae intra tecta, ut publico luctu, maesto silentio torpent*⁴⁰⁰ and *alias spectantes exanimem luctum non minuunt*⁴⁰¹ while Valerius Flaccus discusses the grief of lions for her lost cub: *dolor attrahit orbis interea et misero manat iuba sordida luctu*.⁴⁰²

However, many sources suggest that *luctus* was not exclusively connected with death's sorrow. Although Cicero's passage above suggests that *luctus* was used solely for the description of grief felt for the dead, many Roman sources – among them Cicero himself – show that *luctus* also described a state of sorrow felt for the living. Cicero, in his defence of one Caelius, refers to the parents of the accused, stating that *lacrimae matris incredibilisque maeror, squalor patris et haec praesens maestitia, quam cernitis, luctusque declarat*.⁴⁰³ The same is found in Cicero's defence of Plancius, where Cicero describes how a large number of Roman knights profess their support of the accused by showing up *in squalor et luctu*.⁴⁰⁴ Outside of Cicero, the use of *luctus* to describe living persons is also found: for example, Catullus describes Ariadne as being filled with sorrow after seeing Theseus leave the shores of Naxos: *adsiduis quam luctibus exsternavit spinosas Erycine serens in pectore curas illa tempestate*.⁴⁰⁵ *Luctus* could point to a state of mourning, sorrow or grief that was not initiated by the well-being of a person altogether. For example, in his letters to Atticus, Cicero is seen using *luctus* to describe a state of sorrow inflicted upon him by the turbulent political situation in Rome in 58 B.C. and his subsequent self-imposed banishment: *equidem*

⁴⁰⁰ Columella, *Rust.* 9.13.7: "when some often carry out from their abodes the bodies of those which have died, while other remain listless within their dwellings in sad silence, as though in time of public mourning." Translation provided by Ash 1941.

⁴⁰¹ Plin. *HN* 11.21: "for otherwise they would continue listlessly gazing upon it, and so prolong their grief." Translation provided by Bostock 1855.

⁴⁰² Val. Fl. 3.740: "meanwhile her eyes are drawn with grief, and her mane droops low in unkempt misery and distress." Translation provided by Mozley 1928.

⁴⁰³ Cic. *Cael.* 4: "the tears of his mother and her incredible sorrow, the mourning appearance of his father and his distress which you now behold, and his agony, sufficiently declare." Translation provided by Yonge 1916.

⁴⁰⁴ Cic. *Planc.* 21. There has long been a connection between the symbolic act of mourning and *squalor*, not only in Cicero, but moreover in Seneca and others: Degelmann 2020, 451n5.

⁴⁰⁵ Catull. 64.71: "with sorrows unending distraught, Erycina sows thorny cares deep in your bosom." Translation provided by Smithers 1894.

*adhuc miser in maximis meis arumnis et luctibus.*⁴⁰⁶ Similarly, Cicero uses *luctus* to describe the state of the Roman people during Sulla's reign: *quam cito illa omnia ex laetitia et voluptate ad luctum et lacrimas recidderunt.*⁴⁰⁷ Finally, Caesar describes how all of Massilia, upon learning their defeat in a naval battle, fell into a collective lamentation: *et re cognita tantus luctus excepit.*⁴⁰⁸ Of course, the implication remains that *luctus* is still used in connection to death, be it in a metaphorical sense, as it refers to the political death of Cicero or the grief over the proscribed people of Sulla's reign.

In the *Aeneid*, *luctus* is only sporadically connected with Aeneas: only once in book 2, where Aeneas mourns the fate of Troy (*sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem, quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit, incipiam*⁴⁰⁹) and once in book 3, for the death of his father Anchises (*Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret, hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno*⁴¹⁰). In this regard, the use of *luctus* in the *Aeneid* is no different. It coincides with its use of *dolor*. When addressing the grief of Aeneas, it was employed to delineate his feelings when reminiscing Troy and mourning for his relatives. Besides Aeneas, *luctus* is used almost exclusively to signify mourning for the dead, as evidenced by its use in the case of the Pelasgians mourning the death of Palamedes (2.85: *nunc cassum lumine lugent*) and Cygnus for mourning Phaëthon (10.189: *namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amanti*) or Pallas' father for his son (11.62: *solacia luctus exigua ingentis*). However, at other times, *luctus* is employed to describe a miserable state felt by either the individual or a collective body. For example, Latinus was filled with great sorrow when he heard of Diomedes' rejection for assisting in the battle against Aeneas (11.231: *deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus*), and the Trojans collectively suffered (12.805: *deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos*).

⁴⁰⁶ Cic. *Att.* 3.8.2: "I am still staying with this new fear added to the woes and sorrows that oppress me." Translation provided by Shackleton Bailey 1999.

⁴⁰⁷ Cic. *Sull.* 91: "how soon was all that scene changed from joy and pleasure to mourning and tears." Translation provided by Yonge 1917.

⁴⁰⁸ Caes. *BCiv.* 2.7.3: "and when they had learnt it such a lamentation followed." Translation provided by Peskett 1914.

⁴⁰⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 2.10–13: "Also with hearing, though briefly, of Troy's last afflictions, its death-throes, though my soul, still shocked by memory, recoils from the anguish, let me begin." Translation provided by Ahl 2007.

⁴¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 3.712–713: "This was a grief neither Helenus, seer as he was, in his many forecasts of horror, predicted to me, nor did fearsome Celaeno." Translation provided by Ahl 2007.

2.5.2.2 The epigraphic evidence

Approximately 47 Latin funerary inscriptions attest to the use of the emotion word, including the four that will be studied in this paragraph. Of these, 40 are written in verse, while the remaining seven are inscribed in prose. Compared to *dolor*, which differentiated between the presence and absence of sorrows, *luctus* is used almost exclusively to describe the presence of the emotion of grief and sorrow that exists in the commemorators and relatives. This is to be expected, since they, not the dead, are the ones in a state of mourning. There is but one that connects grief to the appearance of the funerary monument, as a 1st century A.D. verse inscription from Gambulaga reads *luctibus expositis monumentum conspicis hospes, compositum nati quot dedit ipse pater*.⁴¹¹ This inscription is similar to the verse epitaphs that employ *dolor*, as studied above. It unambiguously refers to the idea that the monument represents the grievous emotions felt by the commemorators. This specific phrasing might also be a reference to the monuments' iconography, which features a bust of both the deceased and his parents.⁴¹²

Thus, practically every attestation found on the funerary epigraphy of the emotion word *luctus* refers to the sorrow of the dedicators or relatives. When a single person is indicated as the one displaying grief, it is a male in 12 cases,⁴¹³ while the gender in eight cases is female.⁴¹⁴ In ten cases, the mourners are the parents⁴¹⁵ or the family of the deceased.⁴¹⁶ In 14 cases, the *luctus* is not specifically allocated to one

⁴¹¹ AE 2006, 474.

⁴¹² For a detailed description and photos of the monument: Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2010, 80, 137-138, fig. 4-5.

⁴¹³ Versified: AE 1952, 16: *lugere* (Augusta Raurica, 1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 7**); AE 2013, 2163: *luctus* (Caesarea, 1-100 A.D.); AE 1990, 99: *luctu* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 3241: *luctus* (Sirmium, 180-230 A.D. **Inscription no. 5**); CIL 6, 15546: *lugeam* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 8, 9642: *lugentem* (Oppidum Novum, 100-300 A.D.); Hamdoune-2011, 159: *luctus* (Caesarea, 1-100 A.D.); Hamdoune-2011, 85: *luctu* (Madaurus, 100-300 A.D.). Prose: AE 2016, 221: *luctum* (Signia, 70-31 B.C.); CIL 5, 2117: *luctus* (Tarvisium, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 10220: *luctum* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 41062: *luctum/luctumque* (Rome, 9 B.C.), the *Laudatio Turiae* and therefore strictly speaking an inscribed eulogy rather than a 'regular' funerary inscription.

⁴¹⁴ Versified: CIL 2, 1088: *luctibus* (Ilipa, 170-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 10226: *luget* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 37412: *luctus* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 11, 1209: *luget* (Veleia, 101-150 A.D.); CLE 1076: *luctus* (Carthago Nova, 30 B.C. – 30 A.D.); CLE 1212: *luget* (Interpromium, 200-300 A.D.); CLE, 2680, *lugebam* (Solentia, 50-150 A.D.). Prose: AE 1990, 95: *luctu* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.).

⁴¹⁵ Versified: AE 1996, 453: *lugent* (Luceria, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 1², 3449g: *luctibus* (Carthago Nova, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 18086: *luctum* (Rome, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 20905: *luctu* (Rome, 76-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 25369: *luctu/luctu* (Rome, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 8, 8567: *luctus* (Sitifis, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 5665: *luctu* (Frusino, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 13, 7113: *luctu* (Mogontiacum, 131-170 A.D. **Inscription no. 6**); CLEHisp 153: *luctosque* (Comeniaca, 200-300 A.D.). Prose: CIL 5, 337: *luctu* (Parentium, 176-225 A.D.).

⁴¹⁶ CIL 9, 3968: *lugentesque* (Alba Fucens, 200-300 A.D.).

person or a few people.⁴¹⁷ For example, when the mourner is indicated only by pronouns and further by no specified reference (such as *CLE* +1479), when grief is connected to death rather than the mourners (such as *CLE* 1210), or when *luctus* is part of the implied grief of the reader (such as *CLE* 1536). Not unsurprisingly, the emotion word *luctus* in the context of a funerary epitaph, is thus invoked exclusively to delineate the pain and sorrow of the commemorators following the death of a person. The use of *luctus* in epitaphs clearly indicates mental pain. Unlike *dolor*, which is used to describe physical suffering, *luctus* is exclusively associated with mental distress.

2.5.2.3 Principius

The first inscription displaying *luctus* is the monument dedicated to Principius, who has already been studied in paragraph 2.5.1.4 for its use of *dolor*.⁴¹⁸ The inscription, originating from 3rd century A.D. Turbe (Travnik, modern Bosnia-Herzegovina) inscribed on a square stele was dedicated to Principius who, dying overseas in his service in the fleet of Ravenna, was commemorated by his father and grandfather. The inscription features *luctus* in line 14–15: *crudelem luctum domui Ravenna remisit*. *Luctus* is not used to refer to the sorrow of a designated person or group; rather, it is a general statement about the sentiment that relates to the death of Principius. Ravenna, the place where Principius was stationed and where he, most likely, came to pass, is the consignor of the grief. The grief is nuanced and applied to the here-and-now in the next sentence: here, the inscription closes with the sentence that mentions *dolor*, thereby explicitly referring to the grief felt by the commemorators and the way in which the monument conveys this emotion to the reader. In connection with the *luctus*-sentence, the invocation of *dolor* seems to reiterate the same sentiment, although the former talks about sorrow in general, while the latter sentence assigns that sorrow to the commemorators and the monument.

⁴¹⁷ Versified: *CIL* 3, 2722: *luctum* (Tilurium, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8385: *luctum* (Salona, 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 2**); *CIL* 5, 5320: *luctus* (Comum, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 6502: *lugere* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 12013: *luctum* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21521: *lugeat* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23472: *luctus* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25084: *luctura* (Rome, 27 B.C. – 300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28695: *lugenda* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3280: *luctum* (Corfinium, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 188: *luctus* (Ravenna, 101-250 A.D.); *CIL* 12, 2219: *luctu* (Lugdunum, 100-300 A.D. Prose: *AE* 2011, 1771: *luctum* (Thamugadi, 200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 11262: *luctum* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

⁴¹⁸ **Inscription no. 2** = *CIL* 3, 8385. See page 79–83 for the initial analysis.

This shows that one must investigate the extent to which these two emotion words are used synonymously in funerary epigraphy, or to what extent *dolor* and *luctus* complement each other by diverging meanings. The terms *luctus* and *dolor* are used in nine other inscriptions. Of these, two are inscribed in prose⁴¹⁹ while the remaining six are in verse.⁴²⁰ As already seen in Principius' epitaph and attested in several other inscriptions, *dolor* and *luctus* are employed synonymously and used interchangeably to describe the same phenomenon. This is evident in an early Imperial inscription from Rome, where both *dolor* and *luctus* are used synonymously in the same sentence, possibly to avoid repetition: *quae totiens lugenda erit, quoties te, memorabilis aetas, erepta doluere sibi qui te genuere parentes*.⁴²¹ In both instances, the word refers to the act of mourning. This is also found in the *Laudatio Turiae*, where the commemorator uses *luctus* on two occasions (*mihi luctum desiderio / ad desiderium luctumque reservatus videor*) and *dolor* once (*naturalis dolor extorquet constantiae vires*).⁴²² In all three instances, the emotion word is used in the same manner: to indicate the grief of the commemorator caused by the death of his wife.

In some cases, however, there is a clear distinction between the emotion words. In an epitaph from Tarvisium, for example, *dolor* is used to describe the physical pain the deceased felt before dying (as the inscription informs the reader, the deceased was gravely ill – *nimiae infirmatus*) and the immense grief felt by the commemorator – *saevi luctus*.⁴²³ Here, although both might be understood as referring to pain in a wide sense, the former refers to pain as the result of an affliction, while the latter refers to pain as the result of the death of his relative. The distinction drawn here, between *dolor* as physical pain applying to physical ailments on one hand and *luctus* as mental pain as the result of the death of someone on the other, is less clear-cut in a 1st century A.D. inscription from Rome, where *dolor* still refers to

⁴¹⁹ CIL 5, 2117: *luctus* (Tarvisium, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 41062: *luctum /luctumque* (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*).

⁴²⁰ CIL 3, 2722: *luctum* (Tilurium, 1-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 21521: *lugeat* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 25084: *luctura* (Rome, 27 B.C. – 300 A.D.); CIL 6, 28695: *lugenda* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 8, 8567: *luctus* (Sitifis, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 7086: *fletibus adsiduis luget maestissima mater...finem decet esse dolori* (Interpromium, 200-300 A.D.).

⁴²¹ CLE 1145 (1-200 A.D.).

⁴²² CIL 6, 41062 (Rome, 9 B.C.).

⁴²³ CIL 5, 2117 (171-230 A.D.).

physical pain (*versaretque novus viscera tota dolor*) but is, similarly to *luctus* (*ne ... lugeat*), caused by the death of a relative of the commemorator.⁴²⁴

In other cases, there seems to be a clear distinction in certain epitaphs between *dolor* as a pain that causes or is the result from mourning, while *luctus* refers to that act of mourning or grief. *Dolor* can then be seen as the product of *luctus*. This is best described in an inscription from Interpromium, where the inscription first informs the reader that the mother of the deceased grieves, constantly crying (*fletibus adsiduus luget maestissima mater*), while the inscription later reflects on the grief of the parents by wishing them to stop their crying, as it is fitting to stop their pain (*sum defleta satis, finem decet esse dolori*).⁴²⁵ If one is to connect the act of crying as a sign of their *luctus*, as does the former sentence, then stopping that *luctus* is a way to end the *dolor* of the relatives, as the inscription implores them to do. In an epitaph from Rome, the roles are reversed: in the line *fata dolens luctura per aequom*, the grieving/suffering fate (*fata dolens*) is responsible for the perpetual sorrow (*luctura per aequom*).⁴²⁶ The roles of the emotion words thus were, figuratively speaking, not set in stone and could be inversed and adapted to the needs of the author.

Yet, the distinctions are not always as clear-cut, as the exact interpretation of the emotion words is obscured by the remaining parts of the inscription. In an African epitaph, for example, while *luctus* refers to the sorrow of the parents, *dolor* finds itself in a recital of several emotion words connected with grief, without any clear direction to distinguish a separate meaning: *a dolor et gemitus inlusaque vota tuorum*.⁴²⁷ This is also found in a Roman monument where the inscription reads that the deceased was the *dolor ... luctusque parentem*, without indicating on what basis such a distinction could be made.⁴²⁸ A simple translation would likely render “pain and sorrow”, but the precise distinction between *dolor* and *luctus* remains open to interpretation.

Therefore, *dolor* and *luctus* are sometimes employed to signify the same type of grief or pain as is the case in the Principius epitaph. There are, however, other Latin monuments that demonstrate that the use of both emotion words is not a rare occurrence and that there are multiple ways in which these emotion words either

⁴²⁴ CIL 6, 21521.

⁴²⁵ CIL 9, 3071 (200-300 A.D.).

⁴²⁶ CIL 6, 25084 (1-300 A.D.).

⁴²⁷ CIL 8, 8567 (Sitifis, 1-300 A.D.).

⁴²⁸ CIL 6, 36278 (undated).

complement each other or are used to signify a distinct type of mourning. In those cases where they are not used synonymously but rather add an emotional and more sophisticated depth to the (in most cases versified) inscription that, rather than falling into repetition, shows its literary eloquence and establishes multiple points of reference for the reader to understand the grief of the commemorators.

2.5.2.4 The *frumentarius* Salvius

Inscription no. 5 originates from Sirmium (Pannonia Inferior) and dates from the 2nd century A.D. The inscription is hewn in a marble tombstone that is 2.47m in height and 1.18m in width.⁴²⁹ The monument consists of two broken parts: the lower part depicts the inscription flanked by two Corinthian columns, beneath it is a portrait of a man and woman next to each other, flanked by two men who are identified by Mirković as representations of Attis.⁴³⁰ The upper part of the monument displays two separately encircled busts, with a pediment with a riding cart above it. The pediment is flanked by Erotes riding hippocampi and dolphins. Beneath the busts, a man is fighting a lion.⁴³¹ The use of the *Graberoten*, previously attested and explored in paragraph 2.5.2.2, was a popular motif in the province of Pannonia Inferior that did not yield any significant interpretation of its use. Similarly, the motif of the riding cart was also very popular on grave inscriptions from Pannonia Inferior.⁴³² However, it deserves further attention. In the wider area, the ‘travel scene’ was found on many epitaphs, most notably those that were dedicated to people of the Roman military who held certain prominent positions, such as *frumentarii*, *speculatores*, and *beneficarii consularis*.⁴³³ As early as in 1911, Rostovtzeff made the connection between the travel scene and its depiction on the epitaphs of these three military groups, imagining the depiction to be a representation of the profession of the deceased, representing their travels through the province.⁴³⁴ The *frumentarius* is therefore depicted on the monument, in the centre of the carriage, between a servant at the back and the driver at the front.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ Mirković 2017, 159.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Schober 1923, 128–129.

⁴³² Visy 1996, 2.

⁴³³ Pilipović 2016, 7.

⁴³⁴ Rostovtzeff 1911, 276.

⁴³⁵ Mráv 2011, 35.

The man fighting the lion is less easily interpreted. Although hunting scenes are a popular theme in funerary monuments from Pannonia Inferior, Superior, but also nearby Noricum or Moesia Superior,⁴³⁶ most hunting scenes focus on the depiction of either dogs or riders on horseback.⁴³⁷ The scene of a man fighting a lion is much less popular and leaves room for interpretation. Pilipović argues that the depiction of hunting in funerary art alluded to the mythological depictions of hunters such as Meleager, Hippolytus and Orion, thus serving as a representation of *virtus*. The depiction of the naked man attacking the lion in this inscription would similarly refer to Greek mythology and be an example of a visual metaphor of mythological heroism. Furthermore, Pilipović argues that the hunting scene can also be interpreted in a pessimistic way, where the death of the lion represents the inevitability of death: as a mighty animal, such as the lion, eventually finds its end, so will the man.⁴³⁸ A major part of the middle panels is heavily damaged, preventing a further interpretation of the panel. It may have depicted, similar to the other inscriptions from the region, hunting dogs or riders. Still, the hunting depiction of the man fighting the lion seems to be part of a larger standardised structure of funerary art in the region, where the depiction of hunting scenes has become engrained in its society and epigraphic culture.

The identification of the two flanking figures besides the busts of the married couple at the bottom of the inscription as Attices is based on their mourning representation and the fact that they seem to lean on a staff which, associated with Attis, could be a *peda*.⁴³⁹ Attis was already attested on Roman funerary art from the 1st century BC. His first appearance was in Tilurium, after which it spread across the Balkans. Notably, it is exclusively found in funerary epitaphs from the military.⁴⁴⁰ The figurine is typically depicted mourning his own death, therefore called *Attis tristis*, cross-legged with one elbow leaning on his *pedum* while sustaining his own head.⁴⁴¹ Although this representation of Attis is traditionally connected to the cult of Cybele,

⁴³⁶ Pilipović records a number of epitaphs that all depict a hunting scene featuring multiple dogs from the town of Viminacium, in Moesia Superior: Pilipović 2011.

⁴³⁷ Gavrilović 2008, 8. The hunting scene and its significance for the study of masculinity is more elaborately discussed in paragraphs 2.5.2.4 and 3.4.1.1.2.2.

⁴³⁸ Pilipović 2006, 343–344.

⁴³⁹ Schober refers to the leaning of the Attices on a stick as their ‘usual position’: Schober 1923, 129.

⁴⁴⁰ Nikoloska 2009, 507–508.

⁴⁴¹ Vermaseren 1966, 40.

it's inclusion into funerary art must not be seen as an indication of allegiance, membership or reference to the deceased's initiation in the mystery cult. The demand for the figurine is attested by its widespread use across the provinces, where it is mostly connected to the motif of sadness and depression. Thus, the driving force behind its popularity among artisans and customers alike was due to its common association with the funerary context. This leaves a direct association between the deceased or family and the cult of Cybele up to chance.⁴⁴²

The city of Sirmium was inhabited from the 1st century B.C. and was transformed into a *colonia* during the Flavian period.⁴⁴³ During the restructuring of the provinces by Trajan in 103, Sirmium was declared the capital of Pannonia Inferior.⁴⁴⁴ The question of whether Sirmium evolved from a Roman military camp into a civil centre (coinciding with the establishment of large military bases along the Danube following the Illyrian rebellions between 6 and 9 A.D.) or whether it was already a trade hub prior to the official colonisation of Sirmium by the Romans, and to what extent the *colonia* was inhabited by garrisoned soldiers remains unsolved.⁴⁴⁵ The determination of Sirmium's origin is furthermore complicated by the relatively small number of archaeological remains that point to a military base, as well as funerary monuments dedicated to soldiers.⁴⁴⁶ It is only due to the unstable geopolitical situation along the Danube that it was frequently visited by emperors and thus became a particular stronghold of imperial authority during the 3rd century A.D. Although it is believed that it did not function as a permanent Roman military installation, it frequently served as a hub for the concentration of Roman troops, particularly during periods when the stability of the frontier was jeopardised.⁴⁴⁷

The importance of Sirmium in the imperial provincial landscape is illustrated by its rich epigraphic record, consisting of hundreds of Latin inscriptions.⁴⁴⁸ 127 of them are pagan inscriptions connected with the funerary context. Of these, the Salvius inscription is the only versified one connected to the military (only eight inscriptions

⁴⁴² Culic/ Zăgreanu 2015, 235.

⁴⁴³ Ferjančić 2024, 13.

⁴⁴⁴ Visočnik 2024, 47.

⁴⁴⁵ For an overview of the debate: Vujović 2021.

⁴⁴⁶ Vujović 2021, 151.

⁴⁴⁷ Mirković 2017, 11–12.

⁴⁴⁸ The most up-to-date catalogue of all Latin inscriptions (including late-antique epigraphy) is Mirković 2017, which incorporates both pagan and Christian inscriptions. It consists of 278 edited stone inscriptions.

are dedicated by and/or to soldiers⁴⁴⁹, while only the one of Salvius is a verse inscription⁴⁵⁰). Despite the limited number of epitaphs dedicated to the military, further insights into the *legio II Adiutrix* can be gleaned from other epigraphic evidence, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

*D(is) m(anibus) / [...] XXXVII Salvio ann(or)um XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) / Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis hunc titul(um) / posui miserabile munus non satis /⁵ ut meruistis. Quattuor amissis te quin/tum Salvi flere necesse est adsiduae / dum mea fata resistant. Te nunc amis[so] domus inclinata recumbit. Depon(am) / luctus cum te sequar care per umbr(as). / Dulce(m) meum Salvium liceat mihi dicer(e) /¹⁰ semper. Optaver(am) tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer(es) / Tot bona tum carui: merit(o) te care requiro.*⁴⁵¹

To the spirits of the departed. [...] 37. Salvius, aged 33, *frumentarius* of the second legion *Adiutrix*. Iulius Asclepiades, having placed this monument for his loved ones, a miserable gift, insufficient according to your merits. Having lost four, I should mourn you fifth, Salvius. It is necessary to weep for as long as my destiny holds. Since you are now lost, the dilapidated home is falling apart. I will give up my grief, sweet one, when I follow you to the shadows. Let it always be proper to mention my sweet Salvius. I had made the monument as you would have made it for me. I have missed so many good things: it is fitting that I miss you, sweet one.⁴⁵²

The inscription is dedicated to 33-year-old Salvius, who is designated as *frumentarius* of the *legio II Adiutrix*. It should be noted that *frumentarii* were only formally tied to a legion's headquarters and often operated far outside of the span of the military.⁴⁵³ Although the duties of the *frumentarius* originally were focused on the acquisition of supplies, this responsibility was not explicitly defined until at least the reign of Domitian (81–96 A.D.), when its functions changed to that of the emperor's messenger or the imperial administration.⁴⁵⁴ The primary duties of the *frumentarius* as a message-bearer are confirmed by the depiction of the cart and horses on Salvius' epitaph and on other epitaphs commemorating *beneficiarii consularis* and

⁴⁴⁹ Besides the one studied here: *AE* 1990, 856 (171-230 A.D.); *AE* 1994, 1448 (101-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 10222-10224 (51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 10229 (151-300 A.D.); *ILJug*-1, 272-273 (100-300 A.D.)

⁴⁵⁰ *CIL* 3, 6443 (200-300 A.D.).

⁴⁵¹ Mirković 2017, 159, no. 48.

⁴⁵² Author's translation.

⁴⁵³ Mann 1988, 150.

⁴⁵⁴ Triplat 2019, 456.

speculatores. Although Salvius is the only known *frumentarius* from Sirmium, two additional inscriptions show that it was possible to advance to from *frumentarius* to the rank of *beneficiarius consularis*.⁴⁵⁵ Besides a large number of altars dedicated to *beneficarii consularis* of the *legio II*, two other epitaphs of members of the legion's members were found in Sirmium and its surrounding territory.⁴⁵⁶

The dedicator of Salvius' inscription is one Julius Asclepiades who, unfortunately, does not further indicate his relationship with the deceased. The large gap on the inscription obstructs further information on the man, although, based on onomastic research, it is assumed that he originates from the Greek-speaking territory of the Empire.⁴⁵⁷ The first part of the inscription is missing, which could have contained a dedication to another man, as the idea that the inscription was not solely dedicated to Salvius is upheld by the fact that Asclepiades talks about dedicating the monument to *caris suis*: the dedicatees in plural. What is more, the first part of the inscription shows the Roman numerals XXXVIII, indicating the probability that someone aged 37 would have preceded Salvius. The depiction of the two busts would then make sense, in that one bust would represent Salvius and the other would depict the other dedicatee. Nevertheless, the monument, despite providing detailed commentary on Salvius' death, offers no information regarding the other person. Perhaps the missing name indicates a close relative who passed before Salvius. The only indication for this possibility is the bust of the married couple on the monument, which is not explained in the text itself. It is unclear why, if Asclepiades was the only relative of Salvius, the dedicator would choose a depiction of the married couple for a monument that otherwise makes no mention of a woman. One potential explanation, in addition to the possibility that the mother has been lost in the first part of the inscription, is that the monument was simply part of a standardised inventory belonging to of the workshop that supplied the monuments. The monument displays the standard motifs of the mourning Attices, mythical animals and other ornamentations, but it is the inclusion of the inscription and the *frumentarius*-wagon that makes it unique. Asclepiades, the dedicator, clearly felt that the ornamentation of the married couple did not hinder the addressee(s) of the monument.

⁴⁵⁵ Both are altar dedications, dedicated by the *beneficiarius consularis* ... *ex numero frumentarium*: Mirković, no. 100 and 103. Both do not depict the cart with horses.

⁴⁵⁶ *CIL* 3, 3259 (Cusum, 101-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 10224 (Sirmium, 107-117 A.D.).

⁴⁵⁷ KuntiĆ-Makvić 1976, 39.

Although the inscription makes ample mention of emotion words felt by the dedicator, this paragraph will focus solely on its use of *luctus*. The emotion word is found in *deponam luctus cum te sequear, care, per umbras*. It indicates that Asclepiades could only overcome his sorrow when he follows Salvius to the shadows, i.e. when he himself dies. *Luctus* here is a clear indication to the sorrow felt by the commemorator for the death of his friend/relative. Importantly, this sentence treats *luctus* as a phenomenon that, at least in this situation, remains insurmountable during this lifetime and is only really conquered by death. This sentence can be interpreted both positive and negative. In the positive sense, one might approach it as Lucretius would deal with the topic of grief, where death signifies the end of suffering and thus brings comfort to the deceased. Rather, in this context, it seems to emphasise the negative aspect of grief; that it can only be really conquered through death itself.

2.5.2.5 An anonymous father to his daughter

Inscription no. 6 is dedicated by an unnamed father to his anonymous daughter and her mother Telesphoris. The monument originates from mid-2nd century A.D. from Mogontiacum in Germania Superior. The monument was found in 1861 during the dredging of the Rhine, while an unfinished copy of the monument was discovered only 14 days prior under similar conditions.⁴⁵⁸ The monument is 1.51m in height and 0.72m in width. The inscription is framed in *Perlenstab*-style, with a depiction of a child in a tunic, sitting to his/her right on a cushion, with its right arm outstretched to the right while the left hand holds a child toy. To its right, a spilling basket with flowers is inscribed in relief. The left and right sides of the inscription are adorned by the same illustration: it features the image of a *pelta* (a small shield) above a laurel tree.⁴⁵⁹ According to Boppert, the depiction of the child reaching for the flower basket corresponds to the last lines of the inscription, as a parallel is drawn between the fragile life of the child and that of a rose.⁴⁶⁰ The depiction of a toddler with a flower basket is also found on a Treveran epitaph, similarly dedicated to a child.⁴⁶¹

The settlement of Mogontiacum originated from a conglomeration of military camps that were established during the reign of Augustus, from which campaigns

⁴⁵⁸ Grotefend 1862, 82. The unfinished copy is catalogued under *CIL* 13, 7114.

⁴⁵⁹ Boppert 1992b, 121.

⁴⁶⁰ Boppert 1992b, 122.

⁴⁶¹ Binsfeld, W. 1974, 226–227.

against the Germanic tribes were organised. During the 1st century A.D., a civilian settlement began to grow beside the military camp and at least from the end of the 1st century A.D. on, the city became the governor's seat for the province of Germania Superior.⁴⁶² A great number of inscriptions were found in the area, of which at least 380 are epitaphs. 13 of these are versified.⁴⁶³

*D(is) M(anibus) / Telesphoris et / maritus eius parentes / filiae dulcissimae
/⁵ queri necesse est de / puellula dulci / ne tu fuisses si futura / tam grata
brevis reverti / unde nobis edita /¹⁰ nativom esset et paren/tibus luctu /
semissem anni vixit / et dies octo / rosa simul florivit /¹⁵ et statim periit.*⁴⁶⁴
To the Spirits of the Departed. Telesphoris and her husband, parents, (did this) for their sweetest daughter. It is necessary to lament about the sweet girl. Better that you had not been at all than, become so beloved, so soon to return from whence you were born to us, much to the grief of your parents. Half a year and eight days she lived; like a rose she blossomed, and like a rose she immediately withered.⁴⁶⁵

The monument starts out with the dedication to an unnamed child by the parents, whereby the father also remains unnamed. Only the mother, Telesphoris, is mentioned by name. No other inscription from Mogontiacum mentions the name Telesphoris. Still, its popularity is attested by the multiple attestations in epitaphs from all over the empire, such as in the heart of Rome⁴⁶⁶, but also in Numidia⁴⁶⁷ and Dalmatia.⁴⁶⁸ It is interesting that the father of the child remains anonymous, only hinted at by *maritus*, while the name of the mother is inscribed. Quite possibly, the father remains unnamed to avoid the shame that would be the result of an illegitimate union, given the ban on the marriage of soldiers. Although marriage between soldiers and civic women occurred, they remained mostly unattested on public monuments. The monuments originating from the northern legions normally show that it was the woman who remained unnamed; in most cases, the father was named while women

⁴⁶² Eck/Pangerl 2004, 261.

⁴⁶³ *CIL* 5, 3403 (201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 7419 (1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 12**); *CIL* 13, 6808 (157-159 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6823 (201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6858 (39-70 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7070 (1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7127 (100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7128 (100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7129 (1-250 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7234 (14-37 A.D. **Inscription no. 20**); *CIL* 13, 11889 (14-37 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 11895 (1-50 A.D.); *CLE* 1827 (undated).

⁴⁶⁴ Following the edition as found in Boppert 1992b, 121.

⁴⁶⁵ Translation provided by Mander 2013, 256, no. 453.

⁴⁶⁶ *CIL* 6, 24374 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28141 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

⁴⁶⁷ *CIL* 8, 7526 (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 7527 (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.).

⁴⁶⁸ *CIL* 3, 2152 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9072 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.).

remained unknown.⁴⁶⁹ The exclusion of the father's name could also be the result of his own premature death prior to that of the daughter. However, as Boppert argues, the monument would then in all probability not have included the father (by name or as *maritus*) altogether.⁴⁷⁰ The exclusion of the father's name suggests that Telesphoris was responsible for the arrangement of the text (or at least for the decision to omit the name for an unknown reason). Since the verse itself only starts from *queri necesse est*, the choice for *maritus* was not made due to metrical considerations.

The inscription continues to emphasise the premature death of the child, who only lived for half a year. *Luctus* finds its way in the sentence *ne tu fuisses, si futura tam grata brevi reverti, unde nobis edita, nativom esset et parentibus luctu*. Here, the inscription conveys that the grief of the parents at the premature death of the child caused the *parentibus luctu*. The monument does not indicate that the parents' sorrow is any greater because their child died young. Despite the many visual and textual references to premature death, the monument does not make this distinction.⁴⁷¹

2.5.2.6 Prisca Iulia's husband

The fourth and final inscription is no. 7, which was dedicated to Prisca Iulia by her husband, who died at the age of 20. The inscription originates from Augusta Rauricorum, which is now called Augst, dated to the early 1st century A.D.⁴⁷² The original inscription has been lost; it was transmitted by Burckhardt-Wild (1780), which features a drawing of the inscription.⁴⁷³ The drawing shows a reconstruction of an incomplete inscription, broken off or somehow dismembered from the original monument, with parts of the right and lower side of the inscription missing.⁴⁷⁴

The colony of Augusta Rauricorum was established by Augustus, after which it played an important role alongside its military settlement in the conquest of the Alpine regions and the subsequent control of the *limes*. During the 1st century A.D., the city's provincial alignment changed several times: under Augustus. it was part of

⁴⁶⁹ Klein, M. 2017, 35–36.

⁴⁷⁰ Boppert 1992b, 121.

⁴⁷¹ Opinions diverge on whether infants' death was mourned more vehemently in Roman society, as high mortality rates might advocate for less affectionate displays of grief while simultaneously parental anxieties about elderly care – especially in widowhood – might intensify such feelings: Gorostidi Pi 2019, which also includes Telesphoris' epitaph.

⁴⁷² Nesselhauf/Lieb 1960, 162.

⁴⁷³ Burckhardt-Wild 1780, 33.

⁴⁷⁴ The drawing has been transmitted by Stähelin 1948, 16, fig. 1.

Gallia Lugdunensis, during Tiberius' rule Gallia Belgica and during Domitian's reign, the city became a part of the province of Germania Superior.⁴⁷⁵ In total, 18 funerary monuments have been identified. Iulia's monument is the only versified epitaph.⁴⁷⁶

*Prisca Iulia I[- - -] / ann(is) XX hic si[ta est] / deflendam semper medici
[deflerem ego culpam] / si non et reges idem raperentu[r ad orcum] /⁵
deserui coniunx una pat/remque virumque / [qu]em lugere [decet thalami
consorte carentem].⁴⁷⁷*

Prisca Iulia, daughter of [...], died at the age of 20 years, lies buried here. I would always complain about the deplorable guilt of the doctor, if I did not know that also kings themselves are carried off to the Orcus. I, the wife, have left the man who was also father and whom it now befits to mourn, since he is robbed of his spouse.⁴⁷⁸

The inscription blames Prisca Iulia's death on a doctor. Across the Roman Empire, many epitaphs mention a *medicus* in their inscription, and some go as far as to blame them for their death, just like the one here.⁴⁷⁹ After the *praescriptum*, the inscription switches to the first person and finds comfort in the fact that even the richest or most powerful of people meet their end. Although it is not explicitly specified if the first person alludes to the commemorator or to Prisca Iulia, the next line, which again speaks in the first person and in the name of Prisca, makes it clear that it is Prisca who is comforted by the idea that death comes for everyone. While this may bring comfort to the deceased, the next line makes it clear that the husband should not shy away from his state of sorrow, which is further aggravated by the fact that the inscription reminds him that he has not only lost his wife, but that his child will be motherless. Of course, it is the husband himself who has put this precept on the tombstone, and it should not be forgotten that the line serves to let the reader know that Iulia, despite dying prematurely, was a wife as well as a mother during her lifetime. Furthermore, the inscription makes no attempt to alleviate the feelings of grief from the commemorator; rather, it implores that is possible, even expected, to experience

⁴⁷⁵ Kolb 2022, 378.

⁴⁷⁶ In 2022, Kolb published an edition that covers the territory of the tribe of the Rauraci, which includes Augusta Rauricorum, the castra Rauracense, and Basilia (modern day Basel). Of this conglomeration, 88 inscriptions have survived: Kolb 2022, 378–428.

⁴⁷⁷ Edition provided by Rowland Jr. 1977, 177, no. 421.

⁴⁷⁸ Author's translation, based on the German translation of Stähelin 1948, 17.

⁴⁷⁹ For example, *CIL* 3, 3355: *per culpam curantium* (Brigetio); *CIL* 6, 25580: *quam medici praeter exspectatum adduxerant* (Rome).

sorrow. In doing so, the inscription signifies that, under the right circumstances, one should be able to experience emotions.

2.5.2.7 Discussion

The literature on *luctus* shows that the emotion word is generally associated with the death of a loved one and therefore signifies the sorrow or grief of the relatives as their mental pain. However, some exceptions in the textual evidence remain, where *luctus* is used to describe a general state of grief that does not necessarily have to be associated with the deceased. Rather, *luctus* could be applied to the living or to general groups of people who mourned not the dead, but rather a much broader state of sorrow. In contrast, the epigraphic evidence connects the emotion word to the commemoration of the dead, where *luctus* signifies the pain of the commemorators in their grief for the loss of their loved ones. *Luctus* is used only once to describe the mournful exterior of a monument. A general overview of the epigraphic evidence does not suggest a gender distinction in the use of *luctus*.

In comparing these findings with the versified inscriptions this paragraph has examined, a clear overlap remains between the textual and epigraphic evidence. The inscription dedicated to Principius allows for a closer examination on the interaction between the emotion words of *dolor* and *luctus*, both invoked in the inscription. Nevertheless, some inscriptions prove how these emotion words were used interchangeably, not signifying a clear distinction between their use and thus referring to the same act of mourning and the grief felt by the commemorators. Furthermore, some inscriptions seem to make a distinction between the emotion words, emphasising the physical dimension of *dolor* in contrast to the mental pain that *luctus* signifies, or by removing *luctus* from the act of feeling pain altogether, rather than using the word to focus on the act of mourning.

The inscription dedicated to the *frumentarius* Salvius uses *luctus* in the literary sense of the word, where it signifies the grief felt by the commemorator for the loss of his friend. relative. It is a clear testament to the bond between the two men, which apparently was so strong that the grief felt by the commemorator could only be overcome by death itself. The ending of pain by death can be understood in a Lucretian way, although the negative aspect of grief that it can only be overcome by death itself, which is probably meant in this case.

The inscription set up by Telesphoris mentions a husband without naming him *maritus*. The husband was likely not responsible for the dedication. Still, his grief is expressed in the sentence that addresses both the *luctus* of himself and his wife through the invocation of *parentibus luctu*. The premature death of the child at the age of six months does not prevent the parents from expressing their grief, which is made explicit through the monument.

Similarly, the final inscription dedicated to Iulia Prisca does not explicitly mention the involvement of a man. Rather, he is merely alluded to in the line about the grief he should feel as the result of the death of his wife and the mother of his child. The inscription does refer to the importance of finding solace in the inevitability of death; the inscription closes with the sentiment that the husband should feel his grief and, perhaps as a part of the social expectations, was required to express his feelings. Although the monument does not mention the dedicator directly as part of the inscription has been broken off, the husband of Prisca is nevertheless depicted as expressing his grief for the loss of his spouse.

As to be expected from such an analysis rooted in the funerary context, the invocation of *luctus* refers to the grief of the commemorators. In two cases, the dedicators are clearly male: Principius' monument was dedicated by his father and grandfather, while Salvius' monument was dedicated by one Julius Asclepiades. In the epitaph of the daughter of Telesphoris, the man is only referred to as *maritus*, while in Prisca Iulia epitaph, the dedicator is not explicitly mentioned, although the grief of the man is mentioned explicitly. In contrast to *dolor*, the epigraphic evidence is rather limited; however, there is a clear tendency to utilise *luctus* on verse inscriptions over prose inscriptions: in 85% of the cases, the emotion word was found on a versified epitaph. In as far as such generalised assumptions can be made in light of such a limited number of source material, there is no indication that *luctus* was used specifically by gender or that *luctus* was used in a distinctly different manner between men and women.

2.5.3 *Maeror*

This paragraph will study the use of *maerere* and *maeror* by first analysing its application in literary evidence, followed by studying the sources with a specific focus on the verse inscriptions from the north-western provinces. *Maeror* shares

similarities with the emotion words *dolor* and *luctus* in the sense that all could describe – and are applicable to – a mournful state. As such, the emotion words are often used synonymously and without a precise distinction. Nevertheless, the term “*maeror*” is documented in a lesser number of instances than the other two emotion words and is only referenced once in the corpus.

2.5.3.1 Literature

Maerere could be used either to describe the sorrowful, sad or mournful state of persons or belongings but could also be used to describe the act of mourning or lamenting. In this sense, *maerere* has considerable overlap with *luctus* and *dolor*, which, as demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs, were similarly employed to describe sorrowful states or indicate to the emotion of grief. In the paragraphs above, it became clear that while Cicero described *maeror* as distinct from *luctus* and *dolor* by stating that it is specifically grief with tears (*Tusc.* 4.8.18: *maeror aegritudo flebilis*), he uses the terms interchangeably throughout his works. In the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, for example, Cicero uses several emotion words interchangeably to describe the feelings that one experiences due to the loss of a friend:

quis est igitur, qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos vitae commodis arbitretur? tolle hanc opinionem, luctum sustuleris. nemo enim maeret suo incommodo: dolent fortasse et anguntur, sed illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque maerens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, vitae commodis privatum arbitramur idque sentire.

Who is there, then, that does not lament the loss of his friends, principally from imagining them deprived of the conveniences of life? Take away this opinion, and you remove with it all grief; for no one is afflicted merely on account of a loss sustained by himself. Perhaps we may be sorry, and grieve a little; but that bitter lamentation, and those mournful tears, have their origin in our apprehensions that he whom we loved is deprived of all the advantages of life, and is sensible of his loss.⁴⁸⁰

Here, Cicero narrates how wrong assumptions about the loss of a friend bring about grief (*luctus*) and cause someone to grieve (*lugeat, maeret*). This sorrow, the act of

⁴⁸⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.30. Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

grieving, results in ‘bitter lamentation’ (*lugubris lamentatio*) and ‘mournful tears’ (*fletusque maerens*). Importantly, this passage shows that *maerere* was used firstly to describe the act of mourning and secondly as an adjective to reinforce other expressions of grief, such as tears. Cicero, in this passage, furthermore equalises *lugere* and *maerere* and employs both to describe the act of mourning.

Seneca also uses *maeror* without differentiation from *dolor* and *luctus* to describe grief, although his employment of the emotion words indicates a preference for *dolor* and *luctus*, as evidenced by the comparatively infrequent occurrence of *maeror*.⁴⁸¹ For example, *dolor* is mentioned 22 times, *luctus* 15 times, and *maeror* only 4 times in the *consolatione ad Marciam*,⁴⁸² while *dolor* in the *consolatione ad Polybium* is attested 31 times, while *luctus* is found 17 times and *maeror* merely twice.⁴⁸³ Conversely, *luctus* seems to take up a lower number in the *De Ira*, whereas *dolor* is attested 29 times, *luctus* only thrice and *maeror* merely four times.⁴⁸⁴

As has been demonstrated in paragraph 2.5.1.1, Lucretius employs *dolor* mainly to refer to physical pain and *luctus* and *metus* for mental pain. Lucretius also employs *maeror* mainly to refer to the grief following the death of a person. This is, for example, corroborated in a passage of book 3 of *De Rerum Natura*: here, he describes the emotional state of the family visiting their dying family member. In 3.906–908, Lucretius uses *maeror* to describe the insatiable woe of the family members:

⁴⁸¹ The Perseus Digital Library (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper>) allows for a general search of all attestations of a specific word (and its related derivatives) or phrase in a Latin text. The references given here are based on the results from such a word search.

⁴⁸² For *dolor*: Sen. Marc. 1.1: *dolor*; 1.5: *dolorem*; 1.7: *dolor*; 1.8: *dolorem*; 2.2: *dolori*; 3.2: *dolorem*; 4.1: *dolor*; 6.2: *dolor*; 7.2: *dolori*; 8.1: *dolorem*; 8.3: *dolor*; 10.5: *doles*; 11.1: *dolores*; 12.1: *dolor*; 14.3: *dolorem*; 16.1: *dolorem*; 16.6: *doloris*; 16.8: *dolorem*; 19.3: *dolere*; 19.5: *dolorum*; 22.3: *dolore*; 24.4: *dolere*. For *luctus*: Sen. Marc. 1.7: *luctus*; 4.2: *luctu*; 6.2: *luctus*; 7.3: *luctibus*; 7.4: *luctum*; 8.3: *luctus*; 9.4: *luctu*; 12.5: *lugentium*; 13.2: *luctus*; 14.2: *luctum*, *luxerat*; 16.6: *luges*; 19.1: *lugentem*; 19.2: *lugentem*; 26.3: *lugetur*. For *maeror*: Sen. Marc. 1.5: *maerore*; 6.2: *maeror*; 8.3: *maerere*; 24.4: *maerori*.

⁴⁸³ For *dolor*: Sen. Polyb. 2.1: *dolorem*; 2.2: *dolorem*; 2.5: *dolores*; 3.3: *dolori*; 3.5: *doloris*, *dolet*; 4.1: *dolor*; 4.2: *dolet*; 5.1: *dolorem*; 5.2: *dolori*; 5.3: *dolorem*; 5.5: *dolorem*; 6.1: *dolorem*; 6.2: *dolori*; 7.3: *dolori*; 8.1: *dolor*; 9.1: *dolor*; 9.2: *dolere*; 12.1: *dolor*; 12.2: *dolorem*; 12.4: *dolori*; 14.2: *doloris*; 15.1: *dolori*; 15.3: *dolorum*; 17.1: *doloribus*; 17.4: *dolere*; 18.1: *dolor*; 18.2: *dolore*; 18.4: *dolori*; 18.6: *dolore*; 18.9: *dolori*. For *luctus*: Sen. Polyb. 3.5: *luget*, *luget*; 6.1: *luctu*; 6.3: *luctu*; 9.1: *luctu*; 15.2: *luctum*; 15.3: *lugendi*, *luctus*, *luctus*; 15.5: *lugendi*, *luctus*; 16.2: *lugere*; 16.3: *luctu*; 17.4: *lugentis*; 17.5: *lugeri*; 17.6: *luctum*; 18.2: *lugebis*. For *maeror*: 5.5: *maerori*; 18.5: *maereas*.

⁴⁸⁴ Sen. *Ira*, 1.1.1: *doloris*; 1.2.5: *dolor*; 1.3.3: *doloris*, *dolorisve*; 1.6.1: *dolore*; 1.11.5: *dolorem*; 1.11.7: *dolorem*; 1.12.2: *dolet*; 1.16.4: *dolor*; 2.14.2: *doloresque*; 2.28.4: *doloresque*; 2.32.1: *dolorem*, *dolorem*; 2.33.4: *dolorem*; 3.2.6: *dolor*; 3.5.5: *dolore*; 3.5.8: *dolore*, *doloris*; 3.6.2: *dolori*; 3.13.6: *dolorem*; 3.15.2: *doloris*; 3.16.2: *dolor*; 3.19.3: *dolor*; 3.27.1: *dolet*; 3.28.3: *dolor*; 3.37.1: *dolorem*; 3.39.3: *doloris*; 3.39.4: *dolorem*; 3.42.2: *dolorem*. For *luctus*: Sen. *Ira*, 3.5.4: *luctum*; 3.19.5: *luctu*; 3.27.4: *luctu*. For *maeror*: Sen. *Ira*, 2.2.5: *maerentium*; 2.6.2: *maerere*; 2.7.1: *maeroremque*; 2.14.1: *maerere*.

*At nos horrifico cinefactum te prope busto insatiabiliter deflevimus,
aeternumque nulla dies nobis maerorem e pectore demet.*

but we, we have bewept thee with insatiate woe, standing there beside
whilst on the awful pyre thou wert made ashes; and no day shall take for
us that eternal sorrow from the breast.⁴⁸⁵

This idea, of *maeror pectora* signifying the sorrow felt in the heart of the deceased, is also found in Lucretius' 3.81: *maerenti pectore*. However, Lucretius used *maeror* also to describe gloomy situations that were not connected with the grieving sphere of the funerary context. In a departure from earthly matters, Lucretius elucidates the Epicurean cosmology and the purported absence of divine involvement in the genesis and operation of the world. Passage 5.175 reads as follows: *an, credo, in tenebris vita ac maerore iacebat, donec diluxit rerum genitalis origo?* ("Are we to believe that our life lay grovelling in murk and misery until the first day of creation dawned for us?")⁴⁸⁶ In book 6, Lucretius continues down this line and discusses discoveries and natural phenomena that are only ascribed to the power of the gods, such as thunder and lightning, because humankind cannot explain them. Here, *maeror* is again summoned to describe the mental state of the mind as it dwells on death and suffering: *perturbata animi mens in maerore metuque* (6.1183: "the mind distracted with despair and dread"). Although this instance is associated with mortality, it is not employed to delineate grief in the context of commemoration. A comparable instance can be observed in passage 6.1254, when Lucretius uses *maeror* as a synonym for death and destruction: *nec minimam partem ex agris maeror is in urbem confluxit* ("to no small extent this pestilence poured into the city from the surrounding countryside"). Thus, while Lucretius uses *maeror* to signify grief for the deceased, he also uses the term to describe a gloomy state and less strictly to the experience of emotions.

In the *Aeneid*, the emotion word *maeror* is attested only seven times and never in connection with Aeneas. Moreover, Vergil employs the word only once in connection with commemorating the dead, in 11.211–212: *maerentes altum cinerem et confuse ruebant ossa focus tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae* ("the mourners started to break down high-heaped ash and unsortably tangled bones from the pyres and compress them beneath a warm earthen embarkment").⁴⁸⁷ In all other cases, Vergil uses

⁴⁸⁵ Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

⁴⁸⁶ Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

⁴⁸⁷ Translation provided by Ahl 2007.

maerere to impose a feeling of dread for impending doom, such as the future loss of Cleopatra at the battle of Actium (A. 8.711) or the Etruscan king Mezentius' impending death for avenging his son Lausus (A. 10.860). In the other cases, *maeror* is used to describe a feeling of gloom, such as in the hearts of Aeneas' crew during the storm (A. 1.197: *maerentia pectora*), Iulus' emotions as Aeneas is carried back wounded to the camp (A. 12.399: *maerentis Iuli*) or Dido's anger and sorrow after the rejection of Aeneas (A. 4.32: *maerens*; A. 4.82; *maeret*).

2.5.3.2 The epigraphic evidence

In total, *maerere* is found, as a verb (*maerere*), an adjective, a participle (*maerens*) or noun (*maeror*) 22 times in epitaphs. 15 times, the emotion word is found on versified epitaphs⁴⁸⁸; six times on non-metrical epitaphs.⁴⁸⁹ In 11 cases, the emotion word is used to describe the emotional state of a man. Within these 11 attestations, eight times the man is a father and twice a husband.⁴⁹⁰ Only once is the mourner an unrelated man, as will be examined in the paragraph below.⁴⁹¹ In addition, the word is found eight times to describe the emotional state of a woman. Here, the woman is identified seven times as a mother; and once as a sister.⁴⁹² While there are quite a number of ways in which the role of the father is invoked in connection with *maerere*, the role of the mother in connection with *maerere* always tends to choose the alliteration of *mater*. Still, the obvious choice of *maerere* to describe the grief of the mother, for

⁴⁸⁸ CIL 12, 1603: *maeroribus* (Casilinum, 100-60 B.C.); CIL 2²/7, 497: *maerore* (Corduba, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 5, 2417: *maerens* (Ferrara, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 5, 4113: *maerens* (Cremona, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 10226: *maeret* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 12652: *maeror*, *maerendo* (Rome, 14-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 19007: *maeror* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 21151: *maeret* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 21521: *maerens* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 27383: *maerore* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 8, 9642: *maerens* (Oppidum Novum, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 5629: *maerens* (Septempeda, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 10, 6785: *maeror* (Pandateria, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 3771: *maerens* (Careiae, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 13, 7002: *maerens* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D.); CLE 3105: *mereris* (Thanaramusa, 100-150 A.D.).

⁴⁸⁹ AE 1930, 65: *maerens* (Rome, 171-230 A.D.); AE 1997, 410: *maeroris* (Castelmagno, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 12438: *maerens* (Novae, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 2117: *maerore* (Tarvisium, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 41062: *maerore* (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*); ILJug-3, 2622: *maerent* (Salona, 171-300 A.D.).

⁴⁹⁰ AE 1930, 65: *pater* (Rome, 171-230 A.D.); AE 1997, 410: *patris* (Castelmagno, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 2117: *parens* (Tarvisium, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 5, 2417: *pater* (Ferrara, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 21151: *coniunx nutricis* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 27383: *pater* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 8, 9642: *pater* (Oppidum Novum, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 3771: *mea alumna* (Careiae, 100-200 A.D.). As husband: CIL 6, 12652: *coniugis* (Rome, 14-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 41062: *matrimonia* (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*).

⁴⁹¹ CIL 13, 7002: *sodalis* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D.).

⁴⁹² CIL 12, 1603: *matrem* (Casilinum, 100-60 B.C.); CIL 2²/7, 497: *mater* (Corduba, 170-230 A.D.); CIL 3, 12438: *mater* (Novae, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 4113: *mater* (Cremona, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 21521: *mater* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 5629: *mater* (Septempeda, 50-1 B.C.); ILJug-3, 2622: *mater* (Salona, 171-300 A.D.). As sister: CIL 6, 10226: *sorrer* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

stylistic reasons, does not lead to an uneven distribution of the emotion words across gender. Finally, *maerere* is used once to describe the grief of the parents collectively⁴⁹³, once to discuss grief in general⁴⁹⁴ and once in an undetermined passive tense.⁴⁹⁵

2.5.3.3 Proculus for his comrade

The only inscription from the North-Western provinces mentioning *maerere* is **inscription no. 8**. It originates from Mogontiacum (Germania Superior) and is dated to the 1st century A.D.⁴⁹⁶ The inscription is written on a stele that is partially broken off, which prevents an interpretation of the first lines of the inscription. The inscription is framed, but the monument is otherwise left unadorned, with the exception of a single volute-like adornment at the bottom-right of the text field.⁴⁹⁷ The dimensions are 1.75m in height and 0.65m in width.⁴⁹⁸

[---]lle s[---] / cum bis duodenos aetas [---] / tum rapuit fatis mors inimica suis. / Ut rescit mater planxit flevere sodales; /⁵ flevisset genitor : occidit ipse prior; / cognati proprii longa regione relictī / hic pompam ornas(s)ent funeris usque mei. / Qui posuit Proculus titulum nomenque sodalis / Inscripsit maerens; hic pietatis honos. /¹⁰ Sis felix valeas et te tua servet origo / et dicas Claro: sit tibi terra levis. / L(ucius) Valerius Proculus / commanipularis / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) c(uravit).⁴⁹⁹

When he had reached the age of twice 12 years, hostile death snatched him away from his destiny. As soon as his mother heard this again, she lamented for him, his comrades wept for him: his father would have wept for him, but he himself died earlier: his own relatives were left behind in the far distance: they would have provided enough for the splendour of my burial. Proculus, who had the gravestone set, painfully engraved the epitaph and name of his comrade on it. This in honour of love! You (O reader), be happy, farewell, long may your origin preserve you, but call to

⁴⁹³ *CIL* 6, 19007: *parentes* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

⁴⁹⁴ *CIL* 10, 6785 (Pandateria, 100-200 A.D.).

⁴⁹⁵ *CLE* 3105: *mereris anima candida* (Thanaramusa, 100-150 A.D.).

⁴⁹⁶ The dating is attributed by Boppert in Stribny 1987, 40. This specific edition of the CSIR does not, unlike its other volumes, present a detailed edition and commentary of the monument (other than a rough date and measurements), and instead analyses the monuments' material for their geochemical composition.

⁴⁹⁷ An interpretation of the outward characteristics of the monument is based on the monuments' photo provided in Stribny 1987, 40.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ Edition from *CIL* 13, 7002 and *CLE* 1100.

Clarus: Light be the earth to you! His fellow soldier Lucius Valerius Proculus had (this gravestone) set for him from his own means.⁵⁰⁰

In ten lines of elegiac couplet, the inscription commemorates the death of an anonymous soldier, who died at the age of 24 years. The inscription informs the reader that he is survived by his mother, but that his father had already passed away. The monument is set up by one Lucius Valerius Proculus, who informs the passer-by that he paid for the monument from his own pocket. As stated already in paragraph 2.5.2.5, the settlement of Mogontiacum yielded several inscriptions, among which are 14 verse epitaphs that were derived from both the civic and military contexts of Mogontiacum. The inscription in this case was erected by a soldier for a soldier, although a precise legion cannot be inferred from the available material.⁵⁰¹ No other monument from the settlement recalls a Valerius Proculus. The inscription tells the reader that Proculus did not share a blood-tie with the deceased but that the two were acquainted through the military, as indicated by the word *commanipularis*. This term technically refers to the *commanipularis*-system, which was subsequently abandoned during the Marian reforms of 107 B.C., although it remained in use to describe the bond between members of the same *centuria*.⁵⁰² Furthermore, Proculus refers to the men as fellow soldiers by the word *sodalis* which, as will be explained in greater detail in paragraph 2.5.4.5, could be used to signify brothers-in-arms. In a similar way, the author of the monument uses *sodales* to refer to other military companions of the deceased.

The inscription describes the grief of the commemorator through *maerere* (*inscripsit maerens*). This line is the only attestation on the epigraphic evidence originating from the Latin Roman world that depicts a male grieving for his friend through *maerere*. As the paragraph above has shown, *maerere* was used first and foremost by men to signify the grief felt in the role of the *pater*, followed by the role of the husband, although the attestations decline quickly from there on out. No other

⁵⁰⁰ Author's translation, based on the German translation of Becker 1875, 66–67.

⁵⁰¹ No significant inference can be drawn from the monuments' date (1-100 A.D.), as multiple legions over the course of the century were housed in Mogontiacum: *legio XIV Gemina* and *legio XVI Gallica* until 43 A.D., *legio IV Macedonica* and *legio XXII Primigenia* until 70 A.D., and *legio I Adiutrix* and *legio XIV Gemina* until the end of Domitian's reign: Esser 1972, 213; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 55; Dart 2016, 213; Syme 1928, 44; Suet. *Dom.* 7.3.

⁵⁰² Lendon 2006, 273.

inscription uses *maerere* to display the emotion of grief felt between non-blood relatives.⁵⁰³ Drawing this finding more broadly and including female commemorators as well, *maerere* is largely used to either portray the grief of the father, mother or both. Only in five cases (twice the husband, once the sister, twice unidentified gender) is the emotion word not used to refer to the role of the parent(s).

This connection between parenthood and *maerere* is not necessarily corroborated in the literary evidence, as there are many cases where the emotion word within the sphere of funerary commemoration was used by Roman authors to establish the grief felt for the deceased by non-blood relatives. Paragraph 2.5.3.1 already quoted Cicero on the subject of losing a friend, where *maerere* was used several times. However, Lucretius and Vergil do not use *maerere* exclusively for the commemoration of the deceased. Similarly, Seneca's *consolatio* to his mother, which employs *maeror* on multiple occasions to describe the mother's grief, was written for the exile of her still-living son, the author, to Corsica in 41 A.D.⁵⁰⁴ The use of *maeror* in this work, therefore, does not refer to death but to exile. Seneca only connects *maeror* with the grief for the dead in his consolations to Polybius and Marcia.

The use of *maeror* by the Roman authors thus shares many similarities with that of *dolor* and *luctus*, since the emotion words are used interchangeably on many occasions. *Maeror* is used either to describe a mournful state or to refer to the act of grieving and lamenting. Despite the similarities, the word is attested in fewer numbers than its Latin synonyms. This trend is also visible on the epigraphic evidence, where *dolor* and *luctus* are attested with considerably greater frequency than *maeror*. In epitaphs, it is applied in equal terms for men and women, with most attestations being used to describe the grief of parents.

The only inscription in the corpus that employs *maeror* uses it to showcase the commemorator's grief. In this case, the emotion word describes the grief for a non-blood relative, as the commemorator and Proculus were fellow soldiers and otherwise

⁵⁰³ The possible exception is *CIL* 11, 3771 (Careiae, 100-200 A.D.), where the dedicator commemorates his *alumna* (foster-daughter). The shared *gentilicium* between foster-parent and daughter, as well as the shared *praenomen* by the foster-parent and the daughter's natural father, hints that the two might have been related and that Terentius Quietus was the uncle of Terentia Asiatica, although the inscription does not provide conclusive proof for this.

⁵⁰⁴ Sen. *Ad Marc.* 1.5: *ego conflagere cum tuo maerore constitui et defessos exhaustosque oculos; 6.2: ingerantur lacerate pectori manus et in ipsam faciem impetus fiat atque omnise genere saevitiae profecturus maeror exerceat; 8.3: utrum tibi permittas maerere an imperes;*

were not tied through familial ties. This is the only evidence for commemoration of non-blood related men through *maeror*. This evidence does not substantiate the hypothesis that *maeror* was used for the commemoration of family members. The textual evidence indicates that non-blood relatives were commemorated via *maeror*.

2.5.4 *Flere and Lacrimare*

The emotion markers *flere* and *lacrimare* and their attestations within the corpus shall be examined in this paragraph. First, a short literary review will study the extent to which the emotion markers were used distinctively, or whether they were used interchangeably. This will show the position of the emotion markers within philosophical and popular Roman literary culture. Subsequently, an overview of the uses of the emotion markers in epitaphs will be studied, followed by the examination of eight verse inscriptions that utilise the emotion markers.

2.5.4.1 Literature

Firstly, it is important to analyse the extent to which a notable difference in the use of *flere/fletus* and *lacrimare/lacrima* was maintained and whether such a difference in application was perceived and actively upheld in ancient writing. Such an analysis is hampered by the fact that almost no surviving Roman author has actively reflected on a difference in their lexical interpretation. In the 4th or 5th century A.D., the exception is Servius who, in his commentary of the *Aeneid*, reflects on the words in the following manner:

*Haec ubi deflevit hoc est postquam haec cum lacrimis dixit; 'flere' enim est cum voce lacrimare: unde habemus in sexto 'continuo audita voces, vagitus et ingens infantumque animae flentes in limine primo.'*⁵⁰⁵

When she finished speaking these words, and with tears spoke (for to 'weep' is to cry with voice), in book six: "Instantly voices are heard: massed wailing, the weeping of children: souls never able to speak, just over the boundary's threshold."⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ Serv. 11.59.

⁵⁰⁶ Author's translation.

For Servius, *flere* differentiates from *lacrimare* in that both terms describe the act of crying, whereas *flere* is characterised by the audible vocalisation of tears. Similarly, two 19th-century authors discuss the issue, as Döderlein reflects on the synonyms and expands on the grieving function of *flere* by illustrating it in contrast to *plorare*: *lacrimare* denotes the “physical consequence of a certain emotion of the mind, ..., *plorare* denotes a passionate expression of grief Between the two stands *flere* ..., partaking of the passionless feeling denoted by *lacrimare* and the feeling of grief denoted by *plorare*.”⁵⁰⁷ In contrast, Beck reflected on the distinction between the words, also incorporating *plorare* into the equation and delineating their difference as *lacrimare levis strictura cordis est, flere gravioris affectus est, plorare violentioris*.⁵⁰⁸ According to him, the distinction between these emotional expressions lies in their intensity: *lacrimare* is a relatively mild display of emotion, *flere* is more profound, and *plorare* is a more intense and physically expressive form.

A difference in the interpretation of the late antique Servius and the modern Döderlein and Beck is that the former does not automatically connect the verbs with the emotions. Rather, according to Servius, it signifies the action of drawing tears. Although this action is most commonly associated with the display of emotions, the words, especially *lacrimare*, have been used in ancient texts to discuss the shedding of tears outside of the emotional context. For example, Celsus discusses how an inflammation of the eye can cause crying,⁵⁰⁹ and Cicero similarly describes the absence of tears despite his irritation of the eyes, as if to ridicule the tears of his acquaintance Servius that were the result of fear.⁵¹⁰ Tears also occurred in animals tormented by physical pain. Columella describes the pain in the intestines of an ox⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ Döderlein 1858, 118.

⁵⁰⁸ Beck 1883, 66: “*lacrimare* is a light constriction of the heart; *flere* is a more intense emotion; *plorare* is the most violent expression of sorrow.”

⁵⁰⁹ Celsus, *Med.* 6.6.14: *idque et acer pituitae cursus in lippitudine efficit et continuati fletus et ictus parum bene curati*. “an acrid discharge of rheum in the course of ophtalmia causes this, also continuous weeping, and an injury improperly treated.” Translation provided by Spencer 1938.

⁵¹⁰ Cic. *Att.* 10.14.1: *atque haec ita multis cum lacrimis loquebatur ut ego mirarer eas tam diuturnae miseria non exaruisse, mihi quidem etiam lippitudo haec, propter quam non ipse ad scribe, sine ulla lacrima est sed saepius odiosa est propter vigilias*. “he bewailed all this with such a flood of tears, that I was surprised they had not dried up in all that long time of misery. My own eyes do not shed one single tear, though this inflammation prevents me from writing to you. But it is often tiresome by keeping me awake.” Translation provided by Winstedt 1913.

⁵¹¹ Columella, *Rust.* 6.7.4: *... praegravato capite saepius coniverit lacrimaeque ab oculis et pituita a naribus profluent [...]*. “and its head is heavy and it frequently blinks and tears flow from its eyes and slime from its nostrils ...” Translation provided by Ash 1941.

or how tears indicate a headache in horses.⁵¹² Outside of the human physiology, *lacrimae* was moreover used to describe specific ingredients in recipes, such as Celsus' *papaveris lacrimae*⁵¹³, among others.

Flere, in contrast, is less associated with the physical act of drawing tears outside of the context of emotions and is therefore less frequently used as a synonym for teardrops. This is despite the fact that both *flere* and *lacrimare* could signify and were used to denote the act of crying with tears. This is evident again from a passage of Servius: *sane ploratus tantum lacrimarum est, planctus tantum vocum, fletus ad utrumque pertinet*.⁵¹⁴ Servius denotes that *flere* (or *fletus*, in this case) combines the weeping of tears of *plorare* and the vocal capacities of *plangere*. That *flere* could and did include tears becomes evident from a passage by Apulleius' *Metamorphoses*: *haec profatus rursum lacrimis obortis ... Cumque iam humanitate commotos misericordia fletuum affectos omnes satis ...*⁵¹⁵ Here, the protagonist Lucius connects the physical act of crying with *flere*.

The act of crying as a result and indication of emotions has been studied extensively, not only in Roman philosophical writing but, moreover, in modern scholarly debate about emotions in the ancient funerary context.⁵¹⁶ The ancient Roman way of mourning was strictly regulated by social and cultural standards and values and was influenced by ritualistic, mythological, social, cultural and gendered viewpoints. Looking at ancient Roman attitudes toward crying in the context of a funeral and the commemoration of the dead, it becomes clear that its interpretation is associated with prevalent standards in Roman society that dictated its outcome based on class and gender. Ideals about crying for the deceased as a form of grief were related to attitudes about the appropriateness of public and private displays of mourning in Roman society, which in turn depended on a wide variety of beliefs about the role of men and women within that society.

⁵¹² Columella, *Rust.* 6.30.5: *capitis dolorem indicant lacrimae, ...* "Headaches are indicated by tears ..." Translation provided by Ash 1941.

⁵¹³ Celsus, *Med.* 6.6.1.

⁵¹⁴ Serv. 6.427: "certainly, *ploratus* consists of only tears, *planctus* of only voices, but *fletus* pertains to both." Author's translation.

⁵¹⁵ Apul. *Met.* 3.7: "I ended by again bursting into tears ... then, when I thought their sympathies had been aroused and their pity stirred by tears." Translation provided by Kenney 1998.

⁵¹⁶ An edited volume solely dedicated to the topic is Fögen 2009. Other similar works on tears and crying in antiquity are MacMullen 1980; Schulten 2005. On crying and ancient gender, see Prescendi 2000; Corbeill 2004a; Rey 2015. On crying in (specific) Roman poetry: Hudson-Williams 1978; James 2003; Wharton 2008.

Roman men shed tears on a great number of occasions, which was even socially expected of them. For example, tears could be employed as a rhetorical device, to diffuse certain political situations that required an emotional speech.⁵¹⁷ Quintilian argues how tears are both a means of persuading the judges, as well as a goal in the sense that one should try to move the audience to tears.⁵¹⁸ Nevertheless, crying within the funerary sphere was associated with the 'womanish' side of mourning, as women were tasked with the outward expressions of grief that resulted a disparity between the mourning process of men and women, both in ritual and in gesture.⁵¹⁹ Overall, men were expected to show restraint and control in the expression of their grief; women, on the other hand, were burdened with fierce and violent expressions of sorrow, beating their chests, tearing their cheeks and hair, and billowing in dirt.⁵²⁰ Their laments, moreover, were marked by intense weeping, shouting and howling.⁵²¹ Nevertheless, there is a distinction to be made between the expression of tears in literature and the actual act of crying, including all the attitudes towards such acts. Furthermore, as will become clear later, social expectations and conventions even restricted the mourning of women and set limitations to the external displays of female grief, especially for those of social standing. It will be made clear how the display of mourning was a social as much as an emotional matter .

Ancient Roman writings clearly show a distinction in mourning based on gender. For example, women were permitted to mourn their deceased relatives for a longer period of time and with much more outward displays of grief. To illustrate: Seneca, on the matter of the time of grieving, dictates that women were allowed to grieve for a period of as much as ten months (a year in the time of the Roman kings⁵²²), while men were not allowed to grieve at all:

*Annum feminis ad lugendum constituere maiores, non ut tam diu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum.*⁵²³

⁵¹⁷ Rey 2015, 228.

⁵¹⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.9: *verum et accusator habet interim lacrimas ex miseratione eius rei quam ulciscitur* and 6.1.30: *non solum autem dicendo sed etiam faciendo quaedam lacrimas movemus.*

⁵¹⁹ Prescendi 2000, 104.

⁵²⁰ Corbeill 2004b, 68–69.

⁵²¹ Hope 2019b, 70.

⁵²² Šterbenc Erker 2009, 136.

⁵²³ Sen. *Ep.* 63.13.

Our forefathers have enacted that, in the case of women, a year should be the limit for mourning; not that they needed to mourn for so long, but that they should mourn no longer. In the case of men, no rules are laid down, because to mourn at all is not considered to be honourable.⁵²⁴

Plutarch similarly mentions that the accepted period of mourning was a maximum of ten months, which was already in place during the time of Numa, and adds that variations were added according to the age of the deceased:

αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ' ἡλικίας καὶ χρόνους ἔταξεν οἷον παῖδα μὴ πενθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦς, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μῆνας ὧν ἐβίωσεν ἐνιαυτῶν μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαῖον.

Numa himself also regulated the periods of mourning according to ages. For instance, over a child of less than three years there was to be no mourning at all; over one older than that, the mourning was not to last more months than it had lived years, up to ten; and no age was to be mourned longer than that, but ten months was the period set for the longest mourning.⁵²⁵

This does not imply that ancient women of a certain standing were permitted to grieve excessively; rather, as the ancient authors show, even though they were allowed to grieve for up to a year, excessive displays of mourning were still met with disdain and denigration. Again, Seneca and Plutarch show how the limits of immoderate mourning were determined by gender, class and education. Seneca, in his *consolatio* to Marcia, mentions that not all damages inflict the same kinds of wounds:

Ut scias autem non esse hoc naturale, luctibus frangi, primum magis feminas quam viros, magis barbarous quam placidae eruditaeque gentis homines, magis indoctos quam doctos eadem orbitas vulnerat.

You may know that to be utterly broken down by grief is not natural, by observing that the same bereavement inflicts a deeper wound upon women than upon men, upon savages than upon civilised and cultivated persons, upon the unlearned than upon the learned.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ Translation provided by Gummere 1917.

⁵²⁵ Plut. *Vit. Num.* 12.2. Translation provided by Perrin 1914.

⁵²⁶ Sen. *Marc.* 7.3. Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

Here, Seneca mentions that the experience of grief is determined by matters of gender, civility and education. The same sentiment is expressed by Plutarch, who, in his *consolatio ad Apollonium*, states that mourning is “verily feminine, and weak, and ignoble, since women are more given to it than man, and barbarians more than Greeks, and inferior men more than better men.”⁵²⁷ Like Seneca, distinction in the appropriateness of mourning is made on the basis of gender and civility.

The idea that class dictates the display of emotions within the funerary sphere is likewise attested in other sources. Seneca, in his *consolatio ad Marciam* (2–3), compares two different frames of reference on maternal mourning in his efforts to provide some perspective to the mourning of Marcia. Octavia, the sister of Augustus, is the first extreme who excessively mourned the death of her son Marcellus (*alterius feminae quae se tradidit ferendam dolori*),⁵²⁸ whereas Livia, who, in accordance with the proper manner to grief, mourned the loss of her son Drusus only for a brief period of time (*alterius quae ... non tamen dedit longum in se malis suis dominium, sed cito animum in sedem suam reposuit*).⁵²⁹ Seneca compares the two sides by stating that Octavia, in neglecting her duties and wearing her mourning clothes, insulted her relatives (*adsidentibus liberis, nepotibus lugubrem vestem non deposuit, non sine contumelia omnium suorum, quibus saluis orba sibi videbatur*),⁵³⁰ whereas Livia stopped her mourning as soon as Drusus was properly buried (*ut primum tamen intulit tumulo, simul et illum et dolorem suum posuit*).⁵³¹ Although both women are of the same social rank, the way in which they approach and handle their grief causes Seneca to favour Livia for her ability to reign in her emotions, as she was not completely overtaken by grief, as in the case of Octavia.

The absence of grief, or a perceived attempt to hide private mourning of the imperial family – particularly Livia and her son Tiberius - from the eyes of the public is also found in the event of the death (and subsequent mourning) of Germanicus. As

⁵²⁷ Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* 22. Translation provided by Babbitt 1928.

⁵²⁸ Sen. *Marc.* 2.2: “that of a woman who allowed herself to be entirely carried away by grief”. Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

⁵²⁹ Sen. *Marc.* 2.2: “the other one who ... did not allow her sorrows to reign over her for a very long time, but quickly restored her mind to its accustomed frame.” Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

⁵³⁰ Sen. *Marc.* 2.5: “though surrounded by her children and grandchildren, she would not lay aside her mourning garb, though by retaining it she seemed to put a slight upon all her relations, in thinking herself bereaved in spite of their being alive.” Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

⁵³¹ Sen. *Marc.* 3.2: “when, however, she at last laid him in the tomb, she left her sorrow there with him.” Translation provided by Stewart, A. 1900.

Tacitus describes, both Livia and Tiberius did not participate in public mourning, either to hide their feigned sorrow from the public, or because they felt it was beneath their level to give in to public displays of grief.⁵³² This is in contrast to the deep mourning of the Roman populace who, as Tacitus describes, met the news of Germanicus' death with highly irregular expressions of mourning (2.82.1: *nihil compositum in ostentationem*), who combined their grief for Germanicus with a passionate hate for Piso, whom they blamed for his death.⁵³³ The contrast between the display of emotions of the imperial family and the general populace in these narratives does not mean that Tiberius and his mother did not feel any emotion at the death of their nephew. Rather, it underlines the dichotomy between the presentation of private and public emotions that the emperor and the Roman elite were forced to handle. Tiberius' aversion to public displays of emotion is also evident in Seneca's *consolatione ad Polybium* (11.15.5) as he not only repressed his own sorrow at the death of his brother Drusus (*modum tamen lugendi non sibi tantum*), but also that of his army, as Seneca states that he first controlled his own emotions before that of his army (*non potuisset ille lacrimas alienas compescere, nisi prius pressisset suas*). This passage underlines the concept that, whatever Tiberius felt for the loss of his brother, his outward display of grief was to be presented in a socially dignified manner, in line with the social expectations of the display of grief by Rome's elite.⁵³⁴

That is not to say that outward displays of grief, such as crying, were not part of the Roman funerary ritual, although different social rules seem to dictate the (gendered) display of grief by its participants. As pointed out above, the textual evidence shows how gender and class determined the expression of grief at any given situation. Similarly, within the funerary ritual and the associated mourning period, approved signs of mourning were restricted by convention, as men of elite standing did not display their grief through extensive displays, but rather with their clothing, unwashed and uncut beards, through eulogies and their temporary withdrawal from

⁵³² Tac. Ann. 3.3.1: *Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maiestate sua rati si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegentur*. "He and Augusta abstained from any appearance in public, either holding it below their majesty to sorrow in the sight of men, or apprehending that, if all eyes perused their looks, they might find hypocrisy legible." Translation provided by Moore, C. 1931.

⁵³³ Shotter 1968, 209.

⁵³⁴ Hope 2011, 94.

public life.⁵³⁵ During the burial itself, outward signs of excessive emotions such as crying could be outsourced to paid female professionals (*praeficae*) whose emotions, because they were not affiliated with the deceased, were not guided by personal attachment.⁵³⁶ Naturally, such professional mourners were only hired by those who could afford such luxuries, and a passage from Cicero suggests that the use of *praeficae* was not always favoured during the burial ritual.⁵³⁷ Similarly, funerary rites might have varied across the empire and the practice may not have been upheld at every funeral in the province. Nevertheless, the attestations of the practice show a clear wish of the Roman family to distance themselves from emotional displays of grief due to personal attachment to the deceased. Furthermore, these gendered descriptions of grief were not static and show how men and women were expected to display their sorrow differently between literary genres. The philosophical treatises of the cultural elite of Rome, for example, as portrayed above, condemned the masculine display of tears. However, this was subsequently inverted in the Roman love elegy. Here, the ‘weeping male lover’, which functioned as the trademark of the genre, was driven not by social and cultural factors, but tears were determined by a mix of ‘pseudo-servitude and voluntary suffering’.⁵³⁸ Thus, attitudes towards manly tears were flexible and open to variations and new interpretations.

The attitudes of the authors in this study towards the subject of tears within the funerary context were as varied as the authors themselves. The preceding paragraphs have already demonstrated that Cicero’s philosophical writings, in line with the Stoic doctrine, advocated to extirpate grief as much as possible, focusing on healing the emotions by finding a cure. In contrast, it has been noticed that, in his private letters, Cicero often describes himself as crying or bursting into tears. This anti-Stoic display of emotions has been explained by suggesting that Cicero employs tears as a rhetorical device, to invoke pity in his readers and to persuade them.⁵³⁹ Cicero shunned the outward display of emotions, especially those originating out of grief.⁵⁴⁰ Later, in his *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero refers to the act of weeping only

⁵³⁵ Hope 2019a, 119.

⁵³⁶ Erker 2009, 138.

⁵³⁷ Cic. *Leg.* 2.59–64; Sutter 2008, 262–263.

⁵³⁸ James 2003, 100.

⁵³⁹ Evangelou 2020, 164n58.

⁵⁴⁰ Vekselius 2021, 240.

once, stating that it is part of *maeror*, as *aegritudo flebilis* (*Tusc.* 4.18: “distress that is inclined to weep.”)⁵⁴¹

Seneca’s view on the matter of showing grief, partially through tears, differentiates between mourning based on class and gender. Furthermore, he uses Livia and Tiberius as paradigms for their ability to curb their emotions, choosing to display them in moderation, if at all, in the face of grief over their deceased relatives. Seneca does not envision Livia and Tiberius’ cold-hearted approach to their emotions to be universally applicable.⁵⁴² Rather, one should approach the emotions with moderation, not letting them exceed the social and cultural expectations that set their boundaries. In the letter to his mother, Seneca argues that mourning should not exceed the expected time period, while in his letter to Marcia, he argues against prolonged grief. He makes his position clear in a letter to his friend Lucilius, arguing that feeling nothing is best (in typically Stoic fashion), but that this is seemingly impossible and that one should just try to focus on happier thoughts.

Seneca thus argues for moderation in his *consolationes*. On the subject of tears, he even acknowledges that they occur despite our wishes and might best be shed all the same: *excidunt etiam retinentibus lacrimae et animum profusae levant* (*Sen. Ep.* 99.15: “tears fall, no matter how we try to check them, and by being shed they ease the soul.”⁵⁴³) Seneca thus sees tears as an inevitable display of grief and continues to argue that one should therefore not try to steer from shedding them, as long as they are not invoked on purpose: *permittamus illis cadere, non imperemus ..., fluat, quantum adfectus eiecerit, non quantum poscet imitatio*. (*Sen. Ep.* 99.16: “let us allow them to fall but let us not command them to do so; let us weep according to emotion flooding our eyes, but not as much as mere imitation shall demand.”)⁵⁴⁴ Seneca here differentiates between crying that is invoked on command, as to feign emotions, and tears that are the result of the natural accordance of grief. Seneca goes on to suggest that two types of tears are prevalent in the wise man:

quas iudico sapienti viro alias permissas cadere, alias vi sua latas. Dicam quid intersit. Cum primus nos nuntius acerbi funeris perculit, cum tenemus corpus e complexu nostro in ignem transiturum, lacrimas naturalis

⁵⁴¹ Translation provided by Graver 2002.

⁵⁴² See pages 126–127.

⁵⁴³ Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

*necessitas exprimit et spiritus ictu doloris impulsus quemadmodum totum corpus quatit, ita oculos, quibus adiacentem umorem perpremit et expellit. Hae lacrimae per elisionem cadunt nolentibus nobis; aliae sunt, quibus exitum damus, cum memoria eorum, quos amisimus, retractatur. Et inest quiddam dulce tristitiae, cum occurrunt sermones eorum iucundi, conversatio hilaris, officiosa pietas; tunc oculi velut in gaudio relaxantur. His indulgemus, illis vincimur.*⁵⁴⁵

For I hold that with a wise man some tears fall by consent, others by their own force. I Shall explain the difference as follows: when the first news of some bitter loss has shocked us, when we embrace the form that will soon pass from our arms to the funeral flames – then tears are wrung from us by the necessity of Nature, and the life-force, smitten by the stroke of grief, shakes both the whole body, and the eyes also, from which it presses out and causes to flow the moisture that lies within. Tears like these fall by a forcing-out process, against our will: but different are the tears which we allow to escape when we muse in memory upon those whom we have lost. And there is in them a certain sweet sadness when we remember the sound of a pleasant voice, a genial conversation, and the busy duties of yore; at such a time the eyes are loosened, as it were, with joy. This sort of weeping we indulge; the former sort overcomes us.⁵⁴⁶

Thus, there are tears that come involuntarily when someone dies, such as those described above. In this case, the tears are natural and should not be averted. The other type of tears is allowed to be released in a bittersweet way. This type of weeping is transformed into a positive emotion.⁵⁴⁷

For Lucretius, grief is a sentiment shared by humans and animals alike. Therefore, grief is natural and that one should eliminate false beliefs arising out of grief, rather than dwelling on grief itself.⁵⁴⁸ In the case of *luctus*, one should find peace in the eternal rest that death brings, rather than approaching it as a reason to mourn. In his discussion of the appropriateness of mourning for the dead, Lucretius employs the weeping of the relatives to subconsciously steer his audience, aware of the effeminate character of crying, towards the conviction that one should not be afraid of death. Only the weak, who mourn the dead weep, and one controls one's emotions by not being carried away by this grief.⁵⁴⁹ The needless nature of weeping for the

⁵⁴⁵ Sen. *Ep.* 99.18–19.

⁵⁴⁶ Translation provided by Gummere 1925.

⁵⁴⁷ Graver 2009, 240.

⁵⁴⁸ See page 96.

⁵⁴⁹ Clark, C. 2009, 164.

deceased is made explicit by Lucretius in two additional instances. In the first, Lucretius paints the picture of the family surrounding the deathbed of their family member, who is soon to meet his end. The soon-to-be-deceased, who is in a coma, is described as not being aware of his relatives mourning him: *unde neque exaudit voces nec noscere voltus illorum potis est, ad vitam qui revocantes circumstant lacrimis rorantes ora genasque* ("From whence nor hears it any voices more, nor able is it to know the faces here of those about him standing with wet cheeks who vainly call him back to light and life.")⁵⁵⁰ The relatives are already mourning their family member who, as Lucretius makes clear, is neither dead nor capable of understanding – or even recognising – their displays of grief. The futility of their mourning is made clear by Lucretius by speaking through the personification of *natura*, who tells that:

*Quid tibi tanto operest, mortalis, quod nimis aegris
luctibus indulges? Quid mortem congemis ac fles?
Nam si grata fuit tibi vita ante acta priorque
et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas
commoda perfluxere atque ingrata interiere;
cur non et plenus vitae conviva recidis
aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?*⁵⁵¹
Mortal, what hast thou of such grave concern
that thou indulgest in too sickly plaints?
Why this bemoaning and beweeeping death?
For if thy life aforetime and behind
to thee was grateful, and not all thy good
was heaped as in sieve to flow away
and perish unavailingly, why not,
even like a banqueter, depart the halls,
laden with life? Why not with mind content
take now, thou fool, thy unafflicted rest?⁵⁵²

Nature, in line with the earlier mentioned doctrine of Lucretius, makes it clear that there is no reason to weep. This sentiment is taken to the extreme when finally, Nature mentions that the dying man, if he was able to communicate, would surely wake up and shout: *Aufer abhinc lacrimas, baratre, et compesce querellas*. (Lucr. 3.955: "Off with

⁵⁵⁰ Lucr. 3.467–469. Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

⁵⁵¹ Lucr. 3.934–940.

⁵⁵² Translation provided by Leonard, 1916.

thy tears, and choke thy whines, buffoon!")⁵⁵³ *De Rerum Natura* ends with a description of the historical plague of Athens. Here, Lucretius describes the Athenians as displaying their grief in a chaotic and irrational manner, with the intent to test the audience for understanding the futile nature of these expressions of mourning.⁵⁵⁴ It again underlines the notion that weeping for the dead is unnecessary and that one should do better by rejoicing in the expectation of eternal rest.

In the *Aeneid*, *flere* and *lacrimare* are used interchangeably to signify the mourning of Aeneas, in a similar manner as Vergil's use of *dolor* and *luctus* to portray the mourning of Aeneas for the fate of Troy, his friends and his relatives. For example, Aeneas is caught weeping upon seeing the images of Troy in the temple in Carthage (1.459: *lacrimans*) and mentions that the depictions *sunt lacrimae rerum* (1.462).⁵⁵⁵ A few lines later, the reader is reminded again of the fact that Aeneas is crying while looking at the panels (1.470: *lacrimans*). In the next book, Aeneas, this time describing himself, is portrayed crying when seeing Hector in his dream (2.279: *ultro flens ipse videbar compellare virum et Maestas expromere voces*), and again some time later when seeing the ghost of his deceased wife Creusa (2.784: *lacrimas dilectae pelle Creüsae*; 2.790: *lacrimantem et multa volentem dicere deseruit*). At the beginning of book 3, Aeneas himself describes how he sheds tears (3.10: *litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo*), and again when leaving Andromache's company (3.492: *hos ego disgreiens lacrimis adfabar obortis*). Importantly, book 4 makes an exception from the emotional tears that Aeneas displays throughout the first books when he tells his goodbyes to Dido (4.449: *mens immota manet: lacrimae voluntur inanes*). Despite the pleas of Dido and her sister, his desire to fulfil his divine destiny trumps his emotions. He cries, possibly involuntarily, but remains steadfast, unmoved by his emotions. Again, these tears are contrasted by Aeneas when he meets Dido one final time in the underworld. Here, on three separate occasions, Aeneas weeps for Dido: first, when he begins to speak to Dido (6.455: *demisit lacrimas, dulcique adfatus amore est*), trying to plead with her for forgiveness. After he is done talking, he averts his eyes, while still crying (6.468: *lacrimasque ciebat*) and follows her as she moves

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Clark 2009, 169–170.

⁵⁵⁵ The phrase *sunt lacrimae rerum* has been part of an extensive debate on its meaning and interpretation, not in the least place since both *lacrimae* and *rerum* are ambiguous in their use in this sentence. For an overview of this debate: Wharton 2008.

away from him in tears (6.476: *prosequitur lacrimis longe*). Subsequently, Aeneas strolls into an emotional meeting again, this time with his father. Out of grief and frustration for not being able to embrace his father, waves of tears wash Aeneas' face (6.699: *sic memorans, largo fletu simul ora rigabat*). Aeneas is shown grieving through tears one last time in Book 11, when he mourns his friend Pallas (11.29: *sic ait inlacrimans recipitque ad limina gressum*). Thus, similar to Aeneas' display of grief, he particularly mourns through tears when he grieves for Troy, his comrades and his family and relatives.

2.5.4.2 The epigraphic evidence

A total of 90 funerary inscriptions display either or both *flere* and *lacrimare* (including *fletus* and *lacrimae*). Overall, 32 inscriptions use only *lacrimare* or *lacrimae*.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ Metrical: *AE* 1946, 208: *lacrumans* (Regium Lepidum, 1-30 A.D.); *AE* 1972, 41: *lacrimas* (Rome, 101-150 A.D.); *AE* 1995, 1232: *lachrymnas* (Tilurium, 1-42 A.D. **Inscription no. 9**); *AE* 2015, 185: *lacrimate/lacrimetis* (Rome, 1-30 A.D.); *CIL* 1², 3449g: *lacrumeisque* (Carthago Nova, 50-1 B.C.); *CIL* 3, 11281: *lacrimas* (Carnuntum, 1-50 A.D. **Inscription no. 13**); *CIL* 6, 10105: *lacrimis* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16913: *lacrimam* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 18385: *lacrimas* (Rome, 138-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21200: *lacrima* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23472: *lacrimas* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23818: *lacrimabile/lacrimae* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25063: *lachrimas* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 27060: *lachrimas* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28047: *lachrimandus* (Rome, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28810: *lachrimante* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 29265: *lacrimere* (Rome, 101-130 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37965: *lachrimans* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 4385: *lachrimis* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9437: *lacrimas* (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 4315: *lacrimas* (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3881: *lacrimas* (Supinum Vicus, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 5771: *lachrimis* (Ricina, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 1315: *lacrimasque* (Nola, 101-230 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 659: *lacrimis* (Salernum, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7105: *lacrumas* (Mogontiacum, 27 B.C. – 68 A.D. **Inscription no. 12**); *CLEHisp* 153: *lacrimas* (Comeniaca, 200-300 A.D.). Non-metrical: *AE* 1930, 65: *lacrimet* (Rome, 170-230 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9792: *lachrimis* (Rome, 176-225 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 6957: *lacrimae* (Iuvanum, 201-230 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 2332: *lacrimis* (Clusium, 100-200 A.D.); *ILJug*-3, 2877: *lacrimas* (Nedinum, 150-300 A.D.).

Another 43 use *flere* or *fletus*.⁵⁵⁷ Lastly, 15 inscriptions show both emotion markers.⁵⁵⁸ Both emotion words are much more often attested on verse inscriptions than on prose: in the case of *lacrimare/lacrimae*, 27 of 32 are found on versified epitaphs; for *flere/fletus*, 38 of 43 are inscribed on verse and, when both are attested, it is on a verse-inscription in all cases. Accordingly, in 89% of the epitaphs where the epitaph discusses crying, it is on a verse inscription.

The evidence does not suggest an imbalance between the attestation of crying men and women. Fathers, husbands or brothers are attested weeping in equal numbers as women in their role as mother, wife or sister. On 22 occasions, the epitaph portrays a man crying, of which on 14 occasions, the man cries in his capacity as the father.⁵⁵⁹ In most cases, when the father is the one who cries, he is also identified as

⁵⁵⁷ Metrical: AE 1920, 83: *flere* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); AE 1957, 334: *flendo* (Romula, 171-230 A.D.); AE 1990, 95: *flere* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.); AE 2006, 473: *flebilis* (Gambulaga, 41-54 A.D.); AE 2010, 1263: *flebilis* (Carnuntum, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 2²/7, 497: *flenda* (Corduba, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 2, 5, 1057: *flere* (Urso, 100-200 cent A.D.); CIL 2, 562: *flevit* (Emerita, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 3241: *flere* (Sirmium, 180-230 A.D. **Inscription no. 5**); CIL 3, 9314: *flere* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.); CIL 5, 5320: *fletu* (Comum, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 5824: *fletus* (Mediolanum, 197-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 8652: *fletus* (Iulium Carnicum, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 10096: *fletum* (Rome, 100-44 B.C.); CIL 6, 10971: *flevit* (Rome, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 14786: *flebilis* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 15806: *flet* (Rome, 1st-100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 17622: *flet* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 18290: *fleverunt* (Rome, 81-96 A.D.); CIL 6, 18324: *flebilis* (Rome, 70-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 28877: *fletibus* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 6, 30111a: *flent* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 5953: *flere* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 7872: *fletu* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 8, 12792: *fletu* (Carthago, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 8, 13134: *fles* (Carthago, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 3279: *deflendus* (Corfinium, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 9, 5557: *fletu* (Urbs Salvia, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 9, 6456: *flendusque* (Telesia, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 10, 7563: *flet* (Carales, 131-170 A.D.); CIL 11, 4431: *flebilis* (Ameria, 10 B.C.-10 A.D.); CIL 11, 5667: *flevire* (Nuceria Camellaria, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 11, 6507: *defleo/deflent* (Sassina, 51-150 A.D.); CIL 13, 7002: *flevisset* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 8**); CIL 13, 8644: *flete/fletibus* (Vetera, 10-69 A.D. **Inscription no. 11**); CIL 14, 636: *flevit* (Ostia Antica, 131-170 A.D.); CLE 1076: *fleverit/fletu* (Carthago Nova, 1-40 A.D.); RIB 684: *defleo* (Eboracum, 100-200 A.D. **Inscription no. 14**). Non-metrical: AE 1974, 260: *flebilis* (Puteoli, 51-130 A.D.); AE 2008, 403: *flentibus* (Venafrum, 1-70 A.D.); Bfoligno-1984, 501: *flebilis* (Fulginiae, 51-120 A.D.); CIL 6, 37317: *flentes* (Rome, 96-98 A.D.); ILJug-3: 2827: *flevit* (Varvaria, 151-300 A.D.).

⁵⁵⁸ CIL 3, 2197: *lacrumas/fleo* (Salona, 1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 10**); CIL 3, 6384: *lachrimis/fletus* (Salona, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 686: *lacrimem/flere* (Philippi, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 6693: *lacrimae/flevire* (Vercellae, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 10097: *lacrimis/defleti* (Rome, 54-68 A.D.); CIL 6, 12652: *lacrimae/fletu* (Rome, 14-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 21521: *lacrimis/flerem/flere/defleat* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 25369: *lacrumas/fletus* (Rome, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 26680: *lacrimas/flet* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 27383: *lacrimis/defletaue* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 9, 3071: *lachrumis/fletibus* (Interpromium, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 7271: *lachrimantes/deflere* (Corfinium, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 1275: *lacrimam/flevit* (Nola, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 207: *lacrimis/flere* (Ravenna, 201-230 A.D.); CIL 11, 5335: *lacrimoso/fletus* (Hispellum, 100-200 A.D.).

⁵⁵⁹ CIL 2²/5, 1057: *desine flere parens* (Urso, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 2197: *coniugis ammisae lacrumas satis esse putavi ... amissis natis maxima damna fleo* (Salona, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 2²/7, 497: *hic sita est infans patri per saecula flenda* (Corduba, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 3, 11281: *scripsi ego per lacrimas miserabilis morte puellae* (Carnuntum, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 5, 5320: *senium fletu renovator* (Comum, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 10096: *reliqui fletum nata genitori meo* (Rome, 100-44 B.C.); CIL 6, 25063: *cum te, nate, fleo ... ad lacrimas veniet* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 27383: *pater quis non volta riget lacrimis maerore coactus* (Rome); CIL 6, 28047: *hic lacrumandus erit* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 9, 3881: *pater ... cui reliquit lacrimas* (Supinum Vicus, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 207: *tempera iam genitor lacrimis tuque* (Ravenna,

the dedicator of the monument. *CLE* 445 is the exception. Here, father and mother are specifically indicated as both being dedicators (*Carpophorus pater et Felicula mater filiae pientissimae*), but the grief of the father and mother is differentiated by stating that the former will always cry for his daughter (*patri per saecula flenda*), while the latter will long for her incessantly (*assiduae mater maerore requirit*). To a lesser extent, men are depicted crying in their capacity as husband, namely four times,⁵⁶⁰ or once as brother.⁵⁶¹ Similarly, on three occasions, the man has no blood relation with the deceased, which will all be studied in the paragraphs below.⁵⁶²

Women are depicted crying on 14 occasions and, similarly to men, dominate in their role as parent, as nine cases show the mother to cry.⁵⁶³ In four additional cases, the woman is crying in her capacity as the wife,⁵⁶⁴ and only once as sister.⁵⁶⁵ In nine out of nine cases where the mother is depicted weeping, the inscription follows the pattern of the deceased speaking to the mother, asking her to dry her tears. This trope is also found in the epitaph where the sister weeps, as the monument asks the sister to stop her weeping. Conversely, the man is implored to stop his weeping on only three occasions, twice as a father and once as a husband. Two of the three epitaphs diverge from the *desine* motif that is found on every epitaph where the woman is implored to stop her weeping. In the remaining number of inscriptions that depict *flere* or *lacrimare*, the weeper is either non-identifiable or refers to both the mother and the

201-230 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 2332: *pater dolens lachrimis* (Clusium, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7002: *flevisset genitor; occidit ipse prior* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D.); *RIB* 684: *miserandus defleo finem* (Eboracum, 100-200 A.D. **Inscription no. 14**).

⁵⁶⁰ *CIL* 6, 12652: *parce tuam, coniunx, fletu quassare iuventam fataque maerendo sollicitare mea. Nil prosunt lacrimae nec possunt fata moveri* (Rome, 14-70 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 15806: *nam flet amissam aeterno tempore coniunx* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 6507: *salve care mihi coniunx ... defleo te* (Sassina, 51-150 A.D.).

⁵⁶¹ *CIL* 6, 28877: *quos pius saepe colit frater coniunxq(ue) puellae atque obitum nostrum fletibus usque luunt* (Rome, 101-250 A.D.).

⁵⁶² *AE* 1995, 1232: *et dixit lachrymnas* (Tilurium, 1-42 A.D. **Inscription no. 9**); *CIL* 3, 3241: *flere necesse est* (Sirmium, 180-230 A.D. **Inscription no. 5**); *CIL* 3, 7002: *flevete sodales* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 8**).

⁵⁶³ *AE* 1920, 83: *desine flere meos casus culcissima mater* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *AE* 1990, 95: *desine flere meos casus, rogo, desine mater luctu te miseram totos exagitare dies* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9314: *desine iam de me dulcis matercula flere* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 5824: *fletus in perpetuo miserae reliquisti dolore* (Mediolanum, 197-300 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 8652: *et misera mater ... cottidie fletus dat* (Iulium Carnicum, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 7872: *desine iam frustra mater mea desine fletu* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10105: *desine iam mater lacrimis renovare querellas* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 5771: *et mater similem lachrimis titulum sue pellici iunxit* (Ricina, 1-150 A.D.); *CLE* 1076: *heu quantum mater flevit indicio* (Carthago Nova, 1-40 A.D.).

⁵⁶⁴ *AE* 1957, 334: *hanc Iuliano domum flendo fabricavi* (Romula, 171-230 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9792: *ut me relinqueres in lachrimis* (Rome, 176-225 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37317: *flente super se marito* (Rome, 96-98 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 636: *hunc coniunx posuit terrae et sua tristia flevit* (Ostia Antica, 131-170 A.D.).

⁵⁶⁵ *CIL* 6, 5953: *desine soror me iam flere sepulcro* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.).

father in their capacity as parents. Finally, *flere/lacrimare* could be invoked for entities that fall in neither category, such as those without blood ties (i.e. one epitaph from a master for his dog,⁵⁶⁶ or Fuscus the rider's epitaph, dedicated by his fans⁵⁶⁷) the anonymous crowd,⁵⁶⁸ or the reader of the monument.⁵⁶⁹

2.5.4.3 The Ancyran Lucius Mummius

The first inscription studied is **inscription no. 9**, dated between 9 and 42 A.D. and originating from Tilurium, modern-day Gardun, in the province of Dalmatia.⁵⁷⁰ The *terminus ante quem* is indicated by the exclusion of the legion's epithet *Claudia pia fidelis*, which was awarded to the legion following their fidelity to Claudius in light of the rebellion of Scribonius in 42 A.D.⁵⁷¹ The monument is 1.74 m high and 0.6m wide. It consists of three different text fields. The uppermost text consists of the name, affiliation, age and profession of the deceased. It is flanked by two Corinthian columns and vaulted by a triangular pediment. The pediment features a human head in the middle of a triangle, with a griffin in each of the upper corners outside of the triangle, turning towards the vertical axis of the inscription. The middle text field features the bulk of the inscription. Below it, the field is filled with a military medal braided with nine *phalerae* surrounded by rings. The lower text field is unadorned.⁵⁷² The monument follows a theme that centralises around the motif of an *aedicula*, as it portrays a representation of the small ancient Roman building. In many cases, the upper part portrays the *aedicula*, while the lower part follows the theme of a 'door-representation' or *Türdarstellung*. This part represents two doors, each divided into two panels, and was particularly popular among the military funerary steles of Tilurium.⁵⁷³ Similar monuments have been attested in Tilurium as well as Salona and Bigeste. The similarities between the monuments led scholars to accept that all originate from the same workshop in Tilurium.⁵⁷⁴ However, in the case of this epitaph,

⁵⁶⁶ *CIL* 10, 659: *portavi lacrimis madidus te, nostra catella, quod feci lustris laetior ante tribus* (Salernum, 100-200 A.D.).

⁵⁶⁷ *CIL* 2²/14, 1285: *fudimus insonti lacrimas* (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.).

⁵⁶⁸ *CIL* 6, 7578: *flevit et immense turba funusque secuta* (Rome, 126 A.D.).

⁵⁶⁹ *CIL* 10, 1275: *dole meator, quisquis hoc legis carmen, et ut meretur anima, lacrimam accomoda* (Nola, 100-200 A.D.).

⁵⁷⁰ *AE* 1995, 1232.

⁵⁷¹ Sanader 2003, 502.

⁵⁷² Tončinić 2011, 71-72.

⁵⁷³ Lozić 2021, 41-42.

⁵⁷⁴ Sanader/Tončinić 2013, 172.

the monument diverges from the door-representation by showing the *phalerae* and rings instead. This particular motif is unattested on other monuments from the province.

Tilurium was a military camp that housed the *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* until the mid-1st century A.D, followed by the *legiones XI claudia pia fidelis* and *IV flavia felix*, the *cohortes II cyrrhestarum, I belgarum, III alpinorum*, and *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, and the *alae claudia nova* and *tungrorum frontoniana*.⁵⁷⁵ The prominence of the *legio VII* in Tilurium is substantiated by the many epigraphic records from the military camp that attest to the legion; only Salona shows more attestations of the legion, which is due to the fact that many veterans settled here after their military service.⁵⁷⁶ Four other verse inscriptions have been found in Tilurium. Three of these are similarly dedicated to deceased soldiers of the *legio VII* and are contemporary dated to Mummius' monument.⁵⁷⁷ The remaining is a verse inscription dedicated to a child, roughly dated between 1 and 150 A.D.⁵⁷⁸

*L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Ancyra / miles leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXXVI /⁵ stipend(iorum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis / hic situs est fato Mummius ipse suo / si sapient obiti data munera percipis am(pla) /¹⁰ et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae / hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus / et dixit lachrymnas (!) sit tibi ter(r)a levis M(arcus) Cornelius M(arc)i l(ibertus) / Chrestus posuit.*⁵⁷⁹

Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius from the Fabius Tribus, a native of Ancyra, a soldier of the VII legion, died at the age of XXXVI and after XVI years of military service. By the will of destiny here lies Mummius, who carried felicitous weapons two times eight years. When the deceased are aware of the gifts bestowed on them, you see them rich (splendid) and receive the vow (proof) of our friendship. This and the inscription was erected for you by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, who – in tears – said: “may the earth rest lightly on you.” The monument was erected by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, a freedman of Marcus.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁵ Sanader/Tončinić 2013, 412; Radman-Livaja 2022, table 1; Sanader 2017, 402–403.

⁵⁷⁶ Sanader/Tončinić 2013, 417.

⁵⁷⁷ *CIL* 3, 2709 (9-42 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9733 (9-42 A.D.); *CLE* 1876 (9-42 A.D.).

⁵⁷⁸ *CIL* 3, 2722 (1-150 A.D.).

⁵⁷⁹ Tončinić 2011, 73, no. 42.

⁵⁸⁰ Radman-Livaja 2010, 109.

The deceased Lucius Mummius originates from the tribe *Fabii* at Ancyra.⁵⁸¹ The inclusion of its tribal membership proves that the soldiers or veterans held Roman citizenship. It is therefore unusual to not find a *cognomen* on the epitaph, which otherwise mentions only the *praenomen* and *gentilicium*.

The dedicator of the monument is the freedman Marcus Cornelius Chrestus. No other indication of the relationship between the deceased and dedicator is given, except for the inclusion of the phrase *nostrae pignus amicitiae*. With this, Chrestus indicates how the monument he erected for his friend was meant as a testament to their bond, which was held together by friendship. The same phrase is found on a 2nd century A.D. verse inscription from Umbria, which similarly links the monument to a testament of their friendship: *testatur titulus pignus amicitiae*.⁵⁸² Cugusi notes that this particular line refers to the *pignus amicitiae* in a similar way as a passage from Martial: *tu qui longa potes dispendia ferre viarum, I, liber, absentis pignus amicitiae*.⁵⁸³ Martial uses the phrase as a way to accentuate the book he sends his friend Marcus Antonius, which marks his friendship by sending it directly from the author, rather than through a book dealer.⁵⁸⁴ Nevertheless, as the date of the monument precedes Martial at least by half a century, the inscription could not have been directly influenced by this particular line.

To invigorate his gift for his friend, he adds the participle *lachrymnas*, meant as *lacrimans*. If the use of *lacrimans* here is compared with other epigraphic evidence, it becomes clear that the commemoration of a crying man on an epitaph is, on its own, not an uncommon occurrence; as has been attested, a man is displayed in many roles as grieving by weeping. Furthermore, it is similarly common for men to portray themselves as crying in epitaphs: the weeper and dedicator are often identified as one and the same, as is also the case on the epitaph discussed here. This monument to Lucius Mummius stands out for its portrayal of grief for a deceased person who is not identified as a blood relative or former slave of the commemorator. In most cases, a man is only portrayed crying if he mourns his relatives, such as his wife, child or other

⁵⁸¹ Although several other inscriptions from Troesmis (Moesia Inferior), dated to the 2nd century A.D., attest of soldiers who were member of the *Fabii* tribe from Ancyra, the name is not mentioned in relation to the Balkans or to the first half of the 1st century A.D.

⁵⁸² *CIL* 11, 5927.

⁵⁸³ Mart. 9.99.6: "Do you, who can put up with long journeys, go, my book, pledge of an absent friendship." Translation provided by Ker 1920.

⁵⁸⁴ Cugusi 2015, 25.

members of his *familia*. Men attested as weeping for the dead that otherwise did not hold a relation with the owner are represented to a much lesser degree. Exceptions have been named previously, such as the owner weeping for his dog or the fans for their favourite racing rider, but these are scarce. In this case, the epitaph delineates their relationship as being marked by friendship. This is a unique epitaph from the Roman Empire because it is the only one, among both prose and verse inscriptions, to express sadness for a friend with tears.

2.5.4.4 The freedman Faustus' family

Inscription no. 10 originates from Salona, Dalmatia and is dated to the 1st century A.D.⁵⁸⁵ It has only partially survived from antiquity as only three parts of the original monument remain. Two of these partially show the funerary iconography and are currently housed in the museum of Split and of Trogir. The largest piece, which features the inscription, is lost and only transmitted in the form of a sketch by artist Ivan Danilo from 1805.⁵⁸⁶ The monument consists of a portrait stele, depicting four persons, two adults, most likely the parents, and two youths, quite possibly the children. The portrait is flanked by two pillars and is housed in a niche, in a similar manner as the *aedicula*-monuments found elsewhere in the province.⁵⁸⁷ The lower portion of the monument features the inscription which, according to the drawing, consists of two separate text fields. The first is framed and tells the reader how it was constructed for his wife Attia and their two sons, while the second inscription was dedicated to the freedwoman Attia Ampliata.⁵⁸⁸ Both inscriptions consist of a prose part, which indicates the dedicators and dedicatees, as well as a verse part, which elaborates on the circumstances of the donation of the monument.

Salona was incorporated into the Roman Empire in the 1st century B.C. and was formally declared a *colonia* during Julius Caesar's reign. Throughout the centuries, it grew in importance as a trade hub and, at one point, functioned as the capital of the province of Dalmatia.⁵⁸⁹ The importance of the city within the province is indicated by the large presence of epigraphic evidence from the city. Haensch noted in 1997 that

⁵⁸⁵ Maršić 2004, 144.

⁵⁸⁶ *AE* 2004, 1100.

⁵⁸⁷ Maršić 2004, 122–123.

⁵⁸⁸ Maršić 2004, 133.

⁵⁸⁹ Haensch 1997, 79–80.

the city provided more than 1600 inscriptions dating to the Roman period.⁵⁹⁰ With updated editions being published each year, this number continues to grow to the point that Salona provides the largest epigraphic output of the province of Dalmatia.⁵⁹¹ Research dating from 2015 into the epigraphic attestations of the military on Salonian inscriptions indicates that at least 259 inscriptions from the principate are directly associated with the Roman legion.⁵⁹² The bulk of the epigraphic evidence from Salona derives from its burial grounds, which yield inscriptions dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D., although some later Christian burial sites have yielded younger inscriptions.⁵⁹³ Likewise, the number of verse inscriptions from Salona is significantly higher than from other cities in the province. 36 of the 66 pagan funerary verse inscriptions found in Dalmatia are from Salona. Of these, 25 can be dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.⁵⁹⁴

*M(arcus) Attius M(arcī) l(ibertus) F[a]ustus / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae
M(arcī) l(ibertae) / Secundae coniugi sanc(tissimae) / et M(arco) Attio
M(arcī) f(ilio) Crispo /⁵ et M(arco) Attio M(arcī) f(ilio) Secundo.*

*Coniugis ammisae lacrimas satis esse putavi / me fudisse meae vimque
tulisse deum. / Et tuleram graviter sed nunc et solus et orbis / amissis natis
maxima damna fleo. /¹⁰ Et testor superos patri quae ponere nati / debuerant
natis ponere dona patrem. Attia M(arcī) l(iberta) Ampliata / annor(um)
XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

*Florente aetate depressere venificae / mensesque quinque et annum cum
aegrotaverit /¹⁵ abreptam aetate in inferi Ditis specus. / Hunc titulum posuit
Faustus libertae suae.⁵⁹⁵*

Marcus Attius Faustus, freedman of Marcus, made this monument, during his lifetime, for himself and for Attia Secunda, freedwoman of Marcus, most venerable wife, and for Marcus Attius Crispus, son of Marcus, and Marcus Attius Secundus, son of Marcus.

⁵⁹⁰ Haensch 1997, 76.

⁵⁹¹ Kurilić 2006, 133.

⁵⁹² Matijević, I. 2015, 132.

⁵⁹³ Ivanišević 2016.

⁵⁹⁴ *AE* 1933, 74 (1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 30**); *CIL* 3, 11281 (31-70 A.D. **Inscription no. 13**); *CIL* 3, 12987 (1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 13062 (100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 13119 (1-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14294, 2 (151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14644 (100-200 A.D. **Inscription no. 37**); *CIL* 3, 14764 (101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14850 (1-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 26**); *CIL* 3, 14855 (1-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1992 (200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2083 (31-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2183 (1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2197 (1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 10**, discussed here); *CIL* 3, 2341 (1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2519 (171-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2609 (101-130 A.D. **Inscription no. 23**); *CIL* 3, 2667 (200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 6384 (151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8739 (1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8836 (151-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 39**); *CIL* 3, 9061 (151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9106 (150-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9302 (151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9314 (1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9449 (1-300 A.D.); *ILJug*-3, 2217 (1-150 A.D.).

⁵⁹⁵ Edition provided by Maršić 2004, 133.

Many tears have I shed grieving over my deceased wife: I believe I have experienced enough of the gods' potency. This I bear with great difficulty, and now all alone in the world having lost my children, I weep in grievous sorrow. May the gods bear witness that the gifts which the father was to receive from his sons are now bequeathed by the father.

Attia Ampliata, freedwoman of Marcus, lies here at the age of 23.

As her youth was flourishing, witches cut her down, snatched away from her youth into the caverns of infernal Dis when she had been ill for a year and five months. Faustus set up this epitaph for his freedwoman.⁵⁹⁶

The inscription consists of two parts. The first is dedicated by the freedman Marcus Attius Faustus to his wife Attia and their two sons, Crispus and Secundus. The wife Attia was also a freedwoman of the same master. The dedication-part is followed by the versified part consisting of six lines of elegiac couplet, which is fully dedicated to displaying the husband's grief. He mourns for his wife in a manner which, as shown in the paragraph above, is a common occurrence: *coniugis amissae lacrimas satis esse putavi*. Furthermore, the inscription informs the reader that he also lost both his sons for whom he chose to display himself crying as well: *amissis natis maxima damna fleo*. The first verse inscription ends with the theme of commemorating that the father gave to his sons what he should have received from them: *et testor superos, patri quae ponere nati debuerant, natis ponere dona patrem*. The *mors immatura* of the children are accentuated by the fact that the line highlights a break with what the dedicator perceives to be the natural order of life. Under normal circumstances, the children bury their parents; in this particular case, however, the father is forced to take on the role of his children and grant them their grave. This theme is widely attested on Latin epitaphs.⁵⁹⁷ It could be part of elaborate verse inscriptions, such as *hos pater inscripsi versus dictante dolore fortuna ima satus, quod non mihi talia natus composuit post esequias nostrisque dicavit*,⁵⁹⁸ or could feature as a single line in prose: *ita fecimus quot fili nostri non faciunt*⁵⁹⁹ or *pater filio quod filius patri facere debuerat*.⁶⁰⁰ Clearly, the

⁵⁹⁶ Courtney 1995, no. 198; Maršić 2004, 144.

⁵⁹⁷ Lattimore 1942, 187-194; Gorostidi Pi 2019, 72; Carroll 2018, 244. For the treatment of Roman attitudes towards infant's death in general, see Carroll 2018, 208-237.

⁵⁹⁸ *CIL* 8, 1359: "the father composed these verses dictating in pain, born to a lowly fate, one which my birth did not ordain, after my funeral, he dedicated them to us." (Tichilla, 138-160 A.D.) Author's translation.

⁵⁹⁹ *CIL* 8, 4487: "so we did what our children did not." (Tubunae, undated). Author's translation.

⁶⁰⁰ *CIL* 10, 484: "father to son what the son ought to have done for the father." (Paestum, 101-140 A.D.). Author's translation.

premature death of a child not only caused great grief but also confronted the dedicator with the uncertainty for the future of the parents. Besides immediate issues such as grief and burial, the unexpected death of descendants forced the relatives to reconsider matters such as legacy and elderly care. These concerns were logically aggravated when the parent dealt with multiple premature deaths, as is the case in this inscription, leaving Faustus without any descendants, *solus et orbus*.

Such concerns are not only prevalent in epigraphy but moreover in literary works, as the theme of premature loss of life was common in Roman (and Greek) literature. Herodotus already connected the theme of premature death (and the inversion of the natural order of life and death) with war⁶⁰¹ in the 5th century B.C., and it also played a significant role in Vergil's *Aeneid*. On as many as nine occasions, Vergil invokes the death of sons in front of their father's or parents eyes (*ante ora parentum*),⁶⁰² and the cruelty of the *mors immatura* as commemorated by a father for his son is probably best exemplified in book 11, where Evander mourns for his son Pallas: when Evander sees the bier carrying his son's corpse, he cries out for Pallas and states that *contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes restarem ut genitor* (Aen. 11.160–161: "I, by surviving you, have achieved no more than surpassing my due of life. I'm a father who has outlived his own son."),⁶⁰³ explicitly calling his death *immatura mors* (Aen. 11.166–167). The premature death of a child is similarly attested as a reason for great feelings of grief by the large number of private correspondences dealing with the matter. As previously demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs, Seneca expresses disdain for the excessive grief of Marullus for his son.⁶⁰⁴ Similarly, letters from Cicero and Pliny the Younger attest to the private feelings of grief experienced by their correspondents and indicate a sentiment of profound distress at the death of children (even in cases where, as with Pliny, the deceased was not a relative).⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰¹ Hdt. 1.87.4: ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας; "for in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons." Translation provided by Godley 1920.

⁶⁰² See, for example, Verg. *Aen.* 1.95: *quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis*; 2.663: *natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras*; 5.553: *incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum*. On the topic of this particular phrase in the *Aeneid*: O'Sullivan 2009.

⁶⁰³ Translation provided by Ahl 2007.

⁶⁰⁴ See pages 71–72.

⁶⁰⁵ Cic. *Att.* 12.15–16; Plin. *Ep.* 5.16.

The second part of the inscription is dedicated to Attia Ampliata, the freedwoman of Marcus, who died at the age of 23. The versified part of the inscription states in iambic meter that she had been suffering from illness for over a year before finally succumbing and dying. In contrast to the wife and children of Marcus, the freedwoman is not the recipient of tears. This discrepancy could be explained by Ampliata's status as a freedwoman that rendered her a member of the family household in greater distance to Marcus than were his blood-relatives. Possibly, convention dictated that Ampliata, as a member of the *familia*, was not entitled to receive the same sentiment as did Marcus' wife and children, who were blood-related. Whether or not those feelings were perceived as such by Marcus, he chose to commemorate his freedwoman without the display of emotions, which could have been a deliberate choice on his part. Nevertheless, the discrepancy could be circumstantial and may not have been placed there intentionally to signify a distinction in the emotional attachment of Marcus between his nuclear and his extended *familia*. Possibly, stylistic choices or a difference in authorship of the two inscriptions dictated the difference in wording. Nevertheless, any reasoning for the difference in wording is hampered by the fact that the monument provides no indication of the order in which Marcus' relatives died and whose death preceded whose. The fact that the inscription for Ampliata was inscribed separately on the monument gives reason to believe that she died after the death of Marcus' wife and his sons. Perhaps Ampliata died while the monument was still at the workshop, or it may have only been edited once the monument was placed on the burial ground.

2.5.4.5 Calventius

Inscription no. 11 is found on a monument that has only survived in the form of a manuscript. The manuscript, which dates from around 1650, was recorded by one Johannes Turck and is based on an inscription found around Vetera (modern-day Xanten) in Germania Inferior⁶⁰⁶ in 1623.⁶⁰⁷ Since the monument has been lost, no measurements of the inscription survive. The monument dates between 10 and 69 A.D., as this is the period in which the *legio V Alaudae* was stationed at Vetera.⁶⁰⁸ Vetera

⁶⁰⁶ The first edition of the inscription was made by Brambach 1867, no. 218, cf. *CIL* 13, 8644.

⁶⁰⁷ Schroeder 1894, 7.

⁶⁰⁸ Schalles 2006, 113.

was founded as a military camp around 12 B.C. and housed various legions, among them *legio V Alaudae*, until the camp was destroyed in the Batavi-rebellion in 69–70 A.D.⁶⁰⁹ Subsequently, another camp - aptly called Vetera II by scholars - was built at the same location, while a civic settlement started to appear several kilometres removed from Vetera. Trajan elevated this civic settlement to the rank of *colonia*, after which it was called Colonia Ulpia Traiana.⁶¹⁰

Although quite a number of Roman funerary inscriptions have survived from Vetera, only one other inscription, found on the monument dedicated to the Treveran rider Silvanus (which will be studied in greater detail in paragraph 2.5.6.5) is created in verse. The monument for Silvanus Loupus was found on a *Totenmahl*-monument dedicated by his sister, who uniquely highlighted her relationship with the brother through the invocation of *amantis*. Similarly, this is the only monument from Vetera that displays weeping for the deceased, making these inscriptions unique in that they both were composed in verse and both display emotion words.

Have Calventi! Calv/entius te resalutat. / C(aius) Calventius Omul(l)/i f(ilius) Ouf(entina tribu) Med(iolano) hic situs /⁵ est an(norum) XLIIX mil(es) leg(ionis) V / [st]ip(endiorum) XXIIIX et coniugi et / [fili]o. Frater pro pietate. / [Flete] coaequales! Mors haec / [mea fletibu]s apta est. Vi(vi)t(e) fel(i)ces q(u)i(bus) e(st) /¹⁰[--- p]ar patria dulcis [---] / [---] sese sua [---].⁶¹¹
Greetings Calventius ! Calventius returns your greeting. Here lies Caius Calventius, son of Omullus, of the tribe Oufentina, a native of Mediolanum, 48 years old, a soldier of the fifth legion, 28 years of service, and his wife and son. For piety, his brother. [Weep], you who find yourselves in the same situation! The death of this one deserves [my tears]. Live happily, [---], the sweet country [---].⁶¹²

The monument is erected for the veteran Caius Calventius and his anonymous wife and son. Calventius is only mentioned by his *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, a practice which occurred in the regions of Gaul and Germania up to around 50 A.D, after which it became extremely rare.⁶¹³ Incidentally, a bronze helmet from Xanten shows multiple

⁶⁰⁹ Bridger 2006, 142.

⁶¹⁰ Schädler 2004, 505.

⁶¹¹ Edition provided by Gérardin 2009, 278, no. 8.

⁶¹² Author's translation.

⁶¹³ Dondin-Payre/Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, vii; Mullen 2013, 128.

engraved names on the neck guard, among them one T(iberi) Calventi.⁶¹⁴ The popularity of the name among citizens and soldiers in Germania is also attested on two inscriptions dated to the later Imperial period.⁶¹⁵ The inscription informs the reader that Calventius served in the fifth legion for 28 years and that he originated from Mediolanum, from the *tribus* Oufentina. Multiple epitaphs from Germania Inferior show how recruits from Mediolanum found their way to the German border, as twice attested in epitaphs from Bonna.⁶¹⁶ The monument dedicated to Lucius Magius Dubius corresponds to the manuscript of Turck in as far as similarly depicting a pediment, flanked by flowers and filled with a rosette. However, the inscription is less elaborate than that for Calventius and is written in prose. Furthermore, the inscription mentions Omullus, the father of Calventius.

The inscription is dedicated by Calventius' brother, whose name remains anonymous and is only referred to as *frater* (l. 7, although his name might have been included in the now lost part of the monument). However, in this context, *frater* might refer to a fellow soldier of Calventius and thus has a similar meaning as *sodalis*. The military background of both is attested similarly through the employment of *sodalis*, which is used twice on the epitaph. *Frater* was often used to describe a form of brotherhood between non-blood related individuals and was used synonymously for *sodalis*.⁶¹⁷ This is not only attested in literary sources but is also substantiated by other epigraphic sources.⁶¹⁸ The likelihood of *frater* referring to a comrade of Calventius rather than a relative is further supported by the fact that the epitaph records that Calventius originated from Mediolanum, far removed from his last resting place. If the dedicator was Calventius' brother, he either enrolled in the same legion as his brother or travelled to the settlement to pay him his last honours. Furthermore, as argued by Kepartová, legal reasons also motivate the dedicator to acknowledge himself as *frater* over *amicus*.⁶¹⁹ *Digest* 28.5.59.1 records the following: *qui frater non est, si fraterna caritate diligitur, recte cum nomine suo sub appellatione fratris heres instituitur* ("If a

⁶¹⁴ Bongartz 2013, 152.

⁶¹⁵ *CIL* 13, 8377: *Crispinae Calventius Atilianus* (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 171-300 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 11791: *Titus Calventius Marcellinus* (Stockstadt am Main, 186 A.D.).

⁶¹⁶ *CIL* 13, 8071: *Lucius Magius Luci Oufentina Dubius Mediolani* (Bonna, 89-96 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 8079: *Quintus Petilius Quinti filius Oufentina Secundus domo Mediolano* (Bonna, 39-70 A.D.).

⁶¹⁷ Armstrong, J. 2013, 54

⁶¹⁸ Kepartová 1986, 14.

⁶¹⁹ Kepartová 1986, 12.

person is not a brother of the testator, but entertains fraternal affection for him, he can legally be appointed his heir by mentioning his name with the appellation of brother.”) Thus, the explicit mention of the dedicator as *frater* instead of *amicus* entailed legal connotations for the functioning of the legal heir. That the dedicator had legal matters on his mind is further attested through a recent interpretation of the last line by Kakoschke. He follows Diedenhofen, who reconstructs the final line of the epitaph as [*her*]es e sua [*pec(unia) e(rexit)*].⁶²⁰ If this interpretation is accepted, the *frater* positions himself with this sentence clearly as the main heir to the testament of Calventius. The choice of this non-blood relative as the heir for Calventius would not be an exception, as the inscription tells us, Calventius also lost his wife and his son. It might just be that no relatives survived Calventius, thus giving a reason for the anonymous dedicator to function as the rightful heir to Calventius’ legacy. This practice was not uncommon, as evidence suggests that in many instances when the soldier had not saved up sufficiently for his commemoration, his fellow soldiers were designated as heirs and thus arranged the last rites.⁶²¹

The inscription invokes crying by asking those that mourn like the dedicator (*coaequales*) to weep, after which it mentions that it is no more than fitting to weep. The monument thereby explicitly showcases how the dedicators are convinced that the situation calls for tears and that grieving through weeping is socially accepted and, perhaps to a certain extent, was expected of the relatives. Furthermore, it is exceptional in the fact that it, like the inscription for Mummius, displays tears between men without blood-relation – if accepted that the *frater* in the inscription is a brother in arms, not an actual brother. Again, it shows how the comradery between military personnel allowed for the display of emotions, and indicates that weeping for fallen brothers was not suppressed but rather encouraged and fostered in funerary monuments.

2.5.4.6 The *libertus* Lesbius

Inscription no. 12 originates from Mogontiacum and is dated to the 1st century A.D., specifically the Julio-Claudian era.⁶²² The limestone monument is 1.4m high and

⁶²⁰ Kakoschke 2017, 18.

⁶²¹ Hope 2003b, 86.

⁶²² Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 158.

0.48m wide. The inscription features in a text field that takes up most of the monument, ending at the top in an arch; above it a pediment with two acroteria. For a short description of ancient Mogontiacum, see paragraph 2.5.2.5.⁶²³

C(aius) Seccius C(ai) lib(ertus) / Lesbius an(norum) XX / hic s(itus) est / cum mihi prima no⁵vos spargebat flore / iuventus, heu miser ae/tatis praemia nulla iu/li. Bis denis mihi mors / annis accessit iniqua /¹⁰ ingemit et damno Sec/cius ille gravi. Di meli/ora precor pro nostro / munera casu sentiat / et plures possit habere /¹⁵ suos. Hic tumulum titu/lumq(ue) mihi donavit ho/nori et proprium no/men destinat in lac/rumas. Bene merenti.⁶²⁴

Gaius Seccius Lesbius, de freedman of Gaius, 20 years old, lies here. When the first youth barely strewned me with fresh flowers, alas! There I, poor one, had no enjoyment of my age. When I reached the age of twice ten years, the hostile fate came to me, and that Seccius groaned over the heavy loss. O gods! May he – I ask – enjoy better goods for my departure and be able to keep more of his own. He dedicated tomb and inscription to my honour and makes his own name the object of tears. To the well-deserved.⁶²⁵

The inscription is dedicated to Caius Seccius Lesbius, freedman of Caius, who passed away at the age of 20. It is generally assumed that this inscription is one of three dedicated by Caius Seccius to his (former) slaves, as two other inscriptions have been uncovered in Mogontiacum that similarly bear the name Caius Seccius: one inscription is dedicated to the freedman Corintus, who died at the age of 30;⁶²⁶ another to the freedman Verecundus, 25 years old and slave Romanus, who died at the age of 12.⁶²⁷ Despite the fact that all three inscriptions make mention of their (former) master Caius Seccius, there is no conclusive proof that all three attestations refer to one and the same person and it might well be that these inscriptions deal with multiple synonymous members of the Seccii.⁶²⁸ Unfortunately, the epitaph reveals little about the profession of this inscription's Seccius; there is no explicit mention of a military

⁶²³ See pages 108–110.

⁶²⁴ Edition provided by Boppert 1992b, 81. Full stops are not provided in Boppert's edition and are added by the author.

⁶²⁵ Author's translation, based on the German translation of Boppert 1992b, 81.

⁶²⁶ *CIL* 8, 7104 (Mogontiacum, 1-50 A.D.).

⁶²⁷ *CIL* 8, 7106 (Mogontiacum, 1-50 A.D.).

⁶²⁸ The *editio princeps* by Lehne already notes the similarities of this inscription's provenance with the other two of the Seccii and connects them to one and the same person: Lehne 1837, 420–421. Lazzaro only refers to *une très grande famille* (Lazzaro 1993, 213) but Schipp does not question the multiplicity of the inscriptions' dedicators and strictly refers to *der großzügige Patron Gaius Seccius* (Schipp 2017, 15–27).

career despite the provenance of the inscription in a Roman military cemetery.⁶²⁹ It is therefore assumed that Seccius procured his wealth – which he must have had at some point in his life, given the fact that he and his family procured at least four slaves, of which three were manumitted – as a civilian who traded with the legions stationed at Mogontiacum.⁶³⁰

With the exception of *praecscriptum*, the monument is written entirely in the first person, using the perspective of the deceased to address the reader. It commemorates his life first, reiterating the common trope of life flowering before it is abruptly ended by death. Further on, it focuses on the sorrow felt by his former master, Caius Seccius. Cugusi notes that the phrase *Di, meliora* appears in the Georgics of Vergil. In book 3, line 513 reads: *di meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!*⁶³¹ The monument ends by mentioning that the patron was responsible for the construction of the monument. The gravestone demonstrates how Latin epitaphs were used as a type of witness to the generosity of the commemorator. Seccius' generosity towards Lesbius stands in contrast to the monuments to his family's other slaves and freedmen, none of whom received a poetic inscription but prose inscriptions instead.

The monument displays the grief of Caius Seccius with two emotion markers. First, through *gemitus* (which will be studied in detail in paragraph 2.5.5.3), and second through *lacrumas*. The latter is used in the sentence *et proprium nomen destinat in lacrumas*. As has become clear in the paragraph discussing tears for freedmen and freedwomen, it was not uncommon for (former) masters to show their grief for their (erstwhile) slaves through tears. However, the use of *destinat* poses a problem for interpreting this sentence, because it is unclear whether Seccius intends to express that he himself will one day be bewailed by including his name on the monument, or the sentence is to be interpreted in the sense that his freedman and member of the Seccii-*familia* will carry his name into future generations. Regardless, the combined use of *lacrimae* with *nomen* refers to the monument and inscription that makes sure that the name of the survivor will live on and, eventually, will be mourned with tears. This phrase is an exception to the use of tears on Roman epitaphs. It is not the commemorator's tears that flow for the name of the deceased, but it is the tears of

⁶²⁹ Schipp 2017, 19.

⁶³⁰ Schipp 2013, 88.

⁶³¹ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 158.

future mourners that will weep for the name of the living. This places the mourning and grief firmly in the future.

2.5.4.7 Salvius revisited

Inscription no. 5, from Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior, was already studied in paragraph 2.5.2.4.⁶³² The epitaph is dedicated to the *frumentarius* Salvius, who is honoured by his friend Julius Asclepiades. In the above-mentioned paragraph, it was studied how *luctus* was used by the commemorator to delineate his sorrow as something that is insurmountable to the extent that it only ends with death itself. The sentence that deploys *flere* on the monument expresses a similar sentiment: *flere necesse est assiduae dum mea fata resistant*. For as long as Julius Asclepiades will be granted to live on by his fate, he shall continue to mourn by weeping for his fallen friend. As noted by Cugusi, the sentence shows inspiration from a passage of Vergil's *Georgica: ni fata resistant* (4.455).⁶³³ In this passage, Proteus explains to Aristeus why the latter has invoked the anger of the gods. Aristeus is told that it is due to a sin he has committed that would have even been aggravated by Orpheus, had the fates not resisted. The invocation of *fata* here is similar between the *Georgics* and the inscription, as both dictate how and in what capacity the dedicator is to suffer. The interference of fate in the lives of the mortals was not an invention by Vergil and is equally attested in countless instances in epigraphy. In these cases, it is often assigned to function as a cause for *mors* or *letum*, as it was a means to signify the (premature) death of someone.⁶³⁴ One example of such a use is *fato mortalis obisti* (CLE 500). Another example is found in literature, in Propertius: *quandocumque igitur vitam me fata reposcent* (2.1.71). It is a rare occurrence to hear fate invoked as a determiner of the extent to which pain is felt. However, its implication of death is clearly implied. As long as Asclepiades will live – or for as long as fate will grant him – he shall continue to grieve. Again, the inscription shows tears as a sign of grief that is felt between persons not related by blood, as was the case in the inscriptions of Mummius and Calventius.

⁶³² **Inscription no. 5** = *CIL* 3, 3241. See pages 103–108 for the initial analysis.

⁶³³ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 110.

⁶³⁴ Granger Harkness 1899, 71.

2.5.4.8 Proculus revisited

Inscription no. 8, from Mogontiacum in Germania Superior, has already been studied in paragraph 2.5.3.3 for its use of *maeror*.⁶³⁵ The monument shows that *flere* was represented both by blood relatives and non-blood relatives. In the former case, the reader is told that the father would have cried for the death of his son, would he not have left earth before the dedicatee (*flevisset genitor; occidit ipse prior*), reminiscent of the sentiment already attested in the epitaph of Faustus' family (paragraph 2.5.4.4). The case of the father crying for the death of his child is a theme that has been attested many times, and this epitaph substantiates the idea that it was acceptable to display a man crying on an epitaph when grieving for his son. Conversely, the inscription shows that the dedicatee's fellow soldiers were crying for him as well (*flevire sodales*). In this regard, the epitaph substantiates that it was possible for both relatives and non-relatives to be displayed as crying for their lost ones. It is important to emphasise the specific position that this inscription holds in the landscape of epitaphs that commemorate people crying, as the epitaph shows in most cases the weeping either by blood relatives or non-blood relatives. This epitaph fills a special gap in this regard, as it shows both within the same inscription.

The verb that substantiates the grief of the mother is *planxit*. Servius, who, as quoted in paragraph 2.5.4.1, differentiated between the ways to express mourning, commented that *plangere* might be defined as *cum aliquibus dictis miserabilis pectus et faciem tundere* ("while saying pitiful things beating the chest and face").⁶³⁶ That is not to say that only women were connected to *plangere*: for example, the *collocatio* relief on the tomb of the Haterii shows members of both genders beating their chests in mourning.⁶³⁷ Similarly, *plangere* was used to describe mourning in general and was not unequivocally used to signify the mourning of a woman.⁶³⁸ Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the textual evidence connects *plangere* with female mourning and explicitly underlines this connection: for example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: *tum vero maestam tota Miletida mente defecisse ferunt, tum vero a*

⁶³⁵ Inscription no. 8 = *CIL* 13, 7002. See pages 118–121 for the initial analysis.

⁶³⁶ Serv. 11.211.

⁶³⁷ Šterbenc Erker 2011, 46.

⁶³⁸ For *plangere* as a descriptor of mourning in general, see, for example: Tac. *Agr.* 46: *virtutes quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est*.

pectore vestem diripuit planxitque suos furibunda lacertos.⁶³⁹ Similarly, Ovid describes Canace's pain in her letter to her brother and lover Macareus, as she is forced by her father to take her own life: *Tunc demum pectora plangi contigit inque meas unguibus ire comas*. (*Pont.* 11.91–92: “then at length could I beat my breasts and furrow my cheeks with the nail”).⁶⁴⁰ Another example may be found in Petronius' exaggerated portraiture of womanish weeping: *vulgari more funus passis prosequi crinibus aut nudatum pectus in conspectu frequentiae plangere* (*Sat.* 111.2: “... the common fashion of following the procession with loose hair, and beating the naked breast in front of the crowd, ...”).⁶⁴¹ Finally, Vergil uses the verb in connection with female weeping: 2.487–488: *plangoribus aedes femineis ululant*.

The connection of *plangere* with the denomination of female grief and its subsequent use as such in funerary epigraphy thus implies that gendered mourning and the expression of emotion were connected in both literature and in epigraphy. This could very well imply that *flere* (on Proculus' monument twice connected with men) is related to manhood in a similar manner as *plangere* is to womanhood. If the author explicitly chose *plangere* and *flere* to differentiate between womanly and manly grief, it therefore means that at least some epigraphic authors saw the inscription as a suitable medium for the display of gendered emotion. This chapter has already illustrated how emotions were used for various intents and purposes, but if at least one ancient Roman author saw the need to differentiate between womanly and manly crying, and saw the inscription fit as a medium to translate this difference, then this may very well have been the case for other inscriptions as well. Nevertheless, this occurrence could be circumstantial as it is not supported by other epigraphic evidence, as paragraph 2.5.4.2 has shown that men and women are attested evenly as crying in epigraphy. It is likely that some epigraphic artists, be they dedicators, stonemasons or poets who lent their works for funerary inscriptions, used this differentiation, but most dedicators did not make this distinction.

⁶³⁹ Ov. *Met.* 9.635–637: “They say that Miletus' wretched daughter went out of her mind then. She tore her clothes from her breast and beat her arms black and blue in a frenzy of grief.” Translation provided by Lombardo 2010.

⁶⁴⁰ Translation provided by Showerman 1931.

⁶⁴¹ Translation provided by Heseltine 1913.

2.5.4.9 *Pater* or *patronus* for Vibia

Inscription no. 13 originates from the settlement of Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior) and is dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D.⁶⁴² The inscription is found on a monument that, other than a frame and a triangular roof above the text field, is unadorned. The dimensions are 1.14m in height and 0.62m in width. Carnuntum consisted of a military camp and a nearby civic settlement and is located in the vicinity of Vindobonna, close to the northern border of the Roman empire. It became a *municipium* during Hadrian's reign (117–138 A.D.) and a *colonia* during the Severan period (193–225 A.D.).⁶⁴³ The prosperous status of the city is attested by the numerous inscriptions from the city that have survived. Of the more than 500 pagan epitaphs, 14 are written in verse.⁶⁴⁴

*Vibia C(ai) l(iberta) / Citheris / an(norum) XI h(ic) s(ita) e(st). / Virgo hic sepul⁵ta fida puella ia/cet ante quidem tempus fata rapuerunt mala. Scripsi / ego per lacrimas / miserabilis mor/te puellae. P(ater/atronus) p(osuit).*⁶⁴⁵

Vibia Citheris, freedwoman of Gaius, aged 11 years, lies here. A young woman lies buried here, a dutiful girl, but evil fate took her away untimely. I wrote this, regretfully, in tears, at the death of the girl. The father [or *patronus*] has erected (this monument).⁶⁴⁶

The inscription is dedicated to Vibia Citheris, an 11-year-old girl who was the freedwoman of Gaius Vibius. The inscription depicts Vibia as a young girl who died prematurely for reasons unknown. The dedicator of the monument is specified only by the abbreviation *P P*, leading most scholars to accept the dedicator as the *pater*.⁶⁴⁷ The inscription informs the reader that the dedicator has written these words while in tears (*per lacrimas*). Nothing else of the dedicator is known, although it has been suggested that he must have been part of the military, given the fact that of the 34 comparable monuments (of the same shape and size), 32 are dedicated by or to

⁶⁴² Weber-Hiden 2013, 601.

⁶⁴³ Gugl et al. 2021, 3011–3012.

⁶⁴⁴ The verse inscriptions from Carnuntum, excluding the one studied in this paragraph, are: *AE* 1936, 67 (71–114 A.D.); *AE* 2010, 1263 (71–130 A.D.); *AE* 2010, 1264 (200–300 A.D.); *AEA* 2009, 22 (31–70 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 4483 (39–56 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 4487 (201–250 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 11451 (1–300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 11229 (39–63 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 11281 (31–70 A.D.); *CLEPann* 3 (39–43 A.D.); *CLEPann* 4 (31–70 A.D.); *CLEPann* 9 (200–300 A.D.); *CLEPann* 10 (200–300 A.D.); *CLEPann* 61 (200–300 A.D.).

⁶⁴⁵ Kruschwitz 2019, 9–10, no. 6.

⁶⁴⁶ Author's translation, based on the German translation of Kruschwitz 2019, 9–10, no. 6.

⁶⁴⁷ The exception is Féher, who suggests *patronus posuit* over *pater posuit*: Féher 1998, 67.

soldiers from the military camp, and of the specific subset of monument B1, 5 are dedicated by or to soldiers of the *legio XV Apollinaris*.⁶⁴⁸ Vibia's monument has been dated according to the monument type that it shares with the legion's soldiers, given that the soldiers' monuments provide many details that allow for a more precise dating of their type.⁶⁴⁹ However, since there are no direct allusions to Vibius' military connection found on the monument, Vibius was almost certainly part of the civic settlement of Carnuntum, and his monument was made by the same local manufacturer that provided the soldiers' monuments.

The commemorator expresses his grief for Vibia with the phrase *per lacrimas*. The role of the father as the weeper is often attested in epigraphic evidence; the role of the *patronus* as crying far less, since the grieving through tears for non-blood relatives on a whole was attested to a lesser extent than tears for blood-relatives. Still, crying for non-blood relatives occurred, as illustrated by paragraphs 2.5.4.3 and 2.5.4.5, and paragraph 2.5.4.6 illustrates how tears of the patron occurred in epitaphs. Thus, the representation of tears is plausible for both interpretations (the dedicator being the father or *patronus*).

2.5.4.10 Fortis the father

Inscription no. 14 is inscribed on a gravestone found in Eboracum, modern day York, (Britannia) and is dated to the 2nd century A.D.⁶⁵⁰ The monument was first discovered in 1861 and measures 0.94m in height and 0.61m in width.⁶⁵¹ It is heavily damaged, making the identification of any ornaments difficult, except for an encircled 'M'. The remains of the iconography of a figure are thought to indicate the standing portrait of the deceased, as similar evidence from Britannia was used to this end.⁶⁵² The text itself is framed, flanked by two ears, creating a *tabula ansata*.⁶⁵³ Eboracum was occupied by the Romans from 71 until 410 A.D., during which it functioned as an important hub for military and civic operations within the province.⁶⁵⁴ This is expressed in its

⁶⁴⁸ Weber-Hiden 2013, 601n16.

⁶⁴⁹ Weber-Hiden's dating is based on previous research that divides the stelae in three phases. On the dating and methodology, see Weber-Hiden 2014.

⁶⁵⁰ Rinaldi Tufi 1983, 35.

⁶⁵¹ *RIB* 684.

⁶⁵² Rinaldi Tufi 1983, 35.

⁶⁵³ Schumacher 2012, 34–53.

⁶⁵⁴ Jackson/Paynter 2016, 68.

epigraphic output, which is, in terms of well-preserved epitaphs, one of the richest sources of Roman Britain.⁶⁵⁵ The *RIB* records as many as 40 Latin epitaphs, of which only two verse inscriptions (including this one) have survived.⁶⁵⁶

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Corellia Optata an(norum) XIII. / Secreti Manes qui regna / Acherusia Ditis incolit⁵tis quos parva petunt post / lumina vite exiguus cinis et simulacrum corpo(r)is um(bra). Insontis gnate geni(tor) spe captus iniqua / supremum hunc nate /¹⁰ miserandus defleo finem. / Q(uintus) Core(lius) Fortis p(ater) f(aciendum) c(uravit).⁶⁵⁷

To the Shades of the Dead, Corellia Optata, aged 13. You remote Shades who inhabit the Underworld kingdom of Pluto, whom a few ashes and the ghost of our body seek after life's short light; I am the father of an innocent daughter, unfairly robbed of my hopes, who grieve pitifully for my daughter's final end. Quintus Corellius Fortis, her father, had this set up.⁶⁵⁸

The monument is dedicated to a 13-year-old girl called Corellia Optata by her father, Quintus Corellius Fortis. The first part of the inscription invokes through multiple phrases the image of the underworld. It recalls *Manes* ... *Ditis*, the spirits of the Underworld, *Acherusia*, the lake of which Acheron's river ran through, and the allusion to the distinction between earthly and otherworldly remains through the use of 'ashes' (*cinis*) and 'ghost of our body' (*simulacrum corporis umbra*).⁶⁵⁹ The second part of the inscription features the laments of the father who, according to the inscription, lost his "innocent" daughter and consequently weeps pitifully for her death (*miserandus defleo finem*). The inscription does not comment on the father's social position or his occupation and the name, next to two *amphorae* with the stamps bearing the *cognomen* Fortis, are not attested elsewhere in Eboracum.⁶⁶⁰

Like many other epigraphic monuments, the grief of the dedicator for his daughter was denoted through the use of *flere* which, in this case, is reinforced by *miserandus*. Despite the fact that the occurrence of the father's weeping for the daughter is a common occurrence on Roman funerary epigraphy, this monument is

⁶⁵⁵ For a geographic overview of civic and military epitaphs and its distribution across the province: Raybould 1997, 222. Although exact numbers might be outdated due to newer finds, the numbers are still indicative of a rough partition of epitaphs in Britannia.

⁶⁵⁶ The other verse epitaph from Eboracum is *RIB* 687 (43-410 A.D.).

⁶⁵⁷ *RIB* 684. Full stops added by author.

⁶⁵⁸ Tomlin 2020, c362, no. 12.72.

⁶⁵⁹ Kruschwitz 2015, 53.

⁶⁶⁰ For the amphorae, see *CIL* 7, 1330, 15c1 and 15c2. No *RIB* edition of these inscriptions has yet been made.

exceptional in the fact that it is the only funerary inscription from Britannia that depicts the commemorator weeping. Of course, the low number of funerary monuments discovered in Britannia makes for an unreliable basis upon which to compare funerary language in epigraphy in the province, yet, it is still remarkable that, despite the low number of (versified) epitaphs, the stereotype of the weeping father finds its way onto a funerary monument.

2.5.4.11 Aelius Fronto's family

Inscription no. 32 has already been discussed in paragraph 2.5.1.7 for its use of *dolor*.⁶⁶¹ The inscription originates from Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior) and is dated between the late 2nd century and the early 3rd century A.D. The inscription is dedicated to Aelius Fronto and his family; the other dedicatees are Fronto's wife Septimia Decorata and their three children, Vindex, Lucrorina and Inpetratus, who all died in their infancy. The death of Inpetratus is commemorated by the inclusion of a line that denotes the grief of the parents: *cui vita parva mors valde citata fuit quem flentes doleunt miserieque parentes*. In similar style as the other monuments, it thus denotes how the parents mourned for the loss of their son by weeping. Furthermore, like the epitaph of Corellia Optata (see above, paragraph 2.5.4.10) the emotion words are reinforced by the invocation of *misere*, which is used here again to refer to the fate of the parents.

2.5.4.12 Discussion

Interpretations of the difference in the use of *lacrimare* and *flere* often resort to distinguishing the two words based on the involvement of the voice, as supported by Servius, the involvement of grief, as upheld by Döderlein and the matter of intensity, as endorsed by Beck. Certainly, the emotion of grief was not always involved in the ancient use of the words, as substantiated by passages of Celsus, Cicero, and Columella, where the words often referred to the physical act of drawing tears without the context of grief or sorrow preceding it.

When *flere* and *lacrimare* were used to describe the act of mourning, it becomes clear that the Romans interpreted its social appropriateness based on gender, class and

⁶⁶¹ **Inscription no. 32** = *CIL* 3, 3362. See pages 89–91 for the initial analysis.

culture. Within the funerary sphere, men were expected to maintain their demeanour and show emotional restraint, especially when grieving turned public, and the private setting was switched for the communal space. Women, in contrast, had permission to not only display their grief for an extended period but, moreover, turn their grief outward by emotion markers, such as shouting, weeping and wailing. These expressions of grief were per definition public as they occurred during the funerary ritual and were thus also time- and context-constrained. Nevertheless, despite this gendered division of mourning, social class determined the appropriateness of crying in public perhaps to a greater extent than did cultural norms on the basis of masculine and feminine roles. Seneca, for example, shows that Livia and Octavia mourned the loss of Drusus in different ways. Livia's display of restraint in her emotional expression was undoubtedly the more favourable option than Octavia's excessive mourning. That both male and female members of the highest Roman elite differed from the common crowd in their display of grief is made clear by Tacitus, who compares the absence of grief in Tiberius and Livia with that of the common crowd, who mourns Germanicus openly and extensively. Despite these strict social constructions that determined the appropriateness of crying in Roman society, some situations fell outside of these structures and allowed for the breaking of norms with respect to crying, such as crying in the courtroom (as established by Quintilian), crying as a rhetorical device to invoke pity (as demonstrated by Cicero) and the inversion of masculine crying in Roman love elegy.

In Roman philosophy, it is no surprise that Cicero, in line with his Stoic ideas, shunned the idea of crying as a result of grief. Grief as an emotion should be removed and avoided. Seneca is a bit more lenient, especially in his *consolationes*, as he argues that one should focus more on the social expectedness of grief, rather than trying to eliminate the emotion at all. At some occasions, Seneca considers tears inevitable, and when a close friend dies, even the sage is allowed to let his tears flow. Lucretius, in line with his general opinion on grief, sees tears as useless when they are the result of convictions that are based on wrong beliefs. One should rather focus one's attention on celebrating the peace that death brings and, therefore, should not linger too long in the pain that death brings. In Vergil's description of Aeneas, the protagonist's tears are somewhat more pragmatic: in a manner similar to Aeneas shedding tears when

grieving about the fate of Troy and the death of his friends and relatives. This trope is only slightly amended by the scene in book 6 where Aeneas cries for the fate of Dido.

The epigraphic evidence suggests that no gendered division between the mourning through crying was upheld in funerary inscriptions. Overall, the epigraphic study of uses of *lacrimare/flere* throughout epitaphs in the Roman Empire shows that both women and men were displayed as crying in similar numbers, while the specific studied verse inscriptions show that, in many capacities, men showed their grief through tears. The epitaph for Mummius (paragraph 2.5.4.3) shows how a soldier was mourned by his friend through tears. The epitaph for Calventius (paragraph 2.5.4.5) likewise attested that it was not unusual for non-blood relatives to commemorate each other through crying, where the deceased soldier is commemorated by his anonymous military comrade. In the case of the epitaph for Salvius (paragraph 2.5.2.4), a soldier is once again the recipient of tears, despite the fact that the exact connection between him and the dedicator (Julius Asclepiades) is undefined.

That it was possible for both unrelated persons and family members to weep for the deceased is attested in the epitaph for Proculus (paragraph 2.5.4.8), where not only the father is portrayed as crying but, moreover, his military comrades. Tears for family members are attested elsewhere in the corpus of poetic funerary inscriptions, as in one for Faustus' family (paragraph 2.5.4.4). It has the freedman crying for the death of his wife and the *mors immature* of his two sons, while his freedwoman, commemorated on the same inscription, receives no such grievous displays. Similarly, the inscription for Corellia Optata describes the father weeping pitifully for his daughter (paragraph 2.5.4.10). Like Optata's father, also the parents of Inpetratus (paragraph 2.5.4.11) mourn their son while weeping. The inscription for Vibia Citheris (paragraph 2.5.4.9) is inconclusive. It does not indicate whether the tears were signs of grief felt by the father or the *patronus*. However, these expressions of grief were not uncommon and are attested in other epigraphic evidence.

The inscription for Calventius (paragraph 2.5.4.5) is clear: it implores the reader to weep. It also signals that the deceased were allowed (or expected) to be mourned through crying. It also signals that the reader should mourn the fate of the deceased and their relatives through tears. This expression of the same sentiment is found in the epitaph for the freedman Lesbius, although the reader is not implored to cry for the death of the freedman in this case, but rather for the fate of the *patronus*

Caius who, as the inscription reads, was the one who dedicated the monument to his former slave.

While many inscriptions do not seem to explicitly differentiate between *flere*, *lacrimare* and other words used to describe crying (such as *plangere*), the verbal choice of the epitaph for Proculus (paragraph 2.5.4.1) raises an issue: here, *flere* denotes the crying of both the father and the comrades of the deceased, while *plangere* is used for the crying by the mother. Although no literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that *flere* was used distinctively for manly crying, literary sources do suggest that *plangere* could be understood as womanish weeping. If the author purposefully used the verb to denote womanish weeping, and the choice for *plangere* was not unintentionally linked to the mother. This proves that the inscription was used as a medium for the display of gendered emotions. The extent to which epigraphic authors purposefully assigned emotion words to refer to emotions of men and women cannot be determined with any certainty. It does, however, indicate that gendered lexical conventions were maintained and implemented, at least to a minor degree, in Roman epigraphy.

The contrast between the display of grieving tears in literary evidence and that in the epigraphical sources is big. First, the inscriptions show that men were often depicted weeping as a display of their grief for the deceased, not only in their capacity as a family member (father, husband, etc.) but also in the position of fellow soldier, friend and *patronus*. Where the literary evidence asks the man to contain his grief, the many inscriptions that have been studied in this chapter attest that it was accepted to display tears and that these, more often than not, were characteristic of the grief of the relatives that otherwise would not have been marked by other emotion words and emotion markers. Second, when compared with the epigraphic attestations of women crying, it becomes clear that men and women are attested in equal numbers as weeping in epitaphs. The literary evidence shows that the disparity between manly and womanly crying was maintained: women were allowed to weep, but, on funerary monuments, this did not result in a majority of female tears versus male tears.

2.5.5 *Gemitus*

The above paragraphs in this chapter have already discussed the extent to which mourning, and as such specific expressions of mourning such as crying, were considered gendered in ancient Roman society. This paragraph will now examine the extent to which *gemitus* is gendered and in what ways its use differentiates between literary and epigraphic evidence.

2.5.5.1 Literature

In essence, *gemitus* is a deep sigh or groan, usually connected to the lament. Importantly, literary evidence suggests that groaning was a typically masculine emotion marker and that it was employed to differentiate manly grief from womanish wailing (*eiulatio/lessus*).⁶⁶² It was a way for aristocratic men to lament and express their grief in a socially accepted manner. Cicero, for example, tells *In Pisonem* and *Pro Plancio* how good men groaned while lamenting: *cum omnes boni ... templa gement/hos gemere*.⁶⁶³ Tacitus similarly retells that the Senate reacted to the news of Drusus' death with a groan of defeat: *senatum victo gemitu*.⁶⁶⁴ The mourning through groaning is also attested for the imperial family: Propertius gives an account of how Augustus gave out a loud groan in lament over his relative Cornelia: *defensa et gemitu Caesaris ossa mea*.⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, Suetonius mentions how Tiberius once, while addressing the Senate, groaned "as if he was overcome by grief": *de repente velut impar dolori congemit*.⁶⁶⁶ Also Vergil's Aeneas groans when he discovers that Palinurus fell overboard and died.⁶⁶⁷

That is not to say that those below the social elite did not mourn through *gemere*. In many instances, the literary evidence shows how both men and women of all social classes used *gemere* to express their mourning. Tacitus, for example, informs us that, when Agrippina disembarked from her ship in Brundisium with the ashes of Germanicus, men and women alike let out a universal groan: *postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus. Neque*

⁶⁶² Šterbenc Erker 2011, 44.

⁶⁶³ Cic. *Pis.* 9.21; Cic. *Planc.* 42.101.

⁶⁶⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 4.8.

⁶⁶⁵ Prop. 4.11.58.

⁶⁶⁶ Suet. *Tib.* 23.1.

⁶⁶⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 5.869.

*discernere proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve lanctus.*⁶⁶⁸ Similarly, the inhabitants of Ameria collectively mourned through weeping and groans for the death of Sextus Roscius and the fate of his son, as told by Cicero in the *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*: *quod Amerinis usque eo visum est indignum ut urbe tota fletus gemitusque fieret.*⁶⁶⁹ Furthermore, Vergil uses *gemitus* to denote the groans coming from the city of Carthage after the death of Dido: *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululate*,⁶⁷⁰ as well as the Teucrians for the death of Misenus.⁶⁷¹

The verb *gemere* was also employed to denote the act of lamenting and mourning in general. Aeneas, for example, laments (*gemit*) Orontes,⁶⁷² but also lets out a groan in answer to the pain he causes Dido (*gemens*).⁶⁷³ Furthermore, *gemitus* was also used to describe sorrow and pain in general, not always connected with the funerary sphere. In this sense, *gemitus* could denote a sense of anger or physical pain rather than grief.⁶⁷⁴ For example, soldiers inside the Trojan horse let out a deep groan upon being poked with a javelin: *uteroque recusso insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.*⁶⁷⁵ Laocoön, in the *Aeneid*, let out a groan for the misery of his situation: *quo gemitu conversi animi.*⁶⁷⁶ Lucretius uses *gemitus* to describe the general sorrow in the world: *quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quantaque nobis volnera, quas lacrimas peperere minoribus nostris.*⁶⁷⁷ Similarly, Livy uses *gemitus* to describe the distress and suffering of the Samnites: *aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum.*⁶⁷⁸ And also the men of Otho's army break out either in cheers or groans, depending on their commander's facial signs: *quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus.*⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁶⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3.1: "When, clasping the fatal urn, she left the ship with her two children, and fixed her eyes on the ground, a single groan arose from the whole multitude; nor could a distinction be traced between the relative and the stranger, the wailings of women or of men." Translation provided by Moore, C. 1931.

⁶⁶⁹ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 24.

⁶⁷⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 4.667.

⁶⁷¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6.220.

⁶⁷² Verg. *Aen.* 1.221.

⁶⁷³ Verg. *Aen.* 4.395.

⁶⁷⁴ Hope 2019b, 67.

⁶⁷⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 2.40.

⁶⁷⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 2.73.

⁶⁷⁷ Lucr. 5.1196–1197: "What sorrows did they then prepare for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for generations to come." Translation provided by Smith, M. 2001.

⁶⁷⁸ Liv. 9.7.4.

⁶⁷⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 2.46.

2.5.5.2 The epigraphic evidence

In total, the noun *gemitus* or the verb *gemere* is attested nine times on Latin epitaphs that are dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. All nine inscriptions are versified.⁶⁸⁰ Two inscriptions specifically record the mourning of a man through groaning.⁶⁸¹ In all other cases, groaning is either assigned to a minor,⁶⁸² the mother,⁶⁸³ the parents,⁶⁸⁴ the reader of the inscription⁶⁸⁵ or the undesignated or ungendered surviving relatives.⁶⁸⁶ This thus does not support the notion that *gemitus* was gendered on the epigraphy.

2.5.5.3 Lesbius revisited

Inscription no. 12, from Mogontiacum in Germania Superior, is the only one of the corpus focussing on the emotion marker *gemitus*. The inscription has already been studied in paragraph 2.5.4.6 on its use of *lacrumas*.⁶⁸⁷ Here, the use of tears was nothing short of remarkable. It was not used to designate the tears of the commemorator. Instead, the tears were meant to portray the grief felt by future readers for the fate of the commemorator. In addition to the use of tears, the inscription also utilises the emotion marker of *gemitus*: *ingemit et damno Seccius ille gravi*. It is clear that *gemitus* is connected with the premature death of Seccius' freedman, as indicated by the preceding line that shows how Lesbius died at the age of 20 years. *Gemitus* is the response to the death that is transcribed here as *damno gravi*. The severe loss of the freedman Lesbius thus causes his former master Seccius to lament him with groans. This line shows how the loss of one freedman could be

⁶⁸⁰ *CIL* 13, 7105: *ingemit* (Mogontiacum, 1-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 12**); *CIL* 8, 8567: *gemitus* (Sitifis, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 2496: *gemuit* (Puteoli, 101-230 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23548: *gemitum* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12987: *gemui* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21846: *gemitu* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 2219: *gemitumque* (Lugdunum, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 578: *gemitus* (Salernum, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 24734: *gemui/gemitus* (Carthago, 54-96 A.D.). This excludes *CIL* 6, 30158 (Rome, undated) and *CIL* 6, 36658 (Rome, 100-200 A.D.), which are too fragmentary to consult.

⁶⁸¹ The inscription studied below (paragraph 2.5.5.3) and *CIL* 8, 24734: *gemitus viro saepe reliqui* (Carthago, 54-96 A.D.).

⁶⁸² *CIL* 8, 8567: *a dolor et gemitus illusaque vota tuorum* (Sitifis, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 578: *spes erat in puero, nunc cinis et gemitus* (Salernum, 51-200 A.D.).

⁶⁸³ *CIL* 3, 12987: *ad vitam volui celerem te crescere mater, ad mortem ingemui te celerem misera* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.).

⁶⁸⁴ *CIL* 10, 2496: *ego pater ... cum vestra matrem quae gemuit, vixet, et dolet* (Puteoli, 101-230 A.D.).

⁶⁸⁵ *CIL* 13, 2219: *et lacrimam fatis da gemitumque meis* (Lugdunum, 100-300 A.D.).

⁶⁸⁶ *CIL* 6, 21846: *perpetuo talis gemitu lacrimisque colenda* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23548: *at nobis tu gemitum adsiduom* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

⁶⁸⁷ **Inscription no. 12** = *CIL* 13, 7105. See pages 146–149 for the initial analysis.

commemorated with groans. Thus, in line with the findings of the epigraphic verse inscriptions above, groaning was performed in epitaphs by parents and other relatives, as well as by those without specific blood-ties.

2.5.6 *Amor*

This paragraph will begin with a historiography of Roman literature that wrote on the topic of *amor*. It will become apparent that, within Roman philosophical thinking, a distinction between love born out of sexual desire and love motivated by friendship was perceived. Both types of love are treated differently, one is avoided by the wise, the other tolerated. Their influence is especially well perceived in Latin love elegy. The *Aeneid* unequivocally demonstrates both forms of love. It employs the term *amor* to signify a universal sentiment of longing, whether directed towards abstract concepts or metaphysical entities.

This paragraph will focus on the emotion of *amor*, both as a noun (*amor*) and as a verb (*amare*). Both terms are employed extensively for different purposes. In most cases, *amor/amare* is used to characterise the qualities of the deceased or relatives. The *amor* application is less attested as the source of pain for the relatives or *amare*'s use for describing someone's subservience. Consequently, there is both overlap and contrast between the emotion in the verb or noun form. The three inscriptions studied in this paragraph attest to this, as they show similarities between the categories but also display rarer applications. Two inscriptions (no. 1 and no. 15) display sophisticated ideas about death, commemoration and earthly pleasures and demonstrate in different ways which role love plays in the commemoration of the deceased. **Inscription no. 16** is an excellent example of how text and iconography intertwine in creating a reinforced image of love between brother and sister.

2.5.6.1 Literature

In Roman philosophy, few authors treat the emotion of love as extensively as Cicero and Lucretius. Cicero takes on the emotion in book 4 of his *Tusculan Disputations* (4.68–76), and in line with Stoic doctrine, Cicero treats *amor* as a disturbance of the clear mind that should be eliminated. In the same manner as Cicero treats the other emotions, he contends that love is an erroneous judgment and is therefore voluntarily imposed on oneself: ... *demonstrandum, nullam esse nisi opinabilem, nisi iudicio*

susceptam, nisi voluntariam. (“that [love] is experienced only through one’s own opinions and judgment and is voluntary.”)⁶⁸⁸ For him, *amor* is unrivalled in its ability to obscure clear judgment: *totus vero iste, qui vulgo appellatur amor – nec hercule invenio quo nomine alio possit appellari – tantae levitatis est, ut nihil videam quod putem conferendum*. (“Indeed, speaking of what is popularly called love (not that I have any other name to call it!), all of it is so frivolous that I scarcely know what to compare it with.”)⁶⁸⁹ Importantly, Cicero differentiates between love for friends, the kind which is free from desire (*vacat enim omni libidine*) and therefore is permitted and even recommended by the wise person, and the erotic love that is driven by lust, misleading the man and driving him to insanity.⁶⁹⁰ For Cicero, the disturbance of love can be driven away most effectively by warning the man of the fury of love: *admonendus quantus sit furor amoris*.⁶⁹¹

Like Cicero, Lucretius sees *amor* as an affliction from which the burdened man needs to be relieved. Lucretius devotes several passages of his *De Rerum Natura* to the topic of love (1030–1283) and, in a similar vein to Cicero, advises the reader: do not fall in love, for it is one of the most harmful things to befall a man.⁶⁹² For Lucretius, *amor* is a sexual craving (*dira lubido*, 4.1046) that arises out of a bodily lust for the object of desire (*mens unde est saucia amore*, 4.1048). Important for Lucretius’ argument is that he, like Cicero, contends that it is a voluntary action, as the will sets this desire in motion (*fitque voluntas*, 4.1045–1046). Lucretius also offers advice on how to get rid of this mental affliction: he suggests that one does not stick to loving just one person, but rather ‘confuse the old wounds with new ones’ (*si non prima novis conturbes volnera plagis*, 4.1070). Lucretius’ Epicurean ideology becomes obvious when he discusses how one is to recuperate from the deceit of love: you can let her go and pardon her for being human (*et vicissim praetermittere et humanis concedere rebus*, 4.1191–92).⁶⁹³

In both Cicero’s and Lucretius’ works, the author pays substantial attention to curing these afflictions by the proposition of a remedy. In this regard, their works share similarities with Roman elegiac poetry: it is one of the main themes in Ovid’s

⁶⁸⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.76.

⁶⁸⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.68.

⁶⁹⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.72.

⁶⁹¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.75.

⁶⁹² Rothaus Caston 2012, 22–23.

⁶⁹³ Betensky 1980, 293.

Remedia Amoris (c. 2 A.D.) but is also featured heavily in Propertius' and Tibullus' (respectively 55–15 B.C. and 55–19 B.C.) poetry.⁶⁹⁴ In all these cases, *amor* is portrayed as an intense emotion, clouding and swaying the mind of the subject.

Amor could also have a different, more subtle meaning. Cicero differentiated between passionate love and love for friends. Furthermore, Williams argues that, based on the private letters of Cicero, *amor* could also be translated as 'affection', 'having a liking for', 'being fond of', or 'supporting'.⁶⁹⁵ In this interpretation, *amor* was not always used within a romantic setting and could be used between those not sharing in bodily lust. Still, Cicero argued that another term would be best applicable for this kind of love: he calls it *amicitia*, which only exists because of *amor*. The two are intertwined, as it is the affectionate bond between two persons that forms a genuine and lasting friendship.⁶⁹⁶ Even still, there is much evidence that suggests that Cicero used *amor* and *amicitia* interchangeably: Cicero's *De Oratore* shows that *amor* – just like *amicitia* – could be used for Roman men of equal standing and that it was moreover used in the *clientela* system and could be applied to hierarchical relations.⁶⁹⁷ In this regard, *amor* can only be considered a disturbance of the mind when it concerns sexual desire.

The above paragraph was concerned with the idea that *amor* is a descriptor of emotions arising out of the relation between individuals. However, evidence suggests that *amor* could similarly describe the relationship between humans and metaphysical identities. The *Aeneid*, for example, uses *amor* in both contexts: *amor* is used to describe the bond between Nisus and Euryalus, both Trojan friends and lovers. They are introduced in book 5 of the *Aeneid*, where their relationship is described with *pius amor*.⁶⁹⁸ Their love is thus signified as displaying *pietas*, a trait with which, as has been shown above, Aeneas has been identified multiple times. In book 9, their friendship is described as being whole: *his amor unus erat*.⁶⁹⁹ Also, Turnus is described as showing *amor* when his despairing love turned towards a fury, as he hears of the news of the death of his queen Amata, as well as the wavering loyalty

⁶⁹⁴ Rothaus Caston 2006, 272–273.

⁶⁹⁵ Williams, C. A. 2012, 219.

⁶⁹⁶ Cic. *Amic.* 26.

⁶⁹⁷ Zerba 2002, 299–300.

⁶⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 5.296.

⁶⁹⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 9.180.

of king Latinus and the inhabitants' citadel.⁷⁰⁰ In contrast, Aeneas uses the word to describe his longing for Italy. Thus, *amor* not only signified love felt between humans but could also signal affection or desire to abstract ideas: *hic amor, haec patria est*.⁷⁰¹ Similarly, *amor* was used to describe the affection felt for objects or things, such as Aeneas' crew's joy and affection upon reaching the Libyan shore⁷⁰² or when Turnus is instilled with "lust for the sword" by Allecto, as she points his hatred towards Aeneas and his men.⁷⁰³

2.5.6.2 The epigraphic evidence

In total, *amor* is attested on 43 inscriptions, of which 27 are verse inscriptions and 16 are prosaic. It was 14 times employed as a characteristic or quality of the deceased.⁷⁰⁴ In eight cases, *amor* was used to describe the relationship between the deceased and the relatives.⁷⁰⁵ In six cases, *amor* is indicated as being the source of pain.⁷⁰⁶ In five cases, *amor* is indicated as the reason for the construction of the monument.⁷⁰⁷ In 5 subsequent cases, *amor* is used as an endearment.⁷⁰⁸ Then, four cases attest to the

⁷⁰⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 12.668.

⁷⁰¹ Verg. *Aen.* 4.347.

⁷⁰² Verg. *Aen.* 1.171–173.

⁷⁰³ Verg. *Aen.* 7.461.

⁷⁰⁴ AE 1992, 204: *amor* (Rome, 71-100 A.D.); CIL 2, 3071a: *merito amoris* (Titulcia, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 2609: *amor in fratres* (Salona, 101-130 A.D. **Inscription no. 23**); CIL 3, 754: *in amore mariti* (Nikopol, 198-209 A.D.); CIL 5, 7882: *maritum amoris* (Cemenelum, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 6, 10096: *amor parentis* (Rome, 100-44 B.C.); CIL 6, 10230: *amor maternus* (Rome, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.); CIL 6, 17622: *parentis amore* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 19055: *amorem* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 30139: *fratris ... amore* (Rome, 171-300 A.D.); CIL 8, 7427: *coniungat amorem* (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 9, 3279: *gratus amor* (Corfinium, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 9, 6957: *magnus amor* (Iuvanum, 201-230 A.D.); CIL 11, 7856: *gratus amore* (Carsulae, 31-70 A.D.).

⁷⁰⁵ CIL 3, 1537: *post obitum, memor amoris dicat* (Sarmizegetusa, 107-250 A.D.); CIL 6, 18817: *amori pariter* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 24520: *magno noster amore sinus* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 25427: *nimio dilexit amore* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 39721: *sibi amorem maximum* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 8, 27409: *qui aetate pari animo visere et amore* (Thugga, 151-300 A.D.); CLEMoes 3: *amore dicat* (Viminacium, 70-170 A.D.). Importantly, CIL 13, 811: *amori eius ad eum properavit* (Burdigala, 151-300 A.D.) describes the bond of love between the recently deceased and the previously deceased family member.

⁷⁰⁶ CIL 5, 470: *infelices parentes ... amorem crudelis* (Piquentum, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 6378: *facit mulier infelix amori dolcissimo* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 17050: *nunc torquet amor* (Rome, 69-96 A.D.); CIL 6, 28810: *quae tibi cumque mei potuerunt pignora amoris ... dari populo sunt* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 11, 6507: *nunc nesque te video nec amor satiatu amantis* (Sassina, 51-150 A.D.); CIL 11, 5335: *coniugis aeternum lacrimoso crimen amore* (HisPELLum, 100-200 A.D.).

⁷⁰⁷ AE 1931, 9: *quod ferit in nos tuus tantus amor* (Brixellum, 101-200 A.D.); AE 2001, 279: *amor fecit* (Rome, 171-300 A.D.); AE 2014, 478: *signum ... amoris* (Alba Pompeia, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 29754: *ob eius amorem in universos* (Ostia Antica, 10-1 B.C.); CIL 8, 2170: *pro amore* (Uzappa, 100-300 A.D.).

⁷⁰⁸ AE 1967, 191: *dulcis amor* (Emerita, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 2, 6064: *amor* (Saguntum, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 3, 1715: *amori mei* (Acruvium, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 4910: *Musarum amor* (Virunum, 171-230 A.D.); CLEHisp 138: *amor* (Alcaniz, 10-50 A.D.).

notion of the inscription functioning as a testament to their love.⁷⁰⁹ Finally, one inscription (discussed more elaborately in paragraph 2.5.6.3) states that *amor* offers solace to the relatives.⁷¹⁰

The verb *amare* is attested 36 times, of which exactly half is either prosaic or versified. It is used 17 times as a characteristic or quality of either the deceased or the relatives.⁷¹¹ On nine occasions, it is employed to describe the relationship between the deceased and relatives.⁷¹² In two additional cases, love is used as a stimulator for the continuation of the deceased's memory.⁷¹³ These reasons behind the use of *amare* have also been detected in the use of *amor*. However, there are several additional uses for the verb *amare* to be found in epitaphs. For example, in three cases, *amare* is used for living the good life.⁷¹⁴ Four other inscriptions use conjugations of *amare* to refer to friends or family.⁷¹⁵ Finally, one inscription establishes that amical love perished together with the deceased, as it reads *ut esset gratus amicis invidia superum cessavit amari*.⁷¹⁶

⁷⁰⁹ CIL 2, 4315: *pignus amoris integra* (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 10097: *nunc amor et nomen superest de corpore* (Rome, 54-68 A.D.); CIL 8, 434: *hoc solamen erit visus nam pignus amoris* (Amaedara, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 3345: *in testamento amoris* (Misenum, 231-260 A.D.).

⁷¹⁰ CIL 13, 3689: *amore* (Augusta Treverorum, 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 1**).

⁷¹¹ AE 1971, 44: *amavit* (Rome, 171-230 A.D.); AE 1966, 404: *ama* (Dyrrachium, 30-100 A.D.); AE 1997, 232: *amans* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); AE 2010, 227: *amans* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 2, 1504: *amanti* (Astigi, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 2, 4315: *amantes* (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 3, 10096: *amanti* (Pharia, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 3452: *amantem* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 6807: *amans* (Rome, 30 B.C.-30 A.D.); CIL 6, 7426: *amantes* (Rome, 30 B.C.-30 A.D.); CIL 6, 21151: *amantem* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 37965: *amantes* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 38971a: *amantes* (Rome, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 8, 3463: *amata/amavi* (Lambaesis, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 8, 7427: *amat* (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 9, 3876: *amans* (Supinum Vicus, 50 B.C.-50 A.D.); CIL 13, 8655: *amantis* (Colonia Ulpia Traiana, 70-100 A.D. **Inscription no. 16**).

⁷¹² AE 1984, 143: *amantes* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); AE 2005, 498: *amavit* (Lucus Feroniae, 71-130 A.D.); AE 2017, 827: *amans* (Carthago Nova, 50 B.C.-50 A.D.); CIL 10, 1951: *amasse* (Puteoli, 100-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 5701: *amavit* (Casasteno, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 4922: *amavi* (Trebula Mutuesca, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 10, 7643: *amantes* (Carales, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 14, 2140: *amavit* (Lanuvium, 51-200 A.D.). Like for *amor*, one case (AE 2016, 221: *it ate amavi mi pater* (Signia, 70-31 B.C.)) describes the relationship between recently deceased and earlier deceased family members.

⁷¹³ CIL 6, 37540: *posuit quem amavit* (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 13, 3689: *amatur* (Augusta Treverorum, 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 1**).

⁷¹⁴ In two cases, the reader is informed the deceased lived the life of a good slave, as they displayed *amans domini*: CIL 10, 512 (Salernum, 42-1 B.C.); CIL 10, 4167 (Casilinum, 60-20 B.C.). The third inscription implores the reader to continue living a good life: AE 1947, 31: *flores ama Veneris* (Aquincum, 201-250 A.D. **Inscription no. 15**).

⁷¹⁵ AE 2019, 344: *amantibus* (Cassino, 30 B.C.-50 A.D.); CIL 3, 5295: *amantes* (Šmartno na Pohorju, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 6507: *amantis* (Sassina, 51-150 A.D.); CIL 11, 6606: *amanti* (Mevaniola, 100-200 A.D.).

⁷¹⁶ CIL 13, 6808 (Mogontiacum, 157-159 A.D.).

2.5.6.3 Sabinus revisited

Inscription no. 1, from Augusta Treverorum, is dedicated to Sabinus and is dated to the 3rd century. A.D. It has already been studied in paragraph 2.5.1.3 for its use of *dolor*, where the topic of *amor* was briefly touched upon as the emotion word is used both in its verb- and noun-form. The first attestation of *amor* occurs in line 1, where love is used as an antithesis to death and, quite literally, forms an antidote to death's *dolor*.

The poetic inscription continues with the phrase that the *nomen*, similarly to *fama*, *vivit laudatur, legitur, celebratur, amatur*. The addition of *amatur* in this epitaph adds another dimension to this row of verbs. *Legitur* displays the functional aspect of the inscription and the inclusion of Sabinus' name, while *laudatur* and *celebratur* show the performative function of the epitaph: even after death, it remains a place of commemorating and honouring the life and memory of the deceased. The inclusion of *amatur*, however, adds an emotional dimension to the funerary context of this particular epitaph. The affection felt between Sabinus and his relatives during his lifetime is transferred by the epitaph, specifically through the display of the name, even after the death of Sabinus, causing his relatives to continue feeling the love between them beyond the grave. There is thus a clear distinction between the use of *amor* in the first line and the use of *amare* in this line: where the *amore* in line 1 offers solace to the death of Sabinus, the *amatur* in this line is a representation of the relationship between Sabinus and his relatives – much in the same way as other epitaphs from elsewhere in the empire employed *amor* to highlight the relationship between deceased and family and friends.

2.5.6.4 The auxiliary Aelius Apollonius

Inscription no. 15 is the second of the corpus that displays *amare*, originating from Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior), dated around 230 A.D.⁷¹⁷ The inscription is found on a sarcophagus, in between two niches with a mourning figure standing on either side, leaning on a torch. The sarcophagus is 232 cm long, 87 cm high and 112 cm wide.⁷¹⁸ The leaning mourners are identified with the German word *Graberoten*, a motif which enjoyed immense popularity on Roman sarcophagi in and around the city of

⁷¹⁷ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 175.

⁷¹⁸ Nagy, L. 1939, 119.

Aquincum: in both the capital and in the neighbouring town of Brigetio, 17 inscriptions each featuring such erotes were found.⁷¹⁹ The use of the iconography was not limited to the province of Pannonia Inferior, as this particular type of mourning erotes, in contrast to the 'season-erotes', is also widely attested in Pannonia Superior,⁷²⁰ Noricum⁷²¹ and Dalmatia.⁷²² Its widespread popularity has led archaeologists to consider them rather more impersonal or neutral, especially when compared with the more personal funerary iconography of the (family of the) deceased on the monument that gradually replaced the erotes during the 3rd century A.D.⁷²³

Memoriae Q(uito) [Ael(io) Apoll]oni mil(iti) coh(ortis) (milliariae) nove Suror(um) stip(endiorum) III / vix(it) ann(is) XX Aelia Marcia mater filio dolcissimo et Aelia / Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt. / Lubrica quassa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax /⁵ vita data est homini; non certo limite cretae / per varios casus tenuato stamine pendes. / vivito mortalis dum [dum] dant tibi tempora Parce; seu te rura tenent, urbes, seu castra vel equor, / flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe / et Nyssi larga et pinguia dona Minervae. /¹⁰ Candida vita cole iustissima mente, serenus, / iam puer et iu(v)enis, iam vir et fessus ab annis: / talis eris tumulo superumque oblitus honores / Q(uito) [Ael(io) Apoll]oni.⁷²⁴

Aelia Marcia, his mother to her dead son, and Aelia Apollonia, his sister, supervised the erection of this monument to the memory of Quintus Aelius Apollonius, soldier of new military cohort of Syrians; served for three years, lived for 20. To a man is given life that is slippery, shaky, fleeting, fragile, good or bad, treacherous, hanging on a slender thread through a variety of chances with no clearly-marked finishing post. Live to the full, mortal, while the Fates grant you time, whether the country embraces you or cities or a military camp or the sea. Love the flowers of Venus, pluck the benign gifts of Ceres and the generous gifts of Bacchus and the viscous gifts of Athena; cultivate a serene life, calm because of your clear conscience. Speedily a boy and a youth, speedily a man and then worn out by old age, you will be like this in the tomb, with no memory of the honours of men alive on earth.⁷²⁵

⁷¹⁹ Pochmarski 2014, 407.

⁷²⁰ Pochmarski 2015, 212.

⁷²¹ Pochmarski 2016, 151.

⁷²² Migotti 2013, 203n81.

⁷²³ Migotti 2013, 203.

⁷²⁴ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 87, no. 38.

⁷²⁵ Translation provided by Courtney 1995, no. 199.

The monument is dedicated to Quintus Aelius Apollonius, a soldier for three years of the *cohors milliaria nova Surorum*, who died at the age of 20. The monument was dedicated by his mother Aelia Marcia and his sister Aelia Apollonia. Three things make the inscription stand out: the first is the fact that the dedication is accompanied by a ten-sentence long poem which, according to historians, displays clear signs of Epicurean influences; the second is that the composer of the poem made itself known through an acrostichon, reading *Lupus fecit*⁷²⁶; and the third is that the exact same poem is attested elsewhere in Pannonia, but also in Palaestina.⁷²⁷

To begin with the Epicurean tendencies attested in the poem: in 1952, Egger published an article on the inscription, discussing its 'Epicurean echoes'. For Egger, certain parts of the verse, such as line 3's *per varios casus tenuato stamine pendes* and line 4's *vivito mortalis*, corresponded with the idea that the only truth that exists is that death comes to all. Egger contends that this is again reiterated in lines 8–10, which should not be understood as a consolation to the reader, but rather as the poets' belief in *in nihil ab nihilo*.⁷²⁸ Egger then contends that in this view, the connection with Epicureanism can be made, as it is connected to line 8's *iustissima mente, serenus*, which he connects with the Epicurean term *ataraxia* and with *serenitas*, a concept known from Mystery religion.⁷²⁹ According to Egger, the tranquil mind or the Epicurean *ataraxia* is reached by the conviction that all earthly concerns are naught in the eyes of death. Egger thus connects *serenus* with *ataraxia* and maintains that *iustissima mente* meant a complete uselessness of ethics, or as he put it: *Edelste Tugenden ... und höchstgespannte Seelenkultur, sie sind vergeblich*.⁷³⁰ However, Egger does not explain himself when he sees the Epicurean *ataraxia* in his explanation of the author's *mente serenus*. This causes confusion as *ataraxia* is not about abolishing emotions. It is about achieving a state of calm and worry-free happiness.⁷³¹ Egger's equation of *ataraxia* with the pursuance of the removal of any motion of the soul is therefore wrong.

Subsequent scholars, Schmid at the forefront, have disagreed with Eggers' findings, not necessarily in his identification of Epicurean inspiration for the poet of

⁷²⁶ Révay 1943, 147.

⁷²⁷ Eck 2013, 117.

⁷²⁸ Egger 1952, 149.

⁷²⁹ Egger 1952, 149.

⁷³⁰ Egger 1952, 148–149.

⁷³¹ Rosenbaum 1990, 22.

the verse, but rather with his line of argumentation. Schmid argues that, first and foremost, the poet did not treat death as the only sureness in life and, that even if this were the case, this view is completely unrelated to Epicureanism.⁷³² Schmid agrees with Egger on the connection between *ataraxia* and the *mens serenus*, but rightly so notes that it requires another definition. Rather, Schmid contends that the poem reminds the reader to live life to the fullest now that one is still alive and has not yet turned to dust, as in the case of the deceased. In this sense, it is Epicurean, or so Schmid argues. Schmid, however, is more positive than Egger. He focuses on (the remainder of) life rather than the inevitability of death, which might be considered the *summum bonum* for Lupus. This is in contrast to Egger's definition of *ataraxia*.⁷³³ For Schmid, the inscription still pertains to a sophisticated understanding of Epicureanism, especially when compared with those epitaphs that record 'popular Epicureanism'⁷³⁴ or, as Schmid calls it, *Vulgärepikureismus*.⁷³⁵ Fehér similarly notes that, while the line might pertain to an Epicurean concept, the idea of enjoying life to the fullest is not necessarily a rare occurrence in funerary inscriptions and the rest does not negotiate with Epicurean philosophy in the same way.⁷³⁶

In contrast to Schmid, Cugusi maintains that although the form of the expressions in verse are complex and allude to a significantly broader literary background than found in most epitaphs, both Epicurean and non-Epicurean, the content of the verse remains that of representing *popolaresco epicureismo*.⁷³⁷ For example, line 9, *iustissima mente serenus* corresponds with Lucretius's *templa serena*, while some references to Epicurean texts from the Augustan age, such as by Horace or Maecenas, are also found.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, Cugusi compares lines 6–7, *flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe / et Nysyi larga et pingua dona Minervae* with the Epicurean creed of *es, bibe, lude* (in this case, *lude, es bibe*).⁷³⁹

It is in this sentence that *amare* makes its apparition. The imperative of the verb introduces a use of the emotion that is unattested in the previous discussion of

⁷³² Schmid 1957, 318.

⁷³³ Schmid 1957, 319.

⁷³⁴ Already coined by Lattimore in 1942: Lattimore 1942, 263. Many epitaphs display this kind of popular philosophical stance by simply alluding to the idea that, with the body, everything perishes.

⁷³⁵ Schmid 1957, 326.

⁷³⁶ Fehér 2023, 235.

⁷³⁷ Lattimore 1942, 263.

⁷³⁸ Cugusi 1996, 40–41.

⁷³⁹ Cugusi 1996, 39.

the verb; the monument implores its reader to love. The goal behind this imperative, as the inscription informs the reader in line 6, is to live life now that Fate still grants the living time: *vivito mortalis dum dant tibi tempora Parcae*. Both Schmid and Cugusi classify this particular philosophical thought (living life to the fullest in the face of death) as a conviction representative of Epicurean doctrine. This might ring true to a certain extent: this particular inscription overlaps indeed with the works of Lucretius, Horace and Maecenas, among others, and it is equally true that these authors, all in their own right, could be identified as Epicurean authors.⁷⁴⁰ However, as Cugusi notes, numerous indications show how the author also took inspiration from Vergil and Ovid – authors that cannot be defined as Epicurean.⁷⁴¹ Vergil cannot be ascribed to one single Hellenistic school while Ovid, in his *Remedia Amoris*, flirts with the Stoic idea of ‘curing’ the ‘disease’ that is love.⁷⁴² Furthermore, it is exactly the sentence above that suggests that the ancient author did not have the complete understanding of Epicureanism which Schmid likes to ascribe to him. Rather, it indicates that the author’s understanding of Epicurean philosophy, as Cugusi envisioned, could best be described as ‘popular’ Epicureanism, as the content deals with the school only superficially.

As stated earlier, Philodemus asserts that only those ‘useful’ emotions are justified that are rational and help achieve the removal of human distress; if it were up to the author of the poem, love would be as justified as a ‘useful’ emotion, given the fact that it is partially what helps cultivate *serenus*, as the poem tells the reader. In contrast, Lucretius, as stated earlier, treats *amor* as a bad emotion, one that hinders *ataraxia* because it functions, similarly to its treatment in Stoic doctrine, as a disease. The poet’s use of *serenus* in reference to Lucretius’ *templa serena* is an inappropriate invocation. This is because Lucretius believed that *amor* is incompatible with a tranquil mind.

Nonetheless, this inconsistency rests on the idea that *amor* in Lucretius is understood in the same degree as *amare* in this poem. The introductory passage about

⁷⁴⁰ For Philodemus’ influence on Horace: Armstrong, D. 2003, 3; For Maecenas’ connection with Epicureanism: Ferguson 1990, 2263–2264.

⁷⁴¹ Cugusi 1996, 42–43.

⁷⁴² As Ferguson (1990, 2272–2273) notes, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is, if anything, predominantly Stoic rather than Epicurean, while the *Fasti* are no subject matter suitable for the latter. Ovid’s Epicurean side shines through most dominantly in certain passages, where it is based mostly on Lucretius’ Epicureanism.

Roman philosophers on love has shown how Cicero, portraying the Stoic vision, and Lucretius, displaying the Epicurean doctrine, were united in seeing lustful love as a vice that clouded the mind and needed to be eradicated. This passionate love might be differentiated from amical love – the kind of love that one would typically find in epitaphs dedicated by parents, siblings, friends and other members of the family. It is this kind of love that is visible in **inscription no. 1**, where Sabinus is honoured by an unidentified Turius but is commemorated through a love that does not seem primarily driven by lust. Furthermore, it is this kind of love that one might expect to find on an epitaph dedicated to – and for – a sibling, as will be the case below in **inscription no. 15**, where *amare* is used to describe the brother's relationship with his sister.

The categorisation of *amor* is twofold: firstly, it is dedicated to Apollonius by his sister and mother, suggesting that the love displayed would be merely Platonic and of a familiarly affectionate kind. However, the invocation of *Veneris* in line 6, which is connected with the use of *ama* in this poem, rings familiar with the role of the deity in Lucretius' lengthy discussion of passionate love. In her role within the poem, she is often described as transforming into a metonym for passionate sex.⁷⁴³ The equalisation between Venus and lustful love is also found in the works of other Roman poets. For example, in Horace's *odes* she plays a major role as an erotic deity throughout his poetry⁷⁴⁴, while Tibullus, in one of his *elegies* (2.4.58–60), talks about the unguent of Venus and the Cupids, which supposedly instilled sexual arousal.⁷⁴⁵ Possibly most famously in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pygmalion prays to Venus, who understood his erotic feelings for his ivory statue, turning the statue to conform to his bodily desires.⁷⁴⁶ In short, Venus' equation with erotic love is quickly made. It is therefore plausible to assume that *ama*, in this poem, is of the erotic loving kind. In light of this, this passage counteracts the understanding of love as displayed in the Epicureanism of Lucretius, therefore creating an inconsistency by the invocation of this particular author by *serenus*. One other inscription, *AE* 1995, 344, similarly makes use of *ama*: this epitaph, originating from Venusia in the 1st century A.D., is dedicated to one Salvius Zosimus, Augustalis Quinquennalis. Similar to the inscription here, it too gives a life lesson: *unguere, ama, pota, fruere, utere; nosce, miser, te; thesaurum*

⁷⁴³ Clay 1983, 233.

⁷⁴⁴ On the subject, see Carter, B. L. 1975.

⁷⁴⁵ Littman 1977, 124.

⁷⁴⁶ Barolsky 1909, 93–94.

heredis vescere avare, tui. It differs from the inscription from Aquincum in that it expresses the desire to spend everything before anything remains for the heirs, rather than to spend everything before death takes it all away.

As stated earlier, the inscription not only mentions, through an acrostichon, the inscription's author; the same poem is found on inscriptions from Ulcisia (Pannonia Inferior)⁷⁴⁷ and Raphia (Palaestina).⁷⁴⁸ The Ulcisian inscription, similarly dated to around 230 A.D., is partly broken off and lacks any reference to dedicator or dedicatee. The similarities between the two inscriptions have led scholars to assume that the texts are identical and that both are fabricated by the same author or workshop, located in Aquincum.⁷⁴⁹ The main substantive difference between the two inscriptions is the interpretation of *tenent* in line 5, which is interpreted as *colens* in the Ulcisian inscription. The third inscription, located in Raphia, written on sandstone, is heavily damaged and partially broken off, yet still contains Lupus' acrostichon. It furthermore follows the Ulcisian inscription by adopting *colens* rather than *tenent*.⁷⁵⁰ Although the top part of the inscription is missing, it displays the second half of a *cognomen* (-*mnas*) together with the function *tribunus*. Furthermore, the *subscriptum* reads the dedicator of the monument: *Aur(elius) Maximianus nepos eius de s(ua) p(ecunia) instantibus contubernalibus*. A military context of the inscription is not excluded, given the indication of *tribunus* and *contubernalibus*. The inscription cannot be dated with any certainty, but the *nomen gentile* Aurelius of the *nepos* has led Eck to suggest that it indicates a date between the late second and early 3rd century A.D.⁷⁵¹

There is no clear explanation for why an epitaph of such considerable size is attested in three separate locations. Still, Eck assumes that the inscription, or at least the content of the verse part, must have been produced in Pannonia, where the Latin literary background had a much stronger presence than in Syria Palaestina. Fehér similarly argues that the work was written by a local Pannonian poet rather than having been imported from a common poetic 'sample book', given the non-traditional lines found on the monument.⁷⁵² Furthermore, the Latin text on Syrian grave inscriptions, the inclusion of *tribunus* and *contubernalibus* and the dedicator of the

⁷⁴⁷ *CLEPann* 39.

⁷⁴⁸ *AE* 2013, 1715.

⁷⁴⁹ Kovács 2005, 254, no. 910; Fehér 2023, 234.

⁷⁵⁰ Eck 2013, 121.

⁷⁵¹ Eck 2013, 124.

⁷⁵² Fehér 2023, 234–235.

same family as the deceased does, according to Eck, hint to the military context, most probably an auxiliary unit.⁷⁵³ The military context brings to mind the movement of forces by Severus Alexander from the Danube region toward the eastern border with the Sassanids in 232–233 A.D., as a response to the threat of an imminent war with the Persian Sassanids.⁷⁵⁴ However, this cannot account for how a copy of the stone might have ended up in Raphia, far removed from the border with the Sassanids. What is known is that those same soldiers were moved back again to the Danube frontier, partly to fill the hiatus they left, which led the Germanic troops to flood the borders.⁷⁵⁵ Possibly, during this exchange of men across the provinces, the poem transferred between the regions and thus became attested in both provinces.

2.5.6.5 The Treveran rider Silvanus

Around 250 kilometres removed from his *civitas Treverorum*, the rider Silvanus is commemorated on an epitaph that also attests to *amare*. This **inscription no. 16**, found at the Roman settlement of Vetera (the later named Colonia Ulpia Traiana, modern-day Xanten) in Germania Inferior, is dated between 70 and 100 A.D.⁷⁵⁶ The inscription is found in a limestone monument, of which only the top half has remained. The dimensions are 1,28 cm in height and 90 cm in width.⁷⁵⁷ Only a few letters of the original inscription remain – identification of the text and iconography is therefore based on the manuscript tradition. The monument features a so-called *Totenmahl*-relief, containing two sitting persons, presumably Silvanus and his sister, in front of a set table. The man holds in his left hand a *scyphus*; his right hand holds the left hand of the woman. The lower panel, now lost, features a horse trotting to the right, with a horse attendant to its right.⁷⁵⁸

This *Totenmahl*-motif (translated in English as the ‘funerary-banquet’-scene) is a typical motif found on various epitaphs throughout the Roman provinces, consisting mainly of a representation of the deceased sitting on a *kline* around the

⁷⁵³ Eck 2013, 125.

⁷⁵⁴ Herodian describes how Alexander Severus issued levies from all the provinces, but particularly from Ilyria, as he travelled through the region on his way to Antioch: Hdn. 6.4.3.

⁷⁵⁵ Hdn. 6.7.6.

⁷⁵⁶ For a discussion on the date: Krier 1981, 111.

⁷⁵⁷ Lehner 1918, 263.

⁷⁵⁸ Bauchhenß 1978, 40–41.

banquet.⁷⁵⁹ In the northern provinces, where the deceased soldiers epitaphs often display such scenes, the depicted men are always in civilian clothing and are usually accompanied by a horse and attendant.⁷⁶⁰ The choice for the civilians' clothing is ambiguous: Hope has argued that the non-military presentation of the deceased indicates their emphasis on the non-military part of their life, rather focusing on those family values often reflected in the inscription.⁷⁶¹ However, the depiction of the deceased as a civilian could also be accounted for by other reasons, such as the imaginary participation of the deceased in the meals surrounding the funerary sphere or by any devout aspirations to participate in a communal meal in the next life. Others have rejected the idea of uniform reasoning behind the *Totenmahl*-motif, based on its geographical spread and chronological longevity.⁷⁶² Therefore, any specific reasoning behind the choice for this specific iconography remains uncertain and could also be due to existing trends prevalent in funerary epitaphs in the region.

The latter is certainly not excluded, given the popularity of the motif in the region, attested by the many funerary monuments originating from the province that similarly depicts the banquet. In the graveyard in the military camp of Burginatum (modern Kalkar), for example, a *Totenmahl*-motif is found on a monument dedicated to Iulius Primus, dated to the reign of Trajan (98–117 A.D.).⁷⁶³ However, the scenery depicts a servant accompanying the deceased. Similarly to Silvanus, Primus was also an *equites* (in this instance, of the *ala Noricorum*) and originated from Augusta Treverorum (as indicated by the *primo Trevero*)⁷⁶⁴ but functioned also as *stator*. In this function, Primus was part of the prefect's guard.⁷⁶⁵ Contrary to Silvanus, Primus' inscription shows the *tria nomina*, indicating Roman citizenship. Krier argues, that the name of the father (Adarus) indicates that Primus, like Silvanus, was recruited as *peregrinus* but was awarded citizenship somewhere along his military career. This could then possibly also be the reason for his promotion to *stator* in a relatively short military career, as he served for only seven years.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁵⁹ Stewart, P. 2009, 253.

⁷⁶⁰ Hope 1997b, 253.

⁷⁶¹ Hope 1997b, 253.

⁷⁶² Dunbabin 2003, 108.

⁷⁶³ *CIL* 13, 8670; for the dating, see Bauchhenß 1978, no. 29.

⁷⁶⁴ Lehner 1918, 261.

⁷⁶⁵ Krier 1981, 114.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Moving further away from Vetera and Burginatum lay Bonna, from which many fragments, but specifically three inscriptions decorated with the *Totenmahl*-relief are found.⁷⁶⁷ The three surviving inscriptions, dating from the reign of Trajan and respectively dedicated to the soldiers Iulius Verecundus⁷⁶⁸, Manilius Genialis⁷⁶⁹ and Iulius Paternus,⁷⁷⁰ equally depict no family member. These banquets portray the deceased as reclining on the banquet couch with an additional servant (in the case of Paternus, two servants) standing on the side of the meal. Overall, it seems that a family member is only included in the portraiture if blood relatives are mentioned in the inscription itself. In the case of the Treverer Iulius Primus, there is no mention of a family member, only that the heir created the monument. The same is true of Verecundus, Genialis and Paternus, where there are no references to a blood relative, although there are mentions of colleagues or friends. However, it is evident that the title of associate was insufficient for the inclusion in the iconography. It is plausible that the workshops, who made the monuments prior to any inquiries, only offered models featuring either a (female) family member or servants.

The evidence of the nearby Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium confirms this idea; out of eight epitaphs that feature the *Totenmahl*,⁷⁷¹ only two show a man and a woman: in *CIL* 13, 8283, the inscription records that the monument was dedicated to the man and his wife during their lifetime. In the other case (*AE* 1984, 658), a man and a woman sit around the table, as the inscription records that the soldier dedicated the monument to his parents. It is thus reasonable to assume that the inclusion of the depiction of Prima in the monument of Silvanus was an artistic choice, made to reinforce the bond between brother and sister that was already mentioned in the inscription.

*Silvano Loupi f(ilio) Trever(o) / eq(uiti) ala Vocont(iorum) an(norum) XXX
/ stip(endiorum) XII et vivis Primae / sorori eius hered(es) f(aciendum)
c(uraverunt). /⁵ Vos rogitat quaeso soror unica / fratris amantis ni
dissigilletis / nive violetis opus.*⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁷ For the fragments: Bauchhenß 1978, no. 22-28, no. 31-33, no. 36-38.

⁷⁶⁸ *CIL* 13, 8090 (100-130 A.D.).

⁷⁶⁹ *CIL* 13, 8091 (71-200 A.D.).

⁷⁷⁰ *CIL* 13, 8082 (100-130 A.D.).

⁷⁷¹ All eight are in prose, and all, with the exception of *AE* 1984, 658 (160-170 A.D.) are dated to the reign of Domitian: *CIL* 13, 8283; *CIL* 13, 8289; *CIL* 13, 8303; *CIL* 13, 8304; *CIL* 13, 8519; *CIL* 13, 8309; *CIL* 13, 8311.

⁷⁷² Bauchhenß 1978, 40.

For Silvanus, son of Loupus the Treverian, horseman of the Ala Vocontiorum, who lived 30 years and served 12, and during his lifetime for Prima, his sister, who as heiress had this tombstone erected. The only sister of (her) loving brother asks you eagerly to damage, nor desecrate this work.⁷⁷³

The monument is dedicated to the 30-year-old Silvanus, son of Loupusd and his sister, Prima. Silvanus was part of the *equites* of the *ala Vocontiorum*, which he had served for 12 years upon his time of death. While Loupus points to a Celtic heritage⁷⁷⁴, it is unlikely that Silvanus held Roman citizenship. Although *Augusta Treverorum* held the status of *colonia* probably since emperor Claudius, it appears that its inhabitants did not automatically receive Roman citizenship.⁷⁷⁵ Auxiliary soldiers in the first two centuries A.D. received citizenship after completion of their years of service.⁷⁷⁶ Silvanus, at his time of death, was thus still a peregrine.

Krier has argued that, based on his identification in the inscription as a Treverer, the rider was stationed in the nearby cavalry fort of Burginatum.⁷⁷⁷ It has been estimated that this fort was the home of the *ala Augusta Vocontiorum* that, after being stationed in Gallia Belgica near Soissons, occupied the Rhine area and moved to Burginatum sometime around 70 A.D.⁷⁷⁸ According to Krier, the inscription originates from Ulpia Traiana when one accepts that Silvanus' sister lived in its civil settlement.⁷⁷⁹ Prima, who wanted to accommodate the funeral of her deceased brother and simultaneously erect a tombstone for herself, built the monument for both of them.

The last three lines of the inscription (*vos rogitat ... violetis opus*) form an elegiac distich, albeit imperfect, as noted by Bücheler⁷⁸⁰, and, following the voice of the sister, function as a plea to any by-standers to not damage or desecrate the monument. Although such warnings or pleas are plentiful in epitaphs, this monument stands out as it personalises the plea by including the designation *soror unica fratris*

⁷⁷³ Author's translation, based on the German translation by Krier 1981, 111.

⁷⁷⁴ Bridger 2001, 64.

⁷⁷⁵ Schwinden 2014, 187.

⁷⁷⁶ Lavan 2019, 4.

⁷⁷⁷ Krier 1981, 112.

⁷⁷⁸ Oelmann 1920, 12.

⁷⁷⁹ Krier 1981, 112.

⁷⁸⁰ Bücheler notes that the correct flow of the meter would have necessitated *dissignetis neu* rather than *dissigilletis*: Bücheler 1897, 464.

amantis. The sister highlights her connection to Silvanus, to whom the inscription is primarily directed, by including the participle *amans*. Here, the emotion reinforces the connection between the siblings that has already been established in the iconography. The emotion of love and the consequent display of affection between siblings is not shunned and is even attested in the military circles of Roman society through this epitaph. The evidence above shows that the use of *amare* as a characteristic of the deceased is widespread and not limited to only this inscription. However, the use of verse rather than prose is quite isolated in the area of Colonia Ulpia Traiana. Only one other verse inscription from this area has survived, which has been discussed in more detail in paragraph 2.5.4.5 in connection with the act of crying.⁷⁸¹ Other verse inscriptions cluster mainly around Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (5)⁷⁸² and Bonna (2).⁷⁸³ These verse inscriptions prove that the epitaph of Sabinus is not merely one of the only inscriptions featuring emotions but it is also the only inscription that explicitly displays loving affection through the word, until now. As became clear, the wording of *frater amans* corresponds with the depiction of the brother and sister joined in the funerary banquet as depicted on the epitaph. On its own, this attestation is rare, as no other epitaph featuring the *Totenmahl* shares the depiction of brother and sister. Thus, the inscription of Sabinus is rare in its textual and iconographic content, given the double emphasis on sibling love not attested to other verse inscriptions in the province.

2.5.6.6 Discussion

The epitaphs demonstrate the versatility of this affectionate emotion: love serves as an antidote for the pain of death, as evidenced by **inscription no. 1**. However, death could also be a stimulus for the living to experience love, as shown by **inscription no. 15**. These two epitaphs are in direct opposition to each other and display two distinct approaches to death in the Roman world. Both inscriptions treat death as something inevitable. However, the former inscription asserts that the memory of the deceased lives on and is susceptible to commemoration and that showing love is part of that commemoration. The latter, in contrast, states that the inevitable death means that

⁷⁸¹ See pages 143-146.

⁷⁸² *AE* 1956, 248 (100-300 A.D.); *AE* 1956, 252 (200-300 A.D.); *AE* 2004, 979 (200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 8371 (200-300 A.D. **Inschrift no. 38**); *CIL* 13, 10018, 82 (201-350 A.D.).

⁷⁸³ *CIL* 13, 8007 (201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 10016, 4 (101-250 A.D.).

life should be lived to the fullest, now that one is still alive. Love, in this case, is used to celebrate life. The third inscription (No. 12) chooses neither side, as the verse is not used to portray ideologies about life and death but is rather used for more earthly concerns: it asks the reader to not damage the monument. In this inscription, love is used as it has been in many other (verse) inscriptions in the Roman Empire. It is used as a characteristic of the deceased brother, but furthermore strengthens the affectionate bond between brother and sister. In this regard, text and iconography are intricately connected and reinforce each other in the respective funerary sphere of this monument.

Both inscriptions no. 1 and no. 16 display a type of *amor/amare* that was prevalent among other epitaphs elsewhere in the empire: it pertained to a type of affection usually reserved between the deceased and their relatives, namely that of familial or collegial affection. Its attestation of love is not that of the lustful kind, therefore not necessarily contrasting with the conceptions of the philosophers about love as a vice. **Inscription no. 15** alludes to the erotic kind of love through the use of *amare*. It does so in the context of an inscription that otherwise shows – to a certain extent – a philosophical appreciation of Epicureanism and literary virtuosity that is not usually attested in epitaphs on a regular basis. In this context, the invocation of *amare* is a clear instruction to enjoy the lively pleasures that the deceased either did not enjoy during his life or is no longer able to enjoy in death.

2.5.7 *Laetitia*

This paragraph will begin with a discussion of the literary attestations of *laetitia* and how these correlate to *gaudium* which, in many ways, seems to describe the same emotion as *laetitia*. A comparison in literary and epigraphic attestations may lead to a better understanding of *laetitia* in the debate of ancient emotion on literary and epigraphic evidence. This will be followed by a study of **inscription no. 2**, which is the only inscription from the corpus that utilises *laetitia/laetus* in the sense of an emotion word.

2.5.7.1 Literature

Laetitia is an emotion word that, in ancient Latin sources, is often equated with *gaudium*, signifying a feeling of joy and happiness as portrayed by Varro: *laetari ab eo*

*quod latius gaudium propter magni boni opinionem diffusum.*⁷⁸⁴ Cicero sees *laetitia* as a product of good thoughts, similar to *libido*, although *laetitia* is the result of thoughts about present good, while *libido* arises from thoughts about future good (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.11: *ex duobus opinatis bonis ... ex bonis libidinem et laetitiam, ut sit laetitia praesentium bonorum libido futurorum*). Cicero furthermore defines *laetitia* as being aroused in obtaining what one desires (*Tusc.* 4.12: *laetitia ut adepta iam aliquid concupitum efferatur et gestiat*). Despite the common association with *gaudium*, Cicero differentiates the two terms by stating that *gaudium* is the result of calm thoughts that are consistent with reason. He therefore associates it with a positive connotation (*Tusc.* 4.13: *nam cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur*), whereas *laetitia* is part of immoderate joy (*Tusc.* 4.13: *laetitia gestiens*), when reason abandons the mind. *Gaudium* is therefore a much more constant, calm type of happiness, a state of mind. *Laetitia*, on the other hand, is much more fleeting and indicates a sudden bout of joy (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.15: *laetitia profusam hilaritem*). Importantly, the extent to which Cicero and the Stoics would consider *gaudium* an emotion is questionable, as emotions are inherently bad for the Stoics and should be extirpated; *gaudium* is clearly the result of the absence of emotion, not an emotion in itself.

Seneca identifies *gaudium* as a joy that is an elation of the spirit (Sen. *Ep.* 59.2: *est enim animi elatio suis bonis verisque fidentis*). However, according to Seneca, people use *gaudium* incorrectly when they discuss the temporary joy experienced when, for example, a friend is getting married or having a baby; rather, *gaudium* is the joy that lasts forever and never turns into sorrow (Sen. *Ep.* 59.2: *gaudio autem iunctum est non desinere nec in contrarium verti*). In this regard, it seems that Seneca uses *gaudium* in a strictly Stoic sense, as it is the product of *apatheia*, rather than an emotion. In contrast to Cicero, however, Seneca does not clearly differentiate between *gaudium* and *laetitia*,⁷⁸⁵ as he uses the words interchangeably, as in his *De Vita Beata*, where

⁷⁸⁴ Varro, *Ling.* 6.6.50: "*laetari* 'to be happy', from this, that joy is spread *latius* 'more widely' because of the idea that this is a great blessing." Translation by Kent 1938. Varro here distinguishes between *laetus* and *latius*, both being etymologically connected but describing different phenomena. The same distinction is also found in Isid. *Etym.* 1.27.14: *laetus per diphtonga scribitur, quia laetitia a latitudine vocata est, cuius e contrario est tristitia, quae angustiam facit*: "*laetus* ('joyful') is written with a diphthong, because 'joyfulness' (*laetitia*) is so called from 'wideness' (*laetitudo*), the opposite of which is sorrow, which causes constriction." Translation provided by Barney et al. 2006.

⁷⁸⁵ Evenepoel 2014, 47; Dyson 2010, 316.

Seneca describes that the mind that seeks pleasure in virtue (4.2: *virtute laetus*) or, when he establishes that the joy from virtue (15.2: *gaudium quidem quod ex virtute oritur*) is on the same level as joy or tranquillity (15.2: *laetitia et tranquillitas*). In *Ep.* 72.9 he also uses *laetitia* to describe the joy experienced by the wise man, again referring to this type of joy as everlasting (72.8: *Hoc sapienti non evenit; plenus est. Etiam si quid obvenit, secure excipit ac repoint. Laetitia fruitur maxima, continua, sua*). For Seneca, therefore, it seems that both *laetitia* and *gaudium* should be considered non-emotions or rather extra-emotional.

Where Cicero treats *laetitia* as a temporary emotion and *gaudium* as a constant positive mindset and where Seneca chooses to treat both as an everlasting joy, it seems that Lucretius and the Epicureans' stance on the matter is more difficult to define. Lucretius uses *laetitia* only sparingly to talk about the emotional state of a person. He uses its Archaic form (*laetus*) much more often, to refer to the fertility of crops, green pastures, and land. However, Lucretius, in contrast to Cicero and Seneca, sees both *gaudium* and *laetitia* as an emotion. The following quote makes this clear:

*Nunc animum atque animam dico coniuncta teneri
inter se atque unam naturam confiscare ex se,
sed caput esse quasi et dominari in corpore toto
consilium, quod nos animum mentemque vocamus.
Idque situm media regione in pectoris haeret.
Hic exultat enim pavor ac metus, haec loca circum
laetitiae mulcent: hic ergo mens animusquest.
Cetera pars animae per totum dissita corpus
paret et ad numen mentis momenque movetur.
Idque sibi solum per se sapit et sibi gaudet,
cum neque res animam neque corpus commovet una.
Et quasi, cum caput aut oculus temptante dolore
laeditur in nobis, non omni concruciamur
corpore, sic animus nonnumquam laeditur ipse
laetitiaque viget, cum cetera pars animae
per membra atque artus nulla novitate cietur.*

Next, I declare that, although mind and spirit are intimately connected and together form a single substance, the head, so to speak, and supreme ruler of the whole body is the reason, which we term the mind or intelligence; and this has its seat fixed in the middle region of the breast. Here we feel the palpitation of throbbing fear,

here the soothing touch of joy:
 here, then, is the intelligence and mind.
 The rest of the soul is disseminated through all the body
 and moves in obedience to the will and impulse of the mind.
 The mind quite independently possesses intelligence and experiences joy
 at times
 when no stimulus affects either the body or the spirit.
 And in the same way that the head or eye can smart under a painful attack
 without our whole body being agonised as well,
 so our mind sometimes by itself suffers pain
 or is animated with joy, when the rest of the soul,
 scattered through the limbs of the body, is not roused by any new
 stimulus.⁷⁸⁶

As explained in previous paragraphs, Lucretius differentiates between the spirit (*anima*) and the mind (*animus*), of which the latter rests in the chest and houses the emotions. Furthermore, as the quote above explains, the *animus* experiences joy (*gaudet*) and is animated by joy (*laetitiaque viget*). This shows that Lucretius views both *gaudium* and *laetitia* as valid emotion words that are inextricably linked to reason, as Cicero and Seneca also asserted. They are shaped by and affect the mind in turn. Furthermore, the above shows how Lucretius does not differentiate between *gaudium* and *laetitia*, as he uses both interchangeably to describe the experience of joy and its connection with the *animus*.

To conclude with a brief overview of the emotion word in Vergil's *Aeneid*: much has been published on the matter. Here, *laetitia* and closely associated words such as *laetus*, *laetari* and *inlaetabilis* are commonly associated with a temporary state of well-being or satisfaction, prompted by a specific act or event.⁷⁸⁷ In many cases, the *laetus* in Vergil's *Aeneid* is followed by a disaster, adding a sense of 'tragic irony' to the happy feeling that *laetus* exhibits in the first instance.⁷⁸⁸ One example is Aeneas' landing in Latium. He is described on multiple occasions as *laetus*,⁷⁸⁹ but this is starkly contrasted by the impending war that erupts between the Trojans and the natives.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁶ Lucr. 3.136–151. Translation provided by Smith 2001.

⁷⁸⁷ Wiltshire 2012, 2.

⁷⁸⁸ Wiltshire 2012, 2.

⁷⁸⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.35–36: *flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras imperat et laetus fluvio succedit opaco*; 7.130: *quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis quae loca*; 7.147: *certatim unstant epulas atque omine magno crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant*; 7.288: *laetum Aeneam*.

⁷⁹⁰ Kirsopp Michels 1981, 140n1.

Laetus almost always connotes a sense of impending doom⁷⁹¹, amending *laetus* as a positive emotion and emphasising the temporary and fleeting nature of such feelings otherwise found also in the works of the Graeco-Roman philosophers. *Laetus*, which Vergil invokes 13 times as an attribute to Aeneas, is the adjective found most often (after *pius*) in the Aeneid. Here, the emotion word signifies a process or a transition from the positive towards the negative.⁷⁹²

2.5.7.2 The epigraphic evidence

Laetitia is attested in a number of epigraphic sources, most notably among honorary and dedicatory inscriptions, as well as public laws and decrees.⁷⁹³ On pagan epitaphs, *laetitia* is only attested twice, both versified.⁷⁹⁴ *Laetus* is attested much more often in epigraphy, as the emotion word is found in 17 cases. Of these, 12 are versified, while five are written in prose.⁷⁹⁵ In most cases, *laetus* is used to describe the life of the deceased. In five cases, this applies to a male,⁷⁹⁶ while in three cases, it applies to a female.⁷⁹⁷ In these inscriptions, *laetus* is used to create a contrast between the living and the dead; the emotion shows how, during life, the person lived happily and with joy, while in death, the joy has expired. Accordingly, *laetus* is often found in inscriptions in terms of a wish that the relatives should enjoy their life with happiness for as long as they are still able to. These emotions are not specifically addressed to one person in particular but, in the same manner as that inscriptions often turn their attention to the reader, the deceased are using these emotions to give

⁷⁹¹ Farrell 1990, 142.

⁷⁹² Kirsopp Michels 1981, 140.

⁷⁹³ The many inscriptions that display *Laetus/Laeta* as *cognomen* are excluded from this paragraph.

⁷⁹⁴ *CIL* 10, 2483: *laetitia* (Baiae, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23083: *laetitiam* (Rome, 100-300 A.D.).

⁷⁹⁵ Versified: *AE* 1957, 334: *laeta* (Romula, 171-230 A.D.); *AE* 1998, 736: *laetata* (Axati, 100-200 A.D.); *AE* 2000, 583: *laeta* (Parma, 51-150 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 4137: *laetus* (Tarraco, 208-222 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8385: *laetamque* (Travnik. 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 2**); *CIL* 5, 5961: *laeta* (Mediolanum, 200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 20132: *laeta* (Rome, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25427: *laetus* (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 175: *laetus* (Brundisium, 50-20 B.C.); *CIL* 10, 659: *laetior* (Salernum, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 636: *laetus* (Ostia Antica, 131-170 A.D.); *Epigraphica* 71, 2009, 274-276: *laeta* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.). Prose: *AE* 1994, 1332: *laetus* (Teurnia, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 7566: *laetissimae* (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6770: *laetus* (Mogontiacum, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 4488: *laeto* (Portus, 117-161 A.D.); Väänänen 1973, no. 9: *laetis* (Rome, 69-130 A.D.).

⁷⁹⁶ *CIL* 3, 8385: *laetamque* (Travnik. 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 2**); *CIL* 6, 25427 (Rome, 100-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 175 (Brundisium, 50-20 B.C.); Väänänen 1973, no. 9 (Rome, 69-130 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 636, (Ostia Antica, 131-170 A.D.).

⁷⁹⁷ *AE* 1998, 736 (Axati, 150-200 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 5961 (Mediolanum, 200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 7566 (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.).

heed and a final warning. This is attested once in *CIL* 2, 4137 (Tarraco, 208–222 A.D.), where the readers and relatives are warned with *vive laetus, quisque vivis*.

Laetus is also attested within the standardised phrase *votum solvit libens laetus merito*, although to a lesser extent. This is found twice in epitaphs.⁷⁹⁸ The phrase is usually discovered on votive or dedicatory inscriptions, whereas *laetus* is attested only sporadically in correlation with the standard phrase.⁷⁹⁹ Here, the phrase indicates a sense of gratitude for the successful resolution of the pact with the gods.⁸⁰⁰ In funerary epigraphy, the phrase is used less frequently than in other contexts. When it is used, it is in regard to any vows made to the *Manes*.⁸⁰¹

On two occasions, *laetus* is attributed to divine spirits. In *CIL* 14, 4488 (Portus, 117–161 A.D.), an epitaph for a soldier discusses the *numine laeto castrorum*, while *CIL* 6, 20132 (Rome, 1st–3rd century A.D.) speaks of *Fortuna ... non laeta*. Once, it is used to describe the former master of a pet dog to whom the epitaph was dedicated. The inscription, in a similar manner as described above, uses *laetus* to contrast the owner's better times, when the dog was still alive, with the present time, where the owner is struck with grief: *portavi lacrimis malidus te, nostra catella, quod feci lustris laetior ante tribus*.⁸⁰² On two occasions, *laetus* is used as in the *Aeneid*, to describe fruitful lands.⁸⁰³ Finally, on one occasion, *laetus* is used to describe the joy felt by Troy, from which the deceased derived (*Troia me genuit*), for his remains are buried in Rome, which is linked to Troy by its descendants.⁸⁰⁴

2.5.7.3 Principius again

In the corpus, *laetus* is attested twice. However, since one of those attestations deals with *laetus* in the sense of fruitful grass (*gramina laeta*) rather than as an emotion word, this paragraph focuses only on **inscription no. 2**.⁸⁰⁵ This inscription was first dealt with in paragraph 2.5.1.4, where it was studied for its use of *dolor*.⁸⁰⁶

⁷⁹⁸ *AE* 1994, 1332 (Teurnia, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6770 (Mogontiacum, 151-300 A.D.).

⁷⁹⁹ Nemeti 2012, 183–184.

⁸⁰⁰ Zoll 2014, 626.

⁸⁰¹ Kovács 2016, 132.

⁸⁰² *CIL* 10, 659 (Salernum, 100-200 A.D.).

⁸⁰³ *AE* 1957, 334: *gramina laeta* (Romula, 171-230 A.D. **Inscription no. 33**); *AE* 2000, 583: *arvaque laeta* (Parma, 51-150 A.D.).

⁸⁰⁴ *Epigraphica* 71, 2009, 274-276 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.)

⁸⁰⁵ The other inscription in the corpus that mentions *gramina laeta* is *AE* 1957, 334 (Romula, 171-230 A.D. **Inscription no. 33**).

⁸⁰⁶ See pages 79–83.

Subsequently, it was examined in paragraph 2.5.2.3 for its use of *luctus*. The inscription was found on a 3rd century A.D. monument originating from Travnik (Dalmatia), where one Principius who was part of the navy in Ravenna was commemorated by his father and grandfather. *Dolor* was used to signify the grief of the commemorators, which was explicitly conveyed to the reader through the monument. *Luctus*, in contrast, was used to describe the mournful nature of the Principius' death. Where *luctus* refers to grief in general, *dolor* is specifically invoked to describe the grief of the commemorators. The use of both *dolor* and *luctus* on a monument is not a rare occurrence, and the emotion words are often invoked within the same inscription to complement each other or to create a contrast that transmits a deeper understanding of the experienced grief.

In this inscription, *laetus* features in the sentence that denotes the happy days experienced by the father and grandfather before the loss of their relative: *heu miseri, gloriari sibi laetamque senectam*. Hoogma maintains that the line is influenced by the *Aeneid's* line *heu miserae cives? Non hostem inimicaque castra*.⁸⁰⁷ However, it seems that the likeness is incidental rather than deliberate, since only the words *heu miseri* are found in both inscriptions and the invocation of *laetamque senectam* does not correlate to Vergil's use of *hostem inimicaque*.

The line expresses the joy that the father and grandfather were supposed to have felt in their old age, had the boy not died prematurely. This epitaph is different from the others. It does not use *laetus* to show how the deceased enjoyed life or to signify how people should live. It rather portrays *laetus* as an alternative to reality, as how it would have given joy to the relatives if life had kept to its natural rhythm. Instead, death intervened and averted joy from the relatives who, instead, were met with *dolor*. Quite similar to what has been described in the use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid*, the sentence that contains *laetus* is quickly followed by the miserable reality of death. Thus, this reading of *laetus* can possibly be met with the same sensation of impending disaster that it has in the *Aeneid*. *Laetus* creates an atmosphere of a world that the surviving relatives would have experienced and then pulls the reader back into reality with the inscription *crudelem luctum domui Ravenna remisit*.

⁸⁰⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 5.671; Hoogma 1959, 274.

The use of *laetus* in the inscription shows how the emotion word was utilised to create a contrast in the style of the *Aeneid* between happier times and impending sorrow. The inscription, however, does deviate from other inscriptions that utilise *laetus* in the sense that it uses the emotion word to describe a state that could have been, not one that either was or will be in the future. In the sense of *laetus* signifying only a temporary bout of joy, it correlates most closely with the expression of *laetus* used by Cicero, who similarly treats it as a temporary emotion, rather than a prolonged state of happiness.

2.6 Synthesis

The preceding analysis attempted to map some of the most prevalent emotions attested in both literary and epigraphic evidence and examined the extent to which these emotions were employed in versified funerary epigraphy by men and women. The basis for the analysis of masculine epigraphic emotion is the emotion list, consisting of 86 emotion words and emotion markers compiled from the writings of Cicero, Vergil, Seneca, Quintilian and Aulus Gellius. Even though the majority of the contributions to the list (60 of 86) are derived from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, its use throughout time in Roman literature is attested not only by Table 1 but also by the literary reviews that preceded each analytical paragraph. A comparison between the emotion list and the corpus' epitaphs show that the versified funerary inscriptions from the relevant provinces assign the emotions *dolor*, *luctus*, *maeror*, *flere*, *lacrimare*, *gemitus*, *amor* and *laetitia* to men, both as dedicators and dedicatees, though never exclusively to the male gender. The results of the analysis have significant implications for the study of versified inscriptions and the study of masculine emotion in Roman antiquity. They provide invaluable insights into the use and application of verse in the context of the funerary sphere, and challenge the assumptions made by much of the existing research on gendered emotion in antiquity.

Beginning with the implications for the study of verse inscriptions: the evidence suggests, as pointed out in Table 2 and paragraph 2.4.2 that emotion words are attested much more frequently on versified inscriptions than its prose counterparts in all eight cases. When an emotion word is attested, verse inscriptions account for nearly three-quarters of all instances. This result is significant because it indicates that verse inscriptions were more effective than prose inscriptions when

conveying emotions within the funerary sphere. There is, however, room for nuance within this observation: the first is that while six out of eight emotion words show a strong preference for verse over prose, the results for *dolor* and *amor* lie closer together, as both show a distribution of roughly 60 percent verse and 40 percent prose. In case of *dolor*, this could be explained by the term being used to denote both physical and mental pain, rendering unclear how frequently an attestation of *dolor* in an inscription actually refers to the emotion as opposed to physical toil. The use of *dolor* to refer to physical as opposed to emotional pain may therefore distort the distribution in prose and verse inscriptions.

It is important to note that the equation only accounts for the 'emotional epigraphic habit' of 12 Roman provinces. This does not imply a study of *all* available emotion words in *all* Latin-speaking provinces and cities throughout the empire. Therefore, the notion that emotion words are more likely to be attested on verse inscriptions rather than prose inscriptions cannot be generalised until research studies the attestation of emotion words in, for example, Gaul and Baetica, or until such findings are compared with the rich epigraphic landscape of Rome. Furthermore, the analysis of emotion words has only incorporated words that resulted from a cross-reference with the corpus, which consists solely of inscriptions chosen for their inclusion of male dedicators or dedicatees. Due to these factors, the analysis does not consider emotion words that may only be attested in prose inscriptions, emotion words that are used exclusively for women, children or other groups that are not categorised by the corpus as 'masculine', or emotion words that are only attested in specific regions or provinces.

Thirdly, the equation merely indicates the frequency with which one of eight words appears in prose and verse inscriptions. It does not account for the number of epitaphs on which an emotion is undocumented. As a result, it is possible that the emotional expressions observed in this analysis were internalised by only a portion of the actual epigraphic audience. While it is tempting to assume that the expressions of (masculine) emotions were generally accepted and/or supported by a large audience, it is possible that they were the exception, not the rule. This dilemma is exemplified by **inscription no. 14** (paragraph 2.5.4.10), which, like many other Latin inscriptions, memorialises the deceased using the emotion marker *flere* to express the mourning of the commemorator. As a result, the epitaph conforms to a pattern

observable in all provinces, which suggests that tears are commonly invoked to express sorrow in funerary epigraphy. As stated in the analysis, it is the only epitaph of 400 from Britannia that depicts a weeping commemorator. If comparative cases can be found in all provinces, it is likely that, rather than a positive interpretation, the evidence suggests that tears were only attested in small numbers of funerary epigraphy and were therefore not representative of commemorative emotional language in the funerary sphere.

While the attestation of emotions in verse versus prose may suggest a correlation between the display of emotions and the preference for verse over prose, this does not imply causation. It is not possible to ascertain from the material alone whether the choice for verse inscriptions was motivated by the desire to display emotions. It seems likely, however, that the display of emotions on versified epitaphs was motivated by other considerations. These may have included the extended space that versified inscriptions offer compared to the limited content of prose inscriptions, or the fact that literary tropes, for which the verse epitaph is better suited, by default entails a greater chance for the display of emotions. In short, it is unclear whether the choice of verse inscriptions over prose was motivated by the desire to express emotions. It is less clear whether emotions were expressed because verse inscriptions facilitated them more readily than prose inscriptions.

The analysis of emotion words in funerary epigraphy yields interesting results for the study of emotions in general. The display of emotions was deliberate, regardless of their total number of occurrences. The content of the inscription was the result of a calculated process. Even a single inscription is a collection of motivations and calculations that went into its creation, revealing the intentions of the author, manufacturer and dedicator who, at least in the case of this chapter's analysis, purposefully chose to commemorate their loved ones emotionally. For example, even though *gemitus* is only attested on nine epitaphs across the Roman Empire, each attestation is the result of a process that resulted in that specific representation of *gemitus* and, as such, provides valuable insight into its broader use in Roman society. While the number of inscriptions displaying *gemitus* may be smaller than those with *dolor*, a single example is still valuable as it can be studied as a source for the formation of masculine identity.

Before contemplating the implications of the findings for the study of emotion in ancient societies, it is necessary to consider the variety of emotions that lie hidden behind emotion words. The epigraphic evidence indicates that eight out of 86 emotion words from the relevant provinces are associated with male commemoration in funerary epigraphy. As anticipated, the majority of emotion words are connected to the sphere of grief. They are inextricably linked to it through their symbolism (*dolor, luctus, maeror*) or through the invocation of emotion markers commonly associated with the funerary sphere and the expression of grief (*flere, lacrimare, gemitus*). Given the emotional nature of the situation and the emotional response that is evoked by death, the use of these grief-laden words is predictable to some extent. Extensive literary evidence attests that Romans, regardless of gender, did not remain unmoved by the deaths of their loved ones. Consider Cicero's *Consolatio ad Se* or Seneca's *Consolationes*, as both go to great lengths to alleviate some of the suffering, they themselves or their friends are experiencing. Diametrically opposed to the emotion of grief is that of *laetitia* which, albeit in much smaller numbers, is also attested on Roman funerary epigraphy. Its use in epitaphs differs from those that express grief because *laetitia*, in most cases, emphasises the past and is used to establish a contrast between the deceased and commemorators during life and subsequent death. As such, *laetitia* is invoked to describe the happy life of the relatives or the deceased, where *dolor, luctus* and *maeror* all refer to the present state of grief upon death. This contrast is perfectly exemplified in *CLE* 1176, as the owner memorialises his dog by contrasting his happiness during the dog's life with his sorrow after the dog's passing (paragraph 2.5.7.2). Similar to *laetitia*, *amor* is primarily used to describe the deceased; however, the emotion word was also used to describe the source of suffering. In the latter sense, *amor* was a source of distress and as such could be invoked to describe pain in the same manner as *dolor*. Therefore, the ambiguous use of *amor* cannot be considered a straightforward representation of a 'positive' or 'negative' emotion in the same manner as *laetitia* or *dolor, luctus* and *maeror*. Its interpretation depends on its usage and, therefore, varies among epitaphs.

The employment of certain emotion words, such as *dolor, luctus* and *maeror*, to describe the same emotion of grief raises the question of why some words are attested in favour of their synonyms. For example, why does the corpus include *flere* and *lacrimare* but not *plangere*, or *laetitia* instead of *gaudium*? In hindsight, many of these

synonyms are discernible on a more fundamental level in the emotion list. For example, *aegritudo* could be used for grief or sorrow but is not attested at all on Latin funerary epigraphy in contrast to *dolor*, *luctu*, and *maeror*.⁸⁰⁸ Still, the absence of some emotion words from the corpus may be circumstantial. Similarly, while *gaudium* is not attested in the corpus of this thesis, it provides ample results in some of the inscriptions of other provinces. Thus, the inclusion and exclusion of certain emotion words are based on the available evidence and cannot logically lead to conclusions about ancient preferability for certain words over their synonyms.

Even though *dolor* and *luctus* are frequently used to invoke the same emotion, both in epigraphic and literary evidence, as many as nine inscriptions contain both emotion words, including the epitaph for Principius (paragraph 2.5.2.3). could the emotion word can be used interchangeably to refer to the same feeling and sentiment of grief. However, in other cases, there is a clear distinction between *dolor* as a physical pain and *luctus* as a mental pain, which is closer to the meaning of grief. Furthermore, in other epitaphs, *dolor* refers to the emotion of grief, whereas *luctus* refers to the act of grieving. Here, *luctus* is caused by *dolor*. In this sense, they are not interchangeably used, despite their intrinsic relationship.

This study sought to determine the various emotions through which Roman men portrayed themselves and were portrayed by others, and how these emotions helped men negotiate their position within the context of funerary epitaphs as a part of Roman societal representation and the social and local context in which the deceased and commemorators defined their place within Roman society. Epitaphs, which display a limited range of emotion words to describe men, predominantly use emotion words to express the grief of the commemorator(s) and surviving relatives, according to the findings of the analysis. This is attested by the general overviews of the epigraphic use of the emotion words *dolor* (paragraph 2.5.1.2), *luctus* (2.5.2.2), *maeror* (2.5.3.2), *flere/lacrimare* (2.5.4.2), and *gemitus* (2.5.5.2), which all demonstrate that one of the most significant uses of the emotion word/marker on an epitaph is the demonstration of grief. This is corroborated by the analyses of the bulk of the epitaphs: the epitaphs for Sabinus (paragraph 2.5.1.3), Principius (2.5.1.4/2.5.2.3), Ursinus (2.5.1.5), Marcellina (2.5.1.6), Salvius (2.5.2.4), Telesphoris'

⁸⁰⁸ As opposed to regular references to *aeger* which, in contrast to *aegritudo*, refers to physical ailment and pain.

daughter (2.5.2.5), Proculus (2.5.3.3/2.5.4.8), Mummius (3.6.4.3), Faustus' family (2.5.4.4), Calventius (2.5.4.5), Vibia (2.5.4.9), Fortis' daughter (2.5.4.10) and Lesbius (2.5.5.3) all display at least one emotion word or emotion marker that signifies the grief felt by the commemorators for the deceased. In a similar manner, the emotion words *dolor* and *maeror* referred to a general state of sorrow caused by the decedent. This is not supported by any of the verse epitaphs examined in this chapter, but it is demonstrated by abundant epigraphic evidence from elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Importantly, while *luctus* is frequently used as a synonym for *dolor* and *maeror*, it is never used to denote a general sense of sadness in epitaphs.

Furthermore, the epitaph emphasises the communicative nature of the monument on multiple occasions by describing how it can evoke emotions in the reader. This is attested in the epitaph for Principius (paragraph 2.5.1.4), in which the father and grandfather memorialise their (grand)son and emphasise that, by using the phrase *hoc miseros titulo proprium signasse dolorem*, the monument serves as a medium for the display and expression of emotion. Ursinus' epitaph (paragraph 2.5.1.5), with the phrase *quot nomen titulus praestat suisque dolorem*, similarly underlines how the inscription houses the capacity to invoke emotions through its content – in this case, the name of the deceased. The epitaph for Marcellina (paragraph 2.5.1.6) urges the reader to invest, through the reading of the inscription, in the emotions of the dedicator(s): *legis nostros tu nosti dolores*. By reading the monument, the audience may come to understand and experience the same suffering as the commemorators. Similarly, the epitaph for the freedman Lesbius is crafted around the theme of evoking emotion. Rather than focusing on the emotion felt for the fate of the deceased, it urges the reader to invoke emotion in response to the patron's fate (paragraph 2.5.4.6). In contrast to these evocations of sorrow, the epitaph for Sabinus (paragraph 2.5.6.3) reflects on the fact that by reading the deceased's name, the inscription can evoke a feeling of love (*amatur*).

The analysis demonstrates that especially versified epitaphs depict men expressing emotion and are focused on the emotive character of the monument. In this sense, the analysis primarily shows that emotions were not seen as taboo in epitaphic depictions of men. As such, the display of emotion did not oppose or impede on the idea of maleness. Furthermore, epitaphs reflect on the appropriateness of the display of emotion and actively encourage and invoke such emotions. This is the case

for four verse inscriptions found in the corpus: the epitaph for Prisca Julia (paragraph 2.5.2.6) states, via *patremque virumque ... quem lugere decet*, that her husband should mourn her passing. The same sentiment is expressed in the epitaph for Salvius (paragraph 2.5.2.4), which refers to the fact that the commemorator feels compelled to weep for the deceased's fate (*flere necesse est adsiduae*). Furthermore, epitaphs asked the reader to demonstrate or experience emotion for the sake of the deceased's fate. For instance, *laetitia/laetus* is frequently used, although not in the corpus, to urge the reader to live happily while they are still alive. For example, the epitaph for Apollonius (paragraph 2.5.6.4) contains the most elaborate request for the evocation of emotion, stating that those who are still alive should enjoy life while they have the chance. The inscription then lists a number of things the living should do, including *flores ama Veneris*, which means to love in a passionate manner. In contrast, an epitaph may also elicit negative emotions: the epitaph for Calventius (paragraph 2.5.4.5) implores the reader to weep for the rider's fate if they find themselves in a similar situation as the commemorator (*flete, coaequales, mors haec mea fletibus apta est*). This implies that not only the commemorator but also the passerby should shed tears for the deceased.

Similarly, epitaphs may urge the reader to control his or her emotions. Although this is not found explicitly on any of the verse epitaphs analysed, the *desine*-motif found on the attestations of *flere/lacrimare* is indicative of this tendency (paragraph 2.5.4.2). Through this motif, the monument, frequently from the deceased's point of view, implores the reader to cease their grieving and their feelings of sorrow, resulting in the request to cease to show their emotion altogether, most frequently tears. The *sine dolore*-motif is a related trope that evokes a particular emotion in the reader by emphasising the absence of that emotion rather than pleading for its removal. Where the *desine*-motif focuses on the absence of a future emotion, the *sine*-motif showcases how the individual, most often the decedent, lived without a certain emotion, inverting a negative emotion into a positive one.

Occasionally, emotions are used to create a contrast between the living and dead. This occurs, in the analysis, solely through the invocation of *laetitia* which, in general but also specifically in the epitaph for Principius (paragraph 2.5.7.3), is used to separate the living spheres, which are typically situated in the past, from the funerary sphere, which is typically in the present. The example of Principius' epitaph

thus contrasts the deceased's life with the present, in which joy has replaced sorrow. In a sense, the invocation of the positive emotion thus amplifies the negative emotion. Importantly, the epitaph for Sabinus (paragraph 2.5.1.3) shows how emotion can also aid in the eradication of grief. In this particular epitaph, it reflects that *amor* can dispel grief caused by death. As such, the memory of the deceased does not evoke a sense of sorrow in the commemorator; rather, it is the cause of their absence.

This correlates to a certain extent with the final use of emotion in epitaphs, which employs emotion words to underline and strengthen the bond between living and deceased. This is solely done through *amor*. It is attested in Sabinus' epitaph, in which *amatur* is used to indicate the relationship the living had and continue to have with the deceased. Similarly, the epitaph for Silvanus (paragraph 2.5.6.5) establishes the loving bond between brother and sister through the use of *amantis*, reinforcing the emotions that the living feel for the deceased, despite their physical separation.

Men display emotions from a limited number of roles. They are fathers, (military) friends or otherwise undetermined unrelated individuals. In almost all of the verse inscriptions examined in this chapter, the epitaph makes explicit reference to the role or function from which the man expresses his emotion. The father's role is most strongly associated with the expression of grief-related emotions by a significant margin. The emphasis on the fatherly figure in the emotional display in epitaphs is not unexpected, as the epigraphic analysis of the majority of emotion words has already established that one of the most frequent uses of the emotion words *luctus* and *maeror* was to refer to the grief of the parent, specifically the father. This is partially supported by the evidence of *flere* and *lacrimare*. The exception is *gemitus*, in which only one instance depicts both parents groaning, but no father-figure. Furthermore, seven of the verse epitaphs discussed in the analysis depict a mourning father: the epitaph for Principius (paragraph 2.5.1.4) depicts the mourning of an anonymous father; the epitaph for Ursinus (paragraph 2.5.1.5) refers to the grief of his father Marcus Allius Firminus; the epitaph for Victorinus refers to the grief of the father Aurelius Petalcius; Faustus weeps for his two sons (paragraph 2.5.4.8). Similarly, Corellia Optata is mourned by her father Fortis (paragraph 2.5.4.10), whereas in the case of the epitaph of the freedwoman Vibia, it is unclear whether the mourner is the father or the dedicator (paragraph 2.5.4.9).

Also prevalent are references to grieving men who are not blood relatives of the deceased. Most notably, three cases refer to the grief that soldiers felt for their comrade, as the epitaph in paragraph 2.5.3.3 commemorates an anonymous soldier by his fellow comrade Proculus and also describes how the soldier was commemorated by the weeping of his fellow soldiers. Similarly, the dedicator of Calventius' epitaph (2.5.4.5), who mourns for his comrade is identified as his fellow soldier. In the epitaph for Lucius Mummius, the commemorator Chrestus, weeps for the soldier who is identified as his friend (paragraph 2.5.4.3). Undetermined is the epitaph composed by Iulius Asclepiades who mourns Salvius (2.5.2.4), as the basis for their relationship is not specified.

In three cases, men are shown displaying emotion in the role of husband: epitaph 2.5.1.6 refers to the mourning Victorinus, *beneficiarius consularis*, who mourns his wife (paragraph 2.5.1.6); the same applies for the inscription dedicated to Prisca Julia, crafted by her husband (paragraph 2.5.2.6), and also Faustus (paragraph 2.5.4.4) mourns for his wife through tears. In one case, the *patronus* is certain to be the commemorator (paragraph 2.5.5.3), where Lesbios is commemorated by Seccius, whereby it is uncertain whether Gaius is the dedicator of the inscription to his freedwoman Vibia (paragraph 2.5.4.9). In another instance, the grandfather mourns the demise of Principius (2.5.2.3). In one additional case, the father is depicted grieving together with his wife (paragraph 2.5.2.5), as both are invoked through *Telesphoris et maritus eius parentes*.

Four inscriptions demand the reader's attention by evoking emotion. The inscription for Calventius (2.5.4.5) and the inscription for Lesbios (2.5.4.6) both ask the reader to weep. Similarly, *amor* is invoked by both the inscription for Sabinus (2.5.6.3) and Aelius Apollonius (2.5.6.4) to persuade the reader to experience the emotion. Finally, in one case, the man who is displayed as loving is the brother (2.5.6.5), while *laetitia* applies to the deceased Principius (paragraph 2.5.7.3).

Comparing the extent to which emotion words are attributed to the dedicator of the monument versus other persons mentioned or displayed on the epitaph reveals that the vast majority of attestations use the emotion word to describe the dedicator's emotion. The major exceptions are the four inscriptions mentioned previously that request the reader to experience an emotion. The epitaph for Silvanus (paragraph 2.5.6.5) depicts the deceased Silvanus as the *fratris amantis*, while the epitaph for

Principius (2.5.7.3) attributes *laetus* to him as a symbol of the happiness his life would have brought. In every other instance, the dedicator of the inscription is the one who exhibits emotion. This is an important notion since it emphasises that primarily men presented themselves emotionally.

The question then is how these expressions of emotion by men in epitaphs align with the literary evidence. For those emotion words that are related to the act of mourning and the emotion of grief (*dolor, luctus, maeror, flere/lacrimare/gemitus*), the evidence suggests a clear discrepancy in the presentation of masculine emotion between epigraphy and literature. In Latin epigraphy, as attested above and in the analysis presented in this chapter, men portrayed themselves, and were presented, as mourning and showing grief through multiple emotion words and through the invocation of different emotion markers, both within the context of the Roman family and in roles assigned to non-blood relatives, including the military, the *patronus - libertus/liberta*-relation, and as non-related companions.

In contrast, part of the literary evidence discussed in this chapter diverges from the analysed epigraphic sources, as it advocates for a presentation of masculine emotion that is much more restrained and less expressive than the inscriptions demonstrate. This view is most strongly reflected in the philosophical writings of Cicero, Seneca and Lucretius, who, with a few exceptions, all advocate repressing grief in favour of expunging (part of) the emotions. Cicero's view of the ideal man and its implications for the demonstration of masculine emotion is in direct contrast with the epitaphs. Men are actively choosing to portray themselves and other commemorators and relatives as being moved by grief and sorrow. This results not only in the explicit display of tears but also in the imploration of the epitaph for any reader to solicit and copy the emotional behaviour and expressions of the commemorators. The exception to the rule is the display of *gemitus* in epitaphs which, according to Cicero's emotional vocabulary, can be seen as a manly expression of grief. Similarly, the displays of mourning found on the epitaphs contradict Lucretius' opinion on grief. Lucretius' Stoic view on grief is clear: one should not focus on the wrong beliefs that stem from grief. He explicitly states that displays of sorrow, such as tears, are useless and the result of wrong beliefs.

Importantly, while the aforementioned philosophical works are uniform in their rejection of the display of emotion and, with the exception of *gemitus*, show no

similarities in their emotional expressions, the picture becomes more coherent when comparing the epigraphic expressions of emotion with the emotional display of Vergil's *Aeneid*, specifically the emotional expressions of Aeneas. The reader experiences Aeneas' emotions mainly as the product of his fidelity and allegiance to Troy, his crew and friends and his family, as opposed to the Roman philosophers' rejection of emotions. There are a few exceptions, but Aeneas' emotional displays in the case of sorrow and grief are primarily motivated by these standards. On numerous occasions, Aeneas experiences grief (*dolor* is preferred by Vergil over *luctus* for Aeneas' grief; *maeror* is not connected to Aeneas) when thinking about – or being reminded of – Troy, such as in the palace in Carthage or when he recounts his escape from the burning city, when he is reminded of his Pallas or Hector, or when he commemorates his father Anchises. In a similar manner, Aeneas weeps for the ghost of his wife and his father, and groans and cries for Dido. Aeneas does not perfectly correspond to the idealised Roman man (paragraph 3.2), but his grief-related emotional displays correspond much more closely to the realities of epigraphic commemoration than those depicted in the philosophical works of Cicero, Seneca, and Lucretius.

Before turning to possible explanations for this trend, it is necessary to compare the use of *amor* and *laetitia* in the various categories of the source material. Cicero distinguishes between the *amor* for friends and the *amor* between lovers, the former being free from desire, the latter being driven by it. Therefore, the former is appropriate and permitted, whereas the latter must be eradicated. While Seneca does not write on the topic, Lucretius' conception of love is similar to that of Cicero in that it advocates the avoidance of love as a sexual craving at all costs. In the *Aeneid*, the emotion is only associated with Aeneas' longing for the fulfilment of his divine destiny by reaching Italy. Thus, there is no clear discrepancy between the philosophical works and the *Aeneid* regarding the use of *amor*. Since the interpretation of *amor* in textual sources depends on whether or not *amor* refers to passionate or platonic love, the display of *amor* in funerary inscriptions is similarly dependent on the context of its use. In the cases where *amor* is used to emphasise the relationship between living and deceased, those epitaphs that describe male affection that does not necessarily make the passionate explicit might thus be allowed. As such, Apollonius' epitaph (3.6.6.4), which showcases the love between the deceased and the relatives, might be allowed,

while the invocation of *flores ama Veneris* on a superficial level refers to passionate love. The epitaph of Silvanus (3.6.6.5), which uses *amor* to reinforce the bond between brother and sister, and that of Sabinus (3.6.6.3), which also implores the reader to commemorate his relatives with love, also fall within the philosophers' approved category.

Interestingly, the use of *laetitia* differs between the works of the individual philosophers, the *Aeneid*, and the epitaph of Principius (3.6.7.3). Cicero treats *laetitia* as a sudden bout of joy that is temporary and will eventually lapse; Seneca does not differentiate between *laetitia* and *gaudium* and treats both as extra-emotional reference to the happy tranquil state of the mind; Lucretius does not differentiate between *laetitia* and *gaudium* and treats both as emotions that could arise in the wise man. The *Aeneid*, similarly to Cicero's explanation of the emotion, treats it as a temporary feeling of satisfaction. Moreover emotion in the *Aeneid*, often precedes misfortune and is thus used as a literary device to indicate a transition between happy and sad. It is especially in the latter sense that the inscription dedicated to Principius corresponds, as it describes his life and indicates how he would have brought happiness to his father and grandfather's lives. This is immediately followed by the line that signifies Principius' death, emphasising the contrast between life and death and, like the *Aeneid*, indicating a brief moment of happiness that is followed by calamity.

In trying to understand what causes the disparity between the Latin literary and epigraphic depictions of masculine emotion, an answer might be found in two non-exclusive explanations. The first has already been mentioned in the discussion of the circulation of Roman literary genres throughout the empire in paragraph 2.2. Since the philosophical ideas of the Roman writers circulated primarily within the communities from which the authors themselves originated, i.e. the social elite, it follows that their ideas applied primarily to these social groups and that their audience was, therefore, relatively small. The distribution of literary works outside of the realm of private connections was primarily established through public and private libraries, bookshops and scribes. The issue with this is that their availability outside the Italian peninsula must have been relatively limited, considering people's physical and financial access to these institutions. As a result, the ideas of Cicero, Seneca and Lucretius about the emotions of the 'good man' were only marginally disseminated

throughout the Roman Empire and would have had little impact on the emotional display of civilians living on the periphery.

This is in stark contrast to the enduring popularity of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The work, which was renowned throughout all provinces, was disseminated in a manner unmatched by the aforementioned philosophical works and must have reached a far wider audience. In funerary epigraphy, This resulted in many attestations of Vergil's influence through the invocation of certain lines, phrases and poetic similarities of the *Aeneid* and, moreover, in the transmission of Vergilian attitudes toward emotional display. The *Aeneid*, which centred on the display of Aeneas' virtues, may have simultaneously influenced the attitudes of the work's consumers – perhaps the same audience that would choose poetic over prose inscriptions – to modify their emotional display.

The second explanation is dependent on the first, and it addresses the distribution of ideas in a similar manner. Since the aforementioned works were reserved for members of the upper class – those who could afford to invest in them or who had the means to access them – it follows that members of this class shared the same perspective on emotions as those philosophers. Those below the social elite – i.e., the most prolific users of verse epigraphy – were likely unfamiliar with the concepts presented in these works and, as a result, paid them no mind. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the difference in the gendered expressions of grief between the literature of the elite and the epigraphy of the lower classes was the result of ignorance or indifference. However, the clear differences in the expression of gendered emotion indicate that a difference in attitudes, whether intentional or not, preceded them and may have been at the root of the discrepancy. The literary evidence suggests that those of higher social classes did follow social rules that determined the gendered division of mourning as prescribed by the likes of Cicero and Seneca, while those below the social elite did not.

A discrepancy in the understanding of gendered norms of mourning between the social classes might also become evident when one considers the way in which epitaphs differentiated between male and female displays of emotion. Where applicable, each epigraphic paragraph has sought to map the distribution of emotion words across gender. This has involve analysing the extent to which these words were applied to men and women. These paragraphs have repeatedly demonstrated that no

distinction was made between men and women in the application of certain emotion-related terms. In the example of *luctus* (paragraph 2.5.2.2), the same number of men are attested to be displaying grief as there were women. The same holds true for *maeror* (paragraph 2.5.3.2), where the numbers are even when they discuss the display of sorrow. Similarly, the epigraphic survey of *flere/lacrimare* (paragraph 2.5.4.2), an emotion marker commonly associated with women in the textual evidence, reveals no significant gender advantage. Instead, it was distributed evenly across both genders and across the roles that sprung from these genders. Finally, *gemitus*, which is traditionally considered a masculine expression of emotion, refers to grief only once as a display of masculine emotion. In conclusion, there is no evidence that suggests that funerary epitaphs were used to differentiate between male and female grief; the two were equally attested across the emotion words and markers, further distancing the Latin epitaphs from the philosophical works of Cicero, Seneca and Lucretius.

Virtue

3.1 Introduction

In the mid or second half of the 2nd century A.D., a mausoleum in honour of the Flavii Secundii was erected in the African settlement of Cillium, modern-day Tunisia. The mausoleum, built in the style of the typically African tower monument, features a distinctly Roman element as it contains one of the longest Latin verse inscriptions in the entire empire.⁸⁰⁹ Despite its extraordinary length, the inscription reflects certain attitudes that are characteristic of funerary commemoration in the Latin West, such as the idea that time and life are always fleeting (*sint licet exiguae fugientia tempora vitae parvaeque raptorum cito transeat*) or that the deceased lives in the shades of the afterlife (*nunc ego non dubitem tacitis Acherontos in umbris ... gaudere parentem saepe*). Moreover, and important for this chapter, is the fact that the monument draws the reader's attention to the virtues of the dedicator, the deceased's son, as lines 9 to 12 read:

Ecce recens pietas omni placitura favore ingentem famae numerum cum laude meretur exemplo iam plena novo, quam Flavius alto more Secundus agens patrio signavit honore.

See, a recent filial gesture, which will meet with total approval, deserves a great mass of fame and praise, a gesture pregnant with a novel precedent: Flavius Secundus, acting in his father's style, has marked that gesture with a lofty mark of honour.⁸¹⁰

The poet uses the virtue *pietas* as a synonym for the monument and as a reference to the son's fidelity towards his father. While Courtney translates *pietas* here as "filial gesture," for the ancient audience, it would have been immediately clear that virtue refers to the filial duty between children and parents and thus does not require a possessive word. Furthermore, the dedication is wholeheartedly welcomed by the deceased and the other relatives, which is accentuated by the phrase *cum laude meretur*, even though the inscription mentions that such dedications are in line with the *alto more*. Like *pietas* in the preceding line, such dedications are a conventional

⁸⁰⁹ Wilson 2010, 67.

⁸¹⁰ Edition and translation provided by Courtney 1995, 188–189, no. 199A.

testimony to the moral qualities of the son, as he honours and commemorates his deceased relatives with pious observance.

Correspondingly, the sentiment that *pietas* is a testimony of filial duty between the son and his parents has loomed large in the corpus of Roman literary works: it is the main characteristic of Vergil's Aeneas and similarly features heavily in the works of, among others, Cicero, Livy and Valerius Maximus. In fact, *pietas*, together with a wide range of other virtues, has played a significant role in the moral philosophies of the ancient Romans and is part of a larger network of moral qualities that has often been at the forefront of Roman moral ethics. As such, the prominence of virtues within Roman society is mainly expediated by its inclusion in Roman exemplary ethical thinking which, in turn, eventually transformed and was newly appropriated by the emperor and the imperial family during the transition from the Republic to the Principate. Given both the prominence of virtues in ancient writing, philosophy, and society, as well as its influence on modern virtue ethics, the study of Roman virtues has attracted quite a significant amount of scholarly attention over the years.

Conversely, the field of Latin epigraphy has mainly been left outside of these discussions. Most scholarly attention dealing with Roman epigraphy and virtues has focused on honorary inscriptions, while there has been no consideration about the role of virtues in funerary inscriptions so far. This is a missed opportunity since the Roman funerary sphere was a social setting *par excellence* for the commemoration of a person's virtues: the *laudatio funebris* held in the Roman Forum or outside the *pomerium* around the grave, the *elogium* accompanying statues and tombs, and the epitaph marking the final resting place of the deceased were all viable media through which the virtues of the deceased were extolled. To varying degrees, they perpetuated the memory and the great deeds of the deceased. They allowed, for example, Cicero to admire the language of praise of the *laudatio funebris* of Fabius Maximus for his son, some 150 to 200 years after the actual speech,⁸¹¹ or for the public of the Republican funeral to admire and emulate the great deeds of the deceased's *familia*, as they were acted out or recited during the funeral.⁸¹² Similarly, *laudationes* were inscribed in stone, ensuring the performance of eulogies through a medium that was essentially

⁸¹¹ Cic. Sen. 12: *Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admirabilius, quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus?*

⁸¹² Polyb. 6.54.3.

commemorative in function and thus equally celebratory of the life of the deceased.⁸¹³ As such, there are numerous ways in which Roman epitaphs allude to the deceased's virtues, although the choice of moral qualities, the range of words used or the semantic breadth that the epitaphs cover differ widely: funerary inscriptions and their content, especially the language of praise, may diverge according to variables such as social class, geographical location, epigraphic tradition, cultural context and, most importantly for this chapter, gender.

The topic of gender as a variable in the representation of virtue and the language of praise in epigraphy has been studied only marginally, and most studies focus on the role of the epithet, thus only superficially touching on the subject of gendered-virtue concepts.⁸¹⁴ The field of study of these analyses is almost always regional or local in character.⁸¹⁵ In these studies, the role of epithets in the construction of gendered identities within the private and public sphere has been mainly applied to the domain of women's studies in antiquity. As a result, more attention has been paid to the analysis of epithets and value words attributed to women than to men on Latin inscriptions.⁸¹⁶ Only sporadically are the virtues of men in epigraphy discussed in more detail, but always within the framework of general themes and never solely in their own right.⁸¹⁷ As such, the role of masculine virtues within the field of Latin funerary epigraphy has not been studied.

It is in this context that this chapter seeks to fill this gap by analysing the ways in which funerary epigraphy allowed for the representation of morality in relation to the representation of masculinity, both for the deceased and for their relatives. Further attention will be given to the distribution of these virtues, how they are distributed across genders, and which trends in their distribution are discernible. This chapter shall attempt to analyse ways that such articulations of virtue are determined by the poetic nature of the inscription and the ways how poetry enables a richer display of virtue in funerary epigraphy.

⁸¹³ Newby 2016, 279.

⁸¹⁴ For general studies of epithets on Latin epitaphs, see Sigismund Nielsen 1997; Shaw 2002.

⁸¹⁵ For example: Curchin 1982, 1983; Sigismund Nielsen 2005; Carlsen 2020. For virtues on Latin honorific inscriptions: Forbis 1996.

⁸¹⁶ For example, Lightman/Zeisel 1977; Von Hesberg-Tonn 1983; Rošková 2009; Riess 2012; Foubert 2020.

⁸¹⁷ For example, MacLean 2018, 35–78.

To study masculinity within the framework of a topic that, as will become clear, is defined intrinsically as masculine seems at first pointless, even paradoxical. However, the value of such a study lies not in specifically addressing and mapping *merely* the virtue of terminology that depicts men in epigraphy. Besides highlighting the different virtue terms that are associated with the man in funerary epigraphy, this chapter aims to establish the different ways in which such virtue terms were attested: as will be shown, there are several methods of invoking, depicting or mentioning virtues in funerary epigraphy, and not all strategies are based on words: virtues could be exhibited metaphorically, through a range of related terms, in formulaic phrases, or through iconography. As such, the discussion in this chapter will not only include explicit expressions of virtues, but also metaphor, formulaic texts and iconography. Moreover, part of this chapter will contextualise the use of the virtues by men in epigraphy by contrasting them with the extent to which women were depicted in connection with virtue terms and, as far as possible, will examine the differences in their respective use. This will provide a classification of virtue terms based on their appropriation by different social and familial roles, such as the *pater/mater, filius/filia* and so on. Finally, part of the purpose of this chapter is to compare the findings on the representation of virtuous behaviour in epigraphy with what has been written on the subject in ancient literature, and to see if there are similarities or differences.

This chapter will therefore attempt to analyse the various issues raised above, starting with a study of the available ancient literary sources that wrote about virtue ethics and morality. These will form the basis of a thorough understanding of virtue in antiquity, against which each paragraph will be examined specifically for its use of virtue terms. The literary analysis will begin with a discussion of Roman philosophical virtue ethics. This will expand into the topic of the *mos maiorum* and the Roman *exempla*, which play a significant role in the formulation of virtuous Roman behaviour. There will also be an introduction to the topic of virtues in epigraphy, to see how the topic has been studied in similar fields. The literature review is followed by the methodology, which, as will become clear, discusses the way in which this chapter attempts to approach virtue in funerary epigraphy. This will include a collection of virtue terms, as well as a discussion of the number of attestations and their distribution. Subsequently, an analysis of the corpus will allow for an understanding of the applicability of virtue terms in funerary epigraphy, after which the findings will

first be summarised (paragraph 3.4.7) and then discussed in a general discussion at the end of this chapter (paragraph 3.5).

3.2 Virtue in Roman Literature

In many facets of Roman society, virtuous behaviour was wholly conceived within the framework of what it meant to be masculine. There was no division between what it meant to be a virtuous person and what it meant to be a virtuous man, as discussions of moral excellence were inherently centred on the moral character of the male gender.⁸¹⁸ This association between virtuousness and the male gender is readily apparent in the origin of the Latin word for moral excellence and bravery, *virtus*, which etymologically derives from the Latin word for “man”, i.e. *vir* (more on which later). As such, the virtues attributed to exemplary men were considered inherently masculine and, by default, primarily reserved for the manly gender. As a result, many types of Roman sources do not differentiate virtues based on gender nor strictly define virtues in terms of ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’. Instead, when men showed virtuous behaviour, they did so in accordance with their gender’s natural disposition. This disposition allowed men to, ideally, be physically and mentally fit and perfectly in control of reason and their emotions. Virtuous behaviour was thus exemplified by acts of self-control, dignity, respectability or wisdom; moral characteristics that were highly valued in Roman men and for which they were both praised and emulated.

Importantly, while virtues were readily ascribed to men, not every Roman man was automatically virtuous or, perhaps more accurately, free from vice. In fact, Roman men are portrayed negatively in many instances, with an emphasis on their vicious character. Valerius Maximus, for one, devoted the entire ninth book of his *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* to vices, providing numerous examples of famous Roman men who exhibited vicious conduct. Similarly, in his discussion of the Catiline conspiracy, Sallust contrasts the vices of the Catiline with the virtues of another Roman, Cato the Elder, to accentuate the moral degeneracy of his times, making a point of recalling all the vices of Catiline’s moral character.⁸¹⁹ Thus, the Roman man was not inherently virtuous by nature of his gender.

⁸¹⁸ Kuefler 2001, 19.

⁸¹⁹ Sall. *Cat.* 4.5–5.6.

Nevertheless, Roman men were only sporadically described as irretrievably and completely vicious, and most portrayals of Roman men show a mixture of both virtues and vices. When they were categorically described as vicious, such moral descriptions were usually influenced by political motifs or were at least partially coloured by the author's personal convictions and preferences. In the case of Sallust's attack on Catiline, to keep with the example given above, it has been argued that the *Bellum Catilinae* was also motivated by Sallust's wish to criticise the political legitimacy of the *nobiles* and to cast doubt on Cicero's testimony.⁸²⁰ Similarly, Cicero's own description of his involvement in the Catiline conspiracy exaggerated Catiline's morally depraved character — and his intention to overthrow the Roman Republic — to such an extent as to make Cicero's intervention in the matter all the more positive.⁸²¹ In practice, however, most of the ancient Roman literature that describes the vices and virtues of illustrious Roman men shows how both categories were present in their character. Even Cicero, who so fervently attacked Catiline's character in 63 B.C., contended only a few years later that Catiline indeed possessed some virtues to counter his vices, such as when his dedication to *homines improbi* was balanced by his commitment to *optimi viri*.⁸²² Subsequent authors who wrote under the yoke of the emperor similarly characterised the morality of the imperial family by listing both their virtues and their vices. Suetonius, for instance, creates a moral verdict of past imperial rulers based on both public and private aspects of their lives and assigns virtues and vices to them based on their appearance, abilities, actions, etc.⁸²³ His moral description of Domitian, outwardly described as a 'bad emperor' by the likes of Tacitus and Cassius Dio, first emphasises the emperor's virtues, only to be followed by his turn to vicious behaviour.⁸²⁴ As such, even the moral qualities of those so openly branded as evil by some were scrutinised for their virtuous behaviour by others.

Diametrically opposed to the idea of masculinity as morally superior was the Roman view that the female gender and femininity were essentially morally inferior. Where masculinity stood for reason and control, women were said to be guided by emotion and irrationality. As a result, women lacked virtue and were susceptible to

⁸²⁰ MacKay 1962, 185–186.

⁸²¹ Waters 1970, 195.

⁸²² Cic. *Cael.* 12.

⁸²³ Wallace-Hadrill 1979, 14; Bradley 1973, 253.

⁸²⁴ Suet. *Dom.* 9–10.

the many vices considered to be the opposite of virtuous behaviour.⁸²⁵ The same dichotomy that opposed virtues from vices defined the moral differences between masculinity and femininity. Again, the connotation between Latin linguistics and the etymology of certain gendered words as tokens of 'superiority' or 'inferiority', as already seen in the derivation of *virtus* from *vir*, is found in the term *muliebris*. The term, which originates etymologically from the Latin word *mulier* ('woman'), was simultaneously used as an adjective to denote 'womanly', 'effeminate', but also 'cowardly and 'morally weak'.⁸²⁶ Both these etymological derivations are found in a passage from Lactantius, who highlighted the connection of *vir/virtus* and *mulier/mollier* with respectively *vis*, signifying strength and *mollitia*, which stood for softness and weakness.⁸²⁷ Consequently, femininity as a sign of moral inferiority transcended female biological boundaries and was also applied to men in Latin literature to signify their moral depravity. Seneca the Elder, for example, scolds his contemporary Roman adolescents for their immorality and compares them to women for their softness (*mollitia corporis*), the braiding of their hair (*capillum frangere*) and their singing (*ad muliebres blanditias extenuare vocem*).⁸²⁸ Similarly, many other Roman authors in general questioned the masculinity of Roman men by associating their lack of virtue with the female gender. Cassius Dio, for example, recalls a speech by Vindex in which he publicly questioned Nero's masculinity by discussing, among other things, the emperor's marriage to the castrated Sporus and his feminine dress.⁸²⁹ Similarly, the previous chapter showed how certain Roman authors saw the lack of virtue, in the case of mourning that of self-control and reason, as a detriment to the masculine stereotype, which consequently led to 'weak' and 'womanish' behaviour.

Importantly, deviations from the female stereotype as morally inferior existed in a similar way to those Roman men who displayed vicious or feminine moral traits. There were specific instances in which Roman society constructed the ability of

⁸²⁵ Kuefler 2001, 20.

⁸²⁶ Langlands 2004, 118. Both meanings are included in Lewis & Short's Latin dictionary: Lewis/Short 1879 s.v. *vir*.

⁸²⁷ Lact. *Opif.* 12.16–17: *vir itaque nuncupatus est, quod maior in eo vis est quam in femina, et hinc virtus nomen accepit: item mulier, ut Varro interpretatur, a mollitie, inmutata et detracta littera, velut mollier.*

⁸²⁸ Sen. *Controv.* 1.pr.8–9.

⁸²⁹ Cass. Dio 63.4.

women to overcome their natural moral deprivation, just as there were instances in which men were portrayed as lacking virtue and adopting vice. Nevertheless, where Roman literature emphasised the virtue(s) of a Roman woman, their actions, characteristics and virtues were almost always related to the masculine sphere. Rather than pointing to a shared framework of virtue between men and women, such depictions emphasised the idea that such virtuous women had transcended their natural morality into the realm of the masculine as the archetype of virtuous behaviour. To illustrate: Valerius Maximus gives the example of the *matrona* Sempronia who, during the political crisis following the murder of her brothers Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, publicly testified against an alleged descendant of her brother Tiberius in the Forum – a place where, according to the ancient source itself, women should have no role.⁸³⁰ As such, Sempronia transgressed the natural boundaries that otherwise prohibited her from attending the public assembly and was only allowed to show her virtue by explicitly breaking with the social and cultural expectations that reserved this space for men. Women similarly intruded into the realm of masculine virtue when their morality was explicitly defined in masculine terms, the clearest example being references to a woman's *virtus*.⁸³¹ One such example is Cicero when he attributes *virtus* to his wife Terentia, thereby alluding to her 'manly courage' rather than to her virtue in general.⁸³² Hence, when women showed virtuous behaviour, they transcended their natural disposition towards moral depravity and tapped into the virtues generally attributed to men and the masculine stereotype. Vice versa, men who showed defamatory behaviour were often associated with the feminine domain and, in a similar style, transgressed their natural disposition towards virtuous behaviour. In short, Roman thinking about virtue and vice was strongly linked to gender stereotypes that idealised masculine virtuous behaviour over feminine inferior behaviour, with both men and women able to break with these stereotypes.

In Roman literature, this gendered division between virtue and vice, and its subsequent transgressions are found either implicitly or explicitly in several literary domains: firstly, in the works of Roman philosophers occupied with virtue ethics;

⁸³⁰ Val. Max. 3.8.6.

⁸³¹ Racette-Campbell 2023, 48.

⁸³² Cic. *Fam.* 14.1.1; Sarsila 1982, 33.

secondly, in the writings about the *mos maiorum*; thirdly, in the genre of *exempla*-literature; and fourthly, in the references to the Roman emperor as an example of virtuous and vicious behaviour. This paragraph will focus mainly on the writings of the authors used for the list of virtue terms, as well as those used for separate discussions of virtue terms in the analysis of the epigraphic sources. This commences with a discussion of Cicero who wrote on the role of virtue within moral ethics and its role of gender, followed by the topic of the exemplary genre discussed first by a study of the *exempla* as written by Livy and Valerius Maximus. Especially Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* will be useful for this chapter, given his straightforward and anti-subtextual approach to the examination of ancient virtue. Finally, the *exempla* found in the writings of Tacitus, Pliny and Suetonius, all of whom wrote around the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., will show a shift in the focus of the *exempla* from republican virtues to the moral behaviour of the emperor and his family.

Further attention will be given to the general use of virtues in epigraphy in modern literature and scholarship. This will, firstly, provide a better understanding of the significance of this study. Secondly, it will show how virtue has been studied in the past and what methodology has been used to date. Finally, it will help to elucidate some of the tendencies that have dominated epigraphic thinking about virtue and to contextualise some of the findings in this chapter later on.

3.2.1 Cicero and Roman Virtue Ethics

Roman philosophical thought about virtue ethics, like the Roman study of emotions, was studied primarily by Cicero who, in turn, was greatly influenced by Greek philosophers of the Peripatetic and Stoic schools. One of the leading ancient Greek philosophers that considered virtue ethics was Aristotle. Aristotle argues that *eudaimonia* is the highest attainable goal of human life and the driving force behind desire and can only be achieved through the proper functioning (*ergon*) of the human being. The defining characteristic of humans is their rational capacity and to use their ratio to live with virtue (*aretē*).⁸³³ Cicero explores the topic of virtue ethics through

⁸³³ Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1097b6: " ... whereas honor, pleasure, intelligence, and excellence in its various forms, we choose indeed for their own sakes (since we should be glad to have each of them although no extraneous advantage resulted from it), but we also choose them for the sake of happiness, in the belief that they will be a means to our securing it. But no one chooses happiness for the sake of honor, pleasure, etc., nor as a means to anything whatever other than itself." Translation provided by Rackham 1934. On *aretē* and the ratio: Devettere 2002, 38; Korsgaard 1986, 259; Johnstone 1980, 2.

Aristotle's theme of *aretē*, on which he models *virtus* and creates his own philosophy about the meaning of human life and how virtues function in the proper conduct of the individual and the collective.

It is uncertain whether the Roman language already used *virtus* to mean "moral excellence" in the same sense as *aretē* was used before its encounter with Greek philosophy. However, Ennius' *Elogia Scipionum*, which renders *virtus* as "virtue" and "moral greatness", shows that by the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. the Latin term took on the same meaning as *aretē*.⁸³⁴ Additionally, *virtus* denoted the specific virtue of "courage"⁸³⁵ and, given its etymological derivation of *vir*, thus portrayed both "male excellence" as well as "masculine courage".⁸³⁶ Consequently, the term *virtus* signified the general term for virtue in the same manner as *aretē*, but also denoted the specific virtue of courage. Thus, for example, Caesar uses *virtus* to describe "courage" in order to articulate the advantage the Romans had over their Gallic adversaries when he remarks that "the rest of the contest depended on courage; in which our men had the decided advantage."⁸³⁷ In contrast, Lucilius employs *virtus* to denote virtue in the same sense as *aretē*, reflecting on its social function and stating that it entailed "the ability to pay the true price in whatever business or affairs of life", as well as to "know what is right and useful and honourable for a man, what is good, bad, useless, or shamefully dishonourable."⁸³⁸ In fact, Cicero himself comments on the linguistical duality of *virtus* and directly relates it to the topic of masculinity, when he tells his *familiaris*:

Atqui vide ne, cum omnes rectae animi adfectiones virtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium, sed ab ea quae una ceteris excellebat, omnes nominatae sint. Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo, cuius munera duo sunt maxima, mortis dolorisque contemptio. Utendum est igitur his, si virtutis compotes, vel potius si viri volumus esse, quoniam a viris virtus nomen est mutuata.

⁸³⁴ Balmaceda 2017, 18.

⁸³⁵ The Greek virtue term for courage, i.e. *andreia*, was like the Latin *virtus* etymologically connected to the corresponding word for manliness, in the case of the Greek language, *aner*. See Stewart, E. 2016, 94.

⁸³⁶ Balmaceda 2017, 19.

⁸³⁷ Caes. *BGall.* 3.14.8: *Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant.* Translation provided by McDevitte 1869.

⁸³⁸ Lucil. 1096–1208, transmitted through a fragment in Lactantius: *Lact. Div. inst.* 6.5.2: *Virtus ... est pretium persolvere verum quis in versamur quis vivimus rebus potesse. ... virtus scire homini rectum utile quid sit honestum, quae bona quae mala item, quid inutile turpe inhonestum.* Translation provided by Lind 1972, 240.

But I would have you consider whether, as all the right affections of the soul are classed under the name of virtues [*virtutes*], the truth is that this is not properly the name of them all, but that they all have their name from that leading virtue which is superior to all the rest: for the name, “virtue” [*virtus*], comes from *vir*, a man, and courage [*fortitudo*] is the peculiar distinction of a man: and this virtue has two principal duties, to despise death and pain. We must, then, exert these, if we would be men of virtue, or rather, if we would be men, because “virtue” takes its very name from *vir*, man.⁸³⁹

Importantly, Cicero contends here that *virtus*, in addition to being derived from *vir*, was specifically related to the behaviour of a man and was not considered part of the moral complexity of other individuals, such as women, slaves and children. Accordingly, such groups were not endowed with the “right affections of the soul” in the same manner as men and were thus not able to inhibit any virtue. However, this gendered predisposition of moral qualities is not explained by Cicero in his other writings. In fact, Cicero repeatedly attributes *virtus* to women, both as the virtue of ‘courage’ and as a description of virtues in general.⁸⁴⁰ To demonstrate: Cicero praises his daughter Tullia for her *virtus* on two occasions, once in a letter to his wife Terentia⁸⁴¹ and again in a letter to Atticus.⁸⁴² He also acknowledges his wife in a letter addressed to her, recalling her *virtus* and *fortitudo*, after which he lists her *virtus*, *fides*, *probitas* and *humanitas*.⁸⁴³ Cicero thus places a woman directly within the language of virtue, which he describes as essentially masculine in the passage from the *Tusculan Disputations* quoted above, and he does so by specifically using the two virtues, *virtus* and *fortitudo*, which he mentions as the “peculiar characteristics of a man”. This is exceptional, since the specific use of *virtus*, the male-centred virtue *par excellence*, had never been attributed to women without a subtextual comic purpose until Cicero.⁸⁴⁴ Furthermore, Cicero carries this egalitarian theme from his private correspondence into his philosophical work *De Legibus*, where he says: “Therefore there is not a man

⁸³⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43. Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

⁸⁴⁰ McDonnell 2006, 162–164.

⁸⁴¹ Cic. *Fam.* 14.11: *Tullia nostra venit ad me pr. Idus Iun. Cuius summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore adfectus nostra factum esse neglegentia ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque eius pietas ac dignitas postulabat.*

⁸⁴² Cic. *Att.* 10.8.9: *valde eo ipsa delectata est, ego autem non minus. cuius quidem virtus mirifica.*

⁸⁴³ Cic. *Fam.* 14.1: *et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defetigari. Me miserum! Te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas proper me incidisse*

⁸⁴⁴ Altman 2009, 411–412.

(*homo*) in any nation who, taking his true nature as his true guide, cannot improve in virtue.”⁸⁴⁵ The Latin term *homo* here describes the human being in general and refers to the capacity of both men and women to hold virtue, rather than just men.⁸⁴⁶ In short, Cicero thus contends that by nature, there is no difference in the constitution of any human being in their ability to attain virtuous behaviour.⁸⁴⁷

Importantly, Cicero’s attitude towards the gendered disposition of virtue described above corresponds closely with the earlier Greek Stoics. The philosophers of the early Stoa, such as Zeno and Chrysippus, stressed the invariability of human nature and reason and did not differentiate between men and women in their capacity to attain virtue.⁸⁴⁸ As such, these Stoic philosophers differed from Aristotle, who argued that a man’s soul, more inclined to rule than a woman’s, was more likely to develop their intellectual virtues to the full.⁸⁴⁹ According to Aristotle, women, but also children and slaves, were naturally inclined to be ruled and therefore less likely to inhibit virtue than men.⁸⁵⁰ In contrast, the Stoics do not adopt Aristotle’s gendered differentiation of the soul’s inclination towards virtue, which has led some modern authors to hail the Stoics as a proto-feminist movement that inhibited a worldview that distributed moral values and principles equally between both genders.⁸⁵¹ However, this idea is contradicted by the writings of some of the later Roman Stoics who did not advocate the “political empowerment of women.”⁸⁵² Rather, the writings of Antipater or Musonius Rufus, among others, frame the advancement of women within the confines of their relation to men and the domestic sphere, and do not treat female emancipation in the same manner as the Early Stoic writings make believe. In fact, these sources only portray themselves in their description of the role of women in education as truly progressive in the modern sense.⁸⁵³ Beyond that, female participation in the advancement of virtue is only limited to their ability to conform to

⁸⁴⁵ Cic. *Leg.* 1.30: *Nec est quisquam gentis ullius, qui ducem naturam nactus ad uirtutem peruenire non possit.* Translation provided by Barham 1842.

⁸⁴⁶ Vander Waerdt 1994, 4874.

⁸⁴⁷ Vander Waerdt 1994, 4877.

⁸⁴⁸ Engel 2003, 268.

⁸⁴⁹ Schofield 1991, 43.

⁸⁵⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1.13.1260a7–14, 1.13.1260a20–24. On Aristotle and women/slaves: Deslauriers 2003, 213–214; Robinson 1999, 80.

⁸⁵¹ Aikin/McGill-Rutherford 2014, 9.

⁸⁵² Engel 2003, 273.

⁸⁵³ Engel 2003, 279.

domestic chores⁸⁵⁴ as well as their capacity to relieve their husbands of additional tasks so that he is able to focus on his civic works.⁸⁵⁵ Ultimately, while the Stoics contended that men and women were equally disposed to attain virtue by nature, women were nevertheless mainly confined to the domestic sphere and only applied their virtue in regard to their social and familial duties.⁸⁵⁶

Cicero neither contends nor disapproves of this Stoic notion of gendered virtue. Instead, Cicero's opinion on the matter, which is mainly formulated in his writings on ethics (such as the *Tusculan Disputations* and *De Finibus*), shows an inherently male-centred virtue-ethics model that favours male over female action. This is most evident in his use of both androcentric and misogynistic virtue terms, where the semantics of certain notions of virtue show a bias toward the masculine as 'virtuous' and the feminine as 'inferior': the case of *virtus* has already been described above but is made correspondingly apparent in the use of *mulier*. In the same sense that *virtus* derives from *vir* and signals 'moral excellence', Cicero used *mulier* and related terms at length to denote 'weakness' as well as 'womanhood', targeting unmanly and undesired behaviour as 'womanish'.⁸⁵⁷ Furthermore, women are rarely lauded in Cicero's works — not entirely surprising, given the absence of women in the public political Roman sphere⁸⁵⁸ — and when they receive praise, it is almost always found against the backdrop of the deeds of male relatives, such as when Quinta Claudia led a procession for the cult of Magna Mater in Rome together with Scipio Nasica,⁸⁵⁹ or when Cicero recalls Caecilia, but mainly through a renumeration of her father, uncles and brother.⁸⁶⁰

Another way in which Cicero formulates the superiority of male over female virtue is in the practical use of his virtue ethics. Cicero contends that the "greatest good" (*summum bonum*) of human life was to live in accordance with one's nature which, for Cicero, entails leading a virtuous and morally sound life.⁸⁶¹ This moral excellence was displayed first and foremost in the individual's political life and thus

⁸⁵⁴ Nussbaum 1994, 323.

⁸⁵⁵ Engel 2003, 279.

⁸⁵⁶ Hill 2001, 33.

⁸⁵⁷ Altman 2009, 429.

⁸⁵⁸ Santoro L'Hoir 1992, 29.

⁸⁵⁹ Cic. *Har. resp.* 27.

⁸⁶⁰ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 147; Santoro L'Hoir 1992, 35.

⁸⁶¹ Van Zyl 2010, 529.

has a practical significance.⁸⁶² Cicero notes that virtues are qualities that are primarily used to serve the state, for political activity and public displays of political prowess.⁸⁶³ The pragmatic use of virtue is furthermore exhibited by the opening words of Cicero's *De re publica*, where he notes that "it is not enough to possess virtue, ... unless you make use of it."⁸⁶⁴ As such, virtues such as *prudentia* (practical knowledge) were only really useful when used for the good of the commonwealth, preparing its citizens "against those influences which disturb the stability of the State."⁸⁶⁵ Other virtues, such as *fortitudo* (courage), *temperantia* (self-restraint) and *iustitia* (justice) were, according to Cicero, all divisions of *virtus* and were used for the good of the public.⁸⁶⁶ Unlike other philosophers who treated the virtues as ends in themselves, Cicero contended that the virtues should be used practically for the prosperity of the political state.⁸⁶⁷ For men, this entailed their public engagement in politics; for women who, by default, were barred from civic participation, it meant the support of their husbands in their public aspirations and activities. Again, the woman's central place of action was the domestic sphere, where she primarily assumed control over the household and took care of the education of the offspring. Importantly, the Roman *domus* was as much part of the public sphere as the Forum, given the centrality of the Roman house in a man's administrative, political and civic life: the home was a meeting place between patron and client and was similarly a reflection of the man's personal prestige and status.⁸⁶⁸ The Roman woman thus served the state by assisting her husband in keeping track of the household, taking care of the family and aiding in various domestic activities. Cicero reflects on the importance of the *domus*, stating that it represents status and must be properly maintained, given the number of people from different social backgrounds who pass through it.⁸⁶⁹ Cicero is thus in general in

⁸⁶² Thiele 2006, 26.

⁸⁶³ Mitchell 1984, 23.

⁸⁶⁴ Cic. *Rep.* 1.2: *nec vero habere virtutem satis est quasi artem aliquam, nisi utare*. Translation provided by Keyes 1928.

⁸⁶⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 6.1: *Quam ob rem se comparet hic civis ita necesse est, ut sit contra haec, quae statum civitatis permovent, semper armatus*. Translation provided by Keyes 1928.

⁸⁶⁶ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.53–54. These four virtues in later centuries became known as the cardinal virtues. The doctrine of the cardinal virtues remained at the forefront of Greek philosophy and, through Roman philosophy, would be adopted into Latin Christian thinking, remaining at the center of virtuous morality well into the Middle Ages: Bejczy 2011, 1.

⁸⁶⁷ Barlow 1987, 357.

⁸⁶⁸ Leen 2000, 143.

⁸⁶⁹ Cic. *Off.* 1.139: *ornanda enim est dignitas domo ... sic in domo clari hominis, in quam et hospites multi recipiendi et admittenda hominum cuiusque modi multitudo, adhibenda cura est laxitatis*. On the *domus* and Cicero, see Milnor 2005, 103.

line with the same ideal found in the later Stoic writers mentioned above, which does not distinguish between the nature of men and that of women as being inclined towards virtue, but nevertheless, for the good of the Roman state, confines women to the domestic sphere in support of their husbands.

3.2.2 The *Mos Maiorum* and the *Exempla*

Virtuous behaviour in Roman society and implicit convictions about the gendered division of moral conduct were transmitted and reinforced in part through education (both within the home and through outside teaching and tutoring) and literature, the latter of which provides the most tangible material through which to directly study specific Roman virtues.⁸⁷⁰ Importantly, both categories place a heavy emphasis on the primacy of studying virtue through imitation, or *aemulatio*: both the Roman oral and written traditions transmitted stories and anecdotes about the deeds, lives and actions of (semi-)mythical and historical role models, which created a distinctly Roman narrative about virtue and moral conduct that allowed for parallels between the past and present. Interaction with such narratives forced the consumer to reflect on his or her own morality and helped shape and understand their ethical principles within the confines of a larger, distinctly Roman, moral framework.⁸⁷¹ The importance of acquiring a sense of virtue and virtuous behaviour through *aemulatio* is found in the following quotation from Cicero's *De re publica*:

Unde enim pietas aut a quibus religio? unde ius aut gentium aut hoc ipsum civile quod dicitur? unde iustitia, fides, aequitas? unde pudor, continentia, fuga turpitudinis, adpetentia laudis et honestatis? unde in laboribus et periculis fortitudo? Nempe ab iis, qui haec disciplinis informata alia moribus confirmarunt, sanxerunt autem alia legibus.

For whence comes our sense of duty? From whom do we obtain the principles of religion? Whence comes the law of nations, or even that law of ours which is called "civil"? Whence justice, honour, fair-dealing? Whence decency, self-restraint, fear of disgrace, eagerness for praise and honour? Whence comes endurance amid toils and dangers? I say, from those men who, when these things had been inculcated by a system of

⁸⁷⁰ Other modes of transmission were works of art, monuments, or other visual types of media such as ancestral masks: Bell, S. 2008, 2.

⁸⁷¹ Langlands 2020, 15.

training, either confirmed them by custom (*moribus*) or else enforced them by statutes.⁸⁷²

Here, in the introduction to his philosophical dialogue, Cicero points to the notion that virtue derives, at least in part, from the study and emulation of the social experiences assembled in the *mores*.⁸⁷³ As such, the deeds (grouped under the label of “custom” (*moribus*)) of the Roman ancestors, referred to in the above passage simply as “those men” (*iis*) but better known as the *maiores*, offered the Romans of Cicero’s time a real and viable opportunity to become virtuous. The same sentiment is found in a passage from Cicero’s *Disputationes Tusculanae*, where Cicero speaks against his *familiaris*:

Rem vero publicam nostri maiores certe melioribus temperaverunt et institutis et legibus. quid loquar de re militari? in qua cum virtute nostri multum valuerunt, tum plus etiam disciplina. iam illa, quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda. quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum maioribus nostris comparanda?

And as to our republic, that our ancestors (*nostri maiores*) have, beyond all dispute, formed on better customs and laws. What shall I say of our military affairs: in which our ancestors have been most eminent in valour, and still more so in discipline? As to those things which are attained not by study, but nature, neither Greece, nor any nation, is comparable to us: for what people has displayed such gravity (*gravitas*), such steadiness (*constantia*), such greatness of soul (*magnitudo animi*), probity (*probitas*), faith – such distinguished virtue of every kind, as to be equal to our ancestors.⁸⁷⁴

The above passages show how the Roman ancestors of the past functioned as a viable tool of moral guidance for the Romans of Cicero’s present. Over the centuries, through an accumulation of histories about the acts and lives of exemplary figures, the *mos maiorum* functioned as a palpable identification of the present with the past and a mirror of virtuous reflection for the reader of their stories. The product is the moral reasoning of the present against the background of past experience, which was

⁸⁷² Cic. *Rep.* 1.2. Translation provided by Keyes 1928.

⁸⁷³ Minyard 1985, 30–31.

⁸⁷⁴ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.2. Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

specifically inhabited in the stories of the Roman ancestors. As such, they presented a set of principles that established and articulated certain values and virtues prevalent in Roman Republican society. It also preserved and perpetuated the institutions in which these virtues and values flourished.⁸⁷⁵ The values are therefore located within the confines of the past and as such formed “cognitive and ethical models to provide guidance and standards for later Romans.”⁸⁷⁶ Consequently, these models ventured into the many territories of Roman society, such as the political field as well as the domains of religion and the military.⁸⁷⁷ Furthermore, as the ancient sources make clear, the Romans themselves perceived the *mores* to be sensitive to change, leading to adaption and even to contradiction.⁸⁷⁸ This flexibility did not undermine their authority. Instead, the *mos maiorum* and the stories they inhabited are often depicted as the defining feature of Roman superiority. This is exemplified excellently in a passage of Cicero’s speech in the Senate against Marc Antony: *nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus* (“we have been trained and brought up by our forefathers in such a manner, as to measure all our designs and all our actions by the standard of dignity and virtue”).⁸⁷⁹ Important for this chapter is the fact that the semantics of the moral negotiation with the *mos maiorum* seems to entail a bias towards the deeds of men rather than women. This predisposition to see the *maiores* as forefathers, rather than foremothers, is made poignantly clear by a passage of Cicero, who quotes the poet Ennius: “the commonwealth of Rome is founded firm on ancient customs (*moribus antiquis*) and on men of might (*virisque*).”⁸⁸⁰ Cicero himself, in the next lines following Ennius’ quote, similarly emphasises the role of men in both the formation and continuation of the proper *mores*, as he states that “the customs of our ancestors produced excellent men (*praestantes viros*), and eminent men (*excellentes viri*) preserved our ancient customs and the institutions of our forefathers.”⁸⁸¹

⁸⁷⁵ Kenty 2016, 429.

⁸⁷⁶ Roller 2009, 214.

⁸⁷⁷ Arena 2009, 195.

⁸⁷⁸ Arena 2009, 218.

⁸⁷⁹ Cic. *Phil.* 10.20. Translation provided by Yonge 1903.

⁸⁸⁰ Cic. *Rep.* 5.1: *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*. Translation provided by Keyes 1928.

⁸⁸¹ Cic. *Rep.* 5.1: *Itaque ante nostram memoriam et mos ipse patrius praestantes viros adhibebat, et veterem morem ac maiorum instituta retinebant excellentes viri*. Translation provided by Keyes 1928.

That is not to say that Roman women were categorically excluded from functioning as exemplary role models. In fact, much of the Roman morality towards women's social role was derived directly from the authority of ancestral custom, which simultaneously affirmed and limited a woman's place in the public and private Roman sphere. For one, it is argued that the husband's guardianship over his wife was not reinforced by law but was rather prescribed by the *mos maiorum* that strictly emphasised the woman's place in the household rather than the public life.⁸⁸² As such, Livy quotes Cato the Elder when he says that "our ancestors (*maiores nostri*) permitted no woman to conduct even personal business without a guardian to intervene on her behalf; they wished them to be under the control of fathers, brothers or husbands."⁸⁸³ In a similar vein, the earlier recalled example of Sempronia Gracchus' appearance in the Roman court leads to Valerius Maximus asking the reader of his *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*: "what has a woman to do with public assemblies? If the custom of our country (*patrius mos*) be observed, nothing."⁸⁸⁴ Concerning their public activities, the *mos maiorum* heavily regulated the actions and options of women who, in the name of ancient tradition, were thus barred from any real participation in the public sphere.

In contrast to the acts and deeds of men, the virtuous behaviour of a woman was thus mainly confined to the household, where the idealised Roman *femina* was exemplified by the traditional archetype of the faithful *matrona*.⁸⁸⁵ The virtues embodied by the Roman *matrona* were, to quote Hemelrijk, "chastity, modesty, simplicity, frugality, reticence and domesticity,"⁸⁸⁶ and were all incorporated by the respectable married Roman woman who, in regard to her husband, conformed to his wishes, remained chaste, emphasised household work and stayed faithful even in the event of the husband's passing.⁸⁸⁷ The *mos maiorum* thus embodied an idolisation of womanhood, which was mainly regulated by a connection as a faithful partner to the husband who, according to ancient tradition, had guardianship over his wife. It is

⁸⁸² Van den Bergh 2006, 124.

⁸⁸³ Liv. 34.2.10: *maiores nostri nullam, ne priuatam quidem rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore uoluerunt, in manu esse parentium, fratrum, uirorum*. Translation provided by Foster 1919.

⁸⁸⁴ Val. Max. 3.8.6: *Quid feminae cum contione? si patrius mos seruetur, nihil*. Translation provided by Speed 1684.

⁸⁸⁵ Van den Bergh 2000, 353.

⁸⁸⁶ Hemelrijk 1999, 13.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid.

rather ironic that one of the *matrona*'s main tasks was the initial education of the offspring, which strongly centralised the stories and values embodied by the *mos maiorum*. Private education during the first years of a child's life was a significant part of Roman womanhood and, as such, the Roman matron played a crucial role in the transmission of the shared values that made up the *mos maiorum*.⁸⁸⁸

Importantly, one of the main vehicles through which parents (as well as authors and orators) conveyed the values of the *mos maiorum* was through *exempla*.⁸⁸⁹ *Exempla* were the stories, anecdotes or other retellings of the deeds of Roman ancestors that created a moral discourse between the past and present. Such retellings emphasised the continuation of moral qualities over the span of many generations as they created an ideology of virtue that was grounded in history that propagated traditional Roman customs, convictions, beliefs, values and principles.⁸⁹⁰ *Exempla* reflected on both good and bad behaviour and stimulated moral reflection that led ideally to the dissemination of virtuous behaviour and the rejection of vicious conduct. Often, the contrast between virtue and vice is explicated by a comparison of *exempla* from the past with moral examples of the present. This strategy is also prevalent in the writings of Sallust (86–35 B.C.), who employs the *exempla* of Sulla and Catiline to draw attention to the prevailing milieu of moral decline that allowed these figures to flourish.⁸⁹¹ The actions of these men, in Sallust's words, saw that "sloth usurped the place of industry, and lawlessness and insolence have superseded self-restraint and justice,"⁸⁹² to the extent that they allowed for "luxury and license [amongst the soldiers] foreign to the manners of our forefathers (*morem maiorum*)."⁸⁹³

Conversely, most *exempla* reinforced the positive morals and deeds of the prominent Romans who, primarily during times of conflict, crisis or upheaval, prospered and flourished in their exemplary behaviour. As a result, many *exempla* can be traced back to key events, periods or eras that shaped the Roman Republican cultural *mentalité*, such as the expulsion of the Kings and the subsequent

⁸⁸⁸ Rohr Vio 2022, 55.

⁸⁸⁹ Petitfils 2016, 1.

⁸⁹⁰ Roller 2018, 4.

⁸⁹¹ Lind 1972, 243.

⁸⁹² Sall. *Cat.* 2.5. *Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur.* Translation provided by Ramsey 2013.

⁸⁹³ Sall. *Cat.* 11.5. *contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat.*

transformation into the Republic, the Gallic invasion of northern Italy during the 370's B.C., the Punic Wars, the Social Wars, Sulla's Civil War and his reign as well as the Triumvirates and the Roman Civil Wars between first the Caesarean and senatorial – and later the Augustan and Antonian factions.⁸⁹⁴ With the transformation of the Republic into the Principate, the focus shifted towards notorious emperors such as Tiberius and Nero, or towards their female family members, such as Livia or Agrippina the Younger who, like Sempronia before her, violated the boundaries of their gender by their involvement in politics.⁸⁹⁵ Thus, depending on their use, *exempla* were not necessarily always drawn from the distant past and could instead be centred on contemporary Roman figures of importance, as when Cicero, in his *Pro Manilia*, lauds Quintus Hortensius for “the highest qualities of honour and fortune (*fortuna*), and virtue (*virtus*), and genius (*ingeni*)” and describes him as “such a man, that no affair can be so important or difficult that he cannot manage it by his wisdom (*consilio*), defend it by his integrity (*integritas*), or terminate it by his valour (*virtus*).”⁸⁹⁶ In a similar manner, Tacitus dedicates a biography to Agricola, his father-in-law, lauding him for his virtuous character and commenting that Agricola should not just be honoured by praise, but furthermore by the emulation of his actions.⁸⁹⁷ Thus, *exempla* could be drawn from events in the distant past as well as those in the present.

As already hinted above, *exempla* were drawn from the behaviour of both men and women; although, given the prominence of the actions of men in the retellings of Roman times of upheaval, male heroisms form most of the *exempla*.⁸⁹⁸ Nevertheless, women are referred to on numerous occasions for a moral description of Roman identity and, as such, women played a considerable role in the depiction of moral behaviour in Roman *exempla*. In contrast to men, however, women were almost always cast negatively (thereby exemplifying the opposite of their behaviour) or, as has been seen also above in Cicero's paragraph, in relation to the virtue of a man.⁸⁹⁹ Even the earliest Roman narratives bear witness to this tendency: women are either the objects

⁸⁹⁴ Langlands 2018, 17.

⁸⁹⁵ Parker 1998, 158.

⁸⁹⁶ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 51; 59. Translation provided by Yonge 1856.

⁸⁹⁷ Tac. *Ag.* 46: *Admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus.* “Let us honour thee not so much with transitory praises as with our reverence, and, if our powers permit us, with our emulation.” Translation provided by Bryant 1876.

⁸⁹⁸ Langlands 2018, 17.

⁸⁹⁹ Parker 1998, 174.

of male action, as in the rape of Rhea Silvia, the kidnapping of the Sabine women or the death of Verginia, or they are *exempla* of vice, as in the condemnation of Tarpeia or the murder of Tullia Minor's father.⁹⁰⁰ Furthermore, much of Roman women's moral decency depended on the prohibition for men to access a woman's sexuality, resulting in friction that arose from men's contestation for a woman's sexualized body.⁹⁰¹ An example is Lucretia, whose virtues are only attributed to her in the face of a male having violated her body and her honour.⁹⁰² In such cases, the evocation of virtuous behaviour is subject to male action, here, the violation and transgression by a man, but is nonetheless formulated in relation to other male characters. As will become clear in the subsequent discussions of the use of the *exempla* by specific Roman authors, such strategies of gendered virtue signalling remained prevalent well into the emperors' time, and were by no means confined to the *exempla* associated with Republican Rome.

The question remains as to who the audience of the *exempla* were. As discussed in Chapter 2, the intended audience of Cicero's works were primarily his *familiares*, friends and acquaintances as well as other members of the elite of Rome. Similarly, the writers of histories such as Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius wrote first and foremost for an elite audience, a fact amplified by their work's focus on the Roman political system and the lives and deeds of those who were empowered by that system, both in the Republic and during the Principate.⁹⁰³ Similarly, Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, which is a collection of *exempla* rather than a historical narrative, wrote mainly for the intended public that benefited most from their moral lessons, i.e. the educated elite that participated in the Roman public institutions and those holding property.⁹⁰⁴ It is thus within the confines of the Roman elite that these works primarily circulated, were read aloud by trained readers or were recited during dinner parties.⁹⁰⁵

Literature was not the only ancient medium through which *exempla* were disseminated: the oratorical tradition prevailed, for example, at Roman funerals, public speeches and orations, as well as communal recitations, provided ample

⁹⁰⁰ Burns 2017, 81.

⁹⁰¹ Roller 2018, 79.

⁹⁰² Burns 2017, 81.

⁹⁰³ Marincola 2009, 12–13.

⁹⁰⁴ Skidmore 1996, 105.

⁹⁰⁵ Skidmore 1996, 109.

opportunities for the ancient populace to interact with moral tales.⁹⁰⁶ Often such public recitations appealed to the general knowledge of the populace about their common history and invoked particular virtues based on narratives that they assumed the audience already knew.⁹⁰⁷ In reality, such stories were part of the intellectual property of most, if not all Romans, not just the aristocracy, even if they dealt primarily with a past with which only the latter group could directly identify. In fact, it has been argued that despite the fact that the *mos maiorum* (and consequently the associated *exempla*) primarily maintained a value system in which the Roman elite thrived and remained in power, it was adopted by the Roman community as a whole and accepted as inherently 'Roman', even by those who were not part of those who directly benefited from such a value system.⁹⁰⁸ Consequently, the entire Roman populace interacted with these exemplary tales, not just the target audience, but also those below the elite who, despite their lower social rank, still related or identified with the heroes of the stories. Therefore, the literary sources that told about histories and collections of *exempla* were only one of many forms of media through which exemplary stories were shared. While the general audience may not have had the same kind of access as the Roman elite, they still shared in the stories and moralities that these *exempla* propagated through, as Keegan states, "architectural, aesthetic and inscribed topography of city and *suburbium*, and the performative historiographical traditions of theatre, recitation and procession."⁹⁰⁹

3.2.3 Augustan and Tiberian *Exempla*

The two main writers (excluding Vergil and his *Aeneid*) central to the study of virtues through *exempla* are Livy and Valerius Maximus, two close contemporaries who wrote respectively during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.⁹¹⁰ Since much of Valerius' life is covered in mystery, it remains uncertain whether the two authors ever met or whether Livy was aware of Valerius' writings. In contrast, Valerius Maximus drew

⁹⁰⁶ Momigliano 1978, 196.

⁹⁰⁷ Marincola 2009, 13.

⁹⁰⁸ Pina Polo 2004, 170.

⁹⁰⁹ Keegan 2021, 3.

⁹¹⁰ The previous chapter has studied the extent to which the *Aeneid*'s characters formulated a moral framework for the Roman population in the provinces. While its popularity, as well as its use as a moralistic guide in Roman education, remains unequalled in the Roman world, the *Aeneid* is not considered a collection of *exempla* in the same sense as the works of Livy and Valerius Maximus and therefore is not studied here.

heavily on the works of Livy, and as much as half of Valerius' *exempla* are also found in Livy's writings.⁹¹¹ Nonetheless, Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, his only surviving work, differs from Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* in that the former is a history of the founding of Rome up until the reign of Augustus, while the latter is a collection of *exempla* that are ordered on the basis of moral traits, not on chronology.

Livy interweaves *exempla* of famous and notorious Romans and foreigners, and the events and actions around which they were set, as a motif for developing moral lessons about, as Livy himself states in the preface, "how life and morals were" (*quae vita, quae mores fuerint*).⁹¹² Such lessons, according to Livy, were particularly beneficial for those who not only wished to learn them but also to adopt them for their own sake, embracing the virtues and renouncing the vices.⁹¹³ As Chaplin argues, there are three ways in which the audience is brought into contact with *exempla*: firstly, the author interrupts the narrative and comments directly on the moral lesson at hand; secondly, a character is ascribed certain values or he/she adjusts his/her actions according to certain virtues; and thirdly, the historical characters reflect directly or indirectly on the virtues and thus force the reader to interpret the course of action taken and, as a consequence, either accept or denounce the moral lesson.⁹¹⁴ The emphasis here lies on the fact that not every *exemplum* portrayed virtuous behaviour. Instead, in many instances Livy portrays his characters, both Roman and foreign, as examples of how one *should not* behave. Part of this is due to the way Livy shapes the past in comparison to his present: like Sallust before him, Livy sees a decline in morals compared to the days of the Middle Republic, as he states that those values "first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the present, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure."⁹¹⁵ In fact, Livy underlines the idea that *exempla* were the driving force for Rome's greatness in the first place, as no other city exceeded Rome in exemplary

⁹¹¹ Bellemore 1989, 70.

⁹¹² Liv. Pr.9.

⁹¹³ Chaplin 2000, 2.

⁹¹⁴ Chaplin 2000, 3–4.

⁹¹⁵ Liv. Pr.9: *deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec uitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus peruentum est*. Translation provided by Foster 1919.

behaviour, and it is only through foreign influence that *avaritia* and *luxuria* penetrated the city and the values of the populace.⁹¹⁶

Women, for Livy, are usually strategically placed at moments of crisis in Roman history that confront the *status quo* with the threat of a new phenomenon (*res novae*), which in turn leads to societal change or continuation of the existing conditions.⁹¹⁷ Women are then presented via *exempla* mainly in relation to the acts and persona of men. Most of Livy's references to women are made in the first two books, where he mainly portrays women as the instruments of the deeds of illustrious men from Rome's legendary past, or where he illustrates them as the fabricators of intrigue.⁹¹⁸ Whether on purpose or by accident, women thus play a key role in those defining moments that threaten the *mos maiorum* and are often the subject of the actions of men or the driving force behind those threats.⁹¹⁹ For Livy, women only featured in *exempla* when their actions reflected on the deeds of men and, as such, were often depicted as flawed and unstable.⁹²⁰ As aptly stated by L'Hoir, "Livy's only reason for inserting women into his history is to further or hinder the actions taken by men."⁹²¹ A poignant example of Livy's presentation of the disruptive force of women is found in the myth of Dido, where the alien Carthaginian queen is constructed within the moral framework of the Romans. Dido's ambitions, actions and thoughts, all constructed by the nature of her regency in the public sphere, stand in stark contrast with Livy's (and the Romans') androcentric social and political system, rendering Dido as a disruptive force that, from the Romans' perspective, is therefore presented as morally deviant and vicious.⁹²²

After Livy comes Valerius Maximus, whose *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, written during the reign of Tiberius (14–37 A.D.), is considered one of the main works about Roman morality, exemplarity and virtues. In contrast to the likes of Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius, Valerius Maximus orders his work thematically and categorises more than

⁹¹⁶ Chaplin 2000, 104.

⁹¹⁷ Keegan 2021, 34.

⁹¹⁸ Smethurst 1950, 80–81.

⁹¹⁹ Keegan 2021, 34.

⁹²⁰ Stevenson, T. 2011, 175.

⁹²¹ L'Hoir 1992, 77.

⁹²² Keegan 2021, 7. Livy's presentation of Dido stands in contrast to Vergil's Dido who does not represent her as inherently vicious based on her public persona. Instead, The *Aeneid* presents Dido as a disruptive force based on her actions that aim to refrain Aeneas from fulfilling his destiny.

a thousand *exempla* based on their moral character.⁹²³ The total is made up of 95 categories, all related to virtues, vices or certain social dynamics, or institutions such as ‘reverence to the gods’ or the ‘right of triumph.’ All categories consist of Roman (*domestica*) and foreign (*externa*) examples.⁹²⁴ These categories are accordingly organised based on a seemingly overarching themes, although the lack of a table of contents and title headers in the original manuscripts prevents the precise categorisation of these themes.⁹²⁵ Modern scholars have relied on reconstructions from the ancient and medieval period to ascertain a particular layout: Römer, for one, argues that Valerius’ *exempla* are ordered based on Cicero’s cardinal virtues.⁹²⁶ Thurn, in contrast, argues that the *exempla* correspond with the prevalent and valued virtues during a distinct period of a (hu-)man’s life.⁹²⁷ While both interpretations do not fully do justice to the diverse thematical layout of Valerius Maximus’ work, they do suggest a rationale on the part of Valerius behind the arrangement of the virtues, which shows that they can be defined through a single *virtus* at the level of the separate category. The classification of each categorisation in this chapter will, for the Latin categories, be provided by Thurn, while the English classifications are derived from Skidmore’s layout of the nine books.⁹²⁸ Of Valerius’ nine books, the first, the largest part of the second and the ninth book are usually omitted from studies of virtues, as the first two are mainly concerned with religious and ancient institutions.⁹²⁹ In contrast, book nine does not discuss any virtues at all and is almost completely occupied with negative *exempla* and vices.⁹³⁰

In total, 941 men against 68 women are depicted in the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*.⁹³¹ Part of this disproportionate division, like in the works of Livy and the other historians, is due to the dominance of men in the ancient retellings and their supremacy over the public domain. As such, Valerius depicts men as inhibiting both

⁹²³ Langlands 2018, 16.

⁹²⁴ Morgan 2007, 129–130.

⁹²⁵ Although such are missing from the original manuscript, it has been concluded that at least a table of contents must have facilitated the work: Sinclair 1980, 55n16. Already in ancient times, authors were aware of this problem and provided their own restorations: Thurn 2001, 79.

⁹²⁶ Römer 1990, 101.

⁹²⁷ Thurn 2001, 86.

⁹²⁸ Thurn 2001, 79–94; Skidmore 1996, xii–xiv.

⁹²⁹ Römer 1990, 100.

⁹³⁰ Murray 2022, 234.

⁹³¹ Murray 2022, 241n35.

virtues and vices, with only six *exempla* pertaining to the vices of women.⁹³² The virtues of Valerius' women are formulated within an androcentric framework that is also found in the other authors' works. Like Cicero, Valerius employs the gendered language that utilises a stereotypical role of the 'masculine' as 'virtuous' and the 'feminine' as 'weak'. For example, Valerius talks about vices, their relation with the feminine and how they consequently devalue manliness (*quibus virtus atteritur*),⁹³³ or how the Cypriots, morally weaker than the Egyptians (*sed tamen effeminator multitudo Cypriorum*), are not considered true men at all for how they allow their queens to step onto people to mount chariots (*viris enim, si modo viri errant, vita carere quam tam delicato imperio optemperare satius fuit*).⁹³⁴ In another instance, Valerius specifically employs androcentric language to laud the virtue of women: Valerius' commends Lucretia as an *exemplum* of *pudicitia*, but only by emphasising her "manly spirit" (*virilis animus*) which, by an "error of Fortune", was enclosed in the female body.⁹³⁵

Furthermore, as also found in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, when women are used as *exempla* of morally just behaviour, they are often framed as 'invading' the public sphere – mainly in a time of crisis – that is otherwise dominated by the male presence. The idiosyncrasy of female presence in the public sphere is found in the *exemplum* of Sempronia, which has already been discussed earlier in this paragraph. As Milnor notes, it is ironic that Sempronia's virtue is only accentuated by the vices of men that forced such a transgression. Were it not for times of civil war, Sempronia's show of virtuous behaviour would not have been commented on. In fact, this show of virtue was so distinctive that Valerius Maximus felt the need to comment on it.⁹³⁶

3.2.4 *Exempla* and Morality during the Turn of the 2nd century A.D.

Already during the time of Valerius, but certainly by the time of Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Suetonius, a shift in the use and function of Roman *exempla* is noticeable as modern authors recognise a change in the *exempla*'s use in regard to a larger Roman narrative occurring during the 1st century A.D. During the Republic, it is argued

⁹³² Murray 2022, 242.

⁹³³ Val. Max. 9.1.ext.1: Murray 2022, 243.

⁹³⁴ Val. Max. 9.1.ext.7: Murray 2022, 243.

⁹³⁵ Val. Max. 6.1.1; Murray 2022, 242.

⁹³⁶ Milnor 2009, 276–277.

exemplum and narrative are intertwined in the *historia* that utilise these moral stories as narrative elements that enhance the text. As such, the *exempla* are dependent on the narrative for contextualisation and coherency.⁹³⁷ However, during the 1st century A.D., *exempla* are torn from their stories and thus become fragmented, are utilised functionally or for their own sake, and finally become independent from the larger Roman narratives on which they initially depended and thus partially lack this narrative's didactic context.⁹³⁸ Accordingly, the extant sources of the 1st century A.D.'s *exempla* are largely anecdotal of nature, stripped of their biographical context, by which they lose a part of their moral meaning. This is especially evident in the collection of Valerius Maximus.⁹³⁹

Modern authors have sought to explain this change in the use of *exempla*. One line of argument states that the Roman transition into the Principate required a newly shaped relationship with the Roman Republican past and the heroes, virtues and events that played such a significant role in the Republican *exempla*. Augustus, for one, sought to negotiate a new role for the Republican mental and political institutions with which he wished to identify his regime. However, by the time of the Flavians, those Republican values no longer played a significant role in the creation of political authority and rather inhibited a sense of respect for tradition.⁹⁴⁰ Related to this argument is the idea that, with the advent of the Principate, the emperor usurped the attention of the *exempla* and their moral values at the expense of the senatorial political system. As Gunderson states, "the emperor not only aggregates past exemplarity, he also corners the market on it in the present."⁹⁴¹ From the time of Augustus, the emperor and the imperial family became the focus of exemplary behaviour, transforming the collection of republican virtues from different eras, heroes and models into a single inhibition. Significantly, in his *Res Gestae*, Augustus explicitly proclaims himself as a living *exemplum* of moral behaviour for future generations and allows himself and the imperial family a range of moral virtues that had otherwise been decentralised throughout Roman history.⁹⁴² Thus, from the start

⁹³⁷ Shuttleworth Kraus 2005, 198.

⁹³⁸ Walter 2004, 426.

⁹³⁹ Langlands 2018, 235.

⁹⁴⁰ Gowing 2005, 18–19, 100, 106.

⁹⁴¹ Gunderson 2014, 133.

⁹⁴² *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 8.5: *ipse multarum rerum exempla imitandi posteris tradidi*. For Augustus and the appropriation of virtues: Langlands 2018, 240.

of the Principate, the emperor is presented as the “convergence of exemplary times, a conduit of republican *exempla* and the creator of new ones for the imperial future.”⁹⁴³

Conversely, notwithstanding the importance of the Principate for the usurpation of the virtues through *exempla*, others have argued that the formation of monumental historical writing in Latin, such as Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita*, led to the centralisation of *exempla* that had previously been largely decentralised. Originally, these stories were part of different traditions which emphasised opposing tales throughout the Republic, were disseminated through different means and to different ends, and were scattered across time and place.⁹⁴⁴ Historiography, which sought to incorporate all these stories and morals in one place and against the backdrop of one social and chronological timeline, engrained the stories on a specific moment in time, thereby entrenching and fossilising them.⁹⁴⁵

This transition does not suggest a break in the exemplary writing between the Republic and the Principate. Instead, the challenges posed by the new regime forced these authors to evaluate their social compliance with the new power structure and reformulate their *exempla* within a framework that confronted the old appropriation of virtuous behaviour. However, these authors still built upon the precedents set by the Republican writers and their sources of inspiration and thus revitalised the genre of *exempla* in such a way that it did not specifically break with Republican virtue but rather adapted to the changing times set out by the Principate.⁹⁴⁶ What remained was not a downgraded or watered-down version of the Republican *exempla*, but rather a reinvigorated type of *exempla* postulated for the changing spheres of influence in the Roman Empire.

It is against this background of change in the political, social and literary spheres that the exemplary works of Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Suetonius, which will be discussed in greater detail below, must be valued. Since all three authors lived around the same time, their most prominent works were all published approximately during the reign of Trajan, with only Suetonius’ *Vita Caesarum* being published during the reign of Hadrian. Tacitus presents many *exempla* in his *Agricola*, *Historiae* and the *Annales*. Like Livy and Sallust before him, Tacitus identifies a moral decline in Roman

⁹⁴³ Shuttleworth Kraus 2005, 194–195.

⁹⁴⁴ Feldherr 1998, 97. On late-Republican historiography: Levene 2007.

⁹⁴⁵ Langlands 2018, 238–239; Pelikan Pittenger 2008, 15–16.

⁹⁴⁶ Langlands 2018, 245.

society, which he blames on the growing restraint of significant political power of the senatorial class.⁹⁴⁷ Tacitus, whose *Agricola* was published almost immediately following the reign of Domitian, blames part of the moral degeneracy of his time on the despotic power wielded by bad emperors. As such, in the introduction of his *Annals*, Tacitus elaborates how, following the civil wars, Augustus' consolidation of power transformed the Roman morality in such a way that "few indeed were left who had seen the Republic. It was thus an altered world, and of the old, unspoilt Roman character (*prisci et integri moris*) not a trace lingered."⁹⁴⁸ According to Tacitus, part of this departure of the 'unspoilt Roman character' was due to an overextension of Rome's social, cultural and military hegemony over the other nations of the Mediterranean, where an import of foreign influence led to a moral decline:

ceterum abolitōs paulatim patrios mores funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut, quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo.

But the national morality, which had gradually fallen into oblivion, was being overthrown from the foundations by this imported licentiousness; the aim of which was that every production of every land, capable of either undergoing or engendering corruption, should be on view in the capital, and that our youth, under the influence of foreign tastes, should degenerate into votaries of the gymnasia, of indolence, and of dishonourable amours.⁹⁴⁹

Based on this disdain for foreign influence, Tacitus reproaches both foreign sects and superstitions for their negative influence on public morality, and also argues that within the Roman cultural paradigm, institutions such as the imperial cult and the lectures of philosophical charlatans corrupt and affect civic moral values.⁹⁵⁰ Accordingly, *exempla* allowed the Roman audience to reflect on these matters and fit their own moral conduct to that of the proper Roman heroes of the past.⁹⁵¹ Simultaneously, Tacitus' display of vice, especially inhibited by individuals in power, functions as a reflective tool on the disruptive nature of immorality.⁹⁵² Accordingly,

⁹⁴⁷ Mellor 1993, 48.

⁹⁴⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 1.3–1.4. Translation provided by Moore, C. 1931.

⁹⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 14.20. Translation provided by Jackson 1937.

⁹⁵⁰ Mellor 1997, 95.

⁹⁵¹ Tacitus reflects on the moralistic nature of his exemplary writings in his *Agricola*: Tac. *Agr.* 1.1: *clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris trader.*

⁹⁵² Mellor 1997, 95.

much focus is paid to how the yielding of power changed the moral character of both the emperor and those closest to him.⁹⁵³ The vicious characters of Tiberius and Nero in particular, which Tacitus places on a par with Domitian's rule in terms of despotism,⁹⁵⁴ but also the imperial women as negative exempla have attracted considerable attention. Livia and Agrippina the Younger, for example, are portrayed as deceitful, emotionally unstable and unreasonable, with vices such as *lubido*, *cupido*, *impotentia* or *superbia*, attributed to these imperial women, with *aemulatio muliebris* usually being the cause of internal friction and disagreement.⁹⁵⁵ When other women are mentioned, they are always portrayed in connection to the male, such as Drusilla and Agrippina's control of their sons, or Livilla and Messalina's courting of Sejanus and Silius. In all depictions of the deeds of these principal women of the imperial family, they are used in relation to men.⁹⁵⁶

Suetonius (69/70–140 A.D.) wrote a biography of the emperors of the early Principate rather than a history in the style of Tacitus. His *De Vita Caesarum* entails the lives of the first 12 'Caesars', ranging from Julius Caesar to Domitian. Suetonius' object is mainly the focus on the emperors' physical and moral traits.⁹⁵⁷ In addition to describing the emperor's character and public activities, Suetonius creates a moral judgment based on their specific character, private and public actions and habits, connections, abilities and physical appearance.⁹⁵⁸ This also involves a study of the people surrounding the emperors, such as the members of the *domus Augusta*.⁹⁵⁹ For Suetonius, each character is judged on the basis of these biographic variables, assigning both virtues and vices to the emperors, their entourage and their families.⁹⁶⁰ Given the central role of men in Suetonius' writings, women are mostly portrayed in light of their actions in connection to those men, such as Livia, Agrippina the Younger and Poppaea, but also others who are depicted as the subject of male action. In the case of the former two women, Suetonius follows Tacitus' suit and uses them mainly

⁹⁵³ Oakley 2010, 185.

⁹⁵⁴ Keitel 1984, 306.

⁹⁵⁵ Rutland 1978, 15–16.

⁹⁵⁶ Swindle 2003, 106.

⁹⁵⁷ Townend 1967, 82.

⁹⁵⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 1979, 14.

⁹⁵⁹ Townend 1967, 84.

⁹⁶⁰ Bradley 1973, 253.

as a vehicle of vicious behaviour and usually used in accordance with the virtues or vices of their respective male counterparts.⁹⁶¹

Suetonius' writings are a value judgement on the effectiveness and success of the rule of the first Roman emperors, measured primarily by the standards by which the emperors treated their subjects.⁹⁶² Thus, Wallace-Hadrill argues that Suetonius' aim is not to provide a comprehensive overview of *all* virtues and vices of each emperor; rather, he judges them mainly on the basis of their actions in the public sphere of clemency (*clementia*), civility (*civilitas*), liberality (*moderatio*, mainly in the domain of the spending and collecting of public revenue), and restraint (*abstinentia*) in the form of frugality and continence.⁹⁶³ These are mirrored by their vices: clemency is polarised by cruelty (*saevitia*, *crudelitas*); civility by pride (*arrogantia*); liberality by avarice (*avaritia*); and frugality and continence by the urge to luxury (*luxuria*) and lust (*cupiditas*).⁹⁶⁴

The third and last major source of exemplary writing in this paragraph is Pliny the Younger. He wrote on the topic of *exempla* in his *Epistulae*, which are dated between 99 and 109 A.D., while his *Panegyricus* to Trajan, read in the Senate in 100 A.D., was an appraisal of the emperors' imperial virtues. In his letters, Pliny turns to his close relatives, friends and acquaintances as sources for exemplary behaviour, as he states that the immediate family and other relatives are the best sources of moral inspiration.⁹⁶⁵ In this regard, Pliny's exemplary writing differs from the likes of Valerius Maximus or his contemporaries, who drew *exempla* primarily from the heroic deeds of the Republican past or the imperial family.⁹⁶⁶ Thus, in Pliny's letters, as in Tacitus' *Agricola*, the main source of inspiration for *exempla* is the result of direct experience and personal observation rather than the tradition of the *mos maiorum*.⁹⁶⁷ That is not to say that Pliny does not acknowledge heroes of the past as models for *exempla*; in a letter to one of his friends, he comments that another friend, Titinius

⁹⁶¹ Pryzwansky 2008, 237.

⁹⁶² Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 157.

⁹⁶³ Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 152.

⁹⁶⁴ Wallace Hadrill 1983, 155; Mouchova 1968, 42.

⁹⁶⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 8.14.6: *Suus cuique parcns pro magistro, aut cui parens non erat maximus quisque et vetustissimus pro parente*. "Each one look his parent for his guide, or, if he had no parent, he chose the noblest and most aged senator to supply the place of one." Translation provided by Firth 1910.

⁹⁶⁶ Tacitus' *Agricola* being the exception.

⁹⁶⁷ In his PhD dissertation, Urban goes as far as to suggest that it is "instances within their living memory" rather than mythology or tradition that functions as the main source for collecting *exempla*: Urban 2011, in particular 5–10.

Capito, erected a statue of Lucius Silanus Torquatus, – who was executed on the orders of Nero in 65 A.D.) – noting that he found it “remarkable how religiously and enthusiastically he [Capito] regards the busts of the Bruti, the Cassii and the Catos in his own house.”⁹⁶⁸ Reverence of Republican heroes and the virtues taken from their example, therefore, occurs alongside the lauding of one’s intimate friends.

Pliny describes both the heroic deeds of men and women without a clear prejudice for one sex over the other.⁹⁶⁹ While exemplary men still outnumber *exempla* drawn from women,⁹⁷⁰ Pliny looks to both genders within his inner circle as proper *exempla* for virtues, which he makes explicit by stating that *una diligimus, una dileximus omnes fere quos aetas nostra in utroque sexu aemulandos tulit*.⁹⁷¹ Importantly, part of the predominance of women in Pliny’s letters is due to the genre of the material: letters, which are primarily pieces of writing addressed to individuals in contemporary society, tend to have a greater presence of women because they represent a greater proportion of the lives and contents of individuals in literature.⁹⁷² In contrast to Tacitus’ or Suetonius’ writings, whose main scope is the lives and times of the emperors, Pliny’s letters are often directly related to the lives of women and play a larger role in their content. Because of the larger influence of the woman’s presence in this specific genre, it is no surprise that Pliny breaks with the tradition of depicting the feminine as vicious. Rather than showing women breaking gendered expectations of virtues, transgressing the boundaries of “womanish virtue” or showing virtuous behaviour in distinctly manly fashion, they themselves are designated with virtuous behaviour.⁹⁷³ Pliny’s letters thus form a corpus of source material that, by nature of its genre, contrasts with the exemplary writings of the other discussed authors and thereby complements this chapter’s study of gendered virtue in literary sources.

⁹⁶⁸ Plin. *Ep.* 1.17: *mirum est qua religione quo studio imagines Brutorum Cassiorum Catonum domi ubi potest habeat*. Translation provided by Firth 1910.

⁹⁶⁹ Langlands 2014, 215.

⁹⁷⁰ Although specific numbers are hard to ascertain, it is argued that Pliny directly honors seven men against four women. Nevertheless, more brief references to virtuous men and women occur, allowing for some shift in the total number of references: Langlands 2014, 227–228.

⁹⁷¹ Plin. *Ep.* 5.14.4. “Together we love, and have loved, almost all those of either sex whom our own age offered for emulation.” Translation provided by Langlands 2014, 215.

⁹⁷² Langlands 2014, 216.

⁹⁷³ Langlands 2014, 220.

3.2.5 Virtue and Epigraphy in Modern Scholarship

Virtues and moral qualities have largely been omitted from the study of Latin funerary epigraphy, at least partially due to the highly formulaic and abbreviated nature of most epitaphs. In contrast, other strands of epigraphy have given them some attention, such as honorary epigraphy, where the primary laudatory character of the inscription seems to facilitate the depiction of virtue more logically.⁹⁷⁴ However, such studies have a limited corpus in terms of the geographical and chronological span and shed little light on the intricacies that a study of the epitaph necessitates and, as such, are of little value to this chapter. That is not to say that there has not been scholarly attention paid to the language of praise in funerary inscriptions, as evidenced by the large corpus of literature on epithets and the vernacular of endearment on Latin epitaphs.⁹⁷⁵ However, no studies that treat virtue in Latin funerary epigraphy in general exist. Furthermore, most studies that incorporate an analysis of the gendered display of virtue in epigraphy have predominantly focused on women or other traditionally marginalised social groups in Roman society. A few of the largest and most important of such works deserve attention, mainly to demonstrate how virtue and epigraphy have been studied in recent years.

Hemelrijk, in her 2004 article on the *Laudatio Turiae* (LT), discusses the language of virtue on arguably the most famous Latin epitaph of a woman. The LT is an inscribed *laudatio funebris* to an anonymous woman to whom scholars have named Turia. The dedicator is her husband, who lauds her in predominantly ‘masculine’ virtues, as Hemelrijk argues, such as *virtus*, *firmitas*, *constantia* and *patientia*, while also describing Turia within the primarily masculine public sphere, especially during the Civil Wars.⁹⁷⁶ In this regard, the inscription argues in favour of the tendency of Roman literature to praise womanly virtue mainly through the application of ‘masculine’ virtues to women and to contextualise them in a traditionally non-feminine environment. In doing so, the authors of both the literature and the inscription enhance the woman from the ‘feminine’ and emphasise her exceptionality by making her essentially ‘male.’⁹⁷⁷ However, the dedicator also lauds Turia’s female “traditional virtues”, as Hemelrijk describes them, namely chastity (*pudicitia*),

⁹⁷⁴ Most notably by Forbis 1996.

⁹⁷⁵ See *supra* n813, n814.

⁹⁷⁶ Hemelrijk 2004, 189.

⁹⁷⁷ Hemelrijk 2004, 191.

obedience (*opsequi*), friendliness (*comitas*), affability (*facilitas*), industry in wool works (*lanificium*), piety without superstition (*religio sine superstitione*), modesty in attire (*ornatus non conspiciendi*) and devotion to her family (*familiae pietate*).⁹⁷⁸ This pervasiveness of gendered moral traits in epigraphy is also found in other academic works. For example, Foubert lists several virtues found in epitaphs, which she correlates to womanhood (*pudicitia, castitas, pietas, modestia, verecundia*) as well as the idea that they are usually relegated to the domestic sphere and “praised as mother, wives, daughters and sisters.”⁹⁷⁹ Similarly, Rošková asserts that epitaphs made by men for women refer to them with *benemerens, pia, pudica, dulcissima, carissima, incomparibilis, optima, pulcherrima, amantissima, clarissima* and *honestissima*.⁹⁸⁰

Indeed, the *Laudatio Turiae* was often studied as a significant source for the exceptional role of the representation of womanhood in epigraphy.⁹⁸¹ Both its size and quality warrant its use as a source for epigraphic virtue, especially concerning women.⁹⁸² Less attractive, however, is Hemelrijk’s classification of (most of) the virtues in the *LT* as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’. While certain specific moral traits, such as *virtus* and *lanificium*, have been specifically connected with respectively man- and womanhood, part of the literary evidence studied above suggests that virtuous behaviour as a whole was appropriated by the ‘masculine’ and that to laud women at all is to consider them as being elevated and put into an intrinsically ‘male’ sphere. The extent to which the epigraphic evidence, such as the *LT*, poses a break with the literary tradition of the preceding paragraphs and thus deals with virtues in terms of distinctly ‘male’ or ‘female’ rather than primarily as ‘masculine’ necessitates an analysis of gendered virtues within the context of a larger corpus. Until then, studies dealing with gendered virtues in epigraphy are forced to deal with the convictions presented in the literary tradition.

The extraordinary position of the *LT* within the epigraphic landscape is also emphasized in a 2012 article by Riess. According to the author, most inscriptions follow the standard theme of depicting women as the ideal Roman *matrona*. The language of praise found on these epitaphs reinforced this stereotype by a select

⁹⁷⁸ Hemelrijk 2004, 193.

⁹⁷⁹ Foubert 2020, 139.

⁹⁸⁰ Rošková 2009, 208.

⁹⁸¹ For example Ramage 1994; Keegan 2008; Osgood 2014.

⁹⁸² For example Caldelli/Bruun/Edmondson 2015, 585.

number of rather standard moral qualities.⁹⁸³ Deviations from this practice existed where the individualisation of the commemorated was accomplished by specific details.⁹⁸⁴ The *LT*, according to Riess, follows this practice of individualisation by emphasising the extraordinary ‘masculine’ virtues of Turia, to whom military language is assigned. The masculinity of Turia is even further exemplified by the fact that the husband portrays himself as ‘weak’, ‘defenceless’ and thus feminine.⁹⁸⁵ Therefore, according to Riess, Turia is portrayed in distinctly ‘masculine’ language as to emphasise her extraordinary position, where she transcends her femininity. This is reminiscent of the literary trope where extraordinary women are praised in a distinctly masculine context, similarly to the case of Sempronia or Lucretia.

Funerary inscriptions such as the *LT* are extremely interesting for the study of gendered virtue in epigraphy, because they show the range of possibilities for womanly praise within the funerary sphere. Other inscriptions, such as the *Laudatio Murdiae*, the epitaph for Amymone, or the funerary relief of Ulpia Epigone, are similarly used as examples of womanly virtue in epitaphs.⁹⁸⁶ However, the studies that solely depend on these individual inscriptions overestimate the representative capacity of such grave monuments. In contrast, because of their extraordinary content, such monuments are not characteristic of the representation of women in funerary inscriptions in general. As stated by Riess, most inscriptions dedicated to women do, in fact, not follow the example of the *LT* but rather praise women within their role of the family and emphasise their domestic virtues. However, the extent to which these domestic virtues are actually attested in women’s epitaphs in general is understudied, and those studies that do make general claims lack the context of a larger corpus.

The above is indicative of the attractiveness of epigraphy for a study of gendered divisions in moral qualities, as epitaphs are a perfect source type to study moral convictions in larger numbers. However, the above has also demonstrated three things that simultaneously underline the value of the research in this chapter: firstly, the field of ancient, gendered virtue studies in epigraphy has been dominated by an

⁹⁸³ Riess 2012, 493.

⁹⁸⁴ Riess 2012, 493–494

⁹⁸⁵ Riess 2012, 496–497.

⁹⁸⁶ For this specific tendency: Carroll 2012, 300; Hylen 2015, 23f; Mantzilas 2017. For the *Laudatio Murdiae*: Lindsay 2004. For the epitaph of Amymone: Milnor 2011, 458. For the epitaph of Ulpia Epigone: d’Ambra 1989.

emphasis on the virtues of women; no studies into masculine virtues exist, so there is no basis for comparison. Secondly, there are certain pitfalls connected to the study of the same meagre corpus of exceptional material that necessitates a more generalised study that considers *all* virtuous attestations in epigraphy, not merely in Rome but also in the provinces, and pertaining to both genders rather than only women. Thirdly and finally, the paragraph above shows the predominance of the idea in modern scholarship that there exists a distinctly 'female' group of qualities that are solely or even mainly appropriated by women in favour of men. The extent to which such virtues are also found in epitaphs dedicated to men remains to be seen.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Authors and Categories

The above has thus sought to summarise the most important strands of Roman literature on the topic of virtue ethics and morality as well as a brief introduction to the topic's relation with epigraphy. The remainder of this chapter will build on this foundation to analyse masculine virtue in Latin poetic funerary epigraphy. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, this analysis seeks to answer the following questions: In what ways did poetic epitaphs allow for the display of morals in relationship with the representation of masculinity, both for the deceased and relatives? How are these virtues distributed across genders, and are any trends discernible? In what ways are such articulations of virtue determined by the poetic nature of the inscription? and In what ways does poetry enable a richer display of virtue in funerary epigraphy?

This will be accomplished through a cross examination of the corpus with a virtue list compiled from the six sources introduced above: Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Suetonius. In total, the seven authors introduce 108 virtue terms that all will be compared with the monuments that make up the corpus. Each attestation will be surveyed through an in-depth examination of, firstly, the specific literary tradition that wrote on the subject, which will form the study-context for the use of the virtue term on the monument. As will become clear, the works of Cicero and Valerius Maximus will have the biggest impact on these discussions, since they offer the most explicit and elaborative context for many of the virtue terms discussed in this chapter. Following this, an empire-wide survey of the

direct use of the virtue term on all available Latin epigraphic evidence will be conducted. This will start out, where applicable, with a survey of the study of Forbis, both to get a grasp of the general meaning of the virtue term as well as to see how the use of certain virtue terms correlates with Latin honorary epigraphy. Following this, a survey of the funerary epigraphic material of this dissertation's corpus will be held by cross examining it with the available data of all Latin-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire. This analysis will take place in paragraph 3.4 and will be followed by a discussion of the findings in paragraph 3.5. This discussion will highlight some of the most extraordinary findings to emerge from the corpus' analysis. Following this, certain trends both in the corpus and in the larger use of virtues in epigraphy throughout the empire will be scrutinised. The findings will then be placed within the larger discussion of virtue in epigraphy and virtue in the Roman Empire in general, which will lead to some conclusive remarks on the significance of the finds as well as their implications.

Overall, this analysis distinguishes between three methods in which epitaphs display or allude to the same sentiments as virtues: the first category consists of those epitaphs that display virtue terms on their inscription directly, such as when a man is explicitly commemorated for his *virtus*, *fortitudo* or *fides*. This will also include a study of those words related to the virtue term, such as adjectives. For example, the paragraph on *pietas* will not only deal with those epitaphs that show *pietas*, but will also include the study of *piissimus* and *pientissimus*, while the paragraph on *fides* will also incorporate the words *fidelis*, *fidus* and *fidissimus*. Where applicable, each connected word will be described extensively.

The second category consists of inscriptions that allude indirectly to virtues, such as when the deceased is commemorated for his virtues through metaphors, standardised phraseology, figures of speech or certain tropes that are an expression of virtuous behaviour. The duality of the direct and indirect display of virtues is found, to name one example, on the Dalmatian epitaph of one Caius' anonymous son (paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.8). On this monument, *pietas* is directly invoked by the use of the phrase *pro pietate*, which signals that the parents made this monument for their son in honour of the piety that bound their relationship. Furthermore, *pietas* is also indirectly invoked by the phrase *ipse patrem ut decuit digno tumulasset honore*. Like the previous use of *pietas*, this phrase explores the topic of filial duty that binds the

son to his commitment to his parents. If nature had not intervened, the son would have created the monument for his parents. Although *pietas* is not as explicitly evoked as in the sentence *pro pietate*, nevertheless, it refers to the same sentiment.

The third category of allusions to Roman virtue consists of iconographical and symbolic references to the morality of the deceased. The morals and values found on Roman inscriptions were both addressed or reinforced by symbolism that likewise referred to these virtues, such as when a woman's virtue was honoured both by reference in the text to the spinning of wool as well as by the depiction of baskets and spinning wheels.⁹⁸⁷ Words could also be replaced by iconography and symbolism in funerary epigraphy. Icons such as the spindle and distaff were specifically chosen and used in funerary monuments to emphasise the assumed role of Roman *matrona* by the deceased, excelling in *industria*, *pudicitia* and *diligentia*.⁹⁸⁸ In similar fashion, certain symbols, especially within the context of the Roman military, were used to emphasise masculine virtuous culture. Hunting scenes found on military grave monuments, for example, were not meant to specifically evoke realistic imagery but rather to display virtuous bravery,⁹⁸⁹ or male endurance in the face of brutal violence.⁹⁹⁰ Similarly, the depiction of decorations through military insignia could invoke the virtues of proven capacity and functioning within the army, bravery, leadership, superiority, respect by their peers and devotion to their duty and the Roman state.⁹⁹¹ Monuments at times combined these gendered roles and their depictions, focusing not only on the iconography of the virtues of either womanhood or manhood, but displaying both.

A well-known depiction in funerary monuments is the married couple, either in busts or as complete figurines, adhering to the Republican ideal of idealised matrimony that emphasises *concordia* between both genders.⁹⁹² In contrast, other monuments emphasised the harmony between a married couple while simultaneously displaying the gendered spaces in which both men and women operated. For example, one sarcophagus from Ostia is ornamented with three

⁹⁸⁷ Carroll 2012, 299–300.

⁹⁸⁸ Carroll 2013, 568.

⁹⁸⁹ Busch 2009, 236.

⁹⁹⁰ Cumont 1942, 440–441.

⁹⁹¹ Speidel 2009, 235.

⁹⁹² Harlow/Lovén 2021, 153.

panels⁹⁹³: the centre depicts both man and woman in a *dextrarum iunctio* pose, holding hands in a manner reminiscent of the display of *concordia* and *pietas* found in the married-couple-displays described above.⁹⁹⁴ The left panel, however, shows the veiled woman within the confines of the private sphere, with another woman, holding a small casket, described by Birk as a beauty box and incense; the right panel, in contrast, depicts the man in discussion with another man, holding a scroll, in the public setting, displaying a political or philosophical engagement between the two figures.⁹⁹⁵

3.3.2 Virtue Term List

The virtue term list is compiled from the works of Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Suetonius. These are by no means the only ancient Roman authors who wrote on the topic of virtue, and some omissions in this chapter deserve explanation. Two omissions are obvious and need little clarification: firstly, Plutarch's ethical *Vitae Parallelae* is written in ancient Greek and, as was the case in Chapter 2, does not contribute to the Latin virtue list compiled for this chapter; secondly are the works of Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.) who, in his *Imagines* or *Hebdomades*, compiled a list of 700 prominent Greek and Roman portraits, accompanied by a short epigram that noted their character. Unfortunately, the complete work, with the exception of small fragments, is lost.

One of the lesser-known exemplary writers of the Roman Republic that deserves attention in this context is Cornelius Nepos (100–28 B.C.), a contemporary of Cicero who, in his *De Viris Illustribus*, wrote biographies of both Roman and non-Roman exemplary men specifically for the purpose of creating an ethical judgment of his subjects' character.⁹⁹⁶ Of his work, only the *Lives of Foreign Generals* has survived, which, as Nepos himself admits, only comes to full justice when consulted by an audience familiar with Greek literature and culture. This is because the book itself is not concerned with Roman morals and ethical values.⁹⁹⁷ In fact, the surviving work

⁹⁹³ The sarcophagus, which is dated between 250-400 A.D., is located outside of the museum of Ostia and remains uncatalogued. In the online database of the museum, it is categorized under "unknown 42."

⁹⁹⁴ For the allusion of the *dextrarum iunctio* to the virtues of *pietas* and *concordia*: Platt 2017, 376.

⁹⁹⁵ Birk 2013, 124–125.

⁹⁹⁶ Stem 2012, 135.

⁹⁹⁷ Beneker 2009, 110.

only reflects on Roman morals implicitly when it highlights cultural dissimilarities by comparison with the foreign Greek culture.

Julius Frontinus (35–103 A.D.) wrote his *Strategemata*, a guidebook on the clever deeds of generals, written in the same fashion as the synonymous Greek military guides. It was specifically written to serve as an introduction to the genre's exemplary lessons and terminology for the Latin audience, which, in Frontinus' opinion, was unfamiliar with the Greek genre.⁹⁹⁸ The work itself is a complementary guide to a now-lost book of Frontinus, which discussed military principles. The aim of *Strategemata* was to provide context and examples for the theory in order to qualify certain choices and considerations. In doing so, the *Strategemata* is considered a form of *exemplum*-literature as it draws on various sources to account for the deeds of noble Roman generals and leaders in antiquity and the events that surrounded them.⁹⁹⁹ In terms of ethical reflections, however, the work lacks moral content, especially in relation to the works of Frontinus' contemporaries, as it is the aim of the book to discuss actions and decisions leading to success or failure in war. As such, *exempla* are drawn to highlight certain practical matters that might arise in preparation for, during or following battles and the general theatre of war, such as the "distraction of enemies" (1.8) "ensuring the loyalty of those whom one mistrusts" (2.11), or "on attacks from an unexpected quarter." (3.9).¹⁰⁰⁰ Only in the fourth book does Frontinus return to a more moralistic character of *exempla*, where he discusses *disciplina*, *continentia*, *iustitia*, *constantia* and *moderatio* through both Roman and foreign *exempla*. Importantly, the authenticity of the fourth book has been questioned by scholars who argue that it is a later addition to the original three books written during Domitian's reign.¹⁰⁰¹ This insecurity of authenticity as well as the omission of the theoretical work with which Frontinus' *Strategemata* was supposed to be read, leads to the rejection of Frontinus' *exempla* for this chapter's analysis.

Now follows a summary of the specific virtue terms derived from each author under consideration in this chapter. To begin with Cicero, virtue ethics play a major role in at least five of his works, namely *De Inventione* (91–88 B.C.), *De Re Publica* (51 B.C.) *De Finibus* (45 B.C.), the *Disputationes Tusculanae* (45 B.C.) and *De officiis* (44

⁹⁹⁸ Wheeler 1988, 19–20.

⁹⁹⁹ Allmand 2009, 154.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Translation provided by Bennett 1925.

¹⁰⁰¹ Grainger 2023, 102.

B.C.). Cicero's use of *virtus* as 'virtue' or 'manly courage' has already been described earlier.¹⁰⁰² Furthermore, Cicero follows the framework of the cardinal virtues as first set out by Plato and Aristotle and mirrors the Greek *dikaïosune* with *iustitia*, *sophrosune* with *temperantia* and *andreia* with *fortitudo*.¹⁰⁰³ Moreover, Cicero differentiates *prudencia* from *sapientia* as the latter denotes theoretical wisdom, i.e. *sophia* for the ancient Greeks.¹⁰⁰⁴ Cicero expands on the cardinal virtues in *de officiis*, where he adds *beneficentia* to *iustitia*¹⁰⁰⁵ and uses *magnitudo animi* as a synonym for *fortitudo*.¹⁰⁰⁶ *Temperantia* is similarly supplemented with *honestas*, *verecundia*, *modestia*, *constantia* and *ordo et modus*.¹⁰⁰⁷ Furthermore, in his *De re publica*, Cicero lists a number of additional virtues that do not pertain specifically to the cardinal virtues: he recalls *pietas*, *religio*, *fides*, *aequitas*, *pudor* and again *honestas*.¹⁰⁰⁸ Again in

¹⁰⁰² See page 210-211; Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43.

¹⁰⁰³ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.53-54.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cic. *Off.* 1.153: *Princepsque omnium virtutum illa sapientia, quam sophia Graeci vocant – prudentiam enim, quam Graeci phronesis dicunt, aliam quandam intellegimus, quae est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia.* "And then, the foremost of all virtues is wisdom – what the Greeks call *sophia*; for by prudence, which they call *phronēsis*, we understand something else, namely, the practical knowledge of things to be sought for and of things to be avoided." Translation provided by Miller 1913.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cic. *Off.* 1.7.20: *cuius partes duae: iustitia, in qua virtutis splendor est maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur, et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet. Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis.* "Of this again there are two divisions – justice, in which is the crowning glory of the virtues and on the basis of which men are called 'good men'; and, close akin to justice, charity, which may also be called kindness or generosity." Translation provided by Miller 1913.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.64, 1.65.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.93: *Sequitur ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et rerum modus cernitur. hoc loco continetur id, quod dici latine decorum potest; Graece enim prepon dicitur.* "We have next to discuss the one remaining division of moral rectitude. That is the one in which we find considerateness and self-control, which give, as it were, a sort of polish to life; it embraces also temperance, complete subjection of all the passions, and moderation in all things. Under this head is further included what, in Latin, may be called propriety; for in Greek it is called *prepon*." 1.98: *nobis autem cum a natura constantiae, moderationis, temperantiae, verecundiae partes datae sint cumque eadem natura doceat non negligere.* "but to us nature has assigned the roles of steadfastness, temperance, self-control, and considerateness of others." Translation provided by Miller 1913.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cic. *Rep.* 1.2: *Unde enim pietas aut a quibus religio? unde ius aut gentium aut hoc ipsum civile quod dicitur? unde iustitia, fides, aequitas? unde pudor, continentia, fuga turpitudinis, adpetentia laudis et honestatis? unde in laboribus et periculis fortitudo?*

the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero recalls *gravitas* and *probitas*.¹⁰⁰⁹ Finally, the last addition is found in his *Philippics*, where he mentions the virtue *dignitas*.¹⁰¹⁰

Next is Livy, whose use of virtue terms has been studied extensively by Moore.¹⁰¹¹ Moore distinguishes as many as 50 virtue terms divided over six categories: *virtus*, *fortitudo* (*fortis*, *fortiter*), *strenuus* (*strenue*), *audacia* (*audax*, *audacter*), *acer* (*acriter*), *impiger* (*impigre*), *promptus*, *industria*, *diligentia* (*diligens*, *diligenter*), *fides*, *iustitia* (*iustus*, *iuste*), *aequitas*, *pietas* (*pius*, *pie*), *constantia* (*constans*, *constanter*), *perseverantia* (*perseveranter*), *pertinacia* (*pertinax*, *pertinaciter*), *moderatio* (*moderatus*, *moderate*), *modestia* (*modestus*, *modeste*), *temperantia* (*temperans*), *continentia*, *patientia* (*patiens*), *clementia* (*clemens*, *clementer*), *mansuetus* (*mansuete*), *facilitas* (*facilis*), *indulgentia* (*indulgens*, *indulgender*), *lenitas* (*lenis*, *leniter*), *mitis* (*mitius*), *benignitas* (*benignus*, *benigne*), *liberalitas* (*liberalis*, *liberaliter*), *munificentia* (*munificus*, *munifice*), *comitas* (*comis*, *comiter*), *dexteritas* (*dextere*), *humanitas*, *consilium*, *prudentia* (*prudens*, *prudenter*), *sapientia* (*sapiens*), *cautus* (*caute*), *providentia* (*providens*, *providus*), *castitas* (*castus*, *caste*), *pudicitia* (*pudicus*, *pudice*), *sanctitas* (*sanctus*, *sancta*), *innocentia* (*innocens*), *probitas* (*probus*), *integritas* (*integer*), *simplicitas* (*simplex*, *simpliciter*), *parsimonia*, *gravitas* (*gravis*), *severitas* (*severus*, *severe*), and *magnitudo animi*.

Following Livy is Valerius Maximus, whose use of virtues in *exempla* has been studied by Thurn.¹⁰¹² According to Thurn, the following virtue terms are distinguishable in the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*: *religio*, *disciplina*, *patientia*, *fiducia*, *constantia*, *moderatio*, *ab odio ad gratiam deflexum*, *abstinentia*, *paupertas*, *verecundia*, *amor coniugal*, *amicitia*, *liberalitas*, *clementia*, *gratia*, *pietas erga parentes*, *pietas erga fratres*, *pietas erga patriam*, *amor parentum indulgentia*, *amor parentum severitas*, *parentum modestia*, *parentum constantia*, *pudicitia*, *libertas discendi*, *severitas*, *gravitas*, *iustitia*, *fides*, *felicitas*, *sapientia*, *studio et industria*, *otium*, *eloquentia*, *motus*

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.2: *Rem vero publicam nostri maiores certe melioribus temperaverunt et institutis et legibus. quid loquar de re militari? in qua cum virtute nostri multum valuerunt, tum plus etiam disciplina. iam illa, quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda. quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum maioribus nostris comparanda?* Translation provided by Yonge 1877.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 10.20: *nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus.* Translation provided by Yonge 1903.

¹⁰¹¹ Moore, T. 1989, 5–147.

¹⁰¹² Thurn 2001, 79–94.

corporis, and *cupiditas gloriae*. Importantly, the above list shows a heavy influence of *pietas* (which, according to Thurn, accounts for three separate categories directly related to the virtue term) as well as those categories that allude to the authority, respect and love between parents and their offspring (four separate categories).

The most comprehensive study of Tacitus' imperial virtues in his *Annals* and *Histories* is conducted by Castro's PhD dissertation, which identifies the following virtues in his works:¹⁰¹³ *abundantia, aeternitas, civilitas, clementia, concordia, constantia, felicitas, fides, fortuna, bonus eventus, honos, virtus, iustitia, aequitas, liberalitas, munificentia, moderatio, pietas, providentia, pudor, salus, securitas, tutela, and victoria*.

Suetonius' use of virtue terms has been extensively studied, although a comprehensive categorization of the specific language does not exist. Usually, such remarks are relegated to the footnotes, such as when Wallace-Hadrill mentions in passing that Suetonius' characterisation of virtues and vices only revolves around five: *abstinentia, moderatio, liberalitas, clementia* and *civilitas*.¹⁰¹⁴ Similarly, Bradley, in an article on the use of Suetonius' imperial virtues, only lists *clementia, concordia, felicitas, liberalitas* and *pietas*.¹⁰¹⁵ Somewhat more extensive is Bradley's study of Suetonius' virtues in 1991, where he lists the following virtues: *liberalitas, severitas, indulgentia, facilitas, moderatio, clementia, virtus, diligentia, constantia, civilitas, comitas, humanitas, munificentia, patientia* and *abstinentia*.¹⁰¹⁶

For Pliny's use of virtue terms in his *Epistulae*, the study of Méthy is useful, who identifies the following virtue terms in his correspondence: *Gravitas, probitas, verecundia, diligentia, integritas, prudentia, reverentia, frugalitas, industria, modestia, moderatio, sapientia, severitas, auctoritas, castitas, constantia, fidelitas, fides, patientia, providentia, rectitudo, veritas, abstinentia, firmitas, fortitudo, iustitia, observantia, pietas*, and *temperantia*.¹⁰¹⁷ Furthermore, an examination of Pliny's *Panegyricus* adds to the above list the following virtue terms: *mansuetudo, humanitas, facilitas, pudor,*

¹⁰¹³ Castro 1972, 22–44.

¹⁰¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 1981, 316n80. A similar observation is made by Mouchova who characterizes Suetonius' moral biographies as revolving around the polarity between *clementia, moderatio civilitas* and *abstinentia* on the one hand, as opposed by *saevitia, arrogantia, cupiditas, avaritia*, and *luxuria*: Mouchova 1968, 42.

¹⁰¹⁵ Bradley 1973.

¹⁰¹⁶ Bradley 1991, 3722.

¹⁰¹⁷ Méthy 2007, 129.

*liberalitas, benignitas, continentia, labore, hilaritas, simplicitas, vigilantia, indulgentia, bonitas, sanctitas, comitas, and aequitas.*¹⁰¹⁸

In total, the six authors combined share 108 distinct Latin words related to virtue. Some of these words refer to the same overall virtue, such as Valerius Maximus' multiple references to *pietas*. For the sake of thoroughness, however, these words will still be considered separately in the table. Table 5 shows the distribution of these virtue terms across the authors and shows, where applicable, which words are found simultaneously across the literary works. Importantly, since the virtue term list is primarily based on modern scholarly work rather than a direct consultation of the ancient authors themselves, certain attestations of virtue terms are omitted from the list, despite the inclusion by the respective author. For example, because *iustitia* is not mentioned in either Wallace-Hadrill's or Bradley's discussion of Suetonius' virtue terms, the word is omitted from Suetonius' respective list of virtue terms, even though *iustitia* is abundant in Suetonius' work.¹⁰¹⁹ Similar anomalies are found elsewhere in the virtue term list, such as the apparent omission of *virtus* in Valerius Maximus or Pliny the Younger,¹⁰²⁰ Tacitus' exclusion of *prudencia*¹⁰²¹ and so on. The apparent exclusion of these virtue terms is therefore due to the method of collecting the material. However, the omission of the specific attestations of certain virtue terms does not nullify the usefulness of the list, since the it's primary function is to map the different Latin words related to certain virtuous concepts. The specific source responsible for the attestation is of lesser importance. Furthermore, the list is by no means exhaustive of all the moral qualities found in each author. Nevertheless, by their combined strength, the list forms an accurate survey of the most popular virtue terms used by Roman authors writing between the fall of the Republic and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and are therefore relevant to the analysis of this chapter.

Out of these 108 words summarised above, this chapter shows that 13 different virtue terms are attested in the poetic epitaphs of the North-Western Roman provinces, in alphabetical order as follows: *aequitas, concordia, cupiditas gloriae, fides, fortitudo, honestas, innocentia, integritas, iustitia, patientia, paupertas, pietas* and

¹⁰¹⁸ This list of virtues attributed in the Panegyric to Trajan is compiled by Wallace-Hadrill 1981, 312.

¹⁰¹⁹ E.g. Suet. *Aug.* 3.1.

¹⁰²⁰ Valerius Maximus invokes *virtus* already in his preface directed to Tiberius, while Pliny lauds the virtues of Euphrates the philosopher, *Ep.* 1.10.3.

¹⁰²¹ Despite Tac. *Ann.* 4.11.

virtus. Table 6 shows the distribution of the number of attestations for each virtue term as found in the *EDCS*. It is important to note that this table of distribution considers only the direct attestations of virtue terms. As such, attestations that refer to virtues indirectly or through iconography (as stipulated above) are not considered in this table, even if they are discussed in this chapter, as it is impossible to map their exact numbers. To provide the context for the indirect and iconographic references to virtues, however, comparable material for standard phrasing or comparable themes found on other epigraphic material, for example, will be collected. The findings and significance of the distribution of the virtue terms will be the subject of discussion in paragraph 3.5.

The 13 virtue terms are grouped into six categories based on their similarity in scope or meaning. This is done to show the overlap between the meaning of certain virtue terms, to study how these words relate to each other and to compare the available material more specifically across the different virtue terms. Essentially, this approach also allows for a more complete appreciation of the source material and the different ways in which epitaphs, both through literary and iconographic means, can allude to similar sentiments. This thematical approach, rather than geographical or chronological, allows for a more profound understanding of the interconnectivity between word and image. Furthermore, the grouping of virtue terms is important to this chapter's analysis as some of the epitaphs do not conform specifically to one virtue but pertain to an attitude or concept that corresponds loosely to multiple virtues instead. To counter the arbitrary assignment of epitaphs to virtue terms that do not completely cover their meaning, they are instead studied within the confines of multiple virtue terms.

The six categories are: first 'virtuous behaviour and courage' which, based on *virtus*' shared the meaning of excellence in a general sense as well as courage, includes *virtus* and *fortitudo*. The second category is 'fidelity and concord', which entails a study of *pietas* and *concordia*. Based on their use as virtue terms on the epigraphy, both words are used to emphasise the concord and harmony between deceased and commemorator. The third category, 'personal integrity', consists of those virtues which largely pertain to the moral uprightness of the deceased or commemorator and includes *integritas*, *innocentia*, *fides*, *honestas* and *paupertas*. The fourth category consists solely of *patientia*, which is bundled under the header of 'resolve and

endurance'. Other words that suggest this meaning are *perseverantia*, *pertinacia* and *constantia* but, given the material, the inscriptions best refer to the virtue of *patientia*. The fifth category relates to the theme of 'fairness' and encapsulates the virtues of *iustitia* and *aequitas*, which traditionally have been grouped together as *aequitas* is often discussed in conjunction with *iustitia*. Finally, the sixth category consists of *cupiditas gloriae*, which pertains to the theme of 'glory'. Notably, the virtue term *amor coniugalis*, described only by Valerius Maximus, is omitted for the simple fact that the topic has already been discussed under the header of *amor* in Chapter 2, as it pertains more to the sphere of emotion in epigraphy than to virtuous individual qualities from a modern perspective.

Table 5: Virtue Term List and their Literary Attestations

The additional references are, except for those mentioned above, all collected from the Perseus Digital Library (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>), consulted on December 2nd, 2023.

Virtue term	Cicero	Livy	Valerius Maximus	Tacitus	Suetonius	Pliny the Younger
<i>ab odio ad gratiam deflexum</i>	-	-	4.2	-	-	-
<i>abstinentia</i>	-	-	4.3	-	<i>Dom.</i> 9.1	<i>Ep.</i> 1.12.5
<i>abundantia</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 2.94	-	-
<i>acer</i>	-	2.56.6-9	-	-	-	-
<i>aequitas</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	3.53.3	-	<i>Ann.</i> 16.33	-	<i>Pan.</i> 38
<i>aeternitas</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.84	-	-
<i>amicitia</i>	<i>Amic.</i>	-	4.7	-	-	-
<i>amor coniugalis</i>	-	-	4.6	-	-	-
<i>amor parentum indulgentia</i>	-	-	5.7	-	-	-
<i>amor parentum severitas</i>	-	-	5.8	-	-	-
<i>auctoritas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.8.18
<i>audacia</i>	-	1.33.8	-	-	-	-
<i>beneficentia</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.7.20	-	-	-	-	-
<i>benignitas</i>	-	35.38.6	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 3
<i>bonitas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 30
<i>bonus eventus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Ann.</i> 13.6	-	-
<i>castitas</i>	-	1.57.10	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.14.8
<i>cautus</i>	-	22.12.12	-	-	-	-
<i>civilitas</i>	-	-	-	<i>Ann.</i> 1.33	<i>Aug.</i> 51.1	-
<i>clementia</i>	-	22.22.20	5.1	<i>Ann.</i> 1.23	<i>Iul.</i> 75.1	-
<i>comitas</i>	-	23.42.4	-	-	<i>Aug.</i> 53.2	<i>Pan.</i> 20
<i>concordia</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.54	<i>Claud.</i> 46	-
<i>consilium</i>	-	3.12.07	-	-	-	-
<i>constantia</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.96	2.61.5-7	3.8	<i>Ann.</i> 1.32	<i>Aug.</i> 42.2	<i>Ep.</i> 1.7.2
<i>continentia</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	30.14.5	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 3
<i>cupiditas gloriae</i>	-	-	8.11	-	-	-
<i>dexteritas</i>	-	1.34.12	-	-	-	-
<i>dignitas</i>	<i>Phil.</i> 10.20	-	-	-	-	-
<i>diligentia</i>	-	5.50.1	-	-	<i>Aug.</i> 33.1	<i>Ep.</i> 2.5.3
<i>disciplina</i>	-	-	2.7	-	-	-
<i>eloquentia</i>	-	-	8.9	-	-	-
<i>facilitas</i>	-	26.15.1	-	-	<i>Iul.</i> 72	<i>Pan.</i> 2
<i>felicitas</i>	-	-	7.1	<i>Hist.</i> 1.1	<i>Aug.</i> 94.1	-
<i>fidelitas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 2.9.4
<i>fides</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	28.8.12	6.6, 6.7, 6.8	<i>Hist.</i> 1.1	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.17.1
<i>fiducia</i>	-	-	3.7	-	-	-
<i>firmitas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 7.31.3
<i>fortitudo</i>	<i>Inv.</i> 2.53-54	41.4.1	3.2	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.22.7
<i>fortuna</i>	-	-	-	<i>Ann.</i> 1.11	-	-

Virtue term	Cicero	Livy	Valerius Maximus	Tacitus	Suetonius	Pliny the Younger
<i>frugalitas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 4.19.2
<i>gratia</i>	-	-	5.2	-	-	-
<i>gravitas</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 1.2	32.19.6	6.4	-	<i>Aug.</i> 42.2	<i>Ep.</i> 6.31.11
<i>hilaritas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 4
<i>honestas</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.93	-	-	-	-	-
<i>honos</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.2	-	-
<i>humanitas</i>	-	37.7.15	-	-	<i>Tib.</i> 29	<i>Pan.</i> 2
<i>impiger</i>	-	3.46.5	-	-	-	-
<i>indulgentia</i>	-	2.9.7-8	-	-	<i>Iul.</i> 72	<i>Pan.</i> 21
<i>industria</i>	-	9.29.4	8.7	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.14.7
<i>innocentia</i>	-	2.3.05	-	-	-	-
<i>integritas</i>	-	4.11.7	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 6.22.5
<i>iustitia</i>	<i>Inv.</i> 2.53-54	1.18.1	6.5	<i>Hist.</i> 1.49	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.22.7
<i>labore</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 3
<i>lenitas</i>	-	43.4.5	-	-	-	-
<i>liberalitas</i>	-	1.34.12	4.8	<i>Ann.</i> 2.37	<i>Iul.</i> 38.2	<i>Pan.</i> 3
<i>libertas discendi</i>	-	-	6.2	-	-	-
<i>magnitudo animi</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.64	4.41.3	-	-	-	-
<i>mansuetus</i>	-	2.30.4	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 2
<i>mitis</i>	-	38.17.3	-	-	-	-
<i>moderatio</i>	-	1.48.8	4.1	<i>Ann.</i> 1.8	<i>Iul.</i> 75.1	<i>Ep.</i> 6.31.11
<i>modestia</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.95	8.7.20	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.8.5
<i>motus corporis</i>	-	-	8.10	-	-	-
<i>munificentia</i>	-	32.40.9	-	<i>Ann.</i> 1.46	<i>Tib.</i> 48.1	-
<i>observantia</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 7.30.1
<i>ordo et modus</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.97	-	-	-	-	-
<i>otium</i>	-	-	8.8	-	-	-
<i>parentium constantia</i>	-	-	5.10	-	-	-
<i>parentium modestia</i>	-	-	5.9	-	-	-
<i>parsimonia</i>	-	39.1.6	-	-	-	-
<i>patientia</i>	-	4.37.5	3.3	-	<i>Claud.</i> 15.3	<i>Ep.</i> 1.22.7
<i>paupertas</i>	-	-	4.4	-	-	-
<i>perseverantia</i>	-	5.31.4	-	-	-	-
<i>pertinacia</i>	-	39.39.14	-	-	-	-
<i>pietas</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	1.21.1	5.4, 5.5, 5.6	<i>Hist.</i> 1.83	-	<i>Ep.</i> 2.5.3
<i>probitas</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 1.2	39.11.5	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 6.11.2
<i>promptus</i>	-	1.54.2	-	-	-	-
<i>providentia</i>	-	30.5.5	-	<i>Hist.</i> 2.19	-	<i>Ep.</i> 3.19.9
<i>prudentia</i>	<i>Inv.</i> 2.53-54	4.27.9	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.5.16
<i>pudicitia</i>	-	3.61.4	6.1	-	-	-
<i>pudor</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.78	-	<i>Pan.</i> 2
<i>rectitudo</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 2.6.5
<i>religio</i>	<i>Rep.</i> 1.2	-	1.1	-	-	-
<i>reverentia</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 3.8.1
<i>salus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.71	-	-
<i>sanctitas</i>	-	34.6.8	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 3
<i>sapientia</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.153	22.39.20	6.6, 6.7, 6.8	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.10.8

Virtue term	Cicero	Livy	Valerius Maximus	Tacitus	Suetonius	Pliny the Younger
<i>securitas</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.3	-	-
<i>severitas</i>	-	22.60.5	6.3	-	<i>Iul.</i> 65	<i>Ep.</i> 1.14.6
<i>simplicitas</i>	-	36.5.3	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 4
<i>strenuus</i>	-	24.15.6	-	-	-	-
<i>studio</i>	-	-	8.7	-	-	-
<i>temperantia</i>	<i>Inv.</i> 2.53-54	30.14.7	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 1.12.9
<i>tutela</i>	-	-	-	<i>Ann.</i> 1.12	-	-
<i>verecundia</i>	<i>Off.</i> 1.94	-	4.5	-	-	-
<i>veritas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Ep.</i> 2.11.19
<i>victoria</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.8	-	-
<i>vigilantia</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>Pan.</i> 10
<i>virtus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i> 2.43	1.17.5	-	<i>Hist.</i> 1.3	<i>Iul.</i> 21.3	-

Table 6: Distribution of Direct Attestations of Virtue Terms across Verse and Prose

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

virtue term	verse attestation	prose attestation	total attestations
<i>pietas</i> (total)	117	3845	3962
<i>pientissimus</i>	23	2330	2353
<i>piissimus</i>	20	1315	1335
<i>pietas</i>	62	212	274
<i>fides</i>	43	122	165
<i>innocentia</i>	8	127	135
<i>virtus</i>	11	20	31
<i>honestas</i>	13	17	30
<i>concordia</i>	13	14	27
<i>paupertas</i>	9	6	15
<i>fortitudo/fortis</i>	2	5	7
<i>integritas</i>	1	4	5
<i>aequitas</i>	1	1	2
<i>patientia</i>	0	2	2
<i>cupiditas</i>			
<i>gloriae</i>	1	0	1
<i>iustitia</i>	1	0	1

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Virtuous Behaviour and Courage

3.4.1.1 *Virtus*

3.4.1.1.1 Literature

Virtus as a moral concept held multiple definitions and was appropriated by different groups and institutions for a variety of reasons throughout time. As a result, the meaning of *virtus* was heavily influenced by its context. Consequently, not only did the meaning differ according to different geographical, spatial and generic contexts, but moreover – and especially – it was influenced by specific social and cultural conditions from which these utterances of *virtus* derive.¹⁰²² Importantly, the writers of the Principate dealt with *virtus* in a different context than the Republican writers: as previously stated in paragraph 3.2.4, the advent of the Principate brought about a change in the appropriation of *virtus*. It has been argued that the birth of the Principate changed and diminished both the importance and internal rivalry of the Senate, which might have been considered the perfect breeding ground for those values associated with *virtus* during Republican times. As a result, this similarly changed the importance of *virtus*.¹⁰²³ The pursuit of *virtus* so aspired in Republican Rome was hampered by the arrival of a political force that, almost by default, laid claim to the virtue already appropriated by Augustus in 27/26 B.C. when he was presented the *Clipeus Virtutis*.

Despite this change in context, the various meanings of *virtus* seem to have been used to varying degrees from the time of the Republic well into that of the Principate. As previously mentioned in paragraph 3.2, *virtus* in Roman times could mean moral excellence but also pertained to the specific virtue of manly courage. In this specific case, the ‘masculine’ emphasis derives etymologically from *vir* in the same sense that the ancient Greek *andreia* (also ‘manly courage’) derived from *aner*. In this sense, *virtus* pertained to courage both on and off the battlefield. In the latter case, *virtus* denoted the “ability to overcome fear of death and pain.”¹⁰²⁴ Furthermore, it is argued that *virtus*, rather than merely meaning ‘courage’, was also defined as the moral and physical qualities most valued in a man and should therefore be approached as an

¹⁰²² Balmaceda 2017, 39.

¹⁰²³ Mittelstadt 1995, 36; McDonnell 2006, 388.

¹⁰²⁴ McDonnell 2006, 24.

utterance of ‘masculinity’. In this sense, *virtus* correlates more closely with ‘moral excellence’.¹⁰²⁵ It is difficult to ascertain the specific time when *virtus* came to incorporate the moral dimension alongside its martial connotations. Its earliest examples originate from the Middle Republic,¹⁰²⁶ as a fragment of Lucilius’ (180–102 B.C.) writings reflects specifically on the meaning of *virtus*, as it incorporates both the concept of *aretē* and *andreia*, i.e. moral excellence and courage.¹⁰²⁷ This dual meaning of *virtus* is similarly found in the late Republic: Cicero has already been quoted above in paragraph 3.2.1, but an excerpt of Sallust also attests to this point as he uses *virtus* to simultaneously laud Caesar’s wish for war and success in battle as well as Cato’s moral virtues such as self-restraint and moderation.¹⁰²⁸ The dual meaning of *virtus* also carried over into the principate, as Seneca the Younger recognised both interpretations of *virtus*, associating the Latin word with moral excellence as well as bravery.¹⁰²⁹ Another example is found in Tacitus’ writings, where the author uses *virtus* extensively to reflect on bravery in battle, both of Romans and German and Briton tribes on one hand, and to refer to moral qualities on the other.¹⁰³⁰ As such, despite the fact that the literary sources, following what is generally considered to be a trend in the use of virtues in *exempla*, show a refocussing on the appropriation of *virtus*, the dualistic meaning of the term was nevertheless maintained.

¹⁰²⁵ Balmaceda 2017, 47–48.

¹⁰²⁶ E.g. Naev. *fr. com.* 90: *primum ad virtutem ut redeatis, abeat ab ignavia*; Plaut. *Amph.* 212, 214, 260; Plaut. *Trin.* 3.2; Cato, *Agr.* 1.2: *solo bono, sua virtute valeat*; Cato, *Agr.* 3.2: *Patrem familiae villam rusticam bene aedificatam habere expedit, cellam oleariam, vinariam, dolia multa, uti lubeat caritatem expectare: et rei et virtuti et gloriae erit*. For *virtus* in the earlier Roman sources: Earl 1960, 236; McDonnell 2006, 17–18.

¹⁰²⁷ Lucil. 1096–1208. On the comparison between *aretē* and *andreia*: Raschke 1990, 352–353; McDonnell 2003, 242; Balmaceda 2017, 49.

¹⁰²⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 54.4–6: *sibi magnum imperium exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. ... sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinencia certabat*.

¹⁰²⁹ Sen. *Dial.* 7.7.3: *altum quiddam est virtus, excelsum et regale, invictum infatigabile ... virtutem in templo convenies, in foro in curia, pro muris stantem, pulverulentam coloratam, callosas habentem manus*; Sen. *Ep.* 78.21: *Est, mihi crede, virtutis etiam in lectulo locus. Non tantum arma et acies dant argumenta alacris animi indomitique terroribus: et in vestimentis vir fortis apparet*. On Seneca and the dual meaning of *virtus*: Wilcox 2006, 76–77.

¹⁰³⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 8: *Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat*.

3.4.1.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

Virtus is attested on 22 Latin epitaphs. Of these, 11 are versified¹⁰³¹ and another 11 are prosaic.¹⁰³² Most attestations, where the context allows for such inferences, use *virtus* to refer to moral excellence or the multiple virtues that make up a person's moral character. Reference, for example, is made to the *virtutibus animi*,¹⁰³³ or the personality is elucidated with a list of different virtues.¹⁰³⁴ Similarly, after telling the reader that the deceased was a help to his parents and a joy to his friends, the epitaph alludes to the boy's death by stating that *polliticia pueri virtus indigne occidit*.¹⁰³⁵ Just as often, *virtus* is invoked without any further explanation, such as when one woman is honoured for *omnium virtutum fecundissimae*.¹⁰³⁶ Importantly, there is a connection between the display of *virtus* as a general quality of excellence and the employment of poetic lines, as nine of eleven epitaphs are versified. In contrast to those invocations of virtues as epithets, where the virtue is often found in the prosaic *prae-* and *subscriptum*, *virtus* as a moral quality is almost always part of a larger epigraphic poem. Furthermore, *virtus* is in this specific context applied to men, women and children. There is no reason to assume that moral *virtus* was reserved solely for men; women were just as well commemorated for their *virtus* as men, as the evidence shows.

This is contrasted with the evidence that uses *virtus* as a reference to (martial) courage, which is mainly found in the epitaphs of (ex-)soldiers or gladiators. All these inscriptions attribute *virtus* to men.¹⁰³⁷ On these inscriptions, which are all prosaic,

¹⁰³¹ *CIL* 1, 3197: *virtute, virtute* (Beneventum, 80-40 B.C.); *CIL* 3, 686: *virtus* (Philippi, 200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2341: *virtute* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10230: *virtutis* (Rome, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 15225: *virtute* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 31711: *virtutum* (Rome, 200-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 212: *virtutibus* (Cillium, 151-170 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 5557: *virtus* (Urbs Salvia, 50-1 B.C.); *CIL* 10, 4728: *virtus* (Forum Popilii, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 3579: *virtutibus* (Tibur, 119 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 4488: *virtutum* (Portus, 117-161 A.D.).

¹⁰³² *AE* 1957, 240: *virtutis* (Auru, 201-300 A.D.); *AE* 1974, 589: *virtutem, virtutem* (Philippi, 118-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1193: *virtutem* (Apulum, 193-217 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14453: *virtutem* (Tomi, 71-100 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 3465: *virtute* (Verona, 71-130 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 7495: *virtutes* (Careum Potentia, 50-1 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 38971a: *virtutis* (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 41062: *virtus, virtute, virtutibus* (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*); *CIL* 11, 1070: *virtute* (Parma, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 717: *virtute* (Burdigala, 71-220 A.D.); *Raggi-2021*, p. 524, 1: *virtutem* (Forum Popilii, 80-100 A.D.).

¹⁰³³ *CIL* 1, 3197: *virtute* (Beneventum, 80-40 B.C.); *CIL* 8, 212: *virtutibus* (Cillium, 151-170 A.D.).

¹⁰³⁴ *CIL* 6, 10230: *virtutis* (Rome, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 41062: *virtus, virtute, virtutibus* (Rome, 9 B.C., the *Laudatio Turiae*).

¹⁰³⁵ *CIL* 9, 5557: *virtus* (Urbs Salvia, 50-1 B.C.).

¹⁰³⁶ *CIL* 6, 31711: *virtutum* (Rome, 200-300 A.D.).

¹⁰³⁷ The barring of women to enlist in the army makes the former category obvious; nevertheless, female gladiators did exist and, in their capacity as such, were very much able to display *virtus*: Brunet 2004, 166-167.

reference is made to the soldier's courage by the phrase *ob virtutem bis donis donatus* (or variations thereof), which refers to the military decorations the deceased received for his courage during his time in service.¹⁰³⁸ Similarly, gladiators boasted of their feats on their epitaphs and employed *virtus* to underscore their courage in the arena.¹⁰³⁹

The connection between *virtus* and military insignia deserves more attention, especially since two of the five inscriptions discussed here refer to the *dona miliaria*. In the Roman army, military insignia were awarded to distinguish soldiers and military units for their courage. The literary sources recall the same connection, such as Livy, who recounts how certain soldiers were rewarded with "military presents" (*militaribus donis*) for their displayed bravery (*prout cuiusque virtus atque opera in ea pugna fuerat*) during the second Punic War.¹⁰⁴⁰ Similarly, Livy describes how two soldiers received the *corona muralis* for their bravery (*virtutis causa*) in being the first to scale the walls of Carthago Nova.¹⁰⁴¹ Indeed, Silius Italicus refers to bravery as the cause for earning medals, crowns and such decorations in the Punic Wars.¹⁰⁴² As a result, soldiers often rivalled for the attainment of *virtus*, as the sources show. During the Gallic War, for example, Caesar recalls how two of his soldiers, Vorenus and Pullo, enticed each other's bravery (*virtus*) during an attack by the Nervii on a military fort.¹⁰⁴³ Being rewarded for valour in battle was clearly a coveted experience for members of the Roman legions.

Returning to the direct attestations of *virtus*: in four cases, the evidence does not suggest an outright attribution of *virtus* as a specific virtue or a virtue in general. In these cases, the dual meaning of *virtus* prevents a precise interpretation of the monument. For example, one epitaph quotes the *Aeneid* and reads *quem non virtutis egentem abstulit*.¹⁰⁴⁴ This litotes is used primarily in the *Aeneid* to describe Pallas' untimely death, and while Pallas is renowned as a fierce warrior, the passage itself gives no indication of what kind of *virtus* is to be understood. In other cases, the

¹⁰³⁸ Speidel 1970, 145.

¹⁰³⁹ Wiedemann 1992, 35.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Liv. 24.16.8.

¹⁰⁴¹ Liv. 26.48.13.

¹⁰⁴² Sil. Pun. 15.254–257: *tum merita aequantur donis, ac praemia virtus sanguine parta capit: phaleris hic pectora fulget; hic torque aurato circumdat bellica colla; ille nitet ceslso muralis honore coronae*.

¹⁰⁴³ Caes. BGall. 5.44.

¹⁰⁴⁴ CIL 10, 4728 (Forum Popilii, 101–200 A.D.).

inclusion of specific references allows for a relatively more precise identification. For example, one inscription commemorates the *incomparabilis virtutis et innocentiae viro* of a veteran and *decurio*.¹⁰⁴⁵ Although *virtus* is not further characterised by military distinctions or a martial context, as in the above examples, the use of *virtus* and *innocentia* to allude to virtues most sought after in the two states of service the deceased had assumed (i.e. that of veteran and councillor) makes a strong case for associating *virtus* here with courage.¹⁰⁴⁶

In the corpus, a direct attestation to *virtus* is found only once. Nevertheless, iconographic depictions of the hunting scene and of military distinctions similarly allude to the themes of masculine excellence and courage and therefore are connected to the Roman concept of *virtus*. As such, this paragraph will study both the direct and iconographic representations of *virtus* in this corpus. The first paragraph discusses the explicit depiction of *virtus*, while the remaining four discuss the depiction of the hunting scene (paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2 and 3.4.1.1.2.3) and the *dona miliaria* (paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.4 and 3.4.1.1.2.5) respectively.

3.4.1.1.2.1 The Frankish Roman

Inscription no. 17 is the only one in the corpus that uses *virtus* textually rather than alluding to it through symbolic representation. The brevity and lack of archaeological context of the object prevent precise dating, although scholars argue that it dates from somewhere in the Late Principate in the 3rd rather than 4th century. A.D.¹⁰⁴⁷ The monument seems to have been an architrave, 238 cm long, 51.5 cm high and 26 cm wide above an entrance, perhaps one that led into a larger tomb monument. The front of the architrave features the inscription enclosed by a square text field, with two concentric half-circled adornments seamlessly extending on the left and right. The bottom of the monument features two festoons with a bust portrait of a male in the middle, probably the deceased, who wears a cloak with a *fibula*.¹⁰⁴⁸ The monument originates from the city of Aquincum, the capital of Pannonia Inferior.¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁵ *AE* 1957, 240 (Auru, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁰⁴⁶ For the connection between *innocentia* and proper civic performance, see paragraph 3.4.3.2.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 93. Fehér dismisses the idea that the monument is later than the 4th cent. A.D.: Fehér, 1998, 82.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ertel 2010, 64.

¹⁰⁴⁹ The city of Aquincum has been previously discussed in paragraphs 2.5.1.6 and 2.5.6.4.

*Francus ego cives Romanus miles in armis / egregia virtute tuli bello mea
dextera semper.*¹⁰⁵⁰

I, a Frank, a Roman citizen, a soldier in arms, with exemplary courage
always conducted my right hand in war.¹⁰⁵¹

The text consists of a hexameter in the first line and an (imperfect) heptameter in the second, forming a dactylic epigram.¹⁰⁵² The content of the first line prompts inquiry into how the poem's author intended the line to be interpreted, as *cives* could refer to *Francus* as well as to *Romanus*. In 1996, Barlow argued that one should read it as an emphasis of the indigenous culture (the Frank) in a Roman structure (the army), namely "I, a Frankish citizen, a Roman soldier in arms."¹⁰⁵³ In 1999, however, Rigsby suggested that a comma should be read between *ego* and *cives*, and again between *cives* and *Romanus*, thus rendering *Francus ego* separate from *cives Romanus*.¹⁰⁵⁴ Rigsby argues that *cives* is inherently linked to *Romanus*, as it makes more sense to speak of a Roman citizen than of a Frankish citizen. This is backed by the fact that, at that point in time, there would have been no precedent to speak of the "people of the Franks." While other scholars have generally followed Rigsby's interpretation,¹⁰⁵⁵ Mathisen argued that the use of *cives* to refer to non-Roman citizens was very common in Late Antiquity, at least from the 3rd century A.D. onwards, and that it could very well refer to geographical locations and ethnic denominations.¹⁰⁵⁶ Although no definitive answer can be given, the question arises as to whether the inclusion of *miles* would have necessitated the mention of *Romanus*, or whether the identification of the deceased as a soldier, within the context of the Latin inscription, would have made such a denomination abundant, as one could logically assume that a *miles* was part of the Roman army. For instance, of all the examples given by Mathisen, only one inscription refers to a *miles* and does not explicitly mention *Romanus*.¹⁰⁵⁷ Furthermore, of nine other inscriptions dedicated by or to soldiers that mention their *civis*, only one explicitly includes both his indigenous and Roman background, stating

¹⁰⁵⁰ *CIL* 3, 3576, edition from Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 93.

¹⁰⁵¹ Author's translation.

¹⁰⁵² Massaro 2023, 51.

¹⁰⁵³ Barlow 1996, 226.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Rigsby 1999, 176.

¹⁰⁵⁵ E.g. Pohl 2014, 415; Mayer 2016, 562.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Mathisen 2021, 226–227.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *AE* 1982, 258 (Ocriculum, 251–330 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 32978 (Rome, 326–375 A.D.) mentions *militans in officio magistri*, where *militans* means "while serving under"; the interpretation of *CIL* 13, 595 (Burdigala, 180–220 A.D.) makes it difficult to ascertain whether it reads *miles* or *mililes*.

cives Romani et Taunenses ex origine, although here *Romanus* is used to allude not to the Roman army but to his Roman citizenship.¹⁰⁵⁸ In all cases, no explicit allusion is made to the distinctly “Roman” character of the army, as this is logically implied from the context of the monument.¹⁰⁵⁹ In light of this background, it may best be argued that the *Romanus* in the inscription of Aquincum in this case alludes to *civis*, not *miles*.

The second line is of importance to this chapter, as it explicitly alludes to the integrity of *virtus*. The meaning of *virtus* as martial morality is unmistakable, given the fact that the first line refers to the military background of the deceased while the second line provides the context of war. While the use of martial *virtus* on a soldier’s epitaph is not uncommon, as shown in the paragraph above, such explicit utterances are indeed quite rare on versified inscriptions and highlight the exceptional place of the monument within the epigraphical landscape of the province.¹⁰⁶⁰

3.4.1.1.2.2 Caius, son of Epicadus

Inscription no. 18 originates from the vicinity of the remains of the ancient fort of Salthua (Dalmatia), which is situated around modern-day Riječani (Montenegro).¹⁰⁶¹ The monument is dated to the 1st century A.D.¹⁰⁶² It was found together with another inscription similar in content,¹⁰⁶³ and both were subsequently published in 1905 by Nikola Vulić.¹⁰⁶⁴ The inscription is arranged on a sarcophagus monument which measures 55 cm high and 215 cm wide.¹⁰⁶⁵ The inscription is flanked by two reliefs: the one on the left depicts a seated man on a rearing horse who holds a spear, while the right relief pictures a tree with two four-legged animals side by side, possibly a doe and a fawn. Vulić identifies the combined imagery as a hunting scene, with the left panel depicting the man hunting the animals in the right frame.¹⁰⁶⁶ As mentioned in paragraph 2.5.2.4, the hunting scene is a popular theme found mostly in epitaphs in

¹⁰⁵⁸ *CIL* 13, 7335 (Nida, 230 A.D.).

¹⁰⁵⁹ *AE* 2000, 1000 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 101-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 2807 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 2822 (Rome, 238-244 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37207 (Rome, 251-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 21021 (Caesarea, undated); *CIL* 13, 7292 (Mogontiacum, 150-230 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 7335 (Nida, 230 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 8317 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 71-100 A.D.).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Fehér 1998, 82.

¹⁰⁶¹ Sergejevski 1962, 101.

¹⁰⁶² Sergejevski 1962, 102.

¹⁰⁶³ **Inscription no. 21.**

¹⁰⁶⁴ Vulić 1905. The other monument will be discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.1.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Vulić 1909, 202.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Vulić 1931, 101, no. 242.

the Pannonian provinces, Noricum and Moesia Superior, although similar motifs are also found in Dalmatia.¹⁰⁶⁷ It is primarily with this hunting scene that an allusion to (masculine) courage is made, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

*Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docl(e)atium hic situs. / Hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et / suis. Set fili eius Plassus Epicadus /^s Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta / efficit istud opus. Est pietas natiue / hoc auxsisse videntur et decorant / facto et docent esse pios.*¹⁰⁶⁸

Caius, son of Epicadus, *princeps* of the *civitas Docleatium*, lies here. The father ordered that this monument should be erected for him and his family. His sons Plassus, Epicadus, Scerdis, and Verzo, however, with an added sum completed this work. It seems that this is piety and that the children have developed it, and they adorn it with the deed and inform that they are devout.¹⁰⁶⁹

The monument is thus dedicated to Caius, the son of Epicadus. Caius was the *princeps* of the *civitas Docleatium*, which was one of the tribes that formed a part of the *conventus* of Naronia through which the hinterlands of the Dalmatian province were controlled.¹⁰⁷⁰ The *castellum* Salthua was part of, and perhaps the military centre of, the *civitas Docleatium*, one of the many *civitates* established by Augustus after the conquest of all of Illyria, according to Appianus,¹⁰⁷¹ and loosely based on the indigenous community of the Docleatae, who lived in what is now eastern Montenegro.¹⁰⁷² Ptolemaios also mentions the Docleatae as a tribe that became incorporated in Dalmatia.¹⁰⁷³ Pliny describes the size and administrative function of the *civitas Docleatium*, stating that it was one of the peregrine tribes that had Naronia as the seat of one of the three *conventi* into which Dalmatia was divided. Pliny furthermore tells that the *civitas* was divided into 33 *decuriae*.¹⁰⁷⁴ The extent to which Caius was responsible for the administration of the *civitas* remains unclear, but the position of *princeps* must have held considerable prominence in the community's

¹⁰⁶⁷ E.g. Lozić 2021, no. 164 and 191.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *ILJug-3*, 1853. Edition by Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 102. Mind the orthographic faults found in the inscription (*set*, *efficit*, *auxsisse*) that have been transmitted in Pelcer-Vujačić' edition.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Author's translation, based on the German translation provided by Vulić 1909, 203.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 101.

¹⁰⁷¹ App. *Ill.* 4.16.

¹⁰⁷² Alföldy 1963, 191.

¹⁰⁷³ Ptol. *Geog.* 2.15.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Plin. *HN* 3.22.143.

control and the region's administration as *principes* were usually drawn from the local native aristocracy.¹⁰⁷⁵ The indigenous background of the persons surrounding the erection of the monument is furthermore attested by the peregrine names of the four sons of Caius: Plassus, Epicadus, Scerdis and Verzo.¹⁰⁷⁶ Their peregrine status is also confirmed by the fact that, although the *municipium* Doclea was established as the capital of the *civitas* during the Flavian period, there is no mention of Flavian *gens* in the nomenclature and they were therefore not granted citizenship during this period.¹⁰⁷⁷ In light of this, it is rather curious that Epicadus should use the Roman *praenomen* Caius, especially considering that his brother Agirrus and sister-in-law Temeia have distinctly indigenous *praenomina*.¹⁰⁷⁸ Quite possibly, Caius assumed the Latinised *praenomen* as a reference to the creation of the *civitas* by Augustus, perhaps upon Caius' ascension as the *princeps* of the *civitas* *Docleatium*. It is perhaps the same Roman influence that led to the erection of the Latin epitaph in the first place, commemorating both Caius and his brother in typical Roman fashion with an epitaph in Latin verse.

The inscription is written in poetic style from *hoc fieri* to *esse pios*, of which the first two (*hoc fieri ... Plassus Epicadus*) and last two lines (*hoc auxsisse ... esse pios*) are elegiac couplets. The meter of the two middle lines (*Scerdis Verzo ... et decorant*) is distorted, possibly because the poem was not originally composed to include four sons, but only one. This is indicated by the determination of *efficit*, which, due to its singular form, was in all probability adapted to only one person.¹⁰⁷⁹ The inscription was edited only after the composition of the poem was amended to include several dedicators rather than just the original *filius*.

As previously stated, the monument also consists of two reliefs flanking the text. At this point, it may help to pay closer attention to the depiction of hunting scenes in Latin funerary epigraphy. Intensive contact between the Greeks and Romans saw the emergence of the hunt in the Roman literary tradition, on stage, but also as a source of leisure for the Roman upper class.¹⁰⁸⁰ The influence of the Greek hunting tradition on the Roman elite is summed up by Polybius, who notes that after the

¹⁰⁷⁵ Wilkes 1969, 193.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Grbić 2014, 146.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Alföldy 1965, 144, 306.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For the provenance of Agirrus and Temeia: Alföldy 1969, 130.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Vulić 1909, 203.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Anderson 1985, 84.

Roman victories in the East, Scipio Aemilianus began to take a great interest in hunting, in the manner of the Macedonians who ruled the country before the Roman conquest in 168 B.C.¹⁰⁸¹ Notably, Polybius explicitly links the act of hunting with the acquisition of *virtus*, stating that Scipio, who was eager to “establish a reputation for courage,” became “occupied with the chase,” through which he “gained this universal reputation for courage.”¹⁰⁸² Three centuries later, the same connection between hunting and *virtus* is found on medallions struck during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, depicting the emperor on horseback aiming his spear at a lion, accompanied by the inscription *Virtuti Augusti*. The same scene of Hadrian hunting animals from horseback is attested on several *tondi* found at the Arch of Constantine, showing the emperor hunting a bear, a boar and a lion.¹⁰⁸³

From around the 2nd century A.D. (and thus dated after this monument), the marble sarcophagi of the aristocracy in Rome began to become widely depicted with hunting scenes, reminiscent of the mythological legends of ed, Meleager, Heracles and Bellerophon, but also lion hunting scenes similar to the Alexander sarcophagus featuring Abdalonymus.¹⁰⁸⁴ Depending on the depicted myth, such hunting scenes are said to portray the cruel victory of death over the living, the inevitability of death or the virtues of the deceased.¹⁰⁸⁵ Simultaneously, those symbolisms pertained to the positive moral traits of the heroes, mainly their *virtus*, and when such mythological retellings resembled the biographical traits of the deceased more closely, when they, for example, copied distinctive physical traits of the dead, the deceased shared in the *virtus* of the hero.¹⁰⁸⁶ At other times, the deceased themselves are portrayed as huntsmen, often accompanied by a personification of *virtus*, guiding the huntsman at the critical moment of contact between man and beast.¹⁰⁸⁷ In these cases, *virtus* is portrayed wearing a helmet, boots and a tunic, her presence always drawing attention towards – and supporting the virtue of – the hunter who is depicted centrally on the sarcophagus.¹⁰⁸⁸ Gradually, these types of monuments saw the replacement of

¹⁰⁸¹ Polyb. 31.29.1–9; Anderson 1985, 5.

¹⁰⁸² Polyb. 31.29.1–12. Translation provided by Green 1996, 245–246.

¹⁰⁸³ Tuck 2005, 237–238.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Aymard 1951, 513–514.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Anderson 1985, 126–127.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Borg 2013, 178.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Brilliant 1963, 186.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Birk 2013, 109.

mythological personas by real-life figures, starting in Rome around 220 A.D., where the depicted hunter was not a hero such as Hypolythos, Meleager or Adonis, but rather the deceased themselves.¹⁰⁸⁹

It is against this backdrop that hunting scenes start to appear in funerary *stelae* in the provinces of the Roman Empire, most notably between the 2nd and 4th century A.D. and in the provinces Pannonia Superior and Moesia Superior, although similar funerary reliefs have also been found in smaller numbers in Noricum, Dalmatia, Dacia and Pannonia Inferior.¹⁰⁹⁰ Animals ranged from lions to boars, bears, deer, rabbits and fawns and often, the riders are accompanied by hunting dogs.¹⁰⁹¹ Dogs, like the act of hunting, were associated with those that could afford the luxury of keeping such animals for leisure, i.e. the elite, and were prized, indispensable possessions for the hunt.¹⁰⁹²

It is worth briefly considering the extent to which the depiction of hunting in funerary monuments from, say, Dacia, is motivated by the same beliefs that inspired the iconography sarcophagi of the elite, who were not only more aware of the cultural precedent set by the Greeks before them, but were also more accustomed to the hunting iconography of funerary monuments. In other terms, the question remains whether hunting motifs are found on provincial monuments, such as Caius' epitaph, because people wished to emphasise their *virtus*, or because such motifs were simply a popular theme among the provincial workshops. In this sense, the representation of hunting in monuments may have had more to do with considerations of 'being Roman' or 'Greek' than with 'being virtuous', in the same sense that the choice of Latin over an indigenous language, or verse over prose, was not made for stylistic reasons or deeper motivations, but simply because such choices were more readily available. Naturally, such considerations are present in every discussion of funerary symbolism in the province. Although it is beyond the scope of this paragraph to answer the question of whether the provincial inhabitants who created and used these epitaphs were really

¹⁰⁸⁹ Borg 2013, 179.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Pilipović 2006, 337. It has been argued that the Balkanic provinces were mainly influenced by the northern Italian stonemason workshops of Aquileia and Trieste: Pilipović 2006, 346. Nevertheless, no hunting reliefs survive from either cities, although other archaeological evidence, such as other reliefs on *stelae* and quarry stones, suggest that intensive cultural contact between the workshops of Aquileia and the Balkans did occur: Migotti 2019, 234.

¹⁰⁹¹ For example, one Roman grave monument from modern-day Drivuša depicts three dogs chasing an animal: *CIL* 3, 8375 (Drivuša, 100-300 A.D.); Lozić 2021, no. 164.

¹⁰⁹² Klarić/Bekavac 2020, 13.

convinced of the virtuous character of the hunting scene, it may be fruitful to assess such enquiries in relation to other themes of the funerary monument, such as the inscription.

It is in the light of these considerations, that the symbolism of the monument to Caius can best be valued. The representation of the man on horseback with a spear, together with the other panel showing two hunted animals near a tree, can be understood as a depiction of the hunting scene. As such, the hunting scene on the reliefs of Caius' grave monument corresponds to the same viewpoint found elsewhere in the Roman Empire that connects the act of hunting with *virtus*. It is difficult to say if the allusion to the hunting scene is an overt display of *virtus*; rather, both the hunting scenes found on the provincial epitaphs, such as that of Caius, correspond to the same attitudes found in Greek and Roman art and archaeology that consider hunting to be a form of masculinity. In contrast to the provincial monuments, however, the Greek and Roman mythological and artistic representations make this connection explicit, for example, with the inscription of *virtus* accompanying Hadrian's medallions or with the personification of Virtus. Such distinct allusions to *virtus* are not found on the provincial funerary monuments under discussion. Furthermore, the monument is part of a larger trend in the province and the wider extra-provincial region that commemorates the deceased through the invocation of the hunter motif. Consequently, if the monument is correctly dated to the 1st century A.D., this depiction may be one of the earlier attestations of the motif, possibly one of the first generations of monuments in the region, given the consideration that similar monuments only really came into popularity from the 2nd century A.D. onwards.

Some other monuments found in Dalmatia also portray hunting scenes. In the inland of Dalmatia, one such monument is located in Založje, modern-day Bosnia-Hercegovina, depicting a hunter with three dogs holding a spear, who is hunting a boar, dated to the 3rd century A.D.¹⁰⁹³ Another, also from Bosnia-Hercegovina, which shows a rider holding the bridle of a prancing horse and a Bowman in one panel, while a lower panel depicts two deer being attacked by hounds. This monument is dated between 250 and 300 A.D.¹⁰⁹⁴ Skelani has produced a monument, also from mainland

¹⁰⁹³ Lozić 2021, 100, no. 21.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Lozić 2021, 97–198.

Dalmatia, which depicts the bust of a woman over a lion hunting another animal.¹⁰⁹⁵ Finally, one other grave relief from Konjic shows a rider on a rearing horse holding the bridle, accompanied by a dog, hunting a deer that is running past a tree.¹⁰⁹⁶ In line with these monuments, the depiction of the rider on Caius' epitaph follows the motif of the hunting scene with its depiction of a rider with a spear, a tree and several animals fleeing from the hunter.

3.4.1.1.2.3 Salvius

Inscription no. 5 has already been studied in Chapter 2 for its use of *luctus* (paragraph 2.5.2.4) and *flere* (2.5.4.7).¹⁰⁹⁷ The monument originates from Sirmium (Pannonia Inferior) and is dated to the 2nd century A.D. The dedicator is Julius Asclepiades, while the dedicatee is the *frumentarius* Salvius, who died at the age of 33. The iconography on the monument does not correlate precisely to the inscription, as it features multiple busts of men and women. This would suggest that the monument was more dedicated to married couples, but no reference to such groups is found in the inscription, which only refers to the deceased Salvius. This has led to the idea that the monument was dedicated to several different people, perhaps to be interred in the future, which is supported by the use of the plural *caris suis* rather than *caro suo*. Despite these incongruencies, the monument alludes to the occupation of Salvius by the inclusion of the *frumentarius*-wagon. At least in this regard, the monument is personalised to the life of the dedicatee. In addition to the busts and the wagon, the monument depicts a hunting scene featuring a man engaged in combat with a lion.

In the same sense as the monument of Caius, this depiction of a lion hunt on the funerary monument is a reference to the larger iconographic trend of the Balkans that depicts the activity of hunting animals. Although lion hunting scenes are known throughout the empire, most monuments in the region of the Danubian provinces focus on the depiction of riders, dogs and the hunt of other animals, such as deer. The lion as a prey animal is less attested. Only two other monuments have been found from the province that feature a hunt scene: one from Sopiana depicting a dog hunting a

¹⁰⁹⁵ *CIL* 3, 14219, 13 (Municipium Malvesatium, 151-300 A.D.).

¹⁰⁹⁶ *UbiEratLupa*, 30359.

¹⁰⁹⁷ **Inscription no. 5** = *CIL* 3, 3241. See pages 103-108 for the initial analysis.

rabbit¹⁰⁹⁸ and one from Cibalae showing a dog pursuing stags and rabbits.¹⁰⁹⁹ Salvius' monument is the only one from the province that displays a hunter. Furthermore, most monuments in the provinces that feature a lion depict the animal as the hunter, stalking bulls,¹¹⁰⁰ horses¹¹⁰¹ or stags.¹¹⁰² The theme of the lion being hunted rather than being the hunter is less attested. In those instances where a hunting scene between men and a lion is shown, the person is usually atop a horse, not standing facing the lion, as depicted in the relief of Salvius.¹¹⁰³ The relief thus alludes to the hunting scene in a way that is less common in funerary epigraphy in the region, but the allusion is clear: it implies the person's manliness and courage as he faces his enemy – the animal perhaps an allusion to death itself – without fleeing. However, it is given only a modest place on the monument and is visually overshadowed by the other iconographic elements of the epitaph, especially the busts that appear above the inscription. The field with the hunting scene plays only a marginal role in the larger iconographic themes of the monument.

3.4.1.1.2.4 Lucius Mummius

The next monument, **inscription no. 9**, has been previously discussed in paragraph 2.5.4.3, as it portrays the dedicator crying for his fallen friend, Lucius Mummius.¹¹⁰⁴ Mummius originated from Ancyra and served in the seventh legion, but the monument itself was found in the military camp of Tilurium, Dalmatia. The monument is dated in the first half of the 1st century A.D. and features a so-called 'door-representation' and an *aedicula*. Both these themes are represented on other funerary monuments found in Tilurium, suggesting that all were fabricated by the same local workshop.¹¹⁰⁵ In contrast, the epitaph for Mummius differs from the other Tilurian monuments by the display of several *dona miliaria* – a theme not found on any other funerary inscription in the province. The relief shows nine medals (*phalerae*) held together by a mesh of

¹⁰⁹⁸ *CIL* 3, 3308 (Sopianae, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁰⁹⁹ *CIL* 3, 13360 (Cibalae, 120-125 A.D.).

¹¹⁰⁰ Németh 1999, no. 180 (Aquincum, undated); *CIL* 3, 2709 (Tilurium, 9-42 A.D.).

¹¹⁰¹ Nagy, M. 2012, no. 69 (Intercisa, undated).

¹¹⁰² *CIL* 3, 12659 (Viminacium, 193-235 A.D.); Ertel 2010, no. 157 (Aquincum, undated).

¹¹⁰³ E.g. *AE* 1998, 1011 (Immurium, 171-200 A.D.), which depicts riders accompanied by dogs moving towards a lion.

¹¹⁰⁴ **Inscription no. 9** = *AE* 1995, 1232. See pages 136–139 for the initial analysis.

¹¹⁰⁵ In Tilurium alone, 13 different monuments feature the *aedicula* and seven feature the door-representation: Sanader 2003, 505–508.

straps, flanked by bracelets and necklaces.¹¹⁰⁶ The specific Latin names for the trinkets are *armillae* (for the bracelets) and *torques* (for the necklaces).¹¹⁰⁷ Tončinić adds that the mesh background is the fabric that ties the medallions together. Similarly, the monument also shows the ribbons used to attach the medal around the neck of the wearer.

The professionalisation of the standing Roman army during the 2nd century B.C. saw an increase in a rather standardised form of rewarding that was essentially symbolic rather than precious of nature, in contrast to monetary rewards or shares in the spoils of battle.¹¹⁰⁸ However, these symbolic rewards, despite having no or little material value (e.g. the leaves that make up the civic crowns), were greatly valued by the members of the Roman army and were held in high esteem, as evidenced by a passage from Valerius Maximus that tells how a horseman valued a silver *armilla* over a reward of gold taken from the defeated Gauls.¹¹⁰⁹ Such rewards, called *dona miliaria*, could be in the form of a crown (*corona*), a ceremonial spear (*hasta pura*), a banner (the *vexillum*), a necklace (*torques*), a bracelet (*armilla*), a medal (*phalera*), a dish (*patella*) or a horn (*corniculum*).¹¹¹⁰ These honours were generally awarded to those who distinguished themselves on the battlefield, although the sources emphasise the display of *virtus*, which in the military context clearly alludes to bravery: the epigraphic overview in paragraph 3.4.1.1.2 has already shown the use of *ob virtutem bis donis donatus* to distinguish soldiers and units who received the military insignia for their bravery.

The *phalerae*, *armillae* and *torques* were part of a larger schema of military honours that could be awarded to soldiers who distinguished themselves on the battlefield. While during the Middle Republic, no requisites of a soldier's rank were required for military decorations, such impositions gradually became noticeable during the end of the Republic and well into the Principate. By the time of Mummius, the combination of *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae* was reserved for the common soldier up until the rank of the centurion as well as for *evocati*.¹¹¹¹ While Roman society deemed *torques* and *armillae* as traditionally feminine attire, such jewellery

¹¹⁰⁶ Radman-Livaja 2010, 108.

¹¹⁰⁷ Tončinić 2011, 71–72.

¹¹⁰⁸ Maxfield 1981, 56.

¹¹⁰⁹ Val. Max. 8.14.5.

¹¹¹⁰ Maxfield 1981, 61.

¹¹¹¹ Maxfield 1981, 64.

was highly valued by other societies, such as the Gauls. As such, the iconography did not refer to the attire worn by the Romans, but symbolised the spoils seized from their defeated barbarian enemies.¹¹¹²

Mummius' particular combination of medals (the *phalerae*, *torques* and *armillae*) is attested in other ancient sources, such as a decree issued by Pompey in 89 B.C., in which he awarded his Spanish horsemen horns, plates and extra rations of grain, as well as the *torque*, *armillae* and *phalerae*.¹¹¹³ Similarly, an epitaph dated to the last years of the Republic is dedicated to an *evocatus* who received, besides a crown, the *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae*.¹¹¹⁴ The inscription uses the phrase *donatus torquibus armillis phaleris corona*. It is already clear that the display of military distinctions in the funerary inscription was something worth mentioning, in the case of this inscription unlike Mummius' epitaph, through text. This same phrase is also found on several epitaphs from the Principate, ranging from the reigns of Claudius until that of Hadrian, as summarised by Keppie.¹¹¹⁵ Although most of these inscriptions derive from Italy, one originates from Risinium in Dalmatia.¹¹¹⁶ Other funerary monuments use only the phrase *donatus phaleris torquibus armillis* and omit the *corona*. The majority of these come from the Italian peninsula, presumably veterans, which is only specified in three cases: on one monument from Cales,¹¹¹⁷ one from Cremona¹¹¹⁸ and one from Atella, which shows how the deceased took up civic service after their discharge.¹¹¹⁹ The other Italian epitaphs do not indicate whether the deceased was a veteran or a soldier honoured away from the front. These monuments originate from Volturnum,¹¹²⁰ Rome¹¹²¹ and Parentium.¹¹²² Outside of Italy, the phrase is attested on four inscriptions, three of which are from Dalmatia: modern-day Roski Slap,¹¹²³ Narona¹¹²⁴ and Iader¹¹²⁵ as well as one from Nedan in

¹¹¹² Maxfield 1981, 60–61.

¹¹¹³ *CIL* 6, 37045 (Rome, 89 B.C.).

¹¹¹⁴ *CIL* 10, 3886 (Casilinum, 50–1 B.C.).

¹¹¹⁵ Keppie 2000, 167–168.

¹¹¹⁶ *CIL* 3, 6359 (Risinium, 114–117 A.D.).

¹¹¹⁷ *EE* 8-1, 530 (Cales, 1–40 A.D.).

¹¹¹⁸ *AE* 1975, 446 (Cremona, 1–13 A.D.).

¹¹¹⁹ *CIL* 10, 3733 (Atella, 135–138 A.D.).

¹¹²⁰ *AE* 2002, 386 (Volturnum, undated).

¹¹²¹ *CIL* 6, 37298 (Rome, 83–96 A.D.).

¹¹²² *InscrIt* 10-2, 253 (Parentium, undated).

¹¹²³ *CIL* 3, 9885 (Roski Slap, 9–42 A.D.).

¹¹²⁴ *CIL* 3, 8438 (Narona, 1–100 A.D.).

¹¹²⁵ *CIL* 3, 14006 (Iader, 1–150 A.D.).

Moesia Inferior.¹¹²⁶ All monuments, apart from the epitaph from Narona, allude to their military decorations via text rather than symbolism. All these monuments date from the end of the Republic until around 150/160 A.D., after which there is a decline in the bestowal of these *dona* from the Severan period onwards, which can also be seen in the funerary monuments.¹¹²⁷

To continue with the iconography: attestations of the *phalerae* are dispersed across the provinces but are concentrated mainly in the Germanic provinces and the Balkans. The iconography of the *phalerae* braided together with straps, as found on the epitaph of Mummius, is attested also on a monument in Burnum (Dalmatia) that, although fragmentary, shows remnants of a door-type image together with *torques* and *armillae*.¹¹²⁸ In the first century A.D., two epitaphs from Bonn similarly connect the *phalerae* through a net of straps¹¹²⁹ as well as one from Mainz¹¹³⁰ and one from Boppard.¹¹³¹ Many other monuments depict the military insignia in the context of the breastplate worn by a soldier, such as one from Corinium,¹¹³² from Colonia Ulpia Traiana¹¹³³ and two from Mainz,¹¹³⁴ while the decorated breastplate could also be displayed without a soldier, such as from Poetovio.¹¹³⁵ The medallions could also be adorned with a *signum*, such as shown in one monument from Vindonissa,¹¹³⁶ two from Mogontiacum,¹¹³⁷ one from Viminacium,¹¹³⁸ one from Bigeste¹¹³⁹ and one from Burnum.¹¹⁴⁰ Some monuments depict a collection of medals without the context of a strap mesh, breastplate or *signum*, which are found in Dium,¹¹⁴¹ Virunum¹¹⁴² and Emona.¹¹⁴³ In the context of these monuments, the epitaph for Mummius is part of a wider network of epitaphs that depict military insignia either through text or

¹¹²⁶ *CIL* 3, 12411 (Nedan, 121-150 A.D.).

¹¹²⁷ Farland 1994, 229.

¹¹²⁸ Maxfield 1986, fig. 3.

¹¹²⁹ *CIL* 13, 8059 (Bonna, 31-70 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 8061 (Bonna, 1-70 A.D.).

¹¹³⁰ *CIL* 13, 11837 (Mogontiacum, 13 B.C. – 43 A.D.).

¹¹³¹ *CIL* 13, 7556 (Baudobriga, 1-30 A.D.).

¹¹³² *RIB* 109 (Corinium, 43-75 A.D.).

¹¹³³ *CIL* 13, 8648 (Colonia Ulpia Traiana, 9-14 A.D.).

¹¹³⁴ *CIL* 13, 6901 (Mogontiacum, 14-37 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6938 (Mogontiacum, 13 B.C. – 43 A.D.).

¹¹³⁵ *CIL* 3, 4060 (Poetovio, 9-45 A.D.).

¹¹³⁶ *CIL* 13, 5206 (Vindonissa, 17-45 A.D.).

¹¹³⁷ *CIL* 13, 6898 (Mogontiacum, 71-100 A.D.); 13, 6911 (Mogontiacum, 71-100 A.D.).

¹¹³⁸ *CIL* 3, 12658 (Viminacium, 201-300 A.D.).

¹¹³⁹ *ILJug*-3, 1927 (Bigeste, 101-150 A.D.).

¹¹⁴⁰ *ILJug*-3, 2817 (Burnum, 1-100 A.D.).

¹¹⁴¹ *AE* 1915, 112 (Dium, 131-170 A.D.).

¹¹⁴² *CIL* 3, 4858 (Virunum, 1-50 A.D.).

¹¹⁴³ Maxfield 1986, fig. 1.

symbolism. In the text, the connection between *virtus* and the military insignia is made directly as the phrase *ob virtutem bis donis donatus* refers to the display of *virtus*, here to be understood as martial courage and the subsequent awarding of respective military distinctions. This direct connection between *virtus* and military distinctions is moreover corroborated by the literary evidence previously discussed in paragraph 3.4.1.1.2. Simultaneously, the same allusion to martial *virtus* is found on the monument's funerary reliefs as the military distinctions are symbolised literally through the display of *phalerae*, *torques* and *armillae*, such as on Mummius' epitaph, but also by other reliefs such as the adorned breastplate and the *corona*. In essence, such reliefs allowed the deceased to showcase the awards given for his military courage and were a testament to the *virtus* of the dead.

3.4.1.1.2.5 Marcus Caelius

The monument discussed here, like the epitaph for Mummius (**inscription no. 9**, see paragraph 2.5.4.3), similarly depicts *dona miliaria* and thus alludes also to *virtus*. **Inscription no. 19** is found in the legionary camp of Vetera (near modern-day Xanten) in the province of Germania Inferior and is, because of its mention of the battle of the Teutoburg Forest, dated to 9 A.D. or shortly thereafter.¹¹⁴⁴ Cugusi suggests 15 A.D., since Tacitus specifically mentions that Germanicus, after avenging the Roman defeat and restoring peace in the area six years after the battle, buried the bones of the fallen soldiers.¹¹⁴⁵ Two other versified epitaphs were found in Vetera, one to Calventius (2.5.4.5, see also for a description of Roman Vetera) and one to the rider Silvanus (paragraph 2.5.6.5).

The Caelius monument is a limestone epitaph that measures 137 cm high and 108 cm wide.¹¹⁴⁶ The lower part of the inscription features a framed text field that contains the inscription. Above it in the middle is an *aedicula*-theme with a depiction of Caelius from the hips up, wearing the *corona civica* and the *phalerae* on his breastplate, which features two *torques*. Caelius holds a *Vitis* in his right hand while his left hand is entwined in his *paludamentum*. Both arms are adorned with *armillae*. While Caelius' armour features *pteryges*, below is a tunic. Two busts representing

¹¹⁴⁴ Bauchhenß 1978, 18–22.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cugusi 2016, 1521; Tac. *Ann.* 1.62.

¹¹⁴⁶ Lehner 1918, 240.

Caelius' freedmen are engraved to his left and right. Each bust is accompanied by a *subscriptum* that recalls the names of the represented *liberti*. The pediment atop the *aedicula* is filled with an Acanthus vase, with sprouting vines to the left and right. The corners above the pediment feature ribbons.¹¹⁴⁷

*M(arco) Caelio T(iti) f(ilio) Lem(onia tribu) Bon(onia) / [I] o[r dini] leg(ionis) XVIII ann(or)um LIII s(emissis). / [Ce]cidit bello Variano. Ossa / [lib(ertorum) i]nferre licebit. P(ublius) Caelius T(iti) f(ilius) /⁵ Lem(onia) frater fecit. / M(arcus) Caelius / M(arc) i l(ibertus) / Privatus / M(arcus) Caelius /¹⁰ M(arc) i l(ibertus) Thiaminus.*¹¹⁴⁸

"To Marcus Caelius, son of Titus, from the tribe Lemonia, of Bononia. [having served] as *primus ordines* of the 18th legion, died at the age of 53 and a half. He fell in the Varian battle. The bones of his freedmen will be allowed to be buried here. Publius Caelius, son of Titus, from Lemonia, the brother, made this.

Left subscriptum: Marcus Caelius Privatus, freedman of Marcus.

Right subscriptum: Marcus Caelius Thiaminus, freedman of Marcus."¹¹⁴⁹

The inscription is dedicated to Marcus Caelius, the son of Titus. The inscription tells the reader that he was a member of the Lemonia *tribus* and came from Bononia, modern-day Bologna in northern Italy. Accordingly, Marcus was the *primus ordines*, i.e. centurion of the first cohort of the 18th legion and may have, as was customary during the late Republic, been part of the general's council.¹¹⁵⁰ Whether or not Caelius would have still fulfilled such a role during the early Principate is uncertain. Interestingly, the monument mentions that Marcus died during the Varus defeat of 9 A.D. and, as such, has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest.¹¹⁵¹ It is also interesting to note that the inscription tells the reader that his freedmen may be buried in the same tomb. While this in itself is not uncommon, and depictions of *liberti* together with their master in funerary epigraphy did occur, the visual depiction of the former slaves on the tombstone of their patron accompanied specifically by their names subscripted under their busts is quite rare.¹¹⁵² Furthermore, the dedicator of the monument is Marcus'

¹¹⁴⁷ Bauchhenß 1978, 20–21.

¹¹⁴⁸ Edition from Bauchhenß 1978, 19.

¹¹⁴⁹ Author's translation.

¹¹⁵⁰ Isaac 1997, 392.

¹¹⁵¹ Especially within the context of the 19th cent. Arminius-mythology, the "Caelius-Grabstein" is one of the most famous relics of the Roman period in the former Germanian provinces to date: Wiegels 2010, 465.

¹¹⁵² Boymel Kampen 2013, 181.

brother, Publius. Only the line *cecidit bello Variano, ossa inferre* can be read as versified. Cugusi notes that the verse consists of a trochaic septenarius, if one reads *Variano* as *Verjano* and adds a hiatus between *Variano* and *ossa*.¹¹⁵³

Like paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.4, the military medals that adorn the funerary monument are allusions to the *virtus* of the deceased and are the direct result of the award of his distinctions. In contrast to Mummius' funerary relief, where the *dona miliaria* were depicted singly, Caelius' monument shows how the decorations were worn, since the deceased is depicted with the *phalerae* around his cuirass, the *armillae* around his wrists and the *torques* attached to his weapons. Such awards were most likely worn during official ceremonial occasions, where the military insignia was part of the formal decorative outfits worn by soldiers, such as during triumphs.¹¹⁵⁴ In addition to the *armillae*, *phalerae* and *torques*, Caelius is also portrayed wearing the *corona civica*. This civic crown was awarded to citizens who personally saved the lives of another Roman in battle. With the crown came social advantages, both for the bestowed and his family, not only in a military context but also in Roman public life, as the crown could be worn at all times once it had been awarded.¹¹⁵⁵ The *vitis* is also a clear allusion to Caelius' rank as centurion, since the vine staff was used both as a symbol of his exercised power and as a practical tool for motivating his subordinates through physical punishment.¹¹⁵⁶

3.4.1.2 *Fortitudo*

The paragraphs above have shown the ways in which *virtus* was used to exemplify military courage and masculine prowess. Conversely, courage was also demonstrated in the Latin language using *fortis* and *fortitudo* which, especially within the military sphere, captured the meaning of valour in battle. Overall, one inscription in the corpus refers explicitly to *fortis*. The subsequent paragraph will study that attestation in its literary and epigraphic context.

¹¹⁵³ Cugusi 2016, 1520.

¹¹⁵⁴ Maxfield 1981, 61.

¹¹⁵⁵ Maxfield 1981, 70.

¹¹⁵⁶ Walters 1997, 40.

3.4.1.2.1 Literature

Cicero defines *fortitudo* as “a deliberate encountering of danger and enduring of labour.”¹¹⁵⁷ Importantly, Cicero contends that it is one of the distinctively masculine virtues and that it functions mainly to “despise death and pain.”¹¹⁵⁸ The emphasis here lies on the endurance in (the expectation of) hardship and is, as such, not solely confined to the military sphere.¹¹⁵⁹ Livy, in turn, uses *fortitudo* only once to denote military excellence in the same way as *virtus*, although his use of the adjective *fortis* serves a broader interpretation: on the one hand, Livy uses *fortis* synonymous with *virtus* (in the same sense as *virtus*). On the other hand, a broader interpretation of excellence in general is used.¹¹⁶⁰ While *fortis* and *virtus* are thus at times used interchangeably, the difference between *virtus* and *fortitudo/fortis*, at least in the work of Livy, lies mainly in the fact that the latter represents “a more aggressive action”, as it touches upon the irrational, more than *virtus* could.¹¹⁶¹ Subsequently, Valerius Maximus uses *fortitudo* in a range of *exempla*, which, as Maximus himself states, are drawn from the deeds “of both men and women.”¹¹⁶² Although most examples are drawn from situations that pertain to the state of war and the military, Valerius Maximus admits that *fortitudo* could just as well be shown “in the forum as in the camp.”¹¹⁶³ As such, he writes about those who showed *fortitudo* by sacrificing themselves (or risking death) in order to save the Roman state,¹¹⁶⁴ those who committed suicide to save face¹¹⁶⁵ or those who showed courage and steadfastness under adverse circumstances.¹¹⁶⁶

¹¹⁵⁷ Cic. *Inv.* 2.163: *Fortitudo est considerata periculorum susceptio et laborum perpessio.*

¹¹⁵⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43: *mortis dolorisque contemptio.*

¹¹⁵⁹ *Disciplina* is often associated with military ardor, although this differs from *fortitudo* in that it is a virtue that needs to be instilled, often by severe sanctions, rather than an innate quality: Langlands 2008, 170.

¹¹⁶⁰ Moore, T. 1989, 14.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶² Val. Max. 6.init.: *virorum pariter ac feminarum.*

¹¹⁶³ Val. Max. 3.2.17: *foro atque castris.*

¹¹⁶⁴ Such as Horatius Cocles' defense of the Sublician bridge or Cloelia's escape from Porsenna's captivity: Val. Max. 3.2.1–2. Other examples are Marcellus' battle against the Gauls while being in a minority (3.2.5), the equestrians dismounting their horses to fight against the Volsci (3.2.8), the cavalry who crashed into enemy lines to tip the balance of war (3.2.9)

¹¹⁶⁵ Valerius Maximus recalls the likes of Publius Crassus, Scipio, Cato, and Porcia: Val. Max. 3.2.12–15.

¹¹⁶⁶ Such as those Romans who during the Gaulic sack of Rome in 390 B.C. remained in their house instead of fleeing (Val. Max. 3.2.7) or Scipio Nasica's taking up of the arms following Gracchus' revolt against the Roman Senate (Val. Max. 3.2.17).

3.4.1.2.2 The epigraphic evidence

Not a single attestation for the word *fortitudo* is found.¹¹⁶⁷ *Fortis*, in contrast, is attested in larger quantities:¹¹⁶⁸ if the adjective was applied to a person, it is found on seven monuments, two of which are versified and five are prosaic. In five epitaphs, the adjective is dedicated to one man or several men.¹¹⁶⁹ None of these show any affiliation with the military. Instead, one person's bravery was lauded in his capacity as charioteer (*CIL* 2, 4315), while one man was a consul during Marcus Aurelius's reign (*CIL* 6, 1490) and two were *conpaedagogita* (*CIL* 6, 9764). What remains is a reference to a "brave and good boy"¹¹⁷⁰ and, in another case, to a woman in the epitaph of Allia Potestas.¹¹⁷¹

3.4.1.2.2.1 Niger

The only inscription from the corpus that explicitly mentions either *fortitudo* or *fortis* is **inscription no. 20**. The inscription is found on a grave stele from Mogontiacum, which is dated to around the early reign of Tiberius (14–37 A.D.). The monument is 155 cm high and 60 cm wide and, apart from the inscription with inscription field, is adorned with only a pediment featuring a rosetta.¹¹⁷²

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) / Carc(asone) Niger mi/les
leg(ionis) II annor(um) / XXXXV aer(or)um XVII /⁵ h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /
Hospes ades paucis et perle[g]e ver/sibus acta aeternum patriae hic / erit
ipsa domus hic erit inclusus tumu/lo hic Iulius ipse hi[c] cinis e[x] caro
cor/¹⁰pore factus erit cum me[a] iucunde / aetas florebat ab annis advenit
fatis / t[e]rminus ips[e m]eis ultimus ipse [f]uit / XXXXV annus cum mihi
fatalis ve/nit acerba di[es] hi[c] ego nunc cogor /¹⁵ Sty[g]ias tr[an]sire
paludes sedibus aeter/nis me mea fat[a] tenant me memini Gal/lia natum
caroque [p]are[nt]e et milis collo fortiter arma [t]uli Gallia crudelis tri/buit*

¹¹⁶⁷ Like *constantia*, the absence of *fortitudo* is also noted in the honorary inscriptions, at least from those from Italy, as attested by Forbis 1996, 92.

¹¹⁶⁸ Although the inscription falls outside the scope of this dissertation, it is interesting to note that one of the earliest extant verse epitaphs (that for Scipio Barbatus) explicitly refers to the deceased as *vir fortis*: *CIL* 6, 1285 (Rome, 230–190 B.C.).

¹¹⁶⁹ *CIL* 2, 4315: *fortis* (Tarraco, 1–100 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 2007: *viro fortissimo* (Opitergium, 201–300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 1490: *viro et fortissimo* (Rome, 215–221 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9764: *fortissimis viris* (Rome, 51–150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 20256: *fratro fortissimo viro* (Rome, 71–130 A.D.).

¹¹⁷⁰ ILaIlg-2-1, 1706: *pueri fortis et boni* (Cirta, 231–270 A.D.).

¹¹⁷¹ *CIL* 6, 37965 (Rome, 1–50 A.D.).

¹¹⁷² Boppert 1992a, 195.

*mihi [fu]nu[s et ignem et] cu[l]tos artus ter/²⁰ra cinis[q(ue) premunt (?) ---]
to [g]natus / miles le[g(ionis)] II [---] p---at(?) heris / eius est.¹¹⁷³*

Caius Iulius Niger, son of Caius, enrolled in the *tribus Voltinia*, from Carcassonne, soldier of the second legion, 45 years, 17 years of service, is buried here. Guest, come and read in these few verses what has happened. Eternally this will be the home, here enclosed in the grave, I, Iulius, will here be ashes, made from the dear body. As my life was blossoming nicely, my fate came to an end. The last year was the 45th one, when the fateful day arrived. Here now I am forced to cross over the marshes of the Styx. My fate holds me in an eternal abode. I remember that I am the son of Gallia and of dear parents, but also as a soldier I wore my weapons bravely around my neck. Such cruel gifts Gallia assigned to me, now that earth and ashes hold the limbs that are no longer cared for. A relative, soldier of the second *legio* (made the monument).¹¹⁷⁴

The monument is dedicated to Caius Iulius Niger, who was stationed as a soldier of the *legio II Augusta* in Mainz at the time of his death. The second *legio Augusta* was only stationed at the city for a short amount of time, being transferred there from Hispania after the Teutoburg Disaster in 9 A.D. and being transferred again to the *limes* in Argentorate in 17 A.D.¹¹⁷⁵ This short time frame meant that not many epitaphs from the *legio II* have survived in Mainz, making this inscription here the only one found in Mogontiacum dedicated to a soldier of the second legion.¹¹⁷⁶ Niger served in the army for quite some time, having been enrolled for 17 years. According to the *praescriptum*, Niger came from southern Gaul, from Carcassonne, and belonged to the Voltinian tribe. The heritage of Niger can be traced back to the *colonia Iulia Carcaso* elevated by Julius Caesar, which explains its *praenomen* and *gentilicium*. The monument was dedicated by another soldier of the *legio II Augusta*, who, as far as the text can be reconstructed, is only referred to as *gnatus*, and may therefore have been a relative of Niger.

The largest part of the inscription, from *hospes ades* until *cinisque premunt*, is metric and consists of elegiac couplets. This poetic part of the inscription is written from the point of view of Niger himself, who laments his fate and how his life was cut

¹¹⁷³ Edition by Boppert 1992a, 195.

¹¹⁷⁴ Author's translation, based partially on the German translation by Horster/Altmeppen provided by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Arachne database, ID 2295549.

¹¹⁷⁵ Bruun 2016, 27.

¹¹⁷⁶ Hope 2003a, 133.

short while it was still in full bloom. Although most of the poem focuses on his death, a few lines are devoted to his life, again emphasising that he was from Gaul (*Gallia natum*), but also choosing to focus on his valour. The use of *fortis* (here as the adverb *fortiter*) is specifically addressed in the military context, as it recalls how Niger acted bravely as a soldier (*miles*) with his weapons around his neck (*collo fortiter arma tuli*). Cugusi notes how this particular phrase may have been inspired by Tibullus' second book, which reads *sit como et collo fortiter arma gerat*?¹¹⁷⁷ If the approximate date of the inscription (9-17 A.D.) is accepted, the poet must have been very familiar with the intricacies of the poetic landscape of Rome, given that he must have been a near contemporary of Tibullus (55-19 B.C.). Notably, *fortis* is used in a similar context found in the virtue's literary use, as both emphasise the importance of masculine courage in the military sphere. However, the additional epigraphic material has shown how *fortis* was also used to refer to people who had no explicit connection with the military context.

3.4.2 Fidelity and Concord

3.4.2.1 *Pietas*

3.4.2.1.1 Literature

By far the most attested virtue found in the corpus' epitaphs is *pietas*. It is one of those virtues attested in almost every ancient Roman discussion of virtue ethics, not least because it has been described as the watchword of the Augustan age.¹¹⁷⁸ In general, the Roman sources use *pietas* as a descriptor of fidelity to family, friends and the homeland.¹¹⁷⁹ Cicero, for one, describes *pietas* as follows: "they call that piety, which warns us to fulfil our duties to our country, our parents or others connected with us by ties of blood."¹¹⁸⁰ Thus, Cicero distinguishes between *pietas* towards the Roman state (*erga patriam*), the parents (*parentes*) and other persons with familial ties (*aut alios sanguine coniunctos*). Similarly, Valerius Maximus distinguishes between *pietas* to one's parents (*pietas erga parentes*), the devotion to one's brothers (*pietas erga*

¹¹⁷⁷ Tib. 2.6.2; Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 168.

¹¹⁷⁸ Wagenvoort 1980, 2-3.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Pietas* is at times evoked to describe dutifulness towards the gods, although Cicero distinguishes this from *pietas* with *religio*: Cic. *Inv rhet.* 2.22.66: *religionem eam, quae in metu et caerimonia deorum sit, appellat.*

¹¹⁸⁰ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.22.66: *pietatem, quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat.* Translation provided by Yonge 1853.

fratres) and the devotion to one's country (*pietas erga patriam*). Maximus provides ample examples: of the first category he describes how Coriolanus' *pietas* towards his mother convinced him to withdraw his armies from Roman lands;¹¹⁸¹ of fraternal piety Valerius Maximus discusses how Marcus Fabius refused a triumphal parade after the wars against the Veientes and Etruscans because his brother had been killed in battle;¹¹⁸² and of *pietas erga patriam* he writes of Scipio Africanus who swore to protect the Roman State and not to abandon his country in the face of Hannibal's threat.¹¹⁸³ As Valerius Maximus emphasises, *pietas* could also be exemplified by women and was not reserved for men alone, as the author describes how the *pietas* of Claudia, a Vestal virgin, implored her to come between her father and a tribune of the plebs who wanted to throw him out of the chariot during a triumph.¹¹⁸⁴ As Valerius Maximus comments, her *pietas* to her father was as noteworthy, if not more so, than her father's triumph.

Notably, *pietas* applied also to the types of relations that lay beyond the scope of these classifications: multiple ancient examples show how *pietas* could exist also between spouses as well as non-blood relatives such as (former) slave and master, two types of relationships not mentioned in Valerius Maximus' section.¹¹⁸⁵ This is also corroborated by evidence in this chapter. Furthermore, in all these descriptions, *pietas* promotes primarily obedience, fidelity and a sentiment of duty rather than affection towards both the Roman state and the family, whereby feelings of the former category did not exclude the latter.¹¹⁸⁶

Importantly, *pietas* encompassed all strata of Roman culture and society and, as such, the virtue manifested itself also outside of the literary spheres. For one, *pietas* was evident as a chief token of the imperial power and administration through its attestation on the *Clipeus Virtutis*¹¹⁸⁷ or on the Roman Imperial coinage from Tiberius to Constantine the Great.¹¹⁸⁸ In the latter case, some coins displayed the

¹¹⁸¹ Val. Max. 5.4.1.

¹¹⁸² Val. Max. 5.5.2.

¹¹⁸³ Val. Max. 5.6.7.

¹¹⁸⁴ Val. Max. 5.4.6.

¹¹⁸⁵ Saller 1994, 108.

¹¹⁸⁶ Saller 1994, 105–106.

¹¹⁸⁷ See paragraph 3.2.

¹¹⁸⁸ Stevenson, S.W. 1889, 626.

personification of Pietas on their coinage¹¹⁸⁹ through the text PIETAS¹¹⁹⁰ or displayed certain members of the imperial family in a veiled fashion to manifest their *pietas*.¹¹⁹¹ Similarly, *pietas* is attested on a number of coins minted in the provincial Roman cities, where the emperor and his administration did not directly influence the portrait choice of the local mint masters in the same manner as they did the imperial mints.¹¹⁹² Again, *pietas* is here displayed as a personification¹¹⁹³ or as members of the imperial family, in this case, the wives of Augustus and Hadrian, respectively Livia (59 B.C.–29 A.D.)¹¹⁹⁴ and Sabina (88–136 A.D.).¹¹⁹⁵ Such attestations suggest that the idea of *pietas* as a symbol of imperial power and administration was not confined to the political centre in Rome, but spread to the provinces throughout the empire. Similarly, the attribution of *pietas* to the emperors was also reinforced in the provinces through written sources, such as the *Res Gestae*, which explicitly connects Augustus to piety, among other virtues and distributed such virtuous associations within the empire by posting the *Res Gestae* on provincial administrative buildings.¹¹⁹⁶ In a similar fashion, Pliny's *Panegyricus* honoured the *pietas* of Trajan in great detail, which, similar to the *Res Gestae*, was also disseminated throughout the provinces.¹¹⁹⁷

Attributions of *pietas* also extended beyond the realm of the emperor and the imperial family. In fact, Pliny the Elder gives an example of a woman of low birth who sustained her imprisoned mother with the milk from her breast. After detection, the act was heralded by the Roman people by the construction of a temple to Pietas.¹¹⁹⁸ According to Pliny the Elder, this example, despite the social status of the woman, was of such laudability that it could not possibly be compared to other instances (*cui comparari cuncta non possint*).¹¹⁹⁹ Similarly, the epigraphic attestations of *pietas* show how the concept of virtue was used by and for those did not belong to the imperial

¹¹⁸⁹ E.g. *RIC* I, Gaius/Caligula 36, Galba 483, *RIC* II, 1, Domitian 156, Trajan 104, *RIC* II, 3, Hadrian 1109.

¹¹⁹⁰ E.g. *RIC* II, 1, Titus 159, Trajan 759.

¹¹⁹¹ E.g. *RIC* I, Tiberius 43, *RIC* II, 1, Titus 407.

¹¹⁹² Burnett 2011, 8.

¹¹⁹³ E.g. *RPC* I 362 (Tiberius), VII.2, 2725 (Gordian III).

¹¹⁹⁴ *RPC* I.1155 (Tiberius).

¹¹⁹⁵ *RPC* III, 1405A (Hadrian).

¹¹⁹⁶ Hoklotubbe 2017, 14.

¹¹⁹⁷ Hoklotubbe 2017, 20.

¹¹⁹⁸ Plin. *HN* 7.36.

¹¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

family: inscriptions honouring Roman senators as well as equestrians and local *decuriones*, for their (financial) benefactions.¹²⁰⁰

3.4.2.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

Before turning to the attestations of *pietas* in epitaphs, it is necessary to consider briefly the use of the virtue term by epithets in epigraphy. As will become clear, by far the most attestations to *pietas* are found in the superlatives of *pius*: *pietissimus* or *piissimus*. For example, in 1997, Hanne Sigismund Nielsen performed a study on the use of epithets on Roman epitaphs. Her analysis shows that of the 2200 epithets studied, *pietissimus/piissimus* was the most common, in 10% of cases, after *bene merens*, *dulcissimus* and *carrissimus*.¹²⁰¹ The specific distribution of the epithet across genders is not known. Nevertheless, according to Sigismund Nielsen, more than half of those references were about the son or daughter, with only 43 of 226 were about the parents and 29 of the total were about the spouse.¹²⁰² Furthermore, research conducted by Tantimonaco (2020) shows that both *piissimus* and *pietissimus* were used in varying numbers outside of Rome and the Italian peninsula, with the largest number of attestations deriving from Dalmatia, Latium and Campania, Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Citerior, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. With a few exceptions, the use of *pietissimus* seems more fashionable than that of *piissimus*, although such preferences may have been the result of local cultural and epigraphic tradition.¹²⁰³

The widespread use of the endearments *pietissimus* and *piissimus* raises the question of the extent to which this terminology referred to the virtue term of *pietas*. Indeed, epithets of this kind were so regularly employed in epitaphs that one might as well consider them, in the words of Richard Saller, “stock epithets [that] are so standardised that we may doubt whether they provide a realistic description of particular family relationships.”¹²⁰⁴ However, their widespread use does not detract from the fact that they are etymologically derived from *pietas*. As such, they necessitate an incorporation into the study of *pietas* in funerary epigraphy. In any case,

¹²⁰⁰ Forbis 1996, 57.

¹²⁰¹ Sigismund Nielsen 1997, 176, Table 8.3.

¹²⁰² Sigismund Nielsen 1997, 178, Table 8.5.

¹²⁰³ Tantimonaco 2020, 297, figure 1.

¹²⁰⁴ Saller 2001, 102.

a comprehensive field of study allows for a deeper understanding of the applicability of virtue terms on Latin epitaphs and accentuates how certain variations of virtue terms were more standardized than others in funerary terminology.

In studying all attestations of *pietas*, *pientissimus/-a* and *piissimus/-a*, some things become clear. Between 2300 and 2400 attestations for *pientissimus* are found in the empire (EDCS database, last consulted on May 27th, 2024). The geographic distribution of *pientissimus* across the provinces follows largely that of the total number of epitaphs, as 671 derive from Rome, 621 from Italy and the remaining 1061 originate from the provinces. From the provinces, most attestations come from Dalmatia (300 inscriptions), while respectively 99 and 95 derive from Pannonia Inferior and Superior. After the province of Hispania Citerior (92 inscriptions), the number of attestations quickly drops across the remaining provinces. Out of the total of 2353 funerary inscriptions, only 23 (0.98%) are versified. Of these, 8 originate from the Italian peninsula,¹²⁰⁵ 5 from the city of Rome¹²⁰⁶ and the remaining 10 are dispersed across the provinces, with only one or two attestations per province.¹²⁰⁷

When analysing to whom the epithet *pientissimus* is specifically attributed in funerary epigraphy, the statistics show an almost equal distribution between men and women. Table 7 shows the distribution of the epithet between the genders and between the roles most prominently represented within each gender.¹²⁰⁸

¹²⁰⁵ CIL 5, 5709: *pientissimae*, *pientissimo* (Agrate Brianza, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 5824: *pientissimo* (Mediolanum, 197-230 A.D.); CIL 5, 8652: *pientissimo* (Iulium Carnicum, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 3845: *pientissimae* (Antinum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 6604: *pientissimo* (Saepinum, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 9, 6888: *pientissimum* (Uscosium, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 7566: *pientissimo* (Peltuinum, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 11, 5074: *pientissimo* (Mevania, 101-200 A.D.).

¹²⁰⁶ CIL 6, 6182: *pientissimo* (rome, 51-130 A.D.); CIL 6, 10097: *pientissimo* (Rome, 54-68 A.D.); CIL 6, 11082: *pientissimae*, *pientissimae* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 15876: *pientissimo* (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 28661: *pientissimae* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²⁰⁷ CIL 22/7, 497: *pientissimae* (Corduba, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 3, 3351: *pientissima* (Gorsium, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 3362: *pientissimo* (Aquincum, 201-250 A.D. **Inscription no. 32**); CIL 3, 6384: *pientissimo* (Salona, 151-200 A.D.); RIB 594: *pientissimo* (Bremetennacum, 171-300 A.D.); CIL 13, 2180: *pientissimae* (Lugdunum, 171-250 A.D.); CLEHisp 95: *pientissimo* (Alcolea de Tajo, 101-200 A.D.); CLEHisp 153: *pientissimae* (Comeniaca, 201-300 A.D.); CLEPann 10: *pientissimis* (Carnuntum, 201-300 A.D.).

¹²⁰⁸ Excluded from this table are those cases where *pientissimus* is not surely reconstructed or found on the epitaph, where there is no indication of a name or connection, or where *pientissimus* is the dedicatee of the epitaph, without a trace of the original dedicatee. For *pientissimus*, this attributes to 145 inscriptions. Similarly, in a number of cases, *pientissimus* is attributed to a spirit (*anima*) or to a profession (*decurio*, nurse). Since these cases fall in neither category and since they are so few in number, these are also omitted from the table.

Table 7: Distribution of Pientissimus, 100 B.C.–300 A.D.

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Role	Number of attestations male	Number of attestations female	Ungendered/plural
Parent(s)*	212	277	76
Spouse**	185	287	-
Offspring***	499	261	50
Sibling(s)****	131	59	-
Other blood-relative(s)*****	13	2	4
Non-blood relative(s)*****	37	11	1
Acquaintances*****	12	6	2
Other names*****	34	42	-
total	1123	945	133

- * *pater, mater, parens, mamma, socerus, socera, socrus, socra, parentes*
 ** *coniunx, maritus, marita, concubinus, concubine, matrona, vir, uxor*
 *** *filiaster, filius, filia, filiae, filii*
 **** *frater, soror, fratres, sorores, nati*
 ***** *avunculus, avus, avia, avis, cognatus, cognata, gener, nurus, nepos, privignus, nepotes, sobrina*
 ***** *patronus, patrona, libertus, liberta, servus, serva, verna, vernacular, patroni, servi*
 ***** *amicus, sodalis, contubernalis, conlibertus, conliberta, conservus, conserva*
 ***** *adulescens, alumnus, alumna, consors, delicias, delicia, homo, femina, iuvenis, male/female nomen, obitus obita, puer, puella*

In 50.9% of the cases, the epithet is attributed to the male gender and in 43% to women. In the remaining 6.1% of cases, the epithet is attributed to either neutral connections,¹²⁰⁹ or to plural forms (*avis, filii, nepotes, parentes, servi*).¹²¹⁰ In case of the male gender, most of the testimonies (44.4%) come from the reference to the offspring (*filius pientissimus*), followed by the role of the father (*pater*, male *parens* and *socrus*,

¹²⁰⁹ For example *contubernalis*, which was used to describe both soldier-comrades as well as slave companions and a type of marital relationship: Treggiari 1981, 42.

¹²¹⁰ Importantly, the plural form of some of these roles, such as that of *parentes*, implies that both genders are referred to. Other plural forms, such as *filii, nepotes*, or *servi*, could exist out of multiple children, men, and/or women. The nomenclature and other social references might indicate the person's gender, despite the plural form, but a precise quantification is omitted mainly because this necessitates a deeper analysis of the material that takes into account the epitaph's specific onomastics – a study that falls outside of the scope of this analysis.

with 18.8%), the role of spouse (male *coniunx*, *maritus*, *concubinus*, *vir*, with a total of 16.5%), and the role of sibling (*frater*, *fratres*, with a total of 11.7%).

For women, the role of the spouse is the most attested (30.4%, for *coniunx*, *marita*, *concubine*, *matrona*, *uxor*), closely followed by that of the parents (29.3% for *mater*, *parens*, *mamma*, *socera*, *socra*) and that of the progeny (*filia* and *filiae* with 27.6%). The role of sibling (*soror*, *sorores*) then takes up 6.2% of the total. In contrast to the distribution of gender roles for men, where the field was dominated by references to the *filius pientissimus*, the distribution of women's roles is much closer, as the three leading categories all cover more or less 30% of the attestations.

Outside of the role of the family, the numbers for both genders dwindle down quickly. While there are still some references to family members outside the nuclear family (*avunculus*, *avus*, *gener*, *nurus*, *nepos*, *privignus*), these numbers stand in stark contrast to the number of dedications made to persons who were part of the nuclear family. Similarly, *pientissimus* attributed to members outside the consanguineous family, such as the *libertus* or the *amicus*, do occur, but only in small numbers. It should be noted that most of the attestations that make up the numbers in the "other names" category, come from cases where *pientissimus* is directly attributed to either male or female names, such as *Iuliae Velviae pientissimae*¹²¹¹ or *Iulio Labioni pientissimo*¹²¹²

The distribution of *piissimus/-a* is similar to that of *pientissimus*, although, as noted by Tantimonaco, the use of *pientissimus* seems to be more beneficial than *piissimus*. In total, 1335 attestations have been found, of which 483 are from Rome, 385 from Italy and 467 from the provinces. Again, Dalmatia is one of the provinces with the highest number of inscriptions. Interestingly, where Pannonia Inferior and Superior had as high a production as Dalmatia for *pientissimus*, these numbers drop to around 14 inscriptions each for *piissimus*. Instead, Africa Proconsularis is the province with the most attestations, as its epitaphs feature *piissimus* 83 times – an interesting fact, as Africa Proconsularis provided only one hit for *pientissimus*. Comparing the number of attestations for *pientissimus* and *piissimus* in both northern and southern provinces,¹²¹³ a contrast showing a preference for *pientissimus* over

¹²¹¹ *RIB* 688 (Eboracum, 201-300 A.D.).

¹²¹² *CIL* 3, 12953 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.).

¹²¹³ Northern is here defined as the border provinces of Britannia, Belgica, Germania Inferior and Superior, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia Inferior and Superior, and Dacia) and southern as that of Mauretania Tingitana and Caesariensis, Africa Proconsularis, and Certā et Cyrenaica).

piissimus can be determined in the northern provinces (17.2% against 5.87% of the total number of respective attestations) and, vice versa, in the southern provinces (7.20% for *piissimus* against 0.08% for *pientissimus*). Furthermore, like *pientissimus*, the use of *piissimus* on versified epitaphs is extremely rare, with only 20 of 1336 inscriptions (1.5%) being (at least partially) constructed in verse. Of these, 9 are from Rome,¹²¹⁴ 19 from Italy¹²¹⁵ and the remaining two from the provinces.¹²¹⁶

The attestations of *piissimus* are laid out in table 8,¹²¹⁷ for its use as an epithet shows a similar trend discernible in the use of *pientissimus* in as far as that, for the male cases, the bulk is attributed to the *filius* (54,3%), with most remaining dedications going to the father-role (*parens, pater, socerus*) with 18.1%, the sibling (*frater, fratres* with 13.8%) and that of the spouse (*concubinus, coniunx, maritus, vir*, with 7.6%). Similarly, the use of *piissimus* for the female categories follows that of *pientissimus* in that the distribution across the parent-role (32%, spouse-role (25.9%), and daughter-role (30.4%) is quite evenly distributed. Similarly, the use of *piissimus* for the female categories follows that of *pientissimus*, with a fairly even distribution across the roles of parent (32%), spouse (25.9%) and daughter (30.4%). Again, outside of the nuclear family, the attestations quickly dwindle and are only sporadically attested. Both *pientissimus* and *piissimus* show a clear emphasis on the nuclear family as the adjectives are only sporadically attributed to family members who fall outside this category, as well as to friends and relatives. In conjunction with the different categories laid out in the literary evidence, there seems to be a clear preference for the category that delineates piety towards parents (*pietas erga parentes*) and children. This phenomenon will be studied in greater detail in this chapter's synthesis, which will also consider the nuances of the following analysis.

¹²¹⁴ CIL 6, 5953: *piissimo* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 8827: *piissimo* (Rome, 53-62 A.D.); CIL 6, 12009: *piissimis* (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 12056: *piissimae* (Rome, 41-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 14578: *piissimo* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 20674: *piissimis* (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 24243: *piissimae* (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 6, 25871: *piissimo* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 26901: *piissimo* (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

¹²¹⁵ CIL 5, 3403: *piissimo* (Verona, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 3184: *piissimi* (Corfinium, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 10, 2712: *piissimo* (Puteoli, 71-150 A.D.); CIL 10, 3050: *piissimo* (Misenum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 5665: *piissimo* (Frusino, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 1209: *piissimae* (Veleia, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 11, 3209: *piissimus* (Nepete, 151-170 A.D.); CIL 11, 4311: *piissimo* (Interamna Nahars, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 6151 (Forum Sempronii, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²¹⁶ CIL 3, 3337: *piissimo* (Intercisa, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 13, 1972: *piissimo* (Lugdunum, 201-300 A.D.).

¹²¹⁷ It follows the same selection-procedure of Table 7. See n1205. The total number of epitaphs where *piissimus* cannot be traced back to a person or connection is 51. Similarly, in a number of cases, *piissimus* is attributed to a spirit (*Paciae Saturniae*) or to a profession (*notarius, pictorus, vicarus*). Since these cases fall in neither category and since they are so few in number, these are also omitted from the table.

Table 8: Distribution of Piissimus, 100 B.C.–300 A.D.

The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Role	Number of attestations male	Number of attestations female	Ungendered/plural
Parent(s)*	127	156	40
Spouse**	53	126	-
Offspring***	380	148	47
Sibling(s)****	97	28	1
Other blood-relative(s)*****	7	6	-
Non-blood relative(s)*****	24	6	1
Acquaintances*****	3	4	8
Other names*****	9	13	-
total	700	487	97

- * *pater, mater, parens, mamma, socerus, socera, socrus, socra, parentes*
 ** *coniunx, maritus, marita, concubinus, concubine, matrona, vir, uxor*
 *** *filiaster, filius, filia, filiae, filii*
 **** *frater, soror, fratres, sorores, nati*
 ***** *avunculus, avus, avia, avis, cognatus, cognata, gener, nurus, nepos, privignus, nepotes, sobrina*
 ***** *patronus, patrona, libertus, liberta, servus, serva, verna, vernacular, patroni, servi*
 ***** *amicus, sodalis, contubernalis, conlibertus, conliberta, conservus, conserva*
 ***** *adulescens, alumnus, alumna, consors, delicias, delicia, homo, femina, iuvenis, male/female nomen, obitus obita, puer, puella*

The attestations for *pietas* give a different impression from those for *pietissimus/piissimus*, as only 274 epitaphs depict the virtue term. Of these, 63 come from Italy, 44 from Rome and 41 from Dalmatia. Germania Superior has 23 attestations, followed by Pannonia Superior with 22. The remaining 81 epitaphs are scattered throughout the other provinces. Of the total number of inscriptions with *pietas*, 62 are in verse (22.6%), while 212 are attested as prose epitaphs. Of the verse

inscriptions, 22 come from Rome,¹²¹⁸ 20 from Italy¹²¹⁹ and the remaining 20 from the other provinces.¹²²⁰

Of the 274 attestations, as many as 149 (54.4%) come from a standardised phraseology that has adopted *pietas* in the same manner as, for example, *bene merenti*. This phraseology can be divided into four broad categories, the first of which consists of those inscriptions that display the phrase *pro pietate*, either alone or followed by *fecit*, *fecerunt*, *posuit*, *posuerunt*, *deduit*, or *dederunt*. As many as 105 inscriptions contain this phrase. The next category are the inscriptions that showcase *pietatis causa*, which consists of 18 epitaphs, followed by 16 attestations of the formulaic phrase *ob pietatem*. The next category is that which plays on *pietatem facere*, with all its congruents (*pietatis erga se fecit*, *pietatis faciendum curavit*, *quod pietas potuit fecit*, *pietatem fecit*, *pietate posuerunt*, *pietate fecerunt*), which consists of seven epitaphs. The last category consists of only three inscriptions, which play on *ex pietate*. All of these phrases play with the same idea that a sense of *pietas* was the driving force behind the erection of the monument and the display and commemoration of the life

¹²¹⁸ CIL 6, 1343: *pietatis* (Rome, 193-195 A.D.); CIL 6, 5261: *pietas* (Rome, 14-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 6502: *pietas* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 7578: *pietatem* (Rome, 126 A.D.); CIL 6, 9204: *pietas* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 9752: *pietas* (Rome, 131-160 A.D.); CIL 6, 10103: *pietas* (Rome, 27 B.C. – 14 A.D.); CIL 6, 13481: *pietate* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 16325: *pietas* (1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 17130: *pietas* (Rome, 12 B.C.); CIL 6, 17985a: *pietate* (Rome, 151-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 18296: *pietas* (Rome, 71-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 19175: *pietas* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 20674: *pietatis* (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 21521: *pietas* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 23135: *pietas* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 23551: *pietas* (Rome, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 23629: *pietas* (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 24520: *pietas* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 24961: *pietatis* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CLE 857: *pietatis* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); Epigraphica 71, 2009, 274-276: *pietate* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²¹⁹ CIL 5, 5320: *pietas* (Comum, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 7537: *pietate* (Rochetta Ligure, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 9, 3184: *pietatis* (Corfinium, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 6409a: *pietatis* (Corfinium, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 3895: *pietatem* (Angitia, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 4508: *pietas* (Amiternum, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 7164: *pietati* (Sulmona, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 391: *pietate* (Volcei, 171-250 A.D.); CIL 10, 1275: *pietate* (Nola, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 3050: *pietas* (Misenum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 4728: *pietatis* (Forum Popilii, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 5282: *pietatis* (Casinum, 78-44 B.C.); CIL 10, 5665: *pietate* (Frusino, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 4763: *pietate* (Suessa Aurunca, 180-192 A.D.); CIL 11, 1118: *pietas* (Parma, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 1391: *pietas* (Luna, 1-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 4872: *pietate* (Spoletium, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 6125: *pietatem* (Forum Sempronii, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 11, 6180: *pietas* (Suasa, 30 B.C. – 30 A.D.); CIL 14, 1808: *pietate* (Ostia Antica, 101-250 A.D.).

¹²²⁰ AE 1992, 1237: *pietatis* (Asa Paulini, 101-200 A.D.); AE 2018, 1028: *pietati* (Carthago Nova, 50 B.C. – 50 A.D.); CLEHisp 71: *pietas* (Emerita, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 1², 3449g: *pietas* (Carthago Nova, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 2, 1699: *pietatis* (Tucci, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 3, 1537: *pietatis* (Sarmizegethusa, 107-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 1854: *pietas* (Narona, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 3, 3351: *pietas* (Gorsium, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 3572: *pietate* (Aquincum, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 5695: *pietatem* (Starase, 200-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 8175 (Ulpiana); CIL 3, 12552 (Mikhaza); CIL 3, 14237 (Pituntium); CIL 5, 7917: *pietatis* (Cemenelum, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 7563: *pietate* (Carales, 131-170 A.D.); CLEHisp 153: *pietatem* (Comeniaca, 201-300 A.D.); CLEMOes 7: *pietas* (Municipium Dardanorum, 71-200 A.D.); CLEMOes 12: *pietatis* (Scupi, 101-150 A.D.); AE 1957, 334: *pietate* (Romula, 171-230 A.D.); ILJug-3, 33: *pietatis* (Scupi, 131-170 A.D.).

of the deceased, thus using the word to pay tribute to their family members, other relatives, friends or acquaintances.

Apart from these standard phrases, *pietas* is found on 125 inscriptions that use the virtue term in a non-standardised manner. Given the fact that *pietas* is used here as a noun rather than an adjective, as in *pietissimus* or *piissimus*, the function of the virtue term changes and is therefore not always directly applicable to either dedicator or dedicatee. In fact, it is only 51 times assigned directly to a person.¹²²¹ Of these, 18 are identified as male,¹²²² while 24 are female.¹²²³ The remaining nine people are four times a child,¹²²⁴ four times several people,¹²²⁵ and once a parent.¹²²⁶

In the corpus, 12 versified epitaphs dedicated to or by men show *pietas*. As will become clear, most dedications are made between members of the nuclear family: six times *pietas* is invoked by children to honour their parents, twice by parents to children, once between husband and wife and once between siblings.¹²²⁷ Two epitaphs show dedications to those outside the nuclear family, where friends

¹²²¹ In other cases, *pietas* is, for example, attributed to a larger group of people (such as *AE* 1934, 284: *pietate populi* (Salona, 201-300 A.D.)), is personified and itself an actor in the epitaph (such as *CIL* 6, 16325: *sentiat ut pietas praemia quae meruit* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.)), or not addressed to anyone at all (*CIL* 6, 18296: *si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet* (Rome, 71-100 A.D.)).

¹²²² *AE* 1931, 9: *pietate* (Brixellum, 171-300 A.D.); *AE* 1957, 37: *pietatem* (Comeniaca, 201-300 A.D.); *AE* 1991, 334: *pietatis* (Ostia Antica, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2144: *pietatis* (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 3351: *pietas* (Gorsium, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 4184: *pietate* (Savaria, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 3382: *pietate* (Verona, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 7917: *pietatis* (Cemenelum, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 13328: *pietatis* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 3494: *pietatem* (Rome, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 8467: *pietatem* (Rome, 101-130 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 2349: *pietatis* (Allifae, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3895: *pietatem* (Angitia, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 1275: *pietate* (Nola, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 1862: *pietatem* (Lugdunum, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 1892: *pietatem* (Lugdunum, 231-270 A.D.); *ILAfr* 150: *pietatis* (Ammaedara, 1-75 A.D.); *TitAq* 4, 1955: *pietati* (Gorsium, 101-300 A.D.).

¹²²³ *AE* 1986, 570: *pietatem* (Poetovio, 231-270 A.D.); *AE* 1992, 204: *pietas* (Rome, 71-100 A.D.); *AE* 2010, 1083: *pietate* (Mogontiacum, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 1699: *pietatis* (Tucci, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1191: *pietate* (Apulum, 171-270 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1842: *pietatis* (Narona, 51-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2876: *pietati* (Nedinum, 51-150 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 3572: *pietate* (Aquincum, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 5695: *pietatem* (Starse, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 4029: *pietatis* (Sirmio, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 5320: *pietas* (Comum, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12552: *pietas* (Mikhaza, 101-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 1527: *pietati* (Rome, 15-9 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 20674: *pietatis* (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23135: *pietas* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28790: *pietati* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 41222: *pietate* (Rome, 236-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 7578: *pietatem* (Rome, 126 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 7665: *pietate* (Cirta, 171-230 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 1091: *pietas* (Nuceria, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 2353: *pietate* (Puteoli, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 4763: *pietate* (Aurunca, 180-192 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 1862: *pietatem* (Lugdunum, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 6968: *pietatis* (Mogontiacum, 171-250 A.D.).

¹²²⁴ *CIL* 3, 7988: *pietate* (Sarmizegetusa, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3184: *pietatis* (Corfinium, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 6409a: *pietatis* (Corfinium, 101-200 A.D.); *Epigraphica* 71, 2009, 274-276: *pietate* (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²²⁵ *AE* 2013, 1945: *pietatem* (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 1343: *pietatis* (Rome, 193-195 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10770: *pietatis* (Rome, 138-161 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 1368: *pietatis* (Luna, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²²⁶ *CIL* 6, 6502: *pietas* (Rome, 1-50 A.D.).

¹²²⁷ One epitaph (Vitalis, inscription no. 23, discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.4) displays *pietas* to both the parents and between spouses.

commemorate each other, while the remaining epitaph is ambivalent in its use of *pietas*. The following analysis is thus ordered in the sequence stipulated above: first those within the nuclear family, then those outside it, and finally the ambivalent case. All attestations are explicit with the exception of the monument discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.6, which refers indirectly to the pious bond between children and their parents.

3.4.2.1.2.1 Agirrus

The first attestation of *pietas* in the corpus is **inscription no. 21**, which was discovered at the same time as the monument to Caius, son of Epicadus, discussed earlier in paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2 (**inscription no. 18**), and subsequently discussed in the next paragraph. Both monuments thus have the same provenance, having been found in the remains of the ancient fort of Salthua. The inscription is on a square tabula, part of a sarcophagus measuring 55 x 215 x 20 cm.¹²²⁸ The monument is dated to the 1st century A.D.¹²²⁹ A photograph and external portrayal of the inscription were published by Vulić in 1931, who describes how the tabula is flanked by two depictions of riders, both facing the inscription. The left rider is identified as a man, while the right rider may be a woman, given her long hair.¹²³⁰ The only other Roman funerary inscription found in the Salthua area is the previously mentioned inscription of Caius; the only other epigraphic sources from the region are three illegible milestones.¹²³¹

*Agirro Epicadi f(ilio) principi k(astelli) Salthua / et Temeiae Glavi f(iliae) fecit Epicadus f(ilius) / ut primum aetatis complerunt tempora vitae / et genitor fato conditus est tumulo /⁵ protinus inscripsit pietas nomen matrisque patrisq(ue) / ut legerent cuncti genitoris nomina saepe / hoc decet ut nati component ossa parentum / et cineri sedem substituat pietas.*¹²³²

Epicadus, the son, had this made for Agirrus, son of Epicadus and *princeps* of Fort Salthua, and for Temeia, daughter of Glavus. As soon as they had reached the end of their lives in age, and as his father had been buried in this tomb, filial duty at once inscribed the mother's and the father's name, so that everyone would read the begetter's names frequently. It is proper

¹²²⁸ Grbić 2014, 148.

¹²²⁹ Sergejevski 1962, 102.

¹²³⁰ Vulić 1931, 101, no. 241.

¹²³¹ *ILJug-2*, 1004–1006.

¹²³² Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 102.

that sons put the remains of their parents to rest, and that filial duty provides their ashes with an abode.¹²³³

The monument is therefore partially dedicated to Agirrus, the *princeps* of the *castellum* Salthua. The other dedicatee is Temeia, the wife of Agirrus. The child of Agirrus, Epicadus (the namesake of his grandfather), dedicated the monument to his parents.¹²³⁴ As the inscription was found together with the inscription of paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2 (**inscription no. 18**) and as both mention the same father, i.e. Epicadus, it is assumed that Agirrus and Caius were brothers.¹²³⁵ Importantly, this monument sheds light on the administrative function of the *civitas*, as it indicates the existence of a *princeps* who must have had some responsibility over (part of) the *civitas*, most probably from the *castellum* built in (or called) Salthua, where the inscription is located.¹²³⁶ Conversely, Agirrus' brother Caius, like Agirrus, found himself also in a position of power as the *princeps* of the *civitas Docleatium*. Both brothers belonged to the local aristocracy and held different magistracies in the region, Agirrus in the *castellum* and Caius in the administration of the *civitas*.¹²³⁷

The prominence of the Epicadii is attested also in other inscriptions found in Dalmatia. Two Republican inscriptions, one dedicatory and one building dedication, are found in Narona (some 100 kilometres from Riječani) and recall the name P. Annaeus Q. L. Epicadus.¹²³⁸ Furthermore, a 1st–2nd century A.D. epitaph from Diluntum (also 100 kilometres from Riječani) is dedicated to a boy named Titus Flavius Epicadus who died at the age of 12.¹²³⁹ The monument was erected by Titus Flavius Laedio, *quattorvir iure dicundo* of Narona, who also built the monument for himself, his father Titus Flavius Plassus and his mother Flavia Tatta.¹²⁴⁰ Finally, another inscription found in Doclea (around 75 kilometres from Riječani), dated to the first half of the 2nd century A.D., reads *gens Latiniana et Epicadiana*, leading scholars to believe that the declination *Epicadus* is a latinised variant of an indigenous tribal establishment.¹²⁴¹

¹²³³ Kruschwitz 2020a, 2, no. 3.

¹²³⁴ Wilkes 1962, 406.

¹²³⁵ Ibid.

¹²³⁶ Džino 2014, 224–225.

¹²³⁷ Wilkes 1969, 259.

¹²³⁸ *CIL* 3, 1784 (Narona, 100–30 B.C.); *CIL* 3, 1820 (Narona, 50–1 B.C.).

¹²³⁹ *ILJug*-1, 117 (Diluntum, 71–150 A.D.): Bricault 2005, 724, no. 615/0601.

¹²⁴⁰ Vilogorac Brčić 2019, 348.

¹²⁴¹ *CIL* 3, 14601. Pelcer-Vujačić 2018, 164.

The metrical part of the inscription, consisting of 6 lines, follows the *exordium*. The first and last two lines are both elegiac couplets. The two centre lines, *protinus inscripsit ... nomina saepe*, partially consists of a hexameter, although Vulić wondered whether the original poem was an elegiac couplet as well, with the meter being distorted to a hexameter due to subsequent changes to the inscription.¹²⁴² The inscription's metrical part features *pietas* twice: the first time in the line *protinus inscripsit pietas nomen matrisque patrisq(ue)*, the second time at the end of the verse in the line *et cineri sedem substituat pietas*. Both lines refer to the filial *pietas* that guided the son to commemorate his parents with an inscription (as the first line iterates) and was contained in a sarcophagus for eternity (as emphasised by the second line). The *hoc decet* that precedes the last line emphasises that this expression of filial duty should be understood as a proper regard for the Roman funerary mores, resulting from a sense of duty rather than notions of affection. In this regard, the inscription, with its dual invocation of *pietas*, is one that exhibits forbearance and endurance over warmth, emotion and consolation. Importantly, the indirect reference to *pietas* by *hoc decet* is also found in the inscription of Venetus (discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.6, where its indirect use will be elaborated).

3.4.2.1.2.2 Caius, son of Epicadus again

The inscription has already been examined in paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2.¹²⁴³ It shares its provenance with the inscription for Agirrus discussed in the previous paragraph. The monument was dedicated to Caius, brother of Agirrus, son of Epicadus. Caius was *princeps civitatis Docleatium* and was commemorated by his sons Plassus, Epicadus, Scerdis and Verzo. In the inscription, *pietas* appears in the last line of the poem, where it is used in the phrase *est pietas natique hoc auxsisse videntur*. The verb *auxsisse* is crucial here, as it underlines the idea that the monument is a way for the sons to both establish and reinforce their *pietas* towards their father. The second line, *et decorant facto et docent esse pios*, underlines how the monument functions as a display of the sons' filial piety towards their father.

¹²⁴² Vulić 1909, 202.

¹²⁴³ **Inscription no. 18** = *AE* 1906, 32. See pages 255–261 for the initial analysis.

3.4.2.1.2.3 Taurus

Inscription no. 22 is found on a grave monument built into a church wall at Margarethen am Moos near the ancient fortress of Aequinoctium (Pannonia Superior), which lay along the Danube as part of the *Limes* in what is now Fischamend in Austria. Aequinoctium lay between the legionary camps of Vindobona and Carnuntum and may have functioned as an auxiliary camp in the style of the many Roman fortresses built along the Danube in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.¹²⁴⁴ The monument is therefore dated to these centuries. Four other inscriptions were found in Margarethen am Moos, two of which were also found in the wall of another church.¹²⁴⁵ The two remaining inscriptions are an unedited fragment of an epitaph¹²⁴⁶ and a richly decorated funerary stele depicting a hunting scene, a cart drawn by animals and a portrait of several people either sitting or standing holding each other's arms, dated between 80 and 130 A.D.¹²⁴⁷

The monument is 240 cm high, and 98 cm wide.¹²⁴⁸ The inscription is framed by a vine-leaf square filled with flowers. Above the frame of the inscription is another frame with a lion standing over a lying man. Between the text and the lion are two griffins. The pediment has a rosette with hippocampi the two top corners. Below the text are two dolphins with a vase between them.¹²⁴⁹ In paragraph 2.5.2.4, the standardised motifs of the dolphins and hippocampi were already presented, while paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.3 analysed the hunting scene with the lion. The depiction of the hunting lion is part of a larger subset of funerary art in which hunting scenes were often depicted in epitaphs. In these hunting scenes, men are most often shown as the active hunters, or fighting in a balanced contest against the hunted animals. In the Taurus monument, it is the lion rather than the man who is victorious, as it hovers over the defeated. Such depictions are not entirely unheard of in the funerary sphere along the borders of the Roman Empire, as a sculpture found in what is now Rothselberg (Germany), dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., depicts a lion standing

¹²⁴⁴ Doneus/Gugl/Doneus 2013, 203–208.

¹²⁴⁵ *AE* 1997, 1255 (Aequinoctium, 101–250 A.D.); *AE* 1997, 1256 (Aequinoctium, 101–170 A.D.). Both the articles in the *AE* as well as Taurus' *princeps editio* (*CIL* 3, 11294) make no mention of the other inscriptions and give no reason to assume that the three inscriptions were all found within the same church.

¹²⁴⁶ <http://lupa.at/28027> (Aequinoctium, undated).

¹²⁴⁷ *AE* 2009, 1072 (Aequinoctium, 101–150 A.D.).

¹²⁴⁸ Krüger 1972, 17.

¹²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

over a defeated man in a similar style.¹²⁵⁰ Conversely, epitaphs rarely contain such depictions, leading to uncertain interpretations. It could be that the lion is a metaphor for cruel and vicious nature, which, like fate, is the cause of death, or perhaps the final obstacle or challenge faced before death. Alternatively, the lion symbolises the inevitable course of nature that eventually affects every individual. This sentiment is reminiscent of a passage in the *Historia Augusta* that records how Hadrian, in the days preceding his death, had multiple small incidents that may have preordained his imminent demise. One of these premonitions was that he would dream of being overcome by a lion, even though, or perhaps because, as the *Historia Augusta* notes, he was a keen hunter and often hunted lions.¹²⁵¹

*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Val(erius) M(arci) filiu(s) / Taurus an(norum) L
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Val(eria) Taurina /^s fil(ia) patri piissimo / f(aciendum)
c(uravit) omnes / optamus sit tib(i) / tera levis.*¹²⁵²

To the spirits of the departed. Marcus Valerius Taurus, son of Marcus, aged 50, lies here. Valeria Taurina, the daughter, made this for her most pious father. We all hope that the earth may be light on you.¹²⁵³

The monument is dedicated to Marcus Valerius Taurus, son of Marcus, who died at the age of 50. The dedicator is Marcus' daughter Valeria Taurina, who devoted the monument to her *patri piissimo*. Cugusi identified the last line, *omnes optamus sit tibi tera levis*, as an isolated elegiac phrase that, as will be discussed in greater detail in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.5, is attested in similar forms throughout the Pannonian provinces.

3.4.2.1.2.4 Vitalis

Inscription no. 23 is a monument found in Vraginizza, just north of ancient Salona.¹²⁵⁴ It is dated to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.¹²⁵⁵ The monument was initially part of the Pellegrini-Danieli collection but passed to the convent of Udine in Italy after the

¹²⁵⁰ Ditsch 2009, 251.

¹²⁵¹ For Hadrian's dream of being killed by a lion: *Hist. Aug.* 26.10: *item somniavit a leone se oppressum esse*. For Hadrian's love of hunting: *Hist. Aug.* 26.3: *venatus frequentissime leonem manu sua occidit. Venando autem iugulum et costam fregit. Venationem semper cum amicis participavit*.

¹²⁵² Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 55, no. 15.

¹²⁵³ Author's translation.

¹²⁵⁴ *CIL* 3, 9418.

¹²⁵⁵ Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 317.

death of the collector, and was subsequently donated to the local museum. The monument is a funerary stele measuring 110 cm high and 45 cm wide.¹²⁵⁶ The inscription on the monument includes the original text frame, but is worn away, although remnants are still visible that were originally applied to emphasize the metre.¹²⁵⁷ The monumental iconography consists only of the text frame and a pediment. Several other monuments were found in the area of Vragnizza, among them four Latin epitaphs.¹²⁵⁸ However, none of them is as elaborate as the inscription cited below and none of them shows signs of meter.

*Vitalis / Pieridi / L(uci) Pomponi Pietatis ver(nae) / b(ene) m(erenti). /⁵
Pieris hoc tumulo tegitur de matre Venusta / sexto nata loco quae fuit a
reliquis. / nondum viginti iuvenus compleverat annos / quoi quoque
virginitas nuper adempta fuit / grataque florebat cunctis mortalibus aetas
/¹⁰ quam fors ad superos noluit esse diu: / non pudor huic aberat pietas non
grata parenti / non amor in fratres eius avarus erat / cara fuit mater fuerant
caraeque sorores / et pia coniugio grataque semper erat /¹⁵ invida Pieridi
cum venit letifer(a) hora / qui cubuit molli languida saepe toro. / Hanc
Atropos rapuit Lachesisq(ue) et tertia Clotho: / infelix mater tollit ad astra
manus / incusatque deos incusat denique Parcas / quae vitam pensant
quaeque futura canunt. /²⁰ Implerunt fratres magnis mugitibus auras / et
cuncti flebant nec minus ante rogum. / Haec fuit at tumulum miserae vox
ultima matris / ossa simul vidit tabida Pieridis: / hanc humus excepit leviter
precor illa prematq(ue) /²⁵ infantem ex utero quae quoque sustinuit. /
Coniunx Pieridi supremum mumus amatae / hunc titulum scripsit pro pietate
sua.*¹²⁵⁹

Vitalis made this for Pieris, homeborn slave of Lucius Pomponius Pietas, who deserves it well. This tomb covers Pieris, who was a child of Venusta, her mother, sixth after those she left behind. A youth, she had not yet lived 20 years of life, her virginity only just taken away from her. Her age was blossoming, dear to all mortals, but Fate wanted to deprive those here of her. She did not lack modesty, nor piety towards her family, her generous love for her brothers, her mother and her beloved sisters, and her beloved husband, when the hour of Death, which envied Pieris, laid her down on her soft bed, tired. Atropos took her, then Lachesis, then Clotho. Her unhappy mother raises her arms to the heavens; she accuses the gods and she accuses the Fates, who weigh our lives and sign of our future. Her

¹²⁵⁶ Mainardis 2004, 58–59.

¹²⁵⁷ Mainardis 2004, 59.

¹²⁵⁸ The Latin inscriptions: *AE* 2012 (Salona, 201–250 A.D.); *AE* 2018, 1274 (Salona, 101–300 A.D.); *Cambi*-2010, 179 (Salona, undated); *Cambi*-2010, 180 (Salona, undated).

¹²⁵⁹ Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 318.

brothers, moaning, fill the air with sound. What crying, at the sight of the pyre! Such was the last word of the crestfallen mother before the mausoleum: "Earth has taken her from me, and I pray that the earth may be light on her body, which bore her, and once brought her into the world." Pieris' husband, as a final gift for the one he loved, carved this inscription as a testimony of love.¹²⁶⁰

The monument is dedicated to Pieris. The inscription tells the reader that Pieris was a slave of Lucius Pomponius Pietas, whose *gentilicium* and *cognomen* were widely attested in Dalmatia.¹²⁶¹ Her mother was Venusta, who had five other sons and/or daughters, some of whom appear later in the inscription as they mourn their sister. The dedicator of the monument is Vitalis, who calls himself *coniunx* of Pieris. The name is frequently attested, especially in the Celtic and Thracian provinces and is commonly associated with freedmen.¹²⁶² Pieris' age at the time of her death is known, as the poem tells the reader that she died before reaching the age of 20.

The verse part of the inscription consists of 24 lines written in elegiac couplets, from *Pieris hoc* to *pietate sua*. It touches on several subjects, most notably that of untimely death and the mourning of the commemorator and the family of the deceased. The inscription also refers explicitly to the Fates, the trio of deities who controlled life and death (*hanc Atropos rapuit Lachesisq(ue) et tertia Clotho*). In this inscription, *pietas* is invoked twice: once in the phrase *pietas non grata parenti* and once at the end of the verse *hunc titulum scripsit pro pietate sua*. The former use of *pietas* is one of those rarer cases where virtue is used to complement *pudor*, rather than as the standardised superlative epithet *pietissimus/piissimus* or the standard phrase *pro pietate*. It is attributed to the woman Pieris, the deceased slave, who is honoured for three different virtues, as the inscription tells the reader that she did not lack modesty (*pudor*), was pious towards her parents (*pietas*) and showed love to her family (*amor*). In turn, the latter attestation refers to the *pietas* of the commemorator, in this case a man: it is the final gift (*supremum munus*)¹²⁶³ by which the husband can show his fidelity to his deceased wife and it illustrates one of the ways in which inscriptions were used as a testimony of relationships in the ancient world. As such, the

¹²⁶⁰ Author's translation.

¹²⁶¹ Alföldy 1969, 111, 264.

¹²⁶² Alföldy 1969, 330.

¹²⁶³ The idea of the funerary monument as the final gift for the deceased has poetic parallels: Catull. 101: *ut te postremo donarem munere mortis*.

inscription first uses *pietas* to refer to Pieris' dutifulness towards her nuclear family of slaves, but later uses *pietas* again to refer to the husband's piety towards his wife.

3.4.2.1.2.5 *Patri pientissimo*

Inscription no. 24 is a heavily damaged fragment of a marble epitaph that dates to the end of the 2nd century A.D.¹²⁶⁴ The fragment is 35 cm high and 34 cm wide. It was found in the surroundings of the late Roman villa of Somogyvár-Resterica.¹²⁶⁵ The villa is located near the ancient town of Sopianae, today's Pécs, in Pannonia Inferior. The area became part of the Roman Empire in the 1st century A.D., following the conquests of Tiberius, and flourished under Roman rule in the 3rd and 4th centuries. A.D. During this period, Diocletian divided Pannonia into four regions, and Sopianae became the provincial capital of the newly formed province of Valeria.¹²⁶⁶ In total, 22 fragments of Latin inscriptions have been located during the archaeological excavations of and near the villa, of which five others are identified as funerary inscriptions.¹²⁶⁷ Most of these, however, are extremely fragmentary and show no signs of meter.

[- - -] *Lucia[nus ---] / --- p[atri] pien[tissimo] / fec[erunt] hic [situs est opta/mus] cuncti [sit tibi] /⁵ terr[a levis].*¹²⁶⁸

[...] and Lucianus [...] made (this monument) for their most pious father, who is buried here. We all wish that the earth might be light on you.¹²⁶⁹

The inscription is dedicated by multiple people, at least one of which is named either Lucianus or Lucia, to their unnamed father, who is referred to in this inscription as *pater pientissimus*. As such, the dedication was made to their most pious father. The line *optamus cuncti, sit tibi terra levis* is identified by Cugusi as an "elegiac isolato," and shares similarities with other verse epitaphs found in the area that also depict this standardised phrase. For example, the previously discussed monument of Taurus (paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.3) features the line *omnes optamus sit tibi terra levis*.¹²⁷⁰ One

¹²⁶⁴ Kovács/ Fehér 2017, 8.

¹²⁶⁵ Kovács 2005, 180, no. 170.

¹²⁶⁶ Magyar 2007, 41.

¹²⁶⁷ *AE* 2005, 1203 (Somogyvár, 101-300 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 1204 (Somogyvár, 51-200 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 1205 (Somogyvár, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 1206 (Somogyvár, 51-200 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 1207 (Somogyvár, 151-300 A.D.).

¹²⁶⁸ Kovács 2005, 180.

¹²⁶⁹ Author's translation.

¹²⁷⁰ *CIL* 3, 4533 (Aequinoctium, 51-200 A.D.).

inscription from Savaria in Pannonia Superior¹²⁷¹ and one from Intercisa, from Pannonia Inferior, also feature the line,¹²⁷² while three other attestations are found in Rome.¹²⁷³ The related phrase *opto sit tibi terra levis* is found in much larger numbers and also in other provinces, with some attestations in Pannonia Inferior as well.¹²⁷⁴ The extent to which the line was intended to be composed in verse is therefore questionable, given the high level of standardisation the line demonstrates.

3.4.2.1.2.6 Statius Venetus

Inscription no. 25 originates from Brač, ancient Brattia, in the province of Dalmatia, an island a few kilometres off the coast of Split. The monument was found near the Lovrecina bay in Pučišća in 1897. Brattia was particularly useful for its close proximity to the Salonitan colony as well as its rich possession of limestone quarries.¹²⁷⁵ Despite the absence of a large, inhabited town, a stonecutter workshop must have existed alongside the many quarries on the island, given the relatively large output of Latin inscriptions found on the island.¹²⁷⁶ In total, 27 pagan and 4 Christian epitaphs are known from the island, as well as an additional 13 dedicatory inscriptions. Despite these numbers, only the inscription studied here contains versified lines. The monument is partly broken off, the remains measuring 50 cm wide and 20 cm high.¹²⁷⁷ The remainder of the monument is unadorned.

*Ut decet parenti f(ilius) fecit suo. / L(ucius) Statius L(uci) f(ilius) Venetus /
hic situs est.*¹²⁷⁸

As it befits the father, his son made this. Lucius Statius Venetus, son of
Lucius, is buried here.¹²⁷⁹

¹²⁷¹ *AE* 1972, 422 (Savaria, 131-200 A.D.).

¹²⁷² *RIU* 5, 1271 (Intercisa, 151-300 A.D.).

¹²⁷³ *CIL* 6, 3191 (Rome, 193-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 3308 (Rome, 193-300 A.D.); *AE* 2011, 147 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.).

¹²⁷⁴ *AE* 1982, 814 (Matrica, 151-200 A.D.); *AE* 2004, 1141 (Aquincum, 171-230 A.D.); *AE* 2004, 1167 (Mor, 222-235 A.D.); *AE* 2016, 1235 (Varpalota, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 3584 (Kalocsa, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 10340 (Aquincum, 251-350 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 13373 (Aquincum, 131-200 A.D.); *TitAq* 2, 621 (Aquincum, 171-230 A.D.); *TitAq* 2, 642 (Aquincum, 171-230 A.D.); *TitAq* 2, 861 (Aquincum, 171-200 A.D.).

¹²⁷⁵ Wilkes 2010, 292.

¹²⁷⁶ Miliša/Marinković 2018, 965.

¹²⁷⁷ Bulić 1897a, 54.

¹²⁷⁸ Bulić (1897a, 54) constructs the first abbreviated *f(...)* as *f(ieri)*, although subsequent editions construct it as *f(lio)/f(ilius)*: *CLE* 1890; *Cholodniak*-1897, 343d; *Engström*-1912, 32.

¹²⁷⁹ Author's translation.

This short inscription is dedicated to Lucius Staius Venetus by his son, who remains anonymous. The first line, *ut decet parenti filius fecit suo*, consists of iambic meter.¹²⁸⁰ The theme of the responsibility of children expected to bury their parents has already been attested on several inscriptions in this chapter. For example, **inscription no. 21** to Agirrus (paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.1) shows how the children commemorate their father because, as the epitaph expresses, it is proper for children to bury and commemorate their parents.¹²⁸¹ Outside the corpus, such utterances are found only sporadically, such as in a versified epitaph from Rome that reads *ac tumulo sic ut decuit patrem tumularent*.¹²⁸² On the other hand, the sentiment of a reversal of the natural order of things is attested much more widely and with greater variety. Paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.8 below shows how nature forced the parents to bury their child, thereby overturning the natural order of things and acting against the accepted order of life. Variations such as *quod par parenti facere fuerat filiam mors immature fecit ut faceret mater filiae* are found throughout the provinces.¹²⁸³ Another variation from Sora (Italia) reads *Oppia Calsiane mater feci filiae meae, quod aequom fuerat filia hoc faceret mihi*.¹²⁸⁴ That death intervened with the natural order is another popular theme found as *mors intercessit, mater fecit filio*,¹²⁸⁵ *mors intercessit, filiae fecerunt parentes*¹²⁸⁶ or *mors interpellavit, fecerunt miseri parentes filiae*.¹²⁸⁷ Thus, this idea of commemoration out of obedience to the formal and customary way of life evolves from a sense of devotion and faithfulness to family members, a trope popular in epitaphs, which can be seen as

¹²⁸⁰ Bulić 1897b, 153.

¹²⁸¹ Cf. lines 7 and 8 in **inscription no. 21**: *hoc decet ut nati component ossa parentum / et cineris edem substituat pietas*.

¹²⁸² CLE 544: "and bury the father in the tomb as it befitted." (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹²⁸³ CLE 1166: "what the daughter was supposed to do for her parent, premature death made it so that the mother of the daughter did it." (Rome, 69-200 A.D.). Variations are found also on AE 2006, 474 (Gambulaga, 51-60 A.D.); AE 2006, 476 (Gambulaga, 101-110 A.D.); CIL 5, 117 (Pola, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 16059 (Roma, 51-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 26901 (Roma, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 3321 (Superaequum, 30-1 B.C.); CIL 9, 3845 (Antinum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 4391 (Collaterra, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 9, 5328 (Cupra Maritima, 100 B.C.-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 5407 (Firmum Picenum, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 9, 5771 (Ricina, 1-150 A.D.); CIL 9, 7003 (Teate Marrucinorum, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 9, 7726 (Marruvium, 51-100 A.D.).

Interestingly, all these attestations are from the Italian peninsula, with no attestations being found in the provinces.

¹²⁸⁴ CIL 10, 5745: "I, Oppia Calsiane, the mother, made this for my daughter, which was right for my daughter to do for me." (Sora, 1-200 A.D.).

¹²⁸⁵ CLE 1888: "death intervened, the mother made (this) for the son." (Rudiae, 1-100 A.D.).

¹²⁸⁶ CIL 10, 3142: "death intervened, the parents made (this) for their daughter." (Puteoli, 101-200 A.D.).

¹²⁸⁷ CIL 6, 24845: "Death interrupted, the miserable parents made (this) for their daughter." (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

implying a sense of piety. Nevertheless, commemorations of the piety of other members of the nuclear family also occurred, as the following paragraphs will show.

3.4.2.1.2.7 Antonius and Antoninus

Inscription no. 26 was found in 1898 near the archaeological site of Klis, which is only a few kilometres outside Salona and therefore belonged to its territory, the so-called *Ager Salonitanus*.¹²⁸⁸ The dimensions of the monument are 36 cm high and 68 cm wide.¹²⁸⁹ The site, also known as Clissa or Klis-Kosa, was probably located on the main road connecting Salona with the hinterlands of Dalmatia.¹²⁹⁰ The location shows the remnants of an ancient fortress that housed multiple buildings within its walls, although the inscription may have also been located outside or in the vicinity of the complex.¹²⁹¹ The monument was found together with two small fragments, which also contain traces of Latin engravings.¹²⁹² In total, 45 non-Christian epitaphs have been located in the vicinity of the fortress.¹²⁹³ The majority of these inscriptions are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., with only some inscriptions being dated to the first century A.D. None of the other funerary inscriptions are versified or make mention of *pietas*. The monument is partly broken off and consists of the only inscription, which is heavily damaged in places. The monument is dated by Lommatzsch to the 3rd century A.D.¹²⁹⁴

*Q(uinto) Sept(imio) Antonio def(uncto) ann(or)um XVIII m(ensium) V
d(ierum) II et / Q(uinto) Sept(imio) Antonino def(uncto) ann(or)um XXII
m(ensium) XI dier(um) XXIII. / Ego Antoninus umbra tenus 'have' tibi dico
meator / quamvis festinanti gradu carpas iter resiste paulum et lege casum:
/ ⁵ sic ego v{---} [?famam re]tinere cupisco; / spiritu[m? --- r]eliquit /
malignusque casus [---] corpori toto / post cuius exitium [---] que funeris
terr(a)e datas / decubui pro[pe tres annos?] noctesque diesque. / ¹⁰ Iam
trahor in tenebras ducorq(ue) amplectere fratr(em) / --- hoc fatali casu
datum est; pergam nunc tartar(a) adivo / reliquiasque meas cu(rent --]*

¹²⁸⁸ The *CIL* mentions the finding year and location but does not give a reference to any further report or article. See *CIL* 3, 14850.

¹²⁸⁹ Bulić 1902, 129.

¹²⁹⁰ Wilkes 1969, xxiii.

¹²⁹¹ Alduk 2018, 957.

¹²⁹² Bulić 1899b, 179-180, no. 2553-2554.

¹²⁹³ Other archaeological finds are three Christian epitaphs, as well as three miliaria, five dedications to deities, and three extremely fragmentary remnants of Latin inscriptions.

¹²⁹⁴ Lommatzsch 1926, 33.

or[b]ati parentes. / Iam casum cognosti meum; feliciter pe[r]ge viator. / Decepti [s]enes testemur funera natuum /¹⁵[et pi]etas titulo deplorat [fata parentum].¹²⁹⁵

To the deceased Quintus Septimius Antonius, aged 18 years, five months, and two days, and to the deceased Quintus Septimius Antoninus, aged 22 years, 11 months, and 23 days. I, Antoninus, although a shadow, say 'hail' to you, traveller. Although you pursue your journey with a swift step, stay for a moment and read about my misfortune. Thus, I wish to preserve my reputation ... Breath left me ... and unkind fortune ... in[?] the whole body after his [?] death ... and [offerings?] of the funeral were given to the land, I lay near ... for days and nights and now I am dragged into the darkness, I am led to embrace my brother. This has been given to me by this fatal event. I will go now to the infernal god. May my childless parents ... tend to my remains. Now you know my death. Go forth happily, traveller. We, their old parents, having been cheated, bear witness to the fortunes of our sons. And piety laments the fate of the parents in this inscription.¹²⁹⁶

The monument is dedicated to the brothers Quintus Septimius Antonius and Quintus Septimius Antoninus, the former dead at age 18, the latter at age 22. The brothers are distinguished by their *cognomen*, a naming convention that at least in Rome had already become customary for the Roman upper class by the end of the 1st century B.C.¹²⁹⁷ The shared *gentilicium* could result from the possibility that both were freedmen of the same patron, although the exclusion of the designation *libertus* in the *praescriptum* makes this option less likely. The *gentilicium* Septimius is widely attested in Salona, with a number of different *praenomina* and *cognomina*, such as Septimius Lucius,¹²⁹⁸ Septimius Primitivus,¹²⁹⁹ Septimius Panes¹³⁰⁰ and Septimius Titianus.¹³⁰¹ Despite its extensive attestations, no other monuments display the name Septimius Antonius/Antoninus. It has been suggested that the *nomen* is derived from (a descendant of) the Severan dynasty (193–235 A.D.), most likely an imperial freedman, although no link between the dynasty and the region is known.¹³⁰²

¹²⁹⁵ *CIL* 3, 14850.

¹²⁹⁶ The main part of the inscription is translated by Meyer, A. 2021, 205.

¹²⁹⁷ Salway 1994, 129.

¹²⁹⁸ *CIL* 3, 2353 (Salona, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14672 (Salona, 1-150 A.D.).

¹²⁹⁹ *CIL* 3, 14851 (Salona, 101-300 A.D.).

¹³⁰⁰ *CIL* 3, 14969 (Salona, 193-250 A.D.).

¹³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰² Wilkes explicitly notes that the *cognomen* Septimius must mean that citizenship was granted by Septimius Severus. See Wilkes 1969, 296.

The versified part of the inscription follows the *praescriptum* and consists of the lines *ego Antoninus ... [fata parentum]*. Its meter is hexametric, although different authors explicitly note the poor quality of the meter. Cholodniak, for example, notes that the verse's craftsmanship is of *pessimae notae*¹³⁰³ while Rendić-Miočević argues that it was composed in a rather poor hexameter.¹³⁰⁴ The metrical section begins from the perspective of the older brother Antoninus, who, in the first person, tries to attract the attention of passers-by. It discusses his death and, with the phrase *ducorque amplectere fratrem*, indicates that his brother Antonius had died before him. On multiple occasions, the monument directs the attention of the reader to the deceased's parents who, although not explicitly designated as such, may have commissioned the monument. This is primarily indicated by the final lines of the inscription that take on the perspective and voice of the parents, as it is towards the end of the poem that it changes from Antoninus to the parents of both brothers, who similarly point their attention to the readers, imploring them to pay attention to their miserable fate. It is only in the last line that *pietas* is invoked, this time not as the cause of pain and suffering in the lives of the parents, but as the subject who suffers. In this regard, the inscription breaks with the standardised phrase that either parents, siblings or children are the subjects of the pain caused by piety. Instead, it is the fate of the parents that causes piety to suffer.

3.4.2.1.2.8 Caius the father

Inscription no. 27 is a damaged fragment of a funerary monument found in 1908 together with **inscription no. 9**, which has been discussed in paragraph 2.5.4.3. It originates from the ancient military fort of Tilurium in Dalmatia, which has a strong tradition of versified epitaphs, most of which are dedicated to soldiers from the camp. The fragment is 30 cm wide and 30 cm high. The drawing in its first publication gives no indication of any decoration on the monument.¹³⁰⁵ Although most inscriptions from Tilurium are dedicated by or to soldiers, another versified epitaph from the camp is, like this inscription discussed here, dedicated to a young boy, showing that a civil settlement must have existed near the fortifications.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰³ Cholodniak 1897, 393.

¹³⁰⁴ Rendić-Miočević 1987, 262.

¹³⁰⁵ Perojević 1908, 81, no. 3957A.

¹³⁰⁶ *CLE* 1536 (Tilurium, 1-150 A.D.) is dedicated to the seven-year-old Caius Laberius.

[---]nius C. f. / [---].s ann(or)um V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [pro piet]ate parens
 supr/[ema haec munera fecit nato] qui fatis concid/⁵[it ante diem. [...] eci
 [...] sine [...] pus / [...] annus cui scidi / [...] miseris. Ipse patrem / [ut decuit
 digno tumulasset honore, n]i mihi natura / [heu esset iniqua nimis.¹³⁰⁷
 [...]Nius, son of Caius, aged 5, lies here. His father made this final
 monument for piety. To the child, that fate destroyed before his day. [...] the
 year in which I took away [...] the misery. [...] He would have buried his
 father with honour, as it is fitting, if nature had not been to unfair to me.¹³⁰⁸

The monument is dedicated to a five-year-old boy whose name is reduced to the damaged -nius, son of on C(aius). Some *gentilicii* ending in -nius are known from Tilurium, such as Eugenius,¹³⁰⁹ Calpurnius,¹³¹⁰ Lartinius,¹³¹¹ Percennius¹³¹² or Sacronius,¹³¹³ although it is entirely possible that another name was used, shorter and thus better suited to the damaged line, such as Ennius or Bennius.¹³¹⁴ The remnants of the monument do not mention the specific dedicator, although the inclusion of *parens ... fecit*, together with the last line mentioning the father, makes it reasonable to assume that the father, in the *praescriptum* signified as C(aius), was the dedicator. The monument follows the standard phrase, *pro pietate fecit*, indicating that the father erected the monument out of *pietas* for his son. Like the epitaphs of paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.1 (**inscription no. 21**) and 3.4.2.1.2.6 (**inscription no. 25**) discussed previously, this monument refers to the natural order of life that warrants the children to bury their parents and not the other way around. Emphasis again is placed on the *ut decuit*, reminiscent of the piety that usually compels the child to bury its parents. However, as the next paragraph demonstrates, *pietas* is applied not only to the bond between parents and children but also between siblings.

¹³⁰⁷ Edition by Lommatzsch 1926, 101, no. 2123.

¹³⁰⁸ Author's translation.

¹³⁰⁹ *CIL* 3, 9735 (Tilurium, 71-140 A.D.).

¹³¹⁰ *CIL* 3, 13972 (Tilurium, 1-300 A.D.).

¹³¹¹ *CIL* 3, 14931 (Tilurium, 9-56 A.D.).

¹³¹² *CIL* 3, 14933 (Tilurium, 1-150 A.D.).

¹³¹³ *CIL* 3, 14943, 1 (Tilurium, 151-300 A.D.).

¹³¹⁴ For example, Ennius in Dalmatia was used on *CIL* 3, 2881 (Corinium, 1-100 A.D.) and *CIL* 3, 9782 (Andetrium, 71-130 A.D.), while Bennius is found on *CIL* 3, 9783 (Andetrium, 201-300 A.D.), *ILJug*-3, 1870 (Narona, 1-200 A.D.), and *ILJug*-3, 2143 (Salona, 101-300 A.D.).

3.4.2.1.2.9 Clodius Secundus

Inscription no. 28 was found in the area of the Gehaborner Hof in Darmstadt, in 1868. Although no ancient settlement was located here, a road possibly led through the area in the direction of Dieburg.¹³¹⁵ Only one other grave monument has been found in the area, a heavily damaged grave inscription to one Papiria.¹³¹⁶ Tacitus describes the region in his *Germania*, which he names the *agri decumates*.¹³¹⁷ This area, covering the ground east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, was inhabited during the Roman occupation by a mix of Gallic settlers and only some native Germanians, to the extent that Tacitus maintains that one could hardly speak of true *Germaniae populos*.¹³¹⁸ Although the area was formally added to Germania Superior during the 1st century A.D., Roman control was relinquished during the 3rd century A.D., when Alemannic pressure forced the Romans back across the original *limes*.¹³¹⁹ The monument is partly broken off, with only the lower half remaining. Part of the lost text is restored by Wilhelm Crecelius, followed by Bücheler, as *veresantem peregre*, but later editors have not followed his suppletion.¹³²⁰ It is 120 cm high and 66 cm wide,¹³²¹ and dated to the second half of the 2nd century A.D.¹³²² The monument shows the remnants of a vine leaf frame surrounding the text; one flank of the monument shows part of a bow while the other side shows a vase with a circle above it, perhaps referring to a *patera*. Although the monument must have been initially used as an epitaph, it may have been remodelled at a later date as a votive stone.¹³²³

[D(is) M(anibus) --- Clodius Perigenes ---] / [---]em[---]e / [---] hic in[ter /
fece]re latrones /⁵ [que]m genuit Tea/[no] Sidicino ex Cam/pania. Altera
con/texit tellus dedit / altera nasci. Peri/¹⁰genes habet titulum / Secundus
officium. / P(ublius) Clodius Secundus / fratri pientissimo.

To the spirits of the departed. Clodius Perigenes [...]. Robbers slew him here, he who was born from Teanum Sidicinum in Campania. The one land covers him with earth, the other gave him life. Perigenes now has his

¹³¹⁵ Baatz/Herrmann 1982, 484.

¹³¹⁶ Mattern 2005, 202, no. 397.

¹³¹⁷ Tac. *Germ.* 29.4.

¹³¹⁸ Hind 1984, 187.

¹³¹⁹ Wells 2012, 206–207.

¹³²⁰ Bücheler 1897, no. 1268.

¹³²¹ Mattern 2005, 202, no. 396.

¹³²² Baatz/Herrmann 1982, 484.

¹³²³ Mattern 2005, 202.

tombstone, Secundus has done his duty. Publius Clodius Secundus made (the tombstone) for the most faithful brother.¹³²⁴

The monument is dedicated by Clodius Secundus to his brother Perigenes. The monument tells the reader that Perigenes was killed by brigands – a cause of death already attested before in paragraph 2.5.1.3, where the *nuncius Augusti* from Trier was also slain by robbers. However, the explicit mention of such deaths is rarely attested in epitaphs from the northern part of the empire during the 2nd century A.D., as most attestations of a violent death are associated with the turmoil of the 3rd century A.D. and with the contemporary rebellion of the Bagaudae.¹³²⁵ Furthermore, the inscription tells that Perigenes was not a native of the *agri decumates* but was born in Teanum Sidicinum, in Campania. Perigenes and his brother most probably settled in this part of the empire for commercial reasons, although the inscription does not shed any light on the matter.¹³²⁶ A few natives from Teanum Sidicinum are attested outside of the Italian peninsula. The exception is one epitaph dedicated to a *haruspex*, originating from *Campani Teanensis*, which was found at Limonum in Aquitania.¹³²⁷

The lines [---]em[---e] ... *Secundus officium* are written in verse. The identification of the first two lines is hindered by the destruction of the monument but, when restored, it consists of dactylic hexameters and pentameters, forming elegiac couplets. The line *quem genuit Teano Sidicino ex Campania* is a clear reference to Vergil's famous line *Mantua me genuit*, found on Vergil's (alleged) epitaph near Neapolis.¹³²⁸ Furthermore, as noted by Carbonell and Pena, attestations of this Vergil-inspired trope are found everywhere throughout the empire. This inscription, together with another from Mogontiacum, are the two northernmost attestations of this kind.¹³²⁹ That this inscription follows standard epigraphic patterns is clear from the flow of the verse, since, as noted by Klein, the individual names Perigenes and Secundus have distorted the meter in line 4, which should be reconstructed as originally reading *mater habet titulum, filius officium* or a similar meter.¹³³⁰

¹³²⁴ Edition by Mattern 2005, 202, no. 396. Translation by author, based on Mattern's German translation.

¹³²⁵ For an overview of the relevant epigraphic and literary evidence: MacMullen 1966, 266.

¹³²⁶ Mattern 2005, 202, no. 396.

¹³²⁷ *CIL* 13, 1131 (Limonum, undated).

¹³²⁸ Frings 1998, 89.

¹³²⁹ The inscription from Mogontiacum is *CIL* 13, 6823 = *CLE* 407. For an analysis of this inscription: Carbonell/Pena 2009, 278.

¹³³⁰ Klein, K. 1869, 30.

The *subscriptum* then finally parts with the reader by stating that the aforementioned Secundus, having fulfilled his *officium*, dedicated the monument to his brother. The next line describes Perigenes as *frater pientissimo*. The bond between the brothers thus compelled Secundus to commemorate his brother with a tombstone, thus releasing Secundus from his vow and showing how men could be remembered as pious in their capacity as brothers and commemorated by a brother. Nevertheless, as the next two paragraphs will show, dedications for the deceased's piety also occurred outside of the realm of blood relatives, as the next two inscriptions will show how kindred persons honoured each other's piety.

3.4.2.1.2.10 Calventius

This monument has already been discussed in detail in paragraph 2.5.4.5.¹³³¹ The monument, found in Vetera in Germania Inferior, was dated between 10 and 69 A.D. and is one of two verse inscriptions found in the area. It was dedicated to the Mediolanese Caius Calventius, who served in the *legio V* for 28 years. The monument was dedicated by a fellow soldier of Calventius, who refers to himself as *frater* and asks the reader to weep for the fate of the deceased.

The monument invokes *pietas* through the general phrase *pro pietate*, here only preceded by a descriptor of the dedicator, i.e. *frater*. The commemorator thus expresses his *pietas* towards his fallen friend (and his family) through the monument. Importantly, it shows that *pietas* was expressed by and for associates who share no blood link but might use a cognate-invoking term like *frater* to describe their relation as comrades. One other monument from Vetera dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D. also uses the phrase, as one Lucius honours his grandfather or uncle (he is designated as *nepos*) with a grave monument *pro pietate sua faciendum curaverunt*.¹³³²

3.4.2.1.2.11 Proculus

Inscription no. 8 has already been discussed for its use of *maerere* in paragraph 2.5.3.3 and for its use of *flere* in 2.5.4.8.¹³³³ The inscription dates from the 1st century A.D. Mogontiacum and is dedicated to an unnamed 24-year-old soldier by his comrade

¹³³¹ **Inscription no. 11** = *CIL* 13, 8644. See page 143–146.

¹³³² *CIL* 13, 8650 (Colonia Ulpia Traiana, 31–50 A.D.).

¹³³³ **Inscription no. 8** = *CIL* 13, 7002. See page 118–121.

Lucius Valerius Proculus. The emotion words were used to describe the feelings of Proculus, who commemorated the death of his fellow soldier by the erection of a grave. The inscription comments on the dedication of the monument with the phrase *hic pietatis honos*, signalling that the monument can be considered a sign of piety. Importantly, this attestation of *pietas* deviates from most other attestations: in Proculus' inscription, it is not used to signify the virtuous bond between persons of blood ties but rather between non-blood relatives. Just as in the chapter on emotions, this inscription displays how virtue terms, in this case *pietas*, could reach beyond blood ties and could similarly include piety towards people bound by profession or friendship, rather than familial ties. This was also already seen in the previous paragraph, where Calventius is honoured by his comrade. Such depictions are not found as prominently in the writings of, for example, Cicero or Valerius Maximus, who define *pietas* mainly as either existing between family members or between a person and the state/fatherland.

3.4.2.1.2.12 Turannius

The above inscriptions have all shown how *pietas* was used to invoke a bond of fidelity between the dedicator and the dedicatee of the monuments, usually with either superlative epithets or formulaic phrases. However, there were occasions when the verse of the inscription used *pietas* in a more conspicuous way and did not establish a bond of piety between the deceased and their relatives. This is the case in the last inscription of this paragraph. **Inscription no. 29** is a grave stele that was found and first edited in 1998 in Donji Proložac, some 20 kilometres removed from Novae (modern-day Runović), in Croatia.¹³³⁴ It is dated, based on onomastic research, between 100 and 300 A.D.¹³³⁵ and measures 173 cm high and 68 cm wide. The inscription is framed in a vine-leaf motif, with a rosette in a pediment above. Below the inscription, a carved axe is featured.¹³³⁶ It is thought that the settlement of Novae was primarily built because of its strategic position between the bigger cities of Tilurium and Bigeste, accommodating both civilians and veterans.¹³³⁷

¹³³⁴ Tonković 1998, 88–93.

¹³³⁵ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 55, no. 23.

¹³³⁶ Tonković 1998, 88.

¹³³⁷ Wilkes 1969, 244.

Two other funerary inscriptions have been found in Donji Proložac in 1986 and 1995.¹³³⁸ Both are prose inscriptions, respectively dated to the 3rd and early 3rd century A.D. The former features the *cognomen* Messor, a name often attested in Dalmatia, together with the *gentilicium* Aemilius, a *gens* common in Liburnian circles.¹³³⁹ Of the latter, only a small fragment of the original inscription remains, allowing merely for the identification of one M. Ulpius Silvinus.¹³⁴⁰ It is important to note that both inscriptions show signs of monuments that, on a symbolic level, correspond with the iconography found on the stele of Turranius, as both depict remnants of a vine-frame. Similarly, both the epitaph of Turranius and that for Messor depicts a carved axe below the text, which is not found on the epitaph for Silvinus.¹³⁴¹

Although the axe is obviously related to the stonemasons' *ascia*, its exact meaning remains controversial, not least because the iconography is found not only in epitaphs from the Dalmatia region,¹³⁴² but also in Gaul.¹³⁴³ Similarly, many epitaphs from the Gallic provinces, but also from Lusitania, Mauretania and Moesia Inferior, contain the text *sub ascia dedicavit/dedicaverunt*, similar to the iconography referring to the stonemason's axe. Susini argued that the inclusion of the *ascia* represents the inviolability of the monument, since the stonemason used this tool to transform the stone from a simple rock into a religious monument.¹³⁴⁴ Others have reinterpreted Susini's view, arguing that the iconography emphasises the exclusivity of the monument for its original owner.¹³⁴⁵

*D(is) M(anibus). / Turranio Clemen/ti marito def(uncto) an/n(or)um LII. Laelia Quin/ta Turranio Cle/mentian(o) filio / karo infelicis/simo defuncto annor(um) XXXII. /¹⁰ Multa peragras/ti Germaniam / terram secu/tus. Hic iacet / erepta pietas /¹⁵ pulc(h)raq(ue) iu/ventus. / Et s(ibi) et s(uis) / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*¹³⁴⁶

To the spirits of the departed. Laelia Quinta, to Turranius Clemens, the husband, who died at the age of 52, and to Turranius Clementionus, the

¹³³⁸ Tonković 1998, 90–93.

¹³³⁹ Tonković 1998, 90; *AE* 1991, 1030 (Novae, 201–300 A.D.).

¹³⁴⁰ *AE* 1991, 1031 (Novae, 171–230 A.D.).

¹³⁴¹ Drawings of the inscriptions are provided in Tonković 1998, 91–92, fig. 2 and 3.

¹³⁴² Between 2005 and 2006, five graves have been uncovered in the area of Zadar that depict the *ascia*: Juras 2014, 138.

¹³⁴³ For example, Carroll refers to multiple inscriptions originating from Lyon and the Rhône valley: Carroll 2006, 81.

¹³⁴⁴ Susini 1973, 25.

¹³⁴⁵ Carroll 2006, 81.

¹³⁴⁶ *AE* 1998, 1029.

dear son, most unfortunate, who died at the age of 32. Often you have wandered across the German lands. Here lies snatched away devotion and beautiful youth. May this monument not pass to himself or his heirs.¹³⁴⁷

The monument is dedicated to the 52-year-old Turranius Clemens and his son, Turranius Clementionus, who died at the age of 32. The monument was erected by the wife and mother Laelia Quinta. The monument does not indicate why the father and son passed away. Turranius is a name frequently found in epitaphs from the region, hinting at an indigenous background.¹³⁴⁸ The same is true of the *gentilicium* Laelia, which is similarly widespread in Dalmatia.¹³⁴⁹

The lines *multa peragrasti ... pulchraque iuventus* are written in dactylic hexameter that, according to Cugusi, show a number of imperfections.¹³⁵⁰ Furthermore, the phrase *multa peragrasti* is found in a similar form on two other inscriptions, both versified and from Salona in Dalmatia, as *multa peragratus*¹³⁵¹ and as *multa peragrans*.¹³⁵² In both cases, the phrase displays the travels that the dead made during their lifetime, before laying down in their final resting place; in the inscription of Turranius, the wandered lands are specifically those in Germania. Tonković postulates that this refers to a commercial trade that Turranius carried out in the region, a hypothesis supported by the omission of references to a military past on the monument.¹³⁵³

Pietas on this inscription pertains to the virtue of the deceased father. Whereas the son is remembered as *pulcher iuventus*, the husband's legacy is emphasised with *erepta pietas*. It is up to the reader to decide in what sense this *pietas* should be read: was Turranius dutiful towards his wife, his child or both? The phrase remains simple in that it is close to the standard funerary language found on other epitaphs, recalling the *hic iacet*. However, instead of simply refraining from praising the deceased, the poet refers to him with the noun *pietas*. This phraseology is only sporadically attested in the epigraphy. One epitaph from the 1st century A.D. Rome spends several more

¹³⁴⁷ Author's translation.

¹³⁴⁸ Alföldy 1969, 130.

¹³⁴⁹ Tonković 1998, 89.

¹³⁵⁰ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 55.

¹³⁵¹ *AE* 1933, 74. **Inscription no. 30.**

¹³⁵² *CLE* 1267.

¹³⁵³ Tonković 1998, 89.

words on the matter and reads *quanta iacet probitas, pietas quam vera sepulta est*.¹³⁵⁴ A verse inscription, also from Rome but dated to 427 A.D., only reads *hic pietas*.¹³⁵⁵ Finally, one Christian verse inscription from Arelate (dated between 200 and 400 A.D.), reads *hic iacet ambigua pietas dolor et pudor in se nomine Sofronius*.¹³⁵⁶ It is thus only through a single virtue term that Turranius is honoured, but it still counts as a slight variation on the standard phrasing found so regularly on other funerary monuments.

3.4.2.2 *Concordia*

3.4.2.2.1 Literature

Concordia represented the virtue of harmony and referred to matters at different levels of Roman society: it was about harmony within the empire itself, but also about harmony within political bodies such as the Roman Senate or between individuals, especially in marriage. The virtue was worshipped as a personified deity as early as the 4th century B.C. Rome, when in 367 B.C. the legendary hero Camillus vowed to dedicate a temple to Concordia if the gods would bring harmony to the Senate in the face of the political turbulence caused by the proposed *lex Licinia Sextia*.¹³⁵⁷ Historical evidence does not confirm that such a temple was ever built, although Livy mentions that a shrine to Concordia was erected by Gnaeus Flavius in 306 B.C.¹³⁵⁸ In Republican times, the veneration of *Concordia* served to emphasise the harmony of the Roman people in the face of civic internal unrest.¹³⁵⁹ At least one other temple was built during the Second Punic War in 216 B.C., which had been vowed to be constructed a few years earlier by one Lucius Manlius Vulso in the face of a soldiers' mutiny in Gaul.¹³⁶⁰ Finally, in the early Imperial period, Tiberius refurbished a temple to Concordia, first vowed in 9 B.C. for his triumph over the Germans, but only finalised after his Rhodian exile in 10 A.D., when Augustus had him return and named him his heir.¹³⁶¹ The refurbishment of the temple by Tiberius can best be understood within

¹³⁵⁴ *CIL* 6, 24520 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

¹³⁵⁵ *CIL* 6, 31992 (Rome, 427 A.D.).

¹³⁵⁶ *CIL* 12, 880 (Arelate, 200-400 A.D.).

¹³⁵⁷ Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 42.3-4.

¹³⁵⁸ Liv. 9.46.6.

¹³⁵⁹ Clark, A. 2007, 55.

¹³⁶⁰ Liv. 22.33; 23.21.

¹³⁶¹ Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 56.25.1.

the broader Augustan program, which sought to emphasise concord and peace after many decades of civil war.¹³⁶²

In a similar vein, *Concordia* was inscribed on the Imperial coinage to emphasise the harmony in the empire after a turbulent period of unrest. As such, coins from Galba's reign, following his accession, read *CONCORDIA PROVINCIARVM*,¹³⁶³ while those of Nerva read *CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM*, in light of Nerva's unstable accension following his predecessors' murder and *damnatio memoriae*.¹³⁶⁴ Similarly, towards the end of his reign, Septimius Severus emphasised the *concordia* between his sons, Caracalla and Geta, who were portrayed on the reverse side together with the inscription *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*.¹³⁶⁵ *Concordia* as a virtue thus came to be connected with harmony in a more general sense as both a point of worship by the erection of multiple temples and shrines in the city of Rome, as well as a visualisation of concord of and between the leading figures of the Roman state, both during the Republic and the Principate.

On the level of the individual people, *concordia* was one of the main pillars upon which a good Roman marriage was built. Countless examples from Roman literature and epigraphy attest to the idea that conjugal *concordia* was stimulated by trust and sympathy and, in turn, created a happy environment in which both man and wife could thrive.¹³⁶⁶ The primacy of *concordia* in a good marriage is, for example, found in Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*, who defended his client's reputation by stating that *cum essent eae nuptiae plenae dignitatis, plenae concordiae*.¹³⁶⁷ Similarly, in two of his *carmina*, Catullus underscores the importance of conjugal *concordia* by stressing how Peus' and Thetis' marriage is filled with love and harmony¹³⁶⁸ on one occasion and on another

¹³⁶² Dio mentions how Augustus, in the Senate, discusses how Fortune has granted him to restore peace and harmony to the State: Cass. Dio 53.5.4. The same sentiment is found in Velleius Paterculus, who describes the unifying character of Augustus' reign after the civil wars: Vell. Pat. 2.90.1-4. Also Livy describes the peace and concord of the (post)-Augustan era: Liv. 9.19.17. Tacitus quotes Messalla Corvinus who mentions that during the last years of the Republic, the Senate was left without *concordia* which led to the state's instability: Tac. *Dial.* 40.4. Another example of Augustus' emphasis on public harmony is found in his dedication of statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax: Cass. Dio 54.45.2.

¹³⁶³ Kraay 1949, 141.

¹³⁶⁴ Langford-Johnson 2005, 71-72.

¹³⁶⁵ *RIC* IV Septimius Severus 330 A; Rubin 1977, 168.

¹³⁶⁶ Treggiari 1991, 245.

¹³⁶⁷ Cic. *Clu.* 12: "the marriage subsisted with all respectability and all concord." Translation provided by Yonge 1856.

¹³⁶⁸ Catull. 64.366: *nulla domus tales unquam contexit amores, nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo*. "No house ever yet enclosed such loves, no love

when he wishes future brides to have their marriages filled with *concordia*.¹³⁶⁹ The same sentiment is attested in Statius' *Silviae*, when he describes how, during a wedding Concord "with twofold flambeau hallows the union."¹³⁷⁰ Also Pliny, in a letter to his wife's aunt, remarks how his marriage seems a success as he feels that their harmony will be lasting and continue to grow each day.¹³⁷¹ In these cases, on the personal level, *concordia* describes the healthy and happy state of a marriage between individuals and could also be understood as a virtue to which a married couple ought to aspire.¹³⁷² Furthermore, as Statius' passage summarises, Concordia was often envisaged as the overseer of the fortunate wedding ritual, alluding not merely to the successful ritual itself but moreover to a lasting marriage in the future.¹³⁷³

3.4.2.2.2 The epigraphic evidence

In total, 27 inscriptions use *concordia* to refer to harmony in personal relations or attribute the virtue to a specific person. Of these inscriptions, 13 are versified,¹³⁷⁴ while the remaining 14 are prosaic.¹³⁷⁵ *Concordia* was primarily used in funerary inscriptions to refer to the harmonious relationship between people, in most cases that between husband and wife. Examples of this type of conjugal expressions come

bound lovers with such a pact, as abides with Thetis, as is the concord of Peleus." Translation provided by Smithers 1894.

¹³⁶⁹ Catull. 66.87: *semper magis, o nuptae, semper concordiae vestras, semper amor sedes incolat adsiduus*. "But rather, o brides, may concord always be yours, and constant love ever dwell in your homes." Translation provided by Smithers 1894.

¹³⁷⁰ Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.240: *et insigni geminat Concordia taeda*. Translation provided by Slater 1908.

¹³⁷¹ Plin. *Ep.* 4.19.5: *His ex causis in spem certissimam adducor perpetuam nobis maioremque in dies futuram esse concordiam*.

¹³⁷² Other examples in Roman literature are Plaut. *Amph.* 1.2: *denique Alcumenam Iuppiter rediget antiquam coniugi in concordiam*; Val. Max. 2.1.6: *contentione animorum deposita concordēs revertubantur*; 2.1.8: *apud sacra mensae et inter hilaritatem et fautoribus concordiae adhibitīs tolleretur*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.44: *nec mirum, si vos collato pectore mixtos iunxit unabrupta concordia longa catena*; Mart. 4.13: *candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto, tanque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo*; Juv. 6.231: *desperanda tibi salua concordia socru. Illa docet spoliis nudi gaudere mariti*; Apul. *Met.* 9.27: *nam et ipse semper cum mea coniugem tam concorditer vixi ut ex secta prudentium eadem nobis ambobus placerent*.

¹³⁷³ Zeiner-Carmichael 2020, 144.

¹³⁷⁴ *AE* 1994, 1059 (Alcaniz, 1-50 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 1668 (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1992 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9302 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 7579 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23107 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23137 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 23852 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25369 (Rome, 50-1 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 26926 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 27409 (Thugga, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3158 (Corfinium, 1-50 A.D.);

¹³⁷⁵ *AE* 1964, 86 (Rome, 201-250 A.D.); *AE* 2001, 441 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 3596 (Dianium, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2480 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 4592 (Ebersdorf, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8726 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12990 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14738 (Salona, 251-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 4370 (Rome, 14-37 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9143 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10215 (Rome, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37556 (Rome, 71-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 2603 (Terventum, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 8128 (Carsoli, 1-100 A.D.).

from Africa Proconsularis,¹³⁷⁶ Baetica,¹³⁷⁷ Dalmatia,¹³⁷⁸ Hispania Citerior,¹³⁷⁹ Pannonia Superior,¹³⁸⁰ Rome¹³⁸¹ and Italy.¹³⁸² In 13 of 27 inscriptions, they mainly follow the same formulaic text *cum qua vixit concorditer* or variations thereof. Other attestations of *concordia* generally refer to groups of people, such as the harmonious state between comrades and friends.¹³⁸³ Similarly, one inscription refers to the harmony of the parents when, in the voice of the deceased daughter, it asks her parents and sister to continue living in harmony.¹³⁸⁴ One other inscription directs its attention to the *concordia* of the *viatores*, as it mentions that the monument was stylised for the good harmony of the passers-by.¹³⁸⁵ In only four instances is the virtue attributed directly to one person: in three cases, it concerns a female, all three times in their capacity as wife to a husband,¹³⁸⁶ and once to the son-in-law and husband after the death of the wife.¹³⁸⁷

Importantly for this paragraph, such direct expressions of *concordia* allude to the same sentiment that is also found in those funerary monuments that depict multiple members of the same family and/or household in a single portrait decoration. During the late Republican and early Augustan period, funerary reliefs became a popular motif on the Italian peninsula, mainly amongst freedmen and women, and often depicted, beside the nuclear family, their patrons and *conliberti*.¹³⁸⁸ By the end of the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd century A.D., the popularity of relief portraits experienced a decline in Italy,¹³⁸⁹ while the portrait style became fashionable and flourished particularly amongst the upper middle class of freedmen,

¹³⁷⁶ *CIL* 8, 27409 (Thugga, 151-250 A.D.).

¹³⁷⁷ *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.).

¹³⁷⁸ *CIL* 3, 1992 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2480 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8726 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12990 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14738 (Salona, 251-300 A.D.).

¹³⁷⁹ *CIL* 2, 3596 3596 (Dianium, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 1994, 1059 (Alcaniz, 10-50 A.D.).

¹³⁸⁰ *CIL* 3, 4592 (Ebersdorf, 151-300 A.D.).

¹³⁸¹ *AE* 2001, 441 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 7579 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9143 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10215 (Rome, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 26926 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37556 (Rome, 71-100 A.D.).

¹³⁸² *CIL* 9, 2603 (Terventum, 101-200 A.D.).

¹³⁸³ *AE* 1964, 86 (Rome, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23107 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23137 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 23852 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹³⁸⁴ *CIL* 6, 25369 (Rome, 50-1 B.C.).

¹³⁸⁵ *CIL* 3, 9302 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.).

¹³⁸⁶ *CIL* 6, 4370 (Rome, 14-37 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3158 (Corfinium, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 8128 (Carsoli, 1-100 A.D.).

¹³⁸⁷ *AE* 2005, 1668 (Ammadara, 201-300 A.D.).

¹³⁸⁸ Kleiner 1988, 117.

¹³⁸⁹ Ewald 2015, 392.

members of the local aristocracy, and wealthy businesspersons in the Roman provinces around the same time.¹³⁹⁰

The relief portraiture that features only part of the body, usually from the waist up or only the bust, can be considered an abridged version of the earlier type of grave monuments, such as those of the elite in Rome, which showed either full-body reliefs or statues of the deceased.¹³⁹¹ As such, relief portraiture in funerary epigraphy was designed to draw additional attention to those persons mentioned in the inscription and added a visual dimension to the commemoration of a person's status and lifestyle, as well as to attitudes towards idealised representations of gendered roles. Such articulations of identity could concern the dress and clothing of the deceased,¹³⁹² facial features such as placement of lips, eyes and hair,¹³⁹³ the display and shape of the body,¹³⁹⁴ holding or displaying attributes¹³⁹⁵ and the depiction of gesture.¹³⁹⁶ It is mainly in the person's gesticulation that the sentiment of harmony is emphasised, especially when it concerns the *dextrarum iunctio*: in political and military contexts, the depiction of the handshake was associated with harmony, agreement, solidarity and loyalty; in funerary epigraphy it represents the same convictions.¹³⁹⁷ As a result, the depiction of the *dextrarum iunctio* between husband and wife came to symbolise marital *concordia*.¹³⁹⁸ Other attributes found in epitaphs related to Roman marriage were the *tabula nuptiales* or *libellus* and the *pudicitia* gesture, which depicts the wife holding the veil that covers her head.¹³⁹⁹

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned gestures were not a requirement for the display of marital *concordia* in funerary epigraphy, as the depiction of the marital couple often alludes to the same sentiment already. Kleiner argues that the depiction of man and wife, the inclusion or exclusion of children notwithstanding, attested to "the virtues of *Romanitas* and family unity."¹⁴⁰⁰ She mentions that, among the *liberti*

¹³⁹⁰ Sokołowski 2017, 17.

¹³⁹¹ Kockel 1993, 9.

¹³⁹² Carroll 2012, 281–282.

¹³⁹³ For example, one article of d'Ambra, which partially deals with funerary reliefs, discusses the resemblance of women and girls with the mythological depiction of Diana based on facial expressions: d'Ambra 2008.

¹³⁹⁴ E.g. Poyiadji-Richter 2009.

¹³⁹⁵ E.g. Gigante 1999, 447–453.

¹³⁹⁶ E.g. Heyn 2010.

¹³⁹⁷ Davies 1985, 637–638.

¹³⁹⁸ Nováková/Pagáčová 2016, 219.

¹³⁹⁹ Kleiner 1977, 25–26.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Kleiner 1977, 6.

from Rome, the illustration of the husband-wife relief was the most common type of funerary portrait found, followed by that of the spouses with children.¹⁴⁰¹ Especially *liberti* wished to emphasise their familial genealogy by depicting a harmonious marriage, since, as Kleiner argues, *liberti* often had no other familial ties than to their former masters, as they often did not keep family portraits in their homes or make reference to their blood family on their epitaphs.¹⁴⁰² Thus, the emphasis on the family of the *liberti* was particularly appealing given the novelty of a blood-related family in the lives of the former slaves, but it had less to do with a display of *concordia* than with a new sense of citizenship that the former slave could portray on his tombstone. As such, the display of the family was a sign of legal status rather than of harmony.¹⁴⁰³

In contrast, another reason for the depiction of the family in funerary portraits was the conviction that it displayed the unity of the family in the after-life; in a sense, death united the family again and the monument is a show of the continuity of the family bond.¹⁴⁰⁴ This conviction was not limited to the family portraits found in the funerary monuments of the *liberti*, but also applied to freeborn people who made use of such relief monuments. In this interpretation, it could be argued that the monument testifies to *concordia* as a reference to harmony rather than as a consequence of concerns about legal status.

Conversely, the aforementioned *dextrarum iunctio* is unequivocally connected to the Roman virtue of *concordia*.¹⁴⁰⁵ The gesture does not necessarily refer to the time of the wedding itself – the moment which would be epitomised by the clasping of the hands – but rather the sentiment behind it, that of marital harmony and agreement in the marriage between the partners.¹⁴⁰⁶ The connection between *concordia* and the *dextrarum iunctio* was made explicit on coins from the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Caracalla, who minted coins that featured both *concordia* and the clasping of the hands.¹⁴⁰⁷ This does not mean that those depictions of married couples that do not show the handshake do not attest to a sense of marital harmony: on the contrary, these

¹⁴⁰¹ Kleiner 1977, 22–23, 32.

¹⁴⁰² Kleiner 1977, 17–18.

¹⁴⁰³ Hackworth Petersen 2006, 95–96.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Kleiner 1977, 73.

¹⁴⁰⁵ To a lesser extent, Roman coinage suggests that the *dextrarum iunctio* was also connected with the virtue of *fides*: Davies 1985, 637–638.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Hemelrijk 2020, 16.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Kantorowicz 1960, 5.

monuments are not as explicit as funerary monuments that show the *dextrarum iunctio*.

For those relief portraits that depict husband, wife and children, an additional set of iconographic themes may refer to a sense of harmony. For example, when the child is positioned between the parents, it is supposed to emphasise the nuclear family, consisting of what has been labelled the 'mother-father-children triad.'¹⁴⁰⁸ This is then especially reinforced when the static depictions of the family members are augmented by affectionate gestures, such as embraces and touches.¹⁴⁰⁹ Another attribute that could strengthen the bond between parents and child is when the child is depicted holding a piece of fruit, such as grapes, a pomegranate or, as in most of these cases, an apple, which is said to symbolise the affectionate gifts that parents give to their loving child.¹⁴¹⁰

In varying manners and different degrees, five epitaphs of the corpus refer to marital or familial *concordia* through their funerary iconography; none of the verse inscriptions of this corpus mentions the virtue. Of these five epitaphs, four incorporate persons other than the matrimonial couple into their funerary relief; the fifth epitaph consists of two married couples, even though the inscription makes no reference to the marriage, nor to any woman that may have been married. These monuments show how depictions of familial harmony can be found explicitly in epitaphs, but also how they are much less evident in others, perhaps even absent from the iconography itself. The latter is especially true when depictions of familial harmony do not match the individuals mentioned in the inscription – a feat not uncommon in Roman funerary epigraphy, as the following paragraphs will show.

3.4.2.2.1 Utius' family

Inscription no. 30 was found in the ancient town of Salona, near modern-day Split, in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The monument is dated to the Julio-Claudian era.¹⁴¹¹ It measures 196 cm high and 89.5 cm wide.¹⁴¹² The monument consists of an *aedicula*-frame that houses the three portraits of the persons mentioned in the

¹⁴⁰⁸ Termed by Saller and Shaw in their study of family relations in funerary epigraphy: Saller/Shaw 1984, 124.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Huskinson 2007, 327.

¹⁴¹⁰ Mander 2012, 42.

¹⁴¹¹ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 31.

¹⁴¹² *ILJug*-3, 2203.

inscription, of which only two portraits are fully restored. Only a small portion of the head remains of the third person. The two remaining portraits depict a man and a woman, the former wearing a toga and the latter a veil over her head, both being depicted from the waist up and both holding their garments with their arm crossing their body with their right hand. The man and wife are depicted with wrinkles in their faces. Above the *aedicula* there is a pediment with a Medusa-protome flanked by two acroteria, of which only the right one still depicts a lion (the left one has been broken off). Below the *aedicula* is the text frame featuring the inscription, beneath the inscription it is the depiction of a boat with two oars.¹⁴¹³ The implications of the monumental symbolism will be discussed further below.

*C(aius) Utius Sp(uri) f(ilius) testament(o) / fieri iussit sibi / et P(ublio) Utio
[f]ratri suo et Clodia(e) / F[au]stae concubinae suae /⁵ mult[a per]agratus
ego terraque marique / debit[a re]ddidi in patria nunc situs hic iaceo. / Stat
l[apis e]t nomen vestigia nulla.¹⁴¹⁴*

Caius Utius, the son of Spurius, by will ordered this (monument) to be made for himself, as well as for Publius Utius, his brother, and Clodia Fausta, his concubine. After much travel by land and sea, I have fulfilled my debt, and now I lie buried here in my homeland. Here stands the headstone and name, no other trace.¹⁴¹⁵

The monument is thus dedicated to Caius Utius Spurius, his brother Publius and his concubine Clodia Fausta. The term *concubina* primarily signified a union between people who, because of a discrepancy between their social status, were not allowed to marry but nevertheless wished to live together. As such, a man of high freeborn status, such as someone in the senatorial class, could be associated with a woman who had been freed from slavery, or vice versa.¹⁴¹⁶ Nevertheless, a relationship with a *concubina* was not always the result of social-status issues and could also be due to legal motivations that somehow barred the couple from entering a *matrimonium iustum*.¹⁴¹⁷ Although *concubina*-attestations in funerary epigraphy were not uncommon, most cases originate from Rome or the Italian peninsula and, more often

¹⁴¹³ Rinaldi Tufi 1971, 94–95.

¹⁴¹⁴ Edition from Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 29.

¹⁴¹⁵ Author's translation.

¹⁴¹⁶ Sandon/Scalco 2020, 1–2.

¹⁴¹⁷ Rawson 1974, 282.

than not, refer to the *concupina* as a *liberta*.¹⁴¹⁸ Unfortunately, the inscription does not indicate the social background of Clodia Fausta and the basis of their relationship therefore remains uncertain.

The monument was created per testament (*testament fieri iussit*) according to the wishes of Utius, as the *praescriptum* informs the reader. Such expressions in epitaphs are not uncommon, as epitaphs often refer explicitly to the fact that they were built based on the deceased's testament, either with the phrase used above, by *testamento poni iussii*, or by reference to a *curator testamentarius*.¹⁴¹⁹ The *praescriptum* of the monument is followed by the versified part of the inscription from *multa peragratus* to *vestigia nulla*. It consists of three lines of imperfect hexameter. According to Cugusi, this is due to the fact that the verse is composed of several lines and prefabricated passages, which shows a lack of skill on the part of the poet.¹⁴²⁰ For example, the first line is found in similar form on another Salonitane inscription, which reads *sum Phrygiae terra natus et multa peragrans veni in Dalmatia*,¹⁴²¹ as well as in the line *multa peregrasti Germaniam terram secutus*.¹⁴²² The last line of the poem also appears on two other versified inscriptions, one from Rome¹⁴²³ and one from late antiquity in from Africa Proconsularis, both of which read *stat lapis et nomen tantum, vestigia nulla*.¹⁴²⁴

To return to the iconography of the monument: the portraiture found in the *aedicula*-niche is clearly an allusion to the three persons mentioned in the inscription, as the number of names corresponds to the number of depicted persons. Unfortunately, the third person's gender cannot be determined by the iconographic remains alone, although it can be assumed that he would have been Utius' brother as indicated in the text. Whether or not the surviving depiction of the male is Caius or his brother Publius cannot be determined with any certainty. Both male and female are depicted in a stern traditional manner, reinforced by their wrinkles, the headdress of the woman and the man's Roman toga.¹⁴²⁵ There are no other symbolic themes on the

¹⁴¹⁸ Sandon/Scalco 2020, 3.

¹⁴¹⁹ Buisson 1993, 27.

¹⁴²⁰ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 30.

¹⁴²¹ *CIL* 3, 6380 (Salona, undated).

¹⁴²² *AE* 1998, 1029 (Novae, 101-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 29**).

¹⁴²³ *CIL* 6, 22215 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁴²⁴ *AE* 2005, 1673 (Ammaedara, 301-400 A.D.).

¹⁴²⁵ Graham 2006, 20.

monument that would enhance their harmonious portrayal or suggest that feelings of *concordia* were exchanged between those depicted on the monument. To some extent, these sentiments are only implicit in the depiction of the wrinkles, which suggest that both have known each other for a long time, or at least have lived together to a ripe old age, whether as spouses or in-laws. Such stern and austere depictions are often found on epitaphs throughout the empire and recall traditional Roman depictions of the elite, which through their stern depiction, choose to exude an authoritarian attitude.¹⁴²⁶ This sentiment can also be found in many funerary monuments of the Principate, in the epitaphs of both the aristocracy and those of more modest means.¹⁴²⁷ Rather than contradicting the idea of *concordia*, these austere depictions represent the republican virtues of restraint and austerity, and thus go hand in hand with the idea that the joint representation of man and woman in monuments radiates harmony.

3.4.2.2.2 Faustus' family

Inscription no. 10 has already been dealt with in paragraph 2.5.4.4 for its use of *lacrimare*.¹⁴²⁸ The monument originates from Salona and dates from the 1st century A.D. It is dedicated by Faustus to himself, his wife and his two sons. The monument consists of several fragments that allow a partial restoration of the funerary iconography. It is lost and only transmitted through a sketch originating from the 19th century. This drawing depicts a monument consisting of an *aedicula*-niche that houses four portraits: one of an adult man, one of an adult woman, and the remaining two depict younger persons. The figures represent the deceased and can be identified as the father Faustus, the mother Ampliata and their two sons Crispus and Secundus. The mother and father, each with an outstretched arm, have their hands around the children's waists, while the brother on the left touches his brother's right shoulder with his left arm. Although the father and son in front of him are badly damaged, it can be identified that the boy is holding a bird, perhaps a dove, in his right hand.¹⁴²⁹

From what remains of the monument, a similar austere style to that of the inscription discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.2.1 is discernible, at least as far as the

¹⁴²⁶ Smith, R. 1981, 37; Zanker 2008, 47, fig. 28.

¹⁴²⁷ Walker, S. 1991, 4; Borg 2013, 41.

¹⁴²⁸ **Inscription no. 10** = *CIL* 3, 2197. See page 139–143 for the initial analysis.

¹⁴²⁹ Maršić 2004, 140.

woman's features are concerned the facial features of the woman, although the woman on this monument remains unveiled. The children are depicted in an affectionate manner in front of their parents, who hold out a hand to protect their offspring, as a symbol of tenderness. The children are similarly depicted in a devoted manner that breaks with the static depiction of the parents, as the brother on the left touches the shoulder of his sibling. Usually, the touching of shoulders is reserved as a sign of contact between spouses or between parents and their children.¹⁴³⁰ It is less common to find depictions of siblings touching each other's shoulders. Therefore, the brother-on-brother contact found on Faustus' epitaph could be seen as a specific request made by the dedicator to display a more profound sentiment of brotherly affection.¹⁴³¹

3.4.2.2.3 Aurelia's family

Inscription no. 31 originates from Brigetio, modern day Szöny.¹⁴³² The site was initially a military fort built along the Danube *limes* from the middle until the end of the 1st century A.D., subsequently destroyed during the Marcomannic Wars (between 169–172 A.D.) and later rebuilt to house the military fleet. A civilian settlement grew alongside the military town. It gained municipal rights during the reign of Septimius Severus or Caracalla and was elevated to the rank of *colonia* during the 3rd century A.D.¹⁴³³ Brigetio's epigraphic output is one of the largest in the region surpassed only by Aquincum, although the total is conflated by the large number of ceramic inscriptions found in the settlement. In total, over 200 non-Christian epitaphs dated between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. were discovered. A great number of these can be attributed to soldiers and their families. The inscription discussed here is the only versified epitaph.¹⁴³⁴

¹⁴³⁰ Mander 2012, 69.

¹⁴³¹ A similar case was made by Zanker for a greek stele, which features a sister touching her brother's shoulder, as discussed in Masségla 2013, 120. Nevertheless, the touching of shoulders as a symbol of harmony was not contained to the nuclear family, as best exemplified by the porphyry relief statue of the Four Tetrarchs: Ağtürk 2018, 412.

¹⁴³² Adamik 1995, 443.

¹⁴³³ Borhy 2011, 48; Dobosi/Borhy 2015, 183.

¹⁴³⁴ Two other verse-inscriptions are found in Brigetio; one found in a medallion (*CLEPann* 28) and one epitaph dated between the 3rd and 5th cent. A.D. (*CLE* 440).

The monument is 227 cm high and 107 cm wide.¹⁴³⁵ It is dated to the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. and features a niche that is reminiscent of the *aedicula*-style portraiture, despite the absence of engraved columns. The niche features four portraits from the waist up: three adults and one child. On the left, a woman is depicted holding an apple. The middle portrait features a man with his right arm across his body. The man on the right wears a *sagum*, holds a scroll in his left hand and holds his right arm across his body. The child is depicted in front of the woman, possibly holding an item as well. The niche is roofed by a pediment with a flower in the centre. The two acroteria both depict a flower as well. The space below the niche features a soldier with a shield, moving a rearing horse. Below the soldier, the inscription field is featured in a double-edged rectangle.

D(is) M(anibus) / Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius q/ui vixit an(nos) XXV m(enses) III dies V Aure/l(ia) Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) /⁵ VIII m(enses) III dies V et Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) l/eg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) qui vixit ann(os) XLV m(enses) V d/ies VII Aurel(ia) Ursicina fratr/i et filiae et coniugi ben/e merentibus sepulcrum faciendu[m c]ura[vi]t vivit/¹⁰e felices quibus est fortu/na beata.¹⁴³⁶

To the spirits of the departed. Valerius Ursinus, *ducenarius*, who lived for 25 years, 3 months and 5 days. Aurelia Firmilla, the daughter, who lived for 9 years, 3 months and 6 days. T. Flavius Firmus, soldier in *legio I Adiutrix*, who lived for 45 years, 5 months and 7 days. Aurelia Ursicina saw to this tomb being well done for her well-deserving brother, daughter and husband. Those for whom there is happy fortune, live happily!¹⁴³⁷

The monument is dedicated by Aurelia Ursicina to three people whom she specifies by name and relation: the first is her brother, the *ducenarius* Valerius Ursinus, who died at the age of 25. The post of *ducenarius* signalled that the holder had a salary of 200.000 sesterces. During the 3rd century A.D., a synonymous office of the *ducenarii protectores* was installed, which consisted of non-commissioned officers in the ranks of the bodyguards.¹⁴³⁸ The second dedicatee is Aurelia's husband, Flavius Firmus, who was a soldier in the *legio I Adiutrix* and who died at the age of 45. The legion was moved from Mogontiacum to Brigetio around the end of the 1st century A.D., after

¹⁴³⁵ Barkóczy/Mócsy 1976, 228.

¹⁴³⁶ Massaro 2023, 64.

¹⁴³⁷ Translation provided by Mander, 2023, 281.

¹⁴³⁸ Whately 2012.

which Brigetio essentially became the legion's permanent homebase from which it participated in several wars during the 2nd and 3rd century A.D.¹⁴³⁹ Certain inscriptions that show soldiers of this legion can be dated more precisely for their reference to *Pia Fidelis* (obtained during the reign of Trajan) or *Severiana* (referring to the Severian dynasty), although some later inscriptions still read only *Adiutrix*.¹⁴⁴⁰

Finally, the third dedicatee is the daughter of Aurelia Ursicina and Flavius Firmus, namely Aurelia Firmilla, who died at the young age of 9. The inscription allows for a reconstruction of the persons depicted on the reliefs: the little girl can be identified as the child Aurelia Firmilla; the three adults, one female and two males, can be identified as Aurelia Ursicina, her husband Firmus and her brother Ursinus respectively, although it remains uncertain which depiction refers specifically to which male. The attributes of the man on the right, however, namely the *sagum* and the scroll, could give an indication. These items are generally attributed to representations of soldiers, popularised during the Augustan age in Italy and in subsequent centuries spread throughout the northern provinces.¹⁴⁴¹ As such, those would correlate more closely with the identification of Firmus the soldier than Ursinus the *ducenarius*.

Compared to the two monuments discussed previously, this monument here follows roughly the conventions of the austere upright portraiture, as the family members are depicted standing next to each other with the child in the foreground close to the parent. In contrast, the monument's portrait of the deceased is coarser and less detailed (a characteristic that is exacerbated by the general wear and tear of the monument). Furthermore, the monument does not show any physical contact between the family members. In fact, the decisive indication that this is a family portrait is to be found in the inscription rather than in the relief, although the inclusion of the child and the woman holding a piece of fruit reinforces the idea of a harmonious family.

¹⁴³⁹ Pochmarski 2014, 405.

¹⁴⁴⁰ For example, *CIL* 3, 4289 from Brigetio reads only *legionis I Adiutricis*, despite the fact that it succeeded the reign of both Trajan and the Severans; the reference to Cl. Aurelius Superinus as *praefectus legionis* dates the monument to 269 A.D.

¹⁴⁴¹ Milcheva 2017, 192.

3.4.2.2.2.4 Aelius Fronto's family

Inscription no. 32 has been discussed previously in paragraph 2.5.1.7 and 2.5.4.11 for its use of *dolere* and *flere*.¹⁴⁴² The monument comes from Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior) and is dated to the late 2nd and early 3rd century A.D. It is dedicated to the parents Aelius Fronto and Septimia Decorata as well as their three children Inpetratus, Vindex and Lucrorina. As stated in paragraph 2.5.1.7, the monument features two children and four adults – an inconsistency with the inscription's contents. Despite these incongruities, the sentiment of harmony within the depiction is mainly attributed to the fact that two of the adults, the one on the left and the one on the right, place their hand on the shoulders of the children featured in front of them. Furthermore, both children are shown holding a piece of fruit which, as discussed earlier, symbolised the affectionate nature of the relationship between parents and children. This is further emphasised by the fact that the woman is holding a basket of fruit next to the man, creating a direct link of harmony between the giver and the receiver of the gift.

3.4.2.2.2.5 Salvius

Inscription no. 5 has already been discussed in paragraph 2.5.2.4 for its use of *luctus*, in 2.5.4.7 for its use of *flere* and in 3.4.1.1.2.3 for the depiction of the hunting scene and its connection with *virtus*.¹⁴⁴³ As previously stated, this monument shows standardised iconography such as the *Graberothen*, dolphins and hippocampi on one hand, but two separate pairs of busts, one pair featuring two men and another a man and woman on the other hand. The former couple of busts is surrounded by a wreath, while the latter pair is displayed in the traditional style of a married couple, shoulder to shoulder within the same frame. Despite this iconography, Salvius is not commemorated by a spouse (or even a family member), but by his comrade Julius Asclepiades, instead.

As is the case with the inscription discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.4, the monument shows a discrepancy between the persons mentioned in the inscription and the persons depicted. However, the inconsistency in the inscription discussed above was contained to the omission of a child; in contrast, the epitaph here depicts a

¹⁴⁴² **Inscription no. 32** = *CIL* 3, 3362. See pages 89–91 for the initial analysis.

¹⁴⁴³ **Inscription no. 5** = *CIL* 3, 3241. See pages 103–108 for the initial analysis.

married couple that is not mentioned in the inscription itself. Their display cannot be attributed to the erasure or omission of certain names and does not refer to any other inscription found on the monument. As such, it indicates that the commemorator saw the arrangement of the married couple's bust as one of many standardised motifs that, despite the absence of such a relation with the deceased, did not hinder its erection. The extent to which the depiction of the couple is due to other factors that may have influenced the dedicator's decision, such as time constraints, a lack of available epigraphic material or personal motivations, cannot be determined with certainty from the monument. However, one should not underestimate the symbolic power of the married couple, widely perceived as emblematic of concord and unity on sepulchral inscriptions. If anything, the discrepancy was evidently not pivotal for the dedicator, although alternative depictions more aptly suited to illustrating harmony among companions might have been more transparent.

3.4.3 Personal Integrity

3.4.3.1 *Integritas*

3.4.3.1.1 Literature

Integritas embodies the concept of 'the absence of wrongdoing' and symbolizes the moral rectitude and decency of the Roman people.¹⁴⁴⁴ Etymologically, it derives from *integer* (itself rooted in *in* and *tango*, "untouched/intact") and is thus attributed to those people whose moral compass is unblemished, unspoiled and untainted by their actions.¹⁴⁴⁵ In many cases, the adjective *integer* or noun *integritas* emphasises a general level of ethical wholeness that is often found alongside other moral traits, such as *fides*, *innocens* or *severus*, which amplify the moral dimension of *integritas*.¹⁴⁴⁶ The personified epitome of Roman *integritas* was Cato the Younger, as both Cicero¹⁴⁴⁷ and Sallust¹⁴⁴⁸ commended him for his "blameless life."¹⁴⁴⁹ In this regard, *integritas* embodies the personal integrity of one's actions sustained not just in the moment, but upheld over an extended period of time; *integritas* is not a characteristic to possess

¹⁴⁴⁴ Moore, T. 1989, 127.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Kaster 2005, 136.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Kaster 2005, 139–142.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Cic. *Sest.* 60: *at etiam eo negotio M. Catonis splendorem maculare voluerunt ignari quid gravitas, quid integritas, quid magnitudo animi, quid denique virtus valeret.*

¹⁴⁴⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 54: *integritate vitae Cato.*

¹⁴⁴⁹ McDonnell 2006, 382.

but is instead accumulated on the basis of one's actions and thus intrinsically connected to the display of other virtues.

There are many examples in ancient literature of the integrity and correctness of one's behaviour, mostly in connection with the correct moral attitude in (political) administration.¹⁴⁵⁰ For example, Cicero contends in his *Pro Plancio* that suitable candidates for public magistracies should be considered based on their *virtus, probitas* and *integritas*.¹⁴⁵¹ Similarly, he describes the virtues that should be the defining moral features of anyone considered a prosecutor in the *Divinatio in Caecilium*: Cicero lists *integritas* first as he states that "nothing would be more intolerable than if a man whose own conduct will not stand criticism should proceed to criticise the conduct of others."¹⁴⁵² There are plenty to other examples where *integritas* is associated with public administration, such as when Cicero describes the political stability that came from the provincial administration of one Ligarius as marked by *integritas* and *fides*.¹⁴⁵³ Furthermore, the use of *integritas* for administrative performance is similarly found in a passage by Cornelius Nepos, where the author describes the life of Phocion the Athenian, of whom Nepos claims that he is much better known for his *integritas*, for which he received the epithet *bonus* than for his military actions (*rei militaris labor*).¹⁴⁵⁴ As noted earlier, these examples show that *integritas* is a virtue attributed to men on the basis of their reputation and past actions. As such, *integritas* is a virtue ascribed on the basis of long-term merit rather than on the basis of one-off or spontaneous actions.

3.4.3.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

Forbis suggests that because *integritas* is found only on a handful of inscriptions from members of the equestrian rank and local magistrates, the virtue was not so readily attributed to members of the Roman senatorial rank. When found on honorific

¹⁴⁵⁰ One example where *integritas* is used in a more general sense is Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.1: *integer vitae scelerisque purus non eget*.

¹⁴⁵¹ Cic. *Planc.* 62: *virtus, probitas, integritas in candidato, non linguae volubilitas, non ars, non scientia requiri solet*.

¹⁴⁵² Cic. *Div. Caec.* 9: *primum integritatem atque innocentiam singularem: nihil est enim quod minus ferendum sit quam rationem ab altero vitae repossere eum qui non possit suae reddere*. Translation provided by Greenwood 1928.

¹⁴⁵³ Cic. *Lig.* 2: *Itaque Ligarius, cum diu recusans nihil profecisset, prouinciam accepit inuitus; cui sic praefuit in pace ut et ciuibus et sociis gratissima esset eius integritas et fides*.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Nep. *Phoc.* 1.1.

inscriptions, it underlined, in a similar way to *innocentia*, the correct exercise of one's administrative functions.¹⁴⁵⁵ In the political landscape of the urban centres of the Roman West, such accentuations of the proper functioning of a local magistrate were much sought after and, moreover, essential for the further political advancement of the aspiring politician in the *cursus honorum*.¹⁴⁵⁶

In contrast to the honorific epigraphy, the virtue term is found only sporadically on Latin epitaphs. A total of five funerary inscriptions mention *integritas*, four of which are in prose¹⁴⁵⁷ and one is in verse.¹⁴⁵⁸ In these cases, two distinct uses can be detected for *integritas*: firstly, the virtue term is directly ascribed to the deceased men and women, usually as one of the many virtues lauding the life of the deceased. In these cases, the virtue term is found mostly together with *innocentia*, *fides* and *frugalitas*. Secondly, *integritas* is applied to the dedicator who has performed the honours due to the deceased to the best of his ability and with highest *integritas*. This is usually expressed by the phrase *eximiae laudis summae integritatis*. In total, the virtue is attributed, where recognisable, 3 times to men¹⁴⁵⁹ and once to a woman.¹⁴⁶⁰ Of these persons, two men are identified as local administrators, as *ILJug-3*, 1806 attributes *integritas* to a *decurio municipii*, while *CIL* 8, 27505 lauds the *integritas* of an *aedilis*. In the corpus, however, *integritas* is not attested directly. Nevertheless, the epitaphs allude to the same sentiment as the virtue through the theme that emphasises 'a life without fault or crime.' The epitaphs of the corpus allude to this message in different ways, namely through the phrases *sine culpa* and *sine crimine*.

3.4.3.1.2.1 Iulianus

Inscription no. 33 is found on a monument from the Roman city Romula, otherwise known as Malva in Dacia, today's Reșca in Romania. The settlement was situated on the river Olt and was one of the principal cities of the province. Previously a military camp, it was turned into a civic settlement during the reign of Hadrian and was

¹⁴⁵⁵ Forbis 1996, 65.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Pobjoy 2000, 90.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *AE* 2013, 1848: *integritas* (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 35108: *integritate* (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 35622: *integritatis* (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *ILJug-3*, 1806: *integritatis* (Gromile, 131-200 A.D.).

¹⁴⁵⁸ *CIL* 8, 27505: *integritatis* (Masculula, 100-300 A.D.).

¹⁴⁵⁹ *CIL* 6, 35622 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *ILJug-3*, 1806 (Gromile, 131-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 27505: *integritatis* (Masculula, 100-300 A.D.).

¹⁴⁶⁰ *AE* 2013, 1848 (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.).

subsequently elevated to the rank of *colonia* during Septimius Severus' reign. However, due to repeated barbarian attacks, the Dacian frontier was abandoned and the city was destroyed sometime during the reigns of Gallienus and Aurelian (253–275 A.D.).¹⁴⁶¹ As such, the monument referring to the *colonia Romulensis* is approximately dated to the 3rd century A.D., between the reigns of Septimius Severus and Aurelian (193–275 A.D.). The inscription features in a *tabula ansata* on the long side of a sarcophagus, topped by two acroteria, each adorned with winged *erotes* lying on a leaf, each *erote* holding a wreath. Six other funerary monuments have been discovered in the region of Romula that can be dated between 150 and 270 A.D.¹⁴⁶² Of these, the monument discussed here is the only extant verse inscription.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Iul(io) Iuliano dec(urioni) quaestoric(io) / aedilic(io) col(oniae) Romul(ensis) Valeria Ge/mellina marito b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit): /⁵ Coniugi pro meritis quondam karissimo coniunx / hanc Iuliano domum flendo fabricavi perennem / frigida qua membra possint requiescere morti. / Quattuor hic denos vixit sine culpa per annos / et sua perfunctus vidit cum gloria honores. /¹⁰ Ecce Gemellina pietate ducta marito / struxi dolens digno sedem cum liberis una / inter pampinea virgulta et gramina laeta / umbra super rami virides ubi densa ministrat. / Qui legis hos versus, opta leve terra viator.*¹⁴⁶³

To the spirits of the departed. To Aelius Iulius Iulianus, *decurio*, *quaestoricus*, and *aedilicius* of the *colonia* of Romula. Valeria Gemellina made this for her well-deserving husband: For her at one time deserving husband, she made this enduring home, crying, where cold limbs could rest in death. He lived here for forty years without fault and, having performed his duties, saw honors to his dignity. See Gemellina, led by devotion to the husband, mournfully constructed a fitting residence with her children, in the midst of vine-covered bushes and lush grass, where the fresh branches provide shelter with their thick darkness. Whoever passer-by might read this verses, hope that the earth might be light.¹⁴⁶⁴

The monument is dedicated to 40 year old Aelius Iulius Iulianus who, according to his epitaph, held many prominent positions within the *colonia* of Romula and was a

¹⁴⁶¹ Negru et al. 2023, 166–167, 170–171.

¹⁴⁶² *CIL* 3, 1592a (Romula, 151–250 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1593 (Romula, 201–270 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1594 (Romula, 171–270 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 1595 (Romula, 151–270 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8033 (Romula, 151–192 A.D.); *IDR* 2, 353 (201–270 A.D.).

¹⁴⁶³ Edition of Fenechiu 2019, 132.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Author's translation.

member of the city council as *decurio*.¹⁴⁶⁵ The use of the suffix *-icius* for the Roman magistracies of *quaestor* and *aedilis* shows that these offices were held in the past.¹⁴⁶⁶ Salomies notes that *aedilicius* came into use in the second half of the 1st century A.D., while *quaestoricius* is not really widely attested until the late 2nd century A.D.¹⁴⁶⁷ The monument was dedicated by Valeria Gemellina, the wife of Iulianus, who mentions in passing that the couple had several surviving children at the time of the creation of the monument. The *praescriptum* is written in prose, while the remainder of the text, starting at lines *coniugi pro*, is composed in dactylic hexameters. Cugusi claims that some of the inspiration for the poem, though not copied verbatim, came from certain passages in Vergil's *Georgics* which similarly describe the *umbra densa* and the *frigida membra*.¹⁴⁶⁸

The inscription describes the quality of Iulianus' life, who not only held many magistracies that brought fame to his name, but was also beloved by his wife and whose death was worthy of her grief. Significantly, the monument states that Iulianus lived *quattor hic denos vixit sine culpa per annos*, meaning that he, lived without crime or fault throughout his life his lifetime (assuming that *quattor* refers to Iulianus' age). This line primarily brings honour to the legacy of the deceased, whose name should be rejoiced due to his good behaviour during his lifetime and may have specifically strengthened Iulianus' official function as previous *quaestor* and *aedilis*; At the same time, the inclusion of this line emphasises the cruel nature of death, as it comes for everyone and makes no exception for those least deserving of it.

The phrase *vixit sine culpa* is only found on a small number of Latin epitaphs, all prose, of which most are Late antique and Christian: one undated monument from Etruria is dedicated to Claudia Longina, *sine culpa perit*,¹⁴⁶⁹ while three 4th century A.D. epitaphs from Rome, all three Christian, either read *sine culpa*¹⁴⁷⁰ or *sine ulla culpa*.¹⁴⁷¹ While it might be tempting to place the *sine culpa* on Iulianus' inscription in the framework of a growing Christian attitude in the Roman provinces that thus

¹⁴⁶⁵ A Latin inscription, from Vina in Africa Proconsularis, has also a *decurio* who was a former *aedilis* and *quaestor*: *AE* 1961, 200 (Vina, undated).

¹⁴⁶⁶ Salomies 2010, 205.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Salomies 2010, 212–213.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Cugusi 1996, 260–261.

¹⁴⁶⁹ *AE* 1997, 523 (Ronciglione, undated).

¹⁴⁷⁰ *ICUR* 1, 2099 (Rome, 384 A.D.).

¹⁴⁷¹ *ICUR* 9, 23961 (Rome, 301–400 A.D.); *ICUR* 9, 24545 (Rome, 301–400 A.D.).

steered towards such proto-Christian utterances, there is no evidence from the region that suggests that this phrase was directly connected with early Christian attitudes. Furthermore, Shaw argued that such ‘negative virtues’ decreased over time, at least in the city of Rome (from which the most evidence derives), as they are less attested on Christian than on non-Christian epitaphs.¹⁴⁷²

In contrast, the phrase *sine crimine* is attested in much larger numbers. The most common variation of the *vixit sine crimine*-phrase usually has the age of the deceased interposed between *vixit* and *sine crimine*. This phrase is found in Gallia Lugdunensis,¹⁴⁷³ Numidia,¹⁴⁷⁴ Rome,¹⁴⁷⁵ Italy¹⁴⁷⁶ Africa Proconsularis,¹⁴⁷⁷ Dalmatia¹⁴⁷⁸ and Mauretania Caesariensis.¹⁴⁷⁹ At times, the age of the deceased is spelled out, recalling, for example, how one lived for *denos, sexsies* or *septies annos sine crimine*.¹⁴⁸⁰ At other times, no age is included at all, although the sentiment remains the same.¹⁴⁸¹ Sometimes, the phrase is used not to reflect on the life of the deceased, but to advise the reader of the inscription to live a life without crime. For example, one inscription from Maktharis reads: *discite, mortals, sine crimine degere vitam*.¹⁴⁸² Finally, another one use of the phrase is where the dedicators condemn death for punishing them and causing them grief, despite having lived their lives *sine crimine*.¹⁴⁸³ Interestingly, all 32 inscriptions that use the phrase *sine crimine* in one way or another are written at least partly in verse. None of the inscriptions with this sentiment are written entirely in prose.

¹⁴⁷² Shaw 2002, 211.

¹⁴⁷³ *CIL* 13, 2118 (Lugdunum, undated).

¹⁴⁷⁴ *ILAlg*-2-1, 2757 (Celtianis, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 19729 (Celtianis, 101-150 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 20060 (Mileum, undated).

¹⁴⁷⁵ *CIL* 6, 8550 (Rome, 98-117 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 14618 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25668 (Rome, undated); *CIL* 6, 25985 (Rome, 51-150 A.D.).

¹⁴⁷⁶ *AE* 2001, 964 (Veii, undated); *CIL* 5, 5328 (Comum, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 3752 (Lorium, undated); *CIL* 11, 5074 (Meuania, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 316 (Ostia Antica, 50-300 A.D.); *Epigraphica* 38, 1976, 130 (Cosentia, 71-150 A.D.).

¹⁴⁷⁷ *CIL* 8, 2207 (Tinfadi, undated); *CIL* 8, 5001 (Thubursicu Numidarum, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 27962 (Hennchir, 100-300 A.D.).

¹⁴⁷⁸ *CIL* 3, 3196 (Dalmatia, location unknown. 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁴⁷⁹ *CIL* 8, 19729 (Celtianis, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁴⁸⁰ *CIL* 5, 5320 (Comum, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 1856 (Lugdunum, 231-270 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 1891 (Lugdunum, 201-250 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 391 (Conimbriga, 150-200 A.D.).

¹⁴⁸¹ *Hamdoune*-2011, 108 (Thamugadi, 100-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 30152 (Rome, undated); *CIL* 5, 3403 (Verona, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁴⁸² *CIL* 8, 11824 (Mactaris, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 6551 (Sassina, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁴⁸³ *CIL* 8, 7255 (Cirta, undated); *CLEMOes* 23 (Ratiaria, 270-330 A.D.); *CIL* 13, 3689 (Augusta Treverorum, 200-300 A.D. **Inscription no. 1**).

3.4.3.1.2.2 Cominius

Inscription no. 34 originates from Burnum, Dalmatia, located in modern-day Croatia. The monument consists of a broken-off stele with a pediment, flanked by two unadorned acroteria. The monument measures 90 cm high and 50 cm wide.¹⁴⁸⁴ The settlement of Burnum originated from a military camp that housed the 11th legion from 10 until 69 A.D., after which it was inhabited by the *legio IV Flavia* until 86 A.D. A civic settlement grew alongside the military camp that attained the municipal rank during the reign of Hadrian.¹⁴⁸⁵ Many inscriptions, among which are three other verse epitaphs, originate from the city.¹⁴⁸⁶ The monument is dated before 42 A.D., as it omits the epithet *Claudia Pia Fidelis* for the legion, which it received from emperor Claudius in that year.¹⁴⁸⁷

*T(itus) Cominius / C(ai) f(ilius) Romilia / Ateste miles / leg(ionis) XI
anno/⁵rum XL stip(endiorum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) frater / fratri posuit. /
Vixsi quad potui semper bene pauper honeste /¹⁰ [fr]audavi nullum: nunc
iuvat / [os]sa mea.¹⁴⁸⁸*

Titus Cominius, son of Caius, from the *tribe* Romilia of Ateste, a soldier of the 11th legion, aged 40, having served for 16 years, is buried here. The brother made this for the brother. I have lived as well as I could, poor, respectable, defrauding no one: now this brings delight to my bones.¹⁴⁸⁹

The monument was dedicated to Titus Cominius, the son of Caius, who originated from Ateste. The city, which lay in the northern parts of Italy, attests the existence of multiple members of the Romilia-tribe.¹⁴⁹⁰ Cominius was a soldier in the *legio XI*, of which as many as 46 other inscriptions from Burnum have survived. Most of these date after 42 A.D., given the inclusion of *Claudia Pia Fidelis*; 11 other inscriptions are dated prior and thus read only *legio XI*.¹⁴⁹¹ One of these, *CIL* 3, 6416, is a metrical inscription, although its heavy fragmentary nature hampers an interpretation. The dedicator of this monument is the brother of Cominius. However, as the dedicator's

¹⁴⁸⁴ Patsch 1897, 190.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Miletic 2010, 117; Cesarik 2018, 13.

¹⁴⁸⁶ *CIL* 3, 6416 (Burnum, 9-69 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 9922 (Burnum, 101-600 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14321, 26 (Burnum, 101-300 A.D.).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Patsch 1897, 190.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Edition of Massaro 2023, 6.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Author's translation.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Frei 1981, 79.

¹⁴⁹¹ *CIL* 3, 2832; *CIL* 3, 6416; *CIL* 3, 6418; *CIL* 3, 9908; *CIL* 3, 14321, 13; *CIL* 3, 14996; *CIL* 3, 14997, 2; *CIL* 3, 15001; *ILJug*-3, 2811; N. Cesarik, *VAMZ* 55, 2022, 60, no. 5; *ibid.*, 65, no. 11.

name is omitted, it is uncertain whether Cominius was commemorated by his actual blood brother, or by a fellow soldier calling himself *frater*. The line *vixi quod ... ossa mea* forms the versified part of the inscription, creating an elegiac couplet. The verse is found in approximately the same wording on another contemporary inscription, dedicated to a member of the praetorian guard from Rome.¹⁴⁹² Apparently, both the workshops in Rome and in Burnum were either inspired by the same poet or poem, or the dedicator of one monument was inspired by the other monument. The phrase found in Cominius epitaph underlines a sentiment akin to the inscription for Iulianus (**inscription no. 33**, discussed in paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.1 above) but uses slightly expanded vocabulary to articulate its intended message: it not only commemorates that Cominius lived his life well, but moreover elaborates that he did so by emphasising his *pauper* and *honestas*, adding that he *fraudavi nullum* during his lifetime. The topic of *honestas* and *paupertas* will be addressed in the paragraphs 3.4.3.4 and 3.4.3.5 respectively.

The popularity of the sentiments addressed in Cominius' epitaph is also attested by other monuments that, despite using different phrasing, agree on the idea that a life lived well was a life spent in honesty and sobriety. Of the 1st century A.D., one verse inscription from Rome reads as follows: *pius et sanctus vixi quam diu potui sine lite, sine rixa, sine controversia, sine aere alieno, amicis fidem bonam praestiti, peculio pauper, animo divitissimus*.¹⁴⁹³ Similarly, a 1st century A.D. verse inscription from Viroconium implores the readers to live their life in honesty: *felices vita ... dum sidus vitae dat tempus, honeste*.¹⁴⁹⁴ In comparison with this inscription, the epitaph for Cominius is rather reserved in its format, highlighting only with keywords rather than complete phrases the sentiment that to live well meant to live with *integritas*, i.e. without quarrel and in good faith.

¹⁴⁹² CIL 6, 2489: *vixi quod volui semper bene pauper honeste fraudavi nullum quod iuvat ossa mea* (Rome, 29-50 A.D.).

¹⁴⁹³ CIL 6, 8012: "I lived as pious and holy as long as I could, without litigation, without quarrel, without controversy, without debt, I upheld good faith with friends, poor in wealth, but rich in spirit." (Rome, 14-50 A.D.).

¹⁴⁹⁴ RIB 292: „be happy in your life... live life honestly, while the star of life permits." (Viroconium, 43-61 A.D.). Translation provided by Kruschwitz 2020b, 182. Not accidentally does this sentiment, of living the 'good life', echo in the Augustan and post-Augustan poets such as Martial and Horace that play with this sentiment: MacLeod 1979, 21.

3.4.3.1.2.3 Celer

The final inscription of this paragraph, **inscription no. 35**, originated from Mogontiacum, from the confines of the military encampment that housed multiple legions next to the civic settlement along the Rhine. The monument is 77 cm high and 58 cm wide.¹⁴⁹⁵ Although the top of the monument is broken off, the lost text can be reconstructed by the edition of Lehne, who made an autopsy of the full monument before it was eventually damaged.¹⁴⁹⁶ The monument gives no conclusive evidence for a precise dating, although, based on the onomastic evidence and the findspot of the monument, Dilthey suggested that the patron of the deceased was a member of the *legio IV Macedonica*, who was stationed in Mogontiacum between 43 and 70 A.D.¹⁴⁹⁷ As such, the monument is dated to approximately the same time period. The monument is an unadorned slab, with the inscription featured in a square text-frame

*C(aius) Gavius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Celer / ann(or)um XXI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
/⁵ Fidus vixisti / sine crimine / Gavi, hoc tibi / pro meritis. sit / tibi terra
levis.*¹⁴⁹⁸

Caius Gavius Celer, the freedman of Caius, aged 21, is buried here. You have lived faithfully without crime, Gavius, this here for your merits. May the earth be light on you.¹⁴⁹⁹

The monument is dedicated to Caius Gavius Celer, who was a freedman of Caius, and who died at the young age of 21. It reveals no other information about the deceased or the commemorator and instead contemplates solely on the deceased's life with the versified line *fidus vixisti sine crimine, Gavi*. The line is, compared to those found in the inscriptions studied in the paragraphs above, the simplest and least elaborate in terms of the used wording. Again, the phrase *sine crimine*, which was found on many inscriptions throughout the empire, is displayed here together with the phrase *fidus vixisti*, signifying that the deceased lived his life without fault and with integrity.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Becker 1875, 85.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Lehne 1837, 417.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Dilthey 1856, 89.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *CIL* 13, 7085.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Author's translation.

3.4.3.2 *Innocentia*

3.4.3.2.1 Literature

The meaning of *innocentia* extends beyond the English term ‘innocence.’¹⁵⁰⁰ While it does entail an absence of guilt in the modern English sense of the word, it similarly denotes enduring upright morality. In this sense, *innocentia* is closely related to *integritas*, since both virtue terms refer to a person’s moral rectitude that is habitually maintained and not contingent on one-off actions.¹⁵⁰¹ As with *integritas*, Cato is often used by *innocentia* as a prime example of moral integrity, as Livy characterises his governorship in Sardinia with “integrity and uprightness” (*sanctus et innocens*).¹⁵⁰² Conversely, *innocentia* seems to imply the absence of the disposition to harm someone, mentally or physically, and in this sense refers mainly to integrity; *integritas*, on the other hand, focuses on the moral rectitude a person’s actions, without necessarily focusing on (the absence of) the intent to harm others, as *innocentia* does. This distinction is confirmed by Cicero, who writes in his *Disputationes Tusculanae* that “*innocentia* is the disposition not to harm anyone.”¹⁵⁰³ As Cicero makes clear, the emphasis is on the absence of malice towards another, whereas *integritas* refers to integrity in a more general sense.

3.4.3.2.2 The epigraphic evidence

Forbis notes that *innocentia* is used on honorary inscriptions in a similar manner as *integritas*, as it denotes the correct exercise of one’s (administrative) functions without any underlying or secondary motives.¹⁵⁰⁴ In funerary epigraphy, the word is used mainly as an epithet to personal names or kinship terms. *Innocentia* relating to an individual is found on 135 Latin epitaphs: in 72 cases, the word is assigned to a man, in 57 cases to a woman and in six cases, the word is assigned to multiple persons or an ungendered group.¹⁵⁰⁵ The distribution of the words used is as follows: out of

¹⁵⁰⁰ *ThLL* s.v. *innocentia*.

¹⁵⁰¹ Mohrmann 2004, 34–35.

¹⁵⁰² Liv. 32.27.3. Translation provided by Sage 1935.

¹⁵⁰³ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.16: *nam est innocentia adfectio talis animi quae noceat nemini*. Translation provided by Graver 2002.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Forbis 1996, 65.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Once, the word refers to the parents, *CIL* 3, 1578 (Ad Mediam, 171–270 A.D.); once, to the mother, father, and brother, *CIL* 6, 29884 (Rome, 1–200 A.D.); once, the word is used as an adverb (*innocenter*), *Gerov*-1989, 230 (Storgosia, 171–230 A.D.); once, to the *anima* of the reader, *CIL* 5, 3996 (Bardolino, 101–300 A.D.) and once to the reader directly, *CIL* 6, 19941 (Rome, 51–100 A.D.); finally, once to the undefined multitude of dedicatees, *CIL* 8, 7277 (Cirta, 231–270 A.D.).

135 inscriptions, 105 are on *innocentissimus*, 23 on *innocens* as an adjective, five on *innocentia*, one on *innocens* (noun) and one on *innocenter*. Furthermore, only eight inscriptions are in verse. The other 127 inscriptions referring to *innocentia* are all prose.

Of the 72 instances where the term is associated with a male, it is addressed 20 times to the *filius*,¹⁵⁰⁶ six times to the *anima* of the male,¹⁵⁰⁷ six times directly to the personal name of the male,¹⁵⁰⁸ five times to the *iuvener*¹⁵⁰⁹ and *maritus*,¹⁵¹⁰ four times to a *puer*¹⁵¹¹ or *vir*,¹⁵¹² and three times to an *adulescens*,¹⁵¹³ *pater*¹⁵¹⁴ or *homo*.¹⁵¹⁵ The rest of the attestations are divided into *alumnus*, *nepos*, *servus*, *veteranus*, *coniunx*, *delicatus*, *infans* or *patronus*.¹⁵¹⁶ Twice, the man is referred to as *rara innocentia*¹⁵¹⁷ and once *innocentia* is used to refer to the man's life.¹⁵¹⁸ Finally, one inscription refers to the deceased man by stating that he was *innocentiae pleno*.¹⁵¹⁹ The 57 cases where

¹⁵⁰⁶ AE 1900, 192 (Cirta, 231-270 A.D.); AE 1985, 899 (Rusippisir, 101-200 A.D.); AE 1989, 281 (Mevania, 101-200 A.D.); AE 2008, 236 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 2-14, 49 (Valentia, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 3, 2612 (Salona, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 8923 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 8999 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 12711 (Doclea, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 1056 (Aquileia, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 2964 (Patavium, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 22206 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 26592 (Rome, 51-250 A.D.); CIL 6, 38533 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 8, 2755 (Lambaesis, 193-235 A.D.); CIL 8, 4376 (Lamiggiga, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 13, 11882 (Mogontiacum, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 14, 2337 (Albanum, 101-200 A.D.); CLEPann 10 (Carnuntum, 201-300 A.D.); Brusin-2, 2022 (Aquileia, 151-300 A.D.).

¹⁵⁰⁷ CIL 6, 23448 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 28014 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 37337 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 37811a (Rome, 98-117 A.D.); CIL 9, 3174 (Corfinium, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 888 (Luceria, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵⁰⁸ AE 2005, 349 (Puteoli, 151-230 A.D.); CIL 3, 9121 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 6528a (Novaria, 171-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 8296 (Aquileia, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 6778 (Pontiae, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 13, 6808 (Mogontiacum, 157-159 A.D.).

¹⁵⁰⁹ AE 1968, 29 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 13213 (Salona, 151-230 A.D.); CIL 9, 3084 (Sulmo, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 14, 3330 (Praeneste, 151-300 A.D.); CIL-SupplIt, 772 (Comum, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁰ AE 1957, 143 (Ticinum, 251-30 A.D.); CIL 5, 1468 (Aquileia, 171-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 6547 (Novaria, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 7296 (Corfinium, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 7536 (Falerii, 201-250 A.D.).

¹⁵¹¹ AE 1944, 114 (Brigetio, 201-270 A.D.); CIL 6, 20213 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 11, 5840 (Iguvium, 151-200 A.D.); Brusin-3, 3514 (Aquileia, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵¹² AE 1957, 240 (Auru, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 4855 (Virunum, 251-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 552 (Venusia, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 14, 170 (Portus, 247-248 A.D.).

¹⁵¹³ CIL 5, 5400 (Comum, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 11, 8022 (Asisium, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 14, 2429 (Castrimoenium, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁴ CIL 6, 2893 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 8, 2921 (Lambaesis, 193-235 A.D.); CIL 9, 2974 (Iuvanum, 151-200 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁵ AE 1982, 170 (Suessa Aurunca, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 8896 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 525 (Ariminum, 151-250 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁶ *Alumnus*: CIL 3, 2335 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *Pancier*a-1977, 199 (Rome, 138-161). *Nepos*: CIL 5, 382 (Eraclea Veneta, 101-200 A.D.). *Servus*: CIL 6, 2935 (Rome, 101-250 A.D.). *Veteranus*: CIL 3, 8730 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.). *Coniunx*: CIL 3, 13355 (Taurunum, 201-300 A.D.). *Delicatus*: CIL 3, 1905 (Onaeum, 201-300 A.D.). *Infans*: AE 2014, 246 (Rome, 271-300 A.D.). *Patronus*: CIL 10, 2246 (Puteoli, 60-21 B.C.).

¹⁵¹⁷ AE 2013, 1949 (Ammadara, 201-300 A.D.); NDSA-1925, 222 (Adretium, 51-125 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁸ CIL 6, 20307a (Rome, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵¹⁹ AE 1957, 194 (Tomi, 231-300 A.D.).

innocentia is associated with women are similarly scattered across the categories. In 11 cases, *innocentia* is attributed to the *anima* of the deceased;¹⁵²⁰ on ten epitaphs, *innocentia* is attributed to a *filia*,¹⁵²¹ nine times to the *coniunx*,¹⁵²² six times to a *femina*¹⁵²³ or to a female name.¹⁵²⁴ The remaining attestations attribute *innocentia* to a *puella*, *infans*, *uxor*, *alumna*, *mater*, *mulier*, *matrona*, *patrona* and *soror* respectively.¹⁵²⁵

In the above division of *innocentia* between the genders and between categories of personal relationships, a number of striking themes emerge: the first is that there are many references to the *innocentia* of children. Both *filius* and *filia* are the main attested categories for each virtue term, but other terms dedicated to children are also strongly represented, such as *iuvenes*, *puer*, *puella*, *delicatus* and *infans*. Secondly, references to the *anima innocens* of the deceased are also prevalent across both genders. This specific conjecture is also found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, as he writes *nec providentiae bonae graves oculos innocentis animae latuit aerumna*.¹⁵²⁶ Finally, in almost all cases, *innocentia* is attributed to the deceased

¹⁵²⁰ AE 1976, 254 (Verona, 201-250 A.D.); AE 1990, 203 (Vibinum, 201-300 A.D.); AE 2015, 480 (Comum, 171-230 A.D.); *Galieti*-1948, 64,11 (Albanum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 504 (Aegida, 201-250 A.D.); CIL 5, 5323 (Comum, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 16926 (Roma, 101-230 A.D.); CIL 6, 34675 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 7, 247 (Eboracum, 122-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 5876 (Iguvium, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 14, 3458 (Sublaqueum, 101-250 A.D.).

¹⁵²¹ Ferrua, *ASRSP* 110, 1987, no. 5 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); AE 1962, 43 (Brigetio, 201-230 A.D.); CIL 2, 2888 (Tritium Megallum, 193-235 A.D.); CIL 3, 1527 (Sarmizegethusa, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 12709 (Doclea, 1-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 5354 (Comum, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 8277 (Aquileia, 238-270 A.D.); CIL 5, 8392 (Aquileia, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 7963 (Turrus Libisonis, 51-250 A.D.); CIL 13, 3713 (Augusta Treverorum, 101-300 A.D.).

¹⁵²² AE 1982, 972 (Tipasa, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 3983 (Siscia, 171-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 5635 (Treglwang, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 5484 (Gleisdorf, 101-150 A.D.); CIL 5, 3968 (Arusnates, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 15001 (Rome, 101-250 A.D.); CIL 6, 24833a (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 13, 2616 (Haedui, 211-222 A.D.); IDR 3, 3, 416 (Alburnus Maior, 201-250 A.D.).

¹⁵²³ AE 1957, 218 (Heba, 151-300 A.D.); AE 1991, 867 (Ticinum, 131-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 7382 (Dertona, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 8982 (Cures Sabini, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 13, 2699 (Haedui, 171-230 A.D.); CIL 13, 8353 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, 201-250 A.D.).

¹⁵²⁴ CIL 6, 11862 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 25026 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 20584 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 10, 2068 (Puteoli, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 11, 1080 (Parma, 101-250 A.D.); *Helittutla*-2003, 78 (Portus, 171-200 A.D.).

¹⁵²⁵ *Puella*: CIL 3, 2023 (Salona, 171-300 A.D.); CIL 10, 7811 (Pirri, 201-300 A.D.); CIL 13, 1983 (Lugdunum, 201-300 A.D.). *Infans*: CIL 8, 20769 (Auzia, 264 A.D.); CIL 10, 2517 (Puteoli, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 13, 7078 (Mogontiacum, 201-300 A.D.). *Uxor*: CIL 8, 466 (Ammadara, 1-130 A.D.); CIL 10, 4132 (Casilinum, 30 B.C.-30 A.D.). *Alumna*: *Iljug* 3, 2149 (Salona, 101-300 A.D.); Dennison, *AJA* 2, 1898, 397 (Puteoli, 193-220 A.D.). *Mater*: *Visconti*-2021, 124 (Aequum Tuticum, 131-239 A.D.). *Mulier*: CIL 3, 5880 (Haunsheim, 151-250 A.D.). *Matrona*: *RIU* 2, 575 (Brigetio, 151-300 A.D.). *Patrona*: CIL 6, 1448 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.). *Soror*: *Brusin*-1, 874 (Aquileia, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵²⁶ *Apul. Met.* 6.15.2. Lucius' *innocentia* is again reiterated in *Met.* 11.16.4: *qui vitae scilicet praecedentis innocentia fideque meruerit*.

and is primarily a virtue attributed to the dead. Only very sporadically is *innocentia* attributed to the living, notably in two cases to the reader of the inscription.¹⁵²⁷

3.4.3.2.2.1 Bilingual inscription to Papirianus

The only inscription that refers to *innocentia* or any of its related words is **inscription no. 36** from Aquincum and is dated to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.¹⁵²⁸ The monument consists of a sarcophagus 200 cm wide and 76 cm high. On one side is the Latin inscription, with the *praescriptum* above a *tabula ansata*, containing the metrical part and the *postscriptum*. The *ansae* are filled with flowers and leaves. On the other side of the sarcophagus there is a square unframed text field, filled with a Greek verse inscription.¹⁵²⁹ Both the Latin and Greek texts are given here.

*D(is) M(anibus) C(aio) Val(erio) Papirian[o] trib(un)o leg(ionis) II
Ad(iutricis). / Urbe Pal(a)estina genitum [m]e / militiae res / transtulit huc
sper[antem]; tamd[ī]uq(ue) /⁵ tribunus insont[em] vitam solvi. Duo pignora
[cara] / [quae tibi re]liqui sume ac be[ne] vive [---] / C. Valerius Turbo et
L[icinian(?)]us fil(ii) eius / eq(uites) R(omani).*

πατρις ἔμοι Συρίας δάπεδον / πόλεως Καπετωλιάδαο, /¹⁰κεῖμε δ' ἐν
Πα[ί]οσι κενὸν ὄρ/γανον ἀνθρώποισι, λεγε/ῶνος ἀρχηγὸς γεγονῶς, / ᾧ
τοῦνομα Παπειριανὸς ὑπάρχει / υἱοὶ ἱππικοὶ β' πατρὶ χρηστῶ.¹⁵³⁰

To the spirits of the departed. To Caius Valerius Papirianus, tribune of the *legio II Adiutrix*. Born in a city in Palestine, the affairs of military service brought me here, and all this time as tribune I lived my life guiltless. Take and live well, the two dear pledges that I left ... C. Valerius Turbo and Licinianus, his sons, Roman knights, [made this monument].

My native land is the land of Syria, the city of *Kapetolias*, I lie here an empty body to the Pannonians¹⁵³¹, having become a tribune in the legion, being granted the name Papirianus. His two knight sons [made this monument] for a noble father.¹⁵³²

The sarcophagus belonged to one Caius Valerius Papirianus, who was a tribune in the *legio II Adiutrix*, stationed in Aquincum since 89 A.D. and took part in Trajan's Dacian and Parthian campaigns, together with the nearby stationed *legio I Adiutrix*. The

¹⁵²⁷ *CIL* 5, 3996 (Bardolino, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19941 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.).

¹⁵²⁸ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 80.

¹⁵²⁹ Kovács 2007a, 37.

¹⁵³⁰ Edition from Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 77.

¹⁵³¹ *SEG* 48, 1315 notes that ἐν Παίοσι refers to the Παίονες, i.e. the Pannonians.

¹⁵³² Author's translation.

legion subsequently took part in the Parthian war of Septimius Severus, who re-established the soldiers in Aquincum in 202 A.D.¹⁵³³ The inscription mentions that Papirianus was of eastern origin, as it describes him as being from the land of Syria. The inscription reads that his hometown was *Urbs Palaestina* in Latin and *polis Kapetolias* in ancient Greek. It remains uncertain which city is specified here: most recently, Massaro suggested that Papirianus originated from the city of Capitolias.¹⁵³⁴ However, Capitolias, established during the reign of Nerva or Trajan in the Decapolis-region, was located in the province of Arabia.¹⁵³⁵ This makes an identification with Papirianus' Syrian ancestry less likely. Another interpretation is that it refers to Jerusalem, which was renamed *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* after its partial destruction and annexation by Hadrian in 130 A.D.¹⁵³⁶ It is argued that the *Capitolias* here is a shortened version of Jerusalem, which is consistent with the city often being referred to in Greek inscriptions as *Aelias Kapitolias*.¹⁵³⁷

The monument was dedicated to Papirianus by his two sons, Valerius Turbo and (presumably) Licinianus, who present themselves both in the Latin and the Greek inscription as *equites Romani*. Based on this, it is assumed that the tribune Papirianus was *tribunus angusticlavius* of the equestrian *ordo*.¹⁵³⁸ Since the monument makes no mention of a post-military rank, it is assumed that Papirianus died while in military service.¹⁵³⁹

In the Latin part of the inscription, the lines *urbe Palestina ... be[ne] vive* are written in imperfect dactylic hexameter.¹⁵⁴⁰ This is where the passage *tamdiuque tribunus insontem vitam solvi* is found. Importantly, only the Latin, not the Greek part of the inscription refers to the innocent character of the deceased. The line indicates that during his time as tribune he lived his life *insons* – free from guilt. The choice of *insons* over *innocens* can be argued on two grounds: the first is interpretative, since the difference between *innocens* and *insons* is that the former emphasises the absence of the urge to harm others, as seen in the literary evidence discussed in paragraph

¹⁵³³ Pochmarski 2014, 406.

¹⁵³⁴ Massaro 2023, 36, n107.

¹⁵³⁵ Lenzen/Knauf 1987, 25.

¹⁵³⁶ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 81; Kovács 2007b, 790.

¹⁵³⁷ SEG 51, 1480.

¹⁵³⁸ Kovács 2007b, 790.

¹⁵³⁹ Kovács 2001, 91.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 81.

3.4.3.2.1, whereas *insons* is used on this monument as an adjective to describe the tribune's *vita*. The innocence lies in the actions he performed during his lifetime. The difference in innocence between (the absence of) action and character may be subtle, but it is important because it underlines the detailed expression of such virtues in epigraphy.

The second explanation for *insons* instead of *innocens* could be due to metrical constraints, as *innocens* as a cretic does not fit a dactylic foot, whereas *insons* does. *Insons* would thus serve as a metrically appropriate substitute for *innocens*, which is supported by the epigraphic evidence: all six attestations of *insons* are versified.¹⁵⁴¹ *Insons* is attributed to the deceased in all these inscriptions and usually follows as an adjective to the name of the deceased or is used as a noun to refer to the dead. The epitaph of Papirianus discussed here is the only one that attributes *insons* to the *vita* of the deceased.

3.4.3.3 *Fides*

3.4.3.3.1 Literature

Almost every ancient author who wrote on virtue ethics touched on the specific virtue of *fides*. Cicero constructs *fides* as the fundamental building block of *iustitia*: “The foundation of justice ... is good faith (*fides*), that is, truth (*veritas*) and fidelity (*constantia*) to promises and agreements”¹⁵⁴². The implication of this passage is that *fides*, as a moral quality, is to some extent based on reciprocity, where the trust placed in someone is reciprocated by the fulfilment of duties.¹⁵⁴³ The implications attached to agreements based on *fides* were substantial, as already in the Twelve Tables, as Cicero says, the breaking of *fides* was considered profane.¹⁵⁴⁴ It is important to note that *fides* in a general sense means something like “reliance” or “belief” and can also be applied to things or persons without the meaning of a virtue, simply meaning

¹⁵⁴¹ *CIL* 2, 4315 (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 5049 (Calceranica al Lago, 71-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21846 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 37965 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 3771 (Careiae, 101-200 A.D.); *RIB* 684 (Eboracum, 101-200 A.D. **Inscription no. 14**).

¹⁵⁴² Cic. *Off.* 1.7.23: *Fundamentum autem est iustitiae fides, id est dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas*. Translation provided by Miller 1913.

¹⁵⁴³ Moore, T. 1989, 36.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Cic. *Off.* 3.111: *Id indicant leges in duodecim tabulis, indicant sacratae, indicant foedera, quibus etiam cum hoste devincitur fides, indicant notiones animadversionesque censorum, qui nulla de re diligentius quam de iure iurando iudicabant*. Augoustakis/Buckley/Stocks 2019, 4.

“faith” or “trust”.¹⁵⁴⁵ However, when the word is applied to the moral quality of someone, it begets the meaning of “trustworthiness.”¹⁵⁴⁶ Thus, the rendering of a meaning of *fides* is mainly determined by the context in which the word is used, and its application is sometimes ambiguous even in those cases, as Moore noted, for example, that for Livy and his use of the word it is uncertain whether it “denotes a virtue or something more mundane or concrete.”¹⁵⁴⁷ As such, *fides* is used in Livy to describe the unwritten but agreed bond that ties allies to act in accordance with previous agreements – where the link between *fides* and reciprocity is thus explicitly stated – but at other times the word denotes an attachment to, for example, the state or other persons that is not based on explicit agreement but rather on moral commitment.¹⁵⁴⁸

Valerius Maximus discusses *fides* and divides them into three categories: first, he discusses loyalty to the state (6.6): in this category, the *exempla* provided testify to various Romans who, even in difficult times such as war, did not allow their integrity to be sacrificed for practicality. The *exemplum* of Africanus, who freed Carthaginian prisoners of war posing as Carthaginian ambassadors, shows that Scipio thought it much better to be seen to have been tricked by the enemy than to kill unjust prisoners ruthlessly.¹⁵⁴⁹ The second category concerned fidelity between husband and wife (6.7). Maximus gives the *exemplum* of Sulpicia, who followed her husband Lentulus into exile by disguising herself as a servant.¹⁵⁵⁰ Finally, the third category included the loyalty of slaves to their masters (6.8), exemplified by the story of how the slave of Caius Gracchus, after beheading his master on his orders, took his own life with the same sword in the name of loyalty.¹⁵⁵¹

3.4.3.3.2 The epigraphic evidence

Forbis notes that in the honorific inscriptions of the Italian peninsula, *fides* is mainly used in relation to political and administrative rather than financial patronage, and

¹⁵⁴⁵ For example, again in the *De officiis*, Cicero talks about *fides* in the sense of “confidence” that is grounded in the expectation of someone’s knowledge. Cic. *Off.* 2.9.33. Another use of this *fides* is also found in Cicero’s *Rep.* 1.10.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Heinze 1928, 140.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Moore, T. 1989, 35.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Moore, T. 1989, 36.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Val. Max. 6.6.4.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Val. Max. 6.7.2.

¹⁵⁵¹ Val. Max. 6.8.3.

was sometimes used to establish and underline the idea of integrity in someone's actions, mainly in relation to their political or communal responsibilities. Similarly, *fides* was used on honorary epigraphs to underline someone's professional integrity. Much less attested is the connection between *fides* and financial benefits.¹⁵⁵²

The epitaphs attest to the noun *fides* and its adjectives *fidus*, *fidissimus*, *fidelis*, *fidelissimus* and the adverb *fideliter*.¹⁵⁵³ This excludes references to the goddess Fides,¹⁵⁵⁴ to the noun *fiducia*¹⁵⁵⁵ and the verb *fiduciare*.¹⁵⁵⁶ *Fides* and related words can be categorised as follows: of the 165 inscriptions,¹⁵⁵⁷ *fidelissimus* occurs 76 times; *fides* 43 times; *fidelis* on 20 epitaphs; *fidus* on 15 inscriptions; *fidissimus* on 10 monuments; and finally *fideliter* on only one inscription. In total, there are 163 uses of *fides*.¹⁵⁵⁸ Of these, 61 times *fides* refers to men, while in 82 cases it refers to women. In 20 inscriptions, *fides* does not refer to a specific person, is used in a general sense, or is used with reference to a (non-living) spiritual entity.

Starting with the male references: most attestations refer to *libertus* (15 times),¹⁵⁵⁹ followed by *amicus* (10 times),¹⁵⁶⁰ the personal name (11 times),¹⁵⁶¹ on five

¹⁵⁵² Forbis 1996, 62–64.

¹⁵⁵³ Inflections included in the data.

¹⁵⁵⁴ *CIL* 9, 60 (Brundisium, 71-120 A.D.).

¹⁵⁵⁵ *CIL* 6, 2949 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 3031 (Praeneste, 151-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁵⁶ *CIL* 6, 3554 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 8456 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁵⁷ This number differs slightly from the number of gendered attestations since it also takes into account those inscriptions which due to their fragmentary state do not allow for a reconstruction of the dedicatee but nevertheless still show the virtue term. The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

¹⁵⁵⁸ This tally excludes inscriptions that depict *fides* but are of such fragmentary state that they are uninterpretable for their use. This explains the discrepancy in the total number of attestations of *fides* and the total number of uses for *fides*.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *AE* 1986, 88 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 1994, 593 (Attidium, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2204 (Salona, 171-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 5890 (Neuburg, 171-250 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 457 (Cataio, 1-25 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 984 (Aquileia, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10577 (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 15149 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16259 (Rome, 98-113 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16816 (Rome, 171-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16843 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 27849 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28790 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 695 (Surrentum, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 5375 (Interamna Lirenas, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁰ *CIL* 3, 2722 (Tilurium, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 18619 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21473a (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21852 (Rome, 51-150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25449 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 22844 (Rome, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 27799 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 11883 (Rome, 51-150 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 5729 (Sora, 71-130 A.D.); Camodeca, *PCM* 1, 2021, 20–21 (Puteoli, 51-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶¹ *AE* 1991, 122 (Rome, 30 B.C.-30 A.D.); *CIL* 1, 1822 (Alba Fucens, 70-31 B.C.); *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 6191 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10215 (Rome, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25570 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 32311 (Rome, 100-31 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 33575 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 36426 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 4796 (Forum Novum, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 4909 (Trebula Mutuesca, 27 B.C. – 14 A.D.).

inscriptions *fides* applies to *servus*¹⁵⁶² and four times to *maritus*.¹⁵⁶³ After these categories, the numbers dwindle and range between 3 and 1 attestations per category: there are references to *frater*,¹⁵⁶⁴ *actor*,¹⁵⁶⁵ *filius*,¹⁵⁶⁶ *coniunx*,¹⁵⁶⁷ *homo*,¹⁵⁶⁸ *custos*,¹⁵⁶⁹ *alumnus*,¹⁵⁷⁰ *acrarius*,¹⁵⁷¹ *vilico*¹⁵⁷² and *iudex*.¹⁵⁷³

For women, of the 82 attestations, *fides* is attributed 28 times to the personal name,¹⁵⁷⁴ and 26 times to the *coniunx*,¹⁵⁷⁵ after which the numbers dwindle quickly.

¹⁵⁶² AE 1984, 98 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); AE 1998, 563 (Aquileia, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 2509 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 23463 (Rome, 71-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 39080 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶³ AE 1983, 60 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 1142 (Aquileia, 151-200 A.D.); CIL 5, 7655 (Pollentia, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 6, 11195 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁴ CIL 3, 4931 (Virunum, 1-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 1815 (Rome, 42-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 37494 (Rome, 1-30 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁵ CIL 6, 9128 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 14, 469 (Ostia Antica, 51-200 A.D.); CIL 14, 2301 (Albanum, 71-130 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁶ BCTH-1910, 217 (Auzia, 249 A.D.); CIL 3, 13937 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁷ CIL 6, 8154 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 20018 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁸ CIL 13, 1906 (Lugdunum, 201-250 A.D.).

¹⁵⁶⁹ AE 1984, 79 (Rome, 30-1 B.C.).

¹⁵⁷⁰ CIL 6, 8622 (Rome, 117-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷¹ CIL 6, 9146 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷² CIL 6, 9989 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷³ CIL 5, 923 (Aquileia, 168-193 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷⁴ AE 1966, 47 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); AE 1972, 38 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); AE 1972, 132 (Venusia, 251-300 A.D.); AE 1992, 204 (Rome, 71-100 A.D.); AE 2005, 498 (Lucus Feroniae, 71-130 A.D.); AE 2013, 1848 (Ammadara, 201-300 A.D.); AE 2014, 1492 (Capsa, 171-230 A.D.); AE 2014, 1560 (Thamugadi, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 1, 1822 (Alba Fucens (70-30 B.C.); CIL 2, 1699 (Tucci, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.); CIL 5, 6040 (Mediolanum, 101-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 3452 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 6214 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 8769 (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 36426 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 10230 (Rome, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.); CIL 6, 11357 (Rome, 50-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 21975 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 24525 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.); CIL 6, 24550 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 6, 25427 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 25802 (Rome, 251-300 A.D.); CIL 9, 944 (Monte Corvino, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 6417 (Falerio Picenus, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 9, 6696 (Bovianum Undecimanorum, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 1909 (Puteoli, 186-210 A.D.); CIL 10, 4763 (Suessa Aurunca, 180-192).

¹⁵⁷⁵ AE 1967, 62 (Telleneae, 41-117 A.D.); AE 1993, 1276 (Solentia, 151-230 A.D.); AE 1998, 953a (Augusta Treverorum, 201-300 A.D.); AE 1999, 732 (Brixia, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 3, 8340 (Karan, 151-250 A.D.); CIL 3, 11734 (Flavia Solva, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 5, 41 (Pola, 71-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 6208 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 7935 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 9275 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 9327 (Rome, 71-125 A.D.); CIL 6, 9366 (Rome, 1-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 11794 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 15106 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 15165 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); CIL 6, 20867 (Rome, 51-150 A.D.); CIL 6, 21497 (Rome, 41-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 25427 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 6, 26860 (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); CIL 6, 34256 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); CIL 6, 37317 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); CIL 9, 6417 (Falerio Picenus, 101-200 A.D.); CIL 10, 2956 (Puteoli, 131-230 A.D.); CIL 14, 2682 (Tusculum, 1-100 A.D.); RIB 687 (Eboracum, 201-300 A.D.); Ferrua, *Rend.Pont.Ac.Arch.* 55-56, 1982-1984, 429 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.).

Both *liberta*¹⁵⁷⁶ and *uxor*¹⁵⁷⁷ are attested six times, while *conliberta*,¹⁵⁷⁸ *amica*,¹⁵⁷⁹ *custos*,¹⁵⁸⁰ *femina*,¹⁵⁸¹ *mater*,¹⁵⁸² *contubernalis*,¹⁵⁸³ *patrona*,¹⁵⁸⁴ *conserva*,¹⁵⁸⁵ *filia*¹⁵⁸⁶ and *puella*¹⁵⁸⁷ are only attested between the one and three times.

The inscriptions that do not refer to either gender usually use *fides* as part of sentence or as a poetic phrase.¹⁵⁸⁸ For example, one inscription notes how the commemorator carved the name of the deceased “with their loyalty” (*scalpsere sua nomina nostra fide*)¹⁵⁸⁹ or dedicate the monument to “eternal memory of loyalty” (*fidei aeterne memoriae fecit*).¹⁵⁹⁰ Others are more technical and use *fides* as part of a speech that denotes the inviolability of a monument, trusting that such stipulations will be followed by the commemorators and other public figures.¹⁵⁹¹ Occasionally, *fides* is attributed to non-gendered groups, such as parents,¹⁵⁹² heirs¹⁵⁹³ or between friends¹⁵⁹⁴ or is used as a metaphor for marriage or a union.¹⁵⁹⁵ Finally, *fides* is used as a virtue of non-human entities, such as the earth¹⁵⁹⁶ or *solacia*,¹⁵⁹⁷ while it is used once in the sense that Nemesis could not be trusted.¹⁵⁹⁸

¹⁵⁷⁶ *CIL* 3, 5890 (Neuburg, 171-250 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 894 (Aquileia, 238-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19770a (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 1925 (Theveste, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 5659 (Fabrateria Vetus, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 5032 (Mevania, 76-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷⁷ *AE* 1985, 702 (Celeia, 101-230 A.D.); *AE* 1990, 645 (Valentia, 151-200 A.D.); *AE* 1998, 1200 (Dium, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 14, 728 (Saguntum, 171-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8833 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16371 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷⁸ *AE* 1993, 1276 (Solentia, 151-230 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 15696 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19693 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁷⁹ *AE* 1995, 1260 (Solva, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21852 (Rome, 51-150 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 29409 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁰ *CIL* 6, 37965 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3622 (Aveia, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸¹ *CIL* 5, 6116 (Mediolanum, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 26787 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸² *NDSA*-1970, 551 (Copia, 71-130 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸³ *CIL* 2, 4567 (Barcino, 101-170 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁴ *CIL* 6, 28196 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁵ *CIL* 11, 4294 (Interamna Nahars, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁶ *CIL* 6, 35005 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁷ *CIL* 3, 11281 (Carnuntum, 31-70 A.D. **Inscription no. 13**).

¹⁵⁸⁸ *AE* 1971, 44 (Rome, 171-230 A.D.); *AE* 1976, 232 (Aquileia, 201-300 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 497 (Lucus Feroniae, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 8703 (Rome, 31-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10971 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 18209 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 600 (Forum Livii, 1-14 A.D.).

¹⁵⁸⁹ *AE* 1971, 44 (Rome, 171-230 A.D.), although Watt notes that the inclusion of *sua fide* alludes to the financial obligation to pay for their club-member's funeral: Watt 1999, 66.

¹⁵⁹⁰ *AE* 2005, 497 (Lucus Feroniae, 151-250 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹¹ *AE* 1952, 35 (Rome, 31-130 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 6520 (Sassina, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹² *CIL* 6, 5271 (Rome, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 21151 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹³ *AE* 1945, 136 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹⁴ *CIL* 6, 6275 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 512 (Salernum, 45-41 B.C.).

¹⁵⁹⁵ *CIL* 6, 30102 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 41062 (Rome, 15-9 B.C.); *CIL* 10, 7563 (Carales, 131-170 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹⁶ *AE* 1983, 67 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹⁷ *CIL* 5, 5320 (Comum, 1-200 A.D.).

¹⁵⁹⁸ *CIL* 5, 3466 (Verona, 171-300 A.D.).

Looking at the gender distribution of the attestations of *fides*, the majority are for women (50.3% compared to 37.4%), although the distribution by relationship is much more even for men than for women. For women, the sources for *fides* are dominated by references to the *coniunx* or to their personal names, while for men, most references are found in the categories of *libertus*, *amicus* and those men who are referred to only by name.¹⁵⁹⁹ However, there is no indication that *fides* could not – and was not – attributed to men or that *fides* should be considered a virtue generally classified only for women in epitaphs.¹⁶⁰⁰ Notions, such as that *fides* was part of a range of “domestic” virtues solely reserved for women, are therefore false and not supported by the data, as shown above.¹⁶⁰¹ Instead, *fides* was a virtue generally attributed to a number of roles and settings, of which the “faithful wife” was just one archetype. This corresponds to the classification of *fides* by Valerius Maximus. Considering Valerius’ third category (the loyalty of slaves to their masters), this explains the predominance of (former) slaves, especially among the male attestations, who, as a token of their servitude either as slaves or freedmen, were more often than not portrayed with *fides*.¹⁶⁰² This does not negate the fact that *fides* was a virtue term generally attributed to the woman’s personal name. In fact, as the data show, this is the most prominent use of the virtue term, overshadowing its use as a distinguishing feature of the faithful wife. However, such considerations must be placed in the broader context of the use of the virtue term for both men’s and women’s epitaphs, even if *fides* was more popular or appropriate for women.

Finally, a specific category of inscriptions makes use of *fides*, namely those inscriptions which refer to certain professional roles which, given the nature of their profession, entail an emphasis on ‘good faith’ and ‘trustworthiness’: there are those within the legal system, namely the *actor*¹⁶⁰³ and the *iudex*,¹⁶⁰⁴ and those relating to

¹⁵⁹⁹ For the last category (those allusions made to the personal name of a person), at certain times, the specific role of the person is alluded to elsewhere in the inscription. However, since no direct allusion by *fides* to the relation is made, such attestations are only counted as relating to the individual rather than any enclosed role. The same applies for the female categories.

¹⁶⁰⁰ An attitude perhaps only really propagandized during the transformation of the Roman Empire under Christian influence in epigraphic virtuous displays: Trout 2013, 21.

¹⁶⁰¹ For studies that make such claims: Roller 2014, 175–176.

¹⁶⁰² George 2005, 42.

¹⁶⁰³ *CIL* 6, 9128 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 469 (Ostia Antica, 51-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 2301 (Albanum, 71-130 A.D.).

¹⁶⁰⁴ *CIL* 5, 923 (Aquileia, 168-193 A.D.).

public functions such as the *vilico*¹⁶⁰⁵ and the *arcarius*.¹⁶⁰⁶ The link between these professional roles and *fides* cannot be described as circumstantial, given the strong focus of the virtue term on the sanctity of administrative and judicial professional functions.

Of the 165 inscriptions containing *fides* or a related word, 43 are at least partly in verse, while 122 are in prose. Between these two categories, all the uses of the adjective superlative *fidelissimus* are in prose.¹⁶⁰⁷ The other categories (*fides*, *fidissimus*, *fidelis*, *fidus*) are more evenly distributed between verse and prose inscriptions, while the one attestation of the adverb *fideliter* is found on a prose inscription. On the verse inscriptions there are 9 references to the man's *fides* and 21 to the woman's. In 13 cases, *fides* is used metaphorically or does not refer to a living being.

3.4.3.3.2.1 Celer

Despite a rather large quantity of attestations in funerary epigraphy in general, only one inscription in the corpus refers to a male with *fides*. The only inscription that considers this virtue term is the inscription to Gavius Celer, which has already been discussed for its implicit use of *integritas* through *sine crimine* in paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.3.¹⁶⁰⁸ The short inscription was found on a monument originating from Mogontiacum, dated around the 1st century A.D. The monument was dedicated to Gavius Celer, who died a freedman at the age of 21. It provides no clue about the dedicator and only briefly elucidates on the life of the deceased in the line *fidus vixisti sine crimine*.

The use of *fidus* to describe the life of a freedman is broadly in line with the tendency to associate *fides* mainly with (former) slaves, as the data in the previous paragraph attests. *Fides* was the main virtue distinguishing the 'good' freedman from those who did not fulfil their duties (both active and moral) as it emphasised that the bond between patron and freedman was marked by trust and confidentiality even after manumission. Such attestations are not only found in epigraphy but also in the

¹⁶⁰⁵ *CIL* 6, 9989 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁶⁰⁶ *CIL* 6, 9146 (Rome, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁶⁰⁷ Possibly also due to metrical constraints. The data is collected from the *EDCS*, last consulted on May 27th, 2024.

¹⁶⁰⁸ **Inscription no. 35** = *CIL* 13, 7085. See page 326.

literary genre, such as in Terence's *Andria* and in Cicero's writings.¹⁶⁰⁹ Importantly, the moral bond between former master and former slave in the form of *fides* was mainly private in nature in its application to wives and slaves.¹⁶¹⁰ Even so, despite its non-judicial nature, the virtue entailed an extremely strong alliance, binding both patron and freedman in a moral relationship that often went beyond the legal.¹⁶¹¹ This gave rise to a series of obligations and rights which, although not strictly legal, bound the freedman to the patron's allegiance, especially in times of crisis such as the proscriptions or war, while the freedman in turn could rely on the patron for protection in all sorts of situations.¹⁶¹² This bond, and the use of *fidus* in this and other inscriptions that attest to such a relationship, is thus a clear reference to *fides* as a virtue term in the proper sense that it implies a moral bond of reciprocity based on trust and trustworthiness.

The question remains to what extent other uses of *fides* attest to the same meaning of the virtue term or to what extent they touch more superficially on the theme of trust, but not in the same sense as the virtue term proper. Perhaps the high number of uses of the adjective, especially *fidelissimus* (which does not appear on one single verse epitaph), supports the idea that in most cases the word was used as an epithet in a similar style to other such derivatives of virtue terms, such as *pientissimus* from *pietas*. In these cases, the word is used as a moral attribute of the deceased or the commemorator, but not in the same sense as the virtue term *fides* encapsulates when it is applied to *liberti*, as in the *libertus* Celer's case.

3.4.3.4 *Honestas*

3.4.3.4.1 Literature

The virtue of *honestas* is largely missing from the works of the Roman authors discussed in this chapter. The exception is Cicero, who gives it the meaning of "moral rectitude" or "morality" thus applying the term to virtuous conduct in a general sense, as he explains in his *De Officiis*: it is almost a category of moral qualities in itself since it includes *verecundia*, *temperantia* and *modestia*, as well as the "complete subjection of all passions" (*omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi*) and "moderation in all

¹⁶⁰⁹ Mouritsen 2011, 60–63.

¹⁶¹⁰ Fabre 1981, 226.

¹⁶¹¹ Patterson 1982, 243.

¹⁶¹² Treggiari 1969, 80.

things" (*rerum modus*).¹⁶¹³ Cicero's broad use of the word has led to the idea that *honestas* (and its adjective *honestus*) broadly refers to 'virtuous conduct' or 'the honourable'.¹⁶¹⁴ The same meaning applies when referring to a person's character, making the person a 'morally just character.' Thus, Cicero discusses "what is morally right" (*est ... ubi honestas*) when he writes to his friend Atticus about Caesar's march on Rome,¹⁶¹⁵ or when he talks about measuring a person's virtue against a "moral standard" (*honestas*).¹⁶¹⁶

3.4.3.4.2 The epigraphic evidence

Forbis notes that *honestas* is mainly attributed to people in honorific epigraphy by the superlative *honestissimus* and the adverb *honeste*, both derived from the adjective *honestus*, although *honestas* is sporadically attested. As an adjective, *honestus* takes on the meaning of 'respectable' or 'honourable', which coincides with the use of the term in literary works. For example, Cicero talks in *De Murena* about the "distinguished and honourable families" (*amplae et honestae familiae*)¹⁶¹⁷ and the "honourable citizen" (*honestus homo*),¹⁶¹⁸ while Suetonius discusses how Vespasian's mother came from an honourable family from Nursia (*Nursiae honesto genere orta*).¹⁶¹⁹ Similarly, in the *Agricola*, Tacitus quotes his father-in-law on how *honestus* could be found even in death, writing that Agricola said that "an honourable death is better than a life of shame" (*proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior*).¹⁶²⁰

Honestas, when applied to women, referred to their equestrian status or religious sanctity, and in the case of men, to their administrative probity.¹⁶²¹ In epigraphy, the use of *honesta femina* is explained as a reference to the wife of an *eques a militiis* or of an unqualified *eques Romanus*, while *honestas et secta matrona* refers to

¹⁶¹³ Cic. *Off.* 1.93: *Sequitur ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et rerum modus cernitur.* Translation provided by Miller 1913.

¹⁶¹⁴ Graver 2015, 124–125.

¹⁶¹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 7.11.1.

¹⁶¹⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.2.5.

¹⁶¹⁷ Cic. *Mur.* 15.

¹⁶¹⁸ Cic. *Mur.* 75.

¹⁶¹⁹ Suet. *Vesp.* 1.

¹⁶²⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 33.

¹⁶²¹ Forbis 1996, 69–70.

a *splendidus eques Romanus*.¹⁶²² Like *honesta femina*, the terms *stolata femina* and *stolata matrona* became a reference to social rank sometime in the 2nd century A.D.¹⁶²³

Even so, *honesta* was not always a strict reference to social status and was also used to refer to moral quality.¹⁶²⁴ In contrast, when a *vir honestus* is attested, such classifications refer to a class of freeborn males who, in order to be considered as such, held at least 5,000 sesterces in wealth but were excluded from the decurionate and local magistracies, at least during the early and middle Principate.¹⁶²⁵ Nevertheless, similar to the case of *honesta femina*, the literary evidence suggests that *honestus*, perhaps in conjunction with other moral values such as *bonus*, was also used as a sign of praise for men and did not always denote a social classification.¹⁶²⁶

In funerary epigraphy, the Latin adjuncts of *honestas* are found in 30 inscriptions: most are attested to *honestus* (16 times),¹⁶²⁷ followed by *honeste* (11 times) and finally *honestissimus* (three times). *Honeste* usually functions as an adverb to *vivere*, although other devices such as *requiescere* and *decorare* are also attested. Not once is *honestas* itself attested. Of the 30 inscriptions, *honestus*, *honestissimus* or *honeste* is applied ten times to a man¹⁶²⁸ and eight times to a woman.¹⁶²⁹ On another 12 occasions, the word either refers to multiple persons,¹⁶³⁰ is used proverbially as an adverb without a specific target¹⁶³¹ or attributes *honestus* to non-living or metaphysical words, the most popular being *memoria*.¹⁶³² 13 of 30 inscriptions are written in verse.

¹⁶²² Holtheide 1980, 128.

¹⁶²³ Edmondson 2008, 24.

¹⁶²⁴ Hemelrijk 2014, 157n23.

¹⁶²⁵ Haley 2003, 5.

¹⁶²⁶ Mouritsen 2023, 96.

¹⁶²⁷ Additionally, a number of Latin epitaphs refer to *honesta missio*, i.e. the terminology for the discharge of soldiers from their legion. These attestations are not taken into account.

¹⁶²⁸ *AE* 1968, 31 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2694 (Tragurium, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 2489 (Rome, 29-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 6308 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9241 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 1048 (Carthago, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 2385 (Allifae, 31-70 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3622 (Aveia, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 4168 (Cliternia, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 2605 (Tusculum, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁶²⁹ *CIL* 6, 18386 (Rome, 138-200 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 2867 (Lambaesis, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 2603 (Terventum, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 4751 (Vicus Martis Tudertium, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 12, 1972 (Vindobonna, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 2220 (Rome, 171-200 A.D.); *CIL* 14, 2605; *RIB* 683 (Eboracum).

¹⁶³⁰ *CIL* 2-7, 402 (Corduba, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁶³¹ *CIL* 11, 600 (Forum Livii, 1-14 A.D.); *RIB* 292 (Viroconium, 43-61 A.D.).

¹⁶³² *AE* 2000, 847 (Vintium, 201-230 A.D.); *AE* 2013, 2003 (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 26599 (Thugga, 171-300 A.D.). Other words are *domus*: *CIL* 9, 7989 (Alba Fucens, 70-31 B.C.); *vita*: *CIL* 9, 2975 (Iuvanum, 70-31 B.C.); *exemplum*: *AE* 1992, 1237 (Asa Paulini, 101-200 A.D.); *tumulus*: *CIL* 6, 19055 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *studio formatus*: *CIL* 11, 7856 (Carsulae, 31-70 A.D.); *nomen*: *CIL* 5, 6693 (Vercellae, 101-200 A.D.).

3.4.3.4.2.1 Cominius

The only inscription in the corpus showing *honestas* or a related word is **inscription no. 34**, which has been described in paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.2.¹⁶³³ The monument comes from Burnum and is dated to the beginning of the 1st century A.D. It was dedicated to Titius Cominius, who died at the age of 40 after having served in the military for 16 years. The line *vixsi quad potui semper bene pauper honeste fraudavi nullum* reflects poetically on the life of Cominius, who lived in modesty, attesting to the virtue of *integritas*. The same verse line was also found on a contemporary inscription from Rome. The adverb *honeste*, like *pauper*, which clings to the verb *vixsi*, reflects the sentiment that the deceased believed himself to have lived honestly, echoing a motif found in other inscriptions that also seek to convey integrity. As seen above, the adverb *honeste* is used quite extensively with the verb *vixi(t)* and refers to a broader theme found in funerary epigraphy that uses the inscription on the monument as a last testament to the fulfilment of a good and honest life lived by the deceased.

3.4.3.5 Paupertas

3.4.3.5.1 Literature

Paupertas has several interpretations. Firstly, *paupertas* was a term that referred to poverty and was applied to those poorest in Roman society who, despite being of free birth, possessed only little and often irregular income from labour or services of all kinds. Similarly, when used in relation to men of the upper classes, the phrase indicated that they were on the verge of failing to meet the financial requirements necessary to maintain their position within groups such as the equestrian or senatorial ranks. In contrast, the term denoted in a moral sense austerity and sobriety and was actually valued by Roman society as a fundamental component of the ancient morals on which the success of the Roman Republic rested.¹⁶³⁴ This idea is reinforced by Livy in his introduction, when he remarks that both *paupertas* and *parsimonia* were a source of honour in the early Republican period, for with wealth came greed, turning richness into a source of avarice.¹⁶³⁵

¹⁶³³ **Inscription no. 34** = *CIL* 3, 2835. See pages 324–325 for the initial analysis.

¹⁶³⁴ The distinction between these three meanings is described and studied by Larsen 2015, 7–8.

¹⁶³⁵ Liv. Praef.11: *Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctor nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam [civitatem] tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit.*

Despite Livy's emphasis on the past importance of *paupertas*, the virtue term plays a marginal role in the main literary sources of ancient Rome. Cicero, for example, uses the word to describe something unwanted and detrimental to the individual or to society, equating it on multiple occasions with death and pain, all of which are contrary to nature.¹⁶³⁶ Of the authors used in this chapter, only Valerius Maximus discusses *paupertas* as a moral quality of the past (referring only to *exempla* from the Republican and mythical past).¹⁶³⁷ For the author, *paupertas* is the finding of modest comfort or pleasure in the limited circumstances in which one finds oneself, as opposed to the greed or covetousness that results from a focus on what one wants or leaves behind. In a sense it denotes austerity, though not with the negative connotation of excessive harshness or severe deprivation.

Valerius Maximus provides the most telling example of *paupertas* in the introduction to the virtue term, when he describes how there is beauty in financial modesty when Cornelia prizes her sons, the Gracchi brothers, above the splendour of jewels and ornaments.¹⁶³⁸ Similarly, Valerius Maximus gives an example of how those Republican heroes found bliss in hard labour, fulfilling their duties to the state, after which they increased their supreme powers and returned to the land to continue living in an austere and simple way.¹⁶³⁹ As Valerius Maximus remarks at the end of the chapter, it is not the possessions of these men, their silver, slaves or land that mark their immortality, but rather their "consulships, dictatorships, and triumphs."¹⁶⁴⁰

3.4.3.5.2 The epigraphic evidence

Paupertas is attested in 15 funerary inscriptions (nine epitaphs in verse and six in prose). Of these, it is almost always applied to persons. Only once is *paupertas* conjugated with *pietas*, as the superlative adjective *pauperrimus*.¹⁶⁴¹ Eight times

¹⁶³⁶ Cic. *Off.* 3.21: *Detrahare igitur alteri aliquid et hominem hominis incommodum suum commodum augere magis est contra naturam quam mors, quam paupertas, quam dolor, quam cetera; Off.* 3.26: ... *paupertatem, dolorem, amissionem etiam liberorum, propinquorum, amicorum, quam facere cuiquam iniuriam. ... sed multo illa peiora, mortem, paupertatem, dolorem, errat in eo ...*

¹⁶³⁷ Many other authors that are not studied primarily in this chapter refer to *paupertas* as a moral quality: Sen. *Ep.* 1.17; Tib. 1.1–6; Mart. 11.32.8.

¹⁶³⁸ Val. Max., 4.4.pr.

¹⁶³⁹ Val. Max. 4.4.4–7.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Val. Max. 4.4.11: *sed egregios consulatus, mirificas dictaturas, innumerabiles triumphos cernimus.*

¹⁶⁴¹ *CIL* 10, 3050: *pauperrima* (Misenum, 101–200 A.D.).

paupertas refers to the state of the man.¹⁶⁴² Five times it refers to the *paupertas* of the woman¹⁶⁴³ and in one case to the *paupertas* of both the man and the woman.¹⁶⁴⁴ The inscriptions use *paupertas* as a reference to the individual's financial state and as a reference to the virtue of the deceased or commemorator. For example, several inscriptions refer to the circumstance of poverty having prevented the commemorator or deceased from receiving a larger or more beautiful monument.¹⁶⁴⁵ Others mention poverty in passing, pay little other attention to it, or remark rather proudly how they are content with it.¹⁶⁴⁶ Other inscriptions use *paupertas* to create a contrast with positive traits of their life, such as a sharp mind, their happy life or their fame (a *topos* that, as previously seen, was not uncommon in epigraphy). For example, *CIL* 9, 3358 writes from the perspective of a woman who notes that her parents, although poor in property, were noble of mind (*pauperibus censu, moribus ingenuis*). In this sense, the meaning of this type of use is closest to the idea of *paupertas* as a virtue, as it recognises the emphasis on happiness in austerity, finding contentment not in wealth or riches but by other means.¹⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the absence of wealth as a source of *paupertas* was not something that was regarded as worthy of boasting. Instead, the inscriptions use *paupertas* to accentuate their accumulated wealth, as one inscription from Mactaris contrasts the wealth of the deceased at the time of his death with the *paupertas* that he knew in his youth.¹⁶⁴⁸

¹⁶⁴² *CIL* 2, 4315: *pauper* (Terraco, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 4593: *paupertate* (Brixia, 41-60 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 2489: *pauper* (Rome, 29-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19175: *pauperie* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 11824: *paupere* (Mactaris, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 23264: *pauper* (Ammaedara, 34-38 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 5659: *pauper* (Trea, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 4915 (Venafrum, 101-250 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴³ *CIL* 5, 7948: *paupertas* (Cemenelum, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9980: *pauperize* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3358: *pauperibus* (Pinna, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 7072: *pauper* (Interpromium, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 2013, 1813: *paupera* (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴⁴ *CIL* 9, 4071: *paupertate* (Carsoli, 151-200 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴⁵ *CIL* 5, 4593: *pro paupertate haec summo tibi tempore, coniunx, ut potui, meritis parvula dona dedi* (Brixia, 41-60 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 7948: *uxori rarissimae cuius in vita tanta obsequia fuerunt ut digne memoria eius esset remuneranda et quoniam paupertas est inpedimento inest so(um) solacium* (Cemenelum, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9980: *pro pauperie fecit sua* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19175: *Si tantum mihi Fortuna largita [fuisset], [quantum in te pietas] coguit et officia, aureum hoc tot[um] fecissem, nunc monumentum] de mea pauperie feci ut [potui]* (Rome, 1-150 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴⁶ *AE* 2013, 1813: *paupera sed matrona* (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 4071: *ex communi paupertate* (Carsoli, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 7072: *vixi ut pauper satis essem* (Interpromium, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 2489: *vixi quod volui, semper bene, pauper, honeste, fraudavi nullum* (Rome, 29-50 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 23264: *pauper et exiguous reddidit inferiis* (Ammaedara, 34-38 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴⁷ *CIL* 2, 4315 (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.): *nullum pauper timuisti*; *CIL* 9, 5659: *pauper fuit aequo animo* (Trea, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 4915: *paupere patre quidem set fame diuite vixi* (Venafrum, 101-250 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3358: *Sum libertinis ego nata parentibus ambis pauperibus censu* (Pinna, 1-200 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴⁸ *CIL* 8, 11824 (Mactaris, 201-300 A.D.).

3.4.3.5.2.1 Cominius

The only inscription that displays *paupertas* has been studied in paragraphs 3.4.3.1.2.2 and 4.4.3.4.2.1, as the line *vixi quad potui semper bene pauper honeste fraudavi nullum* attests both the word *honestas* and implies *integritas*.¹⁶⁴⁹ The inscription from Burnum, originating from the early 1st century A.D., was dedicated to Cominius, who came from Ateste and died at the age of 40, after having served in the 11th legion for 16 years. The use of *paupertas* is consistent with the rest of the poem: Cominius emphasises, in the first person (*vixi*), how he has lived his life with integrity and how he has endeavoured to cause no hurt. The emphasis lies on the life, while in death, his bones earn their well-deserved rest. In this sense, *paupertas* is not used to emphasise his accumulated wealth as in some of the other inscriptions discussed above: rather, it illustrates his modest lifestyle and how he skilfully coped with the often difficult circumstances of his life.

3.4.4 Resolve and Endurance

3.4.4.1 *Patientia*

3.4.4.1.1 Literature

Several inscriptions honour the deceased through the virtues of persistence and endurance. Timothy Moore identifies eight virtue terms in Livy's works that can be attributed to 'forbearance and self-control', of which he suggests that *constantia*, *perseverantia*, *pertinacia* and *patientia* refer to perseverance, endurance and/or steadfastness. In this regard, these words differ from *moderatio*, *modestia*, *temperantia* and *continentia* in that they emphasise steadfastness not so much as self-control, but rather determination in the face of adversity.¹⁶⁵⁰ In Livy's usage, *constantia* is the most praiseworthy, denoting steadfastness in action as well as attitude¹⁶⁵¹ and correlating closely with *patientia*,¹⁶⁵² while *perseverantia*'s use has a narrower range — usually applied to actions rather than attitudes¹⁶⁵³ — and *pertinacia* is ambiguous in its usage, as it could be seen as either a vice or a virtue,

¹⁶⁴⁹ **Inscription no. 34** = *CIL* 3, 2835. See pages 324-325 for the initial analysis.

¹⁶⁵⁰ For Livy's use of these eight virtue terms, see Moore, T. 1989, 63-82.

¹⁶⁵¹ Moore, T. 1989, 63.

¹⁶⁵² Moore, T. 1989, 80.

¹⁶⁵³ Moore, T. 1989, 66.

depending on the context.¹⁶⁵⁴ For the sake of clarity, it may suffice to briefly compare the different virtue terms in the literary sources.

Constantia denotes a sense of determination and conviction in one's attitudes which is reflected in one's actions. The importance of *constantia* is evident by the fact that it is discussed in almost all ancient sources, while *perseverantia*, *pertinacia* and *patientia* are only sporadically mentioned. For Cicero, *constantia* is one of the main Republican virtues attributed to those who spearheaded the Caesarean opposition with steadfastness rather than conciliation, most prominently Cato, who rather committed suicide than live under Caesar's rule.¹⁶⁵⁵ In the *Tusculan Disputations*, *constantia* is one of the first virtues listed by Cicero in his portrayal of the ideal Roman¹⁶⁵⁶ and, together with *tranquillitas*, is a prerequisites for Stoic sage's ability to keep his emotions calm.¹⁶⁵⁷ This idea of *constantia* controlling those tendencies that would otherwise fall victim to desire and lust is found later in book 3 of the *Tusculan Disputations*.¹⁶⁵⁸ Cicero argues that *constantia* leads to the silence of the senses, thus freeing the mind from any disturbance.¹⁶⁵⁹ Here *constantia* emphasises steadfastness in mental action rather than physical action and shows how steadfastness can exist in maintaining a mental posture in the face of any disturbance.

Other sources show how *constantia* can also be seen as persistence in the face of action, as Tacitus employs *constantia* (along with *ratio*) as the driving force behind Agricola's success in the early battles against the British tribes.¹⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, Tacitus shows how *constantia* is one of the defining principles of a successful emperor, in turn using the lack of such a virtue as a premonition of the unsuitability of an emperor, such as when Tacitus compares Galba with noblemen such as Agricola or Suetonius Paulinus, simultaneously highlighting the absence of the virtue in the former by displaying the presence of it in the character of the latter two men.¹⁶⁶¹

¹⁶⁵⁴ Moore, T. 1989, 68.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Schofield 2009, 202.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.2: *quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum maioribus nostris comparanda?*

¹⁶⁵⁷ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.9: *Sanitatem enim animorum positam in tranquillitate quadam constantiaque censebant.*

¹⁶⁵⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.17: *Eius enim videtur esse proprium motum animi adpetentis regere et sedare semperque adversantem libidini moderatam in omni re servare constantiam.*

¹⁶⁵⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.18: *... eum necesse est esse constantem; qui autem constans, quietum; qui quietus, perturbatione omni vacuum, ergo etiam aegritudine.*

¹⁶⁶⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 18: *ratio et constantia ducis transvexit.*

¹⁶⁶¹ Nawotka 1993, 263.

Similarly, Suetonius attributes *constantia* to Augustus for his charity and for distributing money to citizens.¹⁶⁶² The same notion, that *constantia* refers mainly to one's actions, is found in Valerius Maximus. He defines it as the quality of a person who is "confident that he has correctly and justly grasped a situation in his mind, [so that] it naturally happens that if anyone disparages his decision after he has acted on it, he will defend it fiercely."¹⁶⁶³ The steadfastness expresses itself in one's convictions, which is subsequently reflected in one's actions. The examples given by Valerius concern Flaccus' execution of the Capuan senators for their betrayal of Carthage, despite orders to the contrary. Another example is Fabius Maximus' determination not to engage Hannibal in battle, despite his countrymen's honest and disgraceful talk. The other examples also show the actions of men who base their plans on their strong convictions rather than on opportunism or personal glory. Pliny similarly adheres to convictions that determine one's actions, such as Silius Italicus' determination to face suicide by starvation rather than a slow death from his tumour,¹⁶⁶⁴ although at other times Pliny simply ascribes virtue to men he holds in high regard.¹⁶⁶⁵

The other three virtue terms are discussed less extensively in the ancient sources. Continuing with *perseverantia*, Livy uses the word strictly to denote an active sense of steadfast action that goes beyond the passive, as it is attributed to the attacker, the besieger and the prosecutor rather than the defender, besieged or prosecuted.¹⁶⁶⁶ For Cicero, *perseverantia*, together with *magnificentia*, *fidencia* and *patientia*, is part of *fortitudo*, and he defines it as a "firm and abiding persistence in a well-considered plan of action."¹⁶⁶⁷ Again, the emphasis lies on the action. *Pertinacia*, on the other hand, can be used both as a virtue, where it stands for perseverance/constancy, and as a vice, where it denotes stubbornness. For Cicero,

¹⁶⁶² Suet. *Aug.* 42.2: *nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinate summa sufficeret.*

¹⁶⁶³ Val. Max. 3.8: *init Apertum et animosum bonae fiducia pectus emenso quasi debitum opus superest constantiae repraesentatio: natura enim sic comparatum est ut, quisquis se aliquid ordine ac recte mente complexum confidit, uel iam gestum, si obtrectetur, acriter tueatur, uel nondum editum.* Translation provided by Walker, H.J. 2004.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.2: *Causa mortis valetudo. Erat illi natus insanabilis clavus, cuius taedio ad mortem irrevocabili constantia decurrit usque ad supremum diem beatus et felix, nisi quod minorem ex liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem melioremque florentem atque etiam consularem reliquit.*

¹⁶⁶⁵ For example, to Erucius Clarus (*Ep.* 2.9.4), Paulinus (*Ep.* 4.9.22), or himself (*Ep.* 1.7.2).

¹⁶⁶⁶ Moore, T. 1989, 67.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.54.164: *perseverantia est in ratione bene considerata stabilis et perpetua permansio.* Translation provided by Hubbell 1949.

pertinacia as stubbornness is close to *perseverantia*, but differs in its recklessness and should therefore be avoided.¹⁶⁶⁸ In contrast, Suetonius applies *pertinacia* positively to the attacking Caesarean legions during the siege of Dyrrachium by Pompey's legions, as Caesar's legions showed endurance and determination through their unyielding spirit.¹⁶⁶⁹

Finally, for *patientia*, Cicero mentions *patientia* again in his *De Inventione*. For him, like *perseverantia*, it is part of courage because it means "a willing and sustained endurance of difficult and arduous tasks for a noble and useful end."¹⁶⁷⁰ It emphasises endurance in the face of hardship and thus signifies a quality of fortitude during difficult and trying times. Thus, despite his old age, Quintus Fabius Maximus continued to wage war on Hannibal with *patientia*.¹⁶⁷¹ On other occasions, Cicero uses the word in a similar manner as *constantia* and does not use the virtue strictly to refer to determination in the face of hardship.¹⁶⁷² Of the examples which specifically mean endurance of hardship, however, it is the passivity of action, the endurance of what is done to one, which distinguishes *patientia* from *perseverantia* and *pertinacia*.¹⁶⁷³ Valerius Maximus, too, sees *patientia* as a name for courage, since "when it is founded on similarly firm foundations, [it] is not endured by a less generous soul, but is so like the one to the other that it seems to have been born either with it or from it."¹⁶⁷⁴ The two Roman examples given by Valerius also emphasise steadfastness in the face of hardship, as he first discusses Mucius Scaevola's burning of his hand when captured by Porsenna's men, and Pompey's defiance of Gentius' orders to reveal the Romans plans after his capture.¹⁶⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶⁸ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.54.165: *pertinacia, quae perseverantiae finitima est.*

¹⁶⁶⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 68.2: *Famem et ceteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, tanto opere tolerabant, ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompeius viso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, cum feris sibi rem esse dixerit amoverique ocius nec cuiquam ostendi iusserit, ne patientia et pertinacia hostis animi suorum frangerentur.*

¹⁶⁷⁰ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.54.163: *patientia est honestatis aut utilitatis causa rerum arduarum ac difficilium voluntaria ac diuturna perpessio.* Translation provided by Hubbell 1949.

¹⁶⁷¹ Cic. *Cat.* 1.4.10.

¹⁶⁷² E.g. Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.24.64; Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.

¹⁶⁷³ Kaster 2002, 135.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Val. Max. 3.3: *Egregiis virorum pariter ac feminarum operibus fortitudo se oculis hominum subiecit patientiamque in medium procedere hortata est, non sane infirmioribus radicibus stabilitam aut minus generoso spiritu abundantem, sed ita similitudine iunctam, ut cum ea uel ex ea nata videri possit.*

Translation provided by Walker, H.J. 2004.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Val. Max. 3.3.1 (Scaevola) and 3.3.2 (Pompey).

3.4.4.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

The direct attestations of the virtue terms *constantia*, *patientia*, *perseverantia*, and *pertinacia* are very scarce. Only *constantia* and *patientia* are used explicitly in funerary epigraphy, while *perseverantia* and *pertinacia* are lacking in both prose and poetic funerary epigraphy.¹⁶⁷⁶ *Constantia* as a virtue is found on only two inscriptions. The first is a prose epitaph from 3rd century A.D. Numidia that reads *iuristudiosi constantissimo*,¹⁶⁷⁷ while the second is found on the *Laudatio Turiae* (1st century B.C. Rome), honouring a deceased woman for her virtues.¹⁶⁷⁸ Similarly, *Patientia* is found on only two epitaphs, both prose: one from 2nd century A.D. Ostia that reads *homini patienti*¹⁶⁷⁹ and, again, the *Laudatio Turiae*.¹⁶⁸⁰

As will become clear in the following paragraphs, the inscriptions indirectly refer to the steadfastness of the deceased. In this respect, the two inscriptions to be discussed in this paragraph describe the deceased as determined in the face of adversity, and therefore more akin to the virtue of *patientia* than the others. The first inscription deals with misfortune in general, while second discusses the negotiation of the deceased (or lack thereof) inflicted upon them by humans.

3.4.4.1.2.1 Amabilis

Inscription no. 37 is found on the long side of a marble box in which the funerary urn was placed, originating from modern-day Kamen near Stobreč, which was part of ancient Epetium near the ancient city of Salona in Dalmatia.¹⁶⁸¹ Epetium was a small coastal settlement not far from Salona and may have been incorporated into the Salonian *ager* at some point during Roman rule, without having any municipal rights of its own.¹⁶⁸² The inscription is written on a tabula 24 cm high and 43 cm wide, without any signs of decoration.¹⁶⁸³ Although the initial edition of Bulić mentions that

¹⁶⁷⁶ Forbis argues that the absence of virtue terms such as *constantia* and *fortitudo*, although well represented in the literature, are not found on honorary inscriptions since such epigraphy generally is pointed towards financial benefactors, not for those whose virtues rest on solitary actions that do not otherwise benefit the community: Forbis 1996, 92.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *CIL* 8, 18348: *constantissimo* (Lambaesis, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁶⁷⁸ *CIL* 6, 41062: *constantiae* (Rome, 15-9 B.C.).

¹⁶⁷⁹ *AE* 1990, 1044: *patienti* (Ostia Antica, 171-200 A.D.).

¹⁶⁸⁰ *CIL* 6, 41062: *patientia* (Rome, 15-9 B.C.).

¹⁶⁸¹ Dyggve 1933, 87.

¹⁶⁸² Demicheli 2007, 37.

¹⁶⁸³ Bulić 1899a, 3.

the urn was found filled with bones, nothing else about its provenance has been noted other than that it was found in Stobreč.¹⁶⁸⁴

*Amabili secutori. / Nat(ione) Dacus pug(narum) XIII / fato deceptus / non ab homine.*¹⁶⁸⁵

To Amabilis, the *secutor*, of the nation of Dacia, who fought 13 times. He was bested by fate, not by men.¹⁶⁸⁶

The urn thus belonged to Amabilis, who fought 13 times as a gladiator before dying a natural death. According to the inscription, Amabilis was of Dacian descent and was probably transported to the Dalmatian coast to fight as a gladiator, at least for part of his life, but certainly towards the end of his life, in the amphitheatre of Salona. The fact that Amabilis is commemorated by only one name, perhaps his stage name but certainly not his Dacian name, together with his role as *secutor*, suggests that he was still employed as a gladiator and had not yet received his freedom at the time of his death.¹⁶⁸⁷ In addition, the title *secutor* denoted Amabilis' specific role as a trained gladiator in the arena, but also functioned as an epithet, along with his personal name, by which he was known in the arena and to the public.¹⁶⁸⁸

As Valerie Hope has pointed out, gladiators occupied an exceptional position within Roman society because they were marginalised, living on the fringes of the Roman social and cultural landscape being used and sold as property (if they were slaves) and dependent solely on the benefaction of their performance, the Roman audience and their masters, but on the other hand they were highly heroized as performers – especially when compared to dancers or other theatrical actors. However, most ancient sources on the social role of gladiators derive from the perspective of the audience, not the gladiator himself, and it is only through tombstones that gladiators are able to give the modern scholar a glimpse of their earthly considerations and attitudes, albeit in death.¹⁶⁸⁹ Yet, gladiatorial epitaphs are only attested sparingly across the provincial towns, especially beyond the Italian peninsula. Those remaining monuments found throughout the empire paint the

¹⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸⁵ *CLE* 2681.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Author's translation, cf. Bouley 1994, 43.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Bouley 1994, 43.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Hope 2000a, 102.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Hope 2000a, 93–94.

picture of professionals who wished to emphasise their special status as a gladiator by including symbolic references to their specific fighting role or through such explicit mentions, and tombstones often boast about personal feats, such as numbers of victories or times of submission.¹⁶⁹⁰

A total of ten gladiators are known from the Salonan inscriptions, and Amabilis is placed within a landscape of gladiators from different parts of the Roman Empire. Six *retiarii* and two other *secutores* from Salona are found in the inscriptions, while one does not refer explicitly to the role of the gladiator.¹⁶⁹¹ Moreover, the foreign origin of three other gladiators is deduced from the inscriptions: Placentinus (*CIL* 3, 2127) comes from Placentia in northern Italy, Rapidus (*CIL* 3, 12925) comes from Belluno near Aquileia and Crinitus (*CIL* 3, 8825) came from Africa.¹⁶⁹² In contrast, none of these inscriptions shows signs of meter, with the exception of the one studied in this paragraph.¹⁶⁹³

The inscription of Amabilis features a small metrical line which is of special interest for this paragraph. It reads *fato deceptus, non ab homine*, Engström reads this line as “almost iambic”, to the extent that it could be considered accidental meter rather than intended design.¹⁶⁹⁴ Cholodniak reads the line as *fato deceptus, non ab homine deceptus* which would transform the meter in a senarius.¹⁶⁹⁵ However, Engström notes that nothing on the monument indicates a missing word or erasure, making the addition of *deceptus* unlikely. The use of fate, either as *fatum* or as *fatalis* as the inevitable force behind impending death is a well-known theme in Latin epitaphs and especially prevalent in versified inscriptions.¹⁶⁹⁶ The epitaph here, however, is set apart by the addition of the clause saying that the gladiator, boasting of his combative victories was never bested by any of his fellow gladiators. Instead, Amabilis met his end by natural causes rather than by wounds or fatal blows in the arena. Several themes are connected to *patientia*: firstly, the line emphasises his

¹⁶⁹⁰ Hope 2000a, 97.

¹⁶⁹¹ *Retiarii*: *CIL* 3, 2127; 8844; 12925, 13062; *AE* 1934, 284. *Secutores*: *CIL* 3, 8825; 8830. Unknown: *CIL* 3, 8835.

¹⁶⁹² For an overview of all gladiators mentioned in the Salonan inscriptions: Dyggve 1933, 88.

¹⁶⁹³ *CIL* 3, 13062 is in the *EDCS* noted as a metrical inscription, but no other source, database, or catalog backs this up.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Engström 1912, 17.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Cholodniak 1897, 1286.

¹⁶⁹⁶ A survey of Roman sepulchral inscriptions from 1899 for the use of *fatalis/fatum* shows how almost 90% of attestations are found on verse epitaphs: Granger Harkness 1899, 70.

gladiatorial skills in the arena, attesting to the fact that Amabilis was an excellent gladiator until his death, who survived all his opponents in the arena. Furthermore, the virtue of *patientia* is linked to the hypermasculine sphere of the gladiatorial arena, where men relied on their physical and mental capabilities to best their opponent(s). In conclusion, the epitaph, one of the few – if not the only – means by which the gladiator could mark his legacy, served as the medium *par excellence* with which he could emphasise both his *patientia* and his masculinity.

3.4.4.1.2.2 Timavius

Inscription no. 38 was found in the basilica of St. Ursula, located in modern-day Cologne, in what was part of the ancient town of *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*.¹⁶⁹⁷ The monument consists of a cut-out limestone slab that features an inscription on both sides of the monument. The epitaph was almost certainly reused later since part of the inscription has been replaced by a circular cast with a hole. The monument is 75 cm high and 50 cm wide, while the circular cast is 25 cm in diameter. It is dated to the 3rd century A.D.¹⁶⁹⁸ No ornamentation is left on the monument.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Timavio / alumno dulcissim/o et san[ctissi]mo
q⁵ui vixi[t annos] XVII / Aurel[ius Maxi]mus / patron[us. D]ardan/ia
genitus istic mi/hi care Timavi post / ¹⁰ varios cassus post / tot discrimina
re/rum deseris heu pul/chram primaevo / flore iuventam./*

¹⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) Aurelio Ti/mavio liberto alu/mno Aureli Maximi. / Tu
Timav[i d]ulcem no/men du[lcib]us votis ad/²⁰es. Spiritum [que]m tu ferebas
/ corpore elabi sacrum co/rpus ut terram mane/re spiritum celum sequi /
spiritum movere cunc/²⁵ta spiritum esse quod deu/m. Cum mihi extremis
ca/nebas vocibus solamin[a] / floris absidens iuben[tae] / gratias tristi
dia[e].*

To the spirits of the Departed. For Aurelius Timavius, the sweetest and most pious *alumnus* who lived for 17 years, Aurelius Maximus, his patron, [made this monument]. Born in Dardania, my sweet Timavius, you leave behind your pretty youth, after so many twists of fate, after so many crises – oh! – when it was only just blossoming.

To the spirits, for Aurelius Timavius, freedman and *alumnus* of Aurelius Maximus. You, Timavius, sweet name, are present with sweet prayers. That

¹⁶⁹⁷ *CIL* 13, 8371.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Galsterer/Galsterer 2010, 381–382.

the divine spirit which you carried with you, may vanish from the body; that the body may remain on earth, that the spirit may ascent to heaven, that the spirit may move all things, because the spirit is divine; with these last words you gave me comfort, on that sad day when the flower of your youth abruptly ended.¹⁶⁹⁹

The inscription is dedicated to the *alumnus* Aurelius Timavius by his patron Aurelius Maximus. He was raised at least for part of his childhood, by his former master, who was explicitly not his biological parent.¹⁷⁰⁰ The inscription implies that Timavius was Maximus' slave prior to being manumitted. The only other information on Timavius found in the inscription is the reference to his homeland, namely Dardania, a kingdom that was located in the central Balkans prior to the Roman occupation of said territory.¹⁷⁰¹ The rest of the inscription is, in varying degrees, dedicated to the praise of the deceased. The first inscription features the hexametric lines *Dardania genitus ... flore iuventam*, while the second reads trochaic meters from *Tu, Timavi* until *tristi diae*. The hexametric verse refers indirectly to the virtue of *patientia* by describing the many hurdles and problems Timavius faced in his youth – perhaps related to his repatriation from the Dardanian lands to the frontier province of Germania Inferior. Where the inscription of Amabilis describes, albeit briefly, the difficulties the deceased faced as a result of his profession, i.e. other people and their actions, the inscription of Timavius leaves unnamed the exact problems the deceased faced during his lifetime. Nevertheless, the implication is that the deceased's resilience was remarkable enough to merit mentioning in the inscription, making the sudden death — marked here by the *mors immatura*-topos — all the more difficult for the relatives to bear.

The inscription of the second verse shows a clear Christian influence with many references to the afterlife, earthly remains, the ascension of the spirit to heaven and the divine spirit. Nevertheless, the idea that the inscription is Christian is challenged by the fact that the inscription twice reads a dedication to the *Dis Manibus*, as well as references to the extravagant love of boys implied by the author of the text. So much so that Galsterer and Galsterer found that it could not have been written

¹⁶⁹⁹ Edition and translation in German by Galsterer/Galsterer 2010, 381–382.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Rawson 1986, 173.

¹⁷⁰¹ Petrović 2006, 7.

under Christian influence.¹⁷⁰² However, this cannot be taken as conclusive evidence as many of the early Christian inscriptions contain references to the spirits of the underworld.¹⁷⁰³

3.4.5 Fairness

3.4.5.1 *Iustitia*

3.4.5.1.1 Literature

Cicero defines *iustitia* as “a habit of the mind which attributes its proper dignity to everything, preserving a due regard to the general welfare.”¹⁷⁰⁴ *Iustitia* is the main virtue that guides the other virtues, as he mentions that it “is the sovereign mistress and queen of all the virtues”¹⁷⁰⁵. Although Cicero sometimes gives priority to *sapientia*, he concurs that although *iustitia* is guided by *sapientia*, the latter loses its purpose without the former. Theoretical knowledge is useless if it is not properly applied for the good of the state.¹⁷⁰⁶ Cicero, who considers serving the state as the proper functioning of human nature, argues that *iustitia* plays a central role in society. Mere behaviour guided by *iustitia* can lead to a virtuous morale.¹⁷⁰⁷ *Iustitia* would remain important far into the Principate, not least since its popularity as a typically “royal” virtue, understood as such even by the ancient Greeks, rendered it perfect as a moral quality for the autocratic character of the Principate.¹⁷⁰⁸ It is therefore no coincidence that the virtue is featured in Augustus’ *Clipeus Virtutis* and is mentioned in Pliny’s panegyric in honour of Trajan.¹⁷⁰⁹

Livy also considers *iustitia* to be a proper virtue of a good ruler.¹⁷¹⁰ Nevertheless, *iustitia* (as well as its derivatives *iustus* and *iusta*) were applied not only to men but also to objects and metaphysical subjects. For example, it was used figuratively for military formulae, but it could also mean a ‘justified’ or ‘legitimate’

¹⁷⁰² Galsterer/Galsterer 2010, 381–382.

¹⁷⁰³ Madgearu 2001, 114.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.160: *Iustitia est habitus animi communi utilitate conservata suam cuique tribuens dignitatem*. Translation provided by Yonge 1853.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Cic. *Off.* 3.28: *Iustitia enim una virtus omnium est domina et regina virtutum*.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Atkins 1990, 259–260.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Verboven 2011, 407–408.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Noreña 2009, 274.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Plin. *Pan.* 33: *Quam deinde in edendo liberalitatem, quam iustitiam exhibuit, omni affectione aut intactus, aut maior!*

¹⁷¹⁰ Moore, T. 1989, 50–51.

reign.¹⁷¹¹ *Iustitia* as a virtue was mainly associated with war, or applied to the individual or collective rule of the Romans or other nations over their subjects or allies.

Accordingly, Valerius Maximus pays ample attention to *iustitia*. He remarks how it is the driving force behind the turn of desire to reason (*cupiditas rationi cedit*) and notes that the best examples of *iustitia* derive from Rome.¹⁷¹² For example, he describes how the college of tribunes revolted against one of their own when the tribune refused to pay his creditors on the grounds that he was a tribune of the plebs and therefore sacrosanct.¹⁷¹³ Another example is that of Crassus who, in dealing with legal problems with his adversary Carbo, received a box full of compromising documents from Carbo's slave. Instead of using the documents for his cause, Crassus, in the name of *iustitia*, chained the slave and returned him and the box to his master.¹⁷¹⁴

3.4.5.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

The only funerary inscription that displays *iustitia* is the *Laudatio Murdiae*, where the deceased woman is honoured for the "justice in her truth" (*iustitiam in veritate*).¹⁷¹⁵ *Iustissimus* is only attested on the epitaph discussed in the paragraph below, while *iuste* is not attested on any inscription.

3.4.5.1.2.1 Apollonius

Inscription no. 15 has been studied for its use of *amare* in paragraph 2.5.6.4.¹⁷¹⁶ The inscription features a monument originating from Aquincum dated approximately 230 A.D. The monument was erected for Quintus Aelius Apollonius, a Syrian soldier who died at the age of 20. The monument was erected by his sister and mother. The poem was found on two other inscriptions in almost identical form: one from Pannonia Inferior and one from Palaestina. The biggest part of the inscription features

¹⁷¹¹ Moore, T. 1989, 50n20.

¹⁷¹² Val. Max. 6.5.init.: *eius autem praecipuum et certissimum inter omnes gentes nostra civitas exemplum est*. A hint of this sentiment is also found in Tacitus, who quotes Claudius as to saying that, since that barbarians do not know justice, they should take example in Rome: Tac. *Ann.* 12.11.1.

¹⁷¹³ Val. Max. 6.5.4.

¹⁷¹⁴ Val. Max. 6.5.6.

¹⁷¹⁵ *CIL* 6, 10230. Translation provided by Lindsay 2004.

¹⁷¹⁶ **Inscription no. 12** = *CIL* 13, 7105. See pages 146–149 for the initial analysis.

a metric component with ‘popular’ Epicurean influences. *Iustissima* is found as part of the phrase *iustissima mente serenus* in line 9 which, according to Cugusi, was influenced by Lucretius’ *templa serena*.¹⁷¹⁷ The *iustissima* in this context is an adjective to *mente*, although its use is not quite clear. The poet does not explicate the role of *iustissima* in this sentence, and it rather seems that its use adheres to a broader theme of leading a just and quiet life. In this way, the use of *iustissima* is reminiscent of those inscriptions that refer to *honestas*. Furthermore, the *iustissima mente* is meant for the passer-by, to whom the poem is addressed. It does not refer to the mind of the deceased, who is not the subject of the poem. While it emphasises proper living in general, it does not explicitly refer to the deceased as a “just” person in the same sense as does the virtue term.

3.4.5.2 *Aequitas*

Literature

Aequitas as a virtue is discussed by several ancient authors. Because of its close association with justice and *iustitia*, the concept was predominantly adopted and studied in the legal context. Nevertheless, it lent itself also to the construction of imperial propaganda, as it was used particularly on Imperial coinage. As a virtue, *aequitas* means ‘fair dealing’, from which the English ‘equity’ derives.¹⁷¹⁸ In his *Partitiones oratoriae*, Cicero discusses how *aequitas* is the principal foundation of human law, as opposed to religion as the driving force behind divine law. *Aequitas* is motivated by two kinds of principles: what people can objectively consider to be justice, truth and virtue, and the degree to which one responds to reciprocal exchange; in the case of kindness, one responds with gratitude; in the case of injury, one responds with revenge.¹⁷¹⁹ However, at times the word is used as a substitute for justice, as becomes clear in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, who talks about the “great kindness and justice” (*summa bonitas et aequitas*) of the consuls.¹⁷²⁰ Similarly, Cicero

¹⁷¹⁷ Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 88.

¹⁷¹⁸ Van Zyl 2010, 530.

¹⁷¹⁹ Cic. *Part. or.* 37.130: *aequitatis autem vis est duplex: cuius altera directam veri et iusti et, ut dicitur, aequi et boni ratione defenditur; altera ad vicissitudinem referendae gratiae pertinet; quod in beneficio gratia, in iniuria poenitio nominatur.*

¹⁷²⁰ Cic. *Att.* 16.16.

talks about fairness in a general sense when he discusses the redistribution of land.¹⁷²¹

Other authors do not make such a strict distinction between *aequitas* and *iustitia*. Livy, like Cicero, specifies *aequitas* either as relating to judicial matters, as *aequitas rei*, but also uses the word as a substitute for *iustitia* to denote a more general sense of fairness in decision-making.¹⁷²² In a similar manner, Sallust compares self-restraint and justice (*continentia et aequitate*) with lawlessness and insolence (*lubido atque superbia*) and uses the evolution of the virtues to vices as a sign of the decline of the Republic and its morality.¹⁷²³ Valerius Maximus also refers to *aequitas* as a moral attribute of Augustus, in the sense of general justice when he judges over a dispute between mother and sons.¹⁷²⁴

On Imperial coinage, *aequitas* is one of the most prominent of virtues with which the emperors and their administration wished to identify themselves: in fact, a survey of the Imperial coinage minted between 69 and 235 A.D. shows that of all coins that depict a virtue, *aequitas* is attested in 24% of the cases, followed only by *pietas* in 20%, *virtus* in 13% and *liberalitas* and *providentia* in 12%.¹⁷²⁵ The extent to which this type of *aequitas* referred to fair-dealing by the imperial administration in general, or instead to the stability of the imperial mints that regulated the distribution of the coinage, is up to debate.¹⁷²⁶ This debate notwithstanding, *aequitas* was a virtue that was attributed in literary sources primarily to good and virtuous emperors regardless of its reference to financial stability. Martial, for example, praises Nerva for his fairness and compares him to the ancient king Numa,¹⁷²⁷ while Pliny's *Panegyricus* praises Trajan for his *aequitas* in the general elections of the Roman magistracies.¹⁷²⁸

3.4.5.2.2 The epigraphic evidence

Apart from the inscription discussed below, *aequitas* as a reference to someone's virtue is found only sporadically: in merely two other epitaphs, both prose and

¹⁷²¹ Cic. *Off.* 2.22.79: *Quam autem habet aequitatem, ut agrum multis annis aut etiam saeculis ante possessum qui nullum habuit habeat, qui autem habuit amittat?*

¹⁷²² Moore, T. 1989, 55.

¹⁷²³ Dunkle 1971, 15.

¹⁷²⁴ Val. Max. 7.7.4.

¹⁷²⁵ Noreña 2001, 156.

¹⁷²⁶ Noreña 2001, 158.

¹⁷²⁷ Mart. 11.5.1–2: *tanta tibi est recti reverentia, Caesar, at aequi quanta Numae fuerat.*

¹⁷²⁸ Plin. *Pan.* 77.3: *Ibi vero quanta religio aequitatis!*

attributed to a man, *aequitas* pertains to someone's virtue. One inscription originates from the first half of the 1st century A.D., from Trea in Picenum, which states that the deceased lived *pauper* with a *aequo animo*.¹⁷²⁹ The second inscription originates from the 3rd century A.D., from Forum Novum and mentions that the deceased, a merchant, was always fair in financial duties and transactions and always acted *omnibus aequus*.¹⁷³⁰ On one occasion, *aequitas* is used to refer to the harmony of the marriage between the deceased and the commemorator.¹⁷³¹

Most other attestations of *aequitas* or *aequus* tend to refer to the unjustness of death rather than referring to the justness of the deceased– stating that it would have been fairer if the commemorator was buried by the deceased, instead of vice versa. This theme refers exclusively to parents burying their children, commemorating their unjust fate, rather than the children burying their parents.¹⁷³² Of the five attestations of this theme, three are from Salona and may have been contemporary with each other.

3.4.5.2.2.1 Successus

The only verse inscription that may have included the term *aequitas* or *aequus* is **inscription no. 39**, which possibly refers to the term in its supplemented part. The monument comes from Salona, Dalmatia. It was found in 1881 and consists of two fragments that were only identified together by Bulić in the following years.¹⁷³³ Although Bulić initially assumed the monument to be late antique, Marin argued that the monument can be dated much earlier, although an exact date cannot be given.¹⁷³⁴ The left fragment of the inscription is 18 cm high and 35 wide, while the right fragment is of the same height and 24 cm wide.¹⁷³⁵ The monument is otherwise unadorned.

*Sossius hic si[tu]s est Suc[cessus iure peritus] / Ravennae genitus Salon[is
funere raptus] / libera quen ratio semper [deduxit ad aequum.]*¹⁷³⁶
Sossius Successus, [an expert in law], lies here. Born in Ravenna, taken by
death in Salona, whose free thinking always [led to justice].¹⁷³⁷

¹⁷²⁹ CIL 9, 5659: *aequo* (Trea, 1-50 A.D.).

¹⁷³⁰ CIL 9, 4796: *aequus* (Forum Novum, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁷³¹ CIL 2, 3596: *aequabili* (Dianium, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁷³² CIL 3, 9106 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 3, 9451 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 5, 3627 (Verona, 101-300 A.D.); IJug-3, 2180 (Salona, 151-250 A.D.); Solin-2022, p. 41 (Sora, 101-300 A.D.).

¹⁷³³ Bulić 1890, 152.

¹⁷³⁴ Marin 2010, 123.

¹⁷³⁵ Bulić 1881, 178.

¹⁷³⁶ Edition provided by Bücheler 1895, no. 589.

¹⁷³⁷ Author's translation.

The monument, which is fully composed in hexameters, is dedicated to Sossius Successus, who, if the supplementation is accepted, was an *iure peritus*. As an *iurisperitus*, Successus gave advice on legal matters and interpreted law, and possibly also wrote literary works concerning legal principles.¹⁷³⁸ The inscription tells the reader that he was born in Ravenna, northern Italy. He moved to Salona at one point in time where he died at an unknown age. The last line commemorates Successus' life and, in tandem with the supplement of his work as a legal advisor, remarks that his mind and sound judgment made him good at his job. Thus, Successus' epitaph commemorates him with the virtue of *aequitas*, a virtue not chosen randomly but specifically as the moral quality supports his excellence in his assumed profession.

Most references to legal experts, albeit in their role as *iurisperitus*, *iuris studioso*, *iuris prudens*, or *iuris consultus*, derive either from Italy (mainly the capital of Rome) or from northern Africa.¹⁷³⁹ Only one other inscription, from Iader, refers to a Dalmatian expert of law, where a Cornelius Carpus is commemorated as *iuris studiosus*.¹⁷⁴⁰ The few inscriptions that refer to *iurisperitus* are from Africa Proconsularis,¹⁷⁴¹ Numidia¹⁷⁴² or Rome,¹⁷⁴³ although the inscription from Rome recalls that the deceased was "a most noble jurist from Africa" (*iuris peritus nobilissimus ex Africa*). The epitaph from Masculula could shed some light on the virtues most often associated with legal experts, as the deceased is lauded with *innocentia*, *modestia*, *integritas*, *frugalitas* and *fide*, and is furthermore described as *sobrius*, *iustus*, *sanctis et aequis moribus*. Finally, the inscription notes that he met the expertise of those more adult than him even at an early age (*qui in primae aetate maturorum frugalitati responderet et aequalis inventus*).¹⁷⁴⁴ In comparison, Successus' epitaph seems to provide only a glimpse of the range of virtues that could identify a judicial expert, although the attestation of *aequitas*, in the literary as well as epigraphic sources, does find its semblance.

¹⁷³⁸ Humfress 2007, 62–64.

¹⁷³⁹ For a more elaborate study on Roman lawgivers on Latin inscriptions in Africa: Dolganov 2020, 359.

¹⁷⁴⁰ *CIL* 3, 2936 (Iader, 1-150 A.D.).

¹⁷⁴¹ *AE* 1903, 319 (Thubursicu Numidarum, undated); *CIL* 8, 27505 (Masculula, 100-300 A.D.).

¹⁷⁴² *AE* 1926, 29 (Bir Abd er-Rahman, 200-300 A.D.).

¹⁷⁴³ *CIL* 6, 33867 (Rome, 151-330 A.D.).

¹⁷⁴⁴ *CIL* 8, 27505 (Masculula, 100-300 A.D.).

3.4.6 Glory

3.4.6.1 *Cupiditas Gloriam*

3.4.6.1.1 Literature

The topic of *cupiditas gloriæ* ('desire for fame') is primarily discussed by Valerius Maximus. Importantly, in the preface of his chapter on *cupiditas gloriæ*, Valerius Maximus does not explicitly mention whether he considers it to be a virtue or a vice, and rather leaves such discussions "for those who contemplate such things" (*quorum in contemlandis eius modi rebus cura teritur*).¹⁷⁴⁵ The ambiguous interpretation of *cupiditas gloriæ* is thus exemplified in the *exempla* provided by Valerius Maximus: there are those that wish to attain glory through the doing of great feats¹⁷⁴⁶, but also those famous Romans who wished their deeds to be published and read aloud, and how they went to great lengths to see them published.¹⁷⁴⁷ For example, Scipio Africanus wished for a bust of the poet Ennius, who wrote a poem on the deeds of Scipio, to be included in his tomb so that praise of his deeds was remembered even in the afterlife.¹⁷⁴⁸ In the latter case, *cupiditas gloriæ* does not only imply love or the pursuit of fame, but rather – and more importantly – emphasises the proclamation, commemoration and praise of these deeds in the public sphere. That the pursuit of glory could also be acquired through vices and therefore have a negative connotation, is also provided by Valerius Maximus, who gives the examples of Philip II of Macedon or a man who set fire to the temple of Diana in Ephesus, where a lust for glory turns to vicious action.¹⁷⁴⁹

This ambivalence in attitudes towards *cupiditas gloriæ* is also exemplified by juxtaposing Sallust with Cicero¹⁷⁵⁰: the former sees *cupiditas gloriæ* as the driving force behind the unprecedented growth of the Republic once a transition from a monarchy where great personalities were allowed to compete and strive for glory for the good of the state.¹⁷⁵¹ Cicero, on the other hand, treats *cupiditas gloriæ* as a disease

¹⁷⁴⁵ Val. Max. 8.14.init.

¹⁷⁴⁶ E.g. Alexander's yearning for glory: Val. Max. 8.14.2. The same story is also found in Plutarch's *Moralia* 866d.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Valerius Maximus provides the examples of Scipio Africanus, Brutus Callaicus, and Pompey, who all praised their contemporary poets for writing about their great deeds: Val. Max. 8.14.1–3.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Val. Max. 8.14.1.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Val. Max. 14.e.4–5.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Galli 2023, 66.

¹⁷⁵¹ Sall. *Cat.* 7.1–3, 7.4–6.

arising from the emotion of lust, and compares it with love for women¹⁷⁵² and greed¹⁷⁵³ as the result of unrestrained emotions, devoid of *ratio*. Its ambiguous character cannot be better illustrated by comparing these two sources, and the same matter of tact should be used when approaching the moral characteristic – not allowing it to be called strictly a virtue or a vice– in the epigraphic sources.

3.4.6.1.2 The epigraphic evidence

The term *cupiditas gloriae* is found on only one non-Christian epitaph dated between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. The monument, a verse inscription from Rome, is dated to the 2nd century A.D. and dedicated to Claudius Diadumenus, who was a member of – or descended from – the imperial administration, most likely as a freedman.¹⁷⁵⁴ In the inscription, Claudius speaks in his own person. He informs the reader that, even though being a poet by trade and despite having once flourished in the duties of emperor, was never overcome by a lust for fame (*arte poeta olim Caesareis floridus officiis, quem numquam cupidae possedit gloria famae*). This inscription clearly alludes to the idea that *cupiditas gloriae* was something to be avoided in the virtuous person, using it as a synonym for greed and over-ambition. This inscription, in line with Cicero's argument, treats *cupiditas gloriae* as a vice.

The word *gloria* is attested more frequently. In total, the word is found on nine epitaphs, eight of which are versified, of which most references use *gloria* as the characteristic of the person (or his life) if he/she was not taken away by death.¹⁷⁵⁵ Others do not mention death and only reflect on the life of the deceased and showcase how it was characterised by *gloria*.¹⁷⁵⁶ Again, other inscriptions use death as a motive for *gloria*: one inscription describes a couple being reunited in death and finding glory there,¹⁷⁵⁷ while another reflects how fate returns the “splendour of her glory through the death of a child.”¹⁷⁵⁸ Finally, one inscription on the monument of Flavius Secundus

¹⁷⁵² Cic. *Tusc.* 4.10.23.

¹⁷⁵³ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.37.79.

¹⁷⁵⁴ *CIL* 6, 33903 (Rome, 121-180 A.D.).

¹⁷⁵⁵ *CIL* 5, 5824 (Mediolanum, 197-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10096 (Rome, 100-44 B.C.); *CIL* 11, 531 (Ariminum, 151-250 A.D.); *CIL* 11, 2329 (Clusium, 176-250 A.D.).

¹⁷⁵⁶ One inscription that reflects on a life full of glory is *CIL* 5, 6693 (Vercellae, 101-200 A.D.), dedicated to Lollia Procla, while *CIL* 6, 33904 (Rome, 171-250 A.D.) reflects on the glory of one's skill as a rhetorician.

¹⁷⁵⁷ *CIL* 6, 25427 (Rome, 100-200 A.D.).

¹⁷⁵⁸ *AE* 1954, 272 (Rome, 171-270 A.D.).

discovered in Kasserine shows how riches and wealth should be used for funerary monuments such as this, rather than on pride in extravagance (*gloria luxuriae*).¹⁷⁵⁹ Although these attestations do not directly use *cupiditas gloriae*, they allude to the same sentiment with different wording. As such, the two inscriptions discussed below refer to the same attitude as the Roman authors who discussed *cupiditas gloriae* but do so indirectly.

3.4.6.1.2.1 Iulianus

Inscription no. 33 has been studied first in paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.1 for its use of *integritas*.¹⁷⁶⁰ The monument originates from Romula (Dacia) and is dated to the 3rd century A.D. It was dedicated to a prominent member of the *colonia*, Aelius Iulius Iulianus, by his wife Valeria Gemellina. Paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.1 (**inscription no. 33**) discussed how Iulianus was commemorated for the fact that he lived his entire life without crime or fault (*sine culpa*), alluding to the popular theme of *vixit sine crimine*, which could be seen as alluding to the virtue of *integritas*. Important for this paragraph is the fact that the inscription reads, following the *sine culpa*-phrase, the line *et sua perfunctus vidit cum gloria honores*. This line commemorates how Iulianus performed his duties during his lifetime to the extent that it brought honour to his reputation. The duties he performed are not explicitly specified, but given the preceding lines, the monument suggests that the honours were received based on the administrative functions Iulianus performed in the *colonia*. Considering the prominence of his administrative titles in the *praescriptum* of the monument, it is quite possible that Iulianus (or the commemorator) wished to emphasise his excellent public functioning by stating that it boosted his public reputation. In this regard, the monument adheres to the idea that the deceased's reputation was well-known during his lifetime but does not reflect on whether this reputation ended – or perpetuated – in death.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *CIL* 8, 212 (Cillium, 151-170 A.D.).

¹⁷⁶⁰ **Inscription no. 33** = *AE* 1957, 334. See pages 320–323 for the initial analysis.

3.4.6.1.2.2 Principius

Inscription no. 2 has been studied quite extensively in Chapter 2 for its use of emotion words.¹⁷⁶¹ The monument, dating from 3rd century A.D. in Travnik (Dalmatia), was dedicated to the sailor Principius by his father and grandfather, who used the inscription to commemorate their deceased family member. Importantly, the poem opens with the statement that Principius was sent to the military service by his father and grandfather because they hoped that it would bring glory (*gloria*). The poem later continues this matter, stating that if death had not intervened, he would have become a “great pillar for his fatherland” (*magnum patriae columnaque futurum*). In this context, the poem focuses on the *gloria* that could have been if death had not intervened. Therefore, the virtue of the *gloria* lay in the future. Importantly, but not mentioned explicitly, since Principius died overseas following the wish of his family to pursue a military career, the idea that the bidding of his father and grandfather for the advancement of glory brought their family member’s demise might be closer to the idea of *cupiditas gloriae* as proposed by Cicero: the wish for glory turned (over)ambition leads to the *mors immatura* of their family member, thus adding to the grief of the deceased.

3.4.7 Summary

It may be helpful to summarise the results of the 13 virtues analysed the poetic funerary inscriptions of the north-western provinces before linking them to the larger analytical points of this chapter and before integrating them into broader discussions on the topic of gendered virtue in epigraphy. In total, 13 virtue terms have been found on the epigraphic monuments of this thesis’ corpus. Such references have been made either directly, when the virtue term coincides directly with the inscription’s text on the funerary monuments, or indirectly where the inscription refers to a sentiment shared with that of the virtue term, or even exclusively through the iconography on the monument, where the symbolic and iconographic representations on the funerary monument allude to certain attitudes that can also be found in virtue terms. The following summary will briefly condense these virtue terms attestations and recall their literary context.

¹⁷⁶¹ **Inscription no. 2** = *CIL* 3, 8385. See pages 79–83 for the initial analysis

The first word to be examined in the analysis of this chapter is *virtus*, which happens to be one of the most difficult to define, particularly because it held multiple meanings. Etymologically, *virtus* derived from the Latin word *vir*, meaning both ‘courage’ as well as ‘manly virtue.’ In the literary tradition, the appropriation of *virtus* was contextual and underwent a change with the transition from the Republic to the Principate, where rather than the senatorial class the *princeps* became the focus of virtuous appropriation. In both the late Republic and the Empire, the double meaning of *virtus* as excellence and courage was maintained.

Virtus is attested in several epitaphs that use the term as a description of both moral excellence and bravery. In poetic inscriptions, references to moral *virtus* predominate over references to martial *virtus*, as the former is found in dedications to men, women and children, while in the case of men, it is mainly found in the epitaphs of (ex-)soldiers and gladiators. On the soldiers’ epitaphs, the phrase *ob virtutem bis donis donatus* often refers to their military distinctions, which were awarded for bravery on the battlefield. Such military distinctions for bravery were, as we shall see below, also corroborated in the funerary iconography.

The only direct attestation of *virtus* is made through a late antique monument from Aquincum dedicated to an anonymous soldier (**inscription no. 17**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.1), who identified himself as a Frank and Roman citizen. The poetic inscription uses *egregia virtus* as a direct allusion to his courage shown in combat, as the phrase *egregia virtute tuli blelo mea dextera semper* explains. Such an explicit connection between courage in battle and *virtus* is quite rare in poetic epitaphs. Nevertheless, it serves the notion that the dedicator felt it necessary to commemorate the deceased with the virtue term, as the poem makes no further mention of other noteworthy facts about the deceased’s life. The only other note on the deceased’s life is that he was a *miles in armis* which, like the invocation of *virtus*, reinforces the deceased’s virtue of courage in battle.

Much more popular is the hunting motif, which was especially prevalent in the funerary monuments from the Balkanic region. One such inscription is the monument dedicated to Caius, son of Epicadus, (**inscription no. 18**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2), which refers to *virtus* by depicting a rearing horse and a man with a spear hunting two animals. The other inscription from the corpus using the hunting motif is the inscription for Salvius (**inscription no. 5**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.3), although here, the

monument displays a man hunting a lion. The depiction of the lion as prey is quite rare, especially in Pannonia Inferior, where the lion is more often depicted as the hunter than the hunted, but the iconography still alludes to *virtus* in the same way as the epitaph for Caius does. The hunt as an iconographic theme was popularised in the provinces of the Balkans, where it became a fashionable motif in the funerary epigraphy of the inhabitants.

The *dona miliaria* were also a popular iconographic theme that alluded to *virtus* and was especially prevalent on the military epitaphs in the Germanic and Balkanic provinces. As such, the monument dedicated to Lucius Mummius (**inscription no. 9**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.4) considers its iconographic representation as a theme directly linked to the display of *virtus*, as attested by the formulaic phrase *ob virtutem* and its variations. The other monument from the corpus referring to this theme is the famous monument for Marcus Caelius (**inscription no. 19**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.5), which also depicts the *dona miliaria*, in this case with Caelius, as if he was wearing his decorative outfit. It features the *phalerae*, *armillae* and *torques*, also seen in the epitaph of Mummius, as well as the *corona civica*. In this regard, *virtus* alludes to the military courage of the soldiers, who excelled to the extent that they were awarded the *dona miliaria*, which was awarded for courage on the battlefield.

In text, the association with *virtus* was made primarily to men, although women and children were often depicted as recipients of the virtue as well. In terms of iconography, the corpus shows that mainly through the *dona miliaria* and the hunting motif, people were able to refer to the deceased's *virtus*. Especially in the case of the *dona miliaria*, the connection with the military and courage on the battlefield was explicitly made, a phenomenon which is also corroborated by those inscriptions, which refer to the bravery of the deceased soldier with the phrase *donis donatus ob virtutem*.

Another virtue term closely related to *virtus* is *fortitudo*, which was often used in Roman literature to denote 'courage'. Valerius Maximus, for one, uses *fortitudo* to refer to courage in battle and in politics and ascribes the term both to women and to men. In contrast, the word is completely absent in funerary epigraphy and is only implied by the words *fortis* and *fortiter*. These terms are found on seven funerary monuments. In five of these cases, the adjective is used for a male, once for a child and once for a woman. None of these attestations refer to a military context. On the other

hand, the only attestation in the corpus shows its use in a military context: *fortis* is directly attested on an inscription dedicated to Niger (**inscription no. 20**, paragraph 3.4.1.2.2.1), as the inscription notes that the deceased, in his occupation as a *mile*, bravely wore his weapons (*fortiter*) around his neck.

Next is *pietas*, which includes the virtue of piety primarily towards the Roman state, parents and other family members, although other uses include *pietas* towards unrelated persons or towards the gods. The prominence of the virtue is mainly evident in its use as an imperial virtue in the *Clipeus Virtutis* and the Imperial coinage, as well as its pre-eminence in the *Aeneid*. In epigraphy, *pietas* is promoted mainly through the epithets *pientissimus* and *piissimus*, with existing scholarship showing that these derivatives are the most popular epithets to be attested in funerary epigraphy. There are but a few references to *pietas* proper; the adjectives are attested much more often. According to the *EDCS*, consulted on May 27th, 2024, for both *pientissimus* and *piissimus*, approximately half (respectively 50.9% and 54.5%) is dedicated to men, while women are attested respectively in 43% and 37.8% of the epitaphs. In the case of *pietas*, it is more difficult to comprehensively catalogue the specific gender to which it is appropriated. Of the cases where it is discernible, the evidence shows that women were identified in 47.1% of the cases, while men are attested in 35.3% of the cases. In terms of the distribution of *pietas* over verse and prose inscriptions, a few observations can be made: the epithets *pientissimus* or *piissimus* are almost exclusively used in prose inscriptions. In fact, only 1.1% of the attestations of the two adjectives are found on verse inscriptions. In contrast, *pietas* is more common in verse inscriptions, as 22.6% of all inscriptions using *pietas* are at least partially poetic.

In the corpus, *pietas* (and its adjectives) is often used to commemorate the bond between the living and the deceased, depicting the popularity of *pietas* as a virtue term and an epithet in epitaphs. In six of the 12 attestations, *pietas* is expressed from the children to their parents. In two cases, *pietas* is from the parents to the children. Once, *pietas* is used to invoke the fidelity between the married couple, once between brothers and once ambivalently. Importantly, twice *pietas* refers to the bond between friends rather than family members. 11 times, *pietas* is invoked directly and only once indirectly. No iconography refers to the virtue.

The epitaph for Agirrus and (presumably) his wife Temeia (**inscription no. 21**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.1) invokes *pietas* twice directly, in both instances pertaining to the

filial piety of their son who erected the monument for his parents. In a similar style, the epitaph of Caius, son of Epicadus (**inscription no. 18**, paragraph 3.4.1.1.2.2), which has the same provenance as that of Agirrus epitaph, invokes *pietas* twice, firstly to refer to the piety of the sons who dedicated the monument to their father. The second time underlines the fidelity of the sons as they fulfilled their vow of piety towards their father. The fidelity of children to parents is also found in the inscription to Valerius Taurus (**inscription no. 22**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.3), which recalls that the daughter commissioned the monument for her *patri piissimo*, as well as in the inscription to an anonymous father, which refers to the *patri pientissimo* (**inscription no. 24**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.5), erected by his offspring. That *pietas* was expressed both towards the family and towards the husband is found in the monument to Vitalis (**inscription no. 23**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.4), which shows how *pietas* was attributed to both women and men on the same inscription, since the inscription recalls how pious Pieris was towards her family and how her husband, the dedicator, made the monument *pro pietate*. The only indirect reference to *pietas* is found on the monument for Statius Venetus (**inscription no. 25**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.6), which plays upon the idea that children bury their parents by *ut decet* according to the natural order of things.

Two monuments refer to the *pietas* of parents towards their children: the monument to Antonius and Antoninus (**inscription no. 26**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.7) reverses the use of a virtue term as attributed to a person, using the virtue as a personification of the grief experienced. In this sense, it is a poetic play that refers to the piety of the mourners, in this case the parents who were forced to bury their two children. The verse inscription for Caius' son (**inscription no. 27**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.8), who died at the age of five, similarly expresses the piety from father to child. Caius, the father, commemorates that he commissioned the monument for piety, thus referring to the bond of fidelity between father and son. Beyond the bond between parents and siblings, references to piety within the nuclear family are found only once in the inscription for Clodius Secundus (**inscription no. 28**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.9), which shows how the sibling was commemorated by his brother with the adjective *pientissimo*,

Two monuments refer to the piety of non-blood relations: the monument for Calventius (**inscription no. 11**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.10) shows the above-mentioned

formulaic line *pro pietate* again, followed by *frater* which refers to the commemorator, a fellow soldier of Calventius. In this case, the phrase refers to the motivation behind the act of commemoration, as Calventius' fellow soldier wished to commemorate his comrade out of fidelity to him and Calventius' family. It is a sign that *pietas* did not only apply to the fidelity between relatives, but that it could also be established between unrelated persons. This particular phrase is found on numerous other monuments, both versified and prosaic, and is usually followed by *facere/posuere/dedere*. The same tendency to use *pietas* as a reference to piety between unrelated persons is found in the inscription to Proculus, erected by his friend (**inscription no. 8**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.11) in the honour of *pietas*. Finally, the epitaph for Turranius (**inscription no. 29**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.12) is more ambiguous about the use of *pietas*. The phrase *erepta pietas* refers here to the moral quality of the father, but is not directed towards anyone.

Concordia symbolises the unity between individuals and is, both in literature and epigraphic sources, most noticeable as an expression of marital harmony. When it is used in epigraphy to refer to social relationships, it is used primarily to refer to the marriage between a man and a woman. This theme is most often attested with the stock phrase *qum qua vixit concorditer*, which specifies the long duration of the marriage. *Concordia* is rarely attributed directly to the character of a person. In these cases, it is ascribed to both men and women. In addition, *concordia* was inferred through iconography, as the relief portrait often found in the funerary sphere allowed for a display of concord within the family or between the marriage of two persons. *Concordia* was mainly conveyed through the depiction of gesture in funerary portraiture, as the depiction of the handshake, the *dextrarum iunctio*, was associated with harmony in the political, military and marital context. Similarly, the depiction of a child together with the parents was a clear reference to the nuclear family which lay at the foundation of the private sphere of the household. As such, a successful marriage was emphasised by including the depiction of a child, which, in turn, is seen as a reference to *concordia*. It has been argued that the display of the *dextrarum iunctio* was not necessary for the representation of the marital union, since the depiction of a man and woman, with or without children, was already a clear sign of marital unity. This theme became especially prevalent in the funerary iconography of the *liberti*, who, in the absence of their natural family, wished to emphasise their conjugal family.

Five epitaphs of the corpus refer to *concordia* through their iconography. The degree to which these monuments allude to marital *concordia* varies from epitaph to epitaph, especially if one compares the inscription and the discrepancies between what is read and what is displayed. All inscriptions show *concordia* with the stern display of the related couple (even if such iconography is not related to the dedicator and dedicatee), physical affection, the inclusion of children and the depiction of fruit. The monument for Caius Utius and his family (**inscription no. 30**, paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.1) featured three persons of which only two remain. It depicts a man in a toga and a veiled woman, where the joint depiction of wrinkles is an allusion to the austerity often found on other sober funerary monuments throughout the empire. Similarly, it underlines that both man and woman lived, at least during their final days, together in harmony and unity. A similarly austere style is found on the epitaph for Faustus and his family (**inscription no. 10**, paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.2), which shows a partial rendition of a man next to his wife, with their two children below, and the brothers touching shoulders. The epitaph of Aurelia's family (**inscription no. 31**, paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.3), although quite crude in its depiction when compared with the other monuments, shows three adults (one woman and two men) with a child below. The persons are identified as Aurelia Ursicina, her brother Valerius Ursinus, her husband Flavius Firmus and their daughter Aurelia Firmilla. Again, the depicted persons show a stern disposition, and the inclusion of the child and the woman holding an apple could be seen as a reference to marital concord. The monument dedicated to Fronto's family (**inscription no. 32**, paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.4) shows harmony, mainly through the display of the two children with the hand of the adults on their shoulders. Similarly, the depiction of fruit is said to be a display of affection between child and parent. Here, the show of family values was given greater prominence than the adherence to a realistic depiction of the familial situation. This is equally attested in the monument for Salvius (**inscription no. 5**, paragraph 3.4.2.2.2.5), which features multiple busts including a married couple, but the inscription refers to only Salvius and his commemorator, his fellow soldier Julius Asclepiades.

Five different virtues are categorised under the header 'personal integrity'. The virtue of *integritas* embodies this, as it stands for the 'absence of wrongdoing' and denotes a sense of ethical wholeness and blamelessness. It is only sporadically attested in funerary monuments and almost always in tandem with other virtues. It is

attributed six times to men and once to a woman. The virtue in the corpus is alluded to only indirectly through the phrase *sine culpa* or *sine crimine*. For example, the monument to Iulius Iulianus (**inscription no. 33**, paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.1) recalls how the deceased lived his life *sine culpa*. The inscription to Caius Celer (**inscription no. 35**, paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.3) uses the phrase *sine crimine*, which covers the same meaning as *sine culpa*. Interestingly, with the exception of Iulianus' epitaph, *sine culpa* is only found on prose epitaph, while *sine crimine* is attested only on verse epitaphs. Finally, the epitaph for Cominius (**inscription no. 34**, paragraph 3.4.3.1.2.2) reflects on the same sentiment but uses other wording, as it expresses how the deceased lived "always good, honest, poor, respectable, defrauding no one." All three inscriptions, to varying degrees, show that the deceased lived his life with integrity and blamelessness and that his memory should be clean from ill repute. Especially the epitaph of Cominius uses many different virtue terms to convey this message, as it also refers to *paupertas* and *honestas*. Similarly, Celer's inscription also uses *fides*. These inscriptions attest to the phenomenon that can also be seen when *integritas* is directly attested in monuments: that it is usually placed together with other virtues that reinforce each other and enhance the moral character of the deceased.

Innocentia similarly refers to the personal integrity and moral rectitude of the deceased, in similar manner as *integritas*. Furthermore, the literature notes that *innocentia* also includes the absence of the disposition to do harm, which is how Cicero differentiates it from *integritas*. In epigraphy, the virtue is predominantly attested on prose inscriptions (127 prose versus eight poetic, according to the *EDCS* as consulted on May 27th, 2024). Furthermore, as a virtue attributed to a person, the word is attested 72 times to men and 57 times to women. In both genders, *innocentia* is often attributed to the *anima* of the deceased, although for men, the *filius* is most attested. For women, after *anima*, the references are more evenly distributed, almost equally between *filia*, *coniunx*, *femina* or the personal name. *Innocentia* is referred to indirectly in the bilingual inscription dedicated to Papirianus (**inscription no. 36**, paragraph 3.4.3.2.2.1), which records that the deceased lived his life *insons* – free from guilt. This is a feature of Papirianus' life rather than a moral quality, but unlike *innocentia*, *insons* is connected exclusively to verse inscriptions – perhaps suggesting metrical rather than semantic considerations.

Fides is the third virtue connected to a person's integrity and has received much attention in the Roman literary tradition. It could entail 'belief' or 'reliance' and, when applied to someone's moral character, it entailed 'trust' and 'trustworthiness' with a specific emphasis on reciprocity. Valerius Maximus provides three categories of *fides*, namely fidelity to the Roman state, between man and wife and the loyalty of slaves to their (former) masters. *Fides* is attested frequently in epigraphy. Of the 165 inscriptions, 122 inscriptions are prosaic, while 43 are versified, according to the *EDCS*. As in the case of *pietas*, where *pientissimus* and *piissimus* are almost completely missing in versified epitaphs (perhaps again due to metrical reasons), the adjective superlative of *fides*, *fidelissimus*, is not found on prose epitaphs. Of 168 attestations, 61 pertain to men and 82 to women. For men, most references are made to the *fides* of the *libertus*, followed by the *amicus*. For women, the majority of attestations are to the personal name and the *coniunx*. The prominence of the *fides* of the *liberta* is attested less often than in the category of men. The distribution of these gendered roles corresponds with literature, as it emphasises the submissive role of the *libertus* (apparently, that of the *liberta* was less valued) as well as the role of the wife towards her husband. However, in a similar style, *fides* was largely attributed to women without any specified social role. In fact, most attestations of *fides* simply refer to the woman with a reference to her personal name.

The only inscription in the corpus that refers to *fides* is one direct attestation found in the inscription of Celer (**inscription no. 35**, paragraph 3.4.3.3.2.1) which was discussed above for its use of *sine crimine*. The inscription refers to the fact that Celer, a freedman, lived his life *fidus*. The importance of the inclusion of the virtue in the freedmen's epitaph is explained by the fact that it signifies the successful manumission of the former slave by his patron and refers to the social bond of the freedman to the allegiance of his former master. It thus refers to the moral quality of *fides* because it entails the moral quality of the reciprocity of trust.

The fourth and fifth virtue connected to personal integrity are *honestas* and *paupertas*, which are both attested on the epitaph of Cominius (**inscription no. 34**), which has already been discussed for its reference to *integritas*. For Cicero, *honestas* entails moral rectitude in the broader sense of the word, as it could mean 'virtuous conduct' in general, where the attributor is guided to do what is considered "morally right." In funerary epigraphy, the virtue is found 30 times referring mainly to the

honest life led by someone, expressed through the formulaic phrase *honeste vixi*, although variations exist (according to the *EDCS*, accessed in May 2024). When discernible, it refers in ten instances to a man and eight to a woman. *Paupertas*, on the other hand, referred in its moral sense to the austere life so valued in Republican times, which is contrasted with greed and avarice associated with wealth. Similarly, Valerius Maximus uses it as a romantic descriptor for someone who finds comfort in modest wealth and takes pleasure in austerity. 15 funerary inscriptions use *paupertas*, which refers eight times to a man and five times to a woman. In epigraphy, it is used as a method of describing someone's financial state, either describing the presence or absence of *paupertas*, as well as referring to someone's moral character.

Returning to Cominius' epitaph, which uses both virtues alongside *integritas*; it uses *honeste* in its formulaic use where it functions as an adverb to *vixi* and thus describes how Cominius lived his life in honesty. *Paupertas*, placed alongside the other moral qualities of Cominius, refers not so much to the financial lifestyle of the deceased, but must be understood as an enunciation of the moral integrity of Cominius. He lived his life with moral integrity and modest austerity.

Moving from personal integrity to 'resolve and endurance,' multiple virtues attest to this moral quality, such as *constantia*, *perseverantia*, *pertinacia* and *patientia*. The best known and most discussed of the four is *constantia*, which refers mainly to the tendency of personal determination to translate one's beliefs into action, thus describing the mental strength that comes from perseverance. *Perseverantia*, on the other hand, denotes an active part of resilience which translates to physical action. Similarly, *Pertinacia* denotes action but could, depending on the context, be interpreted both as a virtue and as a vice, where in the latter meaning it takes on obstinacy. *Patientia* finally describes the endurance in physical and mental action in the face of adversity. Part of the mental resolve flows from endurance by continued exposure.

All four virtue terms are rarely attested in funerary epigraphy: *constantia* twice, once to a man and once to a woman (in the *Laudatio Turiae*), and *patientia* also twice, similarly to a man and woman (again the *Laudatio Turiae*). *Pertinacia* and *perseverantia* are not attested in funerary epigraphy at all. One of two inscriptions from the corpus that (indirectly) refers to 'endurance' is the monument of Amabilis (**inscription no. 37**, paragraph 3.4.4.1.2.1), which notes how the gladiator was bested

by fate rather than men (*fato deceptus, non ab homine*). It emphasises a theme often found in other gladiatorial epitaphs, where reference is made to the number of victories or times of submission against their opponents. In this case, by including this line, the epitaph refers to the resilience of Amabilis in the fact that he outclassed all of his opponents in the ring and was ultimately only bested by natural death, not human intervention. Comparing this attitude with the above description of the four virtues that correlate with ‘resolve and endurance’, the virtue of *patientia* comes closest in that it emphasises the notion of perseverance in the face of life’s hardships and the resilience of the deceased in the face of life’s challenges. The other inscription in the corpus of this thesis referring to *patientia* is the monument dedicated to Timavius (**inscription no. 38**, paragraph 3.4.4.1.2.2). On this monument, the inscription refers to the “many twists of fates” (*post varios casus*) and “many crises” (*post tot discrimina rerum*) that Timavius had to face during his life.

The fifth category consists of the virtues of *iustitia* and *aequitas*, often grouped together in the Roman sources and associated with the legal sphere. *Iustitia*, which receives a great deal of attention in the literary sources, refers to the virtue of ‘justice’ in the sense that it elicits a justified mind and behaviour. *Aequitas*, relatedly, refers to the moral quality of ‘equity’ and ‘fair-dealing’. The two words are often used interchangeably in the ancient sources, such as by Cicero, Livy and Valerius Maximus, denoting ‘justice’ or ‘fairness.’ *Iustitia* is only attested on one epitaph, namely the *Laudatio Murdiae*, while *aequitas* is used only twice for a person’s moral character, in both instances a male. In contrast, *aequitas* is used a great deal more to refer to the unfairness of death when parents are forced to bury their children.

In the corpus, *iustitia* is attested once as *iustissimus* in the epitaph of Apollonius (**inscription no. 15**, paragraph 3.4.5.1.2.1), when it is poetically attributed to “the mind” (*iustissima mente*), possibly a reference to Lucretius. In any case, the use does not refer to the mental capacities of the deceased but rather to the reader of the poem. The epitaph of Successus (**inscription no. 39**, paragraph 3.4.5.2.2.1), however, uses *aequitas* as a moral virtue, as the deceased, referred to by the inscription as an *iure peritus*, excelled in his profession since his “free thinking always led to justice” (*libera quen ratio semper deduxit ad aequum*). The identification of *aetuias* is presumed since part of the inscription is missing; nevertheless, it is not inconceivable that *aequitas* is

attributed to a legal expert, given the strong emphasis in the literary sources on the connection between Roman justice.

The final virtue of the analysis is *cupiditas gloriae*, which is mainly described by Valerius Maximus. The author shows how *cupiditas gloriae* did not necessarily lead to virtuous behaviour at all times. Nevertheless, *gloria*, which may be translated as 'glory', 'fame' or 'renown', is the product of virtuous deeds. *Gloria* is attested on ten epitaphs but is almost never attributed personally to someone. Rather, it is used poetically (a feat also attested by the fact that eight of ten epitaphs are versified) and reflects on both life and death of the deceased. The epitaph for Iulianus (**inscription no. 33**, paragraph 3.4.6.1.2.1) reflects on how the life of the deceased, which he lived *sine culpa* (see the discussion of *integritas*), brought fame (*gloria*) to his name, attributed to him mainly for his public functions in the *colonia*. In contrast, the epitaph for Principius (**inscription no. 2**, paragraph 3.4.6.1.2.2) uses *gloria* in a way that shows the moral ambivalence of *cupiditas gloriae*, although not necessarily in the positive meaning of the virtue term. The epitaph, discussed extensively in Chapter 2, reflects the fact that the commemorators had hoped to receive *gloria* for Principius' life, which was denied them by his untimely death. Thus, the wish for *gloria* inevitably led to Principius' death, and in this respect may be closer to the meaning of *cupiditas gloriae* in the negative sense, where hubris causes grief.

3.5 Synthesis

3.5.1 Virtue Display: How?

This chapter's analysis has sought to explore the epigraphic field of Latin poetic epitaphs and to map the different ways in which a select number of epitaphs conform or contrast with the use of certain virtues from the wider fields of Roman literature and epigraphy in general. As such, it has highlighted the different ways in which several virtue terms were attributed to men, either as the dedicatee or dedicator of the epitaph, how such attestations are expressed on the monument both by the inscription as well as by the monuments' symbolism, and how these findings correlate to the particular use of such virtue terms between prose and poetic epitaphs, between men and women and between literary and epigraphic sources.

The primary objective of this chapter was to answer the question of the extent to which funerary epigraphy facilitated the display of masculine virtues, both in the

context of the deceased individual and his relatives. In order to address this, this paragraph will first outline the different ways in which virtues were attested in epitaphs and identify which specific virtues have been identified within the corpus. Following this, we will examine what determined the choice of virtues in epitaphs. This discussion will argue that social convention played a substantial role in the determination of the display of virtue. This is followed by a discussion about the extent to which virtues generally deviate from formulaic phrases and more standard virtue attestations in epigraphy and which role the choice of verse over prose played in such deviations. This is followed by a discussion regarding the extent to which these virtues are allowed to be considered distinctly ‘masculine’. Finally, a reflection on the implications for this study of virtues in epigraphy will be held, which also assesses the shortcomings and how these could be compensated in subsequent studies.

As this chapter demonstrates, there are three distinct manners in which virtues are attested in funerary epigraphy. The first is by the direct attestation of the virtue term or a derivative. This strategy is the most easily recognisable in the corpus and allows for indexing in terms of the quantitative number of attestations. As Table 5 in the virtue term list (paragraph 3.3.2) shows, the most attestations by far are to the virtue of *pietas*, although this number is distorted by the inclusion of its adjective superlatives *pietissimus* and *piissimus*. As discussed in paragraph 3.4.2.1.1, its popularity is also reflected in the fact that, compared to other epithets commonly found in epitaphs, such as *bene merens*, *dulcissimus* and *carissimus*, the most attested epithet found in epitaphs. Outside of the use of these epithets, *pietas* remains the most often attested virtue in funerary epigraphy, followed by *fides* and *innocentia*. These three virtue terms together make up approximately 80 percent of the total number of attestations of virtue terms in funerary epigraphy. Following these three virtue terms, the number of attestations for the remaining epitaphs quickly dwindle down, as some virtue terms (such as *aequitas*, *patientia*, *cupiditas gloriae*, and *iustitia*) are barely mentioned in the epigraphic field of epitaphs. In the corpus, the virtues directly attested on the monument are *virtus*, *fortitudo* (through *fortiter*), *pietas* (both in its noun-form and as the adjective), *fides*, *honestas*, *paupertas*, *iustitia* and *aequitas*. Furthermore, although *cupiditas gloriae* is not directly attested in the corpus in full conformity with the word, *gloria* is.

Just a few words on the topic of the superlatives: where *pietissimus* and *piissimus* distort the number of attestations for *pietas*, a similar occurrence is discernible in the number of attestations for *fidelissimus*: of 165 inscriptions, 86 use the superlatives *fidelissimus* or *fidissimus*. This does not apply to *honestas* and *paupertas*: *honestas* shows only 3 from 30 attestations of *honestissimus*, while *pauperrimus* is only attested once from 15 epitaphs.¹⁷⁶²

Furthermore, many of the direct attestations of virtues on the Latin funerary epigraphy are due to their inclusion in standardised expressions. For example, around 54% derives from formulaic phrases for *pietas*, as there is *pro pietate* (*facere/posuere/dedere*) and *pietatem facere/posuere*, *pietatis causa* and *ex pietate*. For *concordia*, there is the phrase *cum qua vixit concorditer*, which is found, with varieties, on 48% of the monuments. A relatively small amount of standard phrasing, compared to *pietas* and *concordia*, is nevertheless attested on the monuments displaying *virtus*, as there is the phrasing *ob virtutem donatus* and *virtus et honos*, which represents approximately 10% of the total number of attestations.

The second strategy by which virtues were discerned in funerary epigraphy is through indirect attestation, where reference on the epitaph is made to certain sentiments and attitudes that share the same moralistic values as virtue terms. The corpus shows several ways in which virtues are indirectly referred to. The first is *pietas*, referred to in the phrase *ut decet*, which addresses the sentiment that it is befitting for a man to bury their parents. This corroborates the direct use of *pietas* on some of the other inscriptions of the corpus that similarly speak of the pious duty of children to honour their parents. Furthermore, *integritas* is referred to indirectly through the inclusion of the phrase *sine culpa* and *sine crimine*. Both phrases are also found in epitaphs outside of corpus, although *vixit sine crimine* was used more frequently, usually including the number of years the deceased had lived. *Innocentia* is referred to indirectly through the inclusion of *insons*, mainly as an adjective to *vita*, which, like the formula *sine culpa/crimine*, refers to the integrity of one's life. ultimately, *patientia* is referred to indirectly in the corpus by two inscriptions that both refer uniquely to the sentiment of how the deceased lived his life in the face of adversity and was not overcome or consumed by life's challenges.

¹⁷⁶² Numbers according to the *EDCS*, accessed in May 2024. The importance of superlatives for the choice of prose over verse is further discussed in pages 376f.

The third and final category in which funerary epitaphs could allude to virtues was through iconography, as the corpus alludes to virtues through iconography in several ways. Firstly, *virtus* was referred to through the symbolism of the hunt and by the display of military insignia, both iconographical themes found respectively specifically in the Balkans and in the militarised areas of the Germanic and Balkanic provinces. Secondly, *concordia*, mainly in the form of marital or familial harmony, was displayed in epitaphs through the display of the austere family in the relief portraits, which could be reinforced by the inclusion of children, the physical touch between the family members and fruits as representations of tokens of affection.

3.5.2 The Choice of Virtue

Having outlined the different strategies by which virtues were presented in epitaphs, the following analysis concerns the specific factors that motivated the choice of virtues in epitaphs. Unfortunately, most conclusions about this line of inquiry can only be drawn about those direct attestations of virtues, mainly for the fact that this category is most readily quantifiable in terms of comparative material. Forming conclusive remarks about the use of indirect and iconographic references without sufficient comparative sources is not desirable. As such, the discussion of this paragraph correlates mainly to the findings of direct attestations of virtues in epitaphs, although its implications may correlate to those made about the other categories. This paragraph argues that part of the motivation for specific virtues was heavily influenced by social convention and that this mainly expressed itself in the display of virtue in epitaphs by standard stock phrases and by the choice of epithet in connection with specific social and kinship roles.

To begin with the formulaic phrases found in epitaphs, the above discussion has highlighted already how some virtues, mainly *pietas*, *concordia* and, to a lesser extent, *virtus* were mainly found in epitaphs as part of standard phrases. Like other stock phrases, such as *Dis Manibus, h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* or *sit tibi terra levis*, these formulae were part of a larger body of epigraphic phrases that were generally used out of convention rather than a desire to specifically attribute *pietas* or *concordia* with the deceased.¹⁷⁶³ The phrase *ob virtutem donatus* is an exception in that, despite the

¹⁷⁶³ King 2000, 131.

fact that the phrase itself is standardised, like the iconography of the *dona miliaria*, it was mainly used in epitaphs as a demonstration of *virtus*, where the depiction of the phrase or symbolism was generally linked to the desire to show courage vigour in war. In the case of other phrases, however, the custom of enhancing the monument with an additional stock phrase using *pietas* or *concordia* was not motivated by a specific wish to ascribe these virtues to the deceased or to the commemorator, but rather followed the lines of conventional epigraphic commemoration, which thus accounts for such a large number of attestations of this type of stock phrase.

Accordingly, the same can be said for quite a few subsequent virtue terms attested in this chapter and mainly for the virtues of *pietas*, *fides* and *innocentia*, as their derivative stock epithets, as will be argued, were contingent on their connection with specific social- and kinship roles. The epigraphic summary of each virtue term in the analysis of this chapter has already touched on this topic: a significant proportion of the total number of attestations for each virtue category comes from adjectives and stock epithets. Thus, the case of *pietas* has already shown how as much as 98.7% of the attestations come from *pietissimus* and *piissimus*. In the case of *fides*, the total number of adjectives of 165 epitaphs remains relatively contained, with 121 references originating from *fidelissimus*, *fidissimus*, *fidelis* and *fidus* (73.3% of the total number of references, according to the *EDCS* at May 2024). In contrast, *innocentissimus* and the adjective *innocens* together make up 94.8% of the total attestations of *innocentia*. As such, the epithets have an enormous impact on the total number of attestations; without these epithets, the total number of virtue attestations is quite small. For example, *fides* would be left with 44 attestations out of the original 165, *innocentia*, would be left with ‘only’ seven proper references out of the 135. In view of this, the fact that certain virtue terms (such as *pietas*, *fides* or *innocentia*) appear more frequently in epitaphs than others is due to the fact that the epithets derived from them were generally appropriated and popularised in epitaphs. The primacy of adjectives as epithets and their use in epitaphs is, to a smaller extent, also confirmed in the use of *honestas*: the virtue term itself is not attested even once in the material, but it is referred to by the adjectives *honestus* and *honestissimus* and the adverb *honeste*. It might be expected that the distribution of other virtue terms not included in this chapter’s analysis, such as *indulgentia*, *dignitas*, *castitas* or *sanctitas*,

would also show a dominance of *indulgentissimus*, *dignissimus*, *castu*, and *sanctus* respectively.¹⁷⁶⁴

Despite what their widespread use might suggest, these specific epitaphs were not randomly attributed to every person and every social role. It can be argued that part of the choice of virtues in epitaphs was dependent on conventions and influences that specifically associated certain virtues with certain kinship- and social roles. While some of these roles were specific to either the male or female gender, overall they were gender-neutral in that they were applied to both male and female epitaphs. As a result, the application of these virtues was not necessarily or primarily influenced by gender considerations, but by social commemorative conventions. While this is not the case for every virtue term studied in this chapter, it is the case for the majority of the virtues discussed here.

To elaborate: this observation applies to the three virtues that represent around 80% of the total virtue term attestations such as *pietas*, *fides* and *innocentia*. In all three virtues, the attribution of their epithets mainly follows conventions that specifically associate these virtues with a particular social role. *Pientissimus/piissimus* and *innocentissimus*, for example, are attributed primarily to children, regardless of the child's gender. Furthermore, the attestations in case of *fides* are generally determined by the social convention that attributes the virtue to men mainly as *liberti* or *amicus* and to women mainly as wife. Here, the virtue is not attributed solely to one sex but is explicitly reserved for social roles that are represented by either gender. As such, the specific virtue associated with a person is not primarily determined by considerations of which gender warrants the use of which virtues, but rather by which virtue generally corresponds to which social role.

Beginning with *pientissimus/piissimus*: the distribution of the epithets has been generally leaning towards an emphasis on the epithets' attribution, with respectively 36.8% and 44.8% of all attestations being dedicated to the offspring (*filius*, *filia*, *fili*, *filiae*, *filiaster*). This emphasis is especially clear in the category of men's attestations, as in both *pientissimus* and *piissimus*, the category of dedications to children stands in sharp contrast with that of the parents, the spouse and siblings; for women, the field

¹⁷⁶⁴ The extent to which they would be represented in substantial numbers, however, is questionable, as Harrod's distribution shows that these four specific epithets are generally amongst the lesser often attested epithets: Harrod 1909, 49.

is somewhat more even, with a similar number of dedications to female children as to female parents and spouses. Overall, however, the main emphasis still lies on the commemoration of children.¹⁷⁶⁵ This predominance is readily explainable, as the literary sources and the verse epitaphs studied in this chapter have attested to the fact that *pietas* principally entails the dutiful observance of the children towards their parents. Both Cicero and Valerius Maximus attribute the virtue specifically to the observance of the duties towards one's parents; the epitaph of Venetus (**inscription no. 25**, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.6) also shows how it is appropriate for children to bury and commemorate their parents. As a result, the premature death of children meant that the parents were deprived of their filial devotion and, as a result, commemorated their children in a pious manner. Therefore, it has been argued that mainly older children are commemorated by the epithet, as they already were of the age at which the parents could have expected to be outlived by their children.¹⁷⁶⁶ As such, the peak of the age distribution of *pientissimus/piissimus* lies at 15 years, after which it drops first slightly and then sharply to older ages.¹⁷⁶⁷ The premature death deprives the parents of a dutiful remembrance by their children and thus commemorates them fittingly with these specific epithets. The fact that the epithet was used more broadly to describe the *pietas* of younger children, who in theory were not yet old enough to remember their parents, shows that in practice the epithet was not so specifically associated with a particular age group and could be applied to children of any age.

A similar pattern can be seen in the use of *innocentia*. Of all attestations of *innocentia*, 129 of 135 refer to a person: 72 times to a man, 57 times to a woman (according to the *EDCS* as consulted on May 27th, 2024). In the case of men, most of the attestations were made to the *filius* (20 attestations), after which the number of attestations in the other categories diminishes quite rapidly. For women, the attestations are a little more sparse with 11 attestations to the woman's *anima*, ten to the *filia* and nine to the *coniunx*. counting the other kinship terms that refer to a child, such as *iuvenes*, *puer*, *puella*, *delicatus* and *infans*, it is clear that *innocentia* is strongly linked to the quality of a child. Furthermore, the reference to the *anima* is not irregular either, as it is referred to six times in the case of men.

¹⁷⁶⁵ See Table 7 and 8, paragraph 3.4.2.1.2.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Schreiber-Schermutzki 2008, 64.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Sigismund Nielsen 1997, 197.

The link between *innocentia* and the child is less obvious. Nielsen notes that the epithet *innocens* is attested primarily in the inscriptions of Latin children within the Christian context, as a reference to the fact that the child had been baptised.¹⁷⁶⁸ It is true that compared to Christian epitaphs, pagan epitaphs show little interest in *innocentia* as an epithet for their children: a study by King, analysing the use of Roman child epithets on their epitaphs, shows that *innocentia* plays only a marginal role in children's epitaphs compared to the likes of *dulcissimus*, *benemerens* and *carissimus*.¹⁷⁶⁹ Yet, looking at Christian epitaphs, *innocens* and *innocentissimus* are amongst the most common and most popular epithets found for children.¹⁷⁷⁰ Laes, on the other hand, has pointed out that the attribution of *innocentia* to children is already found in Greek literature and has a very clear pagan background.¹⁷⁷¹ Inherently, 'innocence' would seem to be a logical epithet for children, especially considering that most children were not yet tarnished by the vices of mankind and did not deserve such an early death. However, the specific reference to the innocence of children in the pagan Roman context does not seem so clear. As Roman literature has shown, *innocentia* is not strictly used in the sense of the English 'innocence' and means moral integrity and uprightness instead. How and why this specific epithet was so generally attributed to children seems incompatible with Roman literature.¹⁷⁷² Nevertheless, some literary precedent exists: even in Plautus's *Mercator*, Demipho describes his son Charinus as a *filio innocentis*.¹⁷⁷³ Cicero also refers to the *fili innocentis* on several occasions.¹⁷⁷⁴ This is not to say that the epitaphs were specifically inspired by these authors, but rather that the combination of *innocentia* with *filius* is not unknown in the Latin-speaking world, and that its combination in epigraphy is not unprecedented. Problematically, this still does not explain why *innocentia* is mainly associated with children rather than other social and kinship roles. It would be too simplistic to suggest that the inscriptions are in fact Christian epitaphs 'disguised' or 'misidentified' as pagan, since

¹⁷⁶⁸ Sigismund Nielsen 2005, 173.

¹⁷⁶⁹ King groups *innocentissimus* together with *iucundissimus*, *infelicissimus*, *amantissimus*, *amabilissimus*, *optimus*, *blandissimus*, *sanctissimus*, and *suavissimus*, which all correlate to 6,3% of the total number of recorded epithets: King 2000, 142, fig. 5.5.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Curchin 2022, 69.

¹⁷⁷¹ Laes 2010, 322–323.

¹⁷⁷² Rawson 2003, 85.

¹⁷⁷³ Plaut. *Merc.* 979.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 25.1: ... *orent ut et illius mortui famam et filii innocentis fortunas conservatas velit*; Ver. 2.5.109: *Te patris lacrimae de innocentis filii periculo non movebant*; Cic. *Clu.* 186: *et quam tu pestem innocentissimo filio de matris sinu deprompseris, hanc hi tales viri comprobabunt?*

they lack the usual themes that would allow such identification, i.e. as Christian formulaic texts or symbology.¹⁷⁷⁵ Similarly, it would be too optimistic to assume that early Christian epitaphs influenced pagan epigraphic practice to such an extent that contemporary pagan epigraphers would copy the use of *innocentia* for their children; whether or not such trends would be discernible is one thing, but the evidence of the early Christian epitaphs (dated before 300 A.D.) that attest to the *innocentia* of the child is too sparse and does not correspond geographically to the pagan attestations.¹⁷⁷⁶

Yet, the similarity with early Christian funerary epigraphy cannot be dismissed, especially in consideration of the extensive references to the *anima innocentia*. However, the use of *anima* as a reference to an eternal soul or essence that lives on after death is not a specific Christian invention and is rooted in ancient Greek philosophy, as even Aristotle mentions the distinction between body and soul. Similarly, the *anima-corpus/carō/membra* dichotomy is also attested in pagan funerary inscriptions, and the inclusion of *anima* should not be seen as another reference to a Christian background of the epitaph.¹⁷⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the numerous epigraphic references to the *anima innocentissima* entail a curious observation: of 18 inscriptions, 17 derive from Rome or the Italian peninsula; only one comes from outside Italy, namely Britannia.¹⁷⁷⁸ As such, the use of *innocentissima* in relation to *anima* seems to be contained to the region of Italy and was almost never adopted in provincial epitaphs. Furthermore, there is a slight difference in the age range between the dedications to *filius/filia* and *anima*. While the average age of the epitaphs dedicated to the *filius/filia innocentissimus/innocentissima* is ten years (ranging between 1 and 25 years of age), the average age for *anima innocentissima* is 18 years, with attestations ranging between the ages of ten months and 42 years.

In any case, the link between *innocentia* and children on pagan epitaphs is undeniable and shows that even before Christian influence dictated the preference for the epithet with the untimely death of a child, such a precedent already existed in Roman funerary epigraphy. The concept of the blameless morale of the child, even if

¹⁷⁷⁵ Such an interpretation is made at times, such as in Torres 2008, 102.

¹⁷⁷⁶ As all Christian attestations are from Rome or the Italian peninsula: *CIL* 10, 3380 (Misenum, 180-250 A.D.); *ICUR* 7, 20440 (Rome, 201-300 A.D.); *ICUR* 9, 24905 (Rome, 231-270 A.D.).

¹⁷⁷⁷ Gacia 2022, 680–682.

¹⁷⁷⁸ *RIB* 690 (Eboracum, 122-300 A.D.).

the child outgrew its childhood years and had reached adulthood already, was a specifically prevalent attitude in epitaphs. Furthermore, it refers back to another notion often found in funerary epigraphy, namely that the sorrow for the untimely death is amplified when the deceased was still unblemished and of integer character and thus, even more so, undeserving of an untimely death.

Finally, there is *fides*, which is similarly well attested as an epithet, as *fidelissimus*, *fidelis*, *fidus* and *fidissimus*. *Fides* is mentioned in a total of 165 inscriptions, 143 are directly attributed to either a man or a woman (according to the *EDCS* as consulted on May 27th, 2024). In case of men, a quarter of the references (15 out of 61) are made to *libertus*, followed by 11 to the person's name and 10 to *amicus*. For women, of 82 attestations, 28 are made mainly directly to the female name or 26 to the *coniunx*. Comparison with the literary evidence has already shown that both the theme of the *coniunx* and that of the *libertus* were generally well associated with *fides*, and this specificity might reasonably be expected to be represented in the epigraphy. In fact, this was also the conclusion of Harrod who, in studying all epithets of the city of Rome, concluded that the epithet is mainly attributed to either the wife, the freedman or the *amicus* and is almost never attested to blood relatives.¹⁷⁷⁹ Compared with the findings of this chapter, this is fact: both *libertus* and *amicus* lead the number of attestations for men, and the subsequent categories show no blood affiliation, save for the sporadic attestations of *frater* and *filius* with a combined total of five attestations; a similar observation is made in case of women, as most attestations are directed to the female name and the *coniunx*, followed by the *liberta* and *uxor*, with only *mater*, *filia* and *puella* (a total of three attestations) showing blood-relation. Harrod explained that the predominance of *fides* in non-blood relations was due to the fact that *fides* did not derive from any obligation felt on the basis of familial relationships but rather "from contract." In Roman society, Harrod argued that this entailed mainly the social pressures at work in three different domains: firstly, between patron and freedman; secondly, between friend's obligation to curate a funerary monument for the deceased; and thirdly, between husband and wife as a result of the promise of their marriage vows.¹⁷⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷⁹ Harrod 1909, 29.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

Whether or not this explains the specific motivation of *fides* in funerary epigraphy, the evidence found in the sources speaks for itself, especially when one considers that most attestations in epigraphy come from the nuclear family and that non-blood commemoration, except between husband and wife, is rather rare.¹⁷⁸¹ Furthermore, a closer look at those inscriptions that do not attribute *fides* directly to a particular woman's social role shows that those inscriptions do, in fact, commemorate mainly wives and *liberti*: of the 28 undetermined attributions, 14 are attributed to the wife who is mainly identified as such indirectly through the fact that the husband identifies himself in the inscription as the *coniunx* or *maritus*.¹⁷⁸² 7 inscriptions provide no indication of any relation, while 4 refer to the *liberta*.¹⁷⁸³ Only once is the female identified as a mother¹⁷⁸⁴ or a child¹⁷⁸⁵ and once were the woman dedicated the monument to herself during her lifetime.¹⁷⁸⁶ A similar picture appears for those 11 unspecified men, as the virtue is attributed three times to the freedman¹⁷⁸⁷ and twice to a slave.¹⁷⁸⁸ Once, it is attributed to the patron,¹⁷⁸⁹ once to the husband,¹⁷⁹⁰ once to the father¹⁷⁹¹ and once by a military comrade.¹⁷⁹² The remaining two times remain unspecified.

However, this tendency to favour *liberti*, *coniugi* and *amices* over *fides* does not explain why more women than men are attested. One reason could be that traditionally wives and freedmen are typically over-represented in epigraphic corpora. As such, the number of attestations relative to the other categories could be distorted by an overrepresentation of both women and *liberti* in the general Roman

¹⁷⁸¹ Saller/Shaw 1984, 134.

¹⁷⁸² *AE* 1972, 38 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 1972, 132 (Venusia, 251-300 A.D.); *AE* 2005, 498 (Lucus Feroniae, 71-130 A.D.); *AE* 2013, 1848 (Ammaedara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.); *CIL* 5, 6040 (Mediolanum, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 3452 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 8769 (Rome, 31-70 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 24550 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 25427 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 994 (Leoni, undated); *CIL* 9, 6417 (Falerio Picenus, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 1909 (Puteoli, 186-210 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 4763 (Suessa Aurunca, 180-192 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸³ *CIL* 1, 1822 (Alba Fucens, 70-31 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 6214 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 11357 (Rome, 50-1 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 21975 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.).

¹⁷⁸⁴ *CIL* 6, 10230 (Rome, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸⁵ *AE* 2014, 1560 (Thamugadi, 101-300 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸⁶ *AE* 1992, 204 (Rome, 71-100 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸⁷ *CIL* 1, 1822 (Alba Fucens, 70-31 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 32311 (Rome, 100-31 B.C.); *CIL* 6, 33575 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸⁸ *CIL* 6, 25570 (Rome, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 4909 (Trebula Mutuesca, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.).

¹⁷⁸⁹ *CIL* 6, 6191 (Rome, 71-130 A.D.).

¹⁷⁹⁰ *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.).

¹⁷⁹¹ *CIL* 6, 10215 (Rome, 151-250 A.D.).

¹⁷⁹² *AE* 1991, 122 (Rome, 30 B.C.-30 A.D.).

epigraphic field. This is corroborated by the research of McNerney, who argues with a sample study of the epigraphic corpus of the city of Rome that almost 19.85% of the dedications were made to *liberti*. Of these, 31.88% is labelled uncertain.¹⁷⁹³ To put this into perspective, McNerney notes that 11.04% are certainly freeborn, while a further 21.46% is of uncertain status.¹⁷⁹⁴ A similar study performed in 1974, which also concerned the demographic distribution of the epigraphy of the city of Rome, is a little more optimistic and contends that 24% of the total number of deceased found on a cross-section of the *CIL* 6 was a freedman/woman.¹⁷⁹⁵ However, these studies do not distinguish between *libertus* and *liberta* which makes it difficult to compare the use of *fides*, as it is mainly attributed to male *liberti*. There is also the question of whether the inclusion of *libertus fidelissimus* in epitaphs dedicated by or for freedmen would be used by anyone other than their former patron, and how and to what extent such attestations are used for statistical analyses of the demography of, in the case of McNerney and Huttunen, the city of Rome. For example, one inscription from Raetia is dedicated to three-year-old Cassius Constantius. However, the dedicator, his father, also dedicated the monument to his mother and to three freedmen (who are specifically attested as *libertis fidelissimis*), who, as the monument states, were all alive at the time of the dedication.¹⁷⁹⁶ This epitaph thus highlights the two interpretational problems simultaneously: does this epitaph count towards the tally of *liberti* in the demographic statistics, or is the epitaph counted as a child, since it is primarily dedicated to the only deceased three-year-old boy? Furthermore, would the same people be listed as *libertus fidelissimus* by anyone other than the patron as the dedicator, for example, if the freedmen were commemorated by their own nuclear family?

The former question is difficult to answer; the second could be answered by examining the 15 attestations to the *libertus fidelissimus* and see who specifically dedicated the monument to them and thus gave the freedman their designation. Of the

¹⁷⁹³ McNerney 2019, 167, table 1.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Huttunen 1974, 186.

¹⁷⁹⁶ *CIL* 3, 5890: *D(is) M(anibus) / Tib(erio) Cassio Constantino iunio/ri miserrimo qui vixit annos III m(enses) / IIII d(ies) XXII fecit Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Constantinus / pater filio dulcissimo a quo sibi faci/endum optaverat et Cassiae Verae / matri eius et Claudis Ianuario / Victori et Marcellino libertis / fidelissimis vivis fecit et Modesto suis ra/rissimis / perpetua[e] securitat[i]*. (Neuburg, 171-250 A.D.). Commentary provided by Ardeleanu 2021, 264-273.

15 attestations, six provide no indication of the social relationship.¹⁷⁹⁷ Six are explicitly erected by the patron¹⁷⁹⁸ and two might be attributed additionally to the patron based on onomastics.¹⁷⁹⁹ Lastly, two others are erected by fellow *liberti*.¹⁸⁰⁰ *Liberti*, at least when they were commemorated as *fidelissimus*, were commemorated mainly by their former masters or their *conliberti*.

The share of the female *coniunx* of the total number of deceased in epitaphs is not as easily explained, since no study uses *coniunx* as a separate category. For example, a study performed by Müller in 2010, which has mapped the commemorative pattern of women over the age of 12 in the city of Rome, collected the *coniunx* under the header of 'spouse', together with *maritus* and *contubernalis*.¹⁸⁰¹ Even still, the study shows how more than half of the deceased women (599 of 1107) belong to this category, showing how the category of the spouse on its own was commemorated primarily in the city of Rome than any other kinship class. In 2010, Jeppesen-Wigelsworth also collected all the references to female partners available in the *EDCS* and categorised them accordingly, showing that 1292 of the 2120 references to women were made specifically to the *coniunx*.¹⁸⁰² Importantly, this study does not provide the contextualisation of the number in comparison with manly attestations, but it does show that references to the *coniunx* far outnumbered references to women in other relational terms.

In conclusion of the above, the high number of attestations for both men and women in relation to *fides* seems to be influenced by the fact that the social roles prevalent with the attribution to this particular virtue coincide with the demographic statistics that already favour epitaphs dedicated to these roles precisely. As such, the dedications to the faithful *libertus* and *coniunx* contrast sharply with the other categories, mainly because a significant number of epitaphs were already dedicated to these persons, and furthermore, because they are traditionally associated with the virtue. a definitive answer to why women outnumber men overall cannot be

¹⁷⁹⁷ *AE* 1986, 88 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *AE* 1994, 593 (Attidium, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 5890 (Neuburg, 171-250 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 15149 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16843 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 28790 (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁷⁹⁸ *CIL* 3, 2204 (Salona, 171-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 10577 (Rome, 151-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16816 (Rome, 171-200 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 27849 (Rome, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 5375 (Interamna Lirenas, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁷⁹⁹ *CIL* 5, 984 (Aquileia, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 16259 (Rome, 98-113 A.D.).

¹⁸⁰⁰ *CIL* 5, 457 (Cataio, 1-25 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 695 (Surrentum, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸⁰¹ Müller 2010, 298.

¹⁸⁰² Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, 409, table 1.

ascertained with certainty; it may simply be due to either the fact that there are more dedications to wives than to freedmen, or because the link of *fides* with the *coniunx* was more prevalent than that between the virtue and the freedman. Such hypotheses, however, remain difficult to verify. Nevertheless, the above shows that the prevalence of a certain virtue term for a particular gender is specifically influenced by the traditional attribution of virtues to specific social roles, which is corroborated thus not only in Roman literature but also in funerary epigraphy.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this line of enquiry, namely what motivated the choice of a specific virtue in epitaphs, it has become clear that a significant proportion of epitaphic attestations of virtue are either derived from formulaic texts which give little or no importance to the virtuous connotation of the word itself, or are derived from virtue terms and are thus, as epithets, primarily and specifically associated with particular social and kinship roles. As such, the choice for these virtues as epithets are motivated by commemorative conventions that establish their use through repetitive and homogeneous associations, mainly exemplified by the many attestations of the *filius pietissimus*, the *filius innocentissimus* or the *libertus fidelissimus*.

3.5.3 Comparing Prose and Poetic

Despite the predominance of social conventions on the choice of virtue terms in epitaphs, not all attestations fall within these categories, and not all virtue terms are found in formulaic phrases or stock epithets. In fact, ten of 13 virtue terms studied in this chapter fall outside of the scope of the standardised use of virtues and thus clearly use virtue in a different sense. As such, not all attestations of virtues in epitaphs should be seen as following premeditated standard conventions, and especially in the case of more elaborate inscriptions – as is generally the case in verse epitaphs – there is ample room for a distinct and atypical use of virtues. It is here in particular that a difference in the use of virtues in prosaic inscriptions as opposed to poetic inscriptions comes to the fore, at least for some of the virtue terms.

One theme must be observed when comparing the use of virtues in prose set against verse inscriptions. As will be explained in more detail, the evidence shows a tendency for formulaic phrases and popular epithets to be generally only attested on prose inscriptions. However, it would be wrong to assume that this indicates that *all*

standard texts are categorically relegated to prose inscriptions and, more importantly, it would be also wrong to assume that this indicates a level of hierarchy between prosaic and poetic epitaphs, where the poetic inscriptions ignore the “phrases of the masses” and instead only portray the most elaborate expressions of moral qualities. The error in this assumption lies in the fact that it presupposes an incorrect line of reasoning. It is not the level of sophistication or the grade of Latin linguistic virtuosity of a virtue term that determines whether a phrase is found on the poetic or prosaic part of the inscription: stock phrases and epithets are not relegated to mainly prose inscriptions because they are ordinary or plain, but because of the nature of their general locality in the inscription.

To elaborate: the epithets studied above, like *pientissimus* and *piissimus*, are almost always found in the *prae-* or *postscriptum* of an inscription, primarily because they, as adjectives, are attributed to persons mentioned here. The nature of the inscription means that these specific parts are almost always written in prose rather than poetry. Furthermore, in examining the use of *pientissimus* and *piissimus* in their poetic inscriptions, it becomes clear that of all these attestations *piissimus* is used only twice and *pientissimus* once in the actual metrical part of the inscription.¹⁸⁰³ Thus, not only is the use of this popular epithet rarely attested on verse epitaphs, and even where it is, it is almost exclusively used in the prose *praescripta* and *postscripta*. Moreover, in the use of superlatives, as is to be expected of an epithet, it is always used as an adjective for a person or a group of persons, with the exception of those epitaphs which read *pientissima anima* or *Pacia Saturnina piissima*.¹⁸⁰⁴ Other than those references, it is always used as an attribute of a person, i.e. the deceased, commemorator or someone else mentioned in the epitaph. It would therefore be erroneous to assume that these specific parts of the inscription are prosaic because they include stock epithets such as *pientissimus/piissimus*; rather, the opposite is true: *pientissimus/piissimus* are generally found in the prose parts of epitaphs because of their specific function within the *prae-* and *postscriptum*. The same applies to other epithets mentioned above, such as *carissimus*, *dulcissimus* and *bene merens*; in the same line of reasoning it could be expected that other stock phrases such as *Dis*

¹⁸⁰³ For *pientissimus*: CLEPann 10 (Carnuntum, 201-300 A.D.). For *piissimus*: CIL 3, 3337 (Intercisa, 151-300 A.D.); CIL 6, 26901 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

¹⁸⁰⁴ For *pientissima anima*: CIL 6, 16926 (Rome, 101-230 A.D.). For *Pacia Saturnina piissima*: CIL 2-7, 508 (Corduba, 171-230 A.D.).

Manibus, hic situs est and *sit tibi terra levis* are generally found exclusively in the prose part of the inscription, because of their locality at the beginning or the end of the inscription.

This may also explain why almost all attestations such as *pro pietate*, *pietatis causa*, *ob pietatem*, *pietatem facere* and *ex pietate* are found on prose epitaphs: because of their meaning, to show why or to whom someone dedicated the monument, such phrases are usually found at the beginning or end of an epitaph and are generally less often in the poetic parts of funerary inscriptions. This would also explain why the attestations for *cum qua vixit concorditer* are generally more evenly distributed between poetic and prosaic inscriptions: since they are not generally preferred for the prosaic or poetic part of an inscription, they are not relegated to the *prae-* or *postscriptum* and thus tend to be more evenly distributed between prose and verse.

Nevertheless, this explanation cannot account for every single formulaic phrase, as an examination of those formulaic texts of *virtus* shows. Like *cum qua vixit concorditer* discussed above, the phrases *ob virtutem donis donatus* and *virtus et honos* are not necessarily found in the salutation or conclusion of an inscription, however, they are still exclusively written in prose. This is more difficult to explain, and part of an answer could simply lie in the fact that the corpus of such attestations for funerary epigraphy is rather small, as both phrases are together attested only seven times in total. Another explanation could be that inscriptions wanting to portray the military insignia do not choose poetic language for their epitaph due to unknown reasons, but the epitaphs of the corpus, where both Mummius and Caelius use the iconography of the *dona miliaria* together with a poetic inscription, makes such motivation less likely. In any case, if there was a motivation behind the choice of epitaphic genre for the display of the *dona miliaria* in the text, the corpus does not allow for a clear interpretation.

As such, only the uses of *pietas* proper, rather than *pietissimus/piissimus*, are really found on verse inscriptions. Furthermore, in studying the division of standardised phrases over poetic and prosaic inscriptions, it becomes clear that almost none of the formulaic texts using *pietas* are found on the poetic epitaphs. As mentioned in paragraph 3.4.2.1.2, more than half of the total number of attestations of *pietas* (149 of 274) use it in a formulaic pretence, which can be divided into the phrases *pro pietate*, *pietatis causa*, *ob pietatem*, *pietatem facere* and *ex pietate*. Of all

these attestations, only six instances are poetic, whereby four derive from the formulaic phrase *pietatem facere* and two from *pro pietate*. Thus, verse inscriptions using *pietas* barely do so through the invocation of standard phrasing or standard epithets. In conclusion, stock phrases and epithets related to *pietas* are almost exclusively found on prose inscriptions. However, which other uses for prose inscriptions remain and how does this compare with verse inscriptions?

It is clear that *pietas* is used in verse epitaphs mainly to add another dimension to the relationship between the living and the deceased. For example, *CIL* 10, 5665 records how the parents of the deceased child worshipped him “with tender piety” (*blanda pietate colendus*). Another fine example is how *CLE* 1086, which remarks that the monument would have been made out of gold if fortune had given him as much as the *pietas* and *officia* he felt for the deceased.¹⁸⁰⁵ Other epitaphs emphasise the piety expressed after the death of a loved one, as when *CLE* 213 reads how the surviving brother suffers his brother’s death “with remarkable piety” (*pietate mira*). Again, the emphasis is on *pietas* as a moral quality of either the living or the dead, but the virtue is not directly attributed to either person.

Another use is *pietas* as a synonym for the grave, where the word refers to the piety of the person commemorating the deceased, such as when one inscription records that the bones of the deceased were enclosed “by the piety of the son” (*pietate ... nati*).¹⁸⁰⁶ A similar phrase is found in *CLE* 1229, where the mother provides, “for the sake of piety” (*pietatis nomine*) the *tumulus*, a theme also found in the inclusion of the phrase *hic pietatis honos*.¹⁸⁰⁷ Similarly, as attested in the corpus as well, *pietas* often invokes the duty from offspring to parents, but the poetic inscription inverses this use and comments how “the father now did the duty of the child” (*pater hic gnatae fungitur officio*).¹⁸⁰⁸

The same sentiments are also attested in prose epitaphs, but the distinguishing factor is that the language is much more abbreviated and superficial. It has already been stated that the standard formulaic phrases using *pietas* are mainly attested in prose epitaphs. Furthermore, in those cases where *pietas* is not directly connected to

¹⁸⁰⁵ *Si tantum mihi Fortuna largita fuisset], quantum in te pietas coguit et officia, Aureum hoc totum fecissem, nunc monumentum de mea pauperie feci ut potui.*

¹⁸⁰⁶ *Epigraphica* 71, 2009, 274–276.

¹⁸⁰⁷ *CIL* 6, 23135 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.); *CLE*Moes 12 (Scupi, 101-150 A.D.).

¹⁸⁰⁸ *CIL* 6, 5261 (Rome, 14-100 A.D.).

a person or a standard phrase, most attestations of *pietas* on prose inscriptions use the virtue either as the ablative *pietate* – “with piety” – or as the dative *pietati* – “to piety.” Naturally, there are exceptions, and some prose epitaphs use *pietas* in a more profound way, such as the inscription to Thelonicus, which records how the piety of the people set him free (*retiario qui pietate populi rude liberatus est*).¹⁸⁰⁹ Such attestations are quite irregular and are found more often on verse epitaphs.

Moving on to *fides*, the virtue is used 163 times, almost exclusively to describe persons. When not used as such, and when not attributed to non-human entities such as earth, *solacia* or Nemesis, it is used either as part of speech or as a poetic phrase. Such themes are found 13 times. Of these, eight are found on poetic inscriptions, while the remaining five come from prose inscriptions. These phrases tend to be semantically quite close to the sentiments found in the less elaborate inscriptions that use *fides*, such as when one inscription remarks that the inscription serves as a sign of his faith.¹⁸¹⁰ Similar poetic references are made to *fides* as the embodiment of a happy relationship, as when one inscription remarks that “we lived together for 21 years, faith granted us many joys”,¹⁸¹¹ or when another speaks of “that rare fidelity that exists in marriages.”¹⁸¹² On another occasion, *fides* is attributed to persons in a poetic manner, as when an inscription reminds us that “if those who are reborn choose the battles of praise, let them first look at our deeds of faith.”¹⁸¹³

Not all such phrases are found in verse, however, as five prose inscriptions also use *fides* in a non-standard manner. Two inscriptions record only *in fide*,¹⁸¹⁴ but the other three are wordier: *CIL* 11, 600 calls the deceased the “patron of good freedmen” and records how he wishes those to live well who, among others “remain faithful, that you desire your master to be well, that you honour your parents, honour your word”¹⁸¹⁵ Similarly, the *Laudatio Turiae* lists *fides* as one of the characteristics of the deceased wife.¹⁸¹⁶ In contrast, another prose inscription is more stern and reads, after

¹⁸⁰⁹ *AE* 1934, 284 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); Carter, M. 2008, 119-120.

¹⁸¹⁰ *AE* 1971, 44 (Rome, 171-230 A.D.).

¹⁸¹¹ *CIL* 10, 7563: *unum et viginti bis iuncti viximus annos una fides nobis gaudia multa dedit* (Carales, 131-170 A.D.).

¹⁸¹² *CIL* 6, 30102: *et quae rara fides toris habetur* (Rome, 51-100 A.D.).

¹⁸¹³ *CIL* 6, 18209: *Sei qua renascentes optant certamina laudis, Ex nostra aspiciant facta priora fide* (Rome, 1-100 A.D.).

¹⁸¹⁴ *AE* 1952, 35 (Rome, 31-130 A.D.); *AE* 1976, 232 (Aquileia, 201-300 A.D.).

¹⁸¹⁵ *CIL* 11, 600: *primum est pium esse, domino bene cupias, verere parentes, fidem bonam praestes* (Forum Livii, 1-14 A.D.). Translation provided by Cushing 2020, 91n282.

¹⁸¹⁶ *CIL* 6, 41062 (Rome, 15-9 B.C.).

the inscription lists stipulations for the celebration of the deceased's birthday that she hopes to be able to count on the fidelity for it to be performed that way.¹⁸¹⁷

In case of *innocentia*, only a handful of cases show how the virtue term is not attributed directly to persons. In six cases, it is not identified directly to a single person. Three of these attestations are prose, referring to the *innocentia* of the parents,¹⁸¹⁸ of the surviving family¹⁸¹⁹ and one to the deceased who lived innocently.¹⁸²⁰ The remaining three attestations are all in verse, two of which direct their attention to the reader to whom the virtue is attributed.¹⁸²¹ The third attributes *innocentissimis* to *omnibus* which, due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, may not be properly reconstructed, although it can be assumed that it is dedicated to the many deceased persons to whom the monument is dedicated.¹⁸²² Here, little difference is found in the use of these specific sentences as well as the other regular uses of *innocentia* and, apart from the two poetic references to the *innocentia* of the reader, show no difference between verse and prose attestations.

Virtus, on the other hand, shows a clear distinction between its use in standard phrases (*virtus et honos*, *donis donatus ob virtutem* and *honoris ac virtutis*) for prose epitaphs and its more particular uses on verse inscriptions. Two prime examples of the latter category are the *Laudatio Murdiae* and the *Laudatio Matidiae*, which both honour these prominent women through an invocation of multiple *virtutes*. Another poetic inscription, dedicated to Pomponia Eleusis, honours her for her *eximia virtus* and praises her by saying that her children were similar in virtue and that she herself received much praise on account of her own virtue.¹⁸²³ Yet another poetic use is found when a mother, forced to bury her daughter, commands the Infernal gods to be satisfied with the virtue that the daughter will provide in the afterlife.¹⁸²⁴ Rather than attributing the virtue directly to the daughter, the poem directs its attention from the perspective of the mourning mother, who directs her anger and grief at the *crudeles Parcae*. The use of *virtus* here as a signifier for general virtue rather than courage is

¹⁸¹⁷ *CIL* 11, 6520 (Sassina, 101-200 A.D.). For a commentary on the inscription: Liu 2009, 224.

¹⁸¹⁸ *CIL* 3, 1578 (Ad Mediam, 171-270 A.D.).

¹⁸¹⁹ *CIL* 6, 29884 (Rome, 1-200 A.D.).

¹⁸²⁰ Gerov-1989, 230 (Storgosia, 171-230 A.D.).

¹⁸²¹ *CIL* 5, 3996 (Bardolino, 101-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19941 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.).

¹⁸²² *CIL* 8, 7277 (Cirta, 231-270 A.D.).

¹⁸²³ *CIL* 1, 3197 (Beneventum, 80-41 B.C.). Morelli 2008, 430.

¹⁸²⁴ *CIL* 3, 2341: *infernae, vobis commendo virtute satactam* (Salona, 1-150 A.D.).

much more prevalent than in prose inscriptions, although references to *virtus* as courage still occur, as one inscription quotes the *Aeneid* in saying that the deceased “was in no way poor of courage.”¹⁸²⁵

For *honestas*, verse inscriptions also use the virtue in a particularly distinct way. Overall, most attestations of *honestas* do so through the adjective *honestus* or the adverb *honeste*, and it is mainly attributed to men or women. On 12 occasions, however, it is applied to a non-living or abstract entity, of which *honestas memoria* is the most popular with three attestations, which are all found on prose epitaphs. Of the remaining nine other uses of *honestas*, seven are found on verse inscriptions, that either attribute the virtue in a poetic way to *vita*, *exemplum*, *tumulus*, *studio formatus* or *nomen*. Furthermore, of the seven additional poetic inscriptions using *honestas*, six do so with the use of the adverb *honeste* in their poem. The final use of poetic *honestas* is found, once again in the poetic part of the inscription, through *honestus*. As such, the use of the adjective *honestus* on verse inscriptions is almost entirely reserved for the poetic representation of non-human entities. In contrast, humans are almost exclusively described on prose epitaphs with *honestus*.

For *concordia*, half of the attestations are found in the formulaic phrase *cum qua vixit concorditer*, which, in 9 of 13 cases, is found on prose inscriptions. Moreover, the prosaic phrases usually follow the same structure and uniformly adhere to the formulaic text *cum qua vixit concorditer*.¹⁸²⁶ Variations do exist, as one inscription from Hispania adds that they lived in harmonious unity for 35 years,¹⁸²⁷ one from Rome states that they maintained harmony for 26 years,¹⁸²⁸ while another from Rome reads that they lived with their spirits in harmony for 35 years.¹⁸²⁹ Additionally, the verse epitaphs alluding to the same sentiment show only a little more variation. Two inscriptions from Rome are close to the expression with *cum quo concordiam vitam multosque per annos vixit*¹⁸³⁰ and *mecum vixit tam concorde*,¹⁸³¹ but the other two deviate further: one inscription from Thugga reads that they delighted their fellow

¹⁸²⁵ *CIL* 10, 4728: *quem non virtutis egentem* (Forum Popilii, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸²⁶ *AE* 2001, 441 (Rome, 51-100 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 2480 (Salona, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 4592 (Ebersdorf, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 8726 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 12990 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.); *CIL* 3, 14738 (Salona, 251-300 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 9143 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 2603 (Terventum, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸²⁷ *CIL* 2, 3596 (Dianium, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸²⁸ *CIL* 6, 10215 (Rome, 151-250 A.D.).

¹⁸²⁹ *CIL* 6, 37556 (Rome, 71-100 A.D.).

¹⁸³⁰ *CIL* 6, 26926 (Rome, 51-200 A.D.).

¹⁸³¹ *CIL* 6, 7579 (Rome, 1-50 A.D.).

citizens with the harmony of their life, *nam delectabant concordia vitae*,¹⁸³² while the other from Hispania Citerior reads *dum viximus semper concordēs*.¹⁸³³

Other poetic uses of *concordia* show that, like in prose epitaphs, the virtue could be attributed directly to persons, as is the case for two of the nine remaining poetic inscriptions.¹⁸³⁴ Furthermore, these poetic uses generally share the same sentiment as the line *cum qua vixit concorditer*, which refers to the harmonious marriage of the deceased and/or the commemorator(s), albeit in more elaborate language.¹⁸³⁵ However, this could also apply to other groups, and it is mainly here that *concordia* is used creatively. For example, one inscription dedicated to the 20-year old daughter of Quintus Rancus asks from the perspective of the deceased to her surviving relatives to continue living in harmony and bear her death with a calm mind.¹⁸³⁶ Another, dedicated by one Publicius Trophimus, contends that the inscription was erected for the good harmony of the *viatores*.¹⁸³⁷ Yet another inscription writes that, by allowing the grave to function as a final resting place for the living, that it might function as a symbol of harmony for future generations.¹⁸³⁸ Where the prose inscriptions focus mainly on the harmonious marriage – which is similarly attested in verse – the verse inscriptions allow for the representation of *concordia* in a broader sense.

For *paupertas*, in contrast to the virtues discussed above, there is no distinct difference in use between prose and verse epitaphs, except that the poetic inscriptions generally tend to discuss the same topics in more detail. *Paupertas* is furthermore the only category that has more verse than prose attestations, suggesting that the virtue is generally more reserved for elaborate descriptions of a persons' moral character. The word refers to financial poverty, as some monuments record that if the commemorator was richer, the monument could have been more elaborate.¹⁸³⁹ The same sentiment is echoed in other epitaphs, which instead focus on the idea that

¹⁸³² *CIL* 8, 27409 (Thugga, 151-250 A.D.).

¹⁸³³ *AE* 1994, 1059 (Alcaniz, 1-50 A.D.).

¹⁸³⁴ *AE* 2005, 1668 (Ammadara, 201-300 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3158 (Corfinium, 1-50 A.D.).

¹⁸³⁵ *CIL* 2, 2215 (Corduba, 50 B.C.-30 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 23137 (Rome, 100-1 B.C.).

¹⁸³⁶ *CIL* 6, 25369: *nunc quoniam fatum se ita tolit, animo uo ... Aeque uos ferre concordēque uiuere* (Rome, 50-1 B.C.).

¹⁸³⁷ *CIL* 3, 9302 (Salona, 151-300 A.D.).

¹⁸³⁸ *CIL* 6, 23852: *hic sedem aeternam uiui facere uolentes, utque foret titulus concordiae posteris sanctae* (Rome, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸³⁹ *CIL* 5, 4593 (Brixia, 41-60 A.D.); *CIL* 6, 19175 (Rome, 1-150 A.D.).

paupertas is contrasted with the wealth, good reputation and a strong mind.¹⁸⁴⁰ Three other inscriptions use *paupertas* as a moral virtue that discusses the attributor as a person of moral integrity.¹⁸⁴¹ Finally, one inscription refers to *paupertas* as financial wealth again, when it describes how he was born poor but, with elaborate wording, displays how he accumulated a substantial amount of wealth for himself.¹⁸⁴² After *paupertas*, the number of attestations quickly dwindles, leaving little room for comparison.

In conclusion, when a virtue term is not used as a popular epithet or as part of a formulaic text, it generally tends to follow the same sentiment as the other virtue term attestations, but either directed to different addressees, with more words and often in a more poetic and expressive manner. This is partially because much of these extra-general attestations are found on verse inscriptions, which generally allow for a more profound and eloquent language of commemoration. Not every verse inscription, however, tends to follow this pattern and, at times, uses the same language as found on prose inscriptions; similarly, prose inscriptions also make use of eloquent and charged language as well and do not merely show conventional stock phrases and epithets on their monuments. Nevertheless, most exceptions to the general use of each virtue are found on verse inscriptions and, in that sense, are usually chosen for more elaborate and poetic descriptions of the deceased's virtues. In these cases, however, they still largely conform to specific contexts in which these virtues generally arise and do not often take complete artistic license in their portrayal of Roman virtues.

3.5.4 Gender: A Determining Factor or Auxiliary Element?

The discussion above explained how virtues are displayed in epitaphs, what specifically determines the choice for specific virtues in epitaphs, and how their use compares between prose versus poetic inscriptions. So far, this discussion has not touched upon the subject of gender, which will occur in this final paragraph. If social conventions play such a major role in the determination of the choice for virtue, what is then the role of gender? Can one still speak of a distinctly 'masculine' set of virtues?

¹⁸⁴⁰ *CIL* 2, 4315 (Tarraco, 1-100 A.D.); *CIL* 9, 3358 (Pinna, 1-200 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 4915 (Venafrum, 101-250 A.D.).

¹⁸⁴¹ *CIL* 6, 2489 (Rome, 29-50 A.D.); *CIL* 8, 23264 (Ammadara, 34-38 A.D.); *CIL* 10, 3050 (Misenum, 101-200 A.D.).

¹⁸⁴² *CIL* 8, 11824 (Mactaris, 201-300 A.D.).

To set the scene for this investigation, a good starting point is to examine the distribution of virtues between the genders. Since it is not possible to determine the total number of indirect and iconographic testimonials in epitaphs, only the direct testimonials of virtues will be considered here. For the sake of consistency, the individual gendered divisions of *pientissimus* and *piissimus* will also be shown. Again, it is important to emphasise that the total number of attestations of a virtue pertaining to an individual does not correspond to the total number of inscriptions precisely, as deviations arise from the fact that multiple persons may have the same virtue attributed to them in the same inscription, or because some inscriptions only mention the virtue without attributing it to a person.

The total distribution of virtues across the male or female gender is set out in Table 9. It is important to note that this chapter is not conclusive evidence for gendered virtue terms on the funerary epigraphy in the Latin West as a whole, but should rather be seen as a case study of certain selected provinces and their Latin epitaphs that, although forming a substantial corpus together that is representative of a good portion of the Roman western provinces, does not account for *all* attestations and all nuances found in epigraphy. In addition, some observations may be made, especially since the study incorporates all virtue attestations found in the empire for those virtues that were found on the epigraphy of this corpus.

Table 9: Gendered Division of Virtue Terms

According to the EDCS as consulted on May 27th, 2024.

Virtue term	Male	Female	Total (men and women)
<i>pietas</i> (total)	1841 (55.8%)	1456 (44.2%)	3297
<i>pientissimus</i>	1123 (54.3%)	945 (45.7%)	2068
<i>piissimus</i>	700 (59%)	487 (41%)	1187
<i>pietas</i>	18 (42.6%)	24 (57.4%)	42
<i>fides</i>	61 (42.7%)	82 (57.3%)	143
<i>innocentia</i>	72 (55.8%)	57 (44.2%)	129
<i>virtus</i>	12 (66.7%)	6 (33.3%)	18
<i>honestas</i>	10 (55.5%)	8 (44.5%)	18
<i>paupertas</i>	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	13
<i>concordia</i>	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4
<i>fortitudo</i>	5 (83.3%)	1 (26.7%)	6
<i>integritas</i>	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4
<i>aequitas</i>	2 (100%)	-	2
<i>patientia</i>	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
<i>cupiditas gloriae</i>	1 (100%)	-	1
<i>iustitia</i>	-	1 (100%)	1
Total	2017 (55.4%)	1621 (44.6%)	3638

The total distribution of virtues across the male and female gender suggests a slight advantage for virtue terms to be attributed to men: 55.4% of the virtue term attestations refer to men compared to 44.6% for women. A few comments are in order: t Firstly, the overall distribution with a slight advantage for male attribution is influenced largely by the great number of attestations for *pientissimus/piissimus*, which represents approximately 90% of the total number of attestations of virtue terms. Excluding these two superlatives, the total number of virtue term attestations is 383 with an almost equal gender distribution: 194 virtue terms are attributed to men and 189 to women. Thus, the gender parity is distorted by the category of superlatives of *pietas*, which affects the distribution to such an extent that it overshadows the overall results of the virtue distribution. However, since the category of *pientissimus/piissimus* is included in the analysis of this chapter, it is interesting to zoom in on the gendered use of these superlatives.

Studying the gendered distribution of *pientissimus/piissimus* raises a few questions. The first is to what extent does this epithet follow or deviate from the overall number of epitaphs dedicated to each gender? This question is not only important for the discussion of the superlatives of *pietas* but similarly corresponds to all findings of this chapter (and dissertation). It has been generally agreed that a

disparity is noticeable in the sex ratio of attestations in funerary epigraphy, as men are generally represented more frequently in funerary epigraphy than women.¹⁸⁴³ For example, a 2005 study of the geographical distribution of epitaphs across the Italian *regiones* 4–7 as found in the *CIL* and the *AE* shows a general gender distribution of between 60 and 70 percent of inscriptions for males, compared to 30 to 40 for females.¹⁸⁴⁴ The same study also incorporates a regional study of Roman Britain, which shows a distribution of 6667% versus 3333% in favour of men. In contrast, the *Conventus Cordubensis* shows an almost equal distribution of epitaphs between men and women (517% and 483%).¹⁸⁴⁵ A more general study from 1969, based on the demographic information of 43000 ancient individuals from the European and North African provinces, allows such conclusions on a provincial level.¹⁸⁴⁶ In this study, a distinction is made between the epitaphs from the first three centuries A.D. and the 4th to 6th century A.D., so the former category fits most of the range of this thesis' corpus. Éry concluded that, based on the material available at the time, there was a similar disparity to that found in Revell's 2005 study. For example, in the cities of North Africa, the 'early period' shows an average of 130 inscriptions dedicated to men for every 100 dedicated to women. For Italy, the average amounts to 342 for every 100 female inscriptions. The other analysed provinces show a similar distribution, ranging between the 130 and the 1042 (in North Africa and Germania respectively).¹⁸⁴⁷

Of course, such studies need to take into consideration the local context that provides the epigraphic output. For example, looking at the table provided by Éry in which the distribution per province is laid out per each big settlement, it becomes clear that the number of 342 Italian inscriptions for men per 100 per women is heavily distorted by the inclusion of Misenum, which attests 2125 male epitaphs per 100 female epitaphs. The settlement housed the *Classis Misenensis* and thus, by nature of the military context, accounts for more men than women. The same phenomenon could explain the relatively high number of male epitaphs in Germania along the *limes* as, for example, Mogontiacum alone accounts for 1240 male to every 100 female

¹⁸⁴³ Revell 2005, 44–45.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Revell 2005, 47, table 1.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Éry 1969.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Éry 1969, 66, table 3.

epitaphs.¹⁸⁴⁸ In fact, a study by Clauss of 1973, using the same dataset as Éry, shows how as much as 88% of the inscriptions are related to soldiers of Mogontiacum.¹⁸⁴⁹ Thus, such overall conclusions regarding the number of attestations are always relative to the local context that provides the epigraphic output and, as such, should not be taken as representative for the epigraphic habit of the entire province or empire. However, this does not negate the fact that men are more often represented on epitaphs rather than women, even in urban settlements.

In order to grasp the extent to which *pientissimus/piissimus* follows this specific trend, it will be helpful to compare the gendered distribution of these two superlatives with the sex ratio from a settlement of Éry's table. Given the fact that the majority of the evidence for *pientissimus/piissimus* and for Éry's table originates from the city of Rome, where the ratio is least distorted by idiosyncratic cases, a comparison between their specific use in this city will provide the best analysis. In Éry's study, Rome has an average output of 163 inscriptions dedicated to men for every 100 dedicated to women, amounting to a distribution of 62% male vs. 38% female epitaphs; in contrast, looking at the number of attestations of *pientissimus* and *piissimus* for the city of Rome, the ratio is more even, as 56% of the attributions are to men and 44% to women.¹⁸⁵⁰ Even so, a slight bias towards men is still ascertainable in the study of Rome's use of the superlatives above, which corresponds with the total gendered distribution of *pientissimus* and *piissimus* over all provinces, as presented in Table 9.

What causes this specific overrepresentation of *pientissimus/piissimus*? And why is a similar trend discernible in the Latin epigraphy of the empire in general? To answer the former question, it may be best to begin with the latter. Part of the answer lies in what has already been discerned: that the overrepresentation of men in certain settlements of the Roman Empire is due to the nature of those settlements, as clearly evident in the case of Roman military camps, where the inherent additional presence of male-occupied professions leads to an overemphasis of males in epitaphs compared to females. However, such specific geographical causes cannot completely explain the picture that shows how men everywhere, not only in the military but also the civic settlements, are attested more often than women. It would be alluring to suggest that

¹⁸⁴⁸ Éry 1969, 66, table 3.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Clauss 1973, 399.

¹⁸⁵⁰ The total number of attestations of *pientissimus* and *piissimus* for the city of Rome is 1032 inscriptions, of which 606 derive from *pientissimus* and 426 from *piissimus*.

the disparity is due to the fact that there were simply more men than women in the Roman Empire, but the evidence shows that the empire's population would not have survived for as long as it did and would have become unsustainable in a matter of decades if the gender disparity of the Roman epitaphs would be representative of the demographics of the Roman population as a whole.¹⁸⁵¹

This is not to say that a gendered disparity in the Roman population did not exist; rather, it can never have been as profound as a cursory inventory of the funerary epigraphy suggests. Some studies have suggested that, because of the undervaluing of a woman's life in ancient society, and also because of the high mortality rate in childbirth, the average life expectancy of women was lower than that of men, and that as a result fewer women lived to the average age at which funerary commemoration is most common.¹⁸⁵² This disparity in life expectancy between men and women as an argument for a noticeable difference in commemorative patterns has been argued, most strongly by Pomeroy, to be due to the infanticide of girls, which, because of the nature of their sex, exposes girls more than boys to death in infancy.¹⁸⁵³ However, the disruptive force of targeted infanticide has since been rejected as a visible influence on the gender ratio in epigraphy and cannot account for such a disparity.¹⁸⁵⁴ Furthermore, part of the evidence for infanticide is based on the same set of data from which the disparate sex ratio is derived, i.e. funerary epigraphy, and cannot therefore be seen as conclusive evidence for any commemorative patterns.¹⁸⁵⁵ Nevertheless, life expectancy is only half of the explanation of the phenomenon, as social standards also dictated and influenced the commemoration of men and women in epigraphy. The answer lies somewhere in the multiple causes that played into the commemoration of women versus the commemoration of men in epigraphy. One such cause, as proposed by Hopkins, is that commemoration logically occurred only while the commemorator still lived and, given the fact that a good proportion of the commemorators were spouses, a husband must have been alive at the time of his wife's death; in Roman society, where the average husband was much older than his wife, the chance that a wife outlived her husband was greater than vice versa. As such, fewer women were

¹⁸⁵¹ Scheidel 2007, 6.

¹⁸⁵² Burn 1953, 12.

¹⁸⁵³ Pomeroy 1975, 164.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Engels 1980, 112.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Parkin 1992, 99.

commemorated by their spouses, as the husband, on account of their older age, were generally more inclined to die first.¹⁸⁵⁶ The prominence of commemorating a spouse may thus (partly) explain the trend that women are mourned more than men in their younger years when they die while bringing up children, and that men are generally commemorated more than women in their old age.¹⁸⁵⁷

From the information above, one can summarise that the division of the commemoration of men and women is disparate and that this phenomenon may be explained, at least partly, by conventions in commemoration that favoured men over women. Regarding the question posed to what extent *pientissimus* and *piissimus* follow the trend of the overall distribution of epigraphy across genders, it becomes clear that while it does follow the trend due to a preference for male attestations, a case study of the use of the epithets in Rome suggests that the use of the epithet across genders is more evenly balanced than the overall gendered distribution of epitaphs in the city. The second question is what the above means for the gendered distribution of the other virtues. As stated previously, if the superlatives *pientissimus* and *piissimus* are not considered, the distribution of virtues across men and women is almost equal. How does this then compare to the above-mentioned unequal distribution of epitaphs across both genders? Does this mean that, if there is no difference between the commemoration of men and women in epitaphs, a randomly selected Latin inscription is more likely to commemorate the virtue of a woman than that of a man? Why is the same sex ratio for epitaphs generally not shown in the attestations of the epitaphs' virtues?

There could be multiple explanations but there is a clear distinction in comparing the gendered use of *pientissimus/piissimus* with the gendered use of the other virtue terms: *pientissimus/piissimus* is more often attested for males but, compared to the other virtue terms, it is almost never found on poetic epitaphs (only in 1.49% of the cases) while the other virtues are much more often attested on *carmina*, in 23.4% of the cases. The other virtue terms are much more often found in poetic inscriptions. In turn, those virtue terms show an equal distribution between male and female attestations and thus stand in contrast to the idea that men and

¹⁸⁵⁶ Hopkins 1966, 262.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Parkin 1992, 16; see also Éry's table 5, which shows this trend in eight out of 11 regions: Éry 1969, 66, table 5.

women are commemorated unequally in epitaphs. Could that indicate that poetic inscriptions have a more egalitarian sex ratio than prose inscriptions?

The problem with this hypothesis is that it is conjunctive, and even if a relationship between the sex ratio and the genre of the epitaphs is established, it does not automatically follow that the two factors are linked. Again, causality does not imply correlation, and it would not explain why women are relatively more often attested in verse than prose epitaphs. Furthermore, part of the interpretation is hampered by the fact that the *carmina* themselves are not evenly distributed across the empire and, like epitaphs in general, are heavily influenced by regional epigraphic styles. For example, Salona, located in a province with a relatively strong poetic inscription-tradition, shows 'only' 25 verse inscriptions from a total of 2106 non-Christian epitaphs. The small amount of available evidence could thus be subject to personal preferences or similar factors, which have a relatively greater impact on the poetic epigraphic habit than more general studies. However, such a study could lead to new insights in the use of poetic inscriptions and, for the sake of academic interest, it will be interesting to discover if any differences in sex ratios are discernible.

To remain with the example of Salona, Égy records that the sex ratio of the city is 154 to 100 between the first and the 3rd century A.D. It is assumed that this ratio includes both verse and prose epitaphs. As stated previously, Salona features 25 non-Christian poetic epitaphs. A quick tally shows that if the epitaph indicates to whom the monument is dedicated, the distribution is 117 to 100 (27 references to a man versus 23 to a woman). Thus, in Salona, the gender ratio is more egalitarian in poetic epitaphs than in prose epitaphs. However, the ratio still favours men over women. Another case study with a similar gender ratio as Salona is Lugdunum with a ratio of 144 to 100. 11 poetic epitaphs originate from the settlement. Compared to Salona, the gender ratio for Lugdunum is slightly higher than the average, with 150 to 100 (nine male to six female mentions). For Mogontiacum, which is dominated by men due to its high influx of soldiers, a sharper difference in gender ratio is discernible: where Égy reads 1240 for every 100 women on average, the *EDCS* records nine poetic epitaphs with a distribution of 400 to 100 (8 to 2).

Whether these differences are due to a difference in genre or, as stated above, to the fact that the available material is too small for a sufficient comparison and the exceptions have too great an impact on the sex ratio is difficult to determine. Whatever

the case, in all instances, male attestations still dominate the epigraphic sex ratio, both prosaic and poetic. The relatively even distribution of virtues for men and women thus may not be due to different sex ratio's for verse and prose epitaphs.

However, this does not exclude the fact that, in percentage terms, the proper virtues are more frequently attested in poetic than in prose inscriptions and that epithets are generally found in prose inscriptions rather than in verse monuments. Do other popular Latin epithets show a similar preference for prose epitaphs as does *pientissimus/piissimus*? Again, a cursory look suggests that it does: for *carissimus*, which is found on 1572 epitaphs, the epithet is only recorded on 44 verse inscriptions. In comparison with the superlatives of *pietas*, the percentage is almost doubled (2.8%), but the poetic attestations are still in the overwhelming minority. Similarly, *dulcissimus*, attested on 2375 epitaphs, is only found in 53 poetic inscriptions (2.2%), while out of the 9995 inscriptions that record *bene merens*, only 0.73% are verse inscriptions.

Part of the rationale behind this line of questioning is the assumption that since these epithets are less likely to be attested on verse epitaphs than virtues, verse epitaphs prefer to use virtues, which could be seen as more profound expressions of moral qualities than epithets, because they lend themselves better to poetic purposes. While this is not categorically denied – virtues may very well be much more suited to be used on poetic epitaphs as they adapt to the genre more appropriately – it should not underestimate the fact that, for a considerable number of verse epitaphs, epithets were still a valuable addition to the commemoration of the deceased. Nevertheless, *pientissimus/piissimus* follow a general trend also found in the usage of comparable (superlative) epithets that favour their attestation on prose epitaphs over verse epitaphs, and that this trend distorts the picture of a relatively equal use of virtues. Similarly, the use of *pientissimus/piissimus* also distorts the sex ratio in the use of virtue terms which is otherwise almost evenly distributed between the sexes.

To step back a moment and look at the other virtues: the paucity of actual virtue terms in funerary epigraphy makes general conclusions superficial, but nevertheless some general observations can be made about what has been said and written about (gendered) virtues in epitaphs. The first observation is that the distribution of virtue terms shows that almost every virtue is attested in generally similar exact numbers for both genders. In terms of percentages, some distributions are a little more

skewered, but this is also mainly due to the small number of attestations for most virtue terms, which makes specific exceptions or adaptations stand out more. In any case, the idea that certain virtues in epitaphs are only attested for either gender is wrong, or at least it is in the case of the virtues studied here (notwithstanding those attestations which are so low in number that they do not allow for an accurate representation, such as *aequitas*, *patientia*, *cupiditas gloriae* and *iustitia*). Furthermore, the idea that virtues are only attributed to men is also wrong, as the evidence shows that women were also attributed virtues.

However, both observations are not contradicted by what is already known and written about the virtues; on the contrary, the literary evidence has shown that women could and were attributed many virtues and that virtues were not exclusively reserved for men. The main caveat, however, is that the literary evidence suggests that women appropriated virtues only in specific contexts, which were both defined by men and couched in the virtuous language that was predominantly designed for — and by — men. For women to be virtuous involved a transgression of their original gender roles, a break with the expectation that originally confines them to gender-specific stereotypes and an appropriation of male-specific virtue language. To what extent is this also found in epitaphs?

The first interpretive problem in the study of this phenomenon lies in the commemorator's bias and the question of to what extent men or women were responsible for the commemoration, and thus to what extent men or women formulated how women displayed virtues in epitaphs. It has often been assumed that men are generally responsible for the commemoration of their family and that women take over this responsibility only when they are hindered or deceased.¹⁸⁵⁸ However, a closer inspection shows that while men are overall responsible for quite a large portion of the commemoration, regional differences played a significant part in the determination of commemorative patterns and women indeed could play a larger, more equal, part than initially expected.¹⁸⁵⁹ Hence, an analysis of Saller and Shaw's distribution of commemorators from 1984 shows how these regional differences played out: men, in their role as husband, father, son and brother, are identified as the commemorators of 37% of the studied inscriptions for the region of Latium, while

¹⁸⁵⁸ Scheidel 2007, 390–391.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Revell 2023, 156.

women, in their respective roles as wife, mother, daughter and sister amount for 25%. In contrast, men fulfil these roles as commemorators in 38% of the cases for the Spanish provinces, while women are responsible for 42% of the dedications. However, compared with Germania Inferior, the results again vary severely, as men are responsible for 61% of the dedications for the nuclear family, while women amount for only 22%.¹⁸⁶⁰ Conversely, these calculations are rather crude and do not take into account the fact that, if both parents are attested as joint commemorators, the actual inscription may still have been erected or commissioned by only one of the parents, and they downplay the role of extra-nuclear relations and their respective distribution of gender commissioners. Furthermore, while women in some regions may have had a larger share in the commemoration of their husbands, children or parents, wives were still mainly commemorated by their husbands. In fact, in almost every region, it is the husband who commemorates his wife who accounts for the largest share of the distribution of commemorators: for a woman to be portrayed as virtuous by someone other than her husband meant that she had to be commemorated as such by her parents, children or other relational types, and while these add up to quite a large share, much of the total commemoration comes from the conjugal family and is thus, for women, determined by the husband. In this respect, as in literature, women were literally formulated within the framework of masculine conventions by their masculine spouses.

In contrast to the idea that Roman women were depicted as virtuous only by transcending their natural inferiority and in the context of a male-dominated situation however, it is clear that a substantial part of the attestations of virtue in funerary epigraphy arose not from individual motivations to commemorate women in a traditionally 'masculine' framework but from social conventions that formulated which kinship and social roles, rather than which genders, corresponded to which virtues. Virtues were mainly used in epigraphy to conform to commemorative patterns that stipulated when and where to use certain stock phrases and, as such, virtues became highly standardised in epitaphs both throughout popular epithets and formulaic texts. Conversely, there are many exceptions to the rule and for every virtue, there are enough attestations that show how these virtues could be used by different

¹⁸⁶⁰ Saller/Shaw 1984, 148–149.

people or in different situations. However, these cases are mainly the exception and, compared to all other attestations of such virtues, remain only a small part of the greater use of virtues that clearly attest to a greater conventional use.

A clear example of how certain epitaphs break with these conventions and use virtues in a contrasting and exceptional manner are the inscriptions generally used to define the depiction of women in funerary epigraphy, most notably the *Laudatio Turiae* and the *Laudatio Murdiae*, as discussed in paragraph 3.2.5. Hemelrijk has argued that Turia is presented in particularly masculine virtues, i.e. *virtus*, *firmitas animi*, *constantia* and *patientia*. Leaving *firmitas animi* out of the equation since it has not been discussed in this chapter, we turn to *virtus*, *patientia* and *constantia*. As shown, the evidence in this chapter suggests first that *virtus* was attributed both to men and women but, given its etymological connection with *vir*, may be seen as a masculine virtue *pur sang*; *patientia* and *constantia*, however, are almost completely unattested in funerary epigraphy, both appearing twice, and both instances of which are thus only attested once outside the *Laudatio Turiae*. As such, the epigraphic corpus provides no indication that the ancient Romans who created these monuments perceived either virtue as distinctly masculine or feminine. While it could be argued that, because the *LT* is in essence a *laudatio funebris* because it was created in the Rome, and because the epitaph shows how the husband was proscribed by Lepidus and would thus have been a prominent Roman, this specific depiction of Turia is inspired by the same prevailing notions of virtuous women that also influenced the authors of the literary genre, this only further confirms that the *LT* is of such an exceptional position within the epigraphic genre that it simply cannot be used for general conclusions about wider epigraphic habits in the Roman Empire. Instead, it would make more sense to treat the *LT* as pseudo-literary work rather than an epitaph and, as such, should have no place in dictating whether or not certain gendered norms that are prevalent in literature translate also to epigraphy. Indeed, in the case of the *LT*, we deal with an ‘epitaph’ that clearly places the woman within the confines of a masculine context, i.e. the Roman civil wars, and her actions break with what is generally conceived to be feminine behaviour. Regarding relation to the general field of virtue studies in epigraphy, however, it occupies such an exceptional position that it would make as little sense to include it in a comprehensive study of the virtues in

epigraphy in general as it would include the *Res Gestae*, which is essentially also an inscription.

Therefore, can one speak of 'masculine' virtues in funerary epigraphy? In conclusion, one can speak of masculine virtues in as far as a certain limited set of virtues is used on Latin epitaphs to laud the male deceased and commemorator and that men were responsible for this display of virtues to a large degree. However, as has been argued above, the main impulse for the depiction of virtue was specific kinship and social roles that were determined by customs and practices prevalent in funerary commemoration. Gender played only a marginal role in the choice of virtues, and when it did, only to a small extent. Furthermore, the specific virtues studied in this chapter were in varying degrees applied to men and women and, despite disparate sex ratios, show no preference for either sex. Additionally, men did not hold hegemony over the depiction of virtues in epigraphy, and women certainly held a degree of agency in the commemoration of their relatives.

In this context, there is a clear difference in the use of virtue with respect to the gendered depiction of Roman men and women in ancient literature, as the sources have attested time and again to the fact that, for men and women, both in philosophical and exemplary literature, the different standard applied and women were only attested with virtue when they were fitted into a male-centred virtuous narrative. They broke with expectations and stereotypes, were depicted as rising above the boundaries of their gender and were exemplifying typically male behaviour in masculine language. None of this, in contrast, is seen in funerary epigraphy. Rather, men and women in epitaphs conformed to the same set of conventions that determined which virtues were appropriate for which occasions and for which specific sentiments.

Conclusion

The Roman world was an utterly male-dominated civilisation in almost all facets of its society. Men occupied the public spaces of the forums and of the courts, they exercised absolute power both in the Roman Senate and in the provincial administration, and they stood at the head of the *familia* as the patriarch where they quite literally held authority over matters of life and death. The disparate state between the sociocultural position of men and women is exemplified by the relative paucity of women's perspectives available in the Roman source material: Roman extant literature is largely, if not solely, composed by and for the Roman elite male, and these men represent the bulk of all references found in Roman *exempla*-literature. In contrast, the lives of women remained largely invisible as they were confined to the domestic space and tied to their families, while Roman men operated, thrived and were expected to perform in the public realm. Yet, this perspective seems untenable for those men and women who made up the social fabric of the provincial cityscape, where subaltern men and women lived and worked side by side, and where the gendered boundaries of Roman morality seemed to fade the further one was mentally removed from the *état d'esprit* of the Roman urban elite. While gendered ideologies must have permeated the lives of even those living on the fringes of the Roman Empire to some extent, specific areas of Roman society suggest that women's voices were not always censored and were represented alongside those of men. One such area is funerary commemoration.

This dissertation's literature review has already highlighted the extent to which funerary epigraphy has offered a perspective in the lives of those voices that would otherwise have remained silent in Roman society. This led to numerous studies on the representations and ideals of women, freedmen, slaves, gladiators and all those layers of Roman society in between that have largely remained un(der)represented in Ancient History's historiography. Yet, paradoxically, it has also led to the marginalisation of men as the historical subject of studies on funerary representation to the point that these studies on representations of gender in ancient epigraphy do not consider men as a suitable subject matter. While the study of ancient women remains invaluable in unravelling the mystery of Roman social life, its pursuit should not lead to the abandonment of the context provided by the other half of the puzzle,

i.e. the Roman male population. If anything, this dissertation has shown that the currently available notions of Roman masculinity did not always align with the gendered representations found in the sources that best represent the male population of the Roman provinces. What is more, it attests to the idea that studies on the representation of ancient women only really come into their own when they are contextualised by similar studies on men's representations. This dissertation has set out address this imbalance by conducting a study on the representation of men and masculinity in Roman society in funerary epigraphy. The available material has been specifically contextualised by presenting the findings alongside the domains of genre (i.e. the study of masculine concepts in Roman textual evidence, but also the consideration of prosaic vs poetic funerary inscriptions and that of funerary vs other types of Roman inscriptions) and gender (how do the findings correspond to comparative findings for women?). In doing so, it has studied masculinity not in isolation but in conjunction with femininity and women's epitaphs. It has built on several advancements made in existing scholarship on gender and identity in Roman funerary epigraphy and has also introduced to it two distinct categories of representation, emotion and virtue. Finally, this dissertation has contributed to scholarship on verse epigraphy by studying these gendered and conceptual attitudes in light of considerations of meter, poetic inspiration and authorship, and how epitaphic poetry facilitated the dissemination of specific funerary themes.

The first part of this dissertation's analysis has focused on the representation of emotion for and by Roman men. It has been argued that the long-standing notion prevalent in modern scholarship that Roman masculinity entailed an absence of displays of grief should be modified and that such Roman attitudes towards gendered mourning were not monolithic and uniformly maintained across all layers of Roman society. The analysis in this chapter has argued that Roman masculinity – or the idea of manhood – was not compromised by displays of mourning because men were portrayed in mournful ways by themselves, their family members, their friends or their associates. In epigraphy, such representations of emotion were not reserved for either gender, as both men and women were shown as displaying emotions of grief, emotional pain, love and happiness in a similar capacity. The analysis has maintained that emotions did not infringe on a man's masculinity and that, within the funerary context, such displays of emotion were actively invoked on the epitaph. The

monuments themselves make this explicit, as their inscriptions read that they were not only the *locus* of funerary commemoration but functioned furthermore as a medium through which said commemoration was allowed to be reinforced by emotions. Rather than being categorically denounced and warded off, as some of the available philosophical material suggests that emotional displays were accepted and disseminated in funerary epigraphy. This advocates that multiple layers of masculinity were at play in Roman society and that the convictions and attitudes upheld by the Roman societal elite were not strictly adhered to by the individuals who manufactured and interacted with provincial epigraphy.

The second part of the analysis focused on the concept of virtue, which has been proven to be a little more nuanced than the study of ancient emotion. In an equal manner, both men and women were represented in funerary epigraphy with topics relating to Roman virtue. These representations alluded to sentiments and attitudes of Roman morality both directly and indirectly, as virtues were invoked explicitly either in the text or in textual or symbolic reference to specific principal attitudes that adhered to shared moral sentiments. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that most of such references are epithetic, fleeting and rather standardised. Epitaphs attest only sporadically to larger displays of moral attitudes. Such attestations are usually (although not exclusively) found on verse inscriptions, as it is primarily in these inscriptions that multiple virtues are found or that references to virtues are accompanied by more elaborate discussions and reflections on their application. Like emotions, individual virtues were not specifically chosen out of considerations of gendered ideals, as virtues are distributed evenly across both genders on epitaphs: while men were displayed with specific virtues, so were women. Instead, the evidence suggests that the choice for at least some virtues was motivated by their applicability to specific relation roles. Such preferences find agreement with the textual evidence and apply mainly to the virtues most attested in funerary epigraphy, i.e. *pietas*, *fides* and *innocentia*.

Referring to the research questions posed in this dissertation's introduction, the funerary epigraphy of the north-western provinces dated between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D. thus provides no reason to assume that the Romans upheld specific gendered norms in relation to the concepts of emotion and virtue. Gender played only a marginally role in the discussion of specific relation roles that determined the choice

of virtues in epigraphy, but it remains completely out of the question for the representation of emotions. Much more perceptible is the seeming imbalance between the textual and the epigraphic evidence: especially for emotion, there seems a clear discrepancy between attitudes towards masculinity as upheld in the Roman literature and how men represented themselves in epigraphy. This disparity is less apparent for the domain of Roman virtues, both for the fact that Roman texts do provide some precedence for the choice of virtues and because Roman literature does not allude to a separate framework of gender for virtue, as it does for emotion; rather, women pertain to virtues within the boundaries of the masculine and by a transgression of their gender – an aspect of Roman morality, which is unfortunately not readily ascertainable in funerary epigraphy. Nevertheless, the epigraphic display of virtues is largely dictated by commemorative conventions that did not necessarily adhere to the literary trope of the female transgression of gendered moral boundaries and, as such, deviate from gendered morality in Roman texts.

Returning to the topic of poetry in funerary epigraphy, the analyses of emotion and virtue have presented disparate results. For the display of emotion, the sources suggest a clear preference for verse epigraphy, as in roughly three-quarters of the total number of attestations, emotions are found on verse inscriptions. For the concept of virtue, the contrary seems discernible: here, the large majority of virtue attestations derive from formulaic phrases and epithets, which are most commonly and readily found on prose inscriptions. Virtues are only sparingly found in the poetic lines of verse epitaphs. When they are, these inscriptions attest to elaborate displays of Roman morality that counter the short and fleeting attestations on prose epigraphy. Not surprisingly, the verse inscriptions offer a more sophisticated and poetic way of representing virtuous and moral attitudes, not least as their recipients are not merely the deceased or their relatives but also deities, metaphysical substances and non-living entities. As such, these moral attestations go beyond the commonplace convictions found in prose epigraphy and offer a more refined and delicate type of funerary commemoration.

These findings ameliorate the current scholarship of different fields of ancient Roman history in several ways. The most notable contribution is made to the scholarship of Roman gender studies, as this dissertation has argued that prevalent ideas about the strong gendered hierarchy between men and women, while certainly

undeniably present, are not reflected constantly and evenly on all levels of Roman society and that, within the realm of Roman funerary commemoration, there seems a certain sense of parity between the genders for the representation of specific concepts in funerary epigraphy. It has thus also argued for a more gender-balanced study of specific displays of identity that neither undervalues nor overrepresents men or women in the study of ancient gender relations. In this regard, this dissertation also contributes to current scholarship on Roman masculinity by arguing that specific concepts that are treated as gendered and as either (anti-)masculine do not automatically translate as such into other types of Roman source material. Furthermore, this dissertation has added to the current scholarship on funerary epigraphy as it has built on past studies on identity representation and has shown the applicability of specific mental concepts and attitudes that hitherto have remained relatively understudied in epigraphy. In doing so, this dissertation has tried to demonstrate the use of funerary epigraphy to map and broaden the historian's understanding of the attitudes of the Roman (provincial) civilian. Finally, in connection to the studies of Roman emotion and virtue, this study attempted to show the potential of funerary epigraphy as valuable source material for the study of ancient Roman attitudes and morality. While the results of this dissertation have varied and the total number of emotion words and virtue terms, both in their variety and their total number of attestations, has suggested a rather concise group of concepts found on epitaphs, it nevertheless underlines the value of funerary epigraphy as a source material for underrepresented groups that can be compared with – and studied alongside – the literary texts that have thus far largely dominated these academic fields. For a discipline that has dealt, and continues to deal, with a chronic deficiency of available source material, funerary epigraphy offers a viable point of perspective to some of the topics or interests that until now have proven extremely difficult to gauge.

This dissertation's methodology has already highlighted some of the most pressing limitations of the analysis. Such drawbacks leave room for future research that, in correlation with the above findings, enhance modern understandings of gender in antiquity. Since this dissertation has focused primarily on the epitaphs from the north-western Roman provinces, future research would benefit from paying closer attention to some of the more underrepresented regions of the Empire. Comparative analysis of the emotional or moral attitudes found on the material from, for example,

Gaul, Hispania, or northern Africa would only increase the relevance of this dissertation's findings. This could also include a focus on the provinces of the Greek East and thus relate to the topics of gender, emotion and virtue in Greek inscriptions. A comparison between the use of emotion and virtue in general, as well as between specific emotion words and virtue terms in Latin and Greek inscriptions in particular, allows a greater insight into the ethical attitudes prevalent in each sphere of influence. Similarly, such studies might suggest how differing cultural precedents and influences control, impact or negotiate with such attitudes. A change of scope could similarly include a specific study of comparative Christian material, as this dissertation's temporal range ends at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. A comparison between pagan and Christian attitudes towards morality may be useful for the study of Christian ethics in general and could also show the extent to which such principles are grounded in pagan paradigms. Additionally, a change in scope of some of the findings in this dissertation may be helpful for the study of other types of Roman epigraphy: Forbis' study has already shown the usefulness of the analysis of morality on honourific epigraphy and similar studies conducted elsewhere in the Roman Empire may provide a better context for the language of praise and morality in general.

More specific research may be developed based on some of the more intricate points of interest that this dissertation has produced. For example, the study of the connection between *virtus* and the hunting scene may elaborate on the cultural precedent of such convictions set by the ancient Greeks, as the depiction of the hunting scene finds precedent in Hellenistic (funerary) art. Similarly, this dissertation has refrained from mapping the representations of emotion via iconography as such attestations are not readily available in the source material. Nevertheless, the display of grief via funerary iconography (such as the *Graberoten*) may provide an opportunity to explore the topic of emotion in funerary epigraphy further. Specific research into the relationship between the use of epithets and the representation of virtue could also provide a better understanding of the implication of morality in specific designations and characterisations. This type of research lends itself particularly well to comparative funerary epigraphy since epithets are much more readily available than proper virtue words on epitaphs.

Ultimately, it is fitting to close briefly with a reflection on one of the aspects of funerary commemoration upon which this dissertation has been primarily built,

namely the Roman epitaph as a medium for the display of identity. The funerary monuments discussed in this dissertation were primarily made to stand the test of time; their texts inscribed and their reliefs sculptured to transmit an imprint of the deceased meant for posterity. The monument's initial public must have, for a large part, known the deceased personally or must have at the very least shared some sort of common heritage with the departed, and both the commemorator(s) and commemorated must have felt a sense of anxiety about the preservation of their memory. Such earthly concerns only guaranteed the upkeep of the inscription for the first few years or generations as, over time, the epitaph's colours faded as the monument eroded. Eventually, the monuments became dislodged, removed, dismantled, buried, replaced or even reused. It is thus wonderful to imagine that the memories of these persons' together with the aspirations and attitudes so carefully chosen and carved out thousands of years ago, have in fact been preserved and are now (again) open to interpretation by a completely new array of *viatores*.

Bibliography

Literary sources

The following list consists of the primary literary sources that have been used both in the main text and in the footnotes. The used abbreviations in this dissertation follow the 4th edition of the abbreviation list of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD) and is where necessary supplemented by the 2nd edition of the reference list of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (ThLL).

App. <i>Ill.</i>	Appian. The Foreign Wars. L. Mendelssohn. Teubner. Leipzig 1879.
Apul. <i>Met.</i>	The Golden Ass: Being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius, William Adlington. G.P. Putnam's Sons. New York 1915.
Arist. <i>Eth. Nic.</i>	Aristotelis. Ethica Nicomachea. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. L. Bywater. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford 1894.
Arist. <i>Pol.</i>	Aristotelis. Politica. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. W. D. Ross. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford 1957.
Aug. <i>De civ. D.</i>	De civitate dei. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina XLVII. Pars XIV, 1: De civitate dei libri I–X; Pars XIV, 2: De civitate dei libri XI–XII. Turnhout 1955.
Aug. <i>Serm.</i>	De sermon domini in monte libros duos de Sancti Aurelii Augustini. Series Latina XXXV. Turnhout 1967.
Caes. <i>BCiv</i>	C. Iuli Caesaris. Commentariorum. Pars posterior qua continentur libri III de Bello Civili. Cum libris incertorum auctorum de bello Alexandrino, Africo, Hispaniensi. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford 1901.
Caes. <i>BGall.</i>	C. Iuli Caesaris. Commentarii. Rerum in Gallia gestarum. VII. A. Hirti Commentarius VII. Edited by T. Rice Holmes. Hon. Litt. D. (Dublin). Oxford 1914.
Cass. <i>Dio</i>	Dio's Roman History. With an English translation by Earnest Cary, Ph.D. On the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D. In nine volumes. London 1914–1927.
Cato, <i>Agr.</i>	Cato and Varro on Agriculture. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by W.D. Hooper and H.B. Ash. Cambridge 1934.
Catull.	C. Valerii Catulli. Carmina. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford 1958.
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Appendix 1: Corpus

Below is featured a catalogue of the inscriptions that make up the corpus of this dissertation. They are arranged according to their respective inscription number. Each inscription, for easy identification's sake, features a reference to their *CIL*-edition, as well as a reference to the edition that was used in this dissertation. When unavailable, reference is made to other editions that offer a clear overview of the inscriptions' provenance and literary tradition. In addition, the dissertation's paragraphs and page numbers that feature the discussion and analysis of the inscription are shown.

Inscription no. 1 = *CIL* 13, 3689 = Lazarro 1993, 81 (Augusta Treverorum, Belgica, 3rd century A.D.). 2.5.1.3 (pages 75–79).

Qui dolet interitum mentem soletur amore. / Tollere mors vitam potuit post fata superstes / fama viget; periit corpus sed nomen in ore est / vivit laudatur legitur celebratur amatur /⁵ nuncius Augusti velox pede cursor [---] / cui Latiae gentis nomen patriaeque Sabinus. / O crudele nefas tulit hic sine crimine mortem / damnatus periit deceptus fraude latronum; / nil scelus egisti fama est quae nescit obire. / Posuit Turius.

Whoever mourns a departed soul shall be comforted by love. Death can take away life according to destiny, but the glory will always remain present. The body perishes, but the name stays in the mouth: it lives, it is praised, read, glorified, loved, the messenger of Augustus, who was quick on his feet, a runner [---] to whom was given the name of the Latin tribe and of his fatherland, Sabinus. O cruel injustice has struck this one, condemned him to death without charges, he died, snatched away by the anger of robbers. Nothing, crime, have you accomplished. A reputation is good when it cannot be destroyed. Turius has built (this monument).

Inscription no. 2 = *CIL* 3, 8385 = Mesihović 2011, 28 (Travnik, Dalmatia, 3rd century A.D.). 2.5.1.4 (pages 79–83); 2.5.2.3 (pages 100–103); 2.5.7.3 (pages 184–186); 3.4.6.1.2.2 (page 363).

Ultima clausurunt Par/carum stamina filo / Principii miserandi diem / quem gloria nisi /⁵ avus adque pater puerum / dedere [pr]aeclara / militia patroque suo iun/xere fovendum / cum primum pulchra lanu/¹⁰gine annos / spectantes magnun patri/ae columenque futurum / heu miseri gloriari sibi

laetamque senectam. / Crudele(m) luctum domui /¹⁵ Ravenna remisit / hoc miseros titulo pro/prium signasse dolorem.

The Parces' last threads closed the life of poor Principius, who, out of a desire for glory, was enlisted as a mere boy with the honourable military service by his grandfather and father and was united with his uncle to be fostered when he first reached the age of beautiful beard-growth, seeing that he would become a great pillar to the fatherland and, o miserable ones, boasting about the happiness of their old age. Ravenna sent cruel mourning back home; with this worthless monument they express their grief.

Inscription no. 3 = *CIL* 3, 1899 = Harvey 2004, 142, no. 111 (Aronia, Dalmatia, 3rd century A.D.). 2.5.1.5 (pages 83–86).

D(is) m(anibus) / M(arcus) Allius / Firminus / Ursino f(ilio) /⁵C(ai) Septimi / Carpopo/ri delica/to infeli/cissimo p(uero)/¹⁰naufragio / obito an(norum) XI / cuius mem/bra consum/sit maris per /¹⁵se. Quot nomen / titulus praestat / suisq(ue) dolo/rem.

To the spirits of the departed. Marcus Allius Firminus for his son Ursinus, delight of Gaius Septimius Carpoporus, a most unlucky boy, who died in a shipwreck at the age of 11, whose body the sea has devoured. How many a time does an inscription display a name on it – and thus bring pain to the relatives.

Inscription no. 4 = *CIL* 3, 3397 = *AE* 1999, 1261 (Campona, Pannonia Inferior, 3rd century A.D.). 2.5.1.6 (pages 86–88).

Bonae memoriae coniugis c(arissimae). / Hoc iacet in lapide Aure(lia) Marcellina pien/tissima coniunx quam lapis ipse tegit rap/tam de luce serena. Huic aetas prima cum /⁵florebat in annis inuida fatorum genesis / mihi sustulit illam superante genetrice / sua quae se cupiebat ob illam ante morti dari / qum sibi flebilis casus acciderit. Filius/que permansit Innocentius. Quicumque /¹⁰legis nostros tu nosti dolores. Sic apud / Elysias sedes aeterna per gaudia uiuas. / M. Iul(ius) Victorinus benefic(iarius) co(n)s(ularis) f(aciendum c(uravit) /et pater Aur/e(lius) Petal(ius) /¹⁵pietissimae.

In loving memory of a dearest wife. In this (stone) lies Aurelia Marcellina, a beloved woman; the stone itself hides her, abducted from the clear light. When her age flourished in the early years, an enviable course of destiny seized her from me; she was outlived by her mother, who wanted to die for

her before her daughter's tearful fate befell her. Innocentius, the son, remained. And whoever you are, you who read, know our pain: so better live at the Elysian seats! M. Iulius Victorinus, the *beneficiarius consularis*, made this monument together with the father Aurelius Petalaius, for the most pious (woman).

Inscription no. 5 = *CIL* 3, 3241 = Mirković 2017, 159, no. 48 (Sirmium, Pannonia Inferior, 2nd century A.D.). 2.5.2.4 (pages 103–108); 2.5.4.7 (page 149); 3.4.1.1.2.3 (pages 262–263); 3.4.2.2.2.5 (pages 317–318).

D(is) m(anibus) / [...] XXXVII Salvio ann(or)um XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) / Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis hunc titul(um) / posui miserabile munus non satis /⁵ ut meruistis. Quattuor amissis te quin/tum Salvi flere necesse est adsiduae / dum mea fata resistant. Te nunc amis[so] domus inclinata recumbit. Depon(am) / luctus cum te sequar care per umbr(as). / Dulce(m) meum Salvium liceat mihi dicer(e) /¹⁰ semper. Optaver(am) tumult(um) tu mihi ut facer(es) / Tot bona tum carui: merit(o) te care requiro.

To the spirits of the departed. [...] 37. Salvius, aged 33, *frumentarius* of the second legion Adiutrix. Iulius Asclepiades, having placed this monument for his loved ones, a miserable gift, insufficient according to your merits. Having lost four, I should mourn you fifth, Salvius. It is necessary to weep for as long as my destiny holds. Since you are now lost, the dilapidated home is falling apart. I will give up my grief, sweet one, when I follow you to the shadows. Let it always be proper to mention my sweet Salvius. I had made the monument as you would have made it for me. I have missed so many good things: it is fitting that I miss you, sweet one.

Inscription no. 6 = *CIL* 13, 7113 = Boppert 1992b, 121 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, 125–175 A.D.). 2.5.2.5 (pages 108–110).

D(is) M(anibus) / Telesphoris et / maritus eius parentes / filiae dulcissimae /⁵ queri necesse est de / puellula dulci / ne tu fuisses si futura / tam grata brevi reverti / unde nobis edita /¹⁰ nativom esset et paren/tibus luctu / semissem anni vixit / et dies octo / rosa simul florivit /¹⁵ et statim periit.

To the Spirits of the Departed. Telesphoris and her husband, parents, (did this) for their sweetest daughter. It is necessary to lament about the sweet girl. Better that you had not been at all than, become so beloved, so soon to return from whence you were born to us, much to the grief of your

parents. Half a year and eight days she lived; like a rose she blossomed, and like a rose she immediately withered.

Inscription no. 7 = *AE* 1952, 16 = Rowland Jr. 1977, 177, no. 421 (Augusta Rauricorum, Belgica/Germania Superior, 1–50 A.D.). 2.5.2.6 (pages 110–112).

Prisca Iulia I[- - -] / ann(is) XX hic si[ta est] / deflendam semper medici [deflerem ego culpam] / si non et reges idem raperentu[r ad orcum] /⁵ deserui coniunx una pat/remque virumque / [qu]em lugere [decet thalami consorte carentem].

Prisca Iulia, daughter of [...], died at the age of 20 years, lies buried here. I would always complain about the deplorable guilt of the doctor, if I did not know that also kings themselves are carried off to the Orcus. I, the wife, have left the man who was also father and whom it now befits to mourn, since he is robbed of his spouse.

Inscription no. 8 = *CIL* 13, 7002 = *CLE* 1100 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, 1st century A.D.). 2.5.3.3 (pages 118–121); 2.5.4.8 (pages 150–151); 3.4.2.1.2.11 (page 300–301).

[---]lle s[---] / cum bis duodenos aetas [---] / tum rapuit fatis mors inimica suis. / Ut rescit mater planxit flevire sodales; /⁵ flevisset genitor: occidit ipse prior; / cognati proprii longa regione relict / hic pompam ornas(s)ent funeris usque mei. / Qui posuit Proculus titulum nomenque sodalis / Inscrispit maerens; hic pietatis honos. /¹⁰ Sis felix valeas et te tua servet origo / et dicas Claro: sit tibi terra levis. / L(ucius) Valerius Proculus / commanipularis / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) c(uravit).

When he had reached the age of twice 12 years, hostile death snatched him away from his destiny. As soon as his mother heard this again, she lamented for him, his comrades wept for him: his father would have wept for him, but he himself died earlier: his own relatives were left behind in the far distance: they would have provided enough for the splendour of my burial. Proculus, who had the gravestone set, painfully engraved the epitaph and name of his comrade on it. This in honour of love! You (O reader), be happy, farewell, long may your origin preserve you, but call to Clarus: Light be the earth to you! His fellow soldier Lucius Valerius Proculus had (this gravestone) set for him from his own means.

Inscription no. 9 = *AE* 1995, 1232 = Tončinić 2011, 73, no. 42 (Tilurium, Dalmatia, 9–42 A.D.). 2.5.4.3 (pages 136–139); 3.4.1.1.2.4 (pages 263–267).

L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Ancyra / miles leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXXVI /⁵ stipend(iorum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis / hic situs est fato Mummius ipse suo / si sapient obiti data munera percipis am(pla) /¹⁰ et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae / hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus / et dixit lachrymnas (!) sit tibi ter(r)a levis M(arcus) Cornelius M(arc) i(libertus) / Chrestus posuit.

Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius from the Fabius Tribus, a native of Ancyra, a soldier of the VII legion, died at the age of XXXVI and after XVI years of military service. By the will of destiny here lies Mummius, who carried felicitous weapons two times eight years. When the deceased are aware of the gifts bestowed on them, you see them rich (splendid) and receive the vow (proof) of our friendship. This and the inscription was erected for you by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, who – in tears – said: “may the earth rest lightly on you.” The monument was erected by Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, a freedman of Marcus.

Inscription no. 10 = *CIL* 3, 2197 = Maršić 2004, 133 (Salona, Dalmatia, 1st century A.D.). 2.5.4.4 (pages 139–143); 3.4.2.2.2.2 (pages 313–314).

M(arcus) Attius M(arc) i(libertus) F[a]ustus / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae M(arc) i(libertae) / Secundae coniugi sanc(tissimae) / et M(arco) Attio M(arc) f(ilio) Crispo /⁵ et M(arco) Attio M(arc) f(ilio) Secundo.

Coniugis ammisae lacrimas satis esse putavi / me fudisse meae vimque tulisse deum. / Et tuleram graviter sed nunc et solus et orbus / amissis natis maxima damna fleo. /¹⁰ Et testor superos patri quae ponere nati / debuerant natis ponere dona patrem. Attia M(arc) i(liberta) Ampliata / annor(um) XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st).

Florente aetate depressere venificae / mensesque quinque et annum cum aegrotaverit /¹⁵ abreptam aetate in inferi Ditis specus. / Hunc titulum posuit Faustus libertae suae.

Marcus Attius Faustus, freedman of Marcus, made this monument, during his lifetime, for himself and for Attia Secunda, freedwoman of Marcus, most venerable wife, and for Marcus Attius Crispus, son of Marcus, and Marcus Attius Secundus, son of Marcus.

Many tears have I shed grieving over my deceased wife: I believe I have experienced enough of the gods' potency. This I bear with great difficulty, and now all alone in the world having lost my children, I weep in grievous

sorrow. May the gods bear witness that the gifts which the father was to receive from his sons are now bequeathed by the father.

Attia Ampliata, freedwoman of Marcus, lies here at the age of 23.

As her youth was flourishing, witches cut her down, snatched away from her youth into the caverns of infernal Dis when she had been ill for a year and five months. Faustus set up this epitaph for his freedwoman.

Inscription no. 11 = *CIL* 13, 8644 = Gérardin 2009, 278, no. 8 (Vetera, Germania Inferior, 10–69 A.D.). 2.5.4.5 (pages 143–146); 3.4.2.1.2.10 (page 300).

Have Calventi! Calv/entius te resalutat. / C(aius) Calventius Omul(l)i/f(ilius) Ouf(entina tribu) Med(iolano) hic situs /⁵ est an(norum) XLIIIX mil(es) leg(ionis) V / [st]ip(endiorum) XXIIIX et coniugi et / [fili]o. Frater pro pietate. / [Flete] coaequales! Mors haec / [mea fletibu]s apta est. Vi(vi)t(e) fel(i)ces q(u)i(bus) e(st) /¹⁰ [--- p]ar patria dulcis [---] / [---] sese sua [---].

Greetings Calventius ! Calventius returns your greeting. Here lies Caius Calventius, son of Omullus, of the tribe Oufentina, a native of Mediolanum, 48 years old, a soldier of the fifth legion, 28 years of service, and his wife and son. For piety, his brother. [Weep], you who find yourselves in the same situation! The death of this one deserves [my tears]. Live happily, [---], the sweet country [---].

Inscription no. 12 = *CIL* 13, 7105 = Boppert 1992b, 81 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, 1st century A.D.). 2.5.4.6 (pages 146–149); 2.5.5.3 (pages 161–162).

C(aius) Seccius C(ai) lib(ertus) / Lesbius an(norum) XX / hic s(itus) est / cum mihi prima no/⁵vos spargebat flore / iuventus, heu miser ae/tatis praemia nulla iu/li. Bis denis mihi mors / annis accessit iniqua /¹⁰ ingemit et damno Sec/cius ille gravi. Di meli/ora precor pro nostro / munera casu sentiat / et plures possit habere /¹⁵ suos. Hic tumulum titu/lumq(ue) mihi donavit ho/nori et proprium no/men destinat in lac/rumas. Bene merenti.

Gaius Seccius Lesbius, de freedman of Gaius, 20 years old, lies here. When the first youth barely strewed me with fresh flowers, alas! There I, poor one, had no enjoyment of my age. When I reached the age of twice ten years, the hostile fate came to me, and that Seccius groaned over the heavy loss. O gods! May he – I ask – enjoy better goods for my departure and be able to keep more of his own. He dedicated tomb and inscription to my honour and makes his own name the object of tears. To the well-deserved.

Inscription no. 13 = *CIL* 3, 11281 = Kruschwitz 2019, 9–10, no. 6 (Carnuntum, Pannonia Inferior, 1–50 A.D.). 2.5.4.9 (pages 152–153).

Vibia C(ai) l(iberta) / Citheris / an(norum) XI h(ic) s(ita) e(st). / Virgo hic sepul/⁵ta fida puella ia/cet ante quidem tempus fata rapuerunt mala. Scripsi / ego per lacrimas / miserabilis mor/te puellae. P(ater/atronus) p(osuit).

Vibia Citheris, freedwoman of Gaius, aged 11 years, lies here. A young woman lies buried here, a dutiful girl, but evil fate took her away untimely. I wrote this, regretfully, in tears, at the death of the girl. The father [or patronus] has erected (this monument).

Inscription no. 14 = *RIB* 684 (Eboracum, Britannia, 2nd century A.D.). 2.5.4.10 (pages 153–155).

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Corellia Optata an(norum) XIII. / Secreti Manes qui regna / Acherusia Ditis incol/⁵tis quos parva petunt post / lumina vite exiguus cinis et simulacrum corpo(r)is um/bra. Insontis gnate geni/tor spe captus iniqua / supremum hunc nate /¹⁰ miserandus defleo finem. / Q(uintus) Core(llius) Fortis p(ater) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

To the Shades of the Dead, Corellia Optata, aged 13. You remote Shades who inhabit the Underworld kingdom of Pluto, whom a few ashes and the ghost of our body seek after life's short light; I am the father of an innocent daughter, unfairly robbed of my hopes, who grieve pitifully for my daughter's final end. Quintus Corellius Fortis, her father, had this set up.

Inscription no. 15 = *AE* 1947, 31 = Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 87, no. 38 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, 230 A.D.). 2.5.6.4 (pages 167–174); 3.4.5.1.2.1 (pages 355–356).

Memoriae Q(uinto) [Ael(io) Apoll]oni mil(iti) coh(ortis) (milliariae) nove Suror(um) stip(endiorum) III / vix(it) ann(is) XX Aelia Marcia mater filio dolcissimo et Aelia / Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt. / Lubrica quassa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax /⁵ vita data est homini; non certo limite cretae / per varios casus tenuato stamine pendes. / vivito mortalis dum [dum] dant tibi tempora Parce; seu te rura tenent, urbes, seu castra vel equor, / flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe / et Nyssi larga et pingua dona Minervae. /¹⁰ Candida vita cole iustissima mente, serenus, /

*iam puer et iu(v)enis, iam vir et fessus ab annis: / talis eris tumulo
superumque oblitus honores / Q(uito) [Ael(io) Apoll]oni.*

Aelia Marcia, his mother to her dead son, and Aelia Apollonia, his sister, supervised the erection of this monument to the memory of Quintus Aelius Apollonius, soldier of new military cohort of Syrians; served for three years, lived for 20. To a man is given life that is slippery, shaky, fleeting, fragile, good or bad, treacherous, hanging on a slender thread through a variety of chances with no clearly-marked finishing post. Live to the full, mortal, while the Fates grant you time, whether the country embraces you or cities or a military camp or the sea. Love the flowers of Venus, pluck the benign gifts of Ceres and the generous gifts of Bacchus and the viscous gifts of Athena; cultivate a serene life, calm because of your clear conscience. Speedily a boy and a youth, speedily a man and then worn out by old age, you will be like this in the tomb, with no memory of the honours of men alive on earth.

Inscription no. 16 = *CIL* 13, 8655 = Bauchhenß 1978, 40 (Vetera, Germania Inferior, 70–100 A.D.). 2.5.6.5 (pages 174–178).

*Silvano Loupi f(ilio) Trever(o) / eq(uiti) ala Vocont(iorum) an(norum) XXX
/ stip(endiorum) XII et vivis Primae / sorori eius hered(es) f(aciendum)
c(uraverunt). /⁵ Vos rogitat quaeso soror unica / fratris amantis ni
dissigilletis / nive violetis opus.*

For Silvanus, son of Loupus the Treverian, horseman of the Ala Vocontiorum, who lived 30 years and served 12, and during his lifetime for Prima, his sister, who as heiress had this tombstone erected. The only sister of (her) loving brother asks you eagerly to damage, nor desecrate this work.

Inscription no. 17 = *CIL* 3, 3576 = Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 93 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, 250–300 A.D.). 3.4.1.1.2.1 (pages 254–256).

*Francus ego cives Romanus miles in armis / egregia virtute tuli bello mea
dextera semper.*

I, a Frank, a Roman citizen, a soldier in arms, with exemplary courage always conducted my right hand in war.

Inscription no. 18 = *AE* 1906, 32 = Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 102 (Salthua, Dalmatia, 1st century A.D.). 3.4.1.1.2.2 (pages 256–262); 3.4.2.1.2.2 (pages 286).

Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docl(e)atium hic situs. / Hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et / suis. Set fili eius Plassus Epicadus /⁵ Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta / efficit istud opus. Est pietas natique / hoc auxsisse videntur et decorant / facto et docent esse pios.

Caius, son of Epicadus, *princeps* of the *civitas Docleatium*, lies here. The father ordered that this monument should be erected for him and his family. His sons Plassus, Epicadus, Scerdis, and Verzo, however, with an added sum completed this work. It seems that this is piety and that the children have developed it, and they adorn it with the deed and inform that they are devout.

Inscription no. 19 = *CIL* 13, 8648 = Bauchhenß 1978, 19 (Vetera, Germania Inferior, 9–15 A.D.). 3.4.1.1.2.5 (pages 267–269).

M(arco) Caelio T(iti) f(ilio) Lem(onia tribu) Bon(onia) / [I] o[r]dini leg(ionis) XVIII ann(or)um LIII s(emissis). / [Ce]cidit bello Variano. Ossa / [lib(ertorum) i]nferre licebit. P(ublius) Caelius T(iti) f(ilius) /⁵ Lem(onia) frater fecit. / M(arcus) Caelius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Privatus / M(arcus) Caelius /¹⁰M(arci) l(ibertus) Thiaminus.

“To Marcus Caelius, son of Titus, from the tribe Lemonia, of Bononia. [having served] as *primus ordines* of the 18th legion, died at the age of 53 and a half. He fell in the Varian battle. The bones of his freedmen will be allowed to be buried here. Publius Caelius, son of Titus, from Lemonia, the brother, made this.

Left subscriptum: Marcus Caelius Privatus, freedman of Marcus.

Right subscriptum: Marcus Caelius Thiaminus, freedman of Marcus.”

Inscription no. 20 = *CIL* 13, 7234 = Boppert 1992a, 195 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, 14–37 A.D.). 3.4.1.2.2.1 (pages 271–273).

C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) / Carc(asone) Niger mi/les leg(ionis) II annor(um) / XXXV aer(or)um XVII /⁵ h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Hospes ades paucis et perle[g]e ver/sibus acta aeternum patriae hic / erit ipsa domus hic erit inclusus tumu/lo hic Iulius ipse hi[c] cinis e[x] caro cor/¹⁰pore factus erit cum me[a] iucunde / aetas florebat ab annis advenit fatis / t[e]rminus ips[e m]eis ultimus ipse [f]uit / XXXV annus cum mihi fatalis ve/nit acerba di[es] hi[c] ego nunc cogor /¹⁵ Sty[g]ias tr[an]sire

*paludes sedibus aeter/nis me mea fat[a] tenant me memini Gal/lia natum
caroque [p]are[nt]e et milis collo fortiter arma [t]uli Gallia crudelis tri/buit
mihi [fu]nu[s et ignem et] cu[l]tos artus ter/²⁰ra cinis[q(ue)] premunt (?) ---]
to [g]natus / miles le[g(ionis)] II [---] p---at(?) heris / eius est.*

Caius Iulius Niger, son of Caius, enrolled in the *tribus Voltinia*, from Carcassonne, soldier of the second legion, 45 years, 17 years of service, is buried here. Guest, come and read in these few verses what has happened. Eternally this will be the home, here enclosed in the grave, I, Iulius, will here be ashes, made from the dear body. As my life was blossoming nicely, my fate came to an end. The last year was the 45th one, when the fateful day arrived. Here now I am forced to cross over the marshes of the Styx. My fate holds me in an eternal abode. I remember that I am the son of Gallia and of dear parents, but also as a soldier I wore my weapons bravely around my neck. Such cruel gifts Gallia assigned to me, now that earth and ashes hold the limbs that are no longer cared for. A relative, soldier of the second *legio* (made the monument).

Inscription no. 21 = AE 1906, 31 = Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 102 (Salthua, Dalmatia, 1st century A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.1 (pages 284–286).

*Agirro Epicadi f(ilio) principi k(astelli) Salthua / et Temeiae Glavi f(filiae)
fecit Epicadus f(ilius) / ut primum aetatis complerunt tempora vitae / et
genitor fato conditus est tumulo /⁵ protinus inscripsit pietas nomen
matrisque patrisq(ue) / ut legerent cuncti genitoris nomina saepe / hoc
deceat ut nati component ossa parentum / et cineri sedem substituat pietas.*

Epicadus, the son, had this made for Agirrus, son of Epicadus and *princeps* of Fort Salthua, and for Temeia, daughter of Glavus. As soon as they had reached the end of their lives in age, and as his father had been buried in this tomb, filial duty at once inscribed the mother's and the father's name, so that everyone would read the begetter's names frequently. It is proper that sons put the remains of their parents to rest, and that filial duty provides their ashes with an abode.

Inscription no. 22 = CIL 3, 4533 = Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007b, 55, no. 15 (Aequinoctium, Pannonia Superior, 1–200 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.3 (pages 287–288).

*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Val(erius) M(arci) filiu(s) / Taurus an(norum) L
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Val(eria) Taurina /⁵ fil(ia) patri piissimo / f(aciendum)
c(uravit) omnes / optamus sit tib(i) / tera levis.*

To the spirits of the departed. Marcus Valerius Taurus, son of Marcus, aged 50, lies here. Valeria Taurina, the daughter, made this for her most pious father. We all hope that the earth may be light on you.

Inscription no. 23 = *CIL* 3, 2609 = Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 318 (Vragnizza, Dalmatia, 100–125 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.4 (pages 288–291).

*Vitalis / Pieridi / L(uci) Pomponi Pietatis ver(nae) / b(ene) m(erenti). /⁵
Pieris hoc tumulo tegitur de matre Venusta / sexto nata loco quae fuit a
reliquis. / nondum viginti iuvenus compleverat annos / quoi quoque
virginitas nuper adempta fuit / grataque florebat cunctis mortalibus aetas
/¹⁰ quam fors ad superos noluit esse diu: / non pudor huic aberat pietas non
grata parenti / non amor in fratres eius avarus erat / cara fuit mater fuerant
caraeque sorores / et pia coniugio grataque semper erat /¹⁵ invida Pieridi
cum venit letifer(a) hora / qui cubuit molli languida saepe toro. / Hanc
Atropos rapuit Lachesisq(ue) et tertia Clotho: / infelix mater tollit ad astra
manus / incusatque deos incusat denique Parcas / quae vitam pensant
quaeque futura canunt. /²⁰ Implerunt fratres magnis mugitibus auras / et
cuncti flebant nec minus ante rogum. / Haec fuit at tumulum miserae vox
ultima matris / ossa simul vidit tabida Pieridis: / hanc humus excepit leviter
precor illa prematq(ue) /²⁵ infantem ex utero quae quoque sustinuit. /
Coniunx Pieridi supremum mumus amatae / hunc titulum scripsit pro pietate
sua.*

Vitalis made this for Pieris, homeborn slave of Lucius Pomponius Pietas, who deserves it well. This tomb covers Pieris, who was a child of Venusta, her mother, sixth after those she left behind. A youth, she had not yet lived 20 years of life, her virginity only just taken away from her. Her age was blossoming, dear to all mortals, but Fate wanted to deprive those here of her. She did not lack modesty, nor piety towards her family, her generous love for her brothers, her mother and her beloved sisters, and her beloved husband, when the hour of Death, which envied Pieris, laid her down on her soft bed, tired. Atropos took her, then Lachesis, then Clotho. Her unhappy mother raises her arms to the heavens; she accuses the gods and she accuses the Fates, who weigh our lives and sign of our future. Her brothers, moaning, fill the air with sound. What crying, at the sight of the pyre! Such was the last word of the crestfallen mother before the mausoleum: "Earth has taken her from me, and I pray that the earth may be light on her body, which bore her, and once brought her into the world." Pieris' husband, as a final gift for the one he loved, carved this inscription as a testimony of love.

Inscription no. 24 = *CLEPann* 56 = Kovács 2005, 180 (Somogyvár-Resterica, Pannonia Inferior, 175–200 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.5 (pages 291–292).

[- -] *Lucia[nus ---] / --- p]atri pien[tissimo / fec]erunt hic [situs est opta/mus] cuncti [sit tibi] /⁵ terr[a levis]*.

[...] and Lucianus [...] made (this monument) for their most pious father, who is buried here. We all wish that the earth might be light on you.

Inscription no. 25 = *CIL* 3, 1433, 7 = Bulić 1897a, 54 (Brattia, Dalmatia, 1-150 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.6 (pages 292–294).

Ut decet parenti f(ilius) fecit suo. / L(ucius) Statius L(uci) f(ilius) Venetus / hic situs est.

As it befits the father, his son made this. Lucius Statius Venetus, son of Lucius, is buried here.

Inscription no. 26 = *CIL* 3, 14850 (Klis, Dalmatia, 200–300 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.7 (pages 294–296).

Q(uinto) Sept(imio) Antonio def(uncto) ann(or)um XVIII m(ensium) V d(ierum) II et / Q(uinto) Sept(imio) Antonino def(uncto) ann(or)um XXII m(ensium) XI dier(um) XXIII. / Ego Antoninus umbra tenus 'have' tibi dico meator / quamvis festinanti gradu carpas iter resiste paulum et lege casum: /⁵ sic ego v{---} [?famam re]tinere cupisco; / spiritu[m? --- r]eliquit / malignusque casus [---] corpori toto / post cuius exitium [---] que funeris terr(a)e datas / decubui pro[pe tres annos?] noctesque diesque. /¹⁰ Iam trahor in tenebras ducorq(ue) amplectere fratr(em) / --- hoc fatali casu datum est; pergam nunc tartar(a) adivo / reliquiasque meas cu(rent --) or[b]ati parentes. / Iam casum cognosti meum; feliciter pe[r]ge viator. / Decepti [s]enes testemur funera natuum /¹⁵[et pi]etas titulo deplorat [fata parentum].

To the deceased Quintus Septimius Antonius, aged 18 years, five months, and two days, and to the deceased Quintus Septimius Antoninus, aged 22 years, 11 months, and 23 days. I, Antoninus, although a shadow, say 'hail' to you, traveller. Although you pursue your journey with a swift step, stay for a moment and read about my misfortune. Thus, I wish to preserve my reputation ... Breath left me ... and unkind fortune ... in[?] the whole body after his [?] death ... and [offerings?] of the funeral were given to the land, I lay near ... for days and nights and now I am dragged into the darkness, I

am led to embrace my brother. This has been given to me by this fatal event. I will go now to the infernal god. May my childless parents ... tend to my remains. Now you know my death. Go forth happily, traveller. We, their old parents, having been cheated, bear witness to the fortunes of our sons. And piety laments the fate of the parents in this inscription.

Inscription no. 27 = *CLE* 2123 = Lommatzsch 1926, 101, no. 2123 (Tilurium, Dalmatia). 3.4.2.1.2.8 (pages 296–297).

[---]n*ius* C. f. / [---].s ann(or*um*) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [pro piet]ate parens supr/[ema haec munera fecit nato] qui fatis concid/⁵[it ante diem. [...] eci [...] sine [...] pus / [...] annus cui scidi / [...] miseris. Ipse patrem / [ut decuit digno tumulasset honore n]i mihi natura / [heu esset iniqua nimis. [...] Nius, son of Caius, aged 5, lies here. His father made this final monument for piety. To the child, that fate destroyed before his day. [...] the year in which I took away [...] the misery. [...] He would have buried his father with honour, as it is fitting, if nature had not been to unfair to me.

Inscription no. 28 = *CIL* 13, 6429 = Mattern 2005, 202, no. 396 (Darmstadt, Germania Superior, 150–200 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.9 (pages 298–300).

[D(is) M(anibus) --- Clodius Perigenes ---] / [---]em[---]e / [---] hic in[ter / fece]re latrones /⁵ [que]m genuit Tea/[no] Sidicino ex Cam/pania. Altera con/textit tellus dedit / altera nasci. Peri/¹⁰genes habet titulum / Secundus officium. / P(ublius) Clodius Secundus / fratri pientissimo.

To the spirits of the departed. Clodius Perigenes [...]. Robbers slew him here, he who was born from Teanum Sidicinum in Campania. The one land covers him with earth, the other gave him life. Perigenes now has his tombstone, Secundus has done his duty. Publius Clodius Secundus made (the tombstone) for the most faithful brother.

Inscription no. 29 = *AE* 1998, 1029 (Donji Proložac, Dalmatia, 100–300 A.D.). 3.4.2.1.2.12 (pages 301–304).

D(is) M(anibus). / Turranio Clemen/ti marito def(uncto) an/n(or*um*) LII. Laelia Quin/⁵ta Turranio Cle/mentian(o) filio / karo infelicis/simo defuncto annor(um) XXXII. /¹⁰ Multa peragras/ti Germaniam / terram secu/tus. Hic iacet / erepta pietas /¹⁵ pulc(h)raq(ue) iu/ventus. / Et s(ibi) et s(uis) / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).

To the spirits of the departed. Laelia Quinta, to Turranius Clemens, the husband, who died at the age of 52, and to Turranius Clementionus, the dear son, most unfortunate, who died at the age of 32. Often you have wandered across the German lands. Here lies snatched away devotion and beautiful youth. May this monument not pass to himself or his heirs.

Inscription no. 30 = AE 1933, 74 = Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2015, 29 (Salona, Dalmatia, 1–68 A.D.). 3.4.2.2.2.1 (pages 310–313).

C(aius) Utius Sp(uri) f(ilius) testament(o) / fieri iussit sibi / et P(ublio) Utio [f]ratri suo et Clodia(e) / F[au]stae concubinae suae /⁵ mult[a per]agratus ego terrae marique / debit[a re]ddidi in patria nunc situs hic iaceo. / Stat l[apis e]t nomen vestigia nulla.

Caius Utius, the son of Spurus, by will ordered this (monument) to be made for himself, as well as for Publius Utius, his brother, and Clodia Fausta, his concubine. After much travel by land and sea, I have fulfilled my debt, and now I lie buried here in my homeland. Here stands the headstone and name, no other trace.

Inscription no. 31 = CIL 3, 11036 = Massaro 2023, 64 (Brigetio, Pannonia Superior, 100–300 A.D.). 3.4.2.2.2.3 (pages 314–316).

D(is) M(anibus) / Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius q/ui vixit an(nos) XXV m(enses) III dies V Aure/l(ia) Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) /⁵VIII m(enses) III dies V et Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) l/eg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) qui vixit ann(os) XLV m(enses) V d/ies VII Aurel(ia) Ursicina fratr/i et filiae et coniugi ben/e merentibus sepulcrum faciendu[m c]ura[vit]t vivit/¹⁰e felices quibus est fortu/na beata.

To the spirits of the departed. Valerius Ursinus, *ducenarius*, who lived for 25 years, 3 months and 5 days. Aurelia Firmilla, the daughter, who lived for 9 years, 3 months and 6 days. T. Flavius Firmus, soldier in *legio I Adiutrix*, who lived for 45 years, 5 months and 7 days. Aurelia Ursicina saw to this tomb being well done for her well-deserving brother, daughter and husband. Those for whom there is happy fortune, live happily!

Inscription no. 32 = CIL 3, 3362 = RIU 6, 1377

(Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, 196–250 A.D.). 2.5.1.7 (page 89–91); 2.5.4.11 (page 155); 3.4.2.2.4 (page 317)

*D(is) M(anibus). / P. Aelio ꝛFꝛrontoni d[e]c(urioni)/col(oniae)
Aq(uincensium) flaminico /qui vixit annis / LIII et P. Aelio Vindici /⁵ fi[l]io
qu[i] vixit an[n(is) -] I / ꝛeꝛt [Aelia]e Lucrorin(a)e / fil(iae) q(uae) [vi]xit
ann(is) / VIII et P. Ael(io) In/petrato filio / qui vixit ann(is) / VI cui vita
par/va mors valde / citata fuit quem / flentes doleunt / miserieque paren/tes
Sept(imia) Decora/ta coniugi pien/[ti]ssimo et filis / [co]mmunibu[s et]
Ael[ii I]npetra[tus et / De]coratus [lib(erti) pos(uerunt)].*

To the spirits of the departed. For P. Aelius Fronto, *decurio* of *colonia Aquincensium*, priest, who lived for 53 years. Also for P. Aelius Vindex, son, who lived for 1 year. And for Aelia Lucrorina, the daughter, who lived for 8 years. And for P. Aelius Inpetratus, the son, who lived for 6 years, whose little life was very swiftly followed by death, whom the poor weeping parents mourn. Septimia Decorata (by testament ordered this to be made) for her most devoted husband and the children of both. Aelius Inpetratus and Aelius Decoratus, the freedmen, made this monument.

Inscription no. 33 = AE 1957, 334 = Fenechiu 2019, 132 (Romula, Dacia, 193–275 A.D.). 3.4.3.1.2.1 (pages 320–323); 3.4.6.1.2.1 (page 362).

*D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Iul(io) Iuliano dec(urioni) quaestoric(io) /
aedilic(io) col(oniae) Romul(ensis) Valeria Ge/mellina marito b(ene)
m(erenti) p(osuit): /⁵ Coniugi pro meritis quondam karissimo coniunx / hanc
Iuliano domum flendo fabricavi perennem / frigida qua membra possint
requiescere morti. / Quattuor hic denos vixit sine culpa per annos / et sua
perfunctus vidit cum gloria honores. /¹⁰ Ecce Gemellina pietate ducta marito
/ struxi dolens digno sedem cum liberis una / inter pampinea virgulta et
gramina laeta / umbra super rami virides ubi densa ministrat. / Qui legis hos
versus, opta leve terra viator.*

To the spirits of the departed. To Aelius Iulius Iulianus, *decurio*, *quaestoricus*, and *aedilicius* of the *colonia* of Romula. Valeria Gemellina made this for her well-deserving husband: For her at one time deserving husband, she made this enduring home, crying, where cold limbs could rest in death. He lived here for forty years without fault and, having performed his duties, saw honors to his dignity. See Gemellina, led by devotion to the husband, mournfully constructed a fitting residence with her children, in the midst of vine-covered bushes and lush grass, where the fresh branches

provide shelter with their thick darkness. Whoever passer-by might read this verses, hope that the earth might be light.

Inscription no. 34 = *CIL* 3, 2835 = Massaro 2023, 6 (Burnum, Dalmatia, 1–42 A.D.).
3.4.3.1.2.2 (pages 324–325); 3.4.3.4.2.1 (page 342); 3.4.3.5.2.1 (page 345).

*T(itus) Cominius / C(ai) f(ilius) Romilia / Ateste miles / leg(ionis) XI
anno/⁵rum XL stip(endiorum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) frater / fratri posuit. /
Vixsi quad potui semper bene pauper honeste /¹⁰ [fr]audavi nullum: nunc
iuvat / [os]sa mea.*

Titius Cominius, son of Caius, from the *tribe* Romilia of Ateste, a soldier of the 11th legion, aged 40, having served for 16 years, is buried here. The brother made this for the brother. I have lived as well as I could, poor, respectable, defrauding no one: now this brings delight to my bones.

Inscription no. 35 = *CIL* 13, 7085 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, 43–70 A.D.).
3.4.3.1.2.3 (page 326); 3.4.3.3.2.1 (338–339).

*C(aius) Gavius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Celer / ann(orum) XXI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
/⁵ Fidus vixisti / sine crimine / Gavi, hoc tibi / pro meritis. sit / tibi terra
levis.*

Caius Gavius Celer, the freedman of Caius, aged 21, is buried here. You have lived faithfully without crime, Gavius, this here for your merits. May the earth be light on you.

Inscription no. 36 = *AE* 2001, 1691 = Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi 2007a, 77 =
Aquincum, 200–225 A.D.). 3.4.3.2.2.1 (pages 330–332).

*D(is) M(anibus) C(aio) Val(erio) Papirian[o] trib(un)o leg(ionis) II
Ad(iutricis). / Urbe Pal(a)estina genitum [m]e / militiae res / transtulit huc
sper[antem]; tamd[i]uq(ue) /⁵ tribunus insont[em] vitam solvi. duo pignora
[cara] / [quae tibi re]liqui sume ac be[ne] vive [---] / C. Valerius Turbo et
L[icinian(?)]us fil(ii) eius / eq(uites) R(omani).*

πατρίς ἔμοι Συρίας δάπεδον / πόλεως Καπετωλιάδαο, /¹⁰κεῖμε δ' ἐν
Πα[ί]οσι κενὸν ὄρ/γανον ἀνθρώποισι, λεγε/ῶνος ἀρχηγὸς γεγονῶς, / ᾧ
τοῦνομα Παπειριανὸς ὑπάρχει / υἱοὶ ἱππικοὶ β' πατρὶ χρηστῶ.

To the spirits of the departed. To Caius Valerius Papirianus, tribune of the *legio II Adiutrix*. Born in a city in Palestine, the affairs of military service brought me here, and all this time as tribune I lived my life guiltless. Take

and live well, the two dear pledges that I left ... C. Valerius Turbo and Licinianus, his sons, Roman knights, [made this monument].

My native land is the land of Syria, the city of *Kapetolias*, I lie here an empty body to the Pannonians, having become a tribune in the legion, being granted the name Papirianus. His two knight sons [made this monument] for a noble father.

Inscription no. 37 = *CIL* 3, 14644 = *CLE* 2681 (Epetium, Dalmatia, 2nd century A.D.).

3.4.4.1.2.1 (pages 349–352).

Amabili secutori. / Nat(ione) Dacus pug(narum) XIII / fato deceptus / non ab homine.

To Amabilis, the *secutor*, of the nation of Dacia, who fought 13 times. He was bested by fate, not by men.

Inscription no. 38 = *CIL* 13, 8371 = Galsterer/Galsterer 2010, 381–382 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, Germania Inferior, 200–300 A.D.). 3.4.4.1.2.2 (pages 352–354).

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Timavio / alumno dulcissim/o et san[ctiss]mo q⁵ui vixi[t annos] XVII / Aurel[ius Maxi]mus / patron[us. D]ardan/ia genitus istic mi/hi care Timavi post / ¹⁰ varios cassus post / tot discrimina re/rum deseris heu pul/chram primaevo / flore iuventam./

¹⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) Aurelio Ti/mavio liberto alu/mno Aureli Maximi. / Tu Timav[i d]ulcem no/men du[lcib]us votis ad/²⁰es. Spiritum [que]m tu ferebas / corpore elabi sacrum co/rpus ut terram mane/re spiritum celum sequi / spiritum movere cunc/²⁵ta spiritum esse quod deu/m. Cum mihi extremis ca/nebas vocibus solamin[a] / floris absidens iuben[tae] / gratias tristi dia[e].*

To the spirits of the Departed. For Aurelius Timavius, the sweetest and most pious *alumnus* who lived for 17 years, Aurelius Maximus, his patron, [made this monument]. Born in Dardania, my sweet Timavius, you leave behind your pretty youth, after so many twists of fate, after so many crises – oh! – when it was only just blossoming.

To the spirits, for Aurelius Timavius, freedman and *alumnus* of Aurelius Maximus. You, Timavius, sweet name, are present with sweet prayers. That the divine spirit which you carried with you, may vanish from the body; that the body may remain on earth, that the spirit may ascent to heaven, that the spirit may move all things, because the spirit is divine; with these

last words you gave me comfort, on that sad day when the flower of your youth abruptly ended.

Inscription no. 39 = *CIL* 13, 8836 = Bücheler 1895, no. 589 (Salona, Dalmatia, 150–300 A.D.). 3.4.5.2.2.1 (pages 358–359).

Sossius hic si[tu]s est Suc[cessus iure peritus] / Ravennae genitus Salon[is funere raptus] / libera quen ratio semper [deduxit ad aequum.]

Sossius Successus, [an expert in law], lies here. Born in Ravenna, taken by death in Salona, whose free thinking always [led to justice].

