

Doctoral Dissertation

**EPITAPHIC CULTURE AND SOCIAL HISTORY IN LATE  
ANTIQUE SALONA (ca. 250 – 600 C.E.)**

by

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AE</b>	<i>Année Épigraphique</i>
<b>BAR</b>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<b>BAHD/VAHD</b>	<i>Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku</i>
<b>CIL</b>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<b>EDB</b>	<i>Epigraphic Database Bari</i> <a href="http://www.edb.uniba.it/">http://www.edb.uniba.it/</a>
<b>EDCS</b>	<i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus-Slaby</i> <a href="http://www.manfredclaus.de/gb/index.html">http://www.manfredclaus.de/gb/index.html</a>
<b>EDH/HD</b>	<i>Epigraphic Database Heidelberg</i> <a href="http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home">http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home</a>
<b>EDR</b>	<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> <a href="http://www.edr-edr.it/English/index_en.php">http://www.edr-edr.it/English/index_en.php</a>
<b>FS II</b>	<i>Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine: nach dem Materiale</i> F. Bulic (1926). R. Egger
<b>FS III</b>	<i>Forschungen in Salona III: Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac</i> (1939). E. Dyggve and R. Egger
<b>ILJUG</b>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX reperatae et editae sunt</i> (1963). A. Šašel and J. Šašel
<b>ILS</b>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<b>JECS</b>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<b>JRS</b>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<b>LSA</b>	<i>“Last Statues of Antiquity” Database</i> <a href="http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/">http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/</a>
<b>Salona III/S III</b>	<i>Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone</i> (2000). N. Duval and E. Marin
<b>Salona IV/S IV</b>	<i>Salona IV: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Inscriptions de Salone Chrétienne IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles</i> (2010). E. Marin, N. Gauthier, and F. Prévot
<b>ZPE</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“There is nothing to equal the beauty of a Latin votive or burial inscription: those few words graved on stone sum up with majestic impersonality all that the world need ever know of us.”<sup>1</sup> These are the words that Marguerite Yourcenar imputed to the emperor Hadrian in her *Memoirs of Hadrian*, one of my favorite novels. On the other hand, as a researcher, I often get frustrated by their fragmentary state of preservation and by the scarcity of information recorded in the epitaphs. Yet there they are: thousands of them found on a single site representing - most of the times - the only written evidence from the cities and towns of the Roman Empire; both applies to Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. This dissertation builds upon the recent trends in localized studies of epigraphic evidence in order to explore the commemorative culture and people who availed themselves of it in late antique Salona (from the mid-third through the first decades of the seventh century).

### 1.1 Topic of the Thesis

Inscriptions are often the only written evidence from the Roman provinces, and they, no matter how sketchy, inform us on various aspects of Roman history. More importantly, when epigraphic genre is conceptualized properly and their limitations are thus acknowledged, they provide us with a glimpse at the wider socio-economic sectors of a community, and are the indispensable source for writing the social history of Roman Empire at the local level. Inscriptions therefore present themselves as a supplement and often the corrective to the anecdotal evidence from literary sources.

Nevertheless, it has been recognized that the practice of setting up epitaphic monuments was socially and culturally contingent, whereby the main issue pertains to the usefulness of epitaphs for the

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<sup>1</sup> Marguerite Yourcenar, *Memoirs of Hadrian*, Grace Frick transl. (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1963), at p. 28.

socio-demographic inquiry. Namely, the question is to what extent epitaphs, the source material inherently pertinent to socio-demographic analysis, reflect the demographic and socio-economic structures of an urban environment. The results have been largely negative: epitaphs neither represent a random sample of the population nor are certain categories of data recorded there accurate.

Regarding the social composition of the “epitaphic population,” P. R. C. Weaver has succinctly addressed its relevance and the difficulty of illuminating it:

“Determination of status is at the heart of most problems that arise in the study of the sub-equestrian classes of Roman society under the Empire. Unfortunately, along with chronology, it is also the most intractable problem for these social levels.”<sup>2</sup>

The question of the social distribution of epitaphs is essential for our understanding of the Roman epigraphic habit, and for the demographic and socio-economic urban history. This thesis examines two related topics, specifically the topic of the epitaphic culture, namely of the motivation to inscribe an epitaph in late antiquity, and that of the social profile of the epitaphic population in late antique Salona. I have based my analysis on the 188 sufficiently preserved epitaphs dated to from the mid-third to the beginning of the seventh century. The Appendix 2 tabulates the data from the sample across the categories of the commemorator and the deceased. The Appendix 3 brings the texts of the inscriptions. The remainder of the thesis is organized as follows. The second chapter engages with the debate over the character of epigraphy of the third to the seventh centuries, and explores the epitaphic culture of late antique Salona in the broader context of the Latin West. It re-examines the concept of “Christian epigraphy” and the proposed motivation for the epigraphic habit in late antiquity. The third chapter touches upon the topic of the cost of inscribed tombstones with the aim to raise the question of their affordability. The attested early- and high-imperial costs are put into perspective with the

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<sup>2</sup> P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor’s Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1972), at p. 83.

model of wealth distribution. Given the scarcity and unreliability of the quantitative data from Roman antiquity, the question is raised merely to make us think about the order of magnitude of the costs of tombstones and to make us cognizant of the extent that the prices might have been prohibitive. The fourth chapter discusses the onomastic method for the assessment of the sociolegal status of the “epitaphic population.” It sets the stage for the analysis in the fifth chapter that examines the social significance of the two- and single-name forms in funerary and non-funerary epigraphy of late antique Salona. The chapter furthermore examines the prosopographical data in order to assess the social profile of the commemorated people. This survey chapter introduces the epigraphic corpus of Salona, the city and its burial grounds. It delineates the thesis topic and research principles.

## 1.2 Epigraphic Legacy of Salona

There are slight differences between the estimates of the number of inscriptions from the Greek and Roman antiquity. More recently, John Bodel has approximated the number of Greek and Latin inscriptions produced from ca. 800 B.C.E. to 700 C.E. at 600,000, Lawrence Keppie has estimated that there are over 300,000 Roman inscriptions, and Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw approximated the total number of Latin inscriptions at 250,000, out of which epitaphs make up slightly more than two thirds, that is, 170-190,000.<sup>3</sup> The number of late Roman Latin inscriptions has been moderately estimated at 50,000, out of which the ratio of epitaphs is even higher than in the early empire.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> John Bodel, “Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian,” in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. John Bodel (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), at p. 4. Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991): at pp. 9 and 34. Richard P. Saller, and Brent D. Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves,” *JRS* 74 (1984): at pp. 124-56, n. 1 at p. 124. On the number of Roman inscriptions in printed publications and on-line databases, and on the epigraphic densities, see Francisco Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: OUP, 2014), at pp. 135-41.

<sup>4</sup> Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie*, s.v. “Inscriptions latines chrétiennes.” See also, Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West,” *Athenaeum* 83 (1995): at pp. 434-5; Dennis E. Trout, “Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity,” in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), at p. 172.

The territory of Salona and its environs has yielded a large corpus of inscriptions. A collection of ca. 6,800 Salonitan inscriptions is kept by the Archeological Museum of Split or can be found *in situ* or as spolia, from which ca. 50 Hellenistic and ca. 50 medieval inscriptions need to be deducted.<sup>5</sup> There are therefore some 6,700 Roman, both Greek and Latin, inscriptions from the so-called *ager Salonitanus*, a good part of which seems not to have been published yet. Namely, The *Epigraphik - Datenbank Claus/Slabby* (EDCS) which claims to have compiled “almost all Latin inscriptions” and records 495,125 inscriptions,<sup>6</sup> contains 4,878 Latin and Greek, Roman-period inscriptions from Salona.<sup>7</sup> The *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* (EDH), which has so far compiled 72,500 Latin and bilingual inscriptions from the Roman provinces, offering revised readings of the inscriptions and including detailed meta-data about both inscriptions and monuments,<sup>8</sup> contains slightly over 3,500 inscriptions from Salona and its environs.<sup>9</sup> To get the sense of proportion of epitaphs in the entire epigraphic corpus, I inquired into the EDH inscriptions under the entry “Salonae:” out of the 3518 inscriptions, 2,958, that is, 84 percent, pertain to funerary texts.<sup>10</sup> Finally, to get the sense of the order of magnitude of the epigraphic record from Salona, based on the numbers provided by EDCS, Salona and Aquileia

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<sup>5</sup> Denis Feissel, and Emilio Marin, “Contenu du recueil,” in *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, eds. Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, François Prévot (Rome, Split: École française de Rome, Musée archéologique de Split, 2010), at pp. 7-8. <http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski/hr/FS-epigraficka.html> (April 2016).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.manfredclaus.de/gb/index.html> (April 2016)

<sup>7</sup> [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi\\_ergebnis.php](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_ergebnis.php) (April 2016)

<sup>8</sup> <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/projekt/konzept> (April 2016)

<sup>9</sup> EDCS enters all inscriptions from Salona and its environs under the entry “Salona,” while EDH has elaborated its location entries, for example “Salonae,” “Clissa-Salonae, inter,” “Salonae, aus,” “Salonae, aus?” and a certain number of inscriptions can be found under the entries of both “Salonae” and “Salonae, aus,” therefore, I have not provided the exact figure. On differences between the entry policies of EDCS and EDH, and the concomitant difference in the respective number of inscriptions, that is, as to why the number of EDCS inscriptions is somewhat inflated, see Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” at pp. 136-37.

<sup>10</sup> [http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/inschrift/suche?hd\\_nr=&land=&fo\\_antik=Salonae&fo\\_modern=&literatur=&dat\\_jahr\\_a=&dat\\_jahr\\_e=&atext1=&bool=AND&atext2=&sort=hd\\_nr&anzahl=20;](http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/inschrift/suche?hd_nr=&land=&fo_antik=Salonae&fo_modern=&literatur=&dat_jahr_a=&dat_jahr_e=&atext1=&bool=AND&atext2=&sort=hd_nr&anzahl=20;)  
[http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/inschrift/erweiterteSuche?hd\\_nr=&tm\\_nr=&land=&fo\\_antik=Salonae&fo\\_modern=&fundstelle=&region=&compFundjahr=eq&fundjahr=&aufbewahrung=&inschriftgattung=titsep&sprache=&inschrifttraeger=&compHoehe=eq&hoehe=&compBreite=eq&breite=&compTiefe=eq&tiefe=&bh=&pa|Schreibtechnik=&dat\\_tag=&dat\\_monat=&dat\\_jahr\\_a=&dat\\_jahr\\_e=&religion=&literatur=&kommentar=&p\\_na me=&p\\_praenomen=&p\\_nomen=&p\\_cognomen=&p\\_supernomen=&p\\_tribus=&p\\_origo=&p\\_geschlecht=&p\\_status=&compJahre=eq&p\\_lJahre=&compMonate=eq&p\\_lMonate=&compTage=eq&p\\_lTage=&compStunden=eq&p\\_lStunden=&atext1=&bool=AND&atext2=&sort=hd\\_nr&anzahl=20](http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/inschrift/erweiterteSuche?hd_nr=&tm_nr=&land=&fo_antik=Salonae&fo_modern=&fundstelle=&region=&compFundjahr=eq&fundjahr=&aufbewahrung=&inschriftgattung=titsep&sprache=&inschrifttraeger=&compHoehe=eq&hoehe=&compBreite=eq&breite=&compTiefe=eq&tiefe=&bh=&pa|Schreibtechnik=&dat_tag=&dat_monat=&dat_jahr_a=&dat_jahr_e=&religion=&literatur=&kommentar=&p_na me=&p_praenomen=&p_nomen=&p_cognomen=&p_supernomen=&p_tribus=&p_origo=&p_geschlecht=&p_status=&compJahre=eq&p_lJahre=&compMonate=eq&p_lMonate=&compTage=eq&p_lTage=&compStunden=eq&p_lStunden=&atext1=&bool=AND&atext2=&sort=hd_nr&anzahl=20) (April 2016)

fall in the same group of 4,000+ inscriptions per city, which is surpassed only by Rome (90,000+), Pompeii (13,000+), Carthage (6,000+), and Ostia (5,000+).<sup>11</sup> When the Archaeological Museum of Split completes its revisionary work on its epigraphic collection, and the material gets published, Salona is expected to accordingly upgrade to the group of 6,000+ inscriptions per city, which it will share with Carthage, whereby they will be outnumbered by Rome and Pompeii solely.

A group of Croatian and French scholars has recently completed its rigorous epigraphic work on the late antique epigraphic record dated from the fourth to seventh centuries. Their two-volume publication of late antique inscriptions contains 742 Latin and 83 Greek inscriptions (Salona IV, 1-2: 1-742 and Salona IV, 2: 742-825 respectively), to which further 476 unintelligible sherds needs to be added.<sup>12</sup> While the inscriptions of the fourth to seventh centuries comprise only ca. 12 percent of the total number of Roman inscriptions,<sup>13</sup> the late Roman epigraphic record of Salona is comparatively still significant. Namely, when put into the perspective with late antique inscriptions from the Latin West, the corpus of Salona is surpassed by only Rome and Carthage.<sup>14</sup> It is a platitude to say that inscriptions from antiquity are mostly preserved in their fragmentary state. Regarding the fragmentary character of inscriptions as a historical source, Francisco Beltrán Lloris has humorously remarked that

“One thus needs to be circumspect when told that the number of Roman inscriptions from a particular site or region runs into the thousands. Not every town provides enough epigraphic material for a doctoral dissertation, whatever the bare numbers seem to indicate.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” Table 8.3 at p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, and Françoise Prévot, eds, *Salona IV: Inscriptions de Salone Chrétienne IVe-VIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2010). For the figures, see Denis Feissel, and Emilio Marin, “Contenu du recueil,” in *Salona IV*, at pp. 7-8. Regarding the character of inscriptions as historical source, given that they are regularly preserved too fragmentarily,

<sup>13</sup> Charlotte Roueché has remarked that the “greatest epigraphic change from the third century onwards is the drop in the number of inscriptions.” Charlotte M. Roueché, “Benefactors in the Late Roman Period: The Eastern Empire,” in *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, eds. Michel Christol and Olivier Masson (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 353-68 at p. 353.

<sup>14</sup> Mark A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750*, BAR International Series 1135 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), at p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” at pp. 136-37.

To sum up, the greater part of the epigraphic record from Salona still awaits revisionary epigraphic treatment latterly begun by the Archaeological Museum - Split. The most comprehensive collections of inscriptions from Salona are the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. 3 (CIL 03 onwards),<sup>16</sup> the three volumes of *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt* (ILJUG),<sup>17</sup> and the above-mentioned Salona IV;<sup>18</sup> Salonitan inscriptions have also been published in *L'Année épigraphique* (AE),<sup>19</sup> the *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ILS),<sup>20</sup> and the *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (ILCV),<sup>21</sup> and various regional journals and archaeological site publications.<sup>22</sup> The thesis will identify each inscription by its paper publication reference which will be followed by its on-line edition in order to facilitate the access to an inscription to a reader.

### 1.3 Historical Overview of Salona

Imperial Salona developed as an amalgam of Greek and Roman settlements situated on the coast and an indigenous hillfort settlement on Mt. Kozjak ca. 1.5 km away from the coastal communities. Given

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<sup>16</sup> CIL Vol. 3: *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1873, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1958); *Supplementum Voluminis Tertii: Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici Latinarum Supplementum*, eds. Theodor Mommsen, Otto Hirschfeld, and Alfred von Domaszewski (Berlin: Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1902).

<sup>17</sup> Anna Šašel and Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej, 1963), Šašel and Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej, 1978), Šašel and Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana: Situla, 1986).

<sup>18</sup> Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, and Françoise Prévot, eds, *Salona IV: Inscriptions de Salone Chrétienne IVe-VIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> *L'Année épigraphique* (1888 - ).

<sup>20</sup> *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., ed. Hermann Dessau (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916).

<sup>21</sup> *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols., ed. Ernst Diehl (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925-31).

<sup>22</sup> *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* (BASD)/*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* (VAHD) [Journal of Dalmatian Archaeology and History] (1878 - ); Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine: nach dem Materiale F. Bulić* (Wien: Druck and Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1926); Johannes Brøndsted, Ejnar Dyggve, and Frederik Weilbach, *Recherches à Salone* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1928-33); Ejnar Dyggve, and Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona III: Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Wien: R. M. Rohrer, 1939).

the scanty evidence, both textual and archaeological, and their discrepancy, there is scholarly disagreement regarding the question of the origin of Salona. On the basis of literary evidence, Grga Novak, Duje Rendić-Miočević, and recently Marjeta Šašel-Kos have argued that Salona was a settlement, that is, an emporium of the “Illyrian Delmatae,” in which a community of the Issaeans lived alongside indigenous population from about the second half of the second century B.C.E.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Christoph W. Clairmont has archaeologically corroborated that coastal Salona originated as an emporium of Tragurion founded in the first half of the second century B.C.E.<sup>24</sup> Nenad Cambi has located indigenous settlements in the Klis Pass or at the Donje Rupotine village on the Mt. Kozjak approximately 1.5 km inland from coastal Salona, and has posited the existence of two settlements named Salona: a coastal one of the Issaeans and later the Romans, and an inland one of the Delmatae.<sup>25</sup> Salona came into possession of the Delmatae sometime between the late second century B.C.E. and the year of 78 B.C.E. in which C. Cosconius commenced his two-year expedition against the Delmatae and recaptured Salona.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Grga Novak, “Isejska i rimska Salona,” [Issaeans and Roman Salona], *Radovi JAZU* 270 (1949): pp. 67-92; Duje Rendić-Miočević, “Ancient Greeks on the Eastern Adriatic and Some Questions Concerning Settling of the Coast Line of Manios Bay,” *Adrias* 2 (1988): 5-19; Marjeta Šašel-Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2005), at pp. 306-08. J. J. Wilkes maintains that Salona came into possession of the Delmatae around the mid-second century B.C.E. and remained theirs until C. Cosconius gained Salona in 78-76 B.C.E. J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1969), at p. 220. For the critique of the usage of the trans-ethnic and all-accommodating term “Illyrians,” see Danijel Džino, “Deconstructing ‘Illyrians’: Zeitgeist, Changing Perceptions and Identity of the Peoples from Ancient Illyricum,” *Croatian Studies Review* 5 (2008): pp. 43-55; Džino, “Contesting Identities of Pre-Roman Illyricum,” *Ancient West and East* 11 (2012): pp. 69-97; Džino, “Constructing Illyrians: Prehistoric Inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula in Early Modern and Modern Perceptions,” *Balkanistica* 27 (2014): pp. 1-39.

<sup>24</sup> Christoph W. Clairmont, “General Introduction,” in *Excavations at Salona, Yugoslavia, 1969-1972*, ed. Christoph W. Clairmont (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975), at pp. 2-4.

<sup>25</sup> Nenad Cambi, “Ilirska Salona,” [Illyrian Salona] *Obavijesti HAD* vol. 21, no. 3 (1989): pp. 37-41. Siniša Bilić-Dujmušić has recently lent support to Cambi’s hypothesis because it is unlikely that the Issaeans and later Italian and Roman merchants would have lived alongside the Delmatae. Siniša Bilić-Dujmušić, *Octavianova kampanja protiv Delmata 34. – 33. god. pr. Kr.* [Octavian’s Campaign against the Delmatae 34. – 33. B.C.E.] (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Zadar, 2004), at pp. 219 ff.

<sup>26</sup> The Delmatae were attempting to gain control over the Issaeans coastal sub-colonies of Tragurion and Epetion and surrounding territories, which seems to have provoked the successful campaign of L. Caecilius Metellus in 118-117 B.C.E., who celebrated a triumph *de Delmateis* and gained a surname *Delmaticus*. For the most recent discussions of the sources and scholarship, and the reconstruction of the events, see Šašel-Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, at pp. 306-11, and Danijel Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics 229 BC – AD 68* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), at pp. 65-69. It is debated

The campaign of Cosconius had far-reaching consequences for the development of Salona since it prompted the influx of traders and settlers from Italy, and by the mid-first century B.C.E. there was a *conventus civium Romanorum* in Salona (Caes. *b.civ.* 3.9), a self-organized community of Roman citizens but yet without defined municipal status and rights.<sup>27</sup> It was debated whether Salona was granted the status of colony by Caesar or Octavian, or whether it was a double – Caesarian and Octavian – colony.<sup>28</sup> The prevalent opinion now is that Octavian made it a colony in between 34/33 and 27 B.C.E.<sup>29</sup> Salona subsequently became the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia whose administrative organization was finalized in the late Augustan and early Tiberian reign.<sup>30</sup> In literary sources, Salona is mentioned for the first time as a colony by Pliny the Elder (Pliny, *HN* 3,141). The votive inscription dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and dated to 137 C.E. names Salona as *Martia Iulia Salona*.<sup>31</sup> In the later empire Diocletian's *nomen gentile* was inserted and the city's expanded name was *colonia Martia Iulia Valeria Salona Felix*, as attested by the relief of the city's Tyche that holds a banner with the inscription of the city's full nomenclature.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the city was most

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when the Delmatae captured Salona again, and Džino has most recently argued that it likely occurred between 85 and 78 B.C.E. Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics*, at p. 68 with n. 34 at p. 68 for references to different views.

<sup>27</sup> Novak, *Isejska i rimska Salona*, at p. 75-76; Géza Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1965), at p. 100; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, at p. 220; Clairmont, *General Introduction*, at p. 6 with n. 29 at p. 9; Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics*, at pp. 69, 88-89.

<sup>28</sup> Géza Alföldy has argued that Salona was a double colony. Géza Alföldy, "Caesarische und augusteische Kolonien in der Provinz Dalmatien," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 10/4 (1962): at pp. 359-61, and Alföldy, *Bevölkerung*, at pp. 101-105, 110. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, at pp. 221-224 discusses the evidence and differing opinions, and himself allows for the possibility that it was a double colony. Wilkes has elsewhere stated that Salona was likely a Caesarian colony. Wilkes, "Danubian and Balkan Provinces," in *CAH* 10, *The Augustan Empire 43 B.C. – A.D. 69*, eds. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), at p. 574. Clairmont, *General Introduction*, at pp. 6-7 has opted for a Caesarian date, while also acknowledging that it may have been a double colony.

<sup>29</sup> Already Novak has argued that Salona was an Octavian's foundation and has dated the grant of the colony status to 34/33 B.C.E. Novak, *Isejska i rimska Salona*, at pp. 78-80; Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics*, at p. 120, with n. 12. Nevertheless, the city was most commonly referred to as the *colonia Salonitana* or *colonia Salonitanorum* (for example, CIL 03, 2026+2087+p. 1030= HD054750), just as *colonia* (for example, CIL 03, 2028+8753+p. 1030 = HD054776), or as the *res publica* (for example, CIL 03, 2117 = HD063051).

<sup>30</sup> Illyricum was first time organized as an independent province some time in between 32 and 27 B.C.E.; after 27 B.C.E. it was put under the senatorial administration. The capital of this early province is unknown. The division of the province of Illyricum into "*Illyricum inferius*" (Pannonia) and "*Illyricum superius*" (Dalmatia) ensued the *bellum Batonianum* (6-9 C.E.), yet the exact date of the *de facto* division is disputed. See Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics*, at pp. 119, 160-63 for the most recent discussion of the evidence and scholarship.

<sup>31</sup> CIL 03, 1933+p. 1030 and 1509 = HD049788.

<sup>32</sup> ILJUG 0122 = HD032938. Mihovil Abramić, "Tyche (Fortuna) Salonitana," *V.A.H.D.* 52 (1935-49): pp. 279-80.

commonly referred to as the *colon(ia) Salon(itana)* or *colon(ia) Salon(itanorum)*,<sup>33</sup> or just as *colonia*,<sup>34</sup> or as the *res publica*.<sup>35</sup>

The territory of Dalmatia was somewhat cropped by the Diocletian's provincial reorganization (its south-eastern part was incorporated into the newly-formed province of Praevalitana) and Salona remained the capital of the province. With the Theodosian division of the empire in 395, Dalmatia was included in the Diocese of Illyricum and the Prefecture of Italy, and yet in 437 Dalmatia was transferred to the Eastern empire. In the second half of the fifth century, Dalmatia and Salona were ruled by independent warlords Marcellinus and Julius Nepos,<sup>36</sup> the latter recognized by the emperor Leo in 473 as the *magister militum Dalmatiae*. Dalmatia was part of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and was administered by the *comes Dalmatiae et Saviae*. There was an urban continuity in Salona until the first decades of the seventh century.

The whole city area was encircled by the walls – ca. 4,000 m in perimeter – that were built and fortified under Marcus Aurelius, with East-West axis of ca. 1,600 m and North-South axis of ca. 700 m. There were two attempts to estimate the population of Salona, here presented merely to get the sense of the possible order of magnitude:<sup>37</sup> William Gerber calculated that the capacity of the Salonitan aqueduct would meet the needs of ca. 40,000 inhabitants living in or near the city,<sup>38</sup> while Dyggve quadrupled the maximum capacity of the Salonitan amphitheater and got the figure of 60,000 people living in the city and its territory.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For example, CIL 03, 2026+2087+p. 1030 = HD054750.

<sup>34</sup> For example, as in ...*patrono coloniae*... CIL 03, 2028+8753+p. 1030 = HD054776.

<sup>35</sup> For example, CIL 03, 2117 = HD063051.

<sup>36</sup> PLRE II, s.v. "Marcellinus 6" at pp. 708-10; PLRE II, s.v. "Julius Nepos 3" at pp. 777-78.

<sup>37</sup> For the critique of the following two methods for assessing the urban population size with further literature on the topic, see Andrew Wilson, "City Sizes and Urbanization in the Roman Empire," in *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, eds. Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 161-96 at pp. 170-72.

<sup>38</sup> William Gerber, *Forschungen in Salona I* (Wien: A. Holder, 1917): at p. 140.

<sup>39</sup> Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo: Aschenhoug; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), at pp. 4-5.

## 1.4 Overview of the Burial Grounds of Salona and the Late Antique Inscribed Tombs

Burial grounds can be found throughout the city's suburb and in the so-called *ager Saloniannus*. The western necropolis developed along the road (the *decumanus*) leading westwards toward Roman settlement of Tragurium (present-day Trogir), and it spread at least to Kaštel Sućurac, ca. two km away from the city walls. The northern burial zone developed along the road that vertically branched from the *decumanus*, bypassed northern city walls and then reconnected with the *decumanus* near the eastern city gates; Christian cemetery of Kapljuč evolved on part of this area. The Christian burial ground of Marusinac was situated ca. 500 m north-western of the city walls. The Christian cemetery of Manastirine developed off the road that headed towards Rupotine and Klis, and was situated just north of the city walls. The eastern necropolis was laid down along the eastern branch of the *decumanus*, which bifurcated near the eastern city gate, and it spread towards the spring of the river Salon (present-day Jadro). The south-eastern necropolis was laid down along the south-eastern branch of the *decumanus* that headed toward Roman Epetium (present-day Stobreč), and the burials seem to have started off from the so-called “Five Bridges” site. Numerous burials were found in the *ager Saloniannus*.

In all three, presumably exclusively, pagan necropolises the earliest burials are dated to the first century C.E., and the latest to the second or third decades of the fourth century in the western necropolis; the eastern burial ground seem to have been most exploited during the third century C.E., and burying in the south-eastern necropolis seem to have ceased at the turn of the third century. Locations in which Christian cemeteries evolved all had pagan history too, and in all of them extramural basilicas were built – first at Kapljuč in the mid-fourth century, and then at Marusinac and Manastirine in the first half of the fifth century.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Nenad Cambi, “Salona und seine Nekropolen,” in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, ed. Henner von Hesberg and Paul Zanker (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung München, 1987): pp. 251-81; Željko Miletić, “Sjeverna salonitanska nekropola,” [Northern Salonitan Necropolis] *RFFZd* Vol. 29 (1989/90): pp. 163-92; Željko Miletić, “Istočna i jugoistočna nekropola Salone” [Eastern and South-Eastern Necropolises of Salona], *RFFZd* Vol. 30 (1990/91): pp.

The problems are that there have been few systematic archaeological excavations, the documentation is not adequate, and what has been unearthed has not been preserved and presented.<sup>41</sup> The western and best researched necropolis was first excavated in the 1820s and the site was in effect pillaged for the Archaeological Museum of Split that had been founded only a couple of years earlier. Later on, Frane Bulić conducted an excavation in 1909/10,<sup>42</sup> and Ante Rendić-Miočević over the period of 1969-72.<sup>43</sup> The last was a rescue excavation in 1986/87 conducted under quite difficult circumstances seeing that a highway was being constructed at the same time; the western necropolis has eventually been covered by the highway.<sup>44</sup> The eastern necropolis per se has not been excavated at all: when the early medieval church was excavated in the 1930s, numerous graves and tombstones were collateral findings, which have not been published yet. As for the south-eastern necropolis, Jagoda Mardešić has conducted rescue excavation at the location of the so-called Japirkova kuća, whose complete publication seems to be in the works.

The most useful and systematic survey of the development of burial grounds of the first to the beginning of the fourth centuries is up to this time the study by Nenad Cambi: he presented at the famous colloquium *Römische Gräberstrassen* held in Munich in 1985, and first published his text in Croatian in the following year,<sup>45</sup> and then in German as the contributor to the publication following

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21-49, esp. at pp. 21-49; Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine, nach dem Materiale der F. Bulić* (Wien, Druck und Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1926); Brøndsted, Dyggve, and Weilbach, *Recherches à Salone*; Ejnar Dyggve and Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona III: Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Wien: R.M. Rohrer, 1939). Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Maja Bonacic-Mandinic, et al., *Salona III. Manastirine: établissement preromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2000).

<sup>41</sup> This paragraph is based on Cambi, "Salona und seine Nekropolen," pp. 251-81, and Nenad Cambi, "Uvod" ("Introduction"), in *Antička Salona*, ed. Nenad Cambi (Split: Knjizevni krug, 1991): pp. 21-26; Miletić, "Istočna i jugoistočna nekropola Salone," pp. 21-49; Miletić, "Sjeverna salonitanska nekropola," pp. 163-93.

<sup>42</sup> Frane Bulić, "Escavi nella necropolis antica pagana di Salona detta Hortus Metrodori negli anni 1909 e 1910," *V.A.H.D.* 32 (1919): pp. 3-66.

<sup>43</sup> Ante Rendić-Miočević, "Salona – lokalitet III 'in horto Metrodori,'" *Arheoloski pregled* Vol. 12 (1970): pp. 113-18. For this excavation, I am not sure if it has been published in its entirety.

<sup>44</sup> Branko Kirigin, Ivo Lokošek, Jagoda Mardešić, and Siniša Bilić, "Salona 86/87: Preliminarni izvještaj sa zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na trasi zaobilaznice u Solinu" [Salona 86/87: Preliminary Report on the Salvage Excavations Conducted on the Bypass at Salona], *V.A.H.D.* 80 (1987): pp. 7-56.

<sup>45</sup> Nenad Cambi, "Salona i njene nekropole" ("Salona and its Necropolis"), *RFFZd* Vol. 25 (1986): pp. 61-107.

the conference.<sup>46</sup> Cambi gave an insightful yet broad-brush account of the development and organization of the three main pagan burial grounds based on the architectural remains and information provided in inscriptions. Željko Miletić published two articles in which he mapped the burials and/or tombstones found in the northern, eastern, and south-eastern necropolises; while his study is a painstaking endeavor, it lacks of historical interpretation.

The excavation of the 1986/87 has confirmed the general picture of the organization, as well as the vertical and horizontal stratigraphy of the western necropolis that Cambi has maintained based on Bulić's excavations. Moreover, it has provided more information regarding the archaeological context of burials and evidence of the funerary rites. A broad-brush presentation of the excavation results will suffice here to get an impression of the diachronic development of the western necropolis. Its main organizational characteristic is a series of tomb enclosures aligned along the road, which had a monumental boundary wall. The enclosures were entered from the side of the road as attested by doors, and a couple of paths between them have been found. Excavators have observed three archaeological strata. The earliest is dated to the early first through some time in the second century C.E. based on diverse small artefacts;<sup>47</sup> nine walled lots belong to the first phase and they are characterized by cremation in the urns<sup>48</sup> and funerary monuments, mostly altars and large stelae.

The second phase, characterized by the transition to the inhumation, ensued during the second century C.E.: out of 216 burials, leaving out burials in sarcophagi, 136 pertain to inhumation<sup>49</sup> and 80 to cremation. Enclosures were reconstructed and enlarged in this phase, presumably to make them

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<sup>46</sup> Nenad Cambi, "Salona und seine Nekropolen:" pp. 251-81.

<sup>47</sup> A bulk of small artefacts has been found: pottery, glass, fibulas, coins, as well as amber artefacts of exquisite craftsmanship. Kirigin et al., "Salona 86/7," at p. 40.

<sup>48</sup> 49 pottery urns, and 38 cylindrical and three rectangular stone urns were found. In most cases urns were individually buried, and majority of them were accompanied with an oil-lamp placed next to the urn, and some of them were also accompanied with the *unguentaria* always found in the ash. These urns were in the corners of the lots since they were used through the fourth C.E. and the strata in the central position were heavily disturbed. Kirigin et al., "Salona 86/7," at pp. 39-40.

<sup>49</sup> There are all sorts of skeleton burials: without architecture, in the amphorae, under the tiles, in the walled grave vaults, wooden coffins, and in the sarcophagi.

more spacious for sarcophagi. They became the prevalent funerary monument in this phase; all were pillaged, some broken, and some bear inscriptions. A particularly significant finding was the family grave made of the stone slabs with the cover bearing a fully preserved inscription that says that Aurelius Lupus made the *piscina* to himself and his wife Iulia Maxima.<sup>50</sup> In addition, two skulls, some bones, and a pin were found inside.<sup>51</sup>

The third phase is dated to the second half of the third and the beginning of the fourth century; the lots were still used intensively, yet due to the lack of space, burials have spread horizontally out of enclosures towards the north. Burials under the tiles, in amphorae or directly in the ground dominate the picture, and most of them contained some artefacts (the most common findings were bottles usually placed near the legs, and rarely on the chest). Skeleton burials are conspicuously poorer than the cremated ones in terms of artefacts.<sup>52</sup>

Christian burial grounds of Manastirine, Marusinac, and Kapljuč fare much better in terms of excavations, preservation, and publications. Frane Bulić had done most of the work at the site of Manastirine by 1890, with occasional, smaller-scale interventions through the 1910s together with Rudolf Egger. On the basis of Bulić's reports and discoveries, Egger prepared a publication of findings with his historical study of Manastirine;<sup>53</sup> the *Forschungen* II had remained authoritative until the Croatian and French archaeologists jointly undertook revisionary excavations, followed by their meticulous publication in 2000.<sup>54</sup> A Danish expedition composed of Johannes Brøndsted, Ejnar

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<sup>50</sup> AE 1989, 0603 = HD018324.

<sup>51</sup> Kirigin et al., "Salona 86/7," at pp. 40-43.

<sup>52</sup> Kiring et al., "Salona 86/7," at pp. 42-43.

<sup>53</sup> Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine: nach dem Materiale F. Bulic* (Wien: Druck and Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1926).

<sup>54</sup> Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Mana Bonačić-Mandinić et al., *Salona III: Manastirine : établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2000). This is the third project in the series of four studies published by the collaboration of Croatian and French archaeologists: Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Catherine Metzger, Pascale Chevalier, *Salona I: Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 1994); Pascale Chevalier, *Salona II: Ecclesiae Dalmatiae: l'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie, IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> s., en dehors de la capitale, Salona* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 1996). Salona IV has been already referenced.

Dyggve, and Frederik Weilbach systematically researched Kapljuč in the 1920s.<sup>55</sup> Finally, Frane Bulić conducted large-scale excavations at the site of Marusinac in the period between 1890 and 1898, and subsequently Dyggve and Egger a smaller revisionary excavation in 1938 for their publication of the site which was then in the works.<sup>56</sup>

Due to their well-preserved cemetery basilicas, these sites have enjoyed the interest of the international scholars from the very beginning. To illustrate, the first International Congress of Early Christian Archaeology was held in Salona/Solin in 1894. The national scholarship has mythologized the sites, while the international studies, on account of the architectural evidence for the development of the cult of saints, have turned them into the paradigmatic examples of the three-stage model of the *martyria*: ordinary burials turned into modest shrines and finally into monumental, communal basilicas.<sup>57</sup> One of the most influential books was Ejnar Dyggve's *History of Salonitan Christianity* in which he provided the synthesis of the excavations and his historical interpretation of the Christian Salona; the book has widely publicized Salona and set the normative narrative regarding the development of the cult of saints and the martyrs' shrines in the city.<sup>58</sup>

Ann Marie Yasin has recently published an important article in which she persuasively challenged the given interpretative paradigm as applied to all three Christian burial grounds in Salona.<sup>59</sup> Her most important reminder pertains to the methodology in as much as scholars tend to approach material evidence with preconceived notions framed by texts, and then attempt to fit the archaeological

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<sup>55</sup> Johannes Brøndsted, "La basilique des cinq martyrs à Kapljuč," in *Recherches à Salone*, ed. Johannes Brøndsted, Ejnar Dyggve, and Frederik Weilbach (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1928-33).

<sup>56</sup> Ejnar Dyggve and Rudolf Egger, *Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Wien: R. M. Rohrer, 1939).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. "After Rome, Salona is the most important urban area on European soil for studies of early Christianity." is the opening sentence of Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, at p. IX.

<sup>58</sup> For example, Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), at pp. 33-4 refers to Dyggve's account of the laywoman Asclepia who placed the martyr Anastasius in her private *memoria* out of which large basilica and veneration place grew. Ann Marie Yasin, "Reassessing Salona's Churches: Martyrium Evolution in Question," *J ECS* Vol. 20/1 (2012): pp. 59-112, at pp. 61-63 refers to other art historians and archaeologists who followed Dyggve.

<sup>59</sup> Ann Marie Yasin, "Reassessing Salona's Churches: *Martyrium* Evolution in Question," *J ECS* 20/1 (2012): 59-112.

material into such narrative. Secondly, she argues against tendency to homogenize the situation on the ground: not just that there are regional variants but different architectural complexes within a single urban context very likely have different trajectories. Her third methodological point concerns the necessity to stay open to several substantiated reconstructions.

According to the interpretation by Brøndsted, the cemetery basilica at Kapljuč was dedicated to the five martyrs: presbyter Asterius and four military martyrs Antiochianus, Gaianus, Paulinianus, and Telius. Yet only Asterius is attested with certainty by the votive inscription inserted in the mosaic pavement, which Brøndsted dated to the beginning of the fifth century, i.e. the mosaic inscription postdates the construction of the church by ca. half a century.<sup>60</sup> Regarding Kapljuč, she demonstrated that there is not enough evidence to plausibly argue for either case, namely, that the so-called tomb G did contain the remains of the four soldier martyrs and that the pit in the apse did hold the remains of Asterius,<sup>61</sup> or that they did not.<sup>62</sup>

As for Marusinac, Yasin debunked the traditional and widely accepted narrative completely. Egger in his hagiographic study on Anastasius connected the *matrona* Asclepia, mentioned in Anastasius' *passio* as the person who placed the martyr in her private family mausoleum, with the so-called mausoleum L. Namely, he thought that that was the place in which Asclepia had placed the corpse. Arguments such as the *fenestella confessionis*, burials *ad sanctos*, the seventh-century inscription of the priest Johannes in which he stated that he had been observing the cult of St. Anastasius,<sup>63</sup> and that

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<sup>60</sup> Brøndsted, "La basilique des cinq martyrs à Kapljuč," at pp. 33-186. Emilio Marin and Marjorie Gaultier have independently sought to confirm the authenticity of the military martyrs, yet argued that they were buried and venerated at Manastirine. Emilio Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheoloski muzej – Split, 1994), at pp. 48-9; Marjorie Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone: De la persécution de Dioclétien au pontificat de Grégoire le Grand (304-604)* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Université Paris-Est Créteil Val de Marne (UPEC), 2006), at pp. 38-41.

<sup>61</sup> According to the accepted view the so-called tomb with columns was considered holy and was respected by the mid-fourth-century basilica, namely, a funerary exedra with an altar was placed above it. Brøndsted, "La basilique des cinq martyrs à Kapljuč," at pp. 38, 179.

<sup>62</sup> Yasin, "Reassessing Salona's Churches," at p. 72-89.

<sup>63</sup> CIL 03, 9527+p. 2139 = HD053167.

the mausoleum was integrated in a complex of the *basilicae geminae* built around 425 under “the bishop Paschasius (ca. 426-443)” were adduced to prove that the burial in the mausoleum L was considered holy.<sup>64</sup> Yasin points out that there is no material evidence for the *villa*, the existence of Asclepia, the identities of the persons buried in the mausoleum L, the translation of a corpse to the presbytery of the newly-built south church, nor for the identity of the saint(s) buried in both the north and the south basilica. She also shows how difficult it is to date the *passio* itself, on which the whole reconstruction hinges, and states that it could have been forged in ca. seventh century to lay claims to the Christian past of Salona. Moreover, Yasin claims that the course of the events may have been inverse, namely that the architectural complex served as a source of inspiration for the *passio*. Finally, Yasin concludes that to dispense with the story of Asclepia and her burial of Anastasius does not affect the situation on the ground: old mausoleum obviously did play “an important role in shaping the perception and status of the saint’s cult.”<sup>65</sup>

Recent revisionary work on the site of Manastirine has already redressed certain Egger’s interpretations. Yasin pushes the evidence a little further and calls into question the notion of the *ad sanctos* burials: the eleven radiating mausolea<sup>66</sup> and the so-called *area* are thought to have been constructed around the so-called tomb O, which Egger had attributed to Domnio, the principal saint worshipped at Manastirine, and to the other martyrs.<sup>67</sup> She proposed that the preceding structure,

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<sup>64</sup> Egger, *Forschungen in Salona* III, at p. 141; Dyggve, *Salonitan Christianity*, at p. 68. Cf. the below discussion of the historicity of the bishop Paschasius and of an epitaph that had been attributed to him.

<sup>65</sup> Yasin, “Reassessing Salona’s Churches,” at pp. 89-103

<sup>66</sup> The construction of the *mausolea* ceased around 360, although burying continued until the 430s, when a cemetery basilica was built, in whose transept both martyrs’ and bishops’ graves were incorporated. Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, with Miroslav Jeremić, “Conclusions,” in *Salona III: Manastirine*, at pp. 638-50.

<sup>67</sup> Authenticity of Domnio is attested by his funerary *mensa* (S IV, 1: 71 at pp. 259-62 = HD034748), yet Gaultier thinks that his function of the first Salonitan bishop might have been the fifth-century invention. Furthermore, two fragments of a damaged funerary *mensa* were reconstructed as to have recorded the names of five martyrs: presbyter Asterius and military martyrs Antiochianus, Gaianus, Paulinianus, and Telius, whose cult, Gaultier argues, was observed at Manastirine not Kapljuč (S IV, 1: 70 at pp. 256-59 = HD035250). Lastly, the third funerary *mensa* testifies that martyr Septimius was also venerated at this cemetery (S IV, 1: 79 at pp. 272-74 = HD034819). Gaultier, *La diffusion*, at pp. 51, 36-7.

against whose wall the mausolea were built, had determined the spatial arrangement of the mausolea, and that the clustering of episcopal burials north of the tomb O may have been governed by both the presence of martyrs and the bishops' wish to be buried with their peers. Thus, the sarcophagus of Primus, the presumed second bishop of Salona and "nephew" of Domnio, may have been placed near the tomb O merely because of the familial relations.<sup>68</sup> Yasin's argument is, I think, somewhat less compelling regarding the *ad sanctos* burial at Manastirine; no model ever works perfectly but it seems that burials tend to gravitate towards what was considered a holy grave.

Coffins are the prevalent epitaphic monument type in late antique Salona; besides them, there are few stelae, vertical slabs, pavement slabs, *mensae*,<sup>69</sup> the so-called *piscinae*,<sup>70</sup> and floor mosaic epitaphs.<sup>71</sup> Nenad Cambi has done the most systematic research on sarcophagi from both the early and late empire, and has synthesized funerary monument typology of the early empire; the following sketchy overview is based on the quoted studies.<sup>72</sup> Three types of stone funerary monuments dominate the record: stelae, altars, and sarcophagi. The first two types were made in the local workshops of Salona from the high-quality local limestone quarried either north of the city in Tragurium (modern Trogir), or on the off-shore island of Brattia (modern Brač). Cambi has stated that stelae and altars of Salona are typologically similar to the Aquileian monuments. Stelae are the earliest type of Roman funerary monument whose production begins at the turn of the first century B.C.E., while the floruit of the monumental types was in the first century C.E.; over the course of the second and third centuries C.E. stelas shrunk in size and elaborateness, and according to Cambi they came to be used by people

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<sup>68</sup> Yasin, "Reassessing Salona's Churches," at pp. 103-11. S IV, 2: 462 at pp. 830-32 = HD032463.

<sup>69</sup> Noël Duval, "Mensae funéraires de Sirmium et de Salone," *V.A.H.D.* 77 (1984): pp. 187-226.

<sup>70</sup> Nenad Cambi, "Salonitan *piscinae*," *V.A.H.D.* 77 (1984): pp. 227-41.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>72</sup> Some of his synthetic works are: Nenad Cambi, *Sarkofaži lokalne produkcije u rimskoj Dalmaciji* (od II. do IV. stoljeca) [Sarcophagi of Local Production from Roman Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 2010); *Atički sarkofaži u Dalmaciji* [Attic Sarcophagi in Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 1988); Cambi, *Sarkofaži na istočnoj Jadranskoj obali, III-VII st. n. e.* [Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast, A. D. III-VII] (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Zagreb, 1975). Cambi, *Antika* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2002).

of the lower social status. The most common sculptural decoration of the monumental stelae are portrait reliefs.<sup>73</sup> Production of the funerary altars seems to have started around the mid-first century C.E., and ceased around the second century C.E.

Sarcophagi began to be both imported and locally produced at the turn of the first century C.E.,<sup>74</sup> yet they became much more widespread around the mid-second century C.E., when they became typologically standardized and mass-produced. Some 2,000 sarcophagi have been found in Dalmatia, most of which come from Salona and are locally produced. Regarding the imported sarcophagi, Attic are the most numerous ones with ca. 120 examples, of which approximately 70-80 are found in Salona, while the sarcophagi from Rome and Docimeum in Asia Minor are represented in a far smaller number. Sarcophagi have ceased to be imported in the first two decades of the fourth century: the last two imports are “The Crossing the Red Sea” and the “Sarcophagus of Hyppolitus and Phaedra,” both are from Rome and both are anepigraphic. Very few imported sarcophagi bear inscriptions. For example, Attic sarcophagi are preserved in a very fragmentary state, and to my knowledge only one Salonitan contains an epitaph.<sup>75</sup> Finally, there are very few early imperial mausolea and the great majority of funerary monuments were standing *sub divo*. The situation somewhat changed on the late antique burial grounds, first with the mausolea built in Manastirine and Marusinac, and subsequently with the construction of basilicas in all three cemeteries when a number of sarcophagi was placed in mausolea or incorporated in church architecture.

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<sup>73</sup> For a typological study of stelae, see Sergio Rinaldi Tufi, *Stele funerarie con ritratti di età Romana nel Museo Archeologico di Spalato, Saggio di una tipologia strutturale*, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 16 (1971): pp. 87-166.

<sup>74</sup> Rite of inhumation has never disappeared completely in Salona, as attested by the three skeleton burials, one of which was in wooden coffin; they were found in the earliest layer of the western necropolis, on the same height as urn burials, whose chronology seems further corroborated by the same artefacts found in both urns and a wooden coffin – that of the so-called Firma oil-lamp with the FORTIS stamp. Kirigin et al. “Salona 86/7,” at p. 39.

<sup>75</sup> CIL 03, 2375+14246 = HD034426.

## 1.5 Methodological Approach and Research Questions

There are conceptual and terminological differences regarding the epigraphic material of the later Roman period. It has traditionally been referred to as the “Christian epigraphy,” and recently as the “late antique,” “later Roman” or “late Latin epigraphy,” concomitantly with the reconceptualization of the period and the establishment of the discipline of late antique studies (although the reconceptualization of the epigraphic record and the epigraphic discipline has been comparatively slow).<sup>76</sup> Partly because of different notions regarding the character of the material, and partly because of the so-called “epigraphic curve,” epigraphic collections and studies based on the later Roman epigraphic record are variously chronologically delimited.

To illustrate, the starting date of the collection of Salona IV is 306, the year in which Constantine became emperor. The demarcation is determined by the emperor’s religious policy, and by the concomitant pervasiveness of the Christianization of society and of the epigraphic visibility of Christians.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, Géza Alföldy’s chronological division of the epigraphic record from Dalmatia follows the politically informed division of the imperial history, and he has thus dated the inscriptions to the *früh Prinzipatszeit* (FPZ), *spät Prinzipatszeit* (SPZ), and *Dominanzzeit* (DZ), specifically from Augustus to 160 C.E., then from 160 to 285, and lastly from Diocletian’s reign that begun in 284 to the end of the imperial period, namely to the end of the sixth century in the case of Salona.<sup>78</sup> In the same way, Benet Salway has chronologically delimited the field of late antique epigraphy by reference

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<sup>76</sup> Compare the different approaches in the most recent handbooks in the English-speaking scholarship: Alison E. Cooley has argued for the traditional concept of “Christian epigraphy” in Alison E. Cooley, “2.3.2 The emergence of Christian epigraphy?,” in *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), at pp. 228-50; contrary to Cooley, Trout, “Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity,” at pp. 170-87, and Benet Salway, “Late Antiquity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: OUP, 2014), at pp. 364-93 have conceptualized it as the “late Latin” and “late antique epigraphy” respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Emilio Marin, and Françoise Prévot, “Avant-propos,” in *Salona IV*, at p. XIII, and Denis Feissel, and Emilio Marin, “Contenu du recueil,” in *Salona IV*, at p. 7.

<sup>78</sup> Géza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969), at pp. 22-23.

to the period of late antiquity demarcated by the emperors Diocletian and Phocas, that is, from 285 to 610.<sup>79</sup>

On the one hand, it may be objected that the epigraphic record might defy the politically defined categorization, while on the other, such categorization seems to be justified by the so-called epigraphic curve that squares with the classification of the history of the Empire. Ramsay MacMullen and Elizabeth A. Meyer have worked out the chronological curve of the epigraphic output from J.-M. Lassère's and Stanislaw Mrozek's studies on the chronological distribution of inscriptions from the Latin West.<sup>80</sup> Lassère has tabulated ca. 4,500 epitaphs from the seven North African sites, and has approximately dated them based on the combination of various criteria, such as the occurrence of the *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* formula, monument typology, onomastics, and paleography.<sup>81</sup> MacMullen has divided those epitaphs that had been broadly dated by (half)-century into periods of 20 years and chronologically charted the number of epitaphs produced from the first through the third century C.E.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, Mrozek used ca. 4,500 both public and private inscriptions from the Latin West in order to chart the number of inscriptions produced per year during the rule of each emperor from the first through the third century C.E.<sup>83</sup> Their results suggest that the production of epitaphs gradually increased over the first and second centuries C.E., markedly peaked under the Severans, namely at the

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<sup>79</sup> Salway, *Late Antiquity*, at p. 364.

<sup>80</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *The American Journal of Philology* Vol. 103, No. 3 (1982): pp. 233-246, esp. at pp. 242-43; Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs," *JRS* 80 (1990): 74-96.

<sup>81</sup> J.-M. Lassère, "Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Africa," *Antiquités africaines* 7 (1973), 7-152, tables at 133-51.

<sup>82</sup> According to the graph, two rises in production appear to have occurred: 30 and 60-80 epitaphs were produced per year during the periods of 100-120 and 190-210 C.E. respectively. MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," at pp. 242-43.

<sup>83</sup> Mrozek's chart has shown that from the low point of three inscriptions per year during the rule of Titus and Domitianus, there was a steady growth until Commodus when the production reached ten inscriptions per year; then a sharp increase occurred with a peak of 18 inscriptions per year during the rule of Septimius Severus, after which an abrupt decline came about with a low point of six inscriptions per year during the rule of Alexander Severus. Stanislaw Mrozek, "À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire," *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 113-18.

turn of the second and third centuries C.E., and then precipitously dropped in the second and third decades of the third century C.E. Both curves suggest that the low levels of epigraphic production reached at ca. mid-third century C.E. were maintained until the end of the century, which is the upper end of the period these studies have covered.

David Cherry has levelled criticism at their methods and results, and has argued that a sound epigraphic curve cannot be established at all. Cherry has pointed to the conjectural and circular quality of Lassère's dating methods with the effect that he appears to have charted the modern dating techniques rather than the inscribed monuments. With respect to MacMullen's curve, Cherry has also shown the faultiness of merging and charting together the material Lassère dated more precisely, which is scant, and the one he dated loosely to a period of a century or two, which is much more abundant. Namely, the dated epitaphs - however conjecturally dated - and not the averaged undated ones, determine the shape of the curve, and thus bias the remainder of the material, despite its quantitative prevalence.<sup>84</sup>

Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho has also attempted to determine the chronological parameters of the "Christian epigraphic revival," that is, of the epigraphic output in late antiquity, and based his argument for the spread of Christianity on the chronological distribution of funerary inscriptions.<sup>85</sup> His curves suggest that there was a somewhat late revival of the late antique epigraphic output. Specifically, it first began to increase in Rome and Belgica I (that is, in Trier, which was one of the imperial residences in late antiquity) only around the mid-fourth century, whereby the epigraphic production seemingly steeply peaked in the last quarter of the fourth century in Rome, while it maintained an even level throughout the fifth century and gradually declined over the sixth and seventh centuries in Trier. In Carthage, the habit enjoyed comeback in the first half of the fifth and again in the first half of the sixth

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<sup>84</sup> David Cherry, "Re-Figuring the Roman Epigraphic Habit," *The Ancient History Bulletin* 9 (1995): pp. 143-56.

<sup>85</sup> Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West," *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), pp. 431-62 with Figures 1-8.

century. In Spain and Viennensis, the curve peaked in the first half of the sixth century, while the North African towns of Maktar, Haïdra, and Sbeitla experienced the revival the latest, that is, in the latter decades of the sixth century.<sup>86</sup>

Along the lines of Cherry's objection to Lassère's and MacMullen's method, it should be pointed out that Galvão-Sobrinho has worked with internally dated and externally datable Christian epitaphs that make up part of the total of Christian inscriptions, and the disparity between the figures of dated/datable and undated epitaphs is most pronounced in the case of Rome's catacomb inscriptions, whereby the dated ones comprise less than 10 percent of the total.<sup>87</sup> Christian epitaphs are comparatively easier to date than the pagan ones because one's day of death is thought of as one's *dies natalis* into the eternal life, and Christians tended to record it.<sup>88</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho has worked with 2178 dated inscriptions from Rome, and his curve hinges on the occurrence of dating formulae whose usage was not spread evenly throughout the period of more than three centuries (from the late third through the sixth century), but rather subjected to the local fashion of recording the day of one's death.<sup>89</sup> Carlo Carletti has estimated that there are ca. 2500 Christian epitaphs from Rome which are dated *ad annum* mostly by means of consular dating.<sup>90</sup> Carlo Carletti's figures of the chronological distribution of internally dated epitaphs per century square with Galvão-Sobrinho's curve of the production of epitaphs in Rome. Namely, out of ca. 2,500 epitaphs dated *ad annum*, 2 percent belong to the third century, 55 percent belong to the fourth, 34 percent to the fifth, and 9 percent to the sixth century.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, at pp. 458-62, with Figures 1-7.

<sup>87</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, at pp. 437-45 for the discussion of the epigraphic evidence from the late antique Latin West.

<sup>88</sup> Brent D. Shaw, "Season of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome," *JRS* 86 (1996): at p. 103 for the notion of one's death as one's birth as expressed in epitaphs. Also, Carlo Carletti, "Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano: prassi e ideologia," in *Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2, Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, ed. Ivan di Stefano Manzella (Vatican City: Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 1997), pp. 143-64 at pp. 150-51.

<sup>89</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, Figure 1. Compare to Carletti, *Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano*, n. 46 at p. 163.

<sup>90</sup> Carletti, *Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano*, n. 46 at p. 163.

<sup>91</sup> Carletti, *Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano*, at p. 151.

The zoomed-in distribution of the occurrence of the dating formula over the course of the fourth century would very likely account for the steep rise of the curve in the last quarter of the fourth century when the number of epitaphs doubled from ca. 300 epitaphs over the period of 350-375 and 400-425 to ca. 600 epitaphs over the period of 375-400, which is otherwise difficult to explain historically.

As for Salona, the trend to record one's day of death came somewhat later than in Rome, namely in the second half of the fourth century and enjoyed its *floruit* in the fifth century. One's death was dated either by consuls or by indiction. The former dating system, of which there are 89 examples, was in use from 358 to 539, with 27, 54, and 8 instances in the second half of the fourth, throughout the fifth and in the sixth century respectively.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, there are 46 examples of dating by indiction, of which 17 are surely and 14 probably from the fifth century.<sup>93</sup> Thus, the dating formulae in Salona are observably concentrated in the fifth century: 54 out of 89 examples of consular dating and ca. 31 out of 46 instances of dating by indiction belong to the fifth century.

Galvão-Sobrinho's curves may thus not be a reliable chronological index neither for the revival of the epigraphic habit nor for the spread of Christianity, but he may have charted the trend to record one's day of death with the result of misleadingly taking the curve as the evidence for the fluctuations of the epigraphic output. Compare that Galvão-Sobrinho left out ca. 500 pre-Constantinian catacomb epitaphs, which are stratigraphically more precisely dated for his sample not to be biased towards earlier dates; while at this point aware of the sampling bias, he nevertheless slipped into the methodological faultiness.<sup>94</sup>

The resultant chronological distribution of the production of inscriptions over the first six centuries C.E. has chopped the third century and divided it between the traditional fields of "Roman"

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<sup>92</sup> Salona IV, at pp. 104-07.

<sup>93</sup> Salona IV, at pp. 107-08; Emilio Marin, "La datation indictionnelle en Dalmatie," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen-Âge - IIIe-XIIIe siècle, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. n° 604*, 1981, ed. Jean-Marie Leroux (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984), pp. 149-62.

<sup>94</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, at p. 442.

and “Christian epigraphy,” with the interim in which there was barely any production.<sup>95</sup> Barbara E. Borg has thus remarked that “the third century seems to have no existence of its own” with respect to the publications of archaeological evidence and of epitaphs, since funerary monuments that resemble the second-century ones are automatically dated to the beginning of the third century and discussed in the context of the high empire, while those that resemble the fourth-century monuments are dated to the Tetrarchy at the earliest and treated in the context of late antiquity, and she has sought to redress the traditional method in her study dedicated to the third-century funerary monuments from Rome.<sup>96</sup> Borg’s objection is valid, but until the systematic treatment of Salona’s epigraphic heritage, namely of its greater part belonging to the first through the third centuries will have been completed, the present thesis will of necessity work within the framework of the more traditional chronological parameters of late antique epigraphy, and will set its lower limit at ca. 250 while the upper limit is self-determined at the beginning of the seventh century when the last inscribed stone funerary monuments were set up.<sup>97</sup> I have read a little less than 5,000 published inscriptions from Salona and its territory, and I have selected those that scholars have dated to the specified period. As noted above, Croatian and French scholars have recently published their ca. 20-year work on the epigraphic record of the fourth to the seventh centuries.<sup>98</sup> Salona IV is a valuable epigraphic corpus in which each inscription is provided with a thorough commentary. Other comprehensive studies of the inscriptions and inscribed

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<sup>95</sup> Benet Salway has correlated the sharp decline of the epigraphic output from the 240s to the 270s with the “most acute period of the “third-century crisis.”” Salway, *Late Antiquity*, at pp 264-65.

<sup>96</sup> Barbara E. Borg, *Crisis and Ambition, Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century C.E. Rome* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), at pp. 1-3, quote at p. 2. Alföldy has also remarked that the epigraphic record would better serve us divided into individual centuries, but that inscriptions from Dalmatia cannot be so precisely dated. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, at p. 22.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. for example, Charlotte M. Roueché’s study of late antique inscriptions from Aphrodisias begins likewise at ca. 250. Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, revised second edition, 2004, <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004>>, ISBN 1 897747 17 9.

<sup>98</sup> Eds. Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, and François Prévot, *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IVe – VIIe siècles* (Rome, Split: École française de Rome, Musée archéologique de Split, 2010). The collaboration initiated by Noel Duval and Emilio Marin was established in 1983. Françoise Prévot and Emilio Marin, “Avant-propos,” in Salona IV, at p. XIII. For the preliminary report on their new epigraphic corpus of late antique material, see Emilio Marin, *Starokršćanska Salona* [Early Christian Salona] (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1988), at p. 19.

monuments are Géza Alföldy's onomastic manual based on the Roman inscriptions from Dalmatia, in which Salona occupies the most prominent place due to the sheer size of its corpus.<sup>99</sup> Nenad Cambi has done the most systematic work on the sarcophagi from Salona and Dalmatia, and since sarcophagus is the prevalent type of the epitaphic monument in the late antique Salona, the thesis drew on his catalogues and studies of sarcophagi.<sup>100</sup> Finally, the *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* was a valuable research tool and reference source for the inscriptions from Salona. The thesis has selected epitaphs as dated in the listed comprehensive publications, and the individual articles to which the thesis will refer in its further discussions.

It is essential to keep a diachronic perspective for the productive analysis of social groups as recorded in epitaphs, the topic which the third chapter tackles. Nevertheless, the epitaphs are, as the standard expression goes, "notoriously difficult to date," and the dating methods have been labeled as arbitrary.<sup>101</sup> The problem of dating epigraphic material, already raised in the discussion of the epigraphic curves, is inherent in the source material, and despite the introduction of the date of one's death as the new element in epitaphs of Christians, it remains difficult to date late antique funerary monuments more narrowly. Namely, suggested dates of the monument production often range the timespan of a century, and even such broad dating in some cases may be contested.

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<sup>99</sup> Géza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969).

<sup>100</sup> Nenad Cambi, *Sarkofazi na istočnoj Jadranskoj obali, III-VII st. n. e.* [Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast, A. D. III-VII], (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Zagreb, 1975); Cambi, *Atički sarkofazi u Dalmaciji* [Attic Sarcophagi in Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 1988); Cambi, *Sarkofazi lokalne produkcije u rimskoj Dalmaciji (od II. do IV. stoljeća)* = *Die Sarkophage der lokalen Werkstätten in römischen Dalmatien (2. bis 4. Jb. n. Chr.)* (Split: Književni krug, 2010).

<sup>101</sup> Mouritsen and Galvão-Sobrinho have employed the exact phrase regarding the dating of the early imperial pagan and later Roman Christian epitaphs respectively. Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150 (2004): 281-304, at p. 285; Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, at p. 438. Cherry, *Re-Figuring the Roman Epigraphic Habit*, esp. at pp. 143-50.

Given the comprehensiveness of his onomastic study of Roman Dalmatia,<sup>102</sup> and the lack of the thorough epigraphic treatment and publication of most of the inscribed monuments, Alföldy has assigned the inscriptions to the FPZ, SPZ, or DZ based mostly on their content, specifically on the nomenclature and (epitaphic) formulae.<sup>103</sup> Salona IV has employed more comprehensive criteria that, besides the epitaph content, include paleography, stratigraphy if a monument was found *in situ*, and monument characteristics.<sup>104</sup> Cambi's approach, on the other hand, is rather archaeological and art-historical, and he has dated coffins predominantly based on their characteristics. Attempts to distinguish between the pre- and post-300 C.E. inscribed monuments seem to be comparatively more controversial for a twofold reason.<sup>105</sup> On the one hand, there is a continuity of the two-name system, the epitaphic formulae, and the sarcophagus as the typical monument type through the third and fourth centuries, while on the other, there is an underlying tendency to assign pagan monuments to the third century and those containing an element that can be interpreted as Christian to the fourth century. The latter scholarly bias will be the topic of the second chapter. The following examples ought to demonstrate problems pertinent to dating.

Authors of Salona IV have supposed that the formula *b(ene)m(erenti)* disappeared at the beginning of the fourth century,<sup>106</sup> and it is generally thought that the formula had currency in the high empire.<sup>107</sup> They did not reason their assumption, but presumably based it on the fact that the formula does not appear in any of the precisely dated fourth-century epitaphs, which are in minority and for

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<sup>102</sup> Alföldy has worked with ca. 4100 enough-preserved inscriptions which recorded ca. 7,400 individuals. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, at p. 10.

<sup>103</sup> For his dating criteria, see Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, at pp. 27-30.

<sup>104</sup> For their selection criteria for the post-306 C.E. monuments, see Nancy Gauthier, "Critères de selection," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 21-24. These are the dating principles observed throughout their catalogue whereby there is a brief reasoning for the suggested dates for each inscription.

<sup>105</sup> See also Alföldy's remark that the most problematic issue was to decide whether an inscription should be dated to the first or to the second half of the second century C.E., and before or after 285 C.E. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, at p. 22. Alföldy nevertheless did not attempt to date late Roman inscriptions more narrowly, but only to the three-century period of his *Dominanzzeit*.

<sup>106</sup> *Salona IV*, at p. 22.

<sup>107</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, at p. 29.

the most part belong to the last decades of the fourth century, when the consular dating appeared in epitaphs as it was shown above.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, there are ca. 3,000 attestations of the *b(ene)m(erenti)* formula in the Christian epitaphs of Rome,<sup>109</sup> and while the currency of formulae may have been highly localized, the fact that the *b(ene)m(erenti)* formula appears also in the Christian context suggests that it should not be a priori taken as a criterion for the exclusion from the fourth-century corpus and dated to the third-century.

There are four exceptions to their systematic exclusion from their corpus of the epitaphs containing the *b(ene)m(erenti)* formula, and the three of them will be discussed since they are illustrative of the scholarly bias.<sup>110</sup> *Suellius Septiminius* set up a sarcophagus to his *benemerenti* spouse *Desidiana Profutura* and to his son *Suellius Septiminius*; the tomb is one of the very few completely preserved sarcophagi, and it can be safely stated that neither the epitaph nor the coffin and its lid contain any pagan or Christian elements. Alföldy has dated the epitaph to the high empire, while Egger, followed by ILJUG, and Salona III and Salona IV, has dated it to the first half of the fourth century. More precisely, Egger has preferred an earlier date of the late third/beginning of the fourth century, whereas Salona III and IV have dated it to the somewhat later decades of the fourth century.<sup>111</sup> What matters

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<sup>108</sup> CIL 03, 9597+p. 2140 = HD034756. ILJUG 2590 = HD035029 and ILJUG 2643 = HD035077 both dated to 385. ILJUG 0126 = HD018019, dated to ca. 313-324. CIL 03, 2654+8652 = HD054211 dated to 358. CIL 03, 9506 = HD034773. CIL 03, 9507+p. 2139 dated to 378. CIL 03, 9509+p. 2139 = HD034776 dated to 385. CIL 03, 9508 = HD034778 dated to 382. CIL 03, 12861 = HD034780. CIL 03, 8921 = HD013953 dated to 301-330.

<sup>109</sup> Carletti, *Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano*, at p. 151.

<sup>110</sup> S IV, 1: 106 at pp. 326 and 220 at pp. 494-97; S IV, 2: 492 at pp. 863-65 and 666 at pp. 1046-47. The epitaph containing the *benemerenti* formula has been included in the corpus on onomastic grounds, specifically the individual cognomen is *Martyrius* (CIL 03, 6393+p. 1510 = S IV, 1: 106 at pp. 326-27 = HD063455). The cognomen *Martyrius* seems to have been exclusively a Christian name. Moreover, Nancy Gauthier has argued that it must have belonged to the “Peace of the Church,” which ensued Constantine’s promulgation of the Edict of Milan, as an homage to the “supreme testimony of the Christian faith.” Compare to that the fact that neither the text nor monument contain any pagan or Christian symbols. Nancy Gauthier, *Salona IV*, at pp. 326-27. For the name *Martyrius*, Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1963), at pp. 78 and 86, 98-99, 100, 114, 116-17.

<sup>111</sup> CIL 03, 9028 = FS II: 78 at p. 74 = ILJUG 2356 at pp. 251-52 = S IV, 1: 220 at pp. 494-97. *Salona III, Manastirine*, at p. 606. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Desidienus, Desidenus” at p. 81, “Septimius” at p. 53. Egger and Salona III read the archaeological context of the monument somewhat differently. Egger has seen it as contemporaneous to his *Landbaus* and has dated it to the end of the third or the very beginning of the fourth century. Salona III has argued that its installation post-dated the construction of the so-called *area*. The stratigraphy seems not to be clear, and does

more is the apparent rationale for its inclusion in Salona IV, that is, the coffin's location in the "Christian site within the cemetery of Manastirine."<sup>112</sup> Along the same lines, the discrepancy between the religiously neutral coffin, and its location in the "Christian cemetery" has caused tension among the scholars, who have attempted to resolve it by reconstructing the letters of *Aga[---] // D[---]* inscribed in the lid acroteria as the *Aga[pe]*, namely as Profutura's Christian *signum*.<sup>113</sup> The meaning of the letters is unclear, and neither ILJUG nor EDH have accepted such reconstruction, while Salona IV, unlike Salona III, seems somewhat reserved.

On the contrary, the sarcophagus set up by *Cassia Decorata* to her spouse *Aurelius Aeneas*, which shares the same characteristics with respect to both the formulae and the monument typology, was excluded. Alföldy has dated the epitaph to the high empire like the above-discussed one, ILJUG has dated the inscribed coffin to the later third century, and Salona IV has relegated it to the pre-fourth century period.<sup>114</sup> Namely, the monument is neutral with respect to the religious affiliation of its occupants, and it was found ca. one kilometer westwards from Salona, near the road toward Tragurium. There was therefore no reason to group it with the monuments of the "*aetas Christiana*." The traditional conception of the fourth century as the *aetas Christiana* and of Manastirine as the paradigmatic Christian cemetery developed in the fourth century seems to have influenced the reading and dating of Profutura's epitaph so to make the coffin fit in the scholars' mental image of the period and site. These two sarcophagi suggest above all that the chronological criterion for the corpus of late antique inscriptions cannot stem from the imperial religious policy as it dissociates monuments that belong to the same cultural milieu and thus ought to be studied together.

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not provide firm grounds to opt for either Egger's or Salona III's dating. For the so-called *area*, see *Salona III, Manastirine*, at pp. 534-54.

<sup>112</sup> "...à cause de leur situation en un emplacement chrétien au sein de la nécropole de Manastirine, ..." *Salona IV*, at p. 22.

<sup>113</sup> *Salona III, Manastirine*, at p. 606.

<sup>114</sup> ILJUG 2125 at p. 208 = HD021989. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Cassius" at p. 73 and s.v. "Aeneas" at p. 142. *Salona IV*, at p. 23.

Along the same lines of the search for the early Christians, two monuments that contain the formula *benemerenti* were included in Salona IV as commemorating Christians and thus dated to the period after 300 C.E., yet in both cases the interpretation of the evidence is overstretched. In the case of the fragmentarily preserved sarcophagus that *Maximi* / [*nia?*] *n(us?)* set up for his *benemerenti* spouse, both the elaborate decoration and figural reliefs on the front panel, and the wording, namely the *benemerenti* formula and the *memoria*, suggest the third-century date, yet the slightest and highly suspect possibility to read the name as the corrupt form of the name Martyria has led to the classification of the monument as Christian.<sup>115</sup> The last three lines run as follows:

[ ]EMORIA POSVIT L  
OCV CONCESSVM  
ARTORIAM ERONTIMAM

Gauthier dissociates from the *concessum* its final -m of the accusative ending, and reads it as the first letter of the proper name in the accusative case of *Martorium*, namely Martyria. EDH corrects the reading and offers a more plausible alternative reconstruction, specifically *l/ocu(m) concessum / Artorium* <F=E>*ronti*<n=M>*am*. Another case is the tombstone, by now lost and of unknown typology, for which CIL has recorded that there were two doves below the text. Salona IV has straightforwardly taken this as the evidence of the patrons' affiliation to Christianity.<sup>116</sup>

The authors of Salona IV have also adduced the statistical argument pertaining to the monument typology; namely, in cases in which the onomastics and formulae, in cases in which the onomastics and formulae did not have a peculiar mark and could alike be dated to the third and fourth centuries, they tended to assign the fourth-century date to the epitaphs originating from sarcophagi.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> CIL 03, 9226 = S IV, 2: 491 at pp. 863-65 = HD063426.

<sup>116</sup> CIL 03, 9269 = S IV, 2: 666 at pp. 1046-47 = HD063427.

<sup>117</sup> *Salona IV*, at p. 22.

There is a group of sarcophagi most of which spouses set up either jointly to themselves or individually to each other, the persons were typically designated with a two-name form, and there is a conspicuous lack of evidence for their religious affiliation in most cases. Alföldy has dated them to the high empire, and Salona IV has included them in the corpus as belonging to the early fourth century.<sup>118</sup>

On the other hand, there are a couple of inscriptions which Alföldy, Ernst Diehl, or Otto Hirschfeld have dated to the later Roman empire, that is, but the authors of Salona IV have excluded them from the corpus as earlier than the fourth century adducing the statistical argument as well. Specifically, the tombstones in question are either stelae or slabs, and/or the epitaph is prefaced with the *D(is)M(anibus)* abbreviation, and both elements were rare in the fourth century, as the reasoning goes.<sup>119</sup>

They have dated several vertically standing slabs and 8 stelae, and a few attestations of the *D(is)M(anibus)* formula to the fourth century. With respect to these exceptional instances, the slab and the formula *benemerenti* are overruled by the name Martyrius, which seems to date the monument to the fourth century,<sup>120</sup> or the epitaph content dates the funerary stela to the first decades of the fourth century as in the case of the tombstone of *Aur(elius) Valerinus*.<sup>121</sup> Yet in some instances it is unclear why some monuments were included, such as the stela of *Aeli(a) Iobina(!)*, whose epitaph moreover contains the invocation to the Manes,<sup>122</sup> or the stela of *Aur(elia) Eupateria*,<sup>123</sup> seeing that the analogous

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<sup>118</sup> CIL 03, 2108 = S IV, 2: 397 = HD063059; CIL 03, 2217+8609 = S IV, 2: 390 = HD062200; CIL 03, 2226+p. 1031 = S IV, 2: 396 = HD062884; CIL 03, 8712+pp. 1510, 2135 = S IV, 1: 378 = HD034741; CIL 03, 8823 = S IV, 2: 484; CIL 03, 8924 = S IV, 1: 380 = HD063459; CIL 03, 14751 = S IV, 1: 379 = HD061427; ILJUG 2129 = S IV, 2: 392 = HD034624; ILJUG 2757 = S IV, 1: 376 = HD035184.

<sup>119</sup> *Salona IV*, pp. 122-24. CIL 03, 2296 = HD062834; CIL 03, 2612 = HD062494; CIL 03, 2623+1510 = HD062498; CIL 03, 8754+p. 1510 = HD034747; CIL 03, 8759 = HD062555; CIL 03, 8862 = HD054538; CIL 03, 8918+pp. 1510, 2136; CIL 03, 9240 = HD063395.

<sup>120</sup> CIL 03, 6393 = S IV, 1: 106 = HD063455.

<sup>121</sup> ILJUG 0126 = S IV, 1: 136 = HD018019.

<sup>122</sup> CIL 13917 = S IV, 1: 134 = HD063370.

<sup>123</sup> CIL 03, 12949 = S IV, 1: 135 = HD063460.

cases, such as the tabula of *Numeria Irene*<sup>124</sup> or the monument of *Ulpinus Paulinus*, were left out.<sup>125</sup> The thesis has included these epitaphs among its group of inscriptions dated approximately to the latter half of the third century, and they will be analyzed together with the sarcophagi, stelae, and slabs that Salona IV has assigned to the early fourth century, as they seem to form an organic unity.

Besides few epitaphs which scholars have more precisely dated to the second half of the third century,<sup>126</sup> few epitaphs dated variously to the third and fourth centuries have been included.<sup>127</sup> Also, the above-mentioned sarcophagus of *Aurelius Aeneas* and the sarcophagus of *Aur(elia) Vernilla* have been included because they are analogous to the examples which Salona IV has dated to the beginning of the fourth century except for the *benemerenti* formula in the case of the epitaph of Aeneas.<sup>128</sup> The formula is comparatively rare yet it is attested in the fourth-century epitaphs, and the thesis has thus included the monument among the later-third century group.

Moreover, the thesis has included two epitaphs which have been published only in CIL, and which Alföldy has assigned to the DZ and EDH has accepted it.<sup>129</sup> In neither instances the monument type is known, yet the epitaph of *Aurelius Eutic(h)ianus(!)* seems to be inscribed on a stela or a vertical

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<sup>124</sup> CIL 03, 9240 = HD063395.

<sup>125</sup> CIL 03, 2612 = HD062494.

<sup>126</sup> AE 1996, 1209 = HD039969 = Dražen Maršić, “Novi nadgrobnji natpisi s jugoistočne salonitanske nekropole” [New funerary inscriptions from the south-east necropolis in Salona], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 35 (1995/96): pp. 101-26. CIL 03, 14738 = ILJUG 2305 = HD032301. ILJUG 0726 = HD034145 = Branimir Gabričević, “Inscriptiones Dalmatiae nondum editae,” *V AHD* 63/64 (1961/62): pp. 221-48, no. 6 at pp. 226-27. CIL 03, 9360 = HD063212 = Gabričević, *Inscriptiones Dalmatiae nondum editae*, no. 6 at p. 227. CIL 03, 8754+p. 1510 = ILJUG 2358 = HD034747. AE 1989, 0603 = HD018324 = Branko Kirigin, Ivo Lokošek, Jagoda Mardešić, Siniša Bilić, “Salona 86/87, Preliminarni izvještaj sa zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na trasi zaobilaznice u Solinu” [Salona 86/87, Preliminary report about the rescue excavations on the route of Solin by-pass], *V AHD* 80 (1987): pp. 7-56 at pp. 41-42.

<sup>127</sup> CIL 03, 2296 = HD062834: *Salona IV*, at pp. 122-23 has excluded it as earlier than the fourth century; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Considius” at p. 77 has dated it to the DZ, and EDH dates it to 201-400. AE 2006, 1011 = HD056708. CIL 03, 09240 = HD063395: *Salona IV*, at pp. 123-24 has excluded it as earlier than the fourth century; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Numerius” at p. 1-3 has dated it to the DZ, and EDH to 151-400.

<sup>128</sup> CIL 03, 02117 = HD063051: Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Vernilla” at p. 325 and EDH have dated the coffin of *Aur(elia) Vernilla* to the DZ (300-600); Salona IV has not made mention of it. ILJUG 2125 = HD021989.

<sup>129</sup> CIL 03, 2007 + p. 1030 = HD054346. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Gra(e)cio” at p. 212 and s.v. “Eutyichianus, Euticianus” at pp. 198-99. CIL 03, 2027 + p. 1509 = HD054759. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Carosus” at p. 171 and “Ursacius” at p. 316.

slab based on the layout of the text. Both funerary texts are prefixed with the *D(is)M(anibus)* invocation, the commemorative formulae are not specific and are alike common in the (earlier) third and fourth centuries. Four individuals are recorded and they are designated with the two-name form, of which three individuals carry imperial nomina of Aurelius and Flavius, The currency of their cognomina of Carosus and Ursacia, and Eutyechianus and Gr(a)ecio point to somewhat later high-imperial and late antique period.<sup>130</sup> The inscriptions could be plausibly assigned to the first half of the third century, yet the thesis has concurred with Alföldy and EDH, and has grouped them with other later third-century epitaphs. Finally, the funerary monument which *Aur(elius) Candianus ex col(legio) Veneris* set up to himself and his (family) is included.<sup>131</sup> Only CIL has published the epitaph, and the data about monument typology and its characteristics are lacking. Alföldy has dated it to the high empire and EDH to 171-300. Salona IV has not considered it, although it has included analogous funerary inscription of

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<sup>130</sup> The names coined with the suffix -osus/sa originated in North Africa at a “comparatively late date.” Such name-formations were common in “Christian times” when they “passed into general use elsewhere.” Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at p. 122. Also, Kajanto has stated that while cognomina coined with suffix -osus/sa were common in the later empire, they cannot be thought of as exclusively Christian nor that some were “coined to embody Christian ideas,” specifically that some were Christian “names of humility.” Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions or Rome and Carthage*, 1963, at pp. 66-67. For the distribution of the cognomen Carosus/-sa, see Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at p. 284, and OPEL II, s.v. “Carosus” at p. 38. This is the only attestation in Salona and Dalmatia. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Carosus” at p. 171. The name Ursacius/ia appears to have been nearly two times more attested in the epitaphs of Christians. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at p. 329. In Dalmatia, the name is attested four times exclusively in Salona. The earliest attestation of the name was the soldier of the *co(bo)rs VIII volunt(ariorum)* whose funerary monument can be safely dated to the first half of the third century (CIL 03, 2002+p. 1030 = HD054183). For the *co(bo)rs VIII voluntariorum* in Dalmatia, see Ivan Matijević, “*Cobors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* i neki njezini pripadnici u službi namjesnika provincije Dalmacije,” [*Cobors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* and some of its Members Employed by the Consul of the Province of Dalmatia], *Tusculum* 2 (2009): pp. 45-58, esp. at pp. 47-48 with summary in English at p. 58. Besides the case under consideration of Attigia Ursacia, two other examples are included in Salona IV as belonging to the later Roman period (CIL 03, 14893 = S IV, 2: 434 = HD035128; CIL 03, 2108 = S IV, 2: 397 = HD063059). Next, cognomina coined with suffixes -anus and -ianus were also characteristic of the later empire, specifically the cognomen Eutyechianus is ubiquitous in the Christian record. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, at pp. 62-63. Besides the present case, the name Eutyechianus is also attested in the sarcophagus dated to ca. 351-450 in Salona (CIL 03, 6400 = S IV, 1: 227 = HD063456). In Dalmatia, outside of Salona, the name is twice attested on the small-size funerary stelae, and in both instances men were identified with the three-name form (CIL 03, 1881 = HD053594, and CIL 03, 2851+p. 1037 = HD056757). Their name-form seems to indicate a comparatively earlier date than the one suggested for Aurelius Eutyechianus. See also, Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Eutyechianus, Euticianus” at pp. 198-99. This is the only attestation of the name Gr(a)ecio. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Graecio” at p. 212; Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at p. 204; OPEL II, s.v. “Graecio DAL 1” at p. 169.

<sup>131</sup> CIL 03, 2106 = HD063061. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Candianus” at p. 170.

*Aur(elius) Ursacius Salonitanus ex collegio Veneris*, which Alföldy has also dated to the high empire and EDH to 201-400.<sup>132</sup> Salona IV has included it because the monument in question is a sarcophagus, and because the *collegium fabrum Veneris* is attested in the honorific inscription which the association dedicated to the Caesar Flavius Constans in between 333-337, and in the three other funerary inscriptions datable to the late third and fourth centuries.<sup>133</sup> On analogy with the given four epitaphs and the honorific inscription, and since the nomenclature, simplicity of commemorative formula, the lack of the *D(is)M(anibus)* dedication fit very well in the group of the later third and early fourth century funerary inscriptions, the thesis has included it among the late antique inscriptions.

I felt obliged to justify the material which I have selected as assignable to the latter half of the third century, because the systematic treatment and publication of the pre-fourth-century inscriptions is missing. As for the inscriptions of the fourth to the early seventh centuries, the thesis mostly adheres to the dates suggested by Salona IV, and occasionally suggests nuanced dating.

The discussion of the dating principles which scholars differently determined as regards the late antique record of Salona shows that the recurrent critique of the attempts to date the bulk of inscribed funerary monuments as conjectural is to an extent valid. The arbitrariness is above all due to the essential quality of the source material, and occasionally to the preconceived notions of the epigraphic typicality of a certain period, and to the (religious) bias of scholars. The diachronic perspective is nevertheless crucial for the historical analysis of the epigraphic record, and the thesis

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<sup>132</sup> CIL 03, 2108 = S IV, 2: 397 = HD063059. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Ursacius” at p. 316.

<sup>133</sup> Salona IV, 2: 397 at pp. 714-15, especially at p. 715. For the honorific inscription to the Caesar Flavius Constans: CIL 03, 1981+p. 1509 = S IV, 1: 4 at pp. 145-46 = HD000677 = LSA 1145. Three more members of the given college were commemorated in funerary inscriptions: S IV, 2: 417 at pp. 753-54 = HD018330 (Salona IV has dated it broadly to the fourth century, and EDH to 271-330), S IV, 2: 468 at pp. 837-38 = HD064350 (both have dated it to the fourth century), CIL 03, 8824 = S IV, 2: 650 at pp. 1028-29 = HD062983 (both have dated it to the fourth century). There is yet another inscription which mentions the *collegium Veneris*, too fragmentarily preserved for its function to be determined (AE 2006, 1019 = HD056694 = Ivan Matijević, “Neobjavljeni natpisi iz Žrnovnice i Salone,” [Unedited inscriptions from Žrnovnica and Salona], *VAHD* 99 (2006): pp. 145-52 with summary in English at p. 152, no. 3 at p. 150. Ivan Matijević has dated it to the second half of the third century on analogy with the mentioned epitaph of *Aur(elius) Ursacius Salonitanus* and the epitaph under consideration of *Aur(elius) Candianus*.

will attempt to keep it.<sup>134</sup> Thus, the selected later-third century epitaphs will be analyzed together with the sarcophagi, stelae and slabs that Salona IV has assigned to the early fourth century as they seem to form an organic unity. Also, the epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries will be grouped together because they display similar characteristics with respect to the monument typology, nomenclature and formulae.

Although the focus of the thesis is on the late antique epigraphic record, along the lines of the view that “early imperial debate has obvious implications for late Latin epigraphy,”<sup>135</sup> the later Roman epitaphs, part of which commemorates Christians,<sup>136</sup> will be considered in perspective with the inscribed funerary monuments of the preceding two centuries. Likewise, the subject of the late antique epigraphic habit, discussed in the next chapter, and the topic of the patterns of epitaphic commemoration and its implications for the social history-writing will be discussed in their *longue durée*.

The third chapter also takes a closer look at the methods and issues pertinent to the socio-demographic history of the first through the third centuries, which ought to set the stage for the analysis of social groups as recorded in late antique epitaphs. Thereby, the thesis attempts not to revolve its discussions around the axis of pagan versus Christian funerary commemoration, and seeks to evade the traditional scholarly divide between Roman (that is, early and high imperial) and Christian (that is, late imperial) epigraphy, in order not to make the latter “virtually a field unto itself.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Charlotte Roueché concluding remark on her attempt to date the late antique inscriptions from Aphrodisias: “Despite these difficulties, I have suggested dates for as many texts as possible, in the belief that this provides a more useful framework. Some of these are likely to be challenged... nevertheless, I feel that it is preferable to run this risk than to offer the description fourth to sixth century so frequently attached to material of this period.” ala2004 Introduction, paragraph 9.

<sup>135</sup> Trout, “Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity,” 170-187, at p. 173.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. The question Carlo Carletti has succinctly posed of whether we can speak of the “Christian epigraphy” or “of the epigraphy that commemorates Christians.” Carlo Carletti, “Epigrafia cristiana, ‘Epigrafia dei cristiani’: alle origine della terza età dell’epigrafia,” in *La terza età dell’epigrafia: Colloquio AIEGL-Borghesi 86*, Bologna, ottobre 1986, ed. Angela Donati (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1988), pp. 115-35.

<sup>137</sup> This is how John Bodel has characterized what “Christian epigraphy” has developed into. John Bodel, “Preface,” in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. John Bodel (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), at p. xviii.

The next comment on the thesis' approach to the epigraphic material concerns the state of preservation of inscriptions as regards the pertinent pieces of information so that they are useful for historical analysis. To avoid to write "history from square brackets,"<sup>138</sup> the thesis has not worked with epitaphs whose reconstructed text is too hypothetical and whose reconstruction reflects scholars' bias. For example, the epitaph inscribed on a slab, which served as the cover for sarcophagus set up at Marusinac, is dated to 443. Emilio Marin has most recently edited and published the inscription in Salona IV, whereby he has accepted the reconstruction suggested by Frane Bulić and Josip Bernaldi, and taken over by Ernst Diehl.<sup>139</sup>

*[D]ep(ositio) sanc(tae) m(emoriae) [Paschasi? ep(iscopu)] /  
die XVII k[al(endas) .....] /  
cons(ulibus) Maximo iterum /  
et Paterio v(iris) c(larissimis)*

On the contrary, Rudolf Egger, followed by ILJUG, has treated the identity of the deceased with more skepticism and has not substituted the person's name; nevertheless, he has not expressed doubt about the person's episcopal title. The pertinent part of Egger's edition runs as follows *[D]ep(ositio) sanc(tae) m(emoriae) [... ep(iscopu)]*.<sup>140</sup>

Firstly, both the deceased's proper name and title are missing. The latter was substituted on account of the phrase *sanc(tae) m(emoriae)* without reservation; namely, the reconstructed title is not followed by a question mark, although the phrase was not exclusive to bishops.<sup>141</sup> The alleged bishop was subsequently identified as Paschasius, because Frane Bulić and Josip Bernaldi have filled the gap

<sup>138</sup> Ernst Badian, "History from 'Square Brackets,'" *ZPE* 79 (1989): pp. 59-70.

<sup>139</sup> Frane Bulić and Josip Bernaldi, *Kronotaksa solinskih biskupa* [The Chronotaxis of Salonitan Bishops] (Zagreb: Tiskara Hrvatskog katoličkog tiskovnog društva, 1912-1913), at pp. 123-26. CIL 03, 13126+14239,7+p. 2328,127 = IILCV s. n. 1086 = ILJUG 2694 = Salona IV, 1: 94 at pp. 301-04 = HD032304.

<sup>140</sup> Rudolf Egger, FS III, no. 21 at p. 153. ILJUG 2694 at pp. 358-59.

<sup>141</sup> For example, ...*s(an)c(t)ae memoriae presb(byteri) [Anasta]si...* (Salona IV, 1: 237 = HD035026). Elsewhere, the phrase was variously applied to laypersons as well. To illustrate, *Hic requiescit sanct(a)e memoriae Leontia qu(a)e vixit...* (AE 1981, 0266 = HD004944) or *Requiescit in pace s(an)c(tae) m(emoriae) Iuxtus(!) qui vixit{t}* (AE 1981, 0255 = HD004932).

between the attested bishops Hesychius (ca. 406-426) and Iustinus (ca. 460-473) with the bishops Paschasius and Caesarius in their tentative reconstruction of the line of episcopal succession in Salona.<sup>142</sup> On the contrary, Milan Ivanišević has rejected Bulić and Bervaldi's reconstruction as regards Paschasius and Caesarius, and has left them both out of his study of Salonitan bishops; namely Paschasius is not attested in any contemporaneous source and the reference to Paschasius by Daniele Farlati in his 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Illyricum sacrum* is considered unreliable.<sup>143</sup> Irrespective of all the problematic assumptions concerning the historicity of Paschasius and the given epitaph, Marin finishes off his discussion with a brief debate on how the name was likely written, namely whether as Paschasius or Pascasius.<sup>144</sup>

Finally, neither the monument type nor the location support the reconstruction. To the extent that funerary inscriptions allow to locate episcopal burials, the late fourth- and fifth-century bishops were clustered at Manastirine, most of whom seem to have been buried in anepigraphic coffins, which were marked with the funerary *mensae* around 425 when the burials of predeceased bishops were covered by the monumental platform.<sup>145</sup> Thus preserved are the *mensae* of the bishops Gaianus (ca. 381-391),<sup>146</sup> Symferius (ca. 391-405),<sup>147</sup> and Hesychius (ca. 405-426),<sup>148</sup> whose precise episcopacy dates are not recorded but for whom reliable pieces of information are preserved to establish their line of succession over the course of the last two decades of the fourth and the first quarter of the fifth

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<sup>142</sup> Bulić and Bervaldi, *Kronotaksa solinskih biskupa* [The Chronotaxis of Salonitan Bishops], at pp. 123-26.

<sup>143</sup> Milan Ivanišević, "Salonitanski biskupi," [The Bishops of Salona], *VAHD* 86 (1993): pp. 223-52, at p. 225.

<sup>144</sup> Salona IV, 1: 94, at p. 304.

<sup>145</sup> Emilio Marin, "L'inhumation privilégiée à Salone," in *L'inhumation privilégiée du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> s. en Occident*, eds. Yvette Duval and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1986), pp. 221-32; Marin, "Civitas Splendida Salona," in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1994), at pp. 56-59.

<sup>146</sup> CIL 03, 13134+14663,1 = Salona IV, 1: 73 at pp. 263-65 = HD034815.

<sup>147</sup> CIL 04, 9550+13153+pp. 2261, 2328,126 = Salona IV, 1: 76 at pp. 268-69 = HD034822.

<sup>148</sup> CIL 03, 9549+p. 2328,126 = Salona IV, 1: 72 at pp. 262-63 = HD034863.

centuries.<sup>149</sup> Yet another *mensa* found at Marusinac commemorates the bishop Iustinus (ca. 460-473),<sup>150</sup> Salona IV has dated the *mensa* to ca. 475, but it is unclear to what extent their proposed dates are informed by the dates of Iustinus' episcopacy as tentatively reconstructed by Bulić and Bervaldi.<sup>151</sup> The explanation of why Paschasius was not buried among his peers at Manastirine is that the bishops Paschasius and Iustinus were temporarily buried at Marusinac while the cemeterial basilica at Manastirine was under construction,<sup>152</sup> whose dating, however, is disputed and does not seem to uphold the explanation. Egger has dated the construction of the cemeterial basilica at Manastirine to around 400, while Salona III tends to push it to ca. 435, although allowing for the possibility of earlier dates. Moreover, Salona III dates the construction of the platform, which covered the earlier anepigraphic coffins attributed to bishops and which would later become the transept of the cemeterial basilica, and the setting up of the funerary *mensae*, which marked the below-placed burials, to around 420s.<sup>153</sup> In either scenario, a bishop who died in 443 could have been buried among his predeceased peers. To conclude, there are comparatively few episcopal epitaphs in Salona, and, regardless of Paschasius' historicity, the fact that episcopal epitaphs are an exception both at Manastirine and in other burial grounds of Salona, leads us to discard the theory as ill-founded.

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<sup>149</sup> For the sequence of Salonitan bishops, see Bulić and Bervaldi, *Kronotaksa solinskih biskupa*, and Ivanišević, "Salonitanski biskupi," pp. 223-52. Two more *mensae* were found at Manastirine, one of which commemorates the translation of a bishop and it is likewise dated to ca. 425 (CIL 03, 14899 = ILJUG 2258+2434 = Salona IV, 1: 78 at pp. 271-72 = HD034817), and the other one honors the martyr *S[epti]mius* (CIL 03, 9545+9650+12864 = ILJUG 2436 = Salona IV, 1: 79 at pp. 272-74 = HD034819).

<sup>150</sup> CIL 03, 14895 = Salona IV, 1: 75 at pp. 267-68 = HD035129.

<sup>151</sup> The fragments of three more *mensae* were discovered at Marusinac. Two are so fragmentarily preserved that it cannot be known whether they mark a burial or commemorate the translation of a bishop and even the text's attribution to a bishop is too hypothetical in the second instance (CIL 03, 14895 = ILJUG 2700 = Salona IV, 1: 77 at pp. 270-71 = HD007896; Salona IV, 1: 80 at pp. 275-76). Marin attributes the fragments of the third *mensa* to the late fifth- and early sixth-century bishop Honorius I. Nevertheless, the five tiny fragments do not permit anything close to a founded interpretation of the text, and I have thus left it out of the discussion. The text runs as follows: *Depositio s(an)c(ta)[e?] m(emoriae)? H]ono[ri] episc[opi] ---* (ILJUG 2701 = Salona IV, 1: 74 at pp. 265-67 = HD035131). Neither the reconstruction of the phrase of *sanctae memoriae*, nor the reconstruction of the episcopal title is unproblematic. Even if the reconstructions of the two elements were correct, the decision to attribute the *mensa* to the bishop Honorius I, and not to Honorius II (died in 547), is likewise unjustified.

<sup>152</sup> Marin, *Civitas splendida Salona*, at p. 58-59.

<sup>153</sup> Egger, FS II, at p.

Likewise, in the following epitaph, Dino Demicheli has tentatively reconstructed the word ending in -r and preceding the deceased's proper name as *presbyter* although there is not the slightest ground for such reconstruction, and one can think of numerous words ending in -r that could be equally (im)plausible reconstructions.

[Presbyte?]r Mocimu[s] /  
[Ant]iochennus ex [Syria?] /  
[depo]situs est in h[oc tumulo] /  
[post] mortem suam [-----] /  
[qu]od si quis tem[eraverit] /  
[dabit ecclesiae? -----].<sup>154</sup>

It is thus important to be conscious about the epigraphic foundation for the historical analysis and interpretation, and the present thesis will limit itself to the sufficiently preserved texts and solid reconstructions.

The most productive methodological shift in the study of inscriptions has been their incorporation into the monumental and archaeological context, and, as Valerie Hope has put it, the four dimensions should ideally be taken into consideration: verbal, pictorial, physical, and locational.<sup>155</sup> Given the main research question of what social groups set up the inscribed tombstones, the present thesis will privilege the text itself. Yet it will strive not to disregard the text's monumental and archaeological context, if it is known: the monument type, material, visuals, craftsmanship, and location will be considered if pertinent to the argument. Finally, both the anepitaphic funerary monuments and the two other types of inscriptions, that is, the honorary and votive texts, will be taken into consideration to contextualize epitaphs.

Commemoration with inscribed funerary monuments lies at the intersection of its affordability and its quality of being socially and culturally contingent. For the early and high empire, the debate revolves around the socio-legal status of people recorded in epitaphs, and how the "epitaphic population" relates to the social make-up of an urban community, that is, of those people who could afford an inscribed stone funerary monument. Pertinent to it is the question of the motivation that

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<sup>154</sup> AE 2008, 1056; = HD065031. Dino Demicheli, "New Roman-Era Inscriptions from the 'cellars' of Diocletian's Palace," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 32 (2008/2009): pp. 55-79, at pp. 68-69.

<sup>155</sup> Valerie M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman funerary monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes* (Oxford: J. and E. Hedges, 2001), at p. 7.

prompted people to set up funerary monuments, and of the nature of both commemorative and epigraphic culture. At stake is, above all, the method for assessing one's socio-legal status, which relies on Roman onomastics and heavily hinges on a person's cognomen. In other words, the method presupposes that Greek cognomina and certain Latin "servile" ones indicate the individual's socio-legal background.<sup>156</sup> Regarding the late imperial, "Christian epitaphs," the topic of social composition of epitaphs has not been systematically tackled in recent scholarship, and the assessments of the social status of "epitaphic population" are oftentimes somewhat impressionistic and boil down to whether the commemoration went further down or up on the social scale in comparison to the early and high imperial period.<sup>157</sup>

The two main lines of inquiries are the analysis of the motivation to inscribe epitaphs in late antique Salona and the analysis of the social groups commemorated with the inscribed monuments. Given that we "must be wary of overestimating the pervasiveness of even widespread epigraphic trends,"<sup>158</sup> the thesis sets out to reconsider and apply the debates, paradigms, and methods current especially in the English-speaking scholarship to the epigraphic record from Salona. On the other hand, Dalmatia and Salona unjustifiably present gaps in the study of Roman epigraphic cultures of the Latin West, and the aim of the thesis is to increase the visibility of Salona on the map of the social and

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<sup>156</sup> Some onomastic studies pertinent to the question of the social significance of the Roman cognomina: Iiro Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina. Commentationes humanarum litterarum* 36 (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1965); Heikki Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Commentationes humanarum litterarum* 48 (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1971); Heikki Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). Some onomastic studies on the later Roman nomenclature: Noël Duval, ed., *L'onomastique latine: [actes du colloque international], Paris, 13-15 octobre 1975* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977); Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*; Iiro Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy. Commentationes humanarum litterarum* 40 (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1966).

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Peter Brown's remark regarding assertions on social origins of the fourth-century clergy, which draw on epigraphy and which have been "delivered in passing and in somewhat impressionistic manner..." Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), at p. 36.

<sup>158</sup> Bodel, *Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian*, at p. 9.

cultural diversity of the Roman provinces and thus to make a step forward towards redressing the rather neglected status of Roman Dalmatia in the international scholarship.

## CHAPTER 2: THE EPITAPHIC HABIT IN LATE ANTIQUITY

### 2.1 Epigraphic Habit during the First Three Centuries C.E.: Its Interpretations and Their Problems

In the 1980s a shift in the approach to the epigraphic evidence occurred, when it came to be conceptualized as a cultural phenomenon with its own dynamics, which therefore does not render itself to the literal readings and cannot be solely mined for the pieces of historical information. With respect to that, Ramsay MacMullen's article has been seminal: he has introduced the concept of the "epigraphic habit," worked out its chronological parameters, and pointed to the "sense of audience" and "psychological disposition" that governed the habits' dynamics.<sup>159</sup>

Elizabeth A. Meyer and Greg Woolf have also tackled the "epigraphic habit" of the early and high empire, and Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho the one of the later empire.<sup>160</sup> MacMullen's and Meyer's interpretations of the "epigraphic habit" heavily hinge on the chronological curve of the epigraphic output, which they have worked out from J.-M. Lassère's and Stanislaw Mrozek's studies on the chronological distribution of inscriptions from Latin West. The introductory chapter tackled the topic of the epigraphic curves, and here a sketchy outline shall suffice: their results suggest that the production of epitaphs gradually increased over the first and second centuries C.E., markedly peaked at the turn of the second and third centuries C.E., and then precipitously dropped in the second and third decades of the third centuries C.E. Both curves suggest that the low levels of epigraphic

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<sup>159</sup> MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," pp. 233-246.

<sup>160</sup> MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," pp. 233-246; Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit," pp. 74-96, with the main argument repeated later in Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Epigraphy and Communication," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford: OUP, 2011): pp. 191-227; Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire," *JRS* Vol. 86 (1996): 22-39; Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy," pp. 431-65.

production reached at ca. mid-third century C.E. were maintained until the end of the century, which is the upper end of the period these studies have covered.<sup>161</sup>

While MacMullen has not elaborated his “sense of audience” and its “psychological disposition,” changes of which would account for the rise and fall of the “epigraphic habit,” Meyer pushed the evidence towards the obligatory aspect of commemoration, and developed an argument that embeds the rise and fall of the production of epitaphs in the process of Romanization. Meyer sees the deceased-commemorator as a typical Roman style of epitaph and argues that the desire of a deceased to display his/her Roman citizen status was a main drive behind the “habit of epitaphs.” Namely, a Roman citizen’s prerogative to make legal wills, which obliged an heir to put up a funerary monument, was manifested in epitaphs by the heirship relationship between the deceased and a commemorator.<sup>162</sup> In order to account for the sharp decline of the production of epitaphs, she draws on Aubrey Cannon’s model of an alternating pattern of competitive display and restraint in mortuary behavior and funerary monuments.<sup>163</sup> Roman citizenship was eagerly sought after and flaunted throughout the second century, yet after its inflation caused by Caracalla’s grant of citizenship to all free people, “a personal announcement of it [became] redundant, even distasteful.” Thus, “the audience...would have been perceived to be uninterested.”<sup>164</sup>

In his response to Meyer, David Cherry challenged her two main premises, and convincingly argued that a sound epigraphic curve cannot be established at all, but that MacMullen and Meyer are

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<sup>161</sup> Lassère, “Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l’Africa,” pp.7-152, Tables at 133-151. MacMullen, “The Epigraphic Habit,” at pp. 242-43. Mrozek, “À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut- Empire,” pp. 113-18.

<sup>162</sup> Meyer, “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit,” pp. 74-96; Meyer, “Epigraphy and Communication,” pp. 191-227. Meyer seems to have been influenced by a brief discussion by Richard. P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw who also posed the question of the motivation for commemorating the deceased. Their conclusion though was more nuanced: they acknowledged that the “patterns of commemoration” reflect the “patterns of heirship, as well as of a sense of family and affection,” and that it is both impossible and artificial to assess which factored the most since “they must have very often coincided.” Saller and Shaw, “Tombstone and Roman Family Relations,” at pp. 126-7.

<sup>163</sup> Aubrey Cannon, “The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment,” *Current Anthropology* Vol 30, No. 4 (1989): 437-58.

<sup>164</sup> Meyer, “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit,” pp. 89-90.

piling up hypotheses and are instead charting modern dating techniques. He also showed that a relationship between the deceased and a commemorator was rarely one of heirship, and that it “seems to have been shaped mainly by sentiment and family affection.”<sup>165</sup>

Finally, with respect to Meyer’s method to build her model, there is a tendency to assign the inscriptions to the secondary rank, and to give primacy to the literary sources. Meyer thus constructs her interpretative framework from both the narrative texts of Cicero, Pliny, and Cassius Dio, and juridical commentaries of Ulpian and Papinian, and given their authoritative evidence, the legal relationship between the deceased and commemorator “should be understood to be present even when not explicitly stated.”<sup>166</sup> Expectedly, Meyer’s body of North African funerary evidence resists to fit in her model even nearly seamlessly: for example, only in the cases of Theveste and Maktar there is a correlation between the grant of a colony status and the increase in the number of epitaphs, with further qualification that a very few epitaphs in Maktar are of a deceased-commemorator type, while in Ammaedara, and Cirta and Carthage the growth in the production of epitaphs occurred at least 100 and 200 years respectively after their promotion to the status of colony.<sup>167</sup>

Ian Morris’s *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, a methodology book with a chapter on funerary inscriptions, introduces a novel theoretical framework in the ancient history-writing for understanding and studying burials. His aim is through investigation of burials to elucidate social structures of Greeks and Romans, for which he draws on the Anthony Giddens’s theory of structuration, and anthropologically informed theories of ritual as a symbolic action. One of the main

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<sup>165</sup> Regarding the heirship issue, Cherry took a closer look at the deceased-commemorator type of epitaphs from Lambaesis and Theveste, and demonstrated that, while only 7.5 percent of commemorators are qualified as heirs, the half of commemorators, such as fathers, wives, and husbands, are not likely to have been heirs. Granted, some of the children, who make up 20 percent of commemorators, may have been heirs, but to go beyond acknowledging that would be purely speculative. Cherry, “Re-Figuring the Roman Epigraphic Habit,” pp. 143-156, the discussion of the relationship between the deceased and the commemorator, at pp. 151-56.

<sup>166</sup> Meyer, “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit,” nn. 14 and 15 at p. 76, nn. 18, 19, 21, 22 at p. 77, nn. 37 and 39 at p. 80, n. 40 at p. 81.

<sup>167</sup> Meyer, “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit,” at pp. 83-87.

emphases is that the mortuary archaeological material was created in and for the funerary ritual, which is - as any ritual - a symbolic action essential for the constitution of society through which it either recreates or challenges its structures. Archaeological evidence is equally imbued with symbolism, and in assessing it, it is wrong to assume a direct correlation between the material remains of death-rituals and social structures we want to get an insight in. Nevertheless, Morris starts his discussion of the usefulness of inscribed funerary tombstones for illuminating either ritual or social structures with pronounced skepticism:

“By examining ancient decisions to inscribe or not to inscribe a monument and then what to say on it, we should be able to enlarge substantially our understanding of the symbolic construction of society that took place in funeral rituals. But on the whole, this has proved extremely difficult to do so.”<sup>168</sup>

Therefore, Morris dedicates most of his chapter to the discussion of some of the recent literature on Roman epitaphs, instead of applying his method to the funerary monuments themselves. To invoke the ritual as an all-accommodating answer occasionally seems nothing but a formal change of explanatory paradigms.<sup>169</sup> In a similar vein, in an otherwise insightful discussion on the tension between the funerary status symbols in late antique Rome, Morris adduces Cannon’s model, changing rituals, changing religion, and changing social structures as these are all forces that should be at work in his model of changing patterns in funerary archaeological record. Yet he does not explain what change there was in either funerary ritual or social structures, and it remains unclear why we need to assume these changes as necessary to account for the shift from a tombstone to a location, that is a burial *ad*

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<sup>168</sup> Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992): at p. 156. One of the major problems, apart from the fact that the texts themselves are slight and formulaic, is that we lack of any contextual information in most cases.

<sup>169</sup> For example, when he discusses Keith Hopkins’s work on demography, Morris states that Hopkins “did not try to explain why the observed data deviated so far from what he expected to find;” Morris finds the reason obvious: “epitaphs were created to satisfy the needs of ritual performers,” and they tell us “about what Roman buriers thought ought to be said in such a context.” Morris, *Death-Ritual*, at pp. 158-59. I should add, in Hopkins’s defense, that he did explain his findings in terms of socio-culturally contingent customs of commemoration. Keith Hopkins, “On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population,” *Population Studies* Vol. 20, No. 2. (1966): pp. 245-64.

*sanctos*, as the most important funerary status symbols.<sup>170</sup> Éric Rebillard has shown, for example, that a “Christian funerary ritual” did not exist in late antiquity, especially not the one imposed and conducted by the Church.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, Morris’s reconceptualization of inscribed funerary monuments as part of burial and funerary ritual is an important redress of methodology.

Lastly, Greg Woolf also sought to find a blanket model that explains epigraphic culture in the early and high empire. Woolf focuses on the aspect of monumentality and its inherent qualities of durability and expense that work to fight change, insecurity, and anxiety about one’s future. Woolf argues that the social mobility of the early and high imperial society “provides one of the most important contexts for personal monumentality and the creation of an epigraphic culture.” His approach to monumentality is anthropologically informed, and to justify its applicability to the Roman epigraphic culture he invokes Horace’s famous *Exegi monumentum* ode, and brings in anecdotal evidence from Pliny and legal excerpts from the *Digest*,<sup>172</sup> yet he does not look closely at, or even make a reference to a single inscription. As for the expansion of the epigraphic culture, it is a function of the expansion of the Roman society: namely, the phenomenon is characteristic of the highly urbanized western Mediterranean, especially of the cities that received the status of a colony during the time of Caesar or Augustus, and militarized regions. Woolf’s model accommodates with difficulty the abrupt decline in the first half of the third century: the fluidity of social structures and anxiety it caused were equally present then and in the later empire. He assumes that what changed is not a psychological disposition but people’s response that shifted towards privatization of the status display: it came to be expressed now through “urban and rural residences and elaborate art works of silver plate and ivory.”<sup>173</sup> The problem is, however, that these means of displaying one’s wealth and status were exploited in the early

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<sup>170</sup> Morris, *Death-Ritual*, at pp. 169-172.

<sup>171</sup> Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Cornell University Press, 2009): 123-40.

<sup>172</sup> Woolf, “Monumental Writing,” p. 25 nn. 15, 19, p. 26. nn. 20, 21, p. 27. n. 24.

<sup>173</sup> Woolf, “Monumental Writing,” pp. 22-39.

empire as well, and did not function as compensation for the decline in setting up new civic monuments in late antiquity.

These studies are concerned with the rise and fall of the early and high imperial epigraphic culture; even if authors do mention its revival in the fourth century, they state it is out of their purview. Nevertheless, an overarching concept as Woolf's, which is built on such general premises of social mobility and anxiety, and negating and overcoming them through the means of erecting monuments, should be able to account also for the late antique epigraphy. Indicative of scholarly attitude is his excuse for leaving them out: "they represent new and distinctive epigraphic cultures, drawing on early imperial examples, but modifying them to suit new cultural logics of their own."<sup>174</sup> This clear-cut division stems from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century formation of distinct academic disciplines of classical and Christian archaeology, yet the relatively recent re-categorization of the post-Constantian period should entail the re-conceptualization of the "Christian epigraphy" as an integral part of the Roman epigraphic culture. The next section will discuss the topic of the "Christian epigraphic habit" with the particular reference to the model elaborated by Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho.

There are two major problems with these studies: Henrik Mouritsen has criticized their generality "in scope and application," and has argued for turning to the evidence itself, instead of being preoccupied "with the modern concept of the epigraphic habit, which has taken on life of its own within the scholarly discourse detached from the actual inscriptions."<sup>175</sup> In the same vein, scholars have been emphasizing the regional diversity of epigraphic cultures, and the necessity of conducting localized research as opposed to generalizing even the widespread epigraphic trends.<sup>176</sup> John Bodell has furthermore observed that it is improbable that a single force could have decisively factored in both

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<sup>174</sup> Woolf, "Monumental Writing," p. 39.

<sup>175</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," p. 39.

<sup>176</sup> For example, see Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, at pp. 143-44, on the diversity of epigraphic cultures within a province; Bodell, *Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian*, at pp. 9-10.

shaping the epigraphic culture and accounting for its demise, such as a political act of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and a common psychological impulse to determine one's place in a community. He has concluded that various forces, such as economic, demographic, social, and probably psychological and political, have rather jointly factored in forming the epigraphic culture in a certain locality.<sup>177</sup>

## 2.2 “Christian” or “Late Antique” Epitaphic Habit (ca. 250-600 C. E.)

There is the conceptual and terminological ambiguity regarding the late Roman epigraphic material,<sup>178</sup> which has traditionally been referred to as “Christian epigraphy,”<sup>179</sup> and which is, as John Bodel has put it, “virtually a field unto itself.”<sup>180</sup> The conceptualization and definition of the “Christian epigraphy” is the corollary of the separation between the disciplines of Classical and Christian archaeology and their respective fields of study that came about in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is concomitant with the formation of the scholarly discipline of Christian archaeology which had its origins in the research of catacombs of Rome, which was directed and published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi and heavily sponsored and supported by the Pope Pius IX.<sup>181</sup>

The concept of “Christian epigraphy” follows in the footsteps of the nineteenth-century scholarly paradigm that cuts the ancient world into the *aetas Romana* and the *aetas christiana*. The attendant quest for the evidence of ancient Christianity and the early Christians over-emphasized the

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<sup>177</sup> Bodel, “Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian,” at p. 7.

<sup>178</sup> This thesis uses the terms “late Roman” and “late antique” interchangeably.

<sup>179</sup> For the earliest, discipline-forming epigraphic corpora, see Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1861-88) and Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, vols. 1-3 (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1925-31), vol. 4, *Supplementum*, eds. Jacques Moreau and Henri Irénée Marrou (Zürich: Weidmann, 1967). For the concomitant manual of Christian epigraphy composed by de Rossi's student, see Orazio Marucchi, *Epigrafia cristiana: trattato elementare con una silloge di antiche iscrizioni cristiane principalmente di Roma* (Roma: Ulrico Hoepli, 1910), and with the English translation, Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy: An Elementary Treatise with a Collection of Ancient Christian Inscriptions Mainly of Roman Origin* (Cambridge: CUP, 1912).

<sup>180</sup> John Bodel, “Preface,” at p. xviii.

<sup>181</sup> Jamie Beth Erenstoft, *Controlling the Sacred Past: Rome, Pius IX, and Christian Archaeology* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 2008).

given evidence as recorded in inscriptions which has had determinative bearing on the definition of what a “Christian inscription” is, and thus on the principles that governed the scope of epigraphic corpora. The definition of what makes an inscription “Christian” has been formulated by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in the first volume of ICUR and taken over by Wilhelm Henzen in the sixth volume of CIL which collects the inscriptions of Rome.<sup>182</sup> Contemporary scholarship likewise adopts the definition word for word without reconsideration.<sup>183</sup>

“I call Christian inscriptions those inscriptions which were set up by Christians for the sake of religion. And indeed, for the sake of religion not just those inscriptions were made, which testify to the churches, chapels, and altars having been constructed and dedicated; which testify to the vows fulfilled, to the donations donated, to the *sacra indicta*; which extol the merit of martyrs and holy men; which can be read inscribed on sacred objects of every kind; but also each and every single epitaph of the Christians, since the things which pertain to the graves are a matter of religious worship specific more to the Christians than to the pagans themselves and are a matter consecrated to the solemn religion.”<sup>184</sup>

The major problem is that the nineteenth-century paradigm has framed the way in which scholars still tend to look at and interpret the epigraphic record of late antiquity. The manner in which the catacombs have been conceptualized and studied has bearing on the scholarly approach to catacomb epitaphs, and given their quantitative prevalence, on the conceptualization of the epigraphic record of the late antique period. Amy K. Hirschfeld has emphasized the extent to which the catacombs are exceptional as a “subject of archaeological study in their almost inextricable relationship to a living

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<sup>182</sup> Giovanni Battista de Rossi, “Praefatio,” in ICUR I, at p. 37, and Wilhelm Henzen, “Praefatio,” in CIL VI.1, at p. V.

<sup>183</sup> For example, Jean Durlat, “Épigraphie chrétienne de langue latine,” in *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina: Ideologia e funzione*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Cyril Mango (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1995), pp. 227-66 at p. 227.

<sup>184</sup> Translated by Dora Ivanišević. *Christianos titulos appello inscriptiones eas, quae a Christianis religionis causa positae sunt. Religionis scilicet causa non modo ù omnes facti sunt tituli, qui templa, sacella, altaria extructa et dedicata; qui vota soluta dona data, sacra indicta testantur; qui martyrum et sanctorum virorum laudes celebrant; qui sacro omnis generis instrumento leguntur inscripti; verum omnia quoque et singula Christianorum epitaphia, quippe quae ad sepulcra pertineant, rem Christianis magis, quam ipsis ethnicis religiosi cultus propriam et religione sollemni consecratam.* Rossi, “Praefatio,” in ICUR I, at p. 37, and Henzen, “Praefatio,” in CIL VI.1, at p. V.

religion that has primarily been in control of their study and guardianship,” with the effect that they have been mostly studied in a political manner to support the ingrained notions regarding the religious history.<sup>185</sup> In his attempt to redress the religiously based approach and method, John Bodel has conducted comparative investigation of the *columbaria* and catacombs as typologically similar and thus comparable burial grounds, and has questioned the axioma running in both scholarly and popular literature that catacombs originated as exclusively Christian burial grounds in order to meet their idiosyncratic religious and social aspirations. Bodel has concluded that there is little evidence to substantiate such claim, and that even the earliest phases of the catacombs, which have traditionally been described as egalitarian with respect to both the tombs and epitaphs,<sup>186</sup> suggest “a heterogenous mixture of persons of different wealth and status with no distinctively unifying beliefs about the representation of privilege in burial.”<sup>187</sup>

Nevertheless, the traditional notions are deep-seated and the paradigm shift has not been widespread. To illustrate, in the most recent synthetic publication on the catacombs and regarding the issue of the origins of catacombs, Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai has reasserted that “In reality, as is well-known, the catacombs were exclusively funerary areas used for the burial and funeral rites of members of the Early Christian communities.” Along the same lines, Fiocchi Nicolai has attempted to detect “already in the oldest areas of the catacombs, completely the innovative characteristics...that distinguish them from non-Christian hypogea.” The decisive differentiating characteristic is a “much greater extension of the space, constituted by series of interconnected galleries;” moreover, the original architectural design

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<sup>185</sup> Amy K. Hirschfeld, “An Overview of the Intellectual History of Catacomb Archaeology,” in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, eds. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (Berlin: Water de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 11-39, quote at p. 12.

<sup>186</sup> For example, Carletti, “Nascita e sviluppo,” at p. 148; Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo*, at pp. 26-36; Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, at p. 237; Fiocchi Nicolai, “The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs,” at pp. 13-24.

<sup>187</sup> John Bodel, “From *Columbaria* to Catacombs: Collective Burial in Pagan and Christian Rome,” in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, eds. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (Berlin: Water de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 177-242, quote at p. 224, and the concluding statement regarding the origins of catacombs, at p. 189.

anticipated later expansion.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, the early third-century smaller pagan hypogea were essentially family burial grounds,<sup>189</sup> namely the underground architectural complexes designed to accommodate the burials of a single family and/or its household. As for the third-century nuclei of Roman catacombs, instead of anachronistically project onto them the fourth-century situation as regards to the religious affiliation of their occupants that was the corollary of the progressive Christianization of the inhabitants of Rome, the alternative and more evidence-based way to look at their “invention” is as the response to the “demographic need created by a limited amount of land on the outskirts of Rome.” The common denominator of people buried in catacombs appears to have been the universally shared desire for an identifiable burial and for the regular ritual commemoration of the deceased.<sup>190</sup>

Scholarly discourse regarding Manastirine, the main “Christian” cemetery of Salona, is likewise imbued with religious tones. Few recent examples shall suffice to demonstrate the scholarly bias. The cemetery of Manastirine is regularly entitled as the *coemeterium legis sanctae christianae*;<sup>191</sup> however, the phrase is nowhere recorded. The source for the title is the epitaph in which the *curator rei p(ublicae) Fl(avius) Theodotus* stated that he laid (*collocabi(!)*) his son *Peregrinus* “in the holy Christian law” (*in lege sancta*

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<sup>188</sup> Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, “The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs,” in *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions*, eds. Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009), pp. 9-70, quotes at pp. 12 and 16-17, and *passim* for the same ideas. Fiocchi Nicolai follows in the footsteps of Philippe Pergola’s distinction between the “closed” and “open” hypogea, whereby the former were not meant to be expanded and Pergola attributes them to pagans, while the latter were planned to be expanded to accommodate the burials of prospective dead Christians. Philippe Pergola, *Le catacombe romane: storia e topografia* (Rome: Carocci, 1998), esp. at pp. 60-62.

<sup>189</sup> The attribution of a small-size hypogeum is occasionally hindered by the lack of the *titulus*, in which cases Brabara E. Borg carefully assumes that because of the similar size and layout unidentifiable hypogea were likely family hypogea, although the “collective ownership by a small group of people cannot be excluded as their tituli are lost.” Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, at pp. 59-72, quote at p. 62.

<sup>190</sup> Bodel, “From *Columbaria* to Catacombs,” esp. at pp. 189-95, with quote at p. 194. Borg has thoroughly analyzed the early third-century hypogea that would later develop into Roman, namely Christian, catacombs, and while she affirmed that certain hypogea likely originated as exclusive burial grounds of Christians, such as Area I Callixtus, Novatianus, Calepodius, most of the hypogea had diverse patrons and accommodated burials of individuals and groups of different social background (such as the *collegia*, large *familiae*, the imperial slaves and freedmen). Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, pp. 59-118.

<sup>191</sup> For example, Marin, “*Civitas splendida Salona*,” at p. 46; *Salona III, Manastirine*, at p. 88; Matijević, “Anepigraphic Sarcophagi in situ in the Basilica at Manastirine,” at p. 87.

*cristiana*); Peregrinus, namely Domnio, was buried on November 29, 382 (*depos(it)io Domnionis die III Kal(endas) De(c)enbris(!) con(sule) Antonio*).<sup>192</sup> De Rossi and Egger understood that the intended meaning of the phrase was *in coemeterio legis sanctae cristianae*, and given the intellectual milieu they belonged to, de Rossi interpreted it as the designation of the cemetery of Manastirine as the exclusively Christian cemetery in opposition to the Jewish burial ground (the “*coemeterium legis iudaicae*”), while Egger thought that it more likely stood in the opposition to the Arian burial ground (the cemetery of the “*lex ariana*”); the contemporary Croatian scholarship, as noted above, and Salona IV subscribe to the interpretation. The expression does not seem to have been epigraphically attested elsewhere.

Firstly, the more recent scholarship has rectified the traditional readings of a few passages in the texts of Christian apologists and Church Fathers, which were usually taken to support the contemporary claims for the normative separation of pagans, Christians, and Jews in death. The revised interpretations have suggested that there were no official bans against mixing of pagan, Christian, and Jewish graves, and archaeological evidence has shown that they shared tombs and burial grounds in the fourth century.<sup>193</sup> Moreover, the demographic exercise below will suggest that by the second half of the fourth century virtually all inhabitants of a city, namely of Salona, were Christian Romans; that is not to say that there were no individuals of other religions, but that the majority of city-dwellers were Christians and that all burial grounds were by default “Christian.” Finally, there is no reason to assume that in the second half of the fourth century in Salona, there was a large group of non-Christians against whom the prevalent Christian inhabitants would have needed to identify the city cemeteries as specifically Christian.

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<sup>192</sup> CIL 03, 9508 = FS II, no. 114 at pp. 83-84 = ILCV 3835C = ILJUG 2393 = S IV, 1: 163 at pp. 410-12 = HD034778.

<sup>193</sup> Bodel, “From *Columbaria* to Catacombs,” at pp. 181-83; Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), at pp. 13-36; and most exhaustively by Mark J. Johnson, “Pagan-Christian Burial Practices of the Fourth Century: Shared Tombs?,” *JECs* 5/1 (1997): pp. 37-59.

To compose an epitaph was an individual and personal initiative, and it is difficult to reconstruct individual histories and personal experiences based on somewhat exceptional wording of the funerary text. Theodotus emphasized the religious affiliation of his son Peregrinus and of himself in three ways: the threat against potential violators specified the Church as the recipient of the monetary fine (*inferet ec(c)lesiae argenti p(ondo) X*), through the controversial phrase *in lege sancta christiana*, and by the Peregrinus's alternative, assumingly baptismal name of Domnio, after the local patron martyr. The word *lex* may have stood for the word *fides*: the word had much wider currency in epitaphs (and it was otherwise the standardly used word to denote faith), and the syntagm *fides sancta* is attested in epitaphs.<sup>194</sup> The *lex christiana* may also mean the “Christian religion” and the “Christian faith,”<sup>195</sup> whereby the phrase *in lege sancta christiana* should be taken to designate Peregrinus's religious affiliation rather than to denote the cemetery in which he was buried. The phrase may be taken to periphrastically stand for the *fidelis* or *fidelis christianus*.<sup>196</sup> The family may have been simply very devotional, and the triple emphasis on the Christian faith might indicate the father's attempt to find solace having buried his predeceased son. It is thus ripe time to redress paradigms inherited from the nineteenth-century scholars and their cultural and intellectual milieu.

The debate over the prospective title of *Salona IV* is indicative of the religiously based approach to the late antique epigraphic record, which is proven to be hard to eradicate. The first intention of the authors of *Salona IV* was to dedicate the collection to the “Christian inscriptions” of *Salona*,<sup>197</sup> yet it had been thwarted by the realization that a significant number of inscribed tombs dated to from the fourth to the seventh centuries does not display tokens of the occupants' affiliation to Christianity,

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<sup>194</sup> CIL 06, 25427 = EDCS-13801679; CIL 06, 30214 = EDCS-17202388.

<sup>195</sup> *Blaise Patristic*, s.v. “lex, legis, f.”

<sup>196</sup> The phrase *fidelis christiana* (it seems that it occurs in feminine form only) is attested in a couple of epitaphs, for example CIL 03, 13529 = EDCS-14600335; CIL 05, 07977 = EDCS-05401230; CIL 08, 12260 = EDCS-24400122; CIL 13, 03690 = EDCS-10600458.

<sup>197</sup> Emilio Marin and Françoise Prévot, “Avant-propos,” in *Salona IV*, at p. XIII.

either because the tombstones are too fragmentarily preserved or because they did not contain them in the first place. To specify, less than 50 percent of Latin and Greek inscriptions can be ascribed to Christians.<sup>198</sup> The authors nevertheless strongly wanted to acknowledge the impact Christianity made on “the city of the martyr Domnio” and on its inhabitants, so they were compelled to settle on the “inscriptions of the Christian Salona,” and the title runs as the *Inscriptions de Salone chrétiennes, IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles*.<sup>199</sup> Along the same lines, the visibility of Christians in epigraphic record accounts for the decisive criterion for the inclusion of an inscription in the corpus. The start date of the collection is 306 C.E., the year in which Constantine became emperor, which the authors decided upon due to the emperor’s religious policy.<sup>200</sup> The authors conceptualized late antique epigraphy in religious terms which bring us to the topic of “Christian epigraphy.”

The presumed religious character of the archaeological context of the majority of late antique inscriptions has been decisive for the interpretation of the given epitaphic record. For example, around 70-80 percent of the early catacomb epitaphs of the first half of the third century are religiously neutral, and it is the archaeological context of “Christian” catacombs that make them “Christian epitaphs.”<sup>201</sup> Thus, because of the tendency to date the seemingly late antique yet pagan inscriptions to before the fourth century, and because of the selection and publishing criteria of the nineteenth-century epigraphic corpora, the number of late antique inscriptions from the Latin West is difficult to assess.<sup>202</sup> Christian inscriptions from the Latin West have been long estimated at 50,000, of which ca. 40,000 come from Rome, the overwhelming majority of which, namely some 35,000, pertains to funerary inscriptions from catacombs dating from the late second/beginning of the third through the beginning

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<sup>198</sup> *Salona IV*, at pp. 83-84.

<sup>199</sup> Emilio Marin and Françoise Prévot, “Avant-propos,” in *Salona IV*, at p. XIII.

<sup>200</sup> *Salona IV*, at pp. 7, 21.

<sup>201</sup> For the discussion of the content and style of the early catacomb epitaphs, see Carletti, “‘Epigrafia Cristiana,’ ‘epigrafia dei cristiani,’” at pp. 118-35.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. a remark by Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” at pp. 140-41.

of the sixth century.<sup>203</sup> A number of late antique inscriptions, which were not labeled as Christian and have thus been published in CIL VI (Rome), needs to be added.<sup>204</sup> Considering that the bulk of “Christian inscriptions” from Rome dominate the epigraphic record of both the City and the Latin West, and that the politicized concept of “Christian epigraphy” was modeled on the epigraphic evidence from Rome’s catacombs, it happened that the notion of “Christian epigraphy” has overshadowed the rest of the late antique epigraphic record and has subsumed its totality.

That the “Christian epigraphy” has unwarrantably come to mean the “late antique epigraphy” is well illustrated by the differing stand and conceptualization put forward by the two most recent handbooks of Roman epigraphy in the English-speaking scholarship. Alison E. Cooley has argued that Christianity brought about new epigraphic culture, and that to conceptualize inscriptions from the third to the late sixth century as “Christian epigraphy” is justifiable. Cooley has brought up the “Christian epitaphs,” graffiti on the walls of holy places, mosaic building inscriptions, the *mensae martyrum* and inscribed slave-collars, which are peripheral epigraphic phenomenon. While the discourse of different types of inscriptions was to various extent and at various pace Christianized, none of these types of inscriptions, their mediums and contexts was specific to Christian Romans but had been part of the ancient epigraphic culture in funerary, religious and secular context. On the contrary, Ann Marie Yasin has embedded her analysis of the practice of Christians to scratch devotional graffiti on the walls of their holy places in the accustomed practice of scrawling graffiti on the Greco-Roman shrines: their content was similar, namely most consisted of the name of a god and of an individual who scratched the graffiti, and they had similar purpose of an individual to assert one’s membership in the devotional

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<sup>203</sup> For the estimate of the number of Christian inscriptions from the Latin West, see Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s.v. “Inscriptions Latines chrétiennes,” and Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy,” at p. 434-35. For the number of Rome’s Christian inscriptions, see *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae: Nova series* whose ten volumes contain more than 40,000 inscriptions. For the number of the Rome’s catacomb inscriptions, see Carlo Carletti, *Iscrizioni cristiane di Roma. Testimonianze di vita cristiana (secoli III–VII)* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1986), at p. 11 and Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo. Ideologia e prassi* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2008), at p. 19.

<sup>204</sup> For the succinct overviews of the nineteenth-century pattern of collecting and publishing epigraphic record, see Trout, “Inscribing Identity,” at pp. 170-71, and Salway, “Late Antiquity,” at pp. 365-66.

community and of marking the place as an active and effective religious and cultic space.<sup>205</sup> The *mensae martyrum* are the subset of the funerary *mensae*, which had their both epigraphic and feasting function in the pagan and wider Christian funerary context, namely the later Roman *mensae* from North Africa alike carry texts that contain and are devoid of the Christian tokens.<sup>206</sup>

On the other hand, Cooley has not taken into consideration that there may be more to the epigraphy of late antique period other than the tokens of one's affiliation to Christianity. Regarding that point, only 40 percent of Rome's catacomb inscriptions displays biblical symbols.<sup>207</sup> She has neither discussed contemporaneous inscriptions which lack of the evidence of Christianity in order to probe the possibility that some epigraphic changes and features were late antique rather than Christian. Namely, not all changes in different categories of inscriptions are attributable to Christianization of society. For example, Carlos Machado has examined the statue-habit, that is, the practice of setting up honorific inscriptions in late antique Rome and Italy where the habit experienced the revival in the fourth century unmatched elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The practice has nevertheless tapered off and disappeared even in Rome throughout the fifth century. The statue-habit was the product of and monumentalized social and political relationships in an urban context, and changes in patterns of setting-up statues thus signaled the changed political dynamics and civic culture. The late fourth and early fifth centuries mark a watershed in the socio-political actors involved in the statue-habit. Namely, the classical civic practice of setting up honorific statues which was generated by city councils, local

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<sup>205</sup> Ann Marie Yasin, "Prayers on Site: The Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space," in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 36-61.

<sup>206</sup> Paul-Albert Février, "La tombe chrétienne et l'au-delà," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge (IIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Paris, 9-12 mars 1981, Colloques internationaux du C.N. R. S. n. 604, ed. Jean-Marie Leroux (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), pp. 163-83, at p.166. For the *mensae*, see Robin M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the Mensa to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Commemorating the Dead, Texts and Artifacts in Context*, eds. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 107-43. For the *mensae* from Salona, see Duval, "Mensae funéraires de Sirmium et Salone," pp. 187-226.

<sup>207</sup> Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente*, at pp. 19-20.

communities and *collegia* gave way to senators in official positions who thereby manifested their political influence over the communities and their aristocratic competition.<sup>208</sup> In sum, while Cooley has indeed referred to precedent epigraphic practices for which she has, I think, unconvincingly argued that Christians transformed them into a distinct epigraphic culture. What Cooley has instead showed is that the discourse of inscriptions of various genre, most notably of epitaphs, was gradually Christianized, but not that “the rise of Christianity produced over time new attitudes to and new uses for inscriptions.”<sup>209</sup>

Contrary to Cooley, Jean-Marie Lassère did not conceptualize “Christian inscriptions” as a separate epigraphic culture and a distinct field of study, but has instead treated altogether Roman inscriptions with respect to their function and historical topic they illuminate, for some of which religious affiliation may be entirely irrelevant. In cases in which the religion had bearing on the epigraphic genre and the historical theme, inscriptions set up by Christians are analyzed alongside their pagan and Jewish counterparts in their both diachronic and synchronic perspective, which serves us better to assess both their shared features and continuities, and their idiosyncratic elements.<sup>210</sup> Neither has OHRE dedicated a special chapter to “Christian epigraphy” but to the epigraphy of late antique period, in which Benet Salway has called for unification of all epigraphic material from ca. the mid-third to the beginning of the seventh century, whether “Christian” or “pagan,” in order to delineate the late antique corpus of inscriptions and thus to be able to appreciate the distinctiveness of late

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<sup>208</sup> Carlos Machado, “Public Monuments and Civic Life: The End of the Statue Habit in Italy,” in *Le Transformazioni del V secolo: L'Italia, i barbari e l'Occidente romano, Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 18-2-ottobre 2007*, eds. Paolo Delogu and Stefano Gasparri (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 237-57.

<sup>209</sup> Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, at pp. 228-50, quote at p. 229.

<sup>210</sup> To illustrate, the chapter on funerary inscriptions is divided into three main parts, each dedicated to the pagan, Jewish and Christian epitaphs, while the section on the verse and philosophical epitaphs discusses both pagan and Christian texts. The topic of benefaction is divided into the benefactions in the classical city, Jewish and Christian dedications, and the imperial benefaction that deals with pagan and Christian emperors alike. Lastly, the theme of crafts examines early and late imperial inscriptions indiscriminately. For the programmatic statements, see Jean-Marie Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (Paris: Picard, 2005), at pp. VI and 12, and the selected examples, at pp. 220-290, 429-39, 513-36.

antique epigraphic habit.<sup>211</sup> Salway has thus focused on the formal aspects of inscribed monuments irrespective of their types and religious affiliation, such as the materials commonly used and the increased practice of re-using earlier monuments, conventions in the presentation of the text, variation in the style of script, the introduction of the scroll-looking symbol to mark the abbreviation and the usage of a cross as the punctuation mark, namely a counterpart of the earlier *hedera*.<sup>212</sup> Likewise, Dennis E. Trout has called for the secularization and de-ghettoization of “Christian epigraphy.” That is, the “late Latin epigraphy” should be aligned with the early imperial Latin epigraphy, namely “Roman epigraphy,” and the topics pertinent to the latter should be discussed in their *longue durée* since the “early imperial debate has obvious implications for late Latin epigraphy.”<sup>213</sup>

The model elaborated by Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, which attempts to explain the revival of the “Christian epigraphic habit,” presents the consummated form of the nineteenth-century definition of a “Christian inscription.” Considering that his account exemplifies the given concept and its implications in the extreme, and given its reception by the authoritative scholars with the few questioning his conclusions, Galvão-Sobrinho’s argument merits thorough discussion.<sup>214</sup> Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho has singled out the “statements of faith” as the essential element of Christian funerary texts and has posited “the connection between writing an epitaph and being a Christian.”

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<sup>211</sup> Salway, “Late Antiquity,” pp. 364-96. Along the same lines, in the workshop on the late antique epigraphic cultures Claire Sotinel has argued that the definition of “Christian epigraphy” as a distinct genre and field of study is neither straightforward nor useful. See the review by Christian Witschel, “The Epigraphic Culture(s) of Late Antiquity.” Heidelberg: Seminar für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, Universität Heidelberg; Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg; Internationales Wissenschaftsforum Heidelberg, 26.06.2009-27.06.2009. (<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=27361> May 2016).

<sup>212</sup> Salway, “Late Antiquity,” at pp. 366-74.

<sup>213</sup> Trout, “Inscribing Identity,” at pp. 170-73, quote at p. 173.

<sup>214</sup> Bodet, “Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian,” at p. 6; Peter Brown, “Gloriosus Obitus: The End of the Ancient Other World,” in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of Robert A. Markus*, eds. William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 289-315. Brown, “The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity,” *Arethusa* vol. 33, no. 3 (2000): pp. 321-46, at p. 341 with n. 28 at p. 341, and Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), at p. 37 with n. 23 at p. 37. For the criticism of Galvão-Sobrinho’s method and conclusions, see Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at pp. 12-13.

Epitaphs were a “very important” medium for believers to define themselves as Christian “before the eyes of God” which “played a crucial role in securing salvation” to them.<sup>215</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho has ultimately taken dated and datable funerary monuments as the proxy evidence for the widespread Christianization of the Latin West,

There are a couple of problematic assumptions that structure his argument. As discussed above, the underlying premise that the epigraphic culture of a period was driven and given form by a single motivating factor unique to the period is in itself untenable.<sup>216</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho has accepted Elizabeth A. Meyer’s explanation for the rise and decline of the early imperial epigraphic habit,<sup>217</sup> and has replicated her method that seeks to determine the fundamental element of epitaphs and then argues that the motivation to display it accounts for the spread of the epitaphic and by extension of the epigraphic culture. From the first through the beginning of the third century it was the deceased’s *Romanitas*, while from the fourth through the late sixth century it was the deceased’s *Christianitas* that gave impetus to inscribing (funerary) texts. Galvão-Sobrinho has thus concluded that it was the “fortuitous combination of the spread of Christian beliefs about the death and afterlife and an ideologically unstable world that drove the habit,” and that only when the urban population became overwhelmingly Christianized “would the motivations for writing epitaphs become less acute and the practice decline.”<sup>218</sup>

Galvão-Sobrinho has not considered the possibility that the forces other than Christianization may have factored in the revival of the epigraphic output in the fourth century and in its final contraction in the sixth and seventh centuries hence his misformulated question of “Why should not commemoration have continued customary at about the same relatively low level set in 250 or 300?”

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<sup>215</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy,” esp. at pp. 446-58, quotes at pp. 437 and 454.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Bodel, “Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian,” at p. 7.

<sup>217</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy,” at pp. 451-52, with n. 94 at p. 452.

<sup>218</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy,” at p. 458.

Compared with more than two centuries of flourishing epigraphic production, and with our benefit of hindsight, its most acute decline in the decades around the mid-third century, which scholars have correlated with the period of the “third century crisis,”<sup>219</sup> cannot be thought of as “customary,” but rather disruptive. Contrary to Galvão-Sobrinho, other scholars gave priority to political and economic factors rather than to the cultural in their account of the curve of epigraphic output.<sup>220</sup>

If, on the one hand, the political stability and peace ushered in by Augustus, and the concomitant intensification of the economic growth, which begun in the last decades of the first century C.E. and were maintained throughout the first two centuries C.E., and on the other hand, the innovative and exemplary epigraphic practices of Augustus and of the city of Rome, paved the way for the spread of the epigraphic culture in the provinces and across different social groups,<sup>221</sup> then it is reasonable to expect that the model should work the other way around. Bryan Ward-Perkins has drawn on probably the most influential and persuasive model of the economic growth in the Roman empire elaborated by Keith Hopkins in 1980, in his attempt to account for the political, economic and cultural decline that occurred in the Latin West from the third through the sixth centuries; it goes without saying, that the course of developments was neither straight nor steady, nor occurred to the same

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<sup>219</sup> Charlotte M. Roueché, “Benefactors in the Late Roman Period: the Eastern Empire,” in *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, eds. Michel Christol and Olivier Masson (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 353-68 at pp. 353-54; Salway, “Late Antiquity,” at pp. 364-65. For a summary of the state of affairs in between 235-284, when “both East and West came very close to collapse,” due to the “powerful cocktail of failure against foreign foes, internal civil wars, and fiscal crisis,” see Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome, And the End of Civilization* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), at pp. 33-34.

<sup>220</sup> Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” at pp. 141, 144; Salway, “Late Antiquity,” at pp. 364-65. Charlotte Roueché has not provided the explicit explanation for the significant contraction of the epigraphic output in late antiquity, yet she seems to be inclined towards the economic cause. She assumes that the “professional epigraphic stonemasons could perhaps no longer earn a livelihood” in late antiquity which partly accounts for the characteristically late antique style of the epigraphic script, namely its lack of uniformity and consistency. ala2004 I Introduction.10.

<sup>221</sup> Werner Eck, “Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period,” in *Caesar Augustus, Seven Aspects*, eds. Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 129-69; Géza Alföldy, “Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation. Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik” *Gymnasium* 98 (1991): pp. 289-324; Bodel, “Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian,” at pp. 7-10; Beltrán Lloris, “The ‘Epigraphic Habit’ in the Roman World,” at pp. 144-45.

extent and at the same pace in different provinces of the West.<sup>222</sup> Observable is the correlation (or causation) between the regions in which the economies still flourished under the late empire and in which the epigraphic production displayed more vitality (although the number of produced inscribed monuments everywhere dropped in comparison with the early and high empire): firstly in between the eastern and western empire, whereby the archaeological evidence points to the widespread urban and rural prosperity in the Greek East, and the epigraphic production in the East was comparatively more resilient.<sup>223</sup> In the western empire, the regions which were economically more prosperous, and which displayed more urban and monumental vitality and continuity of the Roman, classical type of civic lifestyle in the fourth and part of the fifth centuries were North Africa, much of Italy, south Spain, Provence and Dalmatia. These regions were also epigraphically comparatively more active.<sup>224</sup> To conclude, rather than to posit that the partial epigraphic recovery in the fourth century was motivated by the desire to display one's faith in order to make it clear to God and to one's co-inhabitants who the Christian was, it seems more plausible that it was due to certain political stability imposed by Diocletian and Constantine, and concomitant with the partial economic and monetary recovery. Nevertheless, the fourth-century Romans were also Christians, whose idiosyncratic notions of the afterlife would naturally find their place in epitaphs, since the funerary context was inextricably connected with one of the main tenets of the Christian doctrine, namely salvation.

Given the scarcity and unreliability of quantitative data from Roman antiquity, any such study is fraught with all sorts of problems. The following should simply serve to suggest that the fact that

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<sup>222</sup> Keith Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire: 200 B.C.-A.D. 400," *JRS* 70 (1980): pp. 101-25. Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome, And the End of Civilization* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

<sup>223</sup> For the more favorable political and military, and more flourishing economic conditions in the late eastern empire, see Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, at pp. 41-42, 46-48, 58-62. Also, for the more prosperous urbanism in the late East, see J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), at pp. 29-74. For a comparative more abundant epigraphic production in the Greek East, see Salway, "Late Antiquity," at p. 365, and for a brief survey of the epigraphic production in the late Asia Minor, see *ala2004 I* Introduction 3 and 4.

<sup>224</sup> Summarily on the different trajectories in different regions of the West, Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, at pp. 128-32. On the varied urban situation in the late West, see Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, at pp. 74-103.

the fourth- and fifth-century epitaphs commemorated Christians is not significant with respect to the epitaphic revival. The sociologist of religion Rodney Stark has attempted to calculate the growth of Christianity from its beginnings to the mid-fourth century by assuming its exponential growth at the rate of 40 percent per decade: the starting number was 1,000 Christians in the year 40 in the empire of 60,000 people. According to Stark's calculus, ca. 56.5 percent of the empire's population would have been Christianized by the mid-fourth century.<sup>225</sup> Given that the majority of the empire's population were rural inhabitants, and that Christianity was first and foremost an urban phenomenon, it is then likely that the majority of the city inhabitants and thus of the "epitaphic population" would have been predominantly Christian in the second half of the fourth century. To support the idea, Bodel has calculated the hypothetical number of Christians in the city of Rome in the fourth century. The consensual number of the inhabitants of the third-century Rome ranges in between 750,000 and 1,000,000, and the estimated size of the early third-century Christian community is 7000, which means that, according to Stark's suggested growth rate of the 40 percent per decade, virtually all inhabitants of the city of Rome would have been Christian by 350. Accordingly, "the notion of purely "Christian" catacombs becomes unproblematic,"<sup>226</sup> which applies to other types of urban burials.

The thesis furthermore wishes to address another methodological problem regarding the tendency to give primacy to textual sources: the narrative and normative texts are valued over inscriptions, as it was shown on the example of Meyer's and Woolf's interpretation of the epigraphic habit, and the epitaphic tombs overshadow the unscribed ones. The point is that Galvão-Sobrinho has overly focused on the funerary texts in isolation from their monumental and burial context. It is legitimate for epitaphs to be the first and foremost object of an analysis, yet it should be borne in mind

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<sup>225</sup> Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity, How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), at pp. 3-29, with Table 1.1 at p. 7.

<sup>226</sup> Bodel, "From *Columbaria* to Catacombs," at pp. 183-84, with quote at p. 184.

that the inscribed gravestones make up part of the monumental funerary culture, which includes anepitaphic tombs as well. The noted proportions of the inscribed and unscribed tombs should serve to moderate Galvão-Sobrinho's statements regarding the extent of the "Christian revival of the epigraphic practice," such as the "spectacular revival," "impressive revival," "an explosion of funerary writing," or that Christian epigraphic record is "embarrassingly vast."<sup>227</sup> Consequently, the verbiage regarding the desire to set up an *inscribed* marker would need to be toned down and the presumed effect that the text was thought of to have had needs to be reconsidered.

With the appreciation of the bulk and historical value of Roman epitaphs, they still need to be considered within their wider burial context. To begin with, John Bodet has estimated the number of the known burials *of any type* at Rome from 25 B. C. E. to 325 C. E. at one and a half percent of the presumed total of those who died during the period (150,000 out of 10,000,000) in order to raise our awareness of the "tiny percentage...of those for which we have any evidence at all."<sup>228</sup> As for the proportion of epitaphic and anepitaphic tombs within a single burial context, the catacombs of Rome represent the most illustrative example as the number of their epitaphs is unsurpassably vast yet only ca. four percent of all graves were marked with inscriptions, that is ca. 35,000 out of ca. 875,000 burials.<sup>229</sup> The zoomed-in picture of the two burial sectors found intact in the 20<sup>th</sup> century remains similar: out of the 650 burials on the via Ostiensis, which grew out of the so-called *cubiculum* of Leo and was connected to the catacombs of Commodilla, only 41 burials (six percent) were marked with inscriptions. Likewise, out of the 325 *loculi* in the galleries A13-A24 of the catacombs of Pamfilus on

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<sup>227</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy," quotes at pp. 434, 437, 445.

<sup>228</sup> John Bodet, "From *Columbaria* to Catacombs," at pp. 235-42. Less pertinently to the remark on Galvão-Sobrinho's method, yet still illustrative of how an extremely small percentage of people left epigraphic traces. Regarding the "epigraphic population" in Dalmatia during the Principate, J. J. Wilkes has estimated that we have a written record of ca. 0.1 percent of the people who inhabited the province, that is, there are some 7,000 individuals recorded in ca. 3,900 inscriptions out of the presumed total of 7,000,000. J. J. Wilkes, "The Population of Roman Dalmatia," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Vol. II. 6. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), at pp. 751-53.

<sup>229</sup> For the estimate of the number of burials in Rome's catacombs, see Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Rom, Freiburg, Wien: Herder, 2003), at p. 14.

the via Salaria vetus only 10 (three percent) were identified with epitaphs. In the catacombs of s. Agnes on the via Nomentana and of ss. Marcellinus and Peter on the via Labicana the proportion is somewhat higher: in the former catacombs, out of 5,753 burials 826 were epitaphic (14 percent), and in the latter ones, 2,200 were epitaphic out of 22,500 burials (ten percent).<sup>230</sup>

The proportion seems to have been significantly different in cemetery basilicas. For example, 586 out of ca. 1,000 burials in the basilica Apostolorum were marked with epitaphs (ca. 59 percent), all of which were inscribed in stone monuments with the high level of craftsmanship. Carlo Carletti has interpreted the disparity between the respective ratios of inscribed and uninscribed monuments in catacombs and cemetery basilicas in terms of the higher socio-economic status and cultural pretensions of the latter occupants.<sup>231</sup>

With respect to the main municipal cemetery at Salona, the Figures 3a and 3b in the Appendix 1 illustrate the proportion of the sarcophagi and the graves under tiles at Manastirine: the latter are expectedly significantly more numerous. As for the proportion of the epitaphic and anepitaphic sarcophagi found at the cemetery of Manastirine, the figures are not readily measurable because of the unlike criteria used to count them. Namely, Ivan Matijević has taken into consideration the fully preserved uninscribed sarcophagi found *in situ* of which there are 68,<sup>232</sup> while Salona IV has collected 199 sarcophagi inscriptions in both Latin and Greek which have been fragmentarily preserved for the most part.<sup>233</sup> Although the ratio of 25 to 75 may not be representative of the situation on the ground but biased towards the inscribed sarcophagi, it is the only assessment we can get at if for no other purpose but to contextualize the inscribed monuments.

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<sup>230</sup> Carlo Carletti, "Un mondo nuovo: epigrafia funeraria dei cristiani a Roma in età postcostantiniana," *Vetera Christianorum* 35 (1998): 39-67, at pp. 43-46.

<sup>231</sup> Carletti, "Un mondo nuovo," at p. 46.

<sup>232</sup> Ivan Matijević, "Anepigrafski sarkofazi *in situ* iz bazilike na Manastirinama," [Anepigraphic sarcophagi *in situ* in the basilica at Manastirine], *Tusculum* 4 (2011): pp. 87-110.

<sup>233</sup> I have surveyed Latin and Greek sarcophagi inscriptions gathered in Salona IV, at pp. 387-1026, and at pp. 1148-1209 and I have counted those that certainly come from Manastirine.

The situation on the ground defies extrapolation of an overarching explanation for the pattern of the epitaphic and anepitaphic catacomb *loculi*, and stone funerary monuments. A few observations are still in order. Not to mark a burial with inscription was the norm in Rome's catacombs which both lends importance to the act of writing an epitaph and calls into question the purpose ascribed to it. As for the former point, Galvão-Sobrinho is right on target by emphasizing the exceptionality and value of the written word, although his picturesque wording resonates with the romanticized view of the way in which the early Christians acted in the catacomb setting. Thus "hastily painted or scribbled...or simply scratched" epitaphs reveal the "frustrated attempts to spell names and words" of a "large number of illiterate and semi-literate Christians," which altogether testifies "to the strong desire of an underclass to put up epitaphs."<sup>234</sup> On the other hand, if the idea that epitaphs played a role as fundamentally important as helping to secure salvation so pervasively penetrated popular imagination, a reasonable assumption is that such epitaphs, which required either small or no outlay and no brushed-up skill, and little time and work, would be significantly more numerous raising the percentage of the epitaphic *loculi* well beyond the four percent. On that note, in his discussion of the low ratio of inscribed *loculi* in catacombs, Danilo Mazzoleni has pointed out that "...it is also true that, if one really desired a written dedication, a short and economical graffito...would have been sufficient." Mazzoleni has connected the lack of an inscription with the illiteracy of occupants rather than to the cost of such epitaphs.<sup>235</sup>

Regarding the sarcophagi as the most frequent monumental tomb in later Roman Salona, the consideration of their two elements is in place in the discussion of the late antique epitaphic habit. Firstly, vocabulary used in epitaphs to refer to tombstones and tombs may be suggestive of how they

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<sup>234</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy," quotes at pp. 448, 449, 450.

<sup>235</sup> Danilo Mazzoleni, "Inscriptions in Roman Catacombs," in *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions*, eds. Vincenzo Ficocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2009), at p. 149.

were conceptualized; the analysis of vocabulary suggests that their functional aspect of the container for the remains of the dead overshadowed their monumental, representative aspect. Secondly, the content of epitaphs may provide hints about the process of preparing sarcophagi and about at what stage in the trajectory the inscribing of texts took place. That should also serve to somewhat moderate our emphasis on the relevance of the written word in the overall tomb scheme.

In the first three centuries C.E. in Salona, the two words most commonly used in epitaphs to refer to a tombstone were the *monumentum* and *titulus*, and the standard expression with the meaning of “to set up a tombstone” was the *monumentum* or *titulum posuit/posuerunt*, whereby *pono* was occasionally interchanged with *facio*. Indeed, the formula most commonly appears in its elliptical form in which either the object of *monumentum* or *titulum*, or both the object and predicate of *posuit/posuerunt* were omitted as understood. The verb *facio* most commonly appears in the formula of *vivus/-a fecit* or *vivi fecerunt sibi (et)*.

To the extent to which it is possible to trace the word usage due to the ellipsis, the word *monumentum* seems to have been all-encompassing, that is, it was applied to tombstones and monuments of various types and sizes, yet only very exceptionally to coffins.<sup>236</sup> On the other hand, the *titulus* appears to have been monument-specific and was metonymically applied only to inscribed stelae and vertical slabs, and particularly to the smaller and simpler ones.<sup>237</sup> In these cases, the inscribed text was obviously the dominant feature of a tombstone and it took precedence over its monumentality in people’s imagination. To note is that there are instances in which the word *titulus* is used in its literal meaning of an “inscription” yet these are comparatively rare in epitaphs and are not pertinent to the

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<sup>236</sup> The following were the stock formulae commonly used in epitaphs in the Latin West. This survey is based on the careful reading of the funerary, honorary, and votive inscriptions from Salona of the first to the seventh centuries. Besides to sarcophagi, the word *monumentum* is applied ubiquitously so I have not listed its examples.

<sup>237</sup> *Titulus*: CIL 03, 1997 = HD054179, 2010+8576 = HD054370, 2111 = HD063058, 2197 = HD050474, 2225 = HD056499, 2241+p. 1509 = HD055501, 2318 = HD062819, 2444 = HD062730, 2627 = HD019087, 9106 = HD063692, 9173 = HD055584, 13003 = HD063976. ILJUG 2133 = HD034627, 2182 = HD034486, 2217 = HD034514, 2622 = HD035057, 2708 = HD035138.

present consideration of the conceptualization of tombstones.<sup>238</sup> The tombstones, most commonly stelae and slabs, were occasionally metaphorically referred to as the *memoria*, whereby the emphasis was on their additional function to preserve the memory of the dead.<sup>239</sup> As for the Greek epitaphs, a single stela inscription might contain a reference to the monument. Denis Feissel has interpreted the word τὸ μῦρον(!) in the phrase ἐποίησεν τὸ μῦρον(!) as the vulgarism of the τὸ μνημεῖον, namely, as the “monument, memorial.”<sup>240</sup> Some of the earliest sarcophagi epitaphs in Salona employ the elliptical formulae and do not reference the coffin itself.<sup>241</sup> The two earliest hints at how coffins were conceptualized and referred to are also proved to have been exceptions to what became the standard coffin-specific phrasing. The sarcophagus epitaph dated to from the 130s to the end of the second century employs the formula

<sup>238</sup> The word *titulus* in its literal meaning: *iste tuum loquitur Petronia nomen iam titulus* (CIL 03, 9610 = S IV, 2: 460 at pp. 826-29 = HD034796), *qui legis (h)unc titulum* (CIL 03, 14855 = HD060780).

<sup>239</sup> Ulpian summarized the legal definition of the *monumentum* (not exclusively of a funerary monument): *Monumentum est quod memoriae servandae gratia existat* (Ulp. *Dig.* 11.7.2.6). For the essential aspect of the various above-ground funerary *monumenta* from the late Republic and Principate to preserve an individual’s memory, see Maureen Carroll, *The Spirits of the Dead*, at pp. 30-59; and for a survey of the concept of memory in contemporary scholarship and how Romans thought of it, see Valerie M. Hope, “Introduction,” in *Memory and Mourning, Studies on Roman Death*, eds. Valerie M. Hope and Janet Huskinson (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), pp. xi-xxiv. *Memoria*: CIL 03, 2007 (stela or slab), 2296 (stela or slab), 2416 (stela or slab), 8862 (stela), 8935 (slab), 8986 (slab), 9024, 9226 = S IV, 2: 492 at pp. 863-65 (sarcophagus), 9578 = S IV, 2: 437 at pp. 785-87 (sarcophagus).

<sup>240</sup> Salona IV, 2: 765 at pp. 1143-44, with a discussion of the word at the p. 1144.

<sup>241</sup> Nenad Cambi dates the two earliest locally produced coffins to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. In one case, *Cassia Pallas* set up the coffin to her patroness *Cassia T(iti) f(ilia) Pomponilla* (CIL 03, 12964 = HD063940; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Pomponilla” at p. 269 and “Pallas” at p. 258 and EDH date the inscription to the high empire). In another case, *Liguria Procilla quae et Albuca* set up the coffin to herself, and to her husband and two sons, who were decuriones of Salona and Issa (CIL 03, 2074 = HD057001; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Menippus” at p. 246, “Procilianus” at p. 274, and “Procilla” at p. 274 dates the inscription to the high empire, and EDH dates the inscription to the second half of the second century). Cambi, *Die Sarkophage der lokalen Werkstätten in römischen Dalmatien (2. bis 4. Jh. n. Chr.)*, cat. no. 57 at p. 108, and cat. no. 189 at p. 135. Yet another early epitaphic coffin commemorated *T(itus) F(lavius?) T(iti) f(ilius) Trofimas Smyrnaeus* (ILJUG 128 = HD032950); Cambi dates the coffin to the early second century, EDH dates the inscription to the second half of the second century, and Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Trophimus, Trophimas, Trofimas,” at p. 314 dates the inscription to the high empire. Other earlier examples of locally produced sarcophagi are the coffin of *Albia Cale* (ILJUG 2709 = HD035139; Cambi, *Die Sarkophage*, cat. no. 41 at p. 105 dates it to the mid-second century, ILJUG 2709 at p. 362 dates it more broadly to the second century, while Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Albius” at p. 57, “Cale” at p. 168, “Hermes” at p. 215 and “Marinus” at p. 239 dates it to the high empire), the coffin of the spouses *Livius Primitivus* and *Iulia Firma* (ILJUG 2730 = HD035159; Cambi, *Die Sarkophage*, cat. no. 42 at p. 105 dates it to the mid-second century, Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Firmus” at p. 204 and “Primitivus” at p. 271 dates it to the high empire), and the coffin of the spouses *Maria Helpis* and *Aur(elius) Secundus* (CIL 03, 13007 = HD063980; Cambi, *Die Sarkophage*, cat. no. 60 at p. 109 dates the coffin to the mid-second century, and Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Elpis, Helpis” at p. 192 and “Secundus” at p. 292 and EDH date the inscription to the high empire).

*vivus fecit* in its elliptical form then followed by the formula *b(oc) m(onumentum) b(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*.<sup>242</sup>

Yet another one, datable to the second century, refers to the coffin as the *monumentum* (*em[it] monimentum*), and employs the formula *in f(ronte) p(edes) XIIII in a(gro) p(edes) XIIII*.<sup>243</sup> These were stock phrases used for funerary monuments of the first and second centuries, namely stelae and slabs (especially the large and/or marble ones), arae, base statues, and architectural elements,<sup>244</sup> but they were exceptionally applied to coffins in these two early instances,<sup>245</sup> before the particular notions about coffins and the sarcophagi-specific formulae were crystallized. On the same note, the sarcophagus dated to the first half of the fourth century was also figuratively conceptualized: the expression used was *fecit memoria(m)*.<sup>246</sup> Finally, although not a comparable instance because the vocabulary expresses the ideas about the afterlife and grave rather than the conceptualization of a tombstone – as is nicely flesh out by the third-century sarcophagus epitaph which imagines the given *arca* as the *domus aeternalis*<sup>247</sup> – an another fourth-century coffin was metaphorically referred to as the *domus aeterna* keeping alive the pagan imagery and vocabulary of the hereafter.<sup>248</sup>

Besides these exceptional instances, coffins were standardly referred to as the *arca* or less often as the *sarcophagus*: to illustrate, in the inscriptions collected by Salona IV, the word *arca* is attested in 91 and *sarcophagus* in 22 instances.<sup>249</sup> The usage of the word *arca* was earlier too. The earliest attestation appears

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<sup>242</sup> *T(itus) (A)el(ius) Pasiphilus* set up the monument to his spouse *Julia Gemella* and his son *Petronius Staphylus*. AE 1989, 0604 = HD018327. Kirigin et al., “Salona 86/7,” at p. 42.

<sup>243</sup> ILJUG 2185 = HD034638. P(ublius) Mescenius Dorus bought the monument for himself and his wife Statia Epiteuxis.

<sup>244</sup> The following are the illustrative cases. Stelae: CIL 03, 2004+p. 2328,125, and 8762; ILJUG 2097, and 2182. Slabs: CIL 03, 2060 = HD054185, 2083+p. 1509 = HD055643, and 2497+p. 1032 = HD062163; ILJUG 0682 = HD034094, and 2098 = HD034439. Statue on base: CIL 03, 8713 = HD062428. Altar: CIL 03, 8764+p. 1475 = HD062460, and 8786 = HD062647. Architectural element: CIL 03, 8806 = HD062950; ILJUG 2128 = HD034623.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Referencing ILJUG 2185 = HD034638, Cambi also remarked that this is the only instance in which the formula *in f(ronte) in a(gro)* was applied to a coffin. Cambi, *Sarkofazi na istočnoj Jadranskoj obali, III-VII st. n. e.*, at p. 298.

<sup>246</sup> CIL 03, 9578 = S IV, 2: 437 at pp. 785-87 = HD034746.

<sup>247</sup> ILJUG 2714 = HD035144.

<sup>248</sup> *Ulpus Gorgonius* composed the epitaph for his spouse *Ulpia Celerina*. CIL 03, 14292 = S IV, 1: 224 at pp. 505-10 = HD061693. For the motif of *domus aeterna* in Latin epitaphs see, Richard Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942).

<sup>249</sup> Françoise Prévot, “Introduction,” in *Salona IV*, at p. 37.

to have been in the threat formula against the tomb violation as recorded in the early third-century sarcophagus which the *aug(ustalis) L(ucius) Pomponius Draco* set up for himself and his spouse *Iulia Annia*.<sup>250</sup> Other early attestations of the word *arca* comprise two coffins dated to the first half of the third century which the spouses *Aelia Messiana* and *Aurel(ius) Saturninus*,<sup>251</sup> and the spouses *Calpurnia Pitian(a)* and *Publius Claudius* set up to themselves:<sup>252</sup> the word *arca* is the object in the formula *vivus sibi*. The words *arca* and *sarcophagus* were regularly attested in the epitaphs of the fourth and fifth centuries as the formulae of setting up and acquiring a coffin increasingly tended to be written in full, and the menace formulae against the tomb violation became pervasive.<sup>253</sup> Moreover, the characteristic sixth-century formula stating whom the coffin was set up to began with the word *arca* followed by the occupant's name in the dative case.<sup>254</sup> Likewise, Greek epitaphs refer to the coffin as the *ἡ σορός* and *ἡ ἄρκα*, the latter being the transcribed loanword of the Latin term.<sup>255</sup>

The most common verb used to denote “to set up a coffin” was *pono*, while the verb *facio* is conspicuously missing, the two instances of which – as noted above – appear conjoined with the words

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<sup>250</sup> CIL 03, 2098+p. 1509. = HD056884. Cambi, *Die Sarkophage*, cat. no. 174 at p. 132 dates the coffin to the early third century, and Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Annius, Anius” at p. 151 and “Draco” at p. 191 and EDH date the inscription to the High Empire.

<sup>251</sup> ILJUG 2102 = HD028027; ILJUG 2102 at p. 203 dates the inscription to the first half of the third century, which EDH has accepted, and Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Messianus” at p. 246 and “Saturninus” at p. 288 dates the inscription to the high empire.

<sup>252</sup> ILJUG 2714 = HD035144.

<sup>253</sup> CIL 03, 2043+pp. 1030 and 1509 = HD063417; 2207 = HD061150; 2108 = HD063059; 2226+p. 1031 = HD062884; 2233+8559+8563+13891+pp. 2323 and 2328,125 = HD034749; 2240 = HD062874; 2490 = HD062671; 2490 = HD062671; 2628+9259+12848 = HD062937; 2631 = HD062475; 2635+9673 = HD062936; 2654+865 = HD054211; 6399 = HD063418; 8727+p. 1510 = HD034742; 8742 = HD062536; 8869 = HD063293; 9487+12856 = HD062926; 9507+p. 2139 = HD034774; 9532+p. 2328,126 = HD034892; 9533 = 034891; 9546 = HD035252; 9568+12869 = HD034786; 9535 = HD059985; 9569+12870 = HD059876; 9585 = HD034793; 9597+p. 2140 = HD034756; 9621 = HD034757; 9663+9094+9572+12842 = HD034766; 12933+13896 = HD034763; 13142+p. 2326 = HD034901; 13151 = HD034753; 14306,5 = HD034743; 14924 = HD034797; 9565+p. 2140 = HD034784. ILJUG 2129 = HD034624; 2241 = HD034537; 2711 = HD035141. S IV, 2: 420 = HD064335; S IV, 2: 424 = HD064337; S IV, 2: 428 = HD064338; S IV, 2: 634 = HD064457. I have left out the texts that are too fragmentarily preserved.

<sup>254</sup> For the formula and the list of the coffin epitaphs that employ it, see Nancy Gauthier, “Introduction,” in *Salona IV*, at pp. 44-45.

<sup>255</sup> *Σορός*: FS III, 29 = S IV, 2: 781; ILJUG 2040 = S IV, 2: 792; CIL 03, 9579 = S IV, 2: 796; S IV, 2: 814. *Ἄρκα*: S IV, 2: 802, and 815. The Latin term *piscina* was also borrowed and transcribed as *ἡ φισαῖνη* (CIL 03, 14894 = S IV, 2: 747).

of *monumentum* and *memoria*. For example, in contrast to the standard formula of *vivus/-a fecit*, which can be found on all other types of tombstones, the equivalent Latin and Greek expression used for coffins was *vivus/-a posuit* and ἔθηκεν ταύ[την τήν] σορόν respectively.<sup>256</sup> Sarcophagi datable approximately to the second and third centuries employed the formula less often in its full form of *arcam posuit*, and more commonly in its elliptical form.<sup>257</sup> By analogy with the cases in which the object was recorded, it is reasonable to assume that the coffin was thought of as the *arca* rather than as the *monumentum*.

Connected to the usage of the verb *pono* in relation to coffins, namely in relation to the rite of inhumation, is the issue pertaining to the religious significance of the words *depono*, *depositio* and *depositus/-a*. These words are commonly thought of as specifically Christian expressing their ideas of the burial as the temporary resting place before resurrection,<sup>258</sup> and Salona IV has used it as the evidence of the religious affiliation of sarcophagi occupants.<sup>259</sup> Carlo Carletti has likewise pointed out that the words are not specifically Christian and that they do not convey their ideas about the afterlife.<sup>260</sup> The currency of the words *depono*, *depositio* and *depositus/-a* became widespread in the late antique epitaphs, and it coincided with the pervasiveness of the rite of inhumation, and with the pervasive Christianization of society and their visibility in epigraphic record. Nevertheless, put into perspective with the vocabulary applied to coffins before the fourth-century, whereby the verb *pono* was exclusively used, *depono* simply appears to have been a late Latin counterpart of the earlier *pono* and means nothing

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<sup>256</sup> ILJUG 2040A = S IV, 2: 792. Otherwise, Greek epitaphs rarely employ such formula.

<sup>257</sup> The formulae appear in their full forms in: CIL 03, 2098+p. 1509. = HD056884, ILJUG 2102 = HD028027, and 2714 = HD035144. Besides the second-century coffins listed in the n. 37 at p. 10, in the following later second- and third-century coffins formulae appear in their elliptical forms: CIL 03, 2098+p. 1509. = HD056884 (the word *arca* though is attested in the threat formula); ILJUG 2103 = HD034443 (ILJUG 2103 at p. 203 dates it to the second century), 2125 = HD021989 (ILJUG 2125 at p. 208 dates it to the third century), 2135 = HD034629 (ILJUG 2135 at pp. 209-10 dates it to the third century), 2151 = HD034455, 2709 = HD035139 (ILJUG 2709 at p. 362 dates it to the second century), 2710 = HD035140, 2725 = HD035154, 2733 = HD035162.

<sup>258</sup> Betty I. Knott, "The Christian "Special Language" in Inscriptions," *Vigiliae Christianae* 10/2 (1956): pp. 65-79, at p. 76. Brent Shaw, "Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33/4 (1984): pp. 457-97, at p. 482.

<sup>259</sup> Françoise Prévot, "24. Communauté chrétienne," in *Salona IV*, at p. 83.

<sup>260</sup> Carletti, "Nascita e sviluppo," at p. 151.

more than that the remains, namely the bones, are “laid,” “placed down.” The funerary text, inscribed on a horizontal slab or an architectural member and set up in between 41-70, demonstrates the continuity of the usage of the verb *depono* and proves that it is conceptually connected with inhumation, namely with the bone remains of the deceased: the freedman *C(aius) Iulius Sceptus* “forbids that the bones be placed down in any other way in his monument” (*in h(oc) m(onumento) veto aliter ossua deponi quam Primae et nisi sunt*); given the content of the text, he probably meant that he forbids that the bones of any other person besides those specified in the inscription be placed down, whereby *aliter* maybe stands for the genitive singular *alterius* rather than an adverb.<sup>261</sup>

To sum up, the survey of the terms applied to sarcophagi was carried out to underline the fact that the literal language was used for them. That stands in the stark contrast to the figurative vocabulary and language used for all other types of the above-ground tombstones. That suggests that people thought differently of coffins on the one hand, and stelae, slabs, altars, *cippi* on the other, and accordingly put them in different mental categories. The difference likely stems from the definition of what constituted a tomb (*sepulchrum*) and what was defined as the *res religiosa* and the *locus religiosus*,<sup>262</sup> and these were the remains of the deceased. As Yan Thomas has put it: “The tomb was strictly defined as the space actually occupied by the deceased,” and “the act of burial gave birth to the tomb...which constituted the *locus religiosus*,” and it was solely the body that rendered the sepulcher “inviolable, inalienable and immune from seizure.” The legal quality of the funerary monument depended on its “contact and contiguity with the body that it contained.”<sup>263</sup> Moreover, while the legal definition of what constituted the *violatio sepulchri* in the early and high empire did not include the *reliquiae*, because

<sup>261</sup> CIL 03, 2097+p. 2135+8585 = HD063871.

<sup>262</sup> For the Roman legal definitions of the *res religiosa* and the *locus religiosus*, Fernand de Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romains* (Milano: Giuffrè editore, 1963), at pp. 52-60.

<sup>263</sup> Yan Thomas, “*Res Religiosae*: On the Categories of Religion and Commerce in Roman Law,” in *Law, Anthropology and the Constitution of the Social, Making Persons and Things*, eds. Alain Pottage and Martha Mundy (Cambridge: CUP, 2004): pp. 40-72, quotes at pp. 44-45.

once the entombed “body” becomes violated it immediately becomes “corpse,” in the fourth century the religious status of the tomb was supplemented by the laws that banned the “profanation of bodies themselves,” that is, the violation of the *reliquiae* also became the *violatio sepulchri*.<sup>264</sup>

According to Verity Platt, specific to coffins is the “concern with the sarcophagus’s status as a practical and metaphorical frame.”<sup>265</sup> The analysis of the vocabulary employed in sarcophagi epitaphs referring to the container, which shifted from the figurative language attested in a few early examples to the exclusively literal language, suggests that from the third century onward the sarcophagus’s functional aspect prevailed over its metaphorical, “monumental” aspect. Moreover, the correlation is observable between the increased “horror at the exhumation of corpses” noticeable from the beginning of the fourth century, to which the emperor Constantius II responded and legally defined as the *violatio sepulchri* in 357 C.E.,<sup>266</sup> and the pervasiveness of the fine threats against the tomb violation in the late Roman sarcophagi in Salona.<sup>267</sup> Finally, it is observable the growing minimalism of its panels: firstly figural and ornamental decorations completely disappeared in the late fourth century and ultimately even the frame of an inscription field ceased to be carved (Figure 4, Appendix 1). The epitaphs were still inscribed on the blank panels (Figure 9, Appendix 1), but the complete simplification of the coffin panels might point to the way they were thought of, namely as the body containers. To sum up, the analysis attempted to understand how the sarcophagi in late antique Salona may have been

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<sup>264</sup> Thomas, “*Res Religiosae*,” at pp. 65-66.

<sup>265</sup> Verity Platt, “Framing the Dead on Roman Sarcophagi,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 61/62 (2012): pp. 213-227, quote at p. 213.

<sup>266</sup> Idem a. ad populum. qui aedificia manium violant, domus ut ita dixerim defunctorum, geminum videntur facinus perpetrare, nam et sepultos spoliant destruendo et vivos pollunt fabricando. si quis igitur de sepulchro abstulerit saxa vel marmora vel columnas aliamve quamcumque materiam fabricae gratia sive id fecerit venditurus, decem pondo auri cogatur inferre fisco: sive quis propria sepulchra defendens hanc in iudicium querellam detulerit sive quicumque alius accusaverit vel officium nuntiaverit. quae poena priscae severitati accedit, nihil enim derogatum est illi supplicio, quod sepulchra violantibus videtur impositum. huic autem poenae subiacebunt et qui corpora sepulta aut reliquias contrectaverint. dat. id. iun. mediolano constantio a. viiii et iuliano caes. ii cons. (CTh. 9.17.4, a. 357)

<sup>267</sup> The fine threats against the violation of the sarcophagi are attested in 133 instances in the late Roman Salona. Prévot, “Formules de protection de la tombe,” in *Salona IV*, at pp. 52-58; J.-P. Caillet, “L’amende funéraire dans l’épigraphie de Salone,” *V.A.H.D.* 81 (1988): pp. 33-45.

conceptualized, and the examination suggests that the functional aspect of sarcophagi may have prevailed over its metaphorical aspect. That is not to say that the funerary texts lost their relevance, but that their postulated effect of securing salvation should be reconsidered.

The attempt to moderate the importance that Galvão-Sobrinho has attached to Christian epitaphs, finds its support in the number of anepitaphic sarcophagi. As noted above, Matijević has numbered 68 examples of uninscribed sarcophagi preserved *in situ* in Manastirine.<sup>268</sup> The question is whether the epitaphs were meant to be inscribed yet circumstantially they happened not to have been, or they were intentionally left blank. According to Matijević, few of them display the beginnings of stone dressing with finer tools but were never finished,<sup>269</sup> in most cases, they seem to have been finished products.

The financial argument is not generally plausible explanation for the lack of decorations and inscriptions. Namely, the following chapter will suggest that costs as recorded in funerary inscriptions usually referred both to the monument and the epitaph, and not just to the text as scholars occasionally assume, which would make the addition of inscriptions overly expensive and prohibitive, and would make them symbols of one's economic power more than anything else. To illustrate, the locally produced limestone sarcophagus from Salona dated to from the second half of the fourth to the mid-fifth century, which Severa set up to her husband, the *protector* Flavius Magnianus, cost 15 *solidi*,<sup>270</sup> and since it is very likely that the smallest part of the total sum pertained to the inscription of the text, it is improbable that the price of an epitaph itself would be prohibitive to a person who could lay out an already significant amount on a blank sarcophagus.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Matijević, "Anepigraphic sarcophagi in situ in the basilica at Manastirine," pp. 87-110.

<sup>269</sup> Matijević, "Anepigraphic sarcophagi in situ in the basilica at Manastirine," at pp. 91 and 110.

<sup>270</sup> CIL 03, 8742 = S IV, 2: 404, at pp. 727-729. It was found at the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the secondary usage in the present-day Kaštel Lukšić, namely on the *ager Salonitanus*. It was lost likely around the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. For a list of recorded prices in late antique funerary monuments in Salona, see S IV, 1, at p. 51.

<sup>271</sup> Although the issue is only partly comparable, Russell tends to dismiss affordability as the reason for leaving sarcophagi unfinished, specifically to leave portraits blank, and has asked "why go to all that effort only to leave your sarcophagus part-finished?" Ben Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade* (Oxford, OUP, 2013), at p. 304.

Furthermore, there is the possibility that a sarcophagus was purchased and installed during one's lifetime and that an epitaph was meant to be added upon one's death. The following examination of funerary inscriptions attempts to find hints for the identification of the stage in the preparation process during which the texts may have been inscribed in order to understand whether the anepitaphic sarcophagi were intentionally left blank.

Without making consistent and clear distinction between different stages in the process, namely, between the acquisition of a monument, addition of the text, and its installation, epitaphs may contain information which allows us to make conjectures about the sequence of steps. The following are epitaphs representative of the cases in which the tomb, whether the *piscina* or sarcophagus, was acquired, set up and inscribed on a seemingly single occasion during clients' lifetime; all inscribed monuments under consideration can be dated to the fourth century.

1. *Aurr(eli) M[a]rcianus Liabin / civis Afer et Quintina / uxor ei[us] vivi sibi / hanc p[ri]scinam / virginem a se con/paratam con/stituerunt*<sup>272</sup>
2. *Fl(avius) Iulius z[aconus] et / Aurel(ia) Ia[n]nua con]/inx eius h[oc] sarcofa/gum(!) sibi [vibi] posuerunt / si quis pos[t] nostram pau/sationem [hoc] sarcofa/gum(!) ape[r]ire voluerit in]/ferit aec(c)l[esiae]! Salon(itanae) ar]/genti libr[as] quinquaginta / / [Dep(ositio)] / [Iuli] / [zaco]/[nis!] / [die] / [IIII] / [Nonas] / [Novem]/[bres] / [Datia]/[no et] / [Cerea]/[le] / [co(n)ss(ulibus)]*<sup>273</sup>

These epitaphs follow the same two-fold pattern: it is firstly stated that the tomb was acquired and/or set up during the couple's lifetime (*comparo, emo, pono, ordino, constituo*), followed by the fine threat against the potential tomb violators. Most of these texts are the statements of one's property ownership rather than the epitaphs proper. Since the deceased's age or the day of one's death or burial is commonly

<sup>272</sup> CIL 03, 13137 = S IV, 1: 81. The parallel example: CIL 03, 9567 = S IV, 1: 82.

<sup>273</sup> CIL 03, 2654 + 865. The parallel examples: CIL 03, 2043+pp. 1030, 1509; 2108; 2207; 9585, 9569+12870, 9663+9094=9689+9572+12842.

lacking, it seems that the tombs were acquired, inscribed and installed in a single instance, and those pieces of information were not added upon the occupant's death.

There are exceptions to the pattern, such as the sarcophagus of the deacon *Fl(avius) Iulius* and his wife *Aurel(ia) Ia[nn]a[ria]* upon whose death an additional text was inscribed on the already set-up monument recording the day of Iulius' burial.<sup>274</sup> Likewise, *Fl(avius) Virgiliannus* and his wife *Aur(elia) Ursilla* commissioned the sarcophagus during their lifetime, but the text records Virgilianus' age at death.<sup>275</sup> It is possible to conceive a scenario in which the couple commissioned sarcophagus anticipating Virgilianus' imminent death, and that the monument was set up and inscribed at the same time; it is also possible that sarcophagus was sitting blank for a while. Similarly, the epitaph of Constantius was inscribed upon his death on the already installed sarcophagus at the side of the inscription field which had been filled with the epitaph of his predeceased wife Honoria.<sup>276</sup>

Two other epitaphs allow the possibility that the sarcophagi were purchased and installed during the patron's lifetime yet were inscribed posthumously. The epitaph of *Aurelia Victorina* records that she bought a sarcophagus with her own funds, her age at death, and that her alumnus *Fortunatus* "made it upon her death according to his vow."<sup>277</sup> It was not stated what her alumnus exactly made, regarding which opinions differ. Nenad Cambi mentioned in passing that the alumnus Fortunatus had the epitaph inscribed upon Victorina's death on the already prepared coffin, while Françoise Prévot understood that he had the monument set up from the scratch.<sup>278</sup> It is nevertheless stated she "bought the coffin" (*emit arca(m)*), and the verb employed for Fortunatus' activity is *fecit*, for which it was shown that it barely ever appeared on coffins, and that it was never associated with the words *arca*

<sup>274</sup> CIL 03, 2654+865 = S IV, 1: 152 at pp. 388-90.

<sup>275</sup> CIL 03, 9585 = S IV, 1: 221 at pp. 497-500.

<sup>276</sup> CIL 03, 9506 = S IV, 1: 159 at pp. 401-04.

<sup>277</sup> CIL 03, 2240 = S IV, 2: 384.

<sup>278</sup> CIL 03, 2240 = S IV, 2: 384 at pp. 696-97, with Prévot's translation at p. 696). Cambi, *Sarkofazi na istočnoj Jadranskoj obali, III-VII st. n. e.*, at p. 296.

and *sarcophagus*, namely the syntagma *sarcophagum* or *arcam fecit/fecerunt* does not occur in the sarcophagi epitaphs from Salona. The usage of the verb *fecit* may thus signal that it referred to the inscription whereby the object *titulum*, taken in its literal sense, would have been implied. Also, there are two instances which attest that the standard formulae stating that individuals provided in their wills for a sarcophagus to be set up for them still had currency.<sup>279</sup> On the other hand, and in a less official manner, Fortunatus made a vow to fulfill the task of, as it is argued, inscribing the epitaph, the vow that was perhaps needed because to later add a text, once a sarcophagus was installed, seems to have been exceptional.

The same can be argued for the sarcophagus of *Au(relius) Vindemius* and his wife *Lucia* whose epitaph has two voices.<sup>280</sup> It opens with the sentence in the third person singular stating that “*Au(relius) Vindemius*, who lived for 60 years, set up this sarcophagus for himself and his dearest wife *Lucia*,” and continues with the regular menace against tomb violators composed in the first-person singular (*de her[edi]bus meis*). It is thus possible that *Aur. Vindemius* purchased his sarcophagus and had it installed, and gave provision for his epitaph to be inscribed posthumously, which contained precise instructions of who is entitled to burial in the sarcophagus, hence the stipulation was inscribed in the first-person singular as his own words seem to have been directly transferred onto the sarcophagus.<sup>281</sup>

These epitaphs do not record how the tomb was obtained, but the assumption is that it was purchased straight from the workshop and stonemason, as is attested in the inscribed sarcophagus,

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<sup>279</sup> Valeria Hermogenia h(onesta) f(emina) die V Kal(endarum) / iuniarum quinquagesimo octavo / anno finita est viva se arcam / de suo poni iussit (CIL 03, 9621 = S IV, 2: 415 at pp. 748-49). [Aure]lius Alexsander(!) b(e)n(e)/[f(iciarius) legio]nis XI Claudi(a)e v<i>bus(!) / sibi suo / ius(s)it testamento arcam / <p=R>oni (CIL 03, 8727 = S IV, 2: 419 at pp. 756-58). Both are limestone sarcophagi dated to the fourth century, found and still preserved *in situ* at Manastirine.

<sup>280</sup> Au(relius) Vindemius qui vixit / annus! sexsaginta(!) arca(m) / sibi et coniugi su(a)e carissi/[m(a)e Luci(a)e [pos]uit si qui aut/em de her[edi]bus meis se ipsum / vel alios [---] suorum su(a)e [---] / [-----] / [---]rum posuerit here[d---] (CIL 03, 2226 = S IV, 2: 396 at pp. 713-14).

<sup>281</sup> The illuminating example for the practice is the tomb inscription of C(aius) Popilius Heracla from Rome, which explicitly states that the text was copied from his will, and the funerary text is accordingly written in the first-person singular (AE 1945, 0136 = AE 1949, 0196 = EDCS-15000127).

dated to 438 C.E. and found in the present-day Trogir situated some 20 km north-west from Salona, which *Arpacianus* bought from the stonecutter *Proiectus* for his deceased wife *Maximilla*.<sup>282</sup> On the other hand, funerary inscriptions attest that the practice of donating,<sup>283</sup> repurchasing<sup>284</sup> or making over tombs by will<sup>285</sup> from private individuals was common hence the emphasis by *Aur(elius) M[a]rcianus Iabin* and his wife *Aur(elia) Quintina* that they set up the *p[ri]scina* having bought it brand new.<sup>286</sup> Regarding the tombs whose ownership changed hands, the question is whether the previous owner had installed them in a burial ground yet had left them blank, so that they were inscribed only later by the new proprietors. That seems to be a plausible assumption in the case of *Aurelius Sextilius* whom *Quiriaca* (=Cyriaca) bequeathed her sarcophagus to,<sup>287</sup> and in the case of the sarcophagus, donated to *Aur(elius) Amurus* and *Aur(elia) Quinta*, which was identified by its location in the *(h)orto Metrodori*.<sup>288</sup> needed because to later add a text once a sarcophagus was installed seems to have been exceptional. Otherwise, the purchase, adding inscription and installation were occasioned most commonly by the recent death of a family member and seem to have been done altogether in the same instance upon the death.<sup>289</sup> To conclude, funerary texts suggest that to install a sarcophagus with the intention to add an epitaph later seems rarely to have been the case, and that the anepitaphic sarcophagi were more likely intentionally

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<sup>282</sup> Dep(ositio) Maximillae d(ie) II Non(as) Iun(ias) / cons(sulibus) d(ominis) n(ostris) Theodosio XVI et Fau[s]/to vv(iris) cc(lari)ss(imis) comparavit ipsum / sepulc(rum) vir eius Arpacianus / a Proiecto lapid(ario). (CIL 03, 14929 = AE 1900, 0140).

<sup>283</sup> CIL 03, 2207 = S IV, 2: 386, at pp. 699-700.

<sup>284</sup> CIL 03, 9567 = S IV, 1: 82 at pp. 278-81.

<sup>285</sup> CIL 03, 14306,5 = S IV, 1: 233, at pp. 528-30.

<sup>286</sup> CIL 03, 13137 = S IV, 1: 81.

<sup>287</sup> CIL 03, 14306,5 = S IV, 1: 233 at pp. 528-30. Cf. Pascale Chevalier and Françoise Prévot have suggested the same reconstruction of circumstances. S IV, 1: 233, at p. 530.

<sup>288</sup> CIL 03, 2207 = S IV, 2: 386 at pp. 699-700.

<sup>289</sup> Typical late third and fourth century examples are: *Aur(eliae) Iulianae puell(a)e inn(o)centissim(a)e qui(!) vixit ann(os) dece(m) septe(m) mensis(!) undecim / dies duodecim Fl(avius) Iulius et / Aurelia Emerius arca(m) posu(erunt) fili(a)e d(e)p(osita) d(ie) XVII [K(alendas)] / Ian(uarias)*. (CIL 03, 2233 + p. 2328, 125 + 8559 + p. 2323 + 8563 + p. 2323 + 13891 = S IV, 2: 382 at pp. 692-94 = HD034749). *Iuliae Aureliae Hilarae / quae vixit annis XXVIII / m(ensibus) VII d(iebus) II Aurel(ius) Hecatus / coniugi castissimae / et incomparabili posu(it) et sibi (ILJUG 2355 = S IV, 2: 408 = HD034744)*. Epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries are characterized by the formulae of *depositio* or *depositus/-a*, and *arca* followed by the occupant's name in the dative case, and commonly do not record commemorators, nor the additional pieces of information as to the circumstances of preparing one's tomb.

left blank, which would support the idea that to inscribe an epitaph was not as the essential aspect of funerary commemoration to Christians as Galvão-Sobrinho has it.

The consideration of the late Roman sarcophagi from Salona suggests that an epitaph was not the essential element of funerary commemoration. It seems that what mattered the most to Christians of Salona was to be entombed and protected from violation according to Roman law. Thus, the notion that the “statements of faith” were the essential feature of the “Christian epitaphic culture” is, as suggested, the unquestioned legacy of the nineteenth-century partisan scholarship and the political concept of “Christian epigraphy.” Galvão-Sobrinho’s statement that “a declaration of faith in resurrection and eternal life” are “one of the most striking features of Christian funerary epigraphy,” and that “virtually all Christian memorials” display it, needs to be redressed.<sup>290</sup>

From the fourth century onward, Christian funerary discourse manifests itself in a variety of forms within the corpus from Rome itself and across the regions, and cannot be schematically outlined thus the opinions of what expressions dominate the funerary record remain somewhat impressionistic. Yet the overview of the Christian funerary themes and formulae suggests that the notions of the afterlife were most often summarily expressed in the sleep and rest formulae, while the topic of resurrection rarely figured in the content of epitaphs.<sup>291</sup> The words of Peter Brown nicely summarize the point of the chapter which aimed to question both the modern concept of “Christian epigraphy” and the interpretation for the revival of “Christian inscriptions” in the fourth century. “‘The Epitaphic Habit’ that characterized late antique Christian cemeteries conferred on the dead no more than the unproblematic, ascribed status of spirits ‘at rest.’”<sup>292</sup> Brown has emphasized that the “prayers,

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<sup>290</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy,” at p. 453.

<sup>291</sup> Charles Pietri, “La mort en Occident dans l’épigraphie latine: de l’épigraphie païenne à l’épigraphie chrétienne, 3-6 siècles,” *La Maison-Dieu* 144 (1980): pp. 25-48.

<sup>292</sup> Peter Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other World: Death and Afterlife between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Yale University 1996), at p. 81.

almsgiving and offering at the Eucharist” were the actions that “had the power to alter the fate of the dead” and “not the fancy tombs.”<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Peter Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul, Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), quote at p.

### CHAPTER 3: THE COST OF A STONE FUNERARY MONUMENT

Cost is the first and foremost eliminating factor leaving the stone funerary monuments, whether the inscribed or un-inscribed ones, beyond the means of a good number of people. Yet, historians disagree on the matter of affordability of inscribed funerary monuments. Richard Duncan-Jones has collected epigraphically attested costs in Africa and Italy, and has again discussed the costs of the funerary monuments in his book on the Roman economy; he has focused on the prices per se.<sup>294</sup> The first issue is what these prices exactly referred to because it is unclear whether the amount referred to an inscription, a whole monument, and/or also a burial plot and a funeral.<sup>295</sup> For example, in his discussion on the cost of late antique inscribed funerary monuments, Handley firstly acknowledges that it is unclear what a price exactly referred to, but later on focuses entirely on the text itself and accounts for the price differences between “epitaphs” and/or “inscriptions” with reference to the number of their lines and words.<sup>296</sup> The topic of the cost of funerary monuments merits a thorough treatment on its own, and thesis here suggest that a cost, if not stated otherwise, referred to the monument in its entirety.

Literary and legal evidence for funerary arrangements of the late republican and early imperial western Empire comes from the Rome-based authors and the so-called *leges libitinariae* from the Campanian towns of Puteoli and Cumae.<sup>297</sup> The ever-present concern of scholars is to what extent

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<sup>294</sup> Richard Duncan-Jones, “Costs, Outlays and *Summae Honorariae* from Roman Africa,” *Papers of the British school at Rome*, Vol. 30 (1962): pp. 47-115; “An Epigraphic Survey of Costs in Roman Italy,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 33 (1965): pp. 189-306; *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1974, 1982), at pp. 79-80, 127-32

<sup>295</sup> Saller and Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations,” at p. 128, n. 21, and Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 37, and n. 27 at p. 37.

<sup>296</sup> Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at pp. 37-39.

<sup>297</sup> For the *leges libitinariae*, see: Jean-Jacques Aubert, “Corpse Disposal in the Roman colony of Puteoli: Public Concern and Private Enterprise,” *Noctes Campanae: Studi di storia antica ed archeologia preromana e romana in memoria di Martin Frederiksen* Vol. 7 (2005): pp. 141-57; John Bodet, “The Organization of the Funerary Trade at Puteoli and Cumae,” *Libitina e dintorni: Atti dell’ XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l’épigraphie* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2004), pp. 147-72; Jane F. Gardner, and Thomas Wiedemann, ed. *Roman Household: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1991): pp. 24-

evidence from Rome and Italy is applicable to the rest of the Empire. John Bodel has made that point and warned against generalizing Campanian evidence. An example Bodel has adduced deals with the provision from the *lex Puteolana* (P. II, 7) that forbids employing tattooed workmen (i.e. with the criminal record) and operating in the night, while Martial (8.75.9-10) mentions tattooed corpse-bearers working in the night in Rome.<sup>298</sup> Yet these two sources, a normative and a narrative one, possibly speak to the same reality in cities. Also, these seem to be details of comparatively lesser importance. Disposal of the dead was an important infrastructural concern of Roman municipalities. Given the standardization of the governance of Roman towns, and of the spatial separation of a town and its suburb, and given the structural similarity of Roman burial grounds,<sup>299</sup> it is reasonable to envisage structurally similar municipal arrangement of the disposal of the dead throughout the Empire.<sup>300</sup>

Total funerary expenditure would include three distinct outlays each paid to a different supplier: a funeral (*funus*) serviced by, for example, a funerary trade or voluntary association,<sup>301</sup> a burial location (*locus*), and a monumental tomb, a tombstone (*monumentum, titulus, memoria, statua* etc.), and/or a marker

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7; François Hinard and Jean Christian Dumont, ed., *Libitina: Pompes funèbres et supplices en Campanie à l'époque d'Auguste. Édition, traduction et commentaire de la Lex Libitinae Puteolana* (Paris: De Boccard, 2003).

<sup>298</sup> Bodel, "The Organization of the Funerary Trade," at p. 147.

<sup>299</sup> A useful survey is Nicholas Purcell, "Tomb and Suburb," in *Römische Gräberstrassen. Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, eds. Henner von Hesberg, and Paul Zanker (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1987): pp. 25-41.

<sup>300</sup> On the responsibility of municipalities to take care of the burial of the poor, as well as of other forms of burial assistance in the early and later Empire: John Bodel, "Dealing with the Dead: Undertakers, Executioners, and Potter's Fields in Ancient Rome," in *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*, eds. Eireann Marshall and Valerie Hope (Routledge: London 2000) 128–51; Éric Rebillard, "The Burial of the Poor in the Roman Empire and its Evolution in Late Antiquity," in *Transformations of Religious Practices in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 313-39.

<sup>301</sup> The *leges libitariae* attest to the funerary trade as an exclusive contractor of the Campanian municipalities in the time of Augustus, and the Lanuvium inscription (CIL 14, 2112 = EDR078891) attests to the voluntary association of the *cultores* of Diana and Antinous as responsible for carrying out a funeral (*funus*) of its members in 136 C.E. For a recent discussion of the inscription from Lanuvium, see Andreas Bendlin, "Association, Funerals, Sociality, and Roman Law: The *Collegium* of Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium (CIL 14, 2112) Reconsidered," in *Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung*, ed. M. Öhler (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 207-296. In defining the range of services provided by the trade, I will follow Bodel who takes the "undertakers' purview as comprehending the entire sequence of mortuary rituals from the preparation of the body for viewing to the traditional close of mourning on the ninth day after the funeral." Bodel, "The Organization of the Funerary Trade," at p. 158. Even if the *cena novendialis* was not managed by the trade, if observed, catering for it would present an additional cost.

made from perishable material such as wood.<sup>302</sup> Prices varied according to the scale of elaborateness of both the mortuary rituals and a marker, and the size and location of a plot. Nevertheless, not all the three outlays were indispensable – at the bare minimum, in the case of an individual burial a transfer to the burial ground together with cremation and interment was the only necessity.<sup>303</sup>

Inscribed funerary monuments with recorded costs from North Africa (most of them come from Lambaesis) and Italy follow distinct regional patterns. The majority of epitaphs from Lambaesis finish off with a formula that occurs in slight variations: *fecit/faciendum curaverunt/facere curaverunt ex XX nummum*, or in reverse order, *ex XX nummum fecerunt/faciendum curaverunt/fecerunt et dedicaverunt*, which structurally corresponds to one of the most common closing formula of *monumentum* or *titulum fecit (fecerunt)/posuit (posuerunt)/faciendum* or *facere curavit (curaverunt)*. On the other hand, in Italy it was common to record the testamentary basis for setting up a monument and the formula takes form of *ex testamento HS XX*, *ex testamento posuit HS XX*, *testamento fieri iussit ex/de HS XX* (and in the reverse order); as such it is an elaborated version of also one of the most widespread formulas of *ex testamento*,

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<sup>302</sup> On the stonecutter's workshop: Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, esp. at pp. 286-300; Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, at pp. 12-7; Giancarlo Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter: An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), esp. at pp. 14-21.

<sup>303</sup> The costs I will list serve exclusively to get a sense of an order of magnitude. On the basis of the prices mentioned in the *lex Puteolana*, Bodel calculated that the simplest and cheapest mode of corpse disposal, which includes the corpse-bearers transporting the dead at the minimal distance and an *ustor*, and which presumes public land designated for burying the poor, was HS 20. Bodel, "The Organization of the Funerary Trade," at p. 160. The association of Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium at ca. mid-second C.E. provided its members with an allowance of HS 300 (*funeraticium*) for a funeral (*funus*) (HS 50 is supposed to be deduced and spent on the obsequies right on spot of the grave). It is reported that Nerva's burial allowance (*funeraticium*) for the plebs of Rome was HS 250. Regarding the allowances of HS 250-300, scholars usually state that they sufficed for a "decent funeral." Based on four funerary inscriptions from Pompeii (Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at p. 170, no. 620-23), Duncan-Jones stated that "HS 2000 was the amount of a standard funerary grant made to distinguished citizens of Pompeii." Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at p. 128. In effect, a figure is fully preserved in only two inscriptions (Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at p. 170, no. 620-23): in both cases the Pompeian town council has decreed a location for burial and HS 2000 for the funeral to the aedile *C(aius) Vestorius Priscus* (AE 1911, 72 = EDR072420), and to *Septimia L(uci) filia* (AE 1913, 71 = EDR072570). Moreover, Duncan-Jones mentions the allowance of HS 2000 for the deceased of the association of *cornicines* at Lambaesis (ILS 2354 Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at p. 80.). However, Saller and Shaw argue, I think rightly, that the recorded sum of HS 2000 does not refer to the allowance for funerary costs, but rather represents a sum paid to a member upon his promotion or retirement, and in the case of a member's death, the sum goes to his heir. Saller and Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations," at p. 128, n. 21.

*testamento fieri iussit, ex testamento ponendam/poni iussit, ex testamento faciendum/facere curavit (curaverunt), ex testamento titulum posuit (posuerunt).*<sup>304</sup> Thus a figure may stand instead of a direct object (*monumentum/titulum*) which was left out as implied and redundant, and because it was economical to omit it in terms of both writing space and price paid to a stonecutter. The *testamentum* formula without the recorded cost occurs in its full version which contains a direct object (*monumentum/titulum*), and more often in a shortened one in which direct object had been already eliminated as implied and superfluous to state it. In any of the cases, a figure is a supplement to the formula that refers to a funerary monument, and thus advertises the cost of a funerary monument.

When a sum of money was intended and spent for other than a monument, it was precisely recorded what were the things in question. Significantly, an epitaph from Lambaesis that states that sum was designated for a funeral and monument does not employ any of the established, abbreviated formulae: a veteran decreed in his will that 2,000 sesterces be paid out for his funeral and monument (*cum sibi in funus / et mon<u=I>mentum / HS II mil(ia) erogari ca/visset*) to which his son and freedwoman added 500 sesterces out of their own pocket (*adiectis de / suo D n(ummum)*).<sup>305</sup> Similarly, when a city council decreed a deserved citizen any of the funerary honors upon the person's death it was precisely stated whether she or he was granted a burial lot, a public funeral, a funerary monument and/or statue in a town;<sup>306</sup> most of the times an honored person was granted a lot and a funeral, whereas a monument

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<sup>304</sup> There are examples of *testamentum* formulas with recorded costs in Lambaesis as well, for example, CIL 08, 2764 (at p. 954) = AE 2010: 1826 = EDCS-20800628; CIL 08, 4055 = EDCS-22700029 (at p. 1743).

<sup>305</sup> CIL 08, 3079 = EDCS-21100082 (at p. 1740). Another example comes from Cremona and in similar wording states that a wife made a monument and that she paid out 30,000 *denarii* for the funeral and monument (*in funus et memoriam erogavit (denariorum) XXX (milia)*), CIL 05, 4100 = AE 2003: 29 = AE 2005: 630 = EDCS-04203155.

<sup>306</sup> Just some of the examples: *publice funus locusque sepulturae decretus est* (with slight variations in wording): AE 1984, 188 = EDCS-08400135; AE 1992, 249 = EDCS-04900018; AE 2000, 354 = EDCS-20100109; CIL 11, 1806 = EDCS-22000158; AE 2000: 331 = EDCS-20100096; AE 1996: 653a = EDCS-03000317; AE 1996: 653b = EDCS-03000318; *f(unus) l(ocum) m(onumentum) posuit* (CIL 02, 5684 = EDCS-05600859); *honorat(us)...[l]oco liben(s) [i]n fun(us) statua pedestri* (CIL 03, 2919 = EDCS-28400170); *funus public(um) e[st] statuam [ped]estre[m] decr(emit)* (AE 1897, 8 = EDCS-58000077); *funus publicum et statuam equestr(em) auratam decrevit* (CIL 05, 4441 = EDCS-04203493) and *statuam aurat(am) eq(uestrem) et funus public(um) decr(emit)* (CIL 05, 4485 = EDCS-04203537); *statuam funus locum publice decretum* CIL 09, 0050; *funus et statuas decrever(unt)* (CIL 09, 0737 = EDCS-08201435); *decuriones funus publicum statuam equestr(em) clipeum argenteum locum sepulturae decreverunt et urbani statuam pedestrem* (CIL 09, 2855 = CIL 05, 1066.3 = EDCS-14803853);

– potentially the most expensive of the three – was left to the private initiative and outlay.<sup>307</sup> Such an arrangement compares well with the financial practice related to setting up honoric statues, namely “patrons and benefactors had traditionally paid for the statues dedicated to them by cities and assemblies.” The statues on bases were expensive, and benefactors obviously needed to spare clients and communities from extra costs.<sup>308</sup>

The point is that these three things remained conceptually distinct, and were not put under a common denominator and referred to as such. Thus, when information about a cost supplemented the well-established formulae, which all referred to a monument, a figure pertained to an inscribed monument. Such a case makes up the majority of epitaphs with recorded cost, while on a few other occasions, it was made clear what the sum covered. The hypothesis finds support in the commissions and purchases of a funerary monument made during one’s lifetime: a veteran *se vivo* set a monument up to himself and his wife for HS 4,000.<sup>309</sup> Finally, since the money was paid out at a different place and time, and to different service suppliers, it is easier to envision that a stonecutter and commissioner, once she or he had decided on a monument type and text, settled on a price which was then transferred onto the monument. That is nicely flesh out in epitaphs with recorded costs: namely, some of the *ex testamento* monuments from Italy state who the person(s) who selected a monument was (*arbitratu*).<sup>310</sup>

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[*fu*]nus public(um) faciund(um) / [*lo*]cumq(ue) sepulturae dand(um) / [*sta*]tuas duas pec(unia) publice / [*pon*]endas censuit (AE 1913, 214 = EDCS-16300270).

<sup>307</sup> For example, the epitaph from Pompeii makes the claim explicitly and states that the council granted the deceased a lot and funeral allowance of HS 2000 while the deceased’s mother put up a monument at her own cost: *locus sepulturae datus et in / funere HS II (milia) / d(creto) d(ecurionum) / Mulvia Prisca mater p(ecunia) s(ua)* (AE 1911, 72 = AE 1913, 70 = EDCS-16400085).

<sup>308</sup> Carlos Machado, “Public Monuments and Civic Life,” at p. 251.

<sup>309</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) C(aius) Aemilius Victor veteranus se vi/vo sibi et Petroni(a)e Venust(a)e coniugi / ex HS IIII(milibus) n(ummum) idemque dedicavit* (CIL 08, 3025 = EDCS-21100028). Another example is a monument which was, as decreed in a will, supposed to be set up for both a husband and wife, yet the wife, who outlived her husband, acted as an arbiter of a monument (CIL 14, 0397 (at p. 615) = EDCS-05700397).

<sup>310</sup> AE 1911, 0237 = EDCS-10100903; CIL 14, 3906 = AE 1974, 0151 = EDCS-05801906; CIL 14, 0397 (at p. 615) = EDCS-05700397; CIL 11, 3205 = AE 2003, 0029 = EDCS-22400119; CIL 10, 2402 = EDCS-11501340; CIL 09, 4731 (at p. 685) = EDCS-14805768.

Finally, as for whether the cost pertained to an inscription solely or to the entire monument, that the latter was the case can be borne out by the archaeological and art-historical investigation of the various stages of sarcophagi production most recently discussed by Ben Russell. Schematically put, there were three main stages: 1. Basic shaping and hollowing out of a chest and a lid done at the quarries; 2. Roughing out and shaping of the design done either at the quarries or at a local workshop; 3. Detailed finishing which might have included portraits and inscriptions done at a local workshop.<sup>311</sup> Therefore, since the greatest part of the cost pertained to the material itself, the labor of quarrying and shaping the stone, and to the transportation costs in particular,<sup>312</sup> and since to inscribe the text was the final touch, so to say, in terms of the overall production trajectory, and even if we allow for the price exaggerations and stylizations, the figures are on average high enough so that it can be ruled out that the cost pertained only to the inscribed text.

To return to the costs collected by Duncan-Jones, there are 51 examples from Africa, the great majority of which come from Lambaesis and record the military personnel of various ranks, and 91 examples from Italy of wider both social and geographic distribution. The first caveat is whether the figures stated are real, or – at the very least – rounded approximations of the actual costs, or exaggerated and stylized numbers.<sup>313</sup> For example, Duncan-Jones observes the clustering of the prices at the lower end in Lambaesis, and certain standardization at 1,000 and 2,000 sesterces with eight instances of each, and then at 1,200 sesterces with five instances; there is furthermore a single example of the monument cost of 800, 600, 500, 400, 200, and 96 sesterces.<sup>314</sup> In Italy the discernible price

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<sup>311</sup> Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade*, at pp. 256-310.

<sup>312</sup> Russell shows that the transportation of stone was often the chief expense. As an illustration, he brings the example of the nineteenth-century wall construction whereby the ratios of the cost of material to labor to transportation are 1 : 1.8 : 3.75. Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade*, pp. 95-140, esp. at pp. 95-6.

<sup>313</sup> Walter Scheidel has surveyed the public and private monetary valuations found in narrative texts of various genres, and has dismissed them as conventional and highly stylized figures. With reference to the inscription and coin commemorating Hadrian's tax remittance, he stated that the source genre and somewhat unconventional sum recorded do not guarantee that it is not a conventional sum. Walter Scheidel, "Finances, Figures and Fiction," *The Classical Quarterly* 46/1 (1996): pp. 222-38.

<sup>314</sup> Duncan-Jones, "Costs, Outlays and *Summae Honorariae*," at p. 62, with Table III at pp. 90-91.

standardization is at the levels of 20,000 sesterces with eleven instances, and of 2,000 sesterces with ten examples,<sup>315</sup> there are furthermore ten instances of 10,000 and 100,000 sesterces, and six and five examples of 5,000 and 3,000 sesterces respectively.<sup>316</sup> On the basis of Duncan-Jones's tables it seems that the standardization of funerary monuments according to the social status, and the clear proportionality between the military rank (i.e. pay) and the monument cost did not take place.<sup>317</sup>

On the basis of the Duncan-Jones's tabulated prices, scholars have made somewhat impressionistic pronouncements on to what extent cost might have been prohibitive. Keith Hopkins thought that even the cheap monuments might not have been affordable as they approximately cost three months' wages of unskilled labor.<sup>318</sup> Saller and Shaw stated that "the cost of modest memorials was not so high as to be prohibitive for working Romans," and substantiated the claim by the lowest recorded cost of HS 96<sup>319</sup> saying that the tombstones "typical of ordinary soldiers could be purchased for less than a hundred sesterces."<sup>320</sup> This needs to be qualified though: ca. three quarter of costs in Africa (36 out of 51) pertain to HS 2000 and below, with ten costs ranging from HS 800 to 200, and only a single instance of less than HS 100. They then adduced the evidence from Cirta, Thubursicu

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<sup>315</sup> Duncan-Jones correlates this standardization at HS 2000 with the burial allowance of HS 2000 attested both in Lambaesis and Pompeii, what – in case that the price referred to a monument – cannot be maintained as the allowance was to cover funeral and location (see note 37 on the page 15). Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at pp. 79-80. On the other hand, Saller and Shaw argue, I think rightly, that the given sum of HS 2000 recorded in the charter of the *collegium* of *cornicines* at Lambaesis (ILS 2354) does not refer to an allowance for funerary costs, but that it is a sum paid to the member upon his promotion or retirement, and in the case of a member's death, the sum goes to his heir. Saller and Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations," at p. 128, n. 21.

<sup>316</sup> Duncan-Jones, "An Epigraphic Survey of Costs," at p. 199.

<sup>317</sup> For example, prices of seven funerary monuments commemorating centurions in Lambaesis range from HS 26,000 to 1,000; a *sevir Augustalis* and a *negotiator* from Ostia spent a huge amount of HS 100,000 on his tomb while two other *seviri Augustales* from Augusta Taurinorum and Tergeste spent HS 20,000; in Lambaesis a prefect of a legion, with the estimated pay of HS 80-134,000, spent HS 12,000 on his tomb, while a centurion, with the estimated pay of HS 20-33,000, spent HS 26,000; finally, a quotient of the annual salary and a tomb cost varies widely from 1.3/0.78 and 1.66/1.2 to 0.10/0.06 and 0.20 in Lambaesis and Italy respectively. Tables in Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, at pp. 79, 99-101, 130, 166-171.

<sup>318</sup> Hopkins, "On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population," at p. 247. Furthermore, Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), at pp. 211-17, discusses high prices of dying in Rome and Italy, and refers to "burial clubs" as a way for people of modest means to alleviate them. Yet it seems that the burial allowance was intended to cover the costs of burial and funerary rites, not of the stone monument itself (cf. my n. 74 at p. 19).

<sup>319</sup> It was put up by the Caecilia Sa[...], a veteran's wife (CIL 8.3042).

<sup>320</sup> Saller and Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations," at p. 128.

Numidarum, Sicca Veneria and Thuga of plenty of tombstones even humbler than “the ordinary soldier’s, suggesting a price in tens of sesterces,” and concluded their discussion with the statement that “memorial stones were within the means of modest men.”<sup>321</sup> Their article provoked a response of J. C. Mann who maintained that “the poorer classes throughout the empire could not in any case afford stone inscriptions.”<sup>322</sup>

Little can be assessed if costs are treated almost in isolation, without comparative consideration of a monument type, dimensions and material assessed with respect to the local stone availability, and of a monument’s possible architectural and decorative elaboration, and its level of craftsmanship. Furthermore, the prices need to be put into the perspective of the social and legal status of a dedicator and dedicatee whenever it is possible to assess it.<sup>323</sup> Since recent literature still refers only to Duncan-Jones regarding the issue of the cost of funerary monuments,<sup>324</sup> the topic still awaits a proper scrutiny. What follows are preliminary observations so to get a sense of an order of magnitude of the monuments’ lower level prices for so to understand how prohibitive even the cheap ones might have been.

At Lambaesis, most of the funerary monuments’ prices pertain to the second- and early third-century stelae which would have been the least prohibitive stone funerary monument. The estimates

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<sup>321</sup> Saller and Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations,” at p. 128.

<sup>322</sup> J. C. Mann, “Epigraphic Consciousness,” *JRS* Vol. 75 (1985), pp. 204-6, at p. 204.

<sup>323</sup> Duncan-Jones has provided the heading of “identification,” without specifying whether a person is a deceased or a commemorator. After a reexamination of the inscriptions, I have concluded that Duncan-Jones has tabulated the deceased, although the commemorator is a more significant figure for the fashioning of the epitaphic culture (unless the monument is commissioned during one’s lifetime, or the commemorator acts on a will, which might have determined the specifics regarding the cost and tombstone). In the *sibi se vivo* cases, if there were more people who invested in the monument or were admitted to the tomb, Duncan-Jones recorded only who he found the most relevant figure, i.e. the military personnel. For example, the veteran C. Aemilius Victor put up a funerary monument *se vivo* to himself and his wife Petronia Venusta (CIL 08, 3025 = EDCS-21100028); the veteran P. Cerennius Severus, and his son P. Cerennius Primitivos, and his freedwoman Cerennia Hilara erected jointly monument and it is specified that the son and freedwoman contributed with HS 500 out of the total of HS 2500 (CIL 08, 3079 = EDCS-21100082).

<sup>324</sup> For example, see the most recent handbook on epigraphy, Laura Chioffi, “Death and Burial,” in *OHRE*, eds. Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: OUP, 2015), pp. 627-48, at p. 634.

of the minimum subsistence requirement range from 153 sesterces,<sup>325</sup> 189.3-283.3 sesterces,<sup>326</sup> up to 380 sesterces,<sup>327</sup> which hardly measures up to the lowest levels of the recorded prices of simple stelae. Some of the known salary figures are those for the army, and the basic legionary pay was 900 and 1200 sesterces per year in the first, and in the second and early third century respectively, whereby the annual legionary salary equaled or a little surpassed the lower-order and the most common tombstone cost in Lambaesis of 1,000 and 1,200 sesterces. Furthermore, the town charter of the Caesarian *colonia Iulia Genetiva* of Urso (the so-called *lex Ursonensis*) provides information on state civilian salaries: for example, the annual pay for clerks (*scribae*) and lictors of the senior magistrates is 1200 and 600 sesterces respectively. A daily wage of a privately employed unskilled laborer in late Republican Rome was reported to have been 3 sesterces (Cic. *Pro Rosc. Com.* 28) which translates into 1220 kg of wheat per year (at the price of HS 6/*modius*), that is, two times subsistence level (*cf.* nn 31, 32, 33 at p. 9), in which case the grain dole was an economic necessity for unskilled dwellers in Rome given the city's living costs.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Keith Hopkins has calculated the minimum subsistence level at ca. 250 kg of wheat per year per capita, plus additional one third of seed allowance, which totals in ca. 333.3 kg of wheat at what he thought to have been the most common early imperial wheat price of three sesterces per *modius*. Keith Hopkins, "Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, eds. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: CUP, 1978): pp 35–77, esp. at pp. 66-67. Hopkins's estimate has long been widely accepted and unchallenged, and some still accept it as the most persuasive assessment. *Cf.* Willem M. Jongman, "The Early Roman Empire: Consumption," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, eds. Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris and Richard Saller (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 592-618.

<sup>326</sup> Walter Scheidel and Steven J. Friesen have worked with and adjusted Raymond Goldsmith's estimate, and have reached the mean annual total expenditure of 620 kg of wheat by combining variables of wheat and other food consumption respectively, private and public expenditure respectively, and investment expenditure. They prefer to express per capita GDP in real terms, that is, in equivalent wheat consumption because, they argue, the price of wheat of three sesterces per *modius* is arbitrary, and varied regionally with the lowest price in Egypt and the highest in Rome. In order to convert mean annual total expenditure expressed in wheat consumption into its cash equivalent, they opt for a range of prices of HS 2, HS 2.5 and HS 3 per *modius* of wheat which translates into 189.3, 236.6 and 283.9 sesterces respectively. Walter Scheidel, and Steven J. Friesen, "The Size of the Economy and the Distribution of Income in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 99 (2009): pp. 61-91, esp. at 64-69, with Table 2 at p. 68.

<sup>327</sup> Raymond Goldsmith has calculated the mean annual expenditure per capita by combining the total food expenditure of 200 sesterces, non-food private expenditure of 150 sesterces, and government expenses of 30 sesterces. Raymond W. Goldsmith, "An Estimate of the Size and Structure of the National Product of the Early Roman Empire," *Review of Income and Wealth* 30 (1984): pp. 263-88, esp. at p. 268, with Table 1 at p. 273.

<sup>328</sup> Dominic Rathbone, "Earnings and Costs: Living Standards and the Roman Economy (First to Third Centuries AD)," in *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems*, eds. Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson (Oxford: OUP, 2009), at pp. 310-17, with Table 15.2 at p. 311 and Table 15.3 at p. 315.

These are both chronologically and geographically scattered pieces of information, and the aim of the discussion was merely to put the lowest recorded costs of the fairly simple funerary stelae into perspective with the known salary and wage figures of the “ordinary” people such as legionary soldiers, and skilled and unskilled employees, even highest of which were below three times subsistence requirement, which is taken as a mark of prosperous economies in the pre-modern societies.<sup>329</sup> The question is for how many people their living standard remained at the subsistence level, and for how many people their per capita income surpassed the subsistence level and to what extent. On the one hand, Willem Jongman has somewhat optimistically suggested that the per capita income, estimated at one and a half to two times subsistence level, was distributed among a good number of ordinary people in the first two centuries C.E., although the inequalities remained vast.<sup>330</sup> By means of parametric modelling, Walter Scheidel and Steven Friesen have estimated that the economic elite comprised one and a half percent of the population, and that a little less than 90 percent of population lived close to the subsistence level, while the rest of six to twelve percent pertained to the non-elite civilian and military population who would have earned “middling” income.<sup>331</sup> They have defined “middling” income as 2.4 to 10 times the so-called “bare bones” subsistence level, which equals 390 kg of wheat per year per capita.<sup>332</sup> The maximum “middling” income would thus be 3900 kg of wheat per year per capita, which translates into ca. 1,500 sesterces at a notional conversion rate of 2.5 sesterces/*modius* of wheat used by Scheidel and Friesen. Given that the most common recorded costs of funerary stelae at Lambaesis are 1,000, 1,200 and 2,000 sesterces and pertain to the lower-scale costs, it is reasonable to conclude that even comparatively less elaborate and less expensive type of a stone funerary monument was an expensive investment whereby the price might have been prohibitive even to the higher

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<sup>329</sup> Rathbone, “Earnings and Costs,” at pp. 321-22.

<sup>330</sup> Jongman, “The Early Roman Empire: Consumption,” at pp. 600 and 616.

<sup>331</sup> Scheidel and Friesen, “The Size of the Economy and the Distribution of Income,” at pp. 84-85.

<sup>332</sup> Scheidel and Friesen, “The Size of the Economy and the Distribution of Income,” at p. 84, with Table 2 at p. 68.

echelons of middling sector. On the contrary, more lavish funerary monuments were apparently a luxury item and a sole preserve of the economic elite. Recent scholarship has emphasized socio-cultural factors in explaining the prevalence of certain socio-legal groups in the epitaphic record especially in the early and high empire (discussed in the following section), but in the light of the extent to which a cost may have been prohibitive, it is probably financial aspect that mattered the most.

## CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL GROUPS RECORDED IN EPITAPHS (Ca. 1-250 C.E.)

Commemoration with inscribed funerary monuments lies at the intersection of its affordability and its quality of being socially and culturally contingent. For the early and high empire, the debate revolves around the socio-legal status of people recorded in epitaphs, and how the “epitaphic population” relates to the social make-up of an urban community, that is, of those people who could afford an inscribed stone funerary monument. Pertinent to it is a question of the motivation that prompted people to set up funerary monuments, and of the nature of both commemorative and epigraphic culture. At stake is, above all, the method for assessing one’s socio-legal status which relies on Roman onomastics and heavily hinges on a person’s cognomen, that is, the method presupposes that Greek cognomina and certain Latin “servile” ones indicate the individual’s socio-legal background.<sup>333</sup>

Two social groups are said to be over-represented in funerary commemoration of early and high empire: soldiers and above all, freedmen in urban communities. With respect to the latter group, Tenney Frank has argued that nearly 90 percent of Rome’s population, and more than half of the population of municipalities in Italy, Narbonese Gaul and Spain, were of eastern provenance and of slave origin. As for the city of Rome, he has surveyed 13 900 epitaphs from CIL 6.2-3 (the so-called *sepulcrales*), and has grounded his argument on the nomenclature, that is on the prevalence of Greek and Latin “servile” cognomina.<sup>334</sup> To the contrary, Mary L. Gordon has questioned and dispelled

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<sup>333</sup> Some onomastic studies on the social significance of Roman cognomina: Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*; Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griechischen Personennamen in Rom*; Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*. For other comprehensive onomastic studies, see Duval, ed., *L’onomastique latine*; Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*; Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy*.

<sup>334</sup> In his discussion of the significance of Greek cognomina, Frank has considered three possibilities: that those people are either “ordinary immigrants” or freedmen and their descendants, or that Greek cognomina had become fashionable among Rome’s freeborn populace. He has opted for the Easterners of servile background, and has read the epitaphs in the light of literary sources, such as Tacit and Juvenal. Tenney Frank, “Race Mixture in the Roman Empire,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 21, No. 4 (1916): pp. 689-708.

Frank's premise that a Greek cognomen denotes a person from the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>335</sup> While Frank's reading of the epigraphic record is literal, Taylor has made a crucial point that a direct correlation between the people as recorded in epitaphs and the social make-up of the city of Rome cannot be drawn. Taylor has examined epitaphs collected in CIL 6.2-4 (the so-called *sepulcrales*), that is, her sample overlaps with the Frank's, and has also maintained mainly based on the onomastics that a ratio between freedmen and freeborn in the epitaphs of Rome is at least three to one. The problem is that a status designation is missing in the cases of ca. two thirds of individuals, whom Taylor labels as the *incerti*, and whom she then classifies as freedmen on the twofold basis of their nomina (for example, the individuals with the same nomen were presumably freedmen of the same household) and particularly of their Greek cognomina. Taylor explains the freedmen's preponderance in Rome's epitaphs in terms of social contingency of funerary commemoration: freedmen, namely, took pride in their newly acquired status, and wished to advertise their achievement by putting up inscribed funerary monuments.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> Gordon has argued that the nationality of slaves was purposefully elusive, to which rare ethnica and the practice of Latinizing native names contributed. As for the preponderance of Greek slave names, she believes that it was mostly because the organized slave trade came to Rome from the East. Mary L. Gordon, "The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire," *JRS* 14 (1924): pp. 93-111.

<sup>336</sup> Lily Ross Taylor, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome," *The American Journal of Philology* Vol. 82 (1961): pp. 113-32. Archaeological and art-historical strand of scholarship has also unreservedly applied the method and has generalized the surviving evidence onto the whole corpus of pertinent material. The case in point are "freedmen" funerary group portraits from late Republican and Augustan Rome collected and discussed in two seminal studies by Paul Zanker and Diana E. E. Kleiner. Zanker and Kleiner worked with 125 and 92 monuments respectively, of which only ca. 50 still bear epitaphs, a good part of which – but certainly not all – record freedmen and their descendants as either commemorators or the deceased and yet the whole corpus has been labelled as a freedmen-specific group of funerary monuments. Paul Zanker, "Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 90 (1975): pp. 267-315. Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York and London, Garland Publishing Inc., 1977). See also Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, at p. 134. Particularly famous funerary monument and an illustrative example of scholars' preconceived notions is the monument of the baker Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces. Although in three inscriptions that are still attached to the monument there is no indication of his socio-legal status, his servile past has been taken for granted on account of his Greek cognomen and the fact that he was a baker, and on account of his unparalleled funerary monument that has been labelled as ostentatious because his commissioner was presumably a freedman, while by circular reasoning, the assumed socio-legal status of the monuments' patron informs how we look at and characterize the monument. For a revising reading of Eurysaces' monument, see Lauren Hackworth Petersen, "The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): pp. 230-57.

Henrik Mouritsen has recently tackled the same problem with respect to the epigraphic material from Ostia and Pompeii, and has essentially followed Taylor's method and repeated Taylor's conclusions, with statistical precision and interpretative elaborateness. Mouritsen follows three criteria for assessing one's socio-legal status, that is, for distinguishing between freedmen and freeborn: 1. Filiation and pseudo-filiation as the only explicit and secure indicator of one's status; 2. Greek and certain Latin "servile" cognomina; 3. Familial context which might point to one's servile past. Since the (pseudo)-filiation overwhelmingly became omitted throughout the first and second centuries C.E., Mouritsen has likewise heavily relied on onomastic criteria, yet his somewhat cautious statement at the beginning of his article that the Greek and "servile" Latin cognomina "do not provide proof of servile origins, the increased likelihood that the carriers were freedmen means that the criterion should be taken into consideration when assessing material statistically"<sup>337</sup> translates into "...virtually everybody who commissioned tombs and monuments appears to be associated with unfree birth."<sup>338</sup> His analysis yielded the following figures: in his sample from Ostia 83 percent of individuals are freedmen and the rest 17 percent pertain to their descendants and relatives, while freedmen make up 58 percent of population in his sample from Pompeii.<sup>339</sup>

Mouritsen has argued that the epitaphs cannot be assumed to represent a cross-section of the population who could afford the monument, but that "inscriptions are the result of individual initiatives and personal motives that may not have been universally shared by all members of society."<sup>340</sup> Mouritsen firstly criticizes the interpretative paradigm of funerary commemoration as a

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<sup>337</sup> Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions: Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy," *JRS* 96 (2005): pp. 38-63, at p. 41.

<sup>338</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," at p. 41, and similar statements throughout the article.

<sup>339</sup> Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia," pp. 281-304, and Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," pp. 38-63. He has repeated his argument in Henrik Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), pp. 127-30. For scholars accepting Mouritsen's results without reflecting on his method, see Scheidel, "Epigraphy and Demography," at p. 115, and Cooley, *Cambridge Manual to Latin Epigraphy*, at pp. 53-54, with n. 163 at p. 53.

<sup>340</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," at p. 47. Nicholas Purcell, to the contrary, seems to take the epigraphic record of late republican and early imperial Rome as a snapshot of its population, and the seeming preponderance of

fierce social competition yet later has recourse to it, and contrasts freedmen with the curial elite and argues that the deliberate withdrawal of the elite from the common burial grounds in the later decades of the first century C.E. was compensated with the status display in the forum which, as a central location of the city and its surroundings, remained the elite's prerogative.<sup>341</sup> Mouritsen though misses out to account for the complete lack of the freeborn of middling economic means from the funerary record, who, he argues, must have existed and substantiates his claim with the inscriptions of *collegia*. It is unclear why the middling freeborn would completely refrain from commemoration with stone monuments if they had equal means as a good number of freedmen to put up tombstones, and certainly some of them would have made provision for it in their wills, or would have had an urge to set it up as a response to the loss of family members.

Given the strong representation of freedmen in the epigraphic genre other than epitaphs in towns of central Italy, Mouritsen has more recently moderated his view on the correlation between the epigraphic record and urban social composition, and has thus concluded that freedmen obviously made up a substantial section of population in central Italy.<sup>342</sup> The fact that there are local variations in the “epitaphic population” casts further doubt upon the conclusion that to set up an inscribed funerary monument was governed *solely* by the “epigraphic habit” or by the group-specific motivation,

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freedmen in epitaphs as a reflection of Rome's social composition. Nicholas Purcell, “Rome and the *Plebs Urbana*,” in *Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 9: The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146-43 B.C.*, eds. J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson (Cambridge: CUP, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2006): at pp. 656-58. Michael Heinzelmänn similarly reads epigraphic material of Ostia, and argues for the socio-economic dominance of freedmen in the city. Michael Heinzelmänn, *Die Nekropolen von Ostia: Untersuchungen zu den Gräberstraßen vor der Porta Romana und an der Via Laurentina* (München: Pfeil, 2000), esp. at pp. xx.

<sup>341</sup> Mouritsen, *Freedmen and Decurions* at p. 45 and 53.

<sup>342</sup> Freedmen supposedly figure prominently in epigraphic genre other than epitaphs, for example in the *collegia* inscriptions from Ostia, in the tablets of Iucundus and Sulpicii from Pompeii and Puteoli respectively, both the album and the wax tablets from Herculaneum, and the dedications from Misenum. Henrik Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), at pp. 129-30. Cf. John D'Arms has estimated that the ratio of freeborn to freedmen in the overall epigraphic record of Puteoli is 1:10 while their ratio in epitaphs is 1:16. As for the funerary record, he seems to think that all individuals without filiation are likely to be freedmen. John H. D'Arms, “Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study,” *JRS* 64 (1974): at p. 112, with a n. 71 at p. 112.

and that it was completely unrelated to the socio-economic urban environment. Finally, while style of commemoration may differ across different groups, a wish to be properly buried and, if possible, commemorated is universal rather than particular.

Thus surveys of epitaphs from regions other than Latium and Campania have yielded notably lower, but in some places still disproportionately high percentages of freedmen. For example, Valerie Hope's analysis of the social composition of epitaphs of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes has given the following proportions of the freeborn, freedmen and *incerti*: 20 : 32 : 40, 48 : 6 : 23, and 12 : 6 : 63 percent respectively.<sup>343</sup> Hope is skeptical about the reliability of a cognomen as the indicator of one's socio-legal status, and is thus reluctant to group a good number of the *incerti* together with freedmen. As for the social function of funerary monuments, Hope draws on the concept of status dissonance to interpret funerary monuments of freedmen, the auxiliary soldiers and gladiators, and to a lesser extent, legionary soldiers. Both eminent freedmen, that is the *seviri* and *seviri Augustales*, and humbler freedmen were epigraphically and visually prominent in death, since funerary display was their means to establish and advertise their newly acquired status, and comparative wealth and success, as a compensation for their somewhat marginal place in society during their lifetime.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> The category of freeborn comprises individuals with the *tria nomina* and filiation (or with praenomen and nomen, or nomen and cognomen), the category of freedmen includes persons explicitly specified as such, and as the *incerti* are classified all those with the *tria nomina* (or with praenomen and nomen, or nomen and cognomen) but without any specific designation of socio-legal status. Mainz was a Roman military base, and numerous legions and auxiliary units were stationed there, of which the *legio XXII Primigenia* was permanently based there up until the end of the third century. Nearly half of the individuals recorded in epitaphs were connected to the army which accounts for the high incidence of identifiable freeborn. Valerie M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford: BAR International Series, 2001), at p. 21 and Table 1.5 at p. 98.

<sup>344</sup> Hope, *Constructing Identity*, at pp. 25-62. For Hope's studies on military funerary monuments, see Valerie M. Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones: Commemorating the Roman Soldier," *World Archaeology* 35 (2003): pp. 79-97; Hope, "Remembering Rome: Memory, Funerary Monuments and the Roman Soldier," in *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies*, ed. Howard Williams (New York: Springer, 2003), pp. 113-40, and Hope, "Inscription and Sculpture: The Construction of Identity in the Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz," in *Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. Graham John Oliver (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 155-86. For Hope's studies on funerary monuments of gladiators, see Hope, "Fighting for Identity: The Funerary Commemoration of Italian Gladiators" in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. Alison E. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2000), pp. 93-113, and Hope, "Negotiating Identity and Status: The Gladiators of Roman Nîmes," in *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, eds. Joanne Berry and Ray Laurence (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 179-95.

Furthermore, it was possible to assess the socio-legal status of approximately two thirds of ca. 1800 individuals epigraphically attested in Narbonne (the remaining third of individuals was unspecified): two thirds pertained to freedmen and a third to freeborn.<sup>345</sup> Gregg Woolf explains the over-representation of freedmen in terms of their upward social mobility that made them more concerned with the status and susceptible to its expression, and, on the other hand, in terms of their proximity with the elite whose behavior they imitated also through funerary commemoration.<sup>346</sup>

A few scholars have expressed doubts about the unqualified servile character of Greek and certain Latin cognomina, and concomitantly about the method that straightforwardly classifies individuals bearing given cognomina either as freedmen or as their descendants. P. R. C. Weaver has raised objections to the Taylor's method, which equally apply to the Mouritsen's, and has argued that the interpretation of one's socio-legal status based on the onomastics and familial context is far from conclusive. He has repeatedly emphasized that it is methodologically crucial to keep chronological perspective and thus to establish control groups of dated epitaphs in order to examine temporal variation in the name fashion and inter-generational naming patterns.<sup>347</sup> Weaver, for example, has observed that the equestrians, and the imperial slaves and freedmen of the mid-to-late second century C.E. share their commonest cognomina, and has concluded that the social distinction that cognomina may have conveyed in the early-to-mid first century C.E. disappeared throughout the second century C.E.<sup>348</sup> Furthermore, he warns that a Greek cognomen may indicate one's provenance, and that individuals bearing one of the imperial nomina and a Greek cognomen may have been enfranchised

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<sup>345</sup> Gregg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Organization in Gaul* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), at p. 99, with n. 56 on the p. 99.

<sup>346</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, at p. 100.

<sup>347</sup> P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972): at pp. 83-91.

<sup>348</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, at pp. 89-91.

freeborn *peregrini* and their descendants, and not necessarily imperial freedmen and their freeborn descendants.<sup>349</sup>

Given that the sweeping onomastic studies have been mostly done on the epigraphic record from Rome, Penelope M. Allison has questioned the applicability of their results, and particularly with respect to the ethnic and socio-cultural significance of Greek cognomina, as regards Pompeii and its epigraphic evidence for the city's society. Her main point is that a local, pre-Roman ethnic and social history, as well as the extent of Greek influence in a given area, need to be taken into consideration when assessing epigraphic material, and that an onomastic model worked out from Rome's evidence cannot be replicated outside Rome without qualification.<sup>350</sup> Allison's argument is important, yet adoption of Roman nomenclature was part of the acculturation, more pervasively effected in Roman colonies, that went hand in hand with Roman socio-political rule. An instructive example is Neapolis in which process of acculturation was slow, and the epitaphs of the first century B.C.E through the first century C.E. were written in Greek, and the nomenclature was local Greek and Italic. In the latter half of the first century and throughout the second century C.E., funerary and votive inscriptions were composed in Latin, and the nomenclature was Roman; Greek cognomina of that period were rarely the Classical and Hellenistic ones, but on average Roman Greek cognomina attested in Rome too.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Weaver has argued that 1. The size of the imperial household could not have "peopled the Roman world," and that the number of the enfranchised *peregrini* must have surpassed the number of the emperor's slaves and freedmen by at least several times, 2. The nuclear family of the imperial freedmen seems to have been small with on average two children; 3. Regarding the respective average ages of marriage and procreating, and of the manumission, most children would have been born as slaves, or would have carried their mother's *nomen* if she was freeborn. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, at pp. 85-86.

<sup>350</sup> Penelope M. Allison, "Placing Individuals: Pompeian Epigraphy in Context," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14.1 (2001): pp. 53-74.

<sup>351</sup> Martti Leiwo, "Some Neapolitan Families," in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics. Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, ed. Athanassios D. Rizakis (Athens: Kentron Hellēnikēs kai Rōmaikēs Archaioṭētōs, Ethnikon Hidryma Ereunōn; Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1996), pp. 81-89.

Furthermore, Christer Bruun has recently raised the issue of social significance of Greek and Latin cognomina on the example of names of *vernae* in Rome and elsewhere in the Latin West.<sup>352</sup> He has built on the research of Heikki Solin<sup>353</sup> and Elisabeth Hermann-Otto<sup>354</sup> that has shown the preference for Latin cognomina for *vernae*, with the ratio of Latin to Greek cognomina being 43.4 to 56.7 percent, whereas the proportion of Latin to Greek cognomina in general slave and freedmen population is 31.2 to 68.8 percent.<sup>355</sup> Bruun has concluded that paradoxically a Latin cognomen can signify an individual of servile descent.<sup>356</sup> Other than that, Bruun has announced to undertake a revisionist study on the use of Greek cognomina in Rome, whereby he sees a chronological dimension essential to a more sophisticated and productive investigation. The up-to-date research namely has been done by onomasticians working on a large corpus of inscriptions, and thus “the time has come to challenge some notions about Roman names that are widely accepted but which in fact has received insufficient examination by epigraphers themselves.”<sup>357</sup>

There are three methodological problems regarding the assessment of the character of Greek and Latin cognomina respectively, and of the attitude of people towards them. Firstly, the Rome-based, late republican and early imperial narrative texts have provided the template for our interpretation of the significance of names as recorded in epigraphic texts. Notably, to provide the evidence from literary sources regarding the character of names is regularly the first methodological step followed by the interpretation of figures derived from surveys of inscriptions in bulk.<sup>358</sup> Oft quoted are Suetonius on the freedman L. Crassicius Pasicles and Martial on Cinnamus who changed their cognomina to Pansa

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<sup>352</sup> Christer Bruun, “Greek or Latin? The Owner’s Choice of Names for *Vernae* in Rome,” in *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, ed. Michele George (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 19-42.

<sup>353</sup> Heikki Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Namengebung I* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1971), at pp. 156-57.

<sup>354</sup> Elisabeth Hermann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den “hausgeborenen” Sklavinnen im Westen des Römischen Kaiserreiches* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1994).

<sup>355</sup> Bruun, *Greek or Latin*, Table 3 at p. 28.

<sup>356</sup> Bruun, *Greek or Latin*, at pp. 34-36.

<sup>357</sup> Bruun, *Greek or Latin*, at pp. 20-21.

<sup>358</sup> See most recently Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, esp. at pp. 123-128.

and Cinna respectively.<sup>359</sup> The name of Pasicles is due to his Greek provenance from the Greek city of Taranto rather than to his servile status. Moreover, Suetonius' lapidary remark that Pasicles changed his name is not at all suggestive as to whence the decision to change it. It may have been in order to sound "more Latin and Roman" rather than "less servile" so to say, namely a step that accompanied his adoption of the Roman name-form composed of the Latin praenomen and nomen. That could have alike been done by a freeborn Greek and other non-Latin inhabitant of the empire as part of one's process of acculturation. The fact that Pasicles was a grammarian may additionally account for his sensitivity to words.

The case of Cinna(mus) is illustrative of the circular hypothesizing. It is asserted that Martial's Cinnamus was freedman<sup>360</sup> although Martial neither mentioned his status nor attempted to disrepute him on account of his status, which he did not fail to do in other instances of the people of servile background.<sup>361</sup> If Cinnamus from the epigram 6.17 is to connect with Cinnamus from the epigram 7.64, in which poem Martial did not make a mention of Cinnamus' status, he was "the most famous barber in the City," and Martial attempted to discredit him on account of his unrefined *ars*, which he could not escape irrespective of the favorable yet short-lived twist of fate that brought him fortune and promotion to the equestrian order.<sup>362</sup> Moreover, Martial did not rant on the topic of all the *artes*, nor maintained the connection between work and status. Namely, Cinnamus could not earn his living in a respectful manner as a rhetorician, grammarian, schoolmaster, philosopher or actor. Besides his

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<sup>359</sup> *L. Crassicius, genere Tarentinus, ordinis libertini, cognomine Pasicles, mox Pansam se transnominavit.* (Suet. *Gramm.* 18). Cinnam, Cinname, *te iubes uocari: / non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus? / Tu si Furius ante dictus esses, / Fur ista ratione dicereris* (Mart. 6.17).

<sup>360</sup> Cf. the somewhat reserved statement of the first Loeb's translator of Martial epigrams that Cinnamus was "probably a freedman" Martial, *Epigrams*, transl. by Walter C. A. Ker (London: William Heinemann, 1919), at p. 367 with n. 3 at p. 367, and the Shackleton Bailey's assertion that Cinnamus was "A freedman who wished to take a Roman name in place of his Greek one." Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. By D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), at p. 13 with n. c at p. 13. Also, Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, at p. 124.

<sup>361</sup> For example, Mart. 1. 84; 2. 18, 32; 7. 38.

<sup>362</sup> The last four verses: *Non rhetor, non grammaticus ludivae magister, / non Cynicus, non tu Stoicus esse potes, / uendere nec uocem Siculis plausumque theatris: / quod superest, iterum, Cinname, tonsor eris* (Mart. 7. 64. 7-10).

profession, Cinnamus' servile background is asserted because of the "servile" character of his name, yet its association with slaves is far from straightforward. To illustrate, out of 82 individuals carrying the cognomen epigraphically attested and published in CIL, only 11 were of servile background and the rest were unspecified.<sup>363</sup>

To return to the Cinnamus who demands to be called Cinna, Martial did not deride his original cognomen nor hinted at it being connotative of the status and did not thus deride him because of his servile background, but he has ridiculed Cinnamus' act of adjusting his cognomen as uncultured. Namely, in his attempt to make his name sound more civilized, Cinnamus slipped into vulgarity. Such reading seems to fit well with the epigram 7. 64 in which Cinnamus' boorish profession is contrasted with the educated and literate professions of a rhetorician, grammarian, schoolmaster, philosopher and even of an actor. To conclude, somewhat more nuanced reading of literature seems to be needed, in addition to which the inscriptions should be allowed to speak for themselves, to the extent that it is possible to approach them without notions informed by the literary texts.

The second point relates to the fluidity of the Roman name-forms and name fashion,<sup>364</sup> with the consequence that the same criteria based on nomenclature for the assessment of social status cannot be indiscriminately applied across centuries. Hence Weaver's emphasis that the "control groups" of precisely dated inscriptions are essential for the productive analysis, and Bruun's remark that chronological dimension is crucial for the reassessment of the significance of Greek cognomina.<sup>365</sup> As it will be shown below, the high-imperial epitaphs from Salona seem to demonstrate that Greek cognomina were borne by the wider sectors of society, namely the (freeborn) urban general populace with a degree of Roman citizenship. The question is whether it was due to the politically improved

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<sup>363</sup> Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, s.v. "Cinnamus" at p. 335.

<sup>364</sup> For the succinct emphasis on the changing character of the Roman nomenclature, see John Morris, "Changing Fashions in Roman Nomenclature in the Early Empire," *Folia philologica* 86/1 (1963): 34-46.

<sup>365</sup> Bruun, *Greek or Latin? The Owner's Choice of Names for Vernae in Rome*, at p. 35.

standing and the spread of Greek language in the Latin West, which may have had bearing on the name fashion, or the change is only apparent because the freeborn commoners became more epigraphically visible over the course of the second century (or it was the combination of both). Regarding the former point, it seems that the imperial policy relaxed its grip on the preservation of a pure Latinity even in official contexts from the emperor Claudius onwards.<sup>366</sup> Juvenal's well-known rants regarding Rome turning into a Greek city having been flooded by the Greek-speaking Easterners point to the increased usage of Greek,<sup>367</sup> and suggest that different groups of people carried Greek names so that they could gradually cease to be associated with a specific group of people, namely slaves.

That brings us to the third methodological problem of comparing two groups of people, and their naming practices, for which there is no basis for comparison, specifically slaves and freedmen on the one hand, and higher orders comprising senators, equites and municipal magistrates on the other.<sup>368</sup> The comparison is validated by the assumption that the “freeborn below the elite” were imitating senators and municipal magistrates. Hence the “freeborn below the elite” are gone missing from the epigraphic record exactly because the *incerti*, whose cognomina are not exactly as those of senators and municipal magistrates, are classified as freedmen or at best the first-generation freeborn, namely of “servile descent.” Nevertheless, for a comparison to be tenable and productive similar categories ought to be compared.

Moreover, along the lines of the latter two objections to the method, most of the evidence which Mouritsen adduced to support his argument that Greek cognomina are slaves-specific dates to

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<sup>366</sup> Bruno Rochette, “Language Policies in the Republic and Empire,” in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. James Clackson (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 549-564, esp. at pp. 549-53 for a survey of the official attitudes towards Greek and Latin during the Republic and Early Principate.

<sup>367</sup> ... *non possum ferre, Quirites, / Graecam urbem...* (Juv. 3. 60-61; the whole section of 3. 58-125 is dedicated to complains about foreigners in Rome, the Greeks particularly); see also Juvenal's complains about Greek language having become fashionable at Juv. 6. 185-200.

<sup>368</sup> For the most recent elaboration and application of the method, see Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, at pp. 123-30, *Freedmen and Decurions: Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy*, pp. 38-63, and *Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia*, pp. 281-304.

the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E.:<sup>369</sup> Cicero's letters, the first-century C.E. album from Herculaneum,<sup>370</sup> the magistrates and candidates from the first-century C.E. Pompeii, the list of *pontifices* from Sutrium dated to the Augustan or Tiberian period,<sup>371</sup> and the Julio-Claudian *equites*. The only somewhat later source is the album of the *magistri vicorum* from Rome dated to 136 C.E.<sup>372</sup> Suggestively, the proportion of Greek and Latin cognomina carried by the freedmen is nearly the same proportion (56 : 44 percent respectively). And most significantly, the onomastic evidence provided by the high-imperial album of decurions from Canusium dated to 223 C.E. supports the objections to the method and invites for its redress since it “reveals a much higher incidence of Greek cognomina in the local elite,”<sup>373</sup> which is explained by the passing on cognomina across family generations.<sup>374</sup> The family pattern of naming children is what needs to be reckoned with while assessing the social significance of both Greek and Latin cognomina from the later first through third centuries.

The following examples from Salona flesh out the methodological problems and suggest that its results are far from conclusive and unquestionable. Firstly, the Greek cognomen Trophimus (and its varieties) usually taken as the characteristically “servile name.”<sup>375</sup> The marble funerary slab dated to the first century C.E. was set up by *L(ucius) Publicius L(uci) l(ibertus) Trophimus*,<sup>376</sup> and the *ser(vus) Trophimus* dedicated a shrine to Silvanus in between 102 and 116 as the fulfillment of a vow for the emperor Trajan's health.<sup>377</sup> On the contrary, the sarcophagus dated to the early second century was dedicated

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<sup>369</sup> The following sources are brought in by Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, at pp. 124-26 with further literature on each evidence.

<sup>370</sup> CIL 10, 1403.

<sup>371</sup> CIL 11, 3254.

<sup>372</sup> CIL 06, 975.

<sup>373</sup> CIL 09, 338.

<sup>374</sup> The quote and the discussion of cognomina of the high-imperial decurions from Canusium at Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, n. 30 at p. 126. For the recent socio-historical study of the album from Canusium, see Benet Salway, “Prefects, Patroni, and Decurions: A New Perspective on the Album of Canusium,” in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy, Supplement 73, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, ed. Alison E. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2000), pp. 115-72.

<sup>375</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Trophimus, Trophimas, Trofimas,” at p. 314.

<sup>376</sup> CIL 03, 2497+p. 1032 = HD062163.

<sup>377</sup> CIL 03, 8684 = HD051847.

to *T(itus) F(lavius?) T(iti) f(ilius) Trofimas Smyrnaeus*.<sup>378</sup> Out of the three attestations of the name Trophimus all dated to the same chronological horizon of the mid-first through the first decade of the second century, in two instances it was borne by a freedman and a slave respectively, and once by the freeborn Roman citizen from the Greek city of Smyrna, one of whose ancestors, presumably his father, was enfranchised by an emperor of the Flavian dynasty.<sup>379</sup>

On the one hand, there is an onomastic difference which points to its dissimilar socio-cultural significance. Namely, the people of servile status and background used the cognomen in its acculturated, Latinized form, while the native of Smyrna kept the name's Greek form and inflection and had it only transcribed. On the other hand, the case of *Smyrnaeus* exemplifies the way by which the Greek names, to which no "shame" needed to have been attached since they were likewise borne by the freeborn *peregrini* some of whom were moreover Roman citizens, could enter the (predominantly) Latin West, become acculturated and adopted by the different sectors of society.

The stela was set up to *C(aius) Albucius Trophimus* by his *colliber(tus)* in the second half of the second century.<sup>380</sup> *Aurelius Trophimus* and *Praecillia Thallussa(!)* set up a monument to their foster-son *A(urelius) Titianus*,<sup>381</sup> *Iunia Trofime* to her five-year old *delicatus L(ucius) Iunius Epictetus*,<sup>382</sup> *L(ucius) Publicius Trophimus*, having been appointed an heir by his wife *Val(eria) Philete*, set up a funerary *ara* to her and

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<sup>378</sup> Marble slab: CIL 03, 2497+p. 1032 = HD062163. Sarcophagus: ILJUG 0128 = HD032950. Nenad Cambi dates the sarcophagu to the early second century, while Geza Alföldy dates the inscription to the High Empire. *Die Sarkophage der lokalen Werkstätten in römischen Dalmatien (2. bis 4. Jh. n. Chr.)*, at pp. 11 and 256. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Trophimus, Trophimas, Trofimas" at p. 314.

<sup>379</sup> Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, at pp. 490-91 for the imperial titles of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

<sup>380</sup> CIL 03, 2166 = CIL 03, 8601 = HD001814. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Albucius" at p. 57.

<sup>381</sup> CIL 03, 14261,1 = HD061758. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Aurelius" at p. 46-53, "Praecillius, Praecilius" at p. 112, "Thallus, Tallus, Thallusa" at p. 309, "Titianus" at p. 311.

<sup>382</sup> CIL 03, 2407+8632 = HD062250. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Iunius" at p. 90, "Epictetus" at p. 194.

himself,<sup>383</sup> *L(ucius) Publicius Trophimus* to his wife *Stenia Secura*,<sup>384</sup> and *Fl(avius) Castor* set up a sarcophagus to his spouse *Oppia Trofima* and to himself.<sup>385</sup>

The first remark concerns the lack of (pseudo)-filiation in all cases, and in a single instance the individuals' socio-legal status is specified by the word *collibertus*. The standard narrative maintains that the omission of pseudo-filiation first occurred among the freedmen from the last decades of the first century C.E. in their attempt to conceal their shameful servile background.<sup>386</sup> Nevertheless, the disappearance of (pseudo)-filiation, which was typical of the nomenclature of the late first century B.C.E. through the first decades of the first century C.E., might not have been group-specific but rather wider phenomenon.

To illustrate, *Liguria Procilla quae et Albucia* set up a sarcophagus to 1. her husband *C(aius) Albucius C(ai) filius Trom(entina) Menippus dec(urio) Salon(is) aedil*, 2. her son *C(aius) Albuc(ius) C(ai) filius Tr(omentina) Procilianus dec(urio) Sal(onis) et Iss(ae) aedil* who died at the age of 29, 3. her other son *C(aius) Alb(ucius) C(ai) filius Ser(gia) / Menipp(us) dec(urio) Iss(ae)* who died at the age of 19, 4. her brother *C(aius) Lig(urius) Titian(us)* who died at the age of 30.<sup>387</sup> The inscribed sarcophagus is variously dated: Nenad Cambi has dated it to the late first or early second century based on the coffin typology, Geza Alföldy has dated it to the high empire based on the epitaph content, and EDH to the second half of the second century.<sup>388</sup> The coffin can be taken to belong to around the mid-second century or somewhat

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<sup>383</sup> CIL 03, 9302+p. 2326 = HD063283. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Publicius, Poblicius" at p. 112, "Valerius" at p. 131, "Philetus" at p. 263.

<sup>384</sup> CIL 03, 2537 = HD062594. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Publicius, Poblicius" at p. 112, "Stennius, Stenius" at p. 123, "Securus" at p. 292.

<sup>385</sup> CIL 03, 2451 = HD062723. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Flavius" at pp. 38-41, "Oppius, Opus" at p. 105, "Castor" at p. 172.

<sup>386</sup> Taylor, *Freedmen and Freeborn in Imperial Rome*, at pp. 120-23. The case of the already mentioned *L(ucius) Publicius L(uci) libertus Trophimus* runs counter the interpretation (CIL 03, 2497+p. 1032 = HD062163). Namely, he set up a funerary monument to himself and his nuclear family, and to his patron and his wife. He is the only person to have had his pseudo-filiation recorded, while the (pseudo)-filiation is lacking in other commemorands' nomenclature. This and parallel cases invite us to rethink the interpretative paradigm.

<sup>387</sup> CIL 03, 2074 = HD057001.

<sup>388</sup> Nenad Cambi, "Sarkofag Gaja Albucija Menippa," *VAHĐ* 63/64 (1961-62) [The Sarcophagus of Caius Albucius Menippus], at pp. 99-111, and Cambi, *Sarkofazi lokalne produkcije u rimskoj Dalmaciji (II. do IV. stoljeće) = Sarkophage der*

later, that is, to the approximate period as the epitaphs under consideration; moreover, given the shared praenomen and nomen, the *colliberti* Cai Albucii Trophimus and Vitalis were likely the freedmen of the decurions Albucii. It is noticeable that the nomenclature of the decurions contains both the filiation and tribe, to which their status and municipal offices are added, while the name neither of Liguria Procilla's nor of her brother Caius Ligurius Titianus includes filiation, and a tribe in Titianus' case. The ensuing question is whether the omission of the given elements of nomenclature has implications for their socio-legal status, specifically whether they may have been freedmen as it is generally argued that the status designation first disappeared among them.

To fall back on the argument based on the character of cognomina, both Procilla and Titianus bear “respectable” Latin cognomina.<sup>389</sup> The survey of inscriptions from Salona and Roman Dalmatia has shown that in no case was it borne by people whose servile background can be determined beyond doubt. To begin with, two Procillae were freeborn citizens, of which *Iulia Procilla* might have been the freedman's daughter.<sup>390</sup> In two other cases Procillae were members of the curial families whose fathers were the *duoviri* and *duoviri quinquennales*, namely the holders of the highest offices in municipal curia.<sup>391</sup>

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*lokalen Werkstätten im römischen Dalmatien (2. bis 4. Jb. n. Chr.)* (Split: Književni krug, 2010), at cat. no. 189 at p. 135. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Albucius” at p. 57. HD057001.

<sup>389</sup> Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, s.v. “Procillus/la” at p. 177, and “Titianus/na” at p. 157. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Procilla” and the related name of “Proculus, Proclus” at pp. 274-75, and “Titianus” at p. 311. For both of which Alföldy remarked that they were common among the *Urbevölkerung* (as opposed to the *Sklassen* and *Freigelassene* on the one hand, and the *einheimische Bevölkerung* on the other).

<sup>390</sup> The freedmen Lucii Iulii Crescenes and Doryphorus set up the funerary monument to “their patroness *Iulia Procilla*, the daughter of *L(ucius) Iulius Epaphroditus*,” that is, to the daughter of their patron more precisely (CIL 03, 2398+8629 = HD062247). The inscribed aedicular stela is dated to the second century C.E. Nenad Cambi, “Antička spolija na Lučcu. Spomenici ugrađeni u kuće Splita,” [Ancient spolia at Lučac. Monuments built into the houses of Split], *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 15 (2007): pp. 15-39. The same dates are given by Alföldy and EDH. She was freeborn, yet it could be somewhat plausibly assumed that her father was freedman. It is generally argued that freedmen tended to give their children “respectable” Latin cognomina in order to dissociate them from their servile background. As it will be shown, the naming pattern among freedmen disproves the argument: freedmen gave their children names that run in their nuclear family and household they had belonged to and were still likely connected to upon obtaining freedom. Namely, the freedmen parents named their children after themselves and after their patrons, to honor them and their benefaction of granting them freedom, hence the “respectable” Latin names among the first-generation of the freeborn. In another case, *Ael(ia) P(ubli) f(ilia) Procilla* was commemorated by her husband *C(aius) Safinius Severus* (CIL 03, 12798a+p. 2258 = HD058362).

<sup>391</sup> *Valeria Procilla* was the daughter of the *aedilis* and *duovir quinquennalis* *Valerius Oclatinus* (CIL 03, 3138+p. 1649 = HD061797). *Fl(avia) Procilla* set up the funerary stela to *T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) Lucius dec(urio) mun(icipii) Bis(tuae)*

The four Titiani, whose status is recorded, comprised a freeborn citizen, and the three *duoviri* and *duoviri quinquennales*, again the highest municipal magistrates.<sup>392</sup> In three cases in which the status is not recorded, it may be assumed that a Procilla and the two Titiani belonged to the freeborn natives who, either themselves or their ancestors, obtained citizenship by imperial grants, specifically by Antoninus Pius in one instance and by the Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* in two other.<sup>393</sup> According to the accustomed methodological step, *Ravonia Procilla* would have been classified as the freeborn: her epitaphic company is her daughter *Valeria Pia* both of whom carry “respectable” Latin cognomina and do not share their nomen.<sup>394</sup> Yet another *Iulia Procilla* is accompanied by her husband *P(ublius) Publicius Onesimianus* and an *Ael(ia) Corinthia*.<sup>395</sup> On the one hand, the latter two carry the Greek “servile”

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and to *Aur(elia) Procula*, whose relationship is not specified, yet it is likely that daughter commemorated her parents to judge by their names (CIL 03, 12765 = HD055947; the monument is dated to 171-230).

<sup>392</sup> Firstly, Aelia Maxima set up a monument to her son *Sextus Servilius Sex(ti) fili[us] Ti[tianus]* (CIL 03, 14284,1 = HD061701; Alföldy and EDH date the monument approximately to the high empire). Titianus was a freeborn citizen according to the filiation, as to whether the first-generation, it is impossible to say yet his parents did not share their nomen which decreases the likelihood that they were freedmen. In Roman Dalmatia, outside of Salona, the name was borne by three members of the curial elite: the *duovir q(uin)[q(uennalis)] Q(uintus) Rutili[us] Q(uinti) f(ilius) Titian[us]* (CIL 03, 2774+p. 1624 = HD034275, dated to 131-200), the *dec(urio) m(unicipii) duovir Aur(elius) Titianus* (CIL 03, 6371 = HD061017, dated by EDH to 171-300), and by the *duovi[r] q(uin)q(uennalis) M(arcus) Aemil(ius) Titia<n=II>us* (CIL 03, 6341+p. 2255+8301 = HD057703).

<sup>393</sup> *Aureli(i) Nepos* and *Procilla* commemorated their daughter *Aurel(ia) Procula* (CIL 03, 12770 = HD055949; the funerary stela is dated to the third century). In yet another instance, *Aurelius Trophimus* and *Pracillia Thallussa(!)* buried their ca. 31-year old foster-son *A(urelius) Titianus* (CIL 03, 14261,1 = HD061758). For neither of them are there status designations; the lack of praenomina and the nomen Aurelius may indicate that the family members were citizens who, either themselves or their ancestors, likely obtained the citizenship by the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Furthermore, *Aelii Titianus* and *Aelianus* set up a funerary stela to their father *T(itus) Aelius Scaevianus* (CIL 03, 6346+8313 = HD058994, ILJUG 1710 and EDH date it to 131-200), for neither of whom are there status designations. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Scaevianus” at p. 289 interprets the father’s cognomen as the Latinized form of the Illyrian Scaeva, who thus may have been the freeborn native who obtained the citizenship from the emperor Antoninus Pius, which then passed on to his sons.

<sup>394</sup> Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, s.v. “Pius/a” at p. 251. *Ravonia Procilla* set up the funerary monument to her daughter *Valeria Pia* (ILJUG 1895 = HD034213; ILJUG has dated the monument to the second century, Alföldy to the high empire). Their status is not recorded, but based on their names and family relationship, namely the mother and daughter do not share their nomen, there is no reason to assume anything but that they were freeborn citizens, specifically the daughter *Valeria Pia*.

<sup>395</sup> The funerary stela which *Iulia Procilla* set up to her husband *P(ublius) Publicius Onesimianus* jointly with *Ael(ia) Corinthia*, whose relation to the spouses is unspecified, provides another attestation of the cognomen (CIL 03, 2495+p. 1032 = HD062162). The inscribed monument can be approximately dated to the second half of the second and the beginning of the third century based on the monument typology and nomenclature. There are no indications of whether they were freeborn or freedmen. The monument has been also published in Rudolf Noll, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1986), at p. 86, no. 269.

cognomina,<sup>396</sup> while on the other, they do not share their nomen which decreases the likelihood that they were freedmen, that is, the wife was not her husband's freedwoman nor were they freedmen of the same household.<sup>397</sup> The discussion will return shortly to such cases.

As for Liguria Procilla and her brother C. Ligurius Titianus, the currency of their cognomina in Roman Dalmatia is suggestive of their free birth, and the question is whether the lack of filiation in their nomenclature is significant in the epitaph in which the name-system of the three decurions contained both the filiation and the tribe.<sup>398</sup> The full official nomenclature of the decurions, of which the component of voting tribe became obsolete by the mid-second century,<sup>399</sup> is best explained away

<sup>396</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Corinthius" and "Corinthus, Corintus" at pp. 180-81, "Onesimianus" and "Onesimus, Honesimus" at pp. 255-56.

<sup>397</sup> The following are examples of epitaphs from Salona that record individuals carrying the cognomina of Corinthus and Corinthius, and Onesimus and Onesimianus. *Obultronia Corinthia* commemorated her foster-son *P(ublius) Coelius Quintianus* (CIL 03, 2294 = HD053696, dated to the mid-second century); *Seccius Corint(h)us* commemorated his spouse *Valeria Valentina* (ILJUG 712 = HD034136). *Honesimus(!) T(iti) Septumi(!) ser(vus)* was buried by his master (CIL 03, 2723+p. 2328,154 = HD054613; found at the legionary camp of Tilverium, and dated to the second half of the first century C.E.); *M(arcus) Ulpus Onesimianus* was commemorated by his parents *M(arcus) Ulpus Onesimus* and *Aurelia Lucilla* (CIL 03, 9427 = HD063144). Twice is Onesimus explicitly attested as a slave name (CIL 03, 2146+8598 = HD062188, and CIL 03, 8832 = HD062986). To judge based on nomina and family relationships, it was carried by the freedmen in two instances (CIL 03, 2163 = HD063003, ILJUG 710 = HD034134). It was attested as a single name in three epitaphs, whereby other individuals in all three epitaphs are identified with a single name too with no status designations (CIL 03, 2305 = HD062828; CIL 03, 2492 = HD062659; CIL 03, 14269 = HD056855). They have been published only in CIL and before they receive thorough epigraphic treatment, their status is better to leave unspecified. While such cases tend to be classified as slaves, the (potential) social significance of a single name varied across time. Moreover, there are examples dated to the early Principate which warn us against straightforward classification based on a name-form. The *dominus* Celerinus set up a monument to his *alumna* and *delicata* Valentina, the daughter of his slave *vilicus* Valentio (CIL 03, 2130+p. 2135): the master, presumably the citizen, identified himself solely with his cognomen, the same way that his slave *vilicus* and his slave daughter were entitled to. Their social distinction and hierarchy was made explicit with words of *dominus* and *servus*, to which their nomenclature appears to have been secondary. The *C(aius) Laetius veteranus leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) domo Verona* set up a monument to himself, his son *Provincialis* and his freedwomen *Firmilla* and *Tyche* (CIL 03, 2041+p. 1509 = HD063843); dated to 42-100). While self-styled with full official nomenclature, not just that his freedwomen were identified solely with their cognomen, but also was his son, who ought to have held full Roman citizenship. Some other examples of freedmen identified solely with their cognomen: CIL 03, 1993+p. 1509 = HD054175; CIL 03, 2040+p. 1509 = HD063842; CIL 03, 2063+8581 = HD063266; CIL 03, 2159+p. 1509 = HD063057; AE 2009, 1015 = HD065346 (dated to 51-80);

<sup>398</sup> A parallel example is the funerary stela which *Fl(avia) Procilla* set up to her parents *T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) Lucius dec(urio) mun(icipii) Bis(tuae)* and *Aur(elia) Procula* whereby only her father's name contains filiation (CIL 03, 12765 = 055947; monument dated to 171-230).

<sup>399</sup> The contemporaneous honorific inscription was dedicated to *M(arcus) Ulpus M(arci) f(ilius) Sabinus* (ILJUG 2109 = HD025108; ILJUG has dated it to the mid-second century). Sabinus obtained the equestrian rank and was a member of Salontan curia whereby he was elected to the highest municipal judicial office of the *duovir iure dicundo*. From the earlier period comes another honorific inscription dedicated to *L(ucius) Anicius C(ai) f(ilius) Paetinas*, the *quattuorvir iure dicundo* and *quinquennialis* (CIL 03, 14713 = HD031869; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Paetinas, Paetina,

by the emphasis given to their status and municipal political career, which was recorded in detail, and which was highlighted by their solemn nomenclature. The omission of filiation cannot thus be taken to have implications for the socio-legal status of Procilla and Titianus, who were likely (self)-referred to in accordance with the nomenclature prevalent at the time of which both filiation and pseudo-filiation have ceased to be regular components in funerary inscriptions. Procilla's supernomen of *quae et Albucia* emphasizes the common-parlance character of her nomenclature as she identified herself by the nickname that she was widely and familiarly known and addressed by.

The aim of the discussion of Procilla and Titianus was to show that the lack of (pseudo)-filiation in the nomenclature of individuals recorded in epitaphs was not specific to freedmen as their attempt to conceal their past, and accordingly that it needs not to be socially significant.<sup>400</sup> The point can be further strengthened with the more political example so to say. The already-mentioned *L(ucius) Publicius L(uci) l(ibertus) Trophimus* set up a monument to himself, to his patron *L(ucius) Publicius Iaso* and his wife *Iulia Vendo*, to his own spouse *Publicia Gorge*, and to his children *Publicia Inventa* and *Publicius Taurio*.<sup>401</sup> Trophimus did not shy away from explicitly identifying himself as freedman through his nomenclature, while he did not record the name of any other person with the (pseudo)-filiation, that is, others were named in a less official manner. Based on their different nomen, the spouses Iaso and

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Petina" at p. 257 has dated it to the early Principate). The later honorific inscription is dedicated to *T(itus) Fl(avius) Herennius Iaso*, who likewise belonged to the equestrian and Salonitan curial order (ILJUG 678 = HD034119; Dujic Rendić-Miočević, "Inscriptiones Dalmaticae ineditae," *V.A.H.D.* 53 (1950-51): no. 36 at pp. 226-27 has dated it to the Flavian period on account of the lack of imperial names in the father's nomenclature, yet father's nomenclature does not contain praenomen either which would have been typically recorded during the Flavian period so his name may not have been recorded in full. To the contrary, Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Iaso" at p. 221 has dated it to the High Empire, and EDH to 201-300). The nomenclature of neither of them contains the voting tribe in the monumental context of the more official and representative character than the funerary setting thereby emphasizing the exceptionality and anachronism of the nomenclature of Albucii.

<sup>400</sup> P. R. C. Weaver suggested that may be Junian Latins, that is, informally freed slaves without full citizenship. P. R. C. Weaver, "Where Have All the Junian Latins Gone: Nomenclature and Status in the Early Empire," *Chiron* 20 (1990): 275-305.

<sup>401</sup> CIL 03, 2497+p. 1032 = HD062163. The monument is also published in Rudolf Noll, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1986), at p. 68, no. 270. The marble tabula is dated to the first century C.E., and Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Publicius, Poblucius" at p. 112 dates the inscriptions to the early Principate.

Vendo were presumably freeborn citizens (other combinations are possible but it is not possible to more plausibly argue for any). Whether Gorge was either Iaso's or Trophimus' freedwoman, and whether Inventa and Taurio were either born in slavery and were Iaso's or Trophimus' freedmen, or were freeborn children, it is impossible to deduce. It is interesting to observe that while other individuals' legal status was not recorded in an official way, Trophimus adhered to and perpetuated the social hierarchy through both his own nomenclature and the designation of Iaso as his patron.

To return to the examination of the social significance of cognomina on the example of the name Trophimus as attested in the above-noted epitaphs of the second and third centuries, there seems to be no grounds to categorize the individuals as "likely freedmen" or as persons of "servile descent," with the corollary of maintaining that the habit of setting up inscribed tombs was prerogative of freedmen. The mingling of individuals, named with the two- and three-name form, who are mostly spouses not sharing their nomen, and their children carrying their father's nomen, and whose cognomina may have been more typical for slaves and freedmen, or (upper) freeborn citizens respectively, became common in the high empire.<sup>402</sup> They may be better interpreted as the urban

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<sup>402</sup> Selected examples from Salona: AE 1989, 603 = HD018324; AE 1989, 604 = HD018327; AE 1996, 1207 = HD039966; AE 1996, 1208 = HD039967; AE 2006, 1016 = HD056690. The first number prefixed with CIL 03 and the second with HD: 1992+p. 1030+8574=054174; 2001=054182; 20008=054352; 2015+p.2135=054711; 2021+pp. 2135, 2328,125=054722; 2023+p.1030+8578=054724; 2027+p.1509=054759; 2046+p.1509=063845; 2047=063318; 2050=063272; 2051+p. 1030+8580=063846; 2052=056571; 2059=063267; 2061+p.1509=055648; 2066+p.1030=057518; 2078=063126; 2098+p.1509=056884; 2123=063048; 2129=063044; 2136=063035; 2141=063030; 2143=063029; 2147+8599=062189; 2148=063026; 2149=062190; 2150=063025; 2154+p.1509=063054; 2157+2158+pp.2325, 2328,12=062056; 2160=052023; 2169=062921; 2172+8602=062191; 2174=062918; 2175+pp.1031,1509=062917; 2176=062916; 2180+8604=062193; 2183+p.1031=062912; 2184+p.1031+2450=062724; 2187+p.1509=062908; 2191+p.1031+8606=062195; 2193+8607=052025; 2194+p.1031=062905; 2196=062903; 2199=056497; 2201=062902; 2206=062897; 2210=062894; 2213+pp.1031,1509=062893; 2214=062892; 2222=062886; 2224=062885; 2225=056499; 2228=062882; 2229=062881; 2232+8611=062203; 062877; 2237a+8612=055500; 2238=062875; 2241+p.1509=055501; 2243+pp.1031,1509=062872; 2244=062871; 2245=062870; 2253+p.1031=062863; 2254=062862; 2255+8615=062205; 2256+8616=062207; 2261+p.2328,125=052090; 2269=062854; 2271+p.1509=052092; 2272+p.1509=062852; 2274+p.1031=062850; 2302=062830; 2303=062829; 2308+p.1031=062825; 2330=062809; 2342=062801; 2343a+p.1509=062800; 2349=062794; 2352=062793; 2359=056516; 2366=062784; 2372+p.1031=062778; 2373=062777; 2377+8626=062243; 2378=062774; 2380=062772; 2381+p.1509=055642; 2391+p.2328,125=062766; 2392=062765; 2393+p.1031=062764; 2396+p. 2328,125=062762; 2397+p.1031+8628=045398; 2399+p.1509=055588; 2400=057987; 2408= 062760; 2410+p.1509=054543; 2413+pp.1509,2328,125; 2424=062756; 2426=062745; 2431+p. 2328,125=062741; 2435=001763; 2436+p.1509=062737; 2437+pp.1509-

general populace,<sup>403</sup> either freeborn or who had obtained a degree of citizenship, yet to whom one's legal status may have mattered less than in the upper social strata, who became epigraphically more visible throughout the second century, and among whom both Greek and Latin cognomina, whether "servile" or "respectable," came to have currency during the second and third centuries.

One of the mechanisms for the diffusion of Greek and Latin cognomina among different social and legal groups, is the intergenerational naming patterns, which will be here analyzed with the particular reference to freedmen since it is maintained that they tended to give their children "respectable" Latin names in order to dissociate them from their shameful servile background.<sup>404</sup> The following examples will show that their naming patterns were the same as among other social groups detectable in epitaphs, specifically political and social civic elite, soldiers, and what seems to have been general urban populace. Namely, freedmen alike gave their children cognomina, whether exact or derivative, which their pseudo-parents (patrons)<sup>405</sup> carried and their own parental names. Moreover, the feeling of debt and gratitude for their master's act of benefaction was strongly present among freedmen, and if it is to judge by the order of freedman's children, predicated that the first male and female child is the oldest of its gender, it seems that the first one was named after the patron. Hence in most cases the Latin respectable cognomina among the freeborn people of servile descent. To sum

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10=007927; 2443+p.2135= 062731; 2444=062730; 2451=062723; 2457=062717; 2460+p.1510=055644; 2462+p.2325+2701=058583; 2463=062713; 2467=062710; 2474+p.1510=062705; 2475+8635=062282; 2476=030966; 2495+p.1032=062162; 2496=062657; 2501+p.1510=062669; 2513=062637; 2519=062622; 2520+8641=062310; 2522=062611; 2525+pp.2328,125=063860; 2526=062607; 2527=062604; 2530=062599; 2547=062584; 2549+p.1510=062661; 2552+ p.1032=062571; 2557+8645=062314;

<sup>403</sup> Other expressions used are: the "freeborn commoners," (Bruun, *Greek or Latin?, passim*), or "freeborn below the elite" (Mouritsen, *Freedmen in the Roman World*, *passim*).

<sup>404</sup> Heikki Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1971), at p. 133-34.

<sup>405</sup> "Manumission could therefore be conceptualized as a 'birth', through which the master became a quasi father who gave life and social existence to the slave." For the relationship between a patron and his freedmen having been modelled on the father-son relationship, see Mouritsen, *The Freedmen in the Roman World*, at pp. 36-51, with quote at p. 38.

up, the intergenerational naming patterns further undermine the value of a cognomen as the criterion for assessing one's status.

The *sevir Augustalis C(aius) Iulius Sceptus*, the freedman of the imperial freedman *Admetus*, set up a tomb to himself and his current wife *Iulia Coetonis*, to his former predeceased wife *Iulia |(mulieris) l(iberta) Pr[im]a*, to his seven children, and to his deceased son-in-law, the imperial slave *Niso*.<sup>406</sup> Three freeborn sons are first listed, first of whom is named *Admetus* after his father's patron and the third one *Sceptus* after his own father, followed by the freeborn daughter *Admetis*, also named after his father's patron. Three more children follow, all born as slaves and freed, one of whom is named *Scepsis*, after her father. To conclude, the freedman *Sceptus* named two of his freeborn children after his patron, a freedman himself, and another two, a freeborn and a freedwoman, after himself.<sup>407</sup> The "servile" Greek names were passed on the first-generation freeborn citizens, and if they observed the same pattern of naming their children, their usage would have been perpetuated by the freeborn citizens with the consequence of losing their servile connotations. The third freeborn child's name is *Aquila*, and the children born as slaves were *Triumphalis* and *Romana*.<sup>408</sup> It seems that the name *Aquila*,

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<sup>406</sup> CIL 03, 2097+p. 2135+8585 = HD063871. The tabula is dated to 41-70 based on the inscription content.

<sup>407</sup> Other examples of freedmen naming their children after themselves: CIL 03, 2131+p. 1031 = HD063038.

<sup>408</sup> Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, s.v. *Aquila* at p. 330: ten senators *Aquilae* are attested, while out of 95 individuals listed in CIL with the name, only three were slaves or freedmen; s.v. "Romanus/na" at p. 182: five males and a female of senatorial order, and there are 352 *Romani* and 169 *Romanae* in CIL of which 41 and 15 respectively are slaves and/or freedmen, and the rest are unspecified; s.v. "Triumphalis" at p. 278: 10 males or which three are slaves and/or freedmen, and two females in CIL. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Aquila" at p. 155. Besides the given *Aquila*, two more are attested in inscriptions from Salona: *Aur(elius) Aquila* regarding whose status nothing more specific can be said but that he possessed a degree of citizenship (CIL 03, 2006 = HD054337), and *Aur(elius) Aquila dec(urio) Patavis(s)e(n)sis neg(otiator) ex pro(vincia) Dacia* (CIL 03, 2086 = HD058504), a decurion whose wife was likewise freeborn citizen. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Romanus" at p. 283. Besides the given freedwoman *Romana*, three more are attested in Salona in the first and second centuries. *C(aesia?) Romana* set up a monument to her daughter *Caesia L(uci) f(ilia) Ducatrix* (CIL 03, 2252+p. 1031 = HD062864; Alföldy has dated the inscription to the early Principate, and EDH to 131-200) and if the reconstruction of her nomen is to accept, which she would then have shared with her daughter, *Romana* seems to have been the freedwoman. *[O]bultronia M(arci) l(ibertae) Romana* was a freedwoman (CIL 03, 14278, 1 = HD061712; Alföldy has dated the inscription to the early Principate which EDH has accepted). *Caesidia Romana* was buried by her husband *Pomponius Crescens* (CIL 03, 2254 = HD062862; Alföldy and EDH have dated the small-size funerary stela to the high Empire); the spouses seem to have belonged to the general urban populace discussed above. The name is twice more attested in the late antique epigraphic record and will be discussed in the fourth chapter. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Triumphalis" at p. 314: the given is the only attestation of the name in Salona (and Roman Dalmatia).

in comparison with the cognomen Romanus, can be thought of as a more “respectable Latin cognomen” in the period of the early Principate, and it thus stands somewhat out from among the rest of children’s names; it cannot be traced to any of the family members as recorded in the inscription. That freedman regularly named their children after themselves is confirmed by the epitaph of *M(arcus) Aurelius Hermogenes eq(ues) Rom(anus)* set up by his father, the imperial freedman *M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) Hermes*, whose son’s name is the derivative of his own which is usually taken as the typical slave name.<sup>409</sup> Nevertheless, Hermes obviously did not think that the name would serve as the embarrassing token of family background to his son among his peers in his anticipated political career.

What the epitaphs of the *sevir* Sceptus and of the *equus Romanus* Hermogenes suggest, the above-discussed epitaph of the decurions Albuicii clearly demonstrates, namely that a Greek “servile name” such as Menippus could be carried by a second-generation, and a member of the municipal political and economic elite freeborn (he was at least the second-generation freeborn, it is not possible to assess based on the inscription beyond that).<sup>410</sup> His father Menippus was also a freeborn citizen, of which generation it is impossible to speculate, and of his two sons, Menippus and Procilianus, one is named after his father and the other after his mother.

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<sup>409</sup> CIL 03, 2077 + p. 1030 = HD063258; inscription is dated to 161-200 based on the epitaph content and their nomenclature. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Hermes” at p. 215. It is attested in two inscriptions dated to the early Principate, of which an individual is defined as a freedman (CIL 03, 2429 = HD062743), and for the another one it may be assumed that he was a slave based on the epitaph content but the legal designation is omitted (CIL 03, 2004 + p. 2328,125 = HD054185, dated to 70-100 based on the epitaph content). In the high empire, the situation is more varied: in one instance a Hermes was a freedman (CIL 03, 9023 + p. 2136 = HD063815), and in another that is a valid assumption since the two children carry their mother’s nomen (ILJUG 2709 = HD035139). In neither of seven other instances is there a status designation yet the epitaphic company is a spouse with a different name, or a child with the father’s nomen, so the assumption is that they belong to the general urban populace of citizen status (CIL 03, 2144 = HD063028; CIL 03, 2218 = HD060090; CIL 03, 2288 = HD062839; CIL 03, 2349 = HD062794; CIL 03, 2444 = HD062730; CIL 03, 2457 = HD062717; CIL 03, 9174 = HD063577). Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Hermogenes” at p/ 216. Besides the given attestation, the name Hermogenes is attested in Greek inscriptions which will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

<sup>410</sup> CIL 03, 2074 = HD057001.

The naming pattern traced among freedmen compares well with the naming principle observed by the freeborn Roman citizens as attested by the funerary inscription, dated to the early Principate, which commemorates the three family generations of the freeborn citizens. *L(ucius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Clemens negotiator* set up a funerary monument to himself, to his parents *C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Maximus* and *Nonia Laci f(ilia) Marulla*, and to his three children *L(ucius) Iulius L(uci) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Maximus*, *Iulia L(uci) f(ilia) Marulla*, and *Iulia L(uci) f(ilia) Clementilla*.<sup>411</sup> The two of the children were named after their grandparents and the third one after her father. Again, if the sequence of children in the epitaph follows their birth line-up, first were the grandparents acknowledged by passing on their cognomina to children, the same way freedmen first honored their patrons as their pseudo-parents by naming their children after them.

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<sup>411</sup> CIL 03, 2125 + 8594 = HD062177. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Clemens” at p. 178 and EDH have dated the inscription to the early Principate.

## CHAPTER 5: LATE ANTIQUE INSCRIPTIONS AND SOCIAL HISTORY IN SALONA (ca. 250-600)

### 5.1 Methods and Problems

The topic of the social composition of epitaphs has not been systematically tackled in recent scholarship with respect to the late imperial epitaphs, and the assessments of the social profile of “epitaphic population” boil down to whether the commemoration went further down or up on the social scale in comparison to the early and high imperial period.<sup>412</sup> Since the naming patterns and modes of (self)-identification changed, the deceased’s and commemorator’s legal status ceased to be the central issue examined. With respect to the (self)-identification and content of epitaphs, three major changes have taken place: 1. the *tria nomina* naming system has dissolved into a single-name system;<sup>413</sup> 2. partly connected to it was the disappearance of the pseudo-filiation, and of the designations such as *servus*, *conservus*, *libertus*, *collibertus*, and *patronus*;<sup>414</sup> 3. the commemorators have in general ceased to be recorded in epitaphs.<sup>415</sup> As the second chapter pointed to, the concept of “Christian epigraphy” informed the way in which scholars tend to look at late antique inscriptions, and these changes were likewise attributed to Christian ideology, yet there is a question of whether these were specifically Christian or generally late Roman features.

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<sup>412</sup> Cf. Peter Brown’s remark regarding assertions on social origins of the fourth-century clergy, which draw on epigraphy and which have been “delivered in passing and in somewhat impressionistic manner...” Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), at p. 36.

<sup>413</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki: Tilgmann, 1963); Kajanto, “The Emergence of the Late Single Name System,” in *L’Onomastique latine, Actes du colloque international*, Paris, 13-15 octobre 1975, eds. Hans-Georg Pflaum and Noël Duval (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977), pp. 421-30; Benet Salway, “What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B. C. to A. D. 700,” *JRS* 84 (1994): pp. 124-45.

<sup>414</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki: Tilgmann, 1963), at pp. 6-9; Lily Ross Taylor, “Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome,” *The American Journal of Philology* Vol. 82 (1961): at pp. 119-122.

<sup>415</sup> See for example, Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33 (1984), at pp. 467 whose attempt to examine late Roman family configuration was nearly thwarted by the fact that the commemorators were not recorded.

Thus, Iiro Kajanto, while first cautiously commenting that “the aversion to designate a person as a slave or as a freedman” was not “simply due to the Christian ideal of equality,” falls back to the Christian ideology and Church’s attitude to slavery as explanations for the disappearance of servile status in epitaphs, and concludes that “it was considered un-Christian to reveal that the deceased was, or had been a slave.”<sup>416</sup> Brent Shaw also seems to think that the development was due to the Christian ideology and concomitant reconceptualization of the nuclear family. He has argued that the formal status distinctions were becoming blurred in the late empire as “servile persons have merged with the family, rather than being carefully distinguished from it,” while “the vocabulary of servile status is metathesized to a divine context” (e.g., as in phrases *servus Dei*).<sup>417</sup>

Nevertheless, Lily Ross Taylor has traced the designation of status in the epitaphs of Rome from the republic through the early and high empire. She has observed that in the republic the socio-legal status is almost as a rule indicated by (pseudo)-filiation. It is firstly and predominantly in the cases of persons of servile background that the status designation as part of the name system becomes omitted – the number of the *incerti* grows during the first century C.E. and they constitute ca. 80 percent of the names recorded in epitaphs in the second century C.E., whereby the possible internal references to the *servus*, *conservus*, *libertus*, *collibertus*, and *patronus* become the only forthright evidence for an individual’s status. The decline of the usage of filiation in the cases of freeborn, both senators and general populace, takes place from the second half of the second century C.E. onwards.<sup>418</sup> Therefore, the disappearance of the indications of socio-legal status in epitaphs was a long-term and gradual

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<sup>416</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki: Tilgmann, 1963), at p. 8-9.

<sup>417</sup> Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33 (1984), at pp. 470-71.

<sup>418</sup> Lily Ross Taylor, “Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome,” *The American Journal of Philology* Vol. 82 (1961): at pp. 119-23.

process that was consummated in late antiquity yet that was not induced and informed by Christian ideas.

Finally, one of the most noticeable changes between the early and high imperial (“pagan”) and late imperial (“Christian”) epitaphs is that a commemorator becomes quite rarely recorded in late antiquity. Shaw has explained this anonymity in terms of Christian ideology which shifted the focus from the secular horizontal relations to the vertical relations between the deceased (and related family) and God, as being the most important at death.<sup>419</sup> In effect, that seems to stem from contemporaneous literary sources, and our Christianity-minded notions of essential differences between religiousness of Roman paganism and Christianity, and cannot be borne out by the funerary inscriptions themselves. Pagan epitaphs from the second half of the first century C.E. onwards almost invariably start off with a dedication “to the divine manes,” that is, the deified dead.<sup>420</sup> On the other hand, Christian sleep formulae, which are most commonly used, speak to the future salvation of the deceased. They thus convey different concepts of the afterlife, and the difference is one of the substance, not of the form. Inscriptions therefore do not reflect restructuring of relations from the horizontal to the vertical ones, and the lack of commemorators in Christian epitaphs needs to be explained in different terms. Shaw himself gives a hint of what may have been more plausible reason: syntactically, sleep formulae (for example: *hic iacet*, *(re)quiescat*, *(re)cumbit*, *(ob)dormit*, *depositus*) are not conducive to expressing commemorators, and they are structurally the same as the pagan formula “here rests” (*hic situs est*) that accounts for the most of the “no commemorator known” epitaphs.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>419</sup> Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33 (1984), at p. 467-68. Shaw sees in disappearance of commemorators a deliberate and conscious refusal to note secular relationships, and dismisses socio-economic reasons, which, on the other hand, account for the brevity of earlier, pagan epitaphs.

<sup>420</sup> Charles W. King, “The Roman Manes, the Dead as Gods,” in *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions*, ed. Mou-chou Poo (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 95-115.

<sup>421</sup> Shaw, *Latin Funerary Epigraphy*, pp. 457-97, at 481-2.

Given thus the changed patterns of naming and socio-legal (self)-identification, the question of what social groups put up inscribed funerary monuments in the late empire, and how they relate to the early- and high-imperial ones, has not been systematically examined, but rather remarked upon in vague terms and in passing. While acknowledging that late Roman epitaphs also commemorate people of high social status such as the members of army, clergy and imperial bureaucracy,<sup>422</sup> the late antique epigraphic population is defined as: “the general populace,” “the vast lower levels of society,”<sup>423</sup> “the persons far down the social order,” but still not “the lowest orders of society,” “the ordinary persons,” “the great mass of common persons of the city,”<sup>424</sup> “the social groups belonging neither among the destitute nor among the elite,” “the ordinary urban population,” and “men and women with banal existences and salaried jobs.”<sup>425</sup> Finally, Brent Shaw and Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho concur that the culture of putting up inscribed funerary monuments went further down the social scale in late antiquity in comparison with the early and high empire.<sup>426</sup> Opposite to them, Mark Handley has argued that the “epigraphic habit” in late antique and early medieval Gaul and Spain was almost exclusively the preserve of “the secular and ecclesiastical elite.”<sup>427</sup>

Shaw, Galvão-Sobrinho and Handley all in effect follow the same method in order to assess the status of the people recorded in inscriptions: they list the inscriptions with recorded statuses and occupations, and assume that if the given evidence pertains either to the “ordinary people” and “lower levels of society,” or to the “secular and ecclesiastical elite,” that the rest of the unspecified individuals must have belonged to approximately the same social groups. Both Shaw and Handley acknowledge

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<sup>422</sup> Brent D. Shaw, “Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome,” *JRS* 86 (1996): at p. 108.

<sup>423</sup> Shaw, *Latin Funerary Epigraphy*, pp. 462, 466, n. 28 at p. 468.

<sup>424</sup> Brent D. Shaw, “Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome,” *JRS* 86 (1996): at pp. 102, 108.

<sup>425</sup> Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, “Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West,” *Athenaeum* 83 (1995): at pp. 436-37, n. 31 at p. 436-37.

<sup>426</sup> Shaw, *Latin Funerary Epigraphy*, n. 28 at p. 468; Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, at p. 437.

<sup>427</sup> Mark A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750* (Oxford: Aeghaeopress, 2003), at pp. 35-64, and especially at pp. 37, 39, 41, 45, 59.

that the proportion of inscriptions with statuses or occupations is very small: Shaw, for example, counts that only about 1.5 percent of the late antique (“Christian”) inscriptions from the city of Rome record them.<sup>428</sup> Since the method overstretches the evidence, Handley grants that if the unspecified were not the elite proper, they were at least the sub-elite as conceptualized by Peter Brown.<sup>429</sup>

Other evidence is adduced to support the conclusions: for Shaw that is the “nomenclature and type of burial” without further elaboration,<sup>430</sup> and for Galvão-Sobrinho it is the poor craftsmanship of inscribed texts. He dismisses the lack of specialized workshops and the general cultural decline as accountable for the “rusticity” of “Christian inscriptions” but thinks it is because they commemorate “humbler Romans” than those of the “earlier, pagan” period.<sup>431</sup> Handley emphasizes the social function of funerary monuments, namely, they both display and make an individual’s social status, “whether real or claimed.”<sup>432</sup> There is nevertheless inconsistency in Handley’s argumentation: if funerary monuments “could *make* a person’s social status” – he gives the example of non-citizen auxiliaries who set up more elaborate funerary monuments than the citizen legionaries did<sup>433</sup> – then those individuals without specified status may not have been by analogy the members of elite or sub-elite but could have as well attempted to make a claim to status by putting up inscribed funerary monuments, a possibility that Handley does not entertain.

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<sup>428</sup> Shaw, “Seasons of Death,” n. 34 at p. 108; Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 45 states that the “majority of the memoranda have no occupation or status recorded” without giving the exact figures.

<sup>429</sup> Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 45; Peter Brown, “The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity,” *Arethusa* Vol. 33, Nr. 3 (2000): 321-46.

<sup>430</sup> Shaw, “Seasons of Death,” at p. 108.

<sup>431</sup> Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy*, at p. 450-51.

<sup>432</sup> Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 44-45. Some works whose theoretical premises Handley draws on are: Aubrey Cannon, “The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment,” *Current Anthropology* Vol 30, No. 4 (1989): 437-458; Guy Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization. The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Greg Woolf, “Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire,” *JRS* Vol. 86 (1996): 22-39; Bonnie Effors, *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

<sup>433</sup> Valerie M. Hope, “Inscriptions and Sculpture: The Construction of Identity in the Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz,” in *The Epigraphy of Death. Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. Graham J. Oliver (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 155-85.

With respect to their method, there are two sets of problems: epigraphic and socio-historical one. As for the former, it first needs to be noted that while Shaw and Galvão-Sobrinho use predominantly epitaphs because they are the most numerous, Handley uses also graffiti and building inscriptions among others<sup>434</sup> – without conceptualizing each category separately and without discussing possible differences in motivation and purpose, and thus status of those who put up inscribed monuments or scratched graffiti. These are sweeping surveys that privilege inscribed text over its immediate monumental context: as an example, the social profiles of the deceased and/or commemorators attested in sarcophagi epitaphs may differ from the social composition of the catacomb epitaphs, and since the catacomb epitaphs from Rome dominate the overall late antique epigraphic record of both Rome and the Latin West, the results derived from the given material easily may be taken as representative. For example, in his analysis of the social composition of people recorded in Christian sarcophagi inscriptions from Rome, who are premised to be of the higher social standing than the catacomb epitaphs population, Wolfgang Wischmeyer has observed the correlation between their elevated social position and the higher occurrence of the two-name form.<sup>435</sup>

The final point is related to the socio-historical problem of defining social groups, whereby closer attention should be paid to the urban social landscape as it can be reconstructed from various types of sources – epigraphic, as well as narrative and normative – in relation to the contemporaneous social composition of epitaphs, which mostly concerns how we interpret the Church hierarchy members' visibility in epigraphic record since – to illustrate the point – an early fourth-century bishop

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<sup>434</sup> Building inscriptions: Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 57-58, n. 251 at p. 57, n. 253 at p. 57, p. 59, n. 259 at p. 59, p. 61 and n. 267 at p. 61, p. 62 and n. 286 at p. 62; Graffiti: Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 56, n. 240 at p. 56.

<sup>435</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Wischmeyer, *Die Tafeldeckel der christlichen Sarkophage konstantinischer Zeit in Rom: Studien zur Struktur, Ikonographie und Epigraphik* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag GmbH, 1982), at pp. 140ff. Also, for a survey of the social status of the patrons and occupants of sarcophagi in late antique Rome, see Jutta Dresken-Weiland, “Ricerche sui committenti e destinatari dei sarcofagi paleocristiani a Roma,” in *Sarcofagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani e altomedievali, Atti della Giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana*, École française de Rome, 8 maggio 2002, eds. Fabrizio Bisconti and Hugo Brandenburg (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 2004), pp. 149–153.

figured differently in the urban social landscape than a fifth-century one. Presbyters, (sub)-deacons, *ostiarii*, *ianitores*, *famuli dei* etc. do not straightforwardly translate into ecclesiastical let alone urban elite, as Handly tends see them.<sup>436</sup> On the contrary, there are no grounds to classify Aurelius Felix, the *ingenuus civis Romanus Carteiensis*,<sup>437</sup> as a person of low standing as Handly does, hypothesizing that he may have been of servile descent whence a reference to his free birth.<sup>438</sup> Handley's interpretation remains purely speculative, to which two objections can be raised: firstly, as in the case of Mouritsen's analytical category of the "servile descent," it is unclear what it exactly covers and implies, and furthermore to have been of the freed descent does not immediately translate into an individual of low standing. Handley, for example, does not explore the possible social significance of Felix's two-name nomenclature, and especially of his nomen Aurelius.<sup>439</sup> Finally, the statement of *ingenuus civis Romanus Carteiensis* renders itself to another, perhaps a more plausible interpretation: Aurelius Felix was buried in Gades, that is, away from his home, hence the emphasis that he was a "*civis Romanus*, a native of Carthage," which would have been in line with the tendency to have one's place of origin recorded when an individual gets buried away from home. These examples illustrate difficulties with precisely understanding inscribed texts, and the need to define late ancient social groups in a more nuanced way and how different groups mapped onto the urban social landscape.

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<sup>436</sup> Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at pp. 39-44, with Figures 4.3 at p. 40 and 4.4 at p. 43.

<sup>437</sup> ICERV, no. 138 = EDCS-38800063.

<sup>438</sup> Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, at p. 40.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. James G. Keenan, "The Names of Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 11 (1973): pp. 33-63 and Keenan, "The Names of Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 13 (1974): pp. 283-304.

## 5.2 What's in a Name?

It has been argued that late Roman nomenclature was marked by the reversal to the single name system, whereby a cognomen has become the essential and thus often the only recorded element of the three-name system characteristic of the late republican and early imperial period.<sup>440</sup> Iiro Kajanto has worked out his model of the late Roman nomenclature on the basis of catacomb epitaphs mainly from Rome from the third through the sixth century; epitaphs from Carthage were less susceptible to his analysis due to their brevity in general and poorer state of preservation. While he acknowledges that the source genre might have accounted for the fact that in the most cases only a cognomen came to be recorded,<sup>441</sup> he ascribes the emergence of the single name system predominantly to the onomastic reason. Kajanto draws a parallel between the disappearance of the praenomen and nomen gentile, namely the nomen gentile equally lost its distinctive function and became thus redundant in the late empire since the great majority of people shared a few, mainly imperial nomina of which Aurelius and Flavius were the most frequent.<sup>442</sup>

Benet Salway has argued that the gentilicium lost its centrality due to the political and social causes, namely Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* enacted in 212 C.E. brought about the dissolution of

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<sup>440</sup> Iiro Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki, 1963), and Kajanto, "The Emergence of the Late Single Name System," in *L'Onomastique latine, Actes du colloque international*, Paris, 13-15 octobre 1975, eds. Hans-Georg Pflaum and Noël Duval (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977), pp. 421-30; Benet Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A. D. 700," *JRS* 84 (1994): pp. 124-45. Also, the recipients of imperial laws were addressed with their cognomen almost exclusively, namely with their last name. Cameron, *Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy*, at pp. 172-73.

<sup>441</sup> Kajanto states that the lack of a praenomen and nomen may be only *apparent* (Kajanto's emphasis), for example, in order to save space in epitaph; yet he thinks that that explains the high percentage of single cognomina only in pagan epitaphs, and that "revolutionary changes in the Christian name system were accordingly a consummation of tendencies which were also operative in the pagan material." Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at p. 13-14.

<sup>442</sup> Of the 1738 persons in his Christian material, 51 % shared eight nomina, six of which were imperial nomina of which Aurelius and Flavius were the most frequent with 411 and 149 instances respectively. The frequency of imperial nomina, Kajanto argues, was due to the emperors's manumission of great number of slaves, and their enfranchisement of the *peregrini*. Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* thus accounts for the great number of the Aurelii. Other somewhat less relevant factors might have been the weakening of the unity of the gens, influence of the nomenclature of the Hellenized urban population, and loosing of the official control on nomenclature previously exerted through the census. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 15-18, and Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at p. 426-27.

the two-name system of the high empire because it entailed the uncontrolled process of enfranchisement which in turn hindered cultural assimilation of the “New Romans,” that is, the post-212 C.E. Romans who then de-Romanized the Roman naming system. Namely, in the areas in which the New Romans prevailed, Aurelius became the gentilicium in default of any other for both the pre- and post-212 citizens and the gentilicium thus lost its individuating function and was easily omitted, whereas in the areas in which the Old Romans were dominant, they might have still kept their family *nomen gentile*.<sup>443</sup>

The fact that the function of the gentilicium in part shifted from signifying patrilineal relationship to signifying citizenship opened the way for the development of the “status nomina” of Aurelius, Valerius and Flavius, that is, the imperial gentilicia of Caracalla, Diocletian, and Constantine respectively.<sup>444</sup> It would be nevertheless more precise to refer only to Valerius and to Flavius in particular as “status nomina,”<sup>445</sup> since Aurelius merely denoted a person or a descendant of a person enfranchised predominantly by the *Constitutio Antoniniana*,<sup>446</sup> and it was not indicative of one’s social standing specifically.

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<sup>443</sup> Salway, *What’s in a Name*, at pp. 133-36. For differences in naming systems between the Old and New Romans as attested in official documents, Salway adduces the evidence of the *laterculi* of praetorians of 227 C.E., papyri from Egypt of 229 C.E., and documents of the auxiliary *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* stationed at Dura from 229 C.E.

<sup>444</sup> Andreas Mócsy, “Der Name Flavius als Rangbezeichnung in der Spätantike,” in *Akte des IV. Internationalen Kongress für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik* (Wien, 1964), at pp. 257-63; James G. Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 11 (1973): pp. 33-63; Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 13 (1974): pp. 283-304; Keenan, “An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius,” *ZPE* 53 (1983): pp. 245-50; Salway, *What’s in a Name*, at pp. 137-45.

<sup>445</sup> Salway has shown how Constantine and his sons Crispus and Constantinus, during the Tetrarchic struggles with Maxentius, Maximinus, and Licinius, manipulated the elements of their full nomenclature, and through either the adoption or omission of the Diocletian’s gentilicium Valerius pretended the allegiance to the Tetrarchic arrangement or expressed pretensions to the sole rule respectively. Upon elimination of Licinius in 324, Flavius remained the sole imperial gentilicium, and replaced Valerius as the *nomen* indicating higher social status. Constantine’s gentilicium Flavius continued to be used by the emperors even after his dynasty came to an end with the death of Julian in 363. There is evidence that the emperors of the Heraclian dynasty used it until the early eighth century, and it was also used by the Germanic kings in the West. Keenan thus argues that the name became part of the imperial titulature. Salway, *What’s in a Name?*, at pp. 138-39; Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 37-38.

<sup>446</sup> For a problem with differentiating between the pre- and post-212 CE *Aurelii*, see Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at p. 42, with the n. 41 at p. 42, and Salway, *What’s in a Name?*, at pp. 133-36.

Andreas Mócsy has observed the correlation between one's rank and office and the right to carry imperial nomen already under Diocletian as during his reign the *protectores domestici* and state officials tended to carry his gentilicium Valerius. The practice was taken over and more systematically implemented by Constantine in his attempt to constitute the "new Flavian aristocracy," whereby the gentilicium Flavius expressed connection and loyalty to the emperor of those employed in military and civilian *officia* of central imperial government.<sup>447</sup>

James Keenan has examined the topic the most systematically with respect to the late Roman society of Egypt as attested in papyri. Keenan has showed that the distribution of the gentilicia Valerius and particularly Flavius is more widespread and goes further down the scale of ranks and offices than Mócsy had observed. The Valerii were provincial governors and officials of their *officia*, imperial financial officials, civic magistrates and the *curatores civitatis* in particular, and soldiers of various ranks and veterans. The Flavii were likewise prefects of Egypt and governors of provinces, and officials employed in their staffs, the *curatores civitatis*, and soldiers from simple recruits to high military officials, and veterans. Keenan has confirmed Mócsy's observation that municipal *curiales* were not Flavii as a rule, namely they were either Aurelii or bore their family gentilicia. Nevertheless, certain *curiales* were Flavii and it seems that high civic magistrates were entitled to the imperial gentilicia, which is most consistently attested among the *curatores civitatis* in the cases of both Valerii and Flavii.<sup>448</sup>

In late Roman Egypt Aurelius was the most widespread gentilicium, and from the beginning of the fifth century gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius disappear. Egyptian Aurelii, in addition

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<sup>447</sup> Military Flavii included *protectores*, and *protectores domestici* in particular, soldiers with the rank of *centenarius* at the lowest, and veterans. Civilian Flavii were officials of central government, such as the *agentes in rebus*, *scriuarii*, *memoriales*, *palatini* etc.), and to a lesser extent officials employed in provincial bureaucracy. As for the Senate of Rome, from 327 until Constantine's death in 337, one of the consuls bore the name Flavius whereas the other one did not, as a sign of Constantine's compromise with Rome's old senatorial aristocracy. By the end of the fourth century Rome's consuls only exceptionally did not bear the gentilicium Flavius. Finally, municipal *curiales* were not Flavii as a rule. Mócsy, *Der Name Flavius als Rangbezeichnung*, pp. 257-63.

<sup>448</sup> Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 44-51, 56-63. For the *Flavii* and *Aurelii* in the late Roman Egyptian curiae, see Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 290-94.

to the majority of the *curiales*, were craftsmen, merchants, laborers and farmers.<sup>449</sup> The socio-economic divide was apparently so clear-cut that the Flavii regularly acted as lessors and creditors to the lessees and debtors Aurelii to the extent that loan contracts were drafted with already filled in gentilicia Flavius and Aurelius as lender and borrower respectively.<sup>450</sup>

As for the hereditability of the gentilicium Flavius, Mócsy has argued that it was passed on in the family which for Mócsy explains the fact that lower-ranked civilian and military officials bore it as they had inherited it from their father.<sup>451</sup> Keenan has significantly qualified Mócsy's statement and argued that in general it was not passed onto the family members, whether wives or children, although the existence of a few Flaviae suggests that it might have been inherited if a father was of a high social standing.<sup>452</sup> Salway has summarily stated that since the gentilicium was concomitant with the rank, it could be passed on to a wife or children when the rank itself was transferable.<sup>453</sup>

Salway has pointed out that the adoption of the gentilicia Valerius and Flavius was never compulsory. They could be used instead of the inherited gentilicium, which was most often Aurelius in late Roman Egypt,<sup>454</sup> or they could be acquired alongside one's birth gentilicium. In the case of polyonymy, Valerius would normally be the lastly, and Flavius the firstly placed gentilicium in one's nomenclature. Salway has thus maintained that the voluntary adoption of the imperial gentilicium was essentially an expression of gratitude for the imperial benefaction.<sup>455</sup> On the contrary, and although there is no direct evidence for the mechanism through which the name was provided and adopted, Keenan has argued that an expression of loyalty and gratitude was not solely at stake, but that issuing

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<sup>449</sup> Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 51-56.

<sup>450</sup> There were a few exceptions to the pattern whereby the *Aurelii* were economically and socially better placed than the *Flavii*, and accordingly acted as lenders to the common soldiers who were *Flavii*. Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 285-90, and Keenan, *An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius*, pp. 245-50.

<sup>451</sup> Mócsy, *Der Name Flavius als Rangbezeichnung in der Spätantike*, at p. 260.

<sup>452</sup> Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 294-96.

<sup>453</sup> Salway, *A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice*, at p. 138.

<sup>454</sup> Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 40, 43.

<sup>455</sup> Salway, *What's in a Name*, at pp. 138, 140-41.

of gentilicia was controlled and managed by the imperial government, and that the name change occurred during the process of admission to the service.<sup>456</sup>

To summarize the methodological issues, at stake is to what extent the nomenclature, which has a potential to indicate one's social standing, was governed by both the widespread and localized onomastic trends, by the type of inscription under examination and by the local culture of setting up inscribed funerary monuments. For example, the chronological distribution of the two- and single-name systems respectively as attested by the dated catacomb epitaphs of Rome reveal the significant decline in the occurrence of the two-name forms: from 41 percent in the third century (and with 5 and 54 percent of the three- and single-name forms respectively), to ten, four and three percent in the fourth, fifth and sixth century respectively. Nevertheless, different socio-economic groups availed themselves of different tombs, and the tomb type should be taken into account in the consideration of the onomastic trends. Thus, in his analysis of the social composition of people recorded in Christian sarcophagi inscriptions from Rome, who are premised to have been of the higher social standing than the catacomb epitaphs population, Wolfgang Wischmeyer has observed the correlation between their elevated social position and the higher occurrence of the two-name form.<sup>457</sup> Given their numerical dominance, catacomb epitaphs gave shape to what is taken as the onomastic standard in late antique Rome, namely the single-name system became the norm in epitaphs of Rome having been attested in 90+ percent of cases.<sup>458</sup> At the other end of spectrum is Altava, a town in Mauretania Caesariensis, in whose late Roman epitaphs nearly every person recorded bore a gentilicium, and the two-name system was obviously the rule.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, at pp. 297-301.

<sup>457</sup> Wolfgang Wischmeyer, *Die Tafeldeckel der christlichen Sarkofage konstantinischer Zeit in Rom: Studien zur Struktur, Ikonographie und Epigraphik* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag GmbH, 1982), at pp. 140ff.

<sup>458</sup> I have calculated the proportions of occurrences of a single- and two-name systems for both men and women together based on Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, Table 6 at p. 12, which is gender specific yet for the present purpose differentiation between female and male name form is irrelevant.

<sup>459</sup> Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at pp. 424-25.

Furthermore, the type of inscription has bearing on the nomenclature too. Namely, it is regularly stated that the late antique aristocracy was keen on preserving the traditional two-name system and its disposition to polyonymy, and that it even developed a new system of polyonymy.<sup>460</sup> Yet when the sources for their full nomenclature are epigraphic, they are almost never funerary, but mostly honorific and building-dedicatory inscriptions, and in late antiquity they were the prerogative of the top-level aristocracy employed in imperial government, such as governors of provinces, or senatorial aristocracy of Rome.<sup>461</sup> Thus when the same person is commemorated in an epitaph as well, he or she is usually referred to by his or her cognomen solely. To illustrate, in an epitaph set up in Salona in 375 C.E., *Constantius v(ir) c(larissimus) ex proconsule Africae* was identified by his cognomen, rank and post.<sup>462</sup> He is mentioned in three other inscriptions from Africa Consularis, of which one is preserved sufficiently enough and records his full name of Paulus Constantius, and the source in question is a building-dedicatory inscription.<sup>463</sup> Likewise, the different name-forms are found in the honorific and funerary inscriptions respectively of the famous couple Sextus Petronius Probus and Anicia Faltonia Proba: in the former texts they are commemorated with their full names,<sup>464</sup> whereas in the latter ones only by their cognomen.<sup>465</sup>

Finally, the two-name form, with the default gentilicia Aurelius, and Valerius and Flavius in particular, as regards the people below the top elite is most consistently attested in the Egyptian papyri,

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<sup>460</sup> Alan Cameron, "Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy: The Case of Petronius Probus," *JRS* 75 (1985): pp. 164-82, esp. at pp. 171-80; Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at p. 12, with n. 3 at p. 12, and Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at p. 426; Olli Salomies, "Réflexions sur le développement de l'onomastique de l'aristocratie romaine du Bas-Empire," in *Les stratégies familiales dans l'antiquité tardive*, eds. Christophe Badel and Christian Settiani (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2012), pp. 1-26; Salway, *What's in a Name?*, at pp. 141-44.

<sup>461</sup> For example, the nomenclature of the late antique urban prefects of Rome in the building-dedicatory inscriptions (CIL 06, 1651-1672), and of the late antique senatorial aristocracy and magistrates of Rome in mostly honorific inscriptions (CIL 06, 1673-1796).

<sup>462</sup> CIL 03, 9506 = ILJug 2388 = HD034773 = PLRE 1 Paulus Constantius 11.

<sup>463</sup> CIL 08, 23849 = EDCS-24501003.

<sup>464</sup> CIL 06, 1751-1756. CIL 06, 1751 = EDR122122; CIL 06, 1752 = EDR128599; CIL 06, 1753 = EDR122124; CIL 06, 1754 = EDR127599; CIL 06, 1755 = EDR127595; CIL 06, 1756 = EDR127594.

<sup>465</sup> CIL 06, 1756a and 1756b, with CIL 06, 31922b = EDR118258.

that is, in official documents. We have therefore the evidence that 1. different name forms can be found in the epitaphs inscribed on different types of tombs from the same epigraphically self-contained site, 2. different name forms appear to have been the norm in different places, and 3. the same individuals were differently named in different epigraphic contexts. This brings us to the question of the social implications of the two- and single-name forms respectively, and of the validity of the method that assesses one's social profile based on nomenclature.

On the one hand, there is the tendency in scholarship to think of individuals who had only their cognomen recorded as people of the lower social standing. Kajanto thus in order to explain the difference in nomenclature of the early imperial pagan epitaphs, and of the third-century Christian epitaphs has argued for the difference between the social standing of the respective epigraphic population, namely Christians commemorated in the third-century epitaphs were "humble people."<sup>466</sup> With respect to the overall catacomb epitaphs, Shaw has likewise asserted that "by the nomenclature and type of burial...most of the deceased were manifestly 'ordinary persons'."<sup>467</sup>

On the other hand, the social significance of the single-name form apparently changed over time. It is commonly argued that it denoted servile status in the early- and high-imperial epitaphs. In the third-century catacomb epitaphs, scholars have likewise taken it as indicative of "slaves and humble people."<sup>468</sup> However, the single-name form cannot anymore be taken as suggestive of the lower social standing in the epitaphs of the fourth through the sixth centuries, when the disappearance of the gentilicium was gradually pervading upper social groups. That is to say, while the two-name system

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<sup>466</sup> Kajanto's argument is circular: early Christians of Rome were humble people, which is manifested in their single-name form; at the same time, their single-name form is suggestive of their low social standing, since aristocracy was conservative in regards to the changes in name systems. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 12-13. The argument is repeated in Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at p. 423.

<sup>467</sup> At the same time, Shaw references few inscriptions which commemorate persons of senatorial (*clarissimus/-a*) and of equestrian rank (*perfectissimus*), of which, taking into account the examples in which the names are preserved, two had their gentilicium and cognomen recorded (ICUR 18503 and 13487), while four had only their cognomen inscribed (ICUR 23460, 221, 752, 13491) which invalidates his own premise. Brent D. Shaw, "Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome," *JRS* 86 (1996): pp. 100-38, at p. 108, with n. 33 at p. 108.

<sup>468</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, esp. at pp. 11-13; Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at pp. 422-24.

might be indicative of one's social standing, we should be careful not to make an argument from silence as the single-name form does not straightforwardly translate into people of the low(er) social standing.

### 5.3 Non-Funerary Epigraphy: People and Nomenclature

To contextualize the naming patterns as found in epitaphs, the nomenclature as attested in other types of inscriptions will be surveyed. The late antique epigraphic habit in Salona is largely reduced to epitaphs whereby it is harmonized with the epigraphic trends in the late Latin West. Thus, there are only few votive, honorific and building-dedicatory inscriptions. The soldier *Val(erius) Valerianus* erected a votive base to *Hercules Aug(ustus)* in between ca. 308-316, and the *notarius Dassius* dedicated a votive base to the *Fortuna Conservatrix* for the health of the governor of Dalmatia, *Marcus Aurelius Iulius* in between ca. 316-350.<sup>469</sup> The governor of Dalmatia *Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmentius* set up altogether six honorific and building-dedicatory inscriptions in between 337-361 in Dalmatia, four in Salona and two in other provincial towns. Yet another governor of Dalmatia, *Apollonius Foebadius* erected either an honorific statue base or had a building-dedicatory inscription inscribed in between 401-530.<sup>470</sup> Five texts inscribed on two monuments commemorated the rites performed *ad Tritones* by the members of an unspecified college.<sup>471</sup> There are altogether 56 individuals, whose names are sufficiently well preserved, recorded in these five inscriptions, and all were identified with their nomen and cognomen. Finally, a mosaic floor inscription commemorated the construction of the episcopal church in ca. 401-425 by stating that *Synferius(!)* and *Esychius(!)* built it together with the clergy and people; other

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<sup>469</sup> CIL 03, 10107 = S IV, 1: 13 = HD056616. CIL 03, 1938+8565 = S IV, 1: 12 = HD053738.

<sup>470</sup> Sarmentius: CIL 03, 1982 = S IV, 1: 6 = HD053423; CIL 03, 1982 = S IV, 1: 7 = HD064574 = LSA-1143; CIL 03, 1983 = S IV, 1: 8 = HD064575 = LSA-1144; CIL 03, 8710 = S IV, 1: 9 = HD052768 = LSA-1136 (Salona); CIL 03, 14333 = HD032856 (Senia); CIL 03, 2771+p. 1624 = HD053425 = LSA-1481 (Rider). Foebadius: ILJUG 2074A = S IV, 1: 14 = HD027930.

<sup>471</sup> CIL 03, 1967 = S IV, 1: 16 = HD062449; CIL 03, 1968 = S IV, 1: 17 = HD062448.

epigraphic and narrative texts inform us that they were bishops of Salona in the late fourth and the early fifth centuries.<sup>472</sup>

Before I proceed with the summation of the onomastic trends in the non-funerary epigraphy, I will first reconsider the inscriptions that record the members of an association. Namely, an alternative historical interpretation of these texts will be offered, which has bearing on the socio-onomastic examination. I will then consider the nomenclature of the three governors of Dalmatia who left epigraphic traces in late antique Salona; I will focus on their attitude towards the adoption of the imperial nomen Flavius in order to contextualize the given practice among the lower-level officials employed in the imperial service as attested in funerary texts.

The two monuments that commemorate the ceremonies performed by the members of an association have not received much scholarly attention. Christophe Goddard has most recently treated them epigraphically in *Salona IV* and has proposed historical explanation of the inscriptions and a college; Françoise Prévot has also tackled the topic in *Salona IV* with the acceptance of Goddard's interpretation.<sup>473</sup> According to them, these inscriptions list the members of the *collegium Ad Tritones* who participated in the annual ceremonies of the association. Goddard has argued that the college gathered the sailors who served on the type of *liburna* called *triton*.<sup>474</sup> The *collegium Ad Tritones* has not been otherwise and elsewhere attested, and the Salonitan association would have been a unique case of the *collegium Ad Tritones*. While I agree that these inscriptions record the members of a college who participated in the annual convivial and religious practices of their association, I disagree with

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<sup>472</sup> ILJUG 2258A = S IV, 1: 63 = HD031239.

<sup>473</sup> Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident, Tome III, Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines relatives aux aux Corporations Romains* (Louvain: Charles Peeters, 1899), at pp. 95-97, nn. 283 and 284. Christophe Goddard, "No. 16, Inscription commémorant les rites accomplis par le college *Ad Tritones* le 1<sup>er</sup> février 302 et le 1<sup>er</sup> février 316 (?)," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 165-68, and "No. 17, Inscriptions commémorant trois cérémonies accomplis par les membres du college *Ad Tritones* les 1<sup>ers</sup> février 303, 319, 320," in *Salona IV* at pp. 169-75; Françoise Prévot, "Un cas unique: le collège *Ad Tritones*," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 74-76.

<sup>474</sup> Esp. Goddard, "No. 16," in *Salona IV*, at p. 167.

Goddard's identification of the *collegium Ad Tritones*, namely neither of the five preserved inscriptions actually mentions it. It is suggested that the college in question is likely the *collegium fabrum*, which is otherwise abundantly attested in the late third- and early fourth-century funerary and honorific inscriptions in Salona.<sup>475</sup> A clarification is thus in place.

One monument was lost after its publication in CIL, in which its typology was not specified. Two distinct inscriptions commemorated the participants of the ceremonies dated by the consuls to 302 and 316;<sup>476</sup> the later text was nevertheless barely preserved. The preserved “inscription a” lists eleven individuals: the prefect of a college *Aur(elius) Valentinianus*, and the participants *Volusi(us) Aintor*, *Aur(elius) Asiaticus*, *Aur(elius) Armentius*, *Aur(elius) Vates*, *Aur(elius) Ant[o]nianus*, *A[ur(elius)] Ursilianus*, *Aur(elius) Luc[i]anu[s]*, *Aur(elius) Lapn(i)s(?)*, *Aur(elius) Dalmatius*, *Aur(elius) Mercurius?*

Another monument is a rectangular base (or an altar) that carries four distinct inscriptions each laid out on a separate side. All four inscriptions commemorated certain rites performed by the members of an association, of which the three are dated by the consuls to 303, 319, and 320 (according to Goddard and followed by the EDH, these are the “sides a, b, and c”).<sup>477</sup> Goddard's “surface d” is not dated yet it is arguably the earliest and should thus be placed first in the publication of the monument. The first inscription (Goddard's “inscription d”) lists eight *ministri* and the patron of the college: *Ael(ius) Valerianus*, *Varius Sabinus*, *Iulius Silvius*, *Aur(elius) Fortunius*, *Papirius Crescent(i...)*, *Claud(ius) Barbian(us)*, *Dirrut(ius) Crescent(i...)*, *Aelius Dalmat(ius)*, and the patron *Nocturnius Novellus*. The second inscription dated to 303 (Goddard's “inscription a”) lists eleven individuals: the prefect of the college the *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) Aur(elius) Valentinianus*, and the members *Aur(elius) Mercurius*, *Aur(elius)*

<sup>475</sup> An honorific base for statue set up by the *[c]oll(egium) fabrum Veneris* to Constans, 333-337 (CIL 03, 1981+p. 1509 = S IV, 1: 4 = HD000677 = LSA-1145). Epitaphs: S IV, 2: 417 = HD018330; CIL 03, 8824 = S IV, 2: 650 = HD062983; S IV, 2: 468 = HD064350; CIL 03, 2108 = S IV, 2: 397 = HD063059; CIL 03, 2106 = HD063061.

<sup>476</sup> CIL 03, 1967 = S IV, 1: 16 = HD062449.

<sup>477</sup> CIL 03, 1968+8568+p. 2135 = S IV, 1: 17 = HD062448.

*Secundinus, Aur(elius) Fortunius, Aur(elius) Severianus, Aur(elius) Sarmatio, Aur(elius) Antonius, Aur(elius) Ursus, Iul(ius) Secundus, Aur(elius) Uranius, and Aur(elius) Fore(n)sis.* The third inscription dated to 319 (Goddard’s “inscription b”) records twelve participants: the prefect *Aur(elius) Xen[o]n*, and the members *Aur(elius) Lucentius, Aur(elius) [...]ius, Au[r(elius) G]regorius, Aur(elius) [F]irminus, Aur(elius) Ma[rce]llinus, [Au]r(elius) Dalmatius, [...] Valentinus, Aur(elius) Messor, [...]pecus, [...]orus.* The fourth inscription dated to 320 (Goddard’s “inscription c”) lists 15 members: the prefect *Quin<I>ilius Faintillus*, and the members *Aur(elius) Martinus, Aur(elius) Donatus, V[ari]us Terentianus, Aur(elius) [S]tercorius, Aur(elius) Exuperius, Aur(elius) Terentianus, Aur(elius) Alexander, Aur(elius) Eraclia[nus], Aur(elius) Redit[us], Aur(elius) Maurenu[s], Aur(elius) Balbinu[s], Aur(elius) Euticiu[s], Aur(elius) Leuntiu[s], Aur(elius) Senat[or].*<sup>478</sup>

Regarding the chronology of the undated inscription, Alföldy did not make chronological distinction in between four inscriptions, and dated the whole monument to DZ; moreover, he seems to have considered the “inscription d” as dated to 320, together with the “inscription c.”<sup>479</sup> Goddard has considered his “inscription d” as likely the earliest inscribed text, but at the end of his discussion of the monument allows for the possibility that the “inscription d” was written last on the occasion other than the (religious?) rites performed on February 1 in 303, 319, and 320 and recorded in the “inscriptions a, b and c” respectively.<sup>480</sup> It is argued here that the “inscription d” is undoubtedly the earliest inscription.

The “surface d” is the only polished surface, that is, the only which was originally planned to be inscribed and was thus prepared for the text. The inscription is neatly laid out within the boundaries

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<sup>478</sup> Goddard reconstructs the cognomen as *Senat[us?]*. Goddard, “No. 17,” in *Salona IV*, at p. 173; Alföldy, EDH and OPEL as *Senat[or]*. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s. v. “Senator” at p. 293; HD062448; OPEL 4 s.v. “Senator.” Moreover, according to OPEL, “Senatus” is not attested as the either nomen or cognomen.

<sup>479</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Nocturnius” at p. 102 and “Novellus” at p. 254.

<sup>480</sup> Goddard, “No. 17,” in *Salona IV*, at p. 175.

of the main field on the monument's body, that is, the monument dimensions are customized so that the intended text can fit. The "inscriptions a, b, and c" are longer than the field of the monument's body, and the texts are inscribed on the monument's crown and base alike. Although paleographic features are similar, the craftsmanship of the "inscription d" is of the higher order.<sup>481</sup>

Secondly, the formulae set it apart from the rest three inscriptions, and from the text inscribed on another monument, which commemorated the rites held in 302. The latter four inscriptions open with consular dating, followed by the name of the prefect of the college under whom the ceremonies were observed, followed by the verb *menest[ra]bit(!)* (= *ministravit*) or *menestravimus(!)* and *menestrabimus(!)* (= *ministravimus*) and the list of participants. The Goddard's "inscription d" opens with the designation of who the listed individuals are, namely *ministri ad Trit(ones)*, followed by the list of participants, and concludes with the statement that the unspecified activity, presumably certain rites, was performed with the permission of the patron of the college. As regards the language, the "texts a, b, and c" contain the so-called vulgarisms. The linguistic feature directly comparable between the "inscription d" and the "inscriptions a, b and c" is the syntagm *ad Tritones* which due to the consonant assimilation has become *at Tritones* in the latter group of texts, namely [d] in *ad* has become [t] before yet another [t] in *Tritones*. Moreover, the betacism occurs in the above-mentioned third person singular and first person plural indicative perfect active of the verb *ministro*, which reflects the sound change whereby the pronunciation of [b] shifts to [v].

Lastly, there is the conspicuous onomastic difference that points to different temporal and social context. Namely, there is a single Aurelius in the "inscription d" and eight individuals carry the nomen other than Aurelius. On the contrary, in the "inscription a" ten out of eleven men are the Aurelii, in the "inscription b" nine out of nine men whose names are fully preserved are the Aurelii,

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<sup>481</sup> See also, Goddard, "No. 17," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 170-175 for a description of paleographic features of each text, and his comment on p. 175 on the higher quality of the execution of the "inscription d."

and in the “inscription c” 13 out of 15 individuals are the Aurelii. The monument is typologically similar to the above-mentioned bases carrying the votive inscriptions of Valerius Valerianus and M. Aurelius Iulius respectively, both of which are datable to the first quarter of the fourth century (Figures 6 and 7 in the Appendix 1), and the similar script is used in the all four “texts a, b, c, and d.” I cannot suggest with confidence the absolute dates for the initial setting-up of the monument and its “inscription d,” but I consider the “inscription d” as undeniably the earliest of the four texts. The “text d” is perhaps a generation earlier than the earliest dated inscriptions of 302 and 303, and it might have belonged to the 270s or so.

The discussion moves to the issue of the identification of an association. The phrases which appear are the *ministri ad Tritones* (in the earliest inscription tentatively dated to ca. 270s), *qui menest[ra]bit at Tritones* (302), *menestravimus at Tritones* (303), and *menestrabimus at Tritones* (319) or just *at Tritones* (320). That the listed individuals were members of a college is made clear only in the earliest yet undated inscription which stated that the patron of the college had given his authorization without specifying for what activity (*ex permissu Nocturni Novelli patroni collegi*). The phrase *collegium ad Tritones*, namely “*colège Ad Tritones*” as Goddard and Prévot have it, does not appear anywhere. Moreover, that would have been unparalleled phrasing to refer to the *collegium* or *collegiati*. Jean-Pierre Waltzing has listed all colleges attested in Rome, and Italy and provinces:<sup>482</sup> they are commonly referenced by the nominative plural form of a noun denoting a professional (for example, the *centonarii*, *fabri*, *navicularii*, to which an attribute can be added to specify the profession as in the *fabri ferrarii* or *fabri navales*),<sup>483</sup> and by the nouns *collegium*

<sup>482</sup> Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident, Tome IV, Indices. Liste des collèges connus, leur organisation intérieure, leur caractère religieux, funéraire et public, leurs finances* (Louvain: Charles Peeters, 1900), at pp. 4-128.

<sup>483</sup> There is a question of whether the nominative plurals denote a formally structured and authorized association, or the loosely grouped individuals of a specific occupation. Liu, *Corpora centonariorum*, at p. 10, and n. 35 at p. 10. The mention of the magistrates of a college in connection to the “nominative plurals” points to a formal association. Furthermore, the chronological dimension may be suggestive of the organizational level of men of a specific occupation referred to with the nominative plural. Liu examines the issue with respect to the *fullones* in Pompeii. *Collegia* started to proliferate in the West only in the late first century C.E., and she thus allows for the possibility that

(often found as *conlegium*) or *corpus* with the genitive plural form of a noun specifying a professional (for example, the *collegium centonariorum*, *corpus coriarum*, *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*). Furthermore, while Waltzing was familiar with the inscription and has referenced it elsewhere in his volumes,<sup>484</sup> he has not listed the association *Ad Tritones* in his list of all attested colleges.

The verbiage of *minister* and *ministro* is not entirely clear, but it seems that here the words *minister* and *ministro* do not have connotations of (social) subordination so that the people listed could be understood as “assistants, servants, aiders, helpers,”<sup>485</sup> as it was the case in the *collegia* inscriptions of the late republican and early imperial Rome and Italy, which distinguish between the *magistri* and *ministri* whereby the latter were often slaves.<sup>486</sup> The inscriptions dated to 302, 303, 319 and 320 all stated that the activity took place on February 1<sup>st</sup> (*kal(endis) febraris* was the common orthography), and the recurrent date and the vocabulary of *minister* and *ministro* point to the annual convivial and religious activities of a college for which a specific day in a year was stipulated and which were of the “central importance... in the collective life of *collegia*.”<sup>487</sup> It may be that the *ministri*, and *ministravimus* approximates the function and tasks of the selected *magistri cenarum* famously attested in the bylaws of

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the nominative plurals did not imply structured organization in the first century C.E. in Pompeii. In the inscriptions from the second to the fourth centuries, they more likely implied an authorized association. Jinyu Liu, “Pompeii and *Collegia*: A New Appraisal of the Evidence,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 22/1-2 (2008): 53-71.

<sup>484</sup> Waltzing, *Étude historique, Tome III, Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines relatives aux aux Corporations Romains*, at pp. 95-97, nos. 283 and 284.

<sup>485</sup> Charlton T. Lewis, and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), s.v. “*minister, tra, trum*.”

<sup>486</sup> Jean-Pierre Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident, Tome I, Le droit d'association à Rome. Les collèges professionnels considérés comme association privées* (Louvain: Charles Peeters, 1895), at p. 422. To illustrate: *Conlegia aerarior(um) / Forte Fortunae / donu(m) dant mag(istri) / C(aius) Carvilius M(arci) l(ibertus) / L(ucius) Munius L(uci) l(ibertus) [---]I acus / minis(tri) T(it)i Mari Carvil(i) m̄(agistri) / [---]stimi D(ecimus) Quinctius* (EDR072040, further references provided by EDR); *Cisiariei Praenestinei F(ortunae) P(rimigeniae) d(onum) d(ant) / mag(istri) cur(averunt): T(itus) Osenianus L(uci) l(ibertus) Licin(us) / M(arcus) Pompeius Feliod(orus) / ministrei: Nicephorus C(ai) Talabarai s(ervus) / Nicephorus Mitrei <:servus>* (EDR118884, further references provided by EDR).

<sup>487</sup> For the convivial, religious and funerary activities of the Roman *collegia*, see Jinyu Liu, “*Collegia Centonariorum*,” *The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), at pp. 247-78. For the centrality of banquets to the practices of Roman associations, and typology of commensality as applied to them, see John F. Donahue, “Toward a Typology of Roman Public Feasting,” *The American Journal of Philology* 124/3 (2003): pp. 423-41, and Richard S. Ascoug, “Forms of Commensality in Greco-Roman Associations,” *The Classical World* 102/1 (2008): pp. 33-45.

the college of the worshippers of Diana and Antinous (*cultores Dianae et Antinoi*) in Lanuvium in 136 C.E.,<sup>488</sup> or of the *curatores* attested in the regulations of the college of the merchants of ivory and citrus wood (*negotiatores eborarii and citriarii*) in Rome in between 117-38.<sup>489</sup> The terminology was not consistent across different *collegia*, and across time and regions of the empire; the transferred meaning of the verb *ministro* is “to take care of, manage, govern, direct; to provide, furnish, supply, give, afford.”<sup>490</sup> Jinyu Liu has observed that these seem to have been liturgies,<sup>491</sup> and it is thus possible that these inscriptions honor members of the college, the *ministri* who provided for and conducted the annual feasting and religious ceremonies.

Regarding the expression of *ad / at Tritones*, the opening of the four dated inscriptions follows the same pattern: the consular dating of the event, the annual prefect under whom the event took place, the precise day of the event (the *kal(endis) febraris*) and *at Triton(es)*. It seems to me that the phrase *at Tritones* is a topographical reference to the location in which the event took place. The opening formula would have mirrored the standard pattern to locate the banquets and religious activities in time and space attested in numerous inscriptions elsewhere.<sup>492</sup> I have not come up with the idea of what specific location *ad Tritones* might have stood for.

<sup>488</sup> *Magistri cenarum ex ordine a[ ] bi fa[ ] ti qu[ ]o ordine homines quaterni ponere debeb[ ] unt*: *vin[ ]i boni amphoras singulas, et panes a(ssium) II qui numerus collegi fuerit, et sardas n[ ] [u]=mero quattuor, strationem, caldam cum ministerio* (Lines 14-16; CIL 14, 2112 = EDR078891).

<sup>489</sup> *et a curatorib(us) praestari pl[a]c(uit) [panem et] vin[um et] caldam passive iis, qui ad tetrastylum epulati fuerint* (Lines 10-11; CIL 06, 33885 = EDR147622).

<sup>490</sup> Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “ministro, avi, atum, 1.”

<sup>491</sup> Liu, *Collegia centonariorum*, at p. 252.

<sup>492</sup> For example, the openings of one of the many preserved annual protocols of the *fratres Arvales* in Rome: *[Ti(berio) I]ulio Candido Mario Celso II[ ] , / [C(aio) A]ntio A(nulo) Iulio Quadrato II co(n)s(ulibus) / magiste[r]io / M(arci) Valeri Tre[ ] [bi]ci Decia[ni] / <:columna I> / <:ante diem> III non(as) Ianuar(ias) / in Capitolio...* (CIL 06, 02075 = CIL 06, 32372 = EDR029375); *C(aio) Poblicio Marcello, L(ucio) Rutilio Propinquo co(n)s(ulibus) <:ante diem> VI k(alendas) Iun(ias) / in domum C(ai) Vitori H[o]sidi Getae mag(istri) fratres Arvales convenerunt...* (CIL 06, 02080 = CIL 06, 32375 = EDR029380); *C(aio) Bellico Natale Tebaniano, C(aio) Ducenio Proculo co(n)s(ulibus) <:ante diem> XIII k(alendas) Iun(ias) / in luco deae Diae, magisterio C(ai) Iuli Silani, curam agente C(aio) / Nonio Basso Salvio Liberale ...* (Columna II, lines 15-17; CIL 06, 02065 = CIL 06, 32367 = EDR029367).

The final point relates to identifying the college in question. Approximately 20 inscriptions of various types mention occupationally based colleges in Salona from the second through the fourth centuries,<sup>493</sup> among which the *collegium fabrum* was epigraphically the most prominent (*fabri* were smiths, builders and carpenters). The name of the college adopted the name of its patron deity Venus, and it is also known as the *collegium fabrum Veneris* and the *collegium Veneris*.<sup>494</sup> It was attested in ca. 17 inscriptions and it was the only association which was attested in the later third and fourth centuries.<sup>495</sup> Specifically, the *[c]oll(egium) fabrum Veneris* set up an honorific inscription to the Caesar Constans in between 333-337,<sup>496</sup> and the five members of the college availed themselves of funerary commemoration: *Varius Sabin(u)s Salon(itanus) ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)*, *Aur(elius) Candianus ex col(legio)*

<sup>493</sup> *Collegium saccariorum* (ILJUG 2126 = HD025705; an urn epitaph dated to the third century. *The saccarii* were porters. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles, Tome IV, Liste des collèges connus*, at p. 117, and Liu, *Collegia centonariorum*, at p. 110); *collegium dendroforum* (CIL 03, 8823 = S IV, 2: 484 = HD062982; a sarcophagus epitaph variously conjecturally dated. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Maximianus” ad p. 241 and EDH have dated the inscription, I think rightly, to the high empire, while Salona IV has included it among the fourth-century monuments. The thesis follows Alföldy and EDH. The occupation of the *dendrophori* is not entirely clear: the word means the “treat-bearers,” and Waltzing sees them as wood-merchants; their close connection to the cult of Magna Mater and Attis is well attested. For a brief most recent overview on the *dendrophori*, see Liu, *Collegia centonariorum*, at pp. 52-54; Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles, Tome IV, Liste des collèges connus*, at pp. 15-16 and 59-64); *collegium lapidariorum* (CIL 03, 8840 = HD062993; too fragmentarily preserved epitaph which EDH has broadly dated to 1-300. The *lapidarii* were the stonemasons. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles, Tome IV, Liste des collèges connus*, at pp. 95-96).

<sup>494</sup> For the practice of associations to include the name of their patron deity in their nomenclature and for their worship of their patron deities, see Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles, Tome I, Le droit d’associations à Rome*, at pp. 203-05, and Liu, *Collegia centonariorum*, at pp. 253-55.

<sup>495</sup> Two honorific statue bases were set up to *L(ucius) Anicius L(uci) f(ilius) Paetinas* in the first half of the first century C.E. whose *cursum honorum* contained the position of the *praefectus fabrum* (CIL 03, 14712 = ILJUG 0124 = HD031866; CIL 03, 14713 = HD031869). Likewise, an honorific statue base was set up to *D(ecimus) Campanius P(ubli) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Varus* in the first century C.E. whose *cursum* contained the position of the *praefectus fabrum* (CIL 03, 8787 = HD062648). An epitaph or an honorific inscription commemorated *[--- Cor]nelius C(ai) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) N[--- praef(ectus) fab]r(um)* (CIL 03, 2018 = HD054719). The *coll(egium) fabrum* set up a statue base with two honorific inscriptions dedicated to their patrons *T(itus) Flavius T(iti) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Agricola* and *T(itus) Vettius Augustalis* in between 71-150 (CIL 03, 2026+p. 1030 + 2087 = ILJUG1961 = HD054750). The *coll(egium) fabrum* et *centonariorum* set up an honorific inscription to their joint patron *M(arcus) Ulpius M(arci) f(ilius) Sabinus* in between 131-170 (ILJUG 2109 = HD025108). The *coll(egium) fabrum* et *cent(onariorum)* set up an honorific statue base to their patron *T(itus) Fl(avius) Herennius Iaso* probably in the later second century (ILJUG 0678 = HD034119). There is an epitaph which commemorates a prefect of the *fabri L(ucius) Antonius L(uci) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Firmus* datable to the second half of the first and the first half of the second century (CIL 03, 2075+p. 1030 = HD063259), and there are four epitaphs datable to the high empire which commemorate the members of the *collegium fabrum* and of the *collegium tign(ariorum) fab[r(um)]* (CIL 03, 8837 = HD062990; CIL 03, 14231 = ILJUG 2030 = HD025720; CIL 03, 8841 = HD062994; CIL 03, 14641 = HD028357).

<sup>496</sup> CIL 03, 1981 = S IV, 1: 4 = HD000677 = LSA-1145.

*Veneris, Aur(elius) Ursacius Salonitanus ex collegio Veneris, Aur(elius) Policr[ates --- coll(egi--)] fabrum* and *Valent[--- e]x col(legio) fa[brum ---]*.<sup>497</sup> Since the *collegium fabrum* is the only association epigraphically attested, and abundantly so, in the same period to which the two monuments under consideration belong, it seems reasonable to firstly entertain the idea that an unspecified college may have been the *collegium fabrum Veneris*. According to Prévot, the fact that a disputed college was presided by a prefect speaks against its identification with the *collegium fabrum*, since a prefect would have been better suited to the military association such as of the sailors serving on the ship triton.<sup>498</sup> Nevertheless, the *praefectus fabrum* and the *praefectus collegi fabrum* is attested in nine inscriptions dated to the early and high empire as the sole presidential title of the association,<sup>499</sup> and therefore the prefects of the disputed college are completely in line with the attested hierarchy of the *collegium fabrum*.

Two homonymous men are attested in two inscriptions datable to the same period, namely *Varius Sabinus* is one of the *ministri* of the *collegium* listed in the earliest inscription, which the thesis tentatively dated to ca. 270s-280s, and *Varius Sabin(us) Salon(itanus) ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)* set up a sarcophagus that Salona IV dated to the later third or the beginning of the fourth centuries; the script of the respective inscriptions is similar and confirms us that the monuments were erected close in time. The identification of the *minister Sabinus* with the *Sabinus ex collegio fabrorum* seems thus possible and plausible. Besides these two instances of the nomen *Varius*, the gentilicium was attested only once more in the late antique epigraphic record, namely *Varius Terentianus* was one of the *ministri* in the inscription of 320, and he might have been the son of Sabinus. The cognomen *Sabinus* was also

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<sup>497</sup> CIL 03, 2106 = HD063061 (Candianus); CIL 03, 2108 = S IV, 2: 397 = HD063059 (Ursacius); CIL 03, 8824 = S IV, 2: 650 = HD062983 (Policr[ates]); S IV, 2: 417 = HD018330 (Sabin(us)); S IV, 2: 468 = HD064350 (Valent[---]). Yet another fragmentary inscription of an unspecified type mentioning [--- c]oll(egi-) Ven[eris ---] has been published recently (AE 2006, 1019 = HD056694).

<sup>498</sup> Prévot, *Un cas unique: le college Ad Tritones*, at p. 75.

<sup>499</sup> CIL 03, 14712 = HD031866; CIL 03, 14713 = HD031869; CIL 03, 2018 = HD054719; CIL 03, 2026 = 2087 = HD054750; CIL 03, 8737 = HD062532; CIL 03, 8787 = HD062648; CIL 03, 2075 = HD063259; ILJUG 2109 = HD025108; ILJUG 0678 = HD034119.

uncommon in the period, specifically there was only one another instance of it.<sup>500</sup> The currency of the nomen and cognomen favors the identification of the two individuals as the names were exclusive rather than generic in the later third and early fourth centuries as attested in inscriptions. It is thus suggested that the two disputed monuments which commemorate annual ceremonies of an association, record the annual rites of the *collegium fabrum Veneris*. The association was consistently attested in inscriptions across time and it was obviously the longest-lived and the most prominent college in Salona, which seems to have been flourishing and was epigraphically lively in the late third and early fourth century in Salona.<sup>501</sup>

It might be possible to identify another *minister* with a homonymous person that erected a funerary stela, but with less plausibility than in the case of Var. Sabinus. Firstly, a homonymous person, specifically *Aur(elius) Fortunius*, was listed as a *minister* in the earliest inscription and in the text of 320. As it was suggested above for Var. Sabinus and Var. Terentianus, the Fortunius of 320 may have been the son of the older Fortunius. The cognomen Fortunius had weak currency in the late antique epigraphic record of Salona, which speaks in favor of the suggestion. Besides these two instances, there is only one more attestation of it, namely *Aur(elius) Fortunius* set up a funerary stela to himself, his wife *Aur(elia) Vernantilla*, his sister *Ursa*, and his son *Ver<n=M>atianus*.<sup>502</sup> It is tempting to identify Aur. Fortunius, who erected a funerary monument, with Aur. Fortunius, the minister of 320. On the one hand, the stela can be narrowly dated to the 320s and 330s. As for the lower chronological limit, the Church is the recipient of the fine in the case of tomb violation, and as for the upper limit, the monument typology and the rich tendril decoration that frames the inscription suggest the dating to the first decades of the fourth century. Therefore, the stela and the last text that commemorates the

<sup>500</sup> *Iulia Sabina* (CIL 03, 14873 = S IV, 2: 418 = ILJUG 2760 = HD035187).

<sup>501</sup> The *collegium fabrum* was one of the most respectable types of colleges. Liu, *Pompeii and Collegia*, at p. 62 and n. 59 at p. 62 for the laws granting exemptions to the members of the *collegium fabrum*.

<sup>502</sup> ILJUG 2467 = S IV, 1: 141 = HD034889.

*ministri* were produced at about the same time. On the other hand, Fortunius did not style himself as the *collegiatus*; the funerary text is nevertheless peculiar and does not employ the accustomed epitaphic formulae. The opening sentence runs as follows *Aur(elius) Fortuni/us pet(i)tu(s) a con/iuge sua Aur(elia) / Vernantilla / sorori su(a)e Urs(a)e / qu(a)e vixit ex cari/tate eorum sene(!) ullo / devitum(!) Aur(elius) Fortuni/us concessit locu(m)...*, which might account for the lack of his occupation designation that can be found in other fourth-century epitaphs of the *collegiati* (*ex coll(egio) fabrorum/fabrum/Veneris*). The reconstruction is speculative but not improbable given that the *collegiati* belonged to the group of “chatty” people who could afford funerary commemoration and were epigraphically fairly visible in late antique Salona.

Altogether, the names of 56 members of the college have been preserved in five texts inscribed on two monuments, all of whom were identified with the two name-form. The earliest inscription displays the variety of nomina: one out of nine individuals bears the nomen Aurelius. The situation is quite the opposite in the rest four inscriptions dated to 302, 302, 319, and 320 in which all individuals were the Aurelii with four exceptions altogether. That seems to reflect the wider urban socio-onomastic change rather than to point towards the different social background of the fourth-century *collegiati*.

The proliferation of the nomen Aurelius was due to the mass enfranchisement that ensued the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, yet some three generations passed since its publication and the beginning of the fourth century, and while there may have been social differences between the “Old” and “New” Romans in their first generation, they would disappear in time. For example, the prefect in the years 302 and 303 was Aur. Valentinianus of the equestrian rank, and the prefect in 319 was likewise Aur. Xenon for the second time. The fact that the prefect in 320 was Quintilius Faintilius, and that the rest 14 *ministri* comprised 13 Aurelii and a single Varius does not seem to be socially significant. As it will be shown, similar socio-onomastic trends can be observed in contemporaneous epitaphs, namely diverse gentilicia are generally concentrated in the second half of the third and early

fourth centuries, and their currency alike tapers off in the later record. Naturally, the nomenclature is one of the dating criteria, which is important to be cognizant of in order not to slip into circular argumentation. Nevertheless, the monument typology and its visuals, script and occasionally the epitaph content all congruently speak in favor of the earlier dates of the funerary monuments whose patrons bear diverse nomina. Therefore, if the suggested date of ca. 270-280s for the earliest inscription is tenable, then these inscriptions are the evidence for the pace of the socio-onomastic change. Finally, the status distinctions are missing in all cases but one. Aur. Valentinianus was the prefect of the college in the years 302 and 303 whereby in the latter instance he was defined as the *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, namely as a man of the equestrian rank. Not even the patron of the college Nocturnius Novellus was distinguished from among the rest with a designation of his social position.

The following discussion concerns the adoption of the imperial gentilicium Flavius by the top imperial aristocracy as it can be illustrated by the examples of the three provincial governors of the senatorial rank epigraphically attested in Salona. Their attitude towards the adoption of the imperial nomen Flavius will serve us to put into perspective the practice among the lower-level imperial officials as attested in epitaphs. The *notarius* Dassius set up a votive inscription for the health of his superior, the *v(ir) c(larissimus) Marcus Aurelius Iulius*, who was the *augur* and the *praeses*.<sup>503</sup> The *p(raeses)* of Dalmatia, the *v(ir) c(larissimus) Fl(avius) Iuli(us) Rufinus Sarmentius* set up six honorific inscriptions in Salona and elsewhere in Dalmatia.<sup>504</sup> Sarmentius' name appears in the same way in all six inscriptions, specifically

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<sup>503</sup> CIL 03, 1938 + 8565 = S IV, 1: 12 at pp. 158-60 = HD053738. For Iulius, see PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1540 and PLRE 1 Iulius 5 at p. 482.

<sup>504</sup> CIL 03, 1982 = S IV, 1: 6 at pp. 148-51 = HD053423 = LSA-1143: an architrave (or a statue base) honorific inscription dedicated to either the emperor Constantine; from Salona, 337-50. CIL 03, 1982 = S IV, 1: 7 at pp. 151-52 = HD064574: an architrave honorific inscription dedicated to the emperor Constantine; from Salona, 337-350 or 342?-350. CIL 03, 1983 = HD064575 = LSA-1144: an architrave (or a statue base) honorific inscription dedicated to Constantine II; from Salona, 337-350 or 342?-350. CIL 03, 8710 = S IV, 1: 9 at pp. 154-55 = HD052768 = LSA-1136: an architrave (or a statue base) honorific inscription dedicated to Constantine II; from Salona, 337-350 or 337-361. CIL 03, 2771+p. 1624 = HD053425 = LSA-1481: an honorific inscription on a base for statue of the emperor Constantine, Rider, 337-350. CIL 03, 14333 = HD032856: a honorific inscription probably on a statue base dedicated to a female member of the imperial household of the Constantinian dynasty whose name has not been preserved; from Senia, 337-361. For Sarmentius, see PLRE 1 Sarmentius, at p. 804.

as *Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmentius* that was apparently his official and full name. Lastly, the *p(raeses) v(ir) c(larissimus) Apollonius Foebadius* set up an honorific inscription on a base (for statue?).<sup>505</sup>

These inscriptions are the only source for the historical figures, and no other onomastic and biographical pieces of information are known beyond what is recorded in the inscriptions from Salona. Only Sarmentius' governorship can be more precisely dated, namely to the rule of Constantius II (ruled as Augustus 337-361) and Constans (337-350). With respect to the topic examined, Iulius presents a problem because the dating of his votive inscription and thus of his governorship is conjectural. Frane Bulić, followed by John Wilkes and Emilio Marin, thought that he was the governor of Dalmatia under Diocletian, specifically during his persecutions of 209-304,<sup>506</sup> in which case Iulius would not be analyzable for the present topic. Christophe Goddard has discarded their reconstruction and has pushed his governorship to after 316,<sup>507</sup> namely to the rule of Constantine and his dynasty, mostly on account of Constantine's administrative changes which would have had effect in Dalmatia after 316 when Constantine came into possession of the province.<sup>508</sup> His case will thus be considered for the present discussion. Foebadius' governorship can be likewise dated only conjecturally and broadly: PLRE has dated his governorship to the fourth and fifth centuries, while Bulić and Goddard have pushed it to a later date of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries based on paleographic features of the inscription.<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> ILJUG 2074 A = S IV, 1: 14 at pp. 162-64 = HD027930. For Foebadius, see PLRE 1 Apollonius Foebadius at p. 368. For a list of the late Roman governors of Dalmatia, see Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, at p. 422.

<sup>506</sup> Frane Bulić, "M. Aurelius Iulus, *Praeses provinciae Dalmatiae* alla fine del IIIo ed al principio del IVo sec. d. Cr.," *BAHD* 37 (1914): pp. 118-21; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, at p. 422; Marin, *Civitas splendida Salona*, at pp. 31 and 67.

<sup>507</sup> Frane Bulić, "Apollonius Foebadius del V. – VI. Sec., Iscrizione di un nuovo luogotenente della Dalmazia romana," *BAHD* 32 (1909): 3-11; Christophe Goddard, "No. 12, Dédicace du *notarius* Dassius à la Fortune Conservatrice pour le salut du clarissime Marcus Aurelius Iulius, *praeses provinciae*, sur une base (après 316)," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 158-60. EDH has accepted Goddard's dates for the votive inscription and Iulius' governorship (HD053738).

<sup>508</sup> For the war of 316-324 between Constantine and Licinius, see Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion, and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), at pp. 101-106.

<sup>509</sup> Goddard, "No. 14, Dédicace du clarissime Apollonius Foebadius, *p(raeses) p(rovinciae) D(almatiae)*, sur une base (Ve siècle ou premier quart du VIe siècle)," in *Salona IV*, at pp. 162-64.

To note is that Dassius had Iulius' praenomen inscribed, and not even in abbreviated form but in full. The praenomina began to fall out of use and have ceased to be recorded in inscriptions with different pace among different social groups and in different types of inscriptions from the later first century C.E. Yet by the mid-third century its usage came to be overwhelmingly reduced to official contexts, such as birth certificates, whereby the obligation to record it in official documents was abolished around the year 300, after which it was a rarity even among the traditional senatorial aristocracy.<sup>510</sup> Besides these three, the two other later-imperial governors of Dalmatia are epigraphically attested in 277 and 280, namely *Aur(elius) Marcianus* and *M(arcus) Aur(elius) Tiberianus* respectively: both were of the equestrian rank (the *virī perfectissimi*), and one had his praenomen recorded.<sup>511</sup>

As for the fourth-century epigraphic record of Salona, M. Aurelius Iulius is the single individual whose praenomen was recorded in the private epigraphic context. Besides the two *clarissimae*, of which one was identified with the two-name form and another only with her cognomen,<sup>512</sup> a single *clarissimus* was identified only with his cognomen.<sup>513</sup> Out of the four men of equestrian rank, three were named with the two-name form, and one with his cognomen.<sup>514</sup> The chronological dimension accounts for the three cases in which individuals were named only with the cognomen, namely they were commemorated at the very end of the fourth century when the tendency to omit one's gentilicium from epitaphs was under way.

Outside of the epigraphic context of Salona, yet within the context of Iulius' peers, namely of the provincial governors under Constantine, Iulius' nomenclature appears likewise exceptional, as the survey of the diocesan *vicarii* and *comites*, and of the provincial governors, as compiled by Timothy

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<sup>510</sup> Kajanto, *Roman Nomenclature during the Late Empire*, at p. 103; Salway, *What's in a Name?*, at pp. 130-31.

<sup>511</sup> Marcianus: CIL 03, 8707 = HD053729; PLRE 1 Marcianus 18 = PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1549; attested in 277 in Salona. Tiberianus: CIL 03, 1805+p. 2328,119 = HD051067; PLRE 1 Tiberianus 5 = PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1620; attested in 280 in Narona.

<sup>512</sup> CIL 03, 8712 = HD034741; CIL 03, 9523+13122 = HD034780.

<sup>513</sup> CIL 03, 9506 = HD034773.

<sup>514</sup> CIL 03, 6403 = HD 063458; CIL 03, 8712 = HD034741; CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754; ILJUG 0126 = HD018019.

Barnes, has revealed.<sup>515</sup> A caveat regarding the sources for Barnes' list is in place: plenty of governors are attested only in the law codes as recipients of imperial promulgations in which they are commonly addressed only by their cognomen.<sup>516</sup> That might have bearing on the low figure of governors whose praenomen is known. On the other hand, in the exceptional cases in which Constantine or his sons addressed the governor in their promulgation with yet another element besides cognomen, the element is the governor's nomen, as in the case of Annius Tiberianus.<sup>517</sup> That confirms the onomastic trends as observed in the epigraphic record, and emphasizes the conservativeness of the three-name system, and gravity and solemnity which such nomenclature ought to have conveyed. It is thus no wonder that the fourth-century sources for the three-name and polyonymous system (two or more gentilicia) are almost invariably honorific inscriptions.<sup>518</sup>

Thus, three other provincial governors of the first half of the fourth century had their praenomen recorded. Namely, two governors of the equestrian rank styled themselves as *M(arcus) Alfius Apronianus* and *Q(uintus) Aeclanius Hermias* in an honorific inscription that each set up to Constantine in between 312-324 in Vienne and Corduba respectively,<sup>519</sup> furthermore, the council of

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<sup>515</sup> Timothy D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), at pp. 140-75.

<sup>516</sup> Cf. Cameron, *Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy*, at pp. 172-73.

<sup>517</sup> CTh 12.1.5 (*ad Annium Tiberianum*). PLRE 1 Tiberianus 4.

<sup>518</sup> On that note, I have left out the members of the old senatorial aristocracy of Rome from the survey of the Barnes's list, since their onomastic practices were deliberately conservative. As Salway has put it with respect to the adoption of the imperial name Flavius: "The independently-minded aristocracy of Rome were especially reluctant to use a nomen which not only behaved in a fashion unsanctioned by the *mos maiorum* but also implied a dignity dependent on imperial service." The last person with his praenomen recorded came from "traditional milieu" of the senatorial aristocracy, namely Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus who was consul in 485. Salway, *What's in a Name?*, at p. 131, and quote at p. 140. For example, Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus signo Mavortius (PLRE 1 Lollianus 5), L. Aradius Valerius Proculus signo Populonium (PLRE 1 Proculus 11), L. Crepereius Madalianus (PLRE 1 Madalianus), Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus signo Honorius (PLRE Paulinus 14), C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus (PLRE 1 Rufinus 15), L. Nonius Verus (PLRE 1 Verus 4), M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus (PLRE 1 Placidus 2), C. Caelius Censorinus (PLRE 1 Censorinus 2). The source for their full nomenclature are invariably honorific inscriptions whose honorands they were in Rome and in other Italian towns.

<sup>519</sup> Apronianus: CIL 12, 1852 = EDCS-08501575 = LSA-2656; PLRE 1 Apronianus 4. Hermias: CIL 02, 2203 = EDH028166 = LSA-1997; PLRE 1 Hermias 3.

Asisium set up an honorific inscription in 330 to *M(arcus) Aur(elius) Val(erius) Valentinus*.<sup>520</sup> Therefore, both the nomenclature of M. Aur. Iulius and the epigraphic context of a votive inscription which recorded his name was exceptional both in Salona and among the top imperial aristocracy as attested empire-wide during the reign of Constantine and dynasty.

Another difference between the nomenclature of Iulius and Sarmentius, the governors under Constantine's dynasty, provided that the dates for Iulius' inscription and governorship of 316-350 as suggested by Goddard are accepted, is the lack of the imperial nomen Flavius in Iulius' case, while Sarmentius bore it prefixed to his own family gentilicium Iulius. Two possible reasons may be entertained, of which the epigraphic context seems less probable. Sarmentius had the imperial nomen recorded alongside his patrilineal in the public and official context of honorific inscriptions that he set up to the members of the imperial family. To set up an honorific inscription to an emperor or a member of the imperial family was an ultimate expression of loyalty to the ruling emperor. As to the context-specific nomenclature, it has been observed that the old senatorial aristocracy of Rome reduced the usage of the imperial nomen Flavius to the official contexts while they avoided it elsewhere because it implied nobility dependent on imperial service. The status name would have assimilated them with the parvenus who did not sport a gentilicium other than Flavius as their family nomen would have likely been Aurelius.<sup>521</sup> Nevertheless, the onomastic practice of the senatorial aristocracy of Rome does not readily compare with the naming patterns of the *clarissimi* with different social background. The private epigraphic context seems not to have affected Iulius's nomenclature. Namely, considering that the *notarius* included even the obsolete element of the praenomen in Iulius's full and official nomenclature, and the Iulius's gentilicium is Aurelius, my assumption is that the imperial nomen Flavius would have been recorded, had Iulius been granted it.

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<sup>520</sup> CIL 11, 5381 = EDCS-12700049 = LSA-1639; PLRE 1 Valentinus 12.

<sup>521</sup> Salway, *What's in a Name?*, at p. 140.

The chronological dimension may account better for the lack of the status nomen Flavius in Iulius's nomenclature. The survey of provincial governors under Constantine suggests that the practice of conveying the imperial nomen onto the holders of the top imperial offices such as the *vicarii, comites*, and the provincial governors began after his victory over Licinius in 324 when he became the sole ruler of the empire. The practice becomes observable after 324 also in those western territories, which Constantine had been ruling before 324 and whose governors had displayed allegiance to him, and not just in the recently acquired East.<sup>522</sup> The vicar of the Spanish provinces Septimius Acyndinus set up an honorific inscription to the Caesar Crispus in Tarraco in between 317-326.<sup>523</sup> The above-mentioned M. Alfius Apronianus set up an honorific inscription to Constantine in Vienne, which is dated to before 324 based on Constantine's titles, namely the emperor was not styled as the *Victor* which he took over after his defeat of Licinius.<sup>524</sup> P. Aelius Proculus, the governor of Campania of the equestrian rank, set up an honorific inscription to Constantine in Puteoli in 324.<sup>525</sup> Neither of the three carried the imperial nomen Flavius although they were Constantine's governors in the West in the late 310s and early 320s. In conformity with the general practice, the governor of Dalmatia M. Aurelius Iulius did not carry the imperial nomen Flavius, and his nomenclature may then provide the *terminus ante quem* for his votive inscription and governorship, namely the year 324. It seems that the Aurelii invariably upgraded their nomen to Flavius upon entering the imperial service with the consequence that no Aurelius is attested as a provincial governor after 324.

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<sup>522</sup> For Constantine's ruling years of 306-324, see Noel Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge, CUP, 2006), 59-91, esp. at pp. 59-77, and Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 28-77.

<sup>523</sup> CIL 02, 4107 = EDCS-05503139 = LSA-1983; PLRE 1 Acindynus 2.

<sup>524</sup> CIL 12, 1852 = EDCS-08501575 = LSA-2656; PLRE 1 Apronianus 4.

<sup>525</sup> AE 1969/70, 0107 = EDCS-09700879 = LSA-1922.

The last epigraphically attested governor in Salona, the *vir clarissimus* Apollonius Foebadius is attested in an honorific or a building-dedicatory inscription.<sup>526</sup> Bulić has classified the monument as a slab, and thought that the notch on its top side was used to lift it, and to insert or to fix the slab onto a structure.<sup>527</sup> Goddard, followed by EDH, has classified the monument as a statue base and the notch accordingly served to fix the statue.<sup>528</sup> Nevertheless, note that the *Last Statues of Antiquity Database* (LSA) has not included the monument in its corpus of late antique statues. Bulić and Goddard agree that the inscription commemorates the architectural benefaction of the governor himself or of an emperor. According to Goddard, the text is not completely preserved and the building activity was recorded on another side of the statue base.<sup>529</sup>

The inscribed monument renders itself to two more probable interpretations. Firstly, if we take it as an honorific inscription on the statue base, it is then more likely that the governor Foebadius awarded it to an honorand, namely an emperor, in which case the emperor may have been specified on another face of the rectangular block.<sup>530</sup> Nevertheless, there are instances in which the subject of the honorific monument was not stated. For example, an honorific inscription inscribed on a small statue base provides the parallel instance with respect to the employed formula, and the subject was

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<sup>526</sup> *Curante / Apollonio / Foebadio / v(iro) c(larissimo) p(raeside) p(rovinciae) D(almatiae) [-?]* (ILJUG 2074A = S IV, 1: 14 = HD027930; PLRE 1 Foebadius). Cf. Charlotte Roueché sees the category of building-dedicatory inscriptions as a subgroup of honorific inscriptions. Charlotte Roueché, “Benefactors in the Late Roman Period,” in *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, eds. Michel Christol and Olivier Masson (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 353-68, at p. 355. For the governor's material benefactions, see Daniëlle Sloopjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), at pp. 79-87.

<sup>527</sup> Bulić, *Apollonius Foebadius*, at p. 7.

<sup>528</sup> Goddard, *No. 14, Dédicace du clarissime Apollonius Foebadius*, at p. 163. EDH has followed Goddard and categorized it as the statue base (HD027930).

<sup>529</sup> Bulić, *Apollonius Foebadius*, at pp. 9-10; Goddard, *No. 14, Dédicace du clarissime Apollonius Foebadius*, at p. 163. For the governor's material benefactions, see Daniëlle Sloopjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), at pp. 79-87.

<sup>530</sup> To illustrate, two parallel, fourth- and fifth-century cases: *D(ominus) n(oster) Valentinianus / omnia maximus victor / ac triumphator semper / et ubique victor erectus / est curante Dom(itio) Eutropio / v(iro) c(larissimo) praeside Ciliciae*. (CIL 03, 13619+p. 2316,7 = HD022286 = LSA-637; dedicated to Valentinian I or Valentinian II, Hierapolis Castabala, Cilicia I, 364-378); *D(omino) n(ostro) Honorio, / florentissimo, / invictissimoq(ue) / principi, / (5) S(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus). / Curante Rufio Antonio / Agrypnio Volusiano, / v(iro) c(larissimo), praef(ecto) urb(i) / iterum vice sacra / indicante*. (CIL 06, 1194+p. 4334 = EDCS-00900447 = LSA-305; dedicated to Honorius, Rome, 417-418).

not recorded on any other side,<sup>531</sup> or the statue base inscription erected by the governor of Campania Virius Lupus Victorius in the fourth or earlier fifth centuries.<sup>532</sup> A caveat is in place. The given interpretation does not square easily with the dates of 401-530 that Bulić and Goddard assigned to it, since a single statue base is attested after the fourth century awarded by a provincial governor to an emperor, namely to Justin II (r. 565-574, d. 578).<sup>533</sup> The Greek cross, which prefixes the text, and paleographic features speak against the fourth-century date that PLRE attributed to Foebadius. It seems furthermore that neither the fourth-century statue bases, nor the one dedicated to Justin II awarded to the emperors by the governors contained a cross or any other Christian symbol. Nevertheless, an honorific inscription on a statue base awarded by the city of Cyrrhus (Euphratensis) to the emperor Justinian in between 527-548 opens up with a cross.<sup>534</sup>

On the other hand, if we take it as a building-dedicatory inscription, then Foebadius as the imperial representative seemingly oversaw a public work. Nevertheless, other parallel instances state that the public work had been undertaken by or dedicated to an emperor,<sup>535</sup> whereby Foebadius's honorific-building inscription would then stand out because neither an emperor nor a benefaction was recorded. It is unclear which of the two possibilities is more probable, yet it seems that Goddard's

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<sup>531</sup> *Curante Chete/ cio (!) Pelagio, viro / praefectissimo(!) / curator(e) aedium / sacrarum* (CIL 03, 37123+p. 4820,1 = EDCS-20000192 = LSA-1377; Rome, 280-340).

<sup>532</sup> *[V]irius Lupus / [V]ictorius, v(ir) c(larissimus), / [c]ons(ularis) Camp(aniae), / curavit* (AE 1978, 0114 = LSA-1938 = EDR076975).

<sup>533</sup> *D(omino) n(ostro) Iustino, / felici semper / Aug(usto), dedicante / Lucio Map[---] / v(iro) c(larissimo), p(roconsuli (?)) P(rovinciae(?)) [---] / devota Kar(thago (?))* (CIL 08, 1020 = LSA-2771).

<sup>534</sup> LSA-2636.

<sup>535</sup> An illustrative case: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius) Val(erius) Constantinus Pius Felix maximus Aug(ustus) / Aquas Iasas olim vii(!) ignis consumptas cum porticibus / et omnib(us) ornamentis ad pristinam faciem restituit / provisione etiam pietatis su(a)e Nundinas / die Solis perpeti anno constituit / curante Val(erio) Catullino v(iro) p(erfectissimo) p(rae?)p(osito?) p(rovinciae) P(anoniae) super(ioris)* (CIL 03, 4121+p. 2328,114 = HD064415; Aquae Iasae, 314-316). Another case in which a governor dedicates the building to an emperor are the above-discussed building-dedicatory inscriptions of the governor Sarmentius. For the governor's material benefactions, see Daniëlle Slootjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), at pp. 79-87.

combination of the statue base commemorating a building activity overseen by Foebadius is untenable.<sup>536</sup>

As noted, Foebadius governorship is dated broadly to 401-530 by which time the senatorial rank was subdivided into three grades with the *clarissimus* at the bottom.<sup>537</sup> The comparison of Foebadius's nomenclature with the nomenclature of the contemporaneous imperial governors as listed in PLRE 2 would not be productive because the nomenclature is contextual, namely one's name-form may have varied across different source genre, and PLRE 2 compiled its list based on diverse sources without specifying them (unlike Barnes who specified the source for each governor under Constantine).

Therefore, the final observation is based on the survey of 46 honorific bases erected by provincial governors to emperors, and of ca. seven building-dedicatory inscriptions set up by provincial governors during the period of 325 to 530, whereby LSA and EDH have provided the respective samples of inscriptions.<sup>538</sup> The naming patterns as attested in the two categories of inscriptions will be analyzed jointly, since no differences were observed across two contexts. On that note, Charlotte Roueché sees the category of building-dedicatory inscriptions as a sub-group of honorific inscriptions, and has accordingly analyzed benefactors in the later Roman East by taking indiscriminately into consideration honorific and building texts.<sup>539</sup> The survey has not considered the inscriptions that commemorate building activity of the prefects of Rome because the office was largely occupied by the

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<sup>536</sup> Different are the cases of statue bases honoring a benefactor one of whose merits was provision for a building activity. See for example discussing mainly examples from the Greek East, Roueché, *Benefactors in the Late Roman Period*, pp. 353-68. R. R. R. Smith, and Bryan Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (Oxford: OUP, 2016).

<sup>537</sup> Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at pp. 528-30.

<sup>538</sup> LSA-197, 223, 291, 472, 517, 612, 636, 637, 638, 713, 739, 744, 748, 770, 1086, 1136, 1141, 1481, 1692, 1718, 1719, 1728, 1758, 1839, 1841, 1882, 1923, 1998, 2063, 2064, 2079, 2086, 2154, 2158, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2234, 2235, 2242, 2265, 2554, 2562, 2563, 2689, 2690. HD-011631, 033698, 052768, 053423, 064574, 064575, 065271.

<sup>539</sup> Charlotte Roueché, "Benefactors in the Late Roman Period," in *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, eds. Michel Christol and Olivier Masson (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 353-68, at p. 355.

members of the old senatorial aristocracy of Rome whose nomenclature was idiosyncratic in particular with respect to their polyonymy and the usage of *signa*.<sup>540</sup> On the other hand, the survey has shown that with respect to the usage of the imperial nomen Flavius, there was no difference between Rome's senatorial aristocracy and governors whose nobility may have been obtained by the imperial service.

There are 32 governors who set up either an honorific or a building inscription in between 325-530, most of whom were the fourth-century *clarissimi* with several *perfectissimi* (some erected more than one monument hence the incongruity between the number of inscriptions and governors). Only two Aurelii are attested, both of whom were the governors under Constantine and his sons.<sup>541</sup> Seven governors carried the imperial nomen Flavius: besides the above-discussed governor of Dalmatia, Fl. Iul. Rufinus Sarmentius, three governors had it also prefixed to their family nomen and three carried it as a single gentilicium.<sup>542</sup> The rest of the governors carried their own family gentilicium or gentilicia, some of which were naturally imperial nomina such as Iulius, Aelius, Claudius, Ulpus.<sup>543</sup> The only pattern that emerges is that six out of seven Flavii were governors under Constantine and his sons. There are nevertheless five governors who erected honorific inscriptions to Constantine and his sons,

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<sup>540</sup> Cameron, *Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy*, 164-82; Olli Salomies, "Réflexions sur le développement de l'onomastique de l'aristocratie romaine du Bas-empire," in *Les stratégies familiales dans l'antiquité tardive*, eds. Christophe Badel and Christian Settiani (Paris: De Boccard, 2012), pp. 1-26.

<sup>541</sup> LSA-2242 = PLRE 1 Celsinus 4; HD011631.

<sup>542</sup> Flavius Vivius Benedictus, 378 (LSA-1758 = PLRE 1 Benedictus 4); Flavius Ovidius Athonius, 337-361 (LSA-2234); Flavius Lucretius Florentinus Rusticus, 351-400 (LSA-2219, 2220, 2221, 2222 = PLRE 1 Rusticus 1). Flavius Hyginus, 333-337 (LSA-1086 = PLRE Hyginus 4); Flavius Magnus, 354-359 (LSA-2086 = PLRE 1 Magnus 9); Flavius Augustianus 353-354 (LSA-2554 = PLRE 1 Augustianus 3).

<sup>543</sup> Antonius Tatianus, 361-363 (LSA-197) and 364 (LSA-223); L. Caelius Montius, 340-350 (LSA-291, 739, 744, 2079 = PLRE 1 Montius); Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus 382-383 (LSA-472, 770, 771, 950); Aelius Claudius Dulcitus, 361-363 (LSA-517, 713, 748 = PLRE 1 Dulcitus 5); Dometius Eutropius, 364-378 (LSA-637, 638) and 367-378 (LSA-636 = PLRE 1 Eutropius 5); Annius Antiochus, 355-361 (LSA-1692, 1718, 1719 = PLRE 1 Antiochus 11); Naeratus Scopius, 375-380 (LSA-1728, 1870; PLRE 1 Scopius); Sextius Rusticus Iulianus 371-373 (LSA-1839 = PLRE 1 Iulianus 37); Iulius Festus (Hymetus), 366-368 (LSA-1841 = PLRE 1 Hymetus); Helvius Vindicianus 379-382 (LSA-1882 = PLRE 1 Vindicianus 2); Iulius Aurelianus, 325-326 (LSA-1923 = PLRE 1 Aurelianus 7); Decimus Germanianus, 337-361 (LSA-1998 = PLRE 1 Germanianus 4); M. Valerius Quintianus, 364-378 (LSA-2063, 2064 = PLRE 1 Quintianus 4); Publilius Ceionibus Caecina Albinus, 364-367 (LSA-2235 = PLRE 1 Albinus 8); Ulpus Mariscianus 361-363 (LSA-2265 = PLRE 1 Mariscianus); Badius Macrinus, 324-337, probably 324-326 (LSA-1981, 1982) and 333-337 (LSA-2689, 2690 = PLRE 1 Macrinus 2); Antonius Dracontius 364-367 (LSA-2155, 2320, 2562, 2563 = PLRE I Dracontius 3); Pontius Asclepiodotus, 377 (HD065271 = PLRE 1 Asclepiodotus 4); Antonius Alypius, 371 (HD033698 = PLRE 1 Alypius 11).

but did not carry the nomen Flavius. It seems that to adopt the nomen Flavius by governors was most fashionable or strongly expected under the emperors who initiated the practice, yet the practice was obviously neither mandatory nor pervasive. In the second half of the fourth century, the gentilicium Flavius was either not adopted or not displayed in the context of honorific inscriptions. Thus, the nomenclature of both governors of Dalmatia, Sarmentius and Foebadius, fits into the general pattern.

The onomastic survey of the individuals attested in few non-funerary texts dated to the later third and fourth centuries has shown that the two-name form, namely the nomenclature composed of the nomen and cognomen, was the norm. The governor M. Aur. Iulius is a single instance of the *tria nomina*, and yet another governor Fl. Iul. Rufinus Sarmentius is a single case of the polyonymy, namely of the name system that contains two or more gentilicia.

#### 5. 4 Funerary Epigraphy: People and Nomenclature

I have selected altogether 95 epitaphic funerary monuments approximately dated to from the mid-third to the end of the fourth century: 63 are the sarcophagi epitaphs, eleven are the stelae epitaphs, ten are the free-standing slab epitaphs, three are the slabs inserted in the pavement, two are the funerary tables (*mensae*), and in six instances the monument typology is unspecified (Appendices 2A and 3A). Commemorator is noted in 75 instances (79 percent); nine out of 20 epitaphs that do not record commemorator pertain to Greek epitaphs most of which employ the formula “here lies” (for example, ἐνθάδε κ<εἶ>τ<ατ>), which is not conducive to the noting of a commemorator.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> The parallel Latin formula *hic situs est* accounts for most of the “no commemorator known” type of Latin epitaphs. Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33/4 (1984): pp. 457-97 at p. 484.

Epitaphs are the source genre inherently pertinent to the socio-demographic inquiries, and in the two pioneer studies on the Roman family, Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw jointly, and Shaw by himself examined the types of the relationship between the deceased and a commemorator in order to assess the type of the Roman family during the Principate (the first through the third century) and the later Roman empire (the fourth through the sixth century) respectively.<sup>545</sup> They have analyzed the deceased-commemorator relationships across three social groups of the “civilians,” “military” and “servile” populations.<sup>546</sup> Their unit of counting was a relationship, and not an inscription as a self-contained item: for example, if there were multiple relationships recorded in an epitaph, they broke them down into the individual deceased-commemorator relationships and tabulated each into corresponding category. Dale Martin has levelled two criticisms against the method of Saller and Shaw. He has emphasized the limitations of both epitaphs as a genre and their method for reconstructing Roman family and household structures, and has pointed out that their study only shows that members of a nuclear family were socially and emotionally more important and dependent on each other than on extended family members, which does not say anything “about the existence of the extended family

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<sup>545</sup> They sought to engage in the cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural historical research of a family, and particularly to polemicize against the view according to which family types had an evolutionary three-stage trajectory from an extended, multi-generational family in ancient societies through an extended stem family to a modern nuclear family. Moreover, they sought to use epitaphs to outbalance the impression that both the legal concepts of *familia* and *domus*, and the normative and ideal projections of literary sources give that nuclear family was a minor phenomenon. Saller and Shaw read ca. 25,000 epitaphs out of which they selected and tabulated data from the 12-13,000 epitaphs, and Shaw used ca. 3,500 epitaphs out of ca. 15,000 that he surveyed from different regions of the western Empire. Saller and Shaw covered following regions: Rome, Ostia, Portus, Italy (Latium, Regio XI), Africa (Carthage, Lambaesis, Auzia, Caesarea), Gallia Narbonensis, Spain, Britain, Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, Noricum, Pannonias. Shaw covers the following regions: Rome, Gaul (Belgica Prima, Vienna), Africa (Carthage, Altava, Sbeitla, Castellum Celtianum, Arcasal, Thubursicu Numidarum, Castellum Tidditanorum, Thibilis, Sicca-Ucubi, Thugga), Germania (middle Rhine), Spain. That is to say, both have left out Dalmatia and Salona. Saller and Shaw, Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves,” *JRS* 74 (1984): pp. 124-56; Brent D. Shaw, “Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* Bd. 33, H. 4 (1984): pp. 457-97.

<sup>546</sup> Relationships are divided into following analytical categories: 1. Nuclear family relationships (with a further breakdown into conjugal, descending, ascending relationship and siblings); 2. Extended family relationships; 3. *Heredes* (only non-kin heirs); 4. Amity relationships (*amici, commilitio, commanipulis, contubernalis, municeps*); 5. Servile relationships; 6. No commemorator known; 7. *Sibi se vivo*. Saller and Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations,” pp. 124-56, at p. 132.

or the perceived boundaries of the family.”<sup>547</sup> That is a valid and important contention, but a point of clarification is needed in Saller and Shaw’s defense, namely they were aware of the given limitations, and did not aim to delimit Roman family structures, but sought to determine the types of personal relationships as recorded on tombstones and their conclusion does not go beyond stating that the nuclear family was the primary focus of certain family duties.<sup>548</sup> To redress Saller and Shaw’s method, Martin has proposed to count tombstones as the self-contained units.<sup>549</sup> While Martin allows for the regional differences in epigraphic cultures and family structures, the problem with his argument is that he attempts to invalidate Saller and Shaw’s method by applying different method on different data set. To test the validity of both methods, Jonathan Edmondson has applied them to the same corpus of funerary inscriptions from Lusitania, and has obtained nearly the same results.<sup>550</sup>

Given the size of the sample, which comprises 75 epitaphs dated to ca. 250-400 that noted the commemorator, it was possible to conduct a bit more nuanced analysis that approaches an epitaph as a self-contained item. I have therefore distinguished between the epitaphs in which a single relationship is attested (62 instances) and those in which multiple relationships are attested (9 instances). There are another 4 epitaphs that contain a single commemorator-deceased relationship but the type of relationship is unspecified so I have left them out from this survey. Out of 62 epitaphs that contain a single relationship, 38 pertain to the conjugal, 13 to the nuclear descending, 3 to siblings, 1 to the

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<sup>547</sup> Dale B. Martin, “The Construction of the Ancient Family: Methodological Considerations,” *JRS* 86 (1996): pp. 40-60.

<sup>548</sup> Saller and Shaw, “Roman Family Relations in the Principate,” esp. at pp. 124 and 125, 145-6, and *passim*.

<sup>549</sup> Martin’s most abundant samples come from Lycian Olympus and Termessus, and from Bithynian Nicomedia: the ratios of nuclear to extended family inscriptions are 25 to 75 percent, 69 to 31, and 68 to 32 respectively, that is, in the case of Olympus the result is reverse of Saller’s and Shaw’s for the western empire, while in the cases of Termessus and Nicomedia the incidence of nuclear family inscriptions approximates the western empire. Martin, “The Construction of the Ancient Family,” esp. at pp. 41-44 and 47-49, with the Table I at p. 48.

<sup>550</sup> The incidence of nuclear family relations obtained by Shaw’s method is 77 and 78 percent for Emerita and Civitas Igaeditanorum respectively, while the joint ratio of extended and multi-person epitaphs obtained by Martin’s method is 23 and 24 percent respectively. Jonathan Edmondson, “Family Relations in Roman Lusitania: Social Change in a Roman Province,” in *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy and Beyond*, ed. Michele George (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 183-229, esp. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 at pp 194-96, and Table 7.9 at p. 216.

nuclear ascending, 5 to the *sibi se vivo*, and 2 to a foster-child/foster-parent relationship. Out of 9 epitaphs in which multiple relationships are noted, 5 pertain to the combination of the conjugal and nuclear descending, 1 to the combination of conjugal and nuclear ascending, 1 to the combination of conjugal, nuclear descending, and extended lateral, and 2 to the combination of kinship and household type of relationships (a freedwoman to her patrons). In total, out of 71 epitaphs that noted and specified the type of relationships, the burial was the affair of the nuclear family in 62 instances (87 percent), the percentage that fits into the commemorative patterns that Saller and Shaw's analyses have revealed for the Latin West (both studies have left out Dalmatia and Salona). As for the urban populace, Saller and Shaw's findings have shown that the civilian commemorative patterns are characterized by the nuclear family relations with a continuity from the earlier to the later empire with the percentage stepping up from 75-90 to 96-98 respectively. Aristocracy is at the lower end of the percentage spectrum, while the (lower) urban social groups are at the upper end.<sup>551</sup> The chronological dimension probably accounts for the somewhat lower ratio of nuclear family relations in the later Roman epitaphic record of Salona. Namely, the two inscriptions that attest to the household commemorative pattern date to the second half of the third century, while the freedmen-patron type of relationship disappears from the fourth-century record, namely from the "Christian" epitaphs that Shaw based his study on the late-imperial family on. Likewise, some of the *sibi se vivo* epitaphs belong to the earlier period of the late third and the early fourth century.

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<sup>551</sup> Saller and Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations," at pp. 134-39, with Tables I-IV at pp. 147-50, and Shaw, "Latin Funerary Epigraphy," esp. at 469-70, 471-73, with Tables 7-14 at p. 487. As for the commemorative patterns of specific, military and servile, social groups, the *equites singulares* stand as an antipode to the civilians: only 29 percent commemorators were nuclear family members, while 55 percent were unrelated heirs and eight percent *amici*. On the other hand, military populations at Lambaesis, Spain and Pannonias resemble civilians with over 70 percent commemorators being nuclear family members. Servile populations are exemplified by the *familia Caesaris* of Rome and Carthage as "distinct servile communities," otherwise though people of servile background were included in the category of the civilians; the *familia Caesaris* displays the same commemorative patterns as civilians with a little over 80 percent of close-kin commemorators. Saller and Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations," at pp. 139-45, with Table I at p. 151, and Tables I-IV at pp. 152-55.

I have selected 95 epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries: sarcophagus is again the prevalent monument with 72 examples, followed by 13 horizontally placed slabs and six tables (*mensae*), while the typology is unspecified in four cases. The commemorator is noted in merely 7 epitaphs of which the conjugal relationship is attested in 4 and the nuclear descending in 1 instance, the relationship is unspecified in 1 instance and there is a single case of the *sibi se vivo* type of the commemorative arrangement. In the latter case, the epitaph does not employ the accustomed formula, but it states that the prospective occupant purchased the sarcophagus during his lifetime. The ratio of the noted commemorators stands in the stark contrast with the epitaphs of 250-400, but in the harmony with the pattern found in the late antique epitaphs from the Latin West, most of which pertain to catacomb epitaphs from Rome. Namely, the disappearance of a commemorator was so pervasive that it nearly hindered Shaw's attempt to analyze late Roman family relationships. As for the lack of commemorators, namely the formulae *depositus/-a* and *depositio* that are not conducive to noting a commemorator dominate the record of the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>552</sup>

The gentilicium is disputable in few instances that need be clarified, before I proceed with the analysis of the distribution of the name-forms and of the nomen as the central element of the nomenclature. To begin with, there are three liminal cases in which it is not clear whether the abbreviation AUR, when it prefixes the names of a husband and a wife, should be resolved as the Aurelii, in which case it would apply to both spouses, or as Aurelius, in which case it would stand only as the husband's nomen. For the purpose of the analysis, I will opt for to resolve the abbreviation as Aurelius rather than as Aurelii. The first example, which runs as follows AVR M[ ]RCIANVS IIAHIN / CIVIS AFER ET QVINTINA / VXOR EI[ ]S VIVI SIBI,<sup>553</sup> is only apparently problematic, because

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<sup>552</sup> Shaw has had recourse to Christian ideology and saw it as a deliberate and conscious refusal to note secular relationships, since the relationship with God became the most important one. Brent D. Shaw, "Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 33 (1984), at p. 467-68.

<sup>553</sup> CIL 03, 13137 = ILJUG 2401 = Salona IV, 1: 81, at pp. 276-78 = HD034785.

Salona IV and EDH, namely its most recent editions, have omitted an another letter R in the abbreviation. On the contrary, CIL and ILJUG had indeed transcribed the abbreviation correctly, and the text is still easily readable. The complete abbreviation is thus AURR, and it should be resolved unquestionably as the Aurelii, that is, Aurelius Marcianus and Aurelia Quintina.<sup>554</sup>

Another two epitaphs run as follows: AVR GLYCON ET VALENTIA VIRGINI VIVI SIBI...<sup>555</sup>, and AV[] FLAVS ET CERS PAR...<sup>556</sup> As for the former inscription, Salona IV has resolved the abbreviation as Aur(elius), while EDH and CIL have expanded it as Aur(elii). In the latter epitaph, the issue is further complicated because the final letter(s) R(R) in the abbreviation AVR(R) is not preserved. Salona IV has reconstructed the text and resolved the abbreviation as Au[r(elius)], while EDH and CIL have reconstructed it in the same way yet have expanded it as Au[r(elii)]. With respect to the space in between AV[] and FLAVS, the reconstruction is plausible, namely it seems that a single R was written down. As for how to understand the abbreviation AUR in the given two cases, a brief discussion is in place.

It might be argued that it is futile to expect that the name Aurelius would be consistently abbreviated in epitaphs either as AUR, when applying to a single person, or as AURR when referring to two individuals. The nomen was variously shortened as AVR or AVREL,<sup>557</sup> and inconsistently written even within the same text, namely it could be written both in full and abbreviated as AVR.<sup>558</sup> Such inconsistency nevertheless did not affect the meaning of an epitaph, and moreover, the name was abbreviated as AVR in the great majority of cases in which it was undoubtedly applied to an

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<sup>554</sup> As for the private inscriptions, I have found a single parallel instance in which the abbreviation AURR appears, and it is meant to apply to the two deceased individuals. The case in point is the Christian funerary monument from Savaria set up by a father to his two deceased sons (CIL 03, 4218 = ILCV 2208 = HD040193).

<sup>555</sup> CIL 03, 2217 + 8609 = Salona IV, 2: 390, at pp. 703-04 = HD062200.

<sup>556</sup> CIL 03, 8921 = Salona IV, 2: 232, at pp. 526-28 = HD013953.

<sup>557</sup> AVREL: Salona IV, 1: 152 and Salona IV, 2: 381. Once it was abbreviated as AV but the stonemason apparently reached the end of the line and no space was left for the letter R, which he did not then transfer in the following line but started it off with the next word (Salona IV, 1: 82: AB AV / ALEXSIO).

<sup>558</sup>

individual. All the same, for editorial and research purposes, it needs to be decided on a more plausible solution and resolve the abbreviation systematically. CIL, in the cases in which it has edited or commented on an inscription, and EDH tend to expand it as Aur(eli), although the latter online database not consistently, while Salona IV resolves it as Aur(elius).

The CIL and EDH expand the abbreviated gentilicium AVR inclusively as Aur(eli) when spouses act together as the commemorators, which can be schematically represented as AVR X *et* Y *vivi sibi* or *parentes*. On the other hand, if the name of a husband and/or wife is followed by an apposition, EDH expands the abbreviation in its singular form whereby it applies only to a husband.<sup>559</sup> Nevertheless, the case is attested in which the abbreviated gentilicium is in plural form while the appositions follow the names of spouses.<sup>560</sup> The abbreviation AVR is taken as a shortcut to refer to both spouses, or otherwise related persons, while to avoid repetition and to save the space, and to reduce the stonecutter's workload and cost. It nevertheless seems that when the nomen was supposed to apply to two individuals, it was made clear either by the abbreviation AVRR or it was written in full, in the case of the non-imperial gentilicium.<sup>561</sup> Also, the instances in which the abbreviation AVR is repeated, namely AVR X *et* AVR Y *vivi sibi*, are more numerous in the high- and late-imperial record from Salona.<sup>562</sup> Furthermore, in the case analogous with respect to the content and syntax yet with the abbreviated gentilicium Flavius, both CIL and EDH resolve the abbreviation FLA as Fla(vius), namely

<sup>559</sup> *Aur(elius) Tiberianus pa/ter et Basilia <m>a/ter*. CIL did not do any editorial interventions nor commented upon the inscription (CIL 03, 8926 = HD063493).

<sup>560</sup> *Aurr(eli) M[a]rcianus ILAHIN / civis Afer et Quintina / uxor ei[u]s vivi sibi* (CIL 3, 13137 = HD034785);

<sup>561</sup> *Aurr(eli) M[a]rcianus ILAHIN civis Afer et Quintina uxor ei[u]s vivi sibi* (CIL 03, 13137 = HD034785); *Ilviris q(uin)q(uennalibus) Aurr(eliis) Maximo et Anneo* (votive inscription, 171-250, Novae, Dalmatia, CIL 03, 1910 = HD053687). *Aurr(eliorum) Elaini et Leonis* (epitaph, fourth century, Savaria, Pannonia Superior, CIL 03, 4218 = HD040193). *Baebili(i) Eutyches et Ianuarius liberti* (epitaph, high empire, Salona, CIL 03, 8940 = HD063504). *Baebili(i) Satyrus et Prepusa* (epitaphs, high empire, Salona, CIL 03, 8941 = HD063505).

<sup>562</sup> *Aur(elius) Ursacius Salonitanus ex collegio Veneris et Aurelia Vitalia vivis sibi* (CIL 03, 2108 = HD063059); *Aur(elius) Peculiaris magister conculiaris et Aur(elia) Urbica vivi sibi* (CIL 03, 2115 + 8592 + p. 1030 = HD062175); *Aur(elio) Amuro et Aur(eliae) Quint(a)e* (CIL 03, 2207 = HD061150); Aurelius Castus et Aurelia Iuliane (CIL 03, 2210 = HD062894); *Aur(elius) Ianuarius mil(es) cob(ortis) VIII pat(er) ei(us) Aur(elia) Ursina mat(er)* (CIL 03, 8729 = HD062493); *Aur(elius) Maximus et Aur(elia) Gemella parentes* (CIL 03, 8983 = HD963654); *Aurelia Fortunata et Aurelius Saturninus* (CIL 03, 14253 = HD057554).

*Fla(vius) Dalm[atius? et] Quiriace uxor.*<sup>563</sup> Indeed, Aurelius became the most widely shared gentilicium in the third and fourth centuries, which presumably increases the likelihood that a wife would also carry it. Flavius nevertheless follows Aurelius as the second most common gentilicium in the later empire,<sup>564</sup> and women carried it in late antique Salona.<sup>565</sup>

Having said all that, it may still be tempting to resolve the abbreviation AVR as Aur(elii) in the two debated epitaphs: *AVR Glycon et Valentia* are followed by two appositions in the nominative plural, specifically *virgini* and *vivi*,<sup>566</sup> and *AV[R] Flav(u)s et Cer(e?)s* by the *parentes* and the cognomina of both of their two children are prefixed by the abbreviation AVR.<sup>567</sup> Nevertheless, the gentilicium is not an adjective, and there are epitaphs in which either of the spouses lacks of the gentilicium, while the other one carries it, and in which a husband and a child but not a wife bear it.<sup>568</sup> It seems therefore that there are no grounds to resolve the abbreviation AVR in the two disputable cases as AVR(elii), whereby I concur with the editorial work of Salona IV as opposed to CIL and EDH. Out of six individuals recorded in three epitaphs, four are named with the two-name form (Aur. Marcianus, Aur. Quintina, Aur. Flav(u)s, and Aur. Glycon) and two only with their cognomen (Cer(e?)s and Valentina).

An epitaph set up to OCTAVIA CARA DOMIN merits separate treatment with respect to the nomenclature of both the commemorand and her husband.<sup>569</sup> The text is preserved in Boghetich's

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<sup>563</sup> CIL 03, 9094 + 9689 + 9572 + 9663 + 12842, HD034766.

<sup>564</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 16-17.

<sup>565</sup> *Fl(avia) Ta<L>asiae* (CIL 03, 9507 + p. 2139 = HD034774); *Flavi[ae] C[res]centiae* (CIL 03, 9587 = HD034794); *Fl(avia) Se[xta?]* and *Fl(avia) Regulia* (CIL 03, 9588 + p. 2140 = HDHD056856).

<sup>566</sup> CIL 03, 2217 + 8609.

<sup>567</sup> CIL 03, 8921.

<sup>568</sup> I have brought in the examples in which spouses are syntactically on the same level: *M(arcus) Veratius Severus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XXX Ulp(iae) vic(tricis) et Licinia vivi posuerunt fil(io) suo et sibi* (CIL 03, 2064 = HD063265); *P(ublius) Val(erius) Zosimus fratri et Felicissima coniug(i)* (CIL 03, 2578 = HD062547); *Aur(elius) Ianuarius mil(es) leg(ionis) Italic(ae) et Quirilla mater parentes* (CIL 03, 8719 = HD062484); *L(ucio) Barbio [---] vet(erano) leg(ionis) XI C(landiae) p(iae) f(idelis) et Quintiae matri Barbia Paulla pos(u)it* (ILJUG 2095 = HD034433); *[Va]lerius Eup[o]ristus pate[r] et Valeria mater* (ILJUG 2206 = HD034656). It is nevertheless possible that a single-name form in some instances might have had socio-legal implications, namely that a wife was a slave of freedwoman.

<sup>569</sup> CIL 03, 8752 + p. 2261 = ILCV 280 = Salona IV, 2: 411, at pp. 739-42 = HD059984.

18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript, the monument is lost, and neither its typology nor the circumstances of its finding are known. Alföldy has dated the epitaph to the high empire, and Salona IV, followed by EDH, to 301-330.<sup>570</sup> There are five debatable points in the epitaph: 1. the nomenclature of the commemorand OCTAVIA CARA DOMIN; 2. the nomen gentile of Octavia's husband *Salonius Sabinianus signo Scammatus*; 3. the EOR letters attached to Sabinianus's signum Scammatus, which Mommsen has corrected to EQR and expanded as the *equus Romanus*; 3. the apposition of the commemorator Ulpus Asclepius CON[...]; 4. the sign that follows the apposition CON[...] and that looks like an X with a vertical line.

The name of the wife will be first considered. The first line of the epitaph commemorating Octavia runs as follows OCTAVIAE CARAE DOMIN /, and it is unclear whether Octavia is her gentilicium or cognomen, and whether CARAE is the cognomen or an adjective attributed to the *dominae*. Alföldy, ILCV, and EDH have interpreted CARAE as Octavia's cognomen, while Emilio Marin has taken the word as an attribute of *dominae*.<sup>571</sup> As for the onomastic argument, the cognomen Cara is attested only once in an early-imperial votive inscription in Salona,<sup>572</sup> and the cognomen Octavia is attested also once in an high-imperial epitaph.<sup>573</sup> On the other hand, the gentilicium Octavius was one of the commonest non-imperial nomina in Salona, Dalmatia, and the Latin West;<sup>574</sup> it is also attested also in a fourth-century epitaph in Salona.<sup>575</sup> The local currency of the cognomina Cara and Octavia does not speak in favor of either reading, but the currency of the nomen Octavius increases

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<sup>570</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Salonius" at p. 117. Salona IV, 2: 411, at pp. 739-42 = HD059984.

<sup>571</sup> Emilio Marin, "Some Notes on Sabiniani of Dalmatia and Pannonia," *Živa antika* 25/1-2 (1975): pp. 324-330, with the argument repeated in Salona IV, 2: 411, at pp. 739-42.

<sup>572</sup> ...*G(aius) Caesius Corymbus et Faberia Cara v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)* (CIL 03, 1948 = HD053840). Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Carus, Karus," at p. 171.

<sup>573</sup> ...*Aurelia Octavia con(iugi) incomparabili et Aur(elius) Dionysius patri...* (CIL 03, 14260 = HD061759). Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Octavius," at p. 255.

<sup>574</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. "Octavius," at pp. 104-05.

<sup>575</sup> CIL 03, 8879 + p. 1510 = S IV, 1: 377 (*Octav(i)a [S]yagria*) = HD034706 (*Octav(i)a [E]yagria*).

the likelihood that the name here is the woman's gentilicium as well. Moreover, the syntagm *cara domina* does not seem to be epigraphically attested, and the apposition *domina* is usually qualified with the superlative adjectives in inscriptions, such as *optima*, *sanctissima*, and *carissima*.<sup>576</sup> The two adjectives in the epitaph are in their superlative form (*rarissima* and *summa*), and the *summa* is attributed to the both genitives of quality (*summae sanctimoniae* and *benignitatis*). Furthermore, two other individuals in the epitaph bear both gentilicium and cognomen. These parallelisms suggest that CARA should be understood as Octavia's cognomen, while the adjective *rarissima* should be taken as an attribute of both *domina* and *tecusa*.

As for the gentilicium of Cara's husband, Emilio Marin has changed it from Salonius Sabinianus to Antonius Sabinianus, although neither manuscript nor CIL indicate that the reading might have been problematic. Marin's reasons are not epigraphic, but he attempted to fit the inscription into his larger historical narrative in which he has sought to identify Cara and Sabinianus with yet another couple attested in the fourth-century epitaph from Salona, namely the parents *Antonius S[a]binianus* and *Octav(i)a [E]yagria* or *[S]yagria* buried their daughter *Anton[ia S]abin[a]* in a sarcophagus.<sup>577</sup> Marin has thus modified the reading of Salonius into Antonius Sabinianus, and identified him and his wife Octavia with the spouses *Antonius Sabinianus* and *Octav(i)a [E]yagria* or *[S]yagria*. Firstly, Marin's change of Salonius into Antonius seems purely arbitrary. Moreover, Marin argued that Octavia is the woman's cognomen, and accordingly argued that CARA is an adjective so to be able to identify her with *Octav(i)a [E]yagria* or *[S]yagria*. The problem is nevertheless that in the latter case Octavia is the woman's gentilicium and *[E]yagria* or *[S]yagria* her cognomen. The text cannot

<sup>576</sup> *Domina sanctissima, domina carissimae, domina optima* (CIL 02, 957 = EDCS-05500967; CIL 05, 4438 = EDCS-05500967; CIL 06, 15106 = EDCS-16100154; CIL 06, 24532 = EDCS-13800780; CIL 11, 3829 = EDCS-22700783; CIL 02, 3437 = EDCS-05502820; CIL 06, 7968 = EDCS-18800009).

<sup>577</sup> CIL 03, 8879 = Salona IV, 1: 377.

be verified, and Marin's interventions seem un-called-for and groundless. The names seem therefore best to be read as Octavia Cara and Salonius Sabinianus.<sup>578</sup>

Regarding the CON[...] and a sign X cut with a vertical line, Luka Jelić, Ernst Diehl, and Emilio Marin have interpreted the sign as a christogram, which Boghetich presumably had not recognized and had not transcribed correctly. They have reconstructed the text as the *confrater in Christo*. Alfred von Domaszewski has reconstructed the word as the *contubernalis*, and Otto Hirschfeld has commented that the monument might be Christian. Dating of the monument is disputable: Alföldy has dated it to the high empire, and Salona IV tentatively to the first quarter of the fourth century. Based on the content, the thesis favors earlier date of the late third or the turn of the fourth century. Marin does not specify what type of christogram he thinks that the sign should be interpreted as, but presumably as the Chi-Rho symbol since it is the only monogram discussed elsewhere in Salona IV. The christograms are comparatively rare in late antique epigraphy of Salona with ca. 30 instances altogether; the earliest example is dated to 360 C.E.<sup>579</sup> Neither the chronology nor the local epigraphic context uphold Jelić's, Diehl's and Marin's reading of the symbol. The reconstruction of the phrase is further weakened by the fact that the phrase *confrater* or *confratres in Christo* is not epigraphically attested, and that the word *confrater* does not appear in the early Christian literary texts. Their reconstruction appears thus unfounded.

Lastly, the nomenclature of *A<l>te(na) Roma(na)/ Altena Romana* (her name appears twice in the inscription) requires a brief discussion.<sup>580</sup> She buried her husband *Leontius ex optione officio magistri*

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<sup>578</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s. v. "Carus, Karus," at p. 171; Alfred von Domaszewski, "Eine zweite Handschrift der Inschriftensammlung des Peter Alexander Boghetich," *AEM* 12 (1888): pp. 26-38, at p. 37, no. 82; Luka Jelić, "I monumenti scritti e figurati dei martiri Salonitani del cimitero della Lex sancta christiana," in *Ephemeris Salonitana* (Zadar: Apud Lucam Vitaliani et filios, 1894), at p. 31 ff.; Emilio Marin, "Some Notes on Sabiniani of Dalmatia and Pannonia," *Živa antika* 25/1-2 (1975), pp. 324-30.

<sup>579</sup> CIL 03, 9504 = Salona IV, 1: 155; Salona IV, 1, at pp. 41, 94-96 = HD034768.

<sup>580</sup> CIL 03, 6399 = Salona IV, 2: 450, at pp. 811-13.

*eq(uitum) et peditum* in a sarcophagus dated to the first half of the fifth century. The disputable point is whether Altena is the gentilicium or cognomen. The name Altena is a hapax in Salona and Dalmatia; the name *Altenna* is attested once in the Latin West seemingly as the cognomen in a fragmentarily preserved epitaph. The cognomen Altinus/-a, originally the ethnics, is attested in a few instances, and Altena may be an orthographic version of Altinus.<sup>581</sup> Since Altena is hapax, Alföldy has noted that it is not the cognomen but gentilicium, yet because it is also a hapax as the gentilicium, he has suggested that it should actually be understood as Alfena, namely a version of the gentilicium Alfinus.<sup>582</sup> Nevertheless, the name was twice written as Altena which decreases the likelihood that it is the stonecutter's error.<sup>583</sup> Salona IV and EDH have kept it as Altena and have taken it also as the gentilicium.<sup>584</sup>

To differentiate between the gentilicium and cognomen is in some instances complicated by the inversion of elements in nomenclature, by the increased use of gentilicia as cognomina and by the spread of double cognomina in the later empire. Without the family context it may be impossible to distinguish between the elements with certainty.<sup>585</sup> Therefore, the order of onomastic components is not a reliable criterion. The name Altinus/-a and Altena are nowhere attested as the gentilicium, but

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<sup>581</sup> *Altenna* is attested in a badly preserved epitaph from Luca (P. Mencacci - M. Zecchini, *Lucca romana* (Lucca 1982), at pp. 127-28, 441, Table 88.2, with a photo = EDCS-64900565). Altinus/-a: CIL 06, 10541 = EDCS-16200413, CIL 06, 27906 = EDCS-14801861, AE 2005, 1238 = EDCS-35100006, Häidra 01, 86 = EDCS-13302829. and. For Altinus, see Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, s. v. "Altinus/na" at p. 196.

<sup>582</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s. v. "Alfinus and Altena" at p. 57, and s. v. "Altenus" at p. 146.

<sup>583</sup> In the first instance a stonecutter made a mistake and inscribed the name as ANTE, in the second instance the name was written correctly as ALTENAM. To an extent comparable case are two inscriptions commemorating the same Benigna, one inscribed on a sarcophagus and another one on a slab inserted in the pavement of the basilica at Manastirine marking the location of Benigna's burial. Her name was written as BENINA in a sarcophagus epitaph presumably as the stonecutter's – and not the single – mistake (CIL 03, 9533 = HD034891), while it was written correctly as BENIGNA in a slab inscription (CIL 03, 9532 = HD034892).

<sup>584</sup> Salona IV, 2: 450, at pp. 811-13; <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD063418> (the last time checked July 29, 2016).

<sup>585</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 18-31, and Kajanto, *Roman Nomenclature during the Later Empire*, at pp. 104-05; Appendix III, Roman Onomastics, *OHRE*, eds. Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson, at pp. 801-02. Cameron has argued that the distinction between the *tri nomina* had disappeared in the later empire, and has brought in the quote from the fifth-century grammarian Pompeius who stated that you could be laughed at if you asked a person which is one's cognomen (Pompeius, *Gramm. Latini* V. 140. 35). Cameron, *Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy*, at pp. 171-74.

only as the cognomen few times. Furthermore, the nine-line epitaph is exhaustive, and lists Leontius' career achievements (*ex optione officio magistri equitum et peditum*) yet identifies him only with his cognomen. I might speculate that his gentilicium was Flavius, according to the late Roman socio-onomastic phenomenon reviewed earlier in the chapter. Namely, the *magister peditum et equitum* was probably the *magister militum per Illyricum* in whose *officium* Leontius was employed as an *optio*. Officials attached to the staffs (*officia*) of high military and civil officials bore the gentilicium Flavius without exception as evidenced in the papyri from Egypt. An official with the rank of *optio* has likewise been attested.<sup>586</sup> Nevertheless, because gentilicia fell out of the common parlance, and were overwhelmingly left out in the fifth-century epitaphs in Salona, Altena Romana possibly decided to identify her husband only with his cognomen. As noted, the usage of double cognomina is characteristic of the later Roman onomastics, of which there is one more example in the late antique record of Salona, specifically *Gratinus Eus[eb]ius* who received burial in a sarcophagus in between 366-380.<sup>587</sup> There are thus no grounds to interpret Altena as the gentilicium, and she was arguably identified with a single-name form.

Names of 179 individuals are sufficiently well preserved in the epitaphs dated to from the mid-third to the end of the fourth century: 116 were identified with their gentilicium and cognomen (63 %), and 64 only with their cognomen (37 %). Out of 116 individuals named with the two-name form, 58 carried the nomen Aurelius/-a (51 %), 13 carried the nomen Flavius/-a (11 %), 5 the nomina Iulius/-a and Ulpus/-a respectively, 4 the nomen Valerius, 3 the nomen Aelius/-a, and 2 individuals carried the nomina Domitius, Coelius (=Quelius), Quintus/a, Septimius, and Suellius respectively. Other gentilicia are the non-imperial nomina carried by a single person: Aemilia, Antonius, Attigia, Cassia, Considius, Desidiena, Heren(n)ius, Numeria, Octavius, Quadratia, Rusticia, Salonius, Salvia, Suetonius, Varius. Onomastic pattern found in the epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries stands in

<sup>586</sup> *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt*, at pp. 48-49, and n. 71 at p. 49, and 58-59.

<sup>587</sup> CIL 03, 13151 = S IV, 2: 412 = HD034753.

the stark contrast with the nomenclature of the second half of the third and fourth centuries. Out of 115 attested individuals, 109 were named with their cognomen and only six carried both gentilicium and cognomen, whereby there were 5 Flavii and an Ulpius (Appendices 2A and 2B).

To the extent that the dating of tombstones allows to nuance the chronological distribution of the name-forms, it seems that the *duo nomina* clusters in the earlier horizon of the later third and the first half of the fourth centuries, namely the ratio of individuals who were identified with the two-form in that earlier group of tombstones, and of those whose tombstones were produced around the mid-fourth and in the second half of the fourth century is 84 to 31 respectively. Particularly the gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius were concentrated in the earlier epitaphs. To that horizon belong the tombstones of *Cassia Decorata* and *Aurelius Aeneas*,<sup>588</sup> *Aurelius Lupus* and *Iulia Maxima*,<sup>589</sup> *Aurelius Eutic(h)ianus(!)* and *Aurelius Gr(a)ecio*,<sup>590</sup> *Aur(elius) Candianus*,<sup>591</sup> *Flavius Valens*, *Quintia C[---]* and *Quintius Germanus*,<sup>592</sup> *Considius Viator qui et Gargilius*,<sup>593</sup> *Coelius Eubippius* and *Numeria Irene*,<sup>594</sup> *Aur(elia) Vernilla*, *Aur(elius) Lucius* and *Aur(elia) Stercoria*,<sup>595</sup> *Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Σιλᾶνος Σόλωνος Ζομεθέρου*,<sup>596</sup> *Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Βάσσοσ* and *Ἀὐρηλία [---]*,<sup>597</sup> *Ἀὐρ[ήλιος] Θεόδωρ[ος] <M>αωρω Κειθαρον*,<sup>598</sup> *Heren(n)ius Capitolinus* and *Aemilia Max{x}imilla*,<sup>599</sup> *Ant(onius) Taurus* and *Ael(ia) Saturnina*,<sup>600</sup> *[Au]relia Athenodora*,<sup>601</sup> *Aur[e]l(ius) [S]ilvinus*, *Quadratia Urbana*, and *Aur(elia) Felicissima*,<sup>602</sup> *Au(relius) Vindemius*,<sup>603</sup> *Domitius Vincen[tius]* and *[Do]mitius*

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<sup>588</sup> ILJUG 2125 = HD021989.

<sup>589</sup> AE 1989, 603 = HD018324.

<sup>590</sup> CIL 03, 2007 = HD054346.

<sup>591</sup> CIL 03, 2106 = HD063061.

<sup>592</sup> CIL 03, 8754 = HD034747.

<sup>593</sup> CIL 03, 2296 = HD062834.

<sup>594</sup> CIL 03, 9240 = HD063395.

<sup>595</sup> CIL 03, 2117 = HD063051.

<sup>596</sup> ILJUG 2132 = HD036383.

<sup>597</sup> ILJUG 2040A = HD036380.

<sup>598</sup> Salona IV, 2: 793.

<sup>599</sup> ILJUG 2757 = HD035184.

<sup>600</sup> CIL 03, 8712 = HD034741.

<sup>601</sup> CIL 03, 14751 = HD061427.

<sup>602</sup> CIL 03, 8924 = HD063459.

<sup>603</sup> CIL 03, 2226 = HD062884.

*Enfrasu[s]*,<sup>604</sup> *Octavia Cara*, *Salonius Sabinianus signo Scammatus* and *Ulpus Asclepius*,<sup>605</sup> *Val[er]ius Felix* and *[---] Viventia*,<sup>606</sup> *[---] Felix*,<sup>607</sup> *Varius Sabin(u)s Salon(itanus)*,<sup>608</sup> *Salvia Sollemnis*,<sup>609</sup> *Rusticia Clod[iana]*,<sup>610</sup> *Aur(elius) Castinus* and *Aeli(a) Iobina(!)*,<sup>611</sup> *Aur(elius) Valerinus* and *Aur(elius) Leontius*,<sup>612</sup> *Quelius Euvelpistus(!)* and *Iulia Valeria*,<sup>613</sup> *Aur(elius) Fortunius* and *Aur(elia) Vernantilla*,<sup>614</sup> *Desidien(a)e Profutura*, *Suellius Septiminus* and *Suellius Septiminus*,<sup>615</sup> *Aur(elius) Satrius*, *Aur(elia) Maxima*, and *Au[r(elius)] Flav(u)s*,<sup>616</sup> *Aur(elius) Aprilianus*, *Aur(elius) Amurus* and *Aur(elia) Quinta*,<sup>617</sup> *Fl(avius) Carosus* and *Attigia Ursacia*,<sup>618</sup> *Aur(elia) Urbana*,<sup>619</sup> *Aur(elius) Glycon*,<sup>620</sup> *Aur(elius) Maximinus* and *[Aur(elius)?] Euticianus(!)*,<sup>621</sup> *Aurel(ius) Hecatus* and *Iulia Aurelia Hilara*,<sup>622</sup> *Valeria Hermogenia*,<sup>623</sup> *Ulpus Part(h)enopeus*, *Iulia Sabina*, and *Ulpia Gaudentia*,<sup>624</sup> *[Aure]lius Alexsander(!)*,<sup>625</sup> *Aur(elius) Maximi(a?)nus*,<sup>626</sup> *Iul(ius) Martyrius* and *Aur(elia) Procula*,<sup>627</sup> *Ulpus Gorgonius* and *Ulpia Celerina*,<sup>628</sup> *Aur(elius) Ursacius Salonitanus*, *Aurelia Vitalia*, *Aurelia*

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<sup>604</sup> Salona IV, 2: 399 = HD034861.

<sup>605</sup> CIL 03, 8752 = HD059984.

<sup>606</sup> CIL 03, 9597 = HD034756.

<sup>607</sup> CIL 03, ILJUG 2249 = HD034542.

<sup>608</sup> Salona IV, 2: 417 = HD018330.

<sup>609</sup> CIL 03, 9269 = HD063427.

<sup>610</sup> CIL 03, 2509 = HD034752.

<sup>611</sup> CIL 03, 13917 = HD063370.

<sup>612</sup> ILJUG 0126 = HD018019.

<sup>613</sup> CIL 03, 2406 = HD054464.

<sup>614</sup> ILJUG 2467 = HD034889.

<sup>615</sup> CIL 03, 9028 = HD034745.

<sup>616</sup> CIL 03, 8921 = HD013953.

<sup>617</sup> CIL 03, 2207 = HD061150.

<sup>618</sup> CIL 03, 2027 = HD054759.

<sup>619</sup> CIL 03, 8938 = HD063416.

<sup>620</sup> CIL 03, 2217 = HD062200.

<sup>621</sup> ILJUG 2129 = HD034624.

<sup>622</sup> ILJUG 2355 = HD034744.

<sup>623</sup> CIL 03, 9621 = HD034757.

<sup>624</sup> CIL 03, 14873 = HD035187.

<sup>625</sup> CIL 03, 8727 = HD034742.

<sup>626</sup> CIL 03, 8823 = HD062982.

<sup>627</sup> CIL 03, 6393 = HD063455.

<sup>628</sup> CIL 03, 14292 = HD061693.

*Lupa*, *Atilius Primus*,<sup>629</sup> *Aeliu[s Va]lentinus*,<sup>630</sup> *Aur(elia) Eupateria*, *Aur(elia) Vera* and *Aur(elius) Iovinus*,<sup>631</sup>  
*Suetonius Io(v)inus*.<sup>632</sup>

With a few exceptions, the gentilicia Aurelius and Flavius are the only nomina attested in the tombstones that gravitate towards the mid-fourth century and that belong to the second half of the fourth century: *Fl(avius) Iulianus* and *Aur(elia) Sapricia*,<sup>633</sup> *S(e)p(timius) Maximia[nus]*,<sup>634</sup> *Aur(elius) Peculiaris* and *Aur(elia) Urbica*,<sup>635</sup> *Fla(vius) Dalm[atius?]*,<sup>636</sup> *Fl(avius) Magnianus*,<sup>637</sup> *Fl(avius) Valerianus*,<sup>638</sup> *Septimia Sabi[nia]na*,<sup>639</sup> *Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Δημήτριος Ἐρμολέων*,<sup>640</sup> *Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Καστώ[ρι]ς Μοκίμου* and *[Α]ὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος*,<sup>641</sup> *Fl(avius) Iulius* and *Aurel(ia) Ia[nuaria]*,<sup>642</sup> *Fl(avius) Terentius* and *Fl(avia) Ta<I>asia*,<sup>643</sup> *Fl(avius) Theodotus*,<sup>644</sup> *Fl(avius) Virgilianus* and *Aur(elia) Ursilla*,<sup>645</sup> *Val(erius) Crescentius qui et Valentianus* and *Flavi[a] C[re]scentia*,<sup>646</sup> *Aur(elius) Tegri[s]* and *Aur(elius) Maras*,<sup>647</sup> *Fl(avius) Pannonius*,<sup>648</sup> *Ἀὐρηλία*

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<sup>629</sup> CIL 03, 2108 = HD063059.

<sup>630</sup> Salona IV, 2: 479 = HD027616.

<sup>631</sup> CIL 03, 12949 = HD063460.

<sup>632</sup> CIL 03, 6427 = HD020035.

<sup>633</sup> CIL 03, 8741 = HD062535.

<sup>634</sup> CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754.

<sup>635</sup> CIL 03, 2115+8592 = HD062175.

<sup>636</sup> CIL 03, 9663+9094+9572+12842 = HD034766.

<sup>637</sup> CIL 03, 8742 = HD062536.

<sup>638</sup> ILJUG 2724 = HD027945.

<sup>639</sup> CIL 03, 13151 = HD034753.

<sup>640</sup> ILJUG 2127 = HD036382.

<sup>641</sup> Salona IV, 2: 765.

<sup>642</sup> CIL 03, 2654+8652 = HD054211.

<sup>643</sup> CIL 03, 9507 = HD034774.

<sup>644</sup> CIL 03, 9508 = HD034780.

<sup>645</sup> CIL 03, 9585 = HD034793.

<sup>646</sup> CIL 03, 9587 = HD034794.

<sup>647</sup> CIL 03, 9569+12870 = HD059876.

<sup>648</sup> CIL 03, 2326 = HD062813.

Μαθαζίζ,<sup>649</sup> Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Παλλάδιος υἱὸς Βελιαβου,<sup>650</sup> Οὐαλέριος Ἰαμλῶς or Ἰανο[υάριος],<sup>651</sup> *Aur(elius)*  
*M[ar]cianus* and *Aur(elia) Quintina*,<sup>652</sup> *Au(relius) Alexsius(!)* and *Aur(elius) Secundus*.<sup>653</sup>

As for the chronological distribution of the single-name form, it seems that its occurrence was progressively increasing from the mid-fourth century. The ratio of the single-named individuals in the tombstones of the later third and the first half of the fourth centuries, and in the tombstones produced around the mid-fourth and in the second half of the fourth century is 24 to 40. The following individuals were identified only with their cognomen in the tombstones datable to the later third and the first half of the fourth century: *Licinianus* and *Pr(a)etorina*,<sup>654</sup> *Urbica* and *Alogius <q>ni et Saxxonius*,<sup>655</sup> *Amantius signu(!) Simplicii*,<sup>656</sup> Ἀντ[ων]ῆνος Σαμβ[---] and Ἄκω[-]ας,<sup>657</sup> *[Cl]ementianus*,<sup>658</sup> *Man[lī?]n[s]*,<sup>659</sup> *Valentia*,<sup>660</sup> *Lucia*,<sup>661</sup> *[Graec?]ina* and *Proculina*,<sup>662</sup> *Euassu* and *Valeria*,<sup>663</sup> *Memmi[an]a*,<sup>664</sup> *Proserius*, *Vincentia*, and *Piruntia*,<sup>665</sup> *Philetus*,<sup>666</sup> *[Rus]ticianus*,<sup>667</sup> *Ge[l]lia*,<sup>668</sup> *Ursa* and *Ver<n=M>a(n)tianus*.<sup>669</sup> The following persons are attested in the tombstones that were produced at around the mid-fourth century and in

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<sup>649</sup> CIL 03, 9505 = HD036449.

<sup>650</sup> CIL 03, 13123.

<sup>651</sup> ILJUG 2496 = HD036669.

<sup>652</sup> CIL 03, 13137 = HD034785.

<sup>653</sup> CIL 03, 9567 = HD034762.

<sup>654</sup> AE 1996, 1209 = HD039969.

<sup>655</sup> CIL 03, 14738 = HD032301.

<sup>656</sup> CIL 03, 2296 = HD062834.

<sup>657</sup> ILJUG 2351 = HD036437.

<sup>658</sup> CIL 03, 14751 = HD061427.

<sup>659</sup> CIL 03, 8938 = HD063416.

<sup>660</sup> CIL 03, 2217+8609 = HD062200.

<sup>661</sup> CIL 03, 2226 = HD062884.

<sup>662</sup> CIL 03, 9597 = HD034756.

<sup>663</sup> CIL 03, 9578 = HD034746.

<sup>664</sup> ILJUG 2249 = HD034542.

<sup>665</sup> CIL 03, 2490 = HD062671.

<sup>666</sup> CIL 03, 9269 = HD063427.

<sup>667</sup> CIL 03, 2509 = HD034752.

<sup>668</sup> CIL 03, 6393 = HD063455.

<sup>669</sup> ILJUG 2467 = HD034889.

the second half of the fourth century: *Bάσσα*,<sup>670</sup> *Λεονίδης*,<sup>671</sup> *Quiriace* (= Cyriaca),<sup>672</sup> *Severa*,<sup>673</sup> *Gratinus* *Eus[eb]ius*,<sup>674</sup> *Barbas*, *Haeraclia*(!) and *Constantius*,<sup>675</sup> *Bocontia*(!) and *Bocontius*(!),<sup>676</sup> *Flavia*, *Flavianus* and *Archelais*,<sup>677</sup> *Gaianus*,<sup>678</sup> *Paternus*,<sup>679</sup> *Petronia*, *Sofronia* and *Nereus*,<sup>680</sup> *Maurentius* and *Concordia*,<sup>681</sup> *Renata*,<sup>682</sup> *Dulcitius*,<sup>683</sup> *Valentinu[s]*,<sup>684</sup> *Constantia*,<sup>685</sup> *Monimus* and *Acame*,<sup>686</sup> *Honorina* and *Constantius*,<sup>687</sup> *Vetranio*,<sup>688</sup> *Peregrinus*, namely *Domnio*,<sup>689</sup> *Augustina*,<sup>690</sup> *Anastasia qui*(!) *et Verula*,<sup>691</sup> *Eutybianus* and *Artemia*,<sup>692</sup> *File<t=F>a*,<sup>693</sup> *Maxentia*,<sup>694</sup> *Maximinus*,<sup>695</sup> *Δό<μν>a* or *Δ[ι]ov[υσία]*,<sup>696</sup> *[Α]νατόλιος*,<sup>697</sup> *Εὐσεβία* = *Eusebia*.<sup>698</sup>

The gentilicium essentially vanished from the epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries. The status name Flavius is the only attested gentilicium. Three out of five instances are precisely dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, namely *[F]l(avius) Pacatianus*,<sup>699</sup> *Fl(avus) Thalassius*,<sup>700</sup> and *Fl(avia)*

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<sup>670</sup> ILJUG 2245 = HD036386.

<sup>671</sup> Salona IV, 2: 753.

<sup>672</sup> ILJUG 2380 = HD034766.

<sup>673</sup> CIL 03, 8742 = HD062536.

<sup>674</sup> CIL 03, 13151 = HD034753.

<sup>675</sup> CIL 03, 2663 = HD062436.

<sup>676</sup> CIL 03, 2616 = HD062483.

<sup>677</sup> CIL 03, 9586 = HD034751.

<sup>678</sup> ILJUG 2431 = HD034814.

<sup>679</sup> CIL 03, 2628+9259 = HD062937.

<sup>680</sup> CIL 03, 9610 = HD034796.

<sup>681</sup> CIL 03, 2043 = HD063417.

<sup>682</sup> CIL 03, 9567 = HD034762.

<sup>683</sup> ILJUG 2590 = HD035029.

<sup>684</sup> ILJUG 2643 = HD035077.

<sup>685</sup> ILJUG 704 = HD034113.

<sup>686</sup> CIL 03, 9605 = HD034782.

<sup>687</sup> CIL 03, 9506 = HD034773.

<sup>688</sup> CIL 03, 9509 = HD034776.

<sup>689</sup> CIL 03, 9508 = HD034778.

<sup>690</sup> CIL 03, 9523 = HD034780.

<sup>691</sup> CIL 03, 9587 = HD034794.

<sup>692</sup> CIL 03, 6400 = HD063456.

<sup>693</sup> CIL 03, 9569+12870 = HD059876.

<sup>694</sup> CIL 03, 2326 = HD062813.

<sup>695</sup> CIL 03, 6403 = HD063458.

<sup>696</sup> Salona IV, 2: 794 (Δό<μν>a) = ILJUG 2496 = HD036669 (Δ[ι]ov[υσία]).

<sup>697</sup> Salona IV, 2: 795.

<sup>698</sup> ILJUG 2363 = HD035439.

<sup>699</sup> ILJUG 2395 = HD024229.

<sup>700</sup> CIL 03, 9513 = HD034240.

*Vita[li]a*,<sup>701</sup> while the remaining two, specifically *Fl(avius) Fidentius*<sup>702</sup> and *[F]l(avius) Victo[rin]us*,<sup>703</sup> are broadly datable to the fifth century. There are three fragments of a slab epitaph dated to 428, which commemorated the *v(ir) s(pectabilis)* whose name Egger, followed by PLRE, has reconstructed as *Vipsanianus*, and Nancy Gauthier for Salona IV, followed by EDH, as *[Ulp(ius)?] Anianus*.<sup>704</sup> Two of the three fragments have been lost, and the recent editions of the text are based on a drawing. I would therefore remain undecided, yet I have brought it in as possibly an instance of the gentilicium Ulpus attested in the fifth century. The rest 107 or 108 individuals were identified only with their cognomen.

With respect to the social implications of the nomenclature, the following analysis will examine the social relevance of the single-name form. As noted earlier in the chapter, on the basis of catacomb epitaphs from Rome, it has been maintained that the single-name form denoted individuals of humble origins.<sup>705</sup> The hypothesis will be tested with respect to the epitaphic record of Salona, whereby the coffins were the prevalent monument type. The question of the social implications of the single-name form is most pertinent to the period of the later third and the first half of the fourth centuries, in which the two-name form was still prevalent in both the non-funerary and funerary epigraphy. As for the former, the analysis of five honorific inscriptions of an association, of altogether six honorific and building-dedicatory inscriptions set up by the governor of Dalmatia Sarmentius, and of two votive inscriptions, all datable to from the later third to ca. mid-fourth century, has shown that to identify an individual with both the gentilicium and cognomen was an exclusive pattern. As for the latter, the two-name form was likewise the prevalent name-form, namely the ratio between the individuals named

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<sup>701</sup> ILJUG 2789 = HD025117.

<sup>702</sup> CIL 03, 1987 = HD054172.

<sup>703</sup> CIL 03, 14704 = HD061538.

<sup>704</sup> Egger, FS III, 20 = ILJUG 2693 = PLRE II Vipsanianus. Nancy Gauthier, “No. 92 Épitaphe d’Ulpus? Anianus, v(ir) s(pectabilis), fils de Lampridius, cl(arissima) m(emoria) vir (octobre 428),” in *Salona IV*, at pp. 297-99.

<sup>705</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 12-13; Kajanto, *The Emergence of the Late Single Name System*, at p. 423; Shaw, *Seasons of Death*, at p. 108, with n. 33 at p. 108.

with both the gentilicium and cognomen, and the individuals named just with their cognomen is 84 to 24. The question becomes less critical with respect to the nomenclature of individuals attested in the tombstones produced at around the mid-fourth and throughout the second half of the fourth century because the gentilicium was progressively getting omitted in funerary epigraphy in Salona. Specifically, the ratio of the persons named with the two-name and the single-name form is 31 to 40. Finally, the issue turns out irrelevant with respect to the people attested in the epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries, because the single-name form became nearly an exclusive naming pattern. The analysis will suggest that the *nomen singulum* was not status-specific in the fourth-century Salona, but that it was rather due to the changed notions of funerary monuments, the more personal style of epitaphs, and the intimate manner of addressing one's family members. On the other hand, purely onomastic factor was also operative whereby the gentilicium lost its function due to the proliferation of the nomen Aurelius.

Of the 24 individuals named just with their cognomen that belong to the earliest horizon in corpus under consideration, for only two persons their socio-legal status can be ascertained by their internal reference as the *conservi*. *Licinianus* set up a slab to the *conserv(a)e Pr(a)etorin(a)e*.<sup>706</sup> That is moreover the only instance of the designation of the status of a slave (and a freedman) in the late antique epigraphic record of Salona, the disappearance of which is congruent with the pattern observed elsewhere in the western empire.<sup>707</sup> As for the rest 22 persons, their family context and the patterns of commemoration may provide clues for an individual's *nomen singulum*.

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<sup>706</sup> AE 1996, 1209 = HD039969. Dražen Maršić, "New Grave Inscriptions from the South-East Necropolis in Salona," *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Zadru* 35 (1995/1996): pp. 101-26 at pp. 106-07, with Summary in English at p. 126.

<sup>707</sup> Kajanto has found a single instance of the designation of the status of slave and 16 of the freedmen in the "Christian" epitaphs of Rome, and none in the late Roman epigraphic record of Carthage. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at p. 6-9 with Tables 1 and 2 at p. 6.

The instances in which parents, self-identified with their gentilicium and cognomen, styled their children just with the cognomen, are least problematic. The common argument is that the children's gentilicium may have been left out for economical reasons, namely, to avoid repetition, to save space, and to reduce the work-load and cost, and that it could have been derived from the gentilicium of their parents, specifically from the father's gentilicium.<sup>708</sup> That explains away the *nomen singulum* of the *[filiae Grae?]cina et Proculina*,<sup>709</sup> the *Ge[l]li(a) filia dulcissima*,<sup>710</sup> the *filius carissim[us Rus]ticianus*,<sup>711</sup> the *filius meus Ver<n>a(n)tianus*.<sup>712</sup> The epitaph that Fl. Theodotus set up to the *Peregrinus filius* in 382, by which time the omission of the gentilicium had become pervasive, fits into that pattern.<sup>713</sup> The epithets *dulcissimus* and *carissimus*, after the *bene merenti*, were respectively the second and the third most common epithets in Roman epitaphs. *Dulcissimus* was relationship- and age-specific, namely, it was an emotionally loaded epithet with the connotations of intimate relationship and youth, and was the most common epithet applied to younger children. *Carissimus*, while often applied to children, had somewhat wider scope and the *carissimi* were on average of older age than the *dulcissimi*.<sup>714</sup> The age at death thus accounts for different epithets applied to Gellia and Rusticianus, namely, Gellia was 15 years, 9 months and 5 days old, and Rusticianus was 21. Furthermore, to note precisely the age at death was to publicly advertise parental love and care for the deceased children.<sup>715</sup> These elements found in the epitaphs under consideration suggest that the children were addressed in an intimate and affectionate manner, hence the lack of their gentilicium.

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<sup>708</sup> For example, Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 13-14.

<sup>709</sup> CIL 03, 9597 = HD034756.

<sup>710</sup> CIL 03, 6393 = HD063455.

<sup>711</sup> CIL 03, 2509 = HD034752.

<sup>712</sup> ILJUG 2467 = HD034889.

<sup>713</sup> CIL 03, 9508 = HD034778.

<sup>714</sup> Hanne Sigismund Nielsen, "Interpreting Epithets in Roman Epitaphs," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, ed. Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 169-204, esp. at pp. 185-93 and 202-04.

<sup>715</sup> Christian Laes, "Grieving for Lost Children, Pagan and Christian," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 315-330, at p. 321.

The instances in which one of the spouses lacks the gentilicium might be socially more significant because the gentilicium of one spouse could not be deduced from the gentilicium of another. Namely, legitimate female children derived their gentilicium and socio-legal status from their father in whose *patria potestas* they would normally stay until their father's death, regardless of their marital status.<sup>716</sup> Upon their father's death, women would become *sui iuris*, that is, legally independent.<sup>717</sup> Married women would thus preserve their father's gentilicium, which may be taken as the onomastic indicator of the fact that they were not under the legal power of their husbands.<sup>718</sup>

There are four instances in which a wife was named with her gentilicium and cognomen, and her husband only with his cognomen. In three cases wife was the commemorator, and thus responsible for the composition of the epitaph, and husband in one.<sup>719</sup> On the other hand, there are eight cases in which a husband was named with his gentilicium and cognomen, and his wife only with her cognomen. They acted together as commemorators twice (*vivi sibi*), husband was the commemorator four times, wife was the commemorator once, whereas in the last instance a third male party set up the monument

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<sup>716</sup> The concept of the *patria potestas* maintained its centrality in Roman family law throughout the late empire. On it, see Antti Arjava, "Paternal Power in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 88 (1998): at pp. 155-65.

<sup>717</sup> This applies to the legally recognized marriage, the *iustum matrimonium*, which citizens could contract. The *manus* marriage, in which a wife was transferred to her husband's legal power, became obsolete by the Augustan period. Although a woman would become legally independent upon her father's death, they would theoretically come under the guardianship of women, the *tutela mulierum*, whose consent she needed in case of certain legal and financial activities. The *tutela mulierum* disappears from legal sources by the end of the third century. Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire, A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), at pp. 20-46. As for the relevance of the legally recognized marriage and family, the disproportionately high visibility of freedmen in funerary commemoration in central Italy has recently been explained in terms of the freedmen's upon-manumission obtained right and privilege to form legal families whose children would be protected under law. Hence the importance to commemorate family members, that is, the conjugal and parental relationships. Mouritsen, *Freedmen and Decurions: Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy*, at pp. 60-62.

<sup>718</sup> Constantine promulgated laws that curtailed the wife's legal power, restricted the free woman – slave unions, and curtailed the wife's grounds to require divorce. On the family laws in late antiquity, see Geoffrey Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity, The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), at pp. 58-65.

<sup>719</sup> *Phileto Salvia Sollemnis marito* (CIL 03, 9269 = HD063427). *Septimia Sabi[nia]na viva sibi po[suit a]r[cam et] Gratino Eus[eb]io conpari dulcissimi[mo]* (CIL 03, 13151 = HD034753). *[Au]relia Athenodora [Cl]ementiano marito* (CIL 03, 14751 = HD061427). *Man[li?]u[s] s[i]i[bi] et Aur[el]iae Urban(a)e coniugi infelicissim(a)e* (CIL 03, 8938+p. 2136 = HD063416).

to the spouses.<sup>720</sup> Two observations are in order. Female and male commemorators alike tended to style themselves with their full nomenclature, and their (predeceased) spouse with her or his cognomen. The same explanation may be valid as has been suggested for children, that is to say, the (predeceased) spouses were addressed with familiarity and affection. On the other hand, the wife's gentilicium was omitted even in the cases in which they had jointly prepared their tomb,<sup>721</sup> and in which it seems that a husband independently provided for their prospective burial while his wife was still alive.<sup>722</sup> In addition, there is an example in which a wife styled herself only with her cognomen and at the same time emphasized her independent economic capacity.<sup>723</sup> In these cases, the gentilicium of a husband, and of yet another male individual mentioned in an epitaph,<sup>724</sup> was Aurelius in four and Flavius in three instances, so it is plausible to assume that the wife's gentilicium was likewise Aurelia. That may indicate that the process of omitting gentilicium first began with respect to the female nomenclature given the women's comparatively subordinate legal, social, and economic position in the society and family, as well as their public representation that confined them to the domestic setting and foregrounded their uxorial and maternal roles and virtues.<sup>725</sup>

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<sup>720</sup> *Aur(elius) Glycon et Valentia virgini vivi sibi posuerunt* (CIL 03, 2217+8609 = HD062200). *Fla(vius) Dalm(?)[atius? et] Quiriace uxor arca[m nobis viv]is posuemus* (ILJUG 2380 = HD034766). *Au(relius) [Vi]ndemius qui vixit annus! sexsaginta(!) arca(m) [sibi et co]njugi su(a)e carissi[m(a)e Luci(a)e* (CIL 03, 2226 = HD062884). *Fl(avius) Pannonius Maxentiam coniugem dulc(issimam)* (CIL 03, 2326 = HD062813). *S(e)p(timius) Maximia[nus] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) prin(cipalis) col(oniae) [S]al(o)n(itanorum) vivo sibi et coniugi su(a)e dulcissim(a)e* (CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754). *Aur(elius) Secundus qui cunparabid(!) ab Au(relio) Alexsio(!) piscina(m) at(!) dua corpura(!) deponenda meum et co(n)iuge(m) meam Renata(m)* (CIL 03, 9567 = HD034762). *Fl(avio) Magniano protectori conpari carissimo Severa de proprio hunc sarcofagum conparabit* (CIL 03, 8742 = HD062536). *Aur(elius) Tegri[s] hu[nc] sarcofagum do[n]avi[t] Aur(elio) Marati et uc[xo]ri(!) e[i]us File<[t]>ae* (CIL 03, 9569+12870 = HD059876).

<sup>721</sup> CIL 03, 2217+8609 = HD062200; ILJUG 2380 = HD034766;

<sup>722</sup> CIL 03, 2226 = HD062884; CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754; CIL 03, 9567 = HD034762; CIL 03, 9569+12870 = HD059876.

<sup>723</sup> CIL 03, 8742 = HD062536.

<sup>724</sup> CIL 03, 9567 = HD034762; CIL 03, 9569+12870 = HD059876.

<sup>725</sup> For a social and religious representation of women in the fourth-century verse epitaphs from Rome, see Dennis E. Trout, "Being Female": Verse Commemoration at the *Coemeterium S. Agnetis* (Via Nomentana)," in *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*, eds. Carol Harrison, Isabella Sandwell, and Caroline Humfress (Oxford: OUP, 2013), pp. 215-34; Trout, "Fecit ad astra viam: Daughters, Wives, and the Metrical Epitaphs of Late Ancient Rome," *JRS* Vol. 21/1. (2013): pp. 1-25. For a general survey of the female virtues extolled in funerary epigraphy, see Werner Riess, "Rari exempli femina: Female Virtues on Roman Funerary Inscriptions," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), pp. 491-501. The standard

The last to be considered are the cases in which all family members were named with the *nomen singulorum*, none of whom has a status designation. The early examples comprise a funerary slab that *Urbica* set up to her husband *Alogius <q>ui et Saxxonius* dated to the second half of the third century,<sup>726</sup> a sarcophagus that *Valeria* dedicated to her husband *Euassus* dated to the first decades of the fourth century,<sup>727</sup> and a sarcophagus of *Vincentia* and her mother *Piruntia* set up by Vincentia's husband

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set of female virtues can be found in the late antique epitaphs from Salona. Thus, Ulpus Gorgonius praised his wife for having been the loyal *univira* (...*virginia votissima mihi uno marito*... CIL 03, 14292 = HD061693). Constantius, self-styled as the *vir clarissimus* and *ex proconsule Africae*, defined his wife firstly as the *coniunx Constanti*, namely by the reference to himself, then as the *parvorum mater*, that is, as the mother of their children, while her proper name Honoria came in the third and last place (CIL 03, 9506 = HD034773). Along the same lines, women were regularly praised for the duration of their marriage, yet by the same token, men aimed to publicly establish themselves as well by rendering their wife and marriage to public scrutiny: *Constantiae quae vixit cum marito annis XX* (ILJUG 0704 = HD034113); *Iuli(a)e Valeri(a)e co<n>ingi...qu(a)e v/ixit mecum concorditer annis XVIII* (CIL 03, 2406 = HD054464); *Fl(aviae) Ta<l>asiae...quaeque inlibatae mecum vixit annos XXXII* (CIL 03, 9507+p. 2139 = HD034774); *Ulpus Gorgonius piissimus Celerin(a)e compari pientissim(a)e cum qua concorditer vixit ann(os) XXIII m(enses) V dies / XXV* (CIL 03, 14292 = HD061693); *Aur(eliae) Urban(a)e coniugi...cum qua concorditer vixit* (CIL 03, 8938+2136 = HD063416); *Octaviae Carae...coniugi Saloni Sabiniani...cum quo conco[r]diter vixit ann(os) XXX* (CIL 03, 8752+p. 2261 = HD059984). There is an example of a wife commemorating her husband and recording for how long she “had served him:” *A<l>te(na) Roma(na) qu(a)e servivit annus XVI coniugi caro* (CIL 03, 6399 = HD063418).

<sup>726</sup> CIL 03, 14738 = HD032301. The name *Urbicus* is attested in Salona in two high-imperial epitaphs: the imperial freedman *Urbicus* set up a funerary stela to his wife *Apulacia(!) Primula* (CIL 03, 2184a = HD062911), and *Urbica* set up a stela to her father *Fronemus(!)* (CIL 03, 2619 = HD062481). As for the late antique period, besides in the epitaph under consideration, the name is attested in the fourth-century epitaph from Salona: the spouses *Aur(elius) Peculiaris* and *Aur(elia) Urbica* prepared a sarcophagus for themselves (CIL 03, 8592 = HD062175). For the name *Urbicus*/-a in Dalmatia, see Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Urbicus, Urvicus,” at p. 316. For the name *Urbicus*/-a in general, see Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at pp. 81 and 311. The name was borne by 98 *incerti* and five men of slave or freedman status, and by 73 *incertae* and 3 women of slave or freedman status. It was widespread in the late antique epitaphic record of Rome (that is, in “Christian” inscriptions), namely 21 male and 35 female persons are attested with the name. This is the only attestation of the name *Alogius* in Dalmatia and Salona. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Alogius,” at p. 146. It is the late Roman coinage, and it is found only in “Christian” epitaphs. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 29 and 86.

<sup>727</sup> CIL 03, 9578 = HD034746. The name *Valerius*/-a was widespread in Salona as high- and late-imperial epitaphs attest; not a single individual has a status designation but the family context may elucidate their social milieu in few instances. *Octavia Quieta* buried her daughter *Att(ia) Valeria* and her son-in-law of the equestrian order *Val(erius?) Dines* in a sarcophagus made from Proconnesian marble, datable to the early third century (CIL 03, 13044 = HD063759). It was the name of a freeborn or freedwoman *Iulia Valeria* married to the imperial slave *Phrygius*, who was probably employed in the provincial administration (*ab instrumentis*); they were jointly commemorated by their two sons L. Aur. Castus and C. Iul. Honoratus probably in the late second century (CIL 03, 1995 = HD054177). The *incerta* Licinia Valeria was commemorated in a high-imperial epitaph (CIL 03, 2416 = HD062754). The apparently freeborn and legitimate son *Murrecius Valerius* was commemorated by his parents *Murrecius Valentinus* and *Valeria Secundina* (CIL 03, 2437 = HD007927). It was the name of the freeborn daughter *Sextilia Valeria* of the *veteranus ex classe praetoria Misenat(itum) L(ucius) Sextilius Rufus* (CIL 03, 2051+8580 = HD063846), and the name of the four-year-old *delicata Valeria* commemorated by M. Aur. Seneca (CIL 03, 9379 = HD063184). Besides the *Valeria* under consideration, there is one more example of the name in the late antique record of Salona, namely of *Iulia Valeria* commemorated by her husband *Quelius Euvelpistus(!)* in the early fourth century (CIL 03, 2406 = HD054464). For the name see also, Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Valerius,” at p. 321. The name *Euassus* is the orthographic version of the name

*Proserius*. The sarcophagus has been lost since its publication in CIL, and the metric epitaph has been dated to the late empire by Alföldy, and more narrowly, to the fourth century by Diehl and Salona IV.<sup>728</sup> Only Valeria and Euassus may be considered as Christians on account of the phrase *in pace*.<sup>729</sup> Diehl has designated Piruntia, Vincentia and Proserius as the early Christians on the basis of the name Vincentia. While the name occurs with a higher frequency among the Christian Romans,<sup>730</sup> it is one of the most frequent new cognomina in -ius/-ia found in the “pagan” record, so it can be conclusively discarded as the criterion for one’s religious affiliation.<sup>731</sup> Moreover, the verse *et aeterno iungit pia membra cubili* is the topos in the “pagan” imagery of the tomb as the *domus aeterna* or *aeternalis* and of the afterlife as the *eternal* sleep.<sup>732</sup> These are the only examples of the cognomina Alogius, Euassus, Piruntia and Proserius in Salona and Dalmatia, and they were rare elsewhere in the West. The cognomen Valeria occurs with a high frequency in the high- and later-imperial epigraphic record of Salona, and to the extent to which is possible to deduce an individual’s socio-legal status and social milieu based on nomenclature and family relationships, it seems that it circulated among wider social sectors. In the earlier time horizon, it was carried by a freeborn citizen, the daughter of a veteran, and in the period of the later second and early third centuries, it was borne by a freeborn citizen whose family connections included a man of the equestrian rank, and by a freeborn citizen or a freedwoman whose

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Euasius, of which this is the only attestation in Salona and Dalmatia. It is more common in the late Roman Africa and Spain. Cf. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Euassu,” at p. 196, and Salona IV, 2: 437 at p. 786.

<sup>728</sup> Alföldy, *Die Personennamen*, s.v. “Piruntia,” at p. 265, “Proserius,” at p. 276 and “Vincentius,” at p. 328. ILCV 3698 = Salona IV, 2: 473 at pp. 843-44 = HD062671. These are the only examples of the name Piruntia and Proserius in Salona and Dalmatia, and the names are otherwise rare. Besides the given Vincentia, the name is attested two times more in Salona in the late Roman epigraphic material. Aur. Vincentius was one of the *ministri* listed in the already-discussed honorific inscription of an association dated to 319. *Vincentia* was buried in a sarcophagus in 446 (ILJUG 2254 = HD028042).

<sup>729</sup> *In pace* is among the earliest Christian formulae first attested in the third-century Christian epitaphs of Rome. Carletti, “Nascita e sviluppo,” at pp. 145-46.

<sup>730</sup> Cf. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at p. 278: 36 males and 7 females with the name are attested in the “pagan” epitaphs, and 53 males and 32 females in the “Christian” epitaphs.

<sup>731</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at p. 74, with Table 19 at p. 74, at pp. 76-79; Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, at pp. 116 and 278.

<sup>732</sup> Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), at pp. 81-82 and 161-67.

spouse was an imperial slave. The late antique *Iulia Valeria* was commemorated by her husband *Quelius Euelpistus(!)* in the earlier fourth century.<sup>733</sup> In the same period, the nomen *Coelius*, of which *Quelius* is an orthographic version, was borne by one of the *collegiati*.<sup>734</sup> The cognomen *Vincentius/-a* is attested only in the late Roman period in Salona, and to the extent that an individual's social standing is possible to determine, it was borne by one of the *ministri* of a *collegium* in the second decade of the fourth century. Finally, the name *Urbicus/-a* was borne by the imperial freedman in the high empire yet by *Aur. Urbica*, the wife of the *magister conquirentarius* *Aur. Peculiaris*. Therefore, although these seven individuals attested in three epitaphs were named only their cognomen during the period in which the *duo nomina* was still the prevalent name-form in epitaphs, there are no grounds to assume that they were of particularly different social or legal standing than of the rest of the contemporaneous "epitaphic population." Only two individuals seem to have been Christianized, and the single-name form does not appear to have been motivated by the Christian idea of egalitarianism. These may be among the first instances in Salona that give evidence to the gentilicium having been omitted by the whole family.

Three other examples of an entire family self-styled only with their cognomina comprise a sarcophagus of the eight-year-old boy *Constantius* set up by his parents *Barbas et Haeraclia(!)*,<sup>735</sup> a sarcophagus of the daughter *Petronia* for whom her parents *Nereus* and *Sofronia* composed a verse epitaph,<sup>736</sup> and a sarcophagus of the *infans dulcissima Flavia*, who had lived for 3 years, 10 months and 7 days, and was buried by her parents *Flavianus* and *Archelais*.<sup>737</sup> The production of the three sarcophagi seems to have been later than of the above-discussed three epitaphs, and it can be placed at around the mid-fourth century.<sup>738</sup> Two families can be considered as Christian on account of their ideas of the

<sup>733</sup> *Coelius F[---]* (CIL 03, 2406 = HD054464).

<sup>734</sup> Salona IV, 1: 18 = HD022448.

<sup>735</sup> CIL 03, 2663 = Salona IV, 2: 431 at pp. 775-77 = HD062436.

<sup>736</sup> CIL 03, 9610 = Salona IV, 2: 460, at pp. 826-29 = HD034796.

<sup>737</sup> CIL 03, 9586 = Salona IV, 2: 442 at pp. 795-98 = HD034751.

<sup>738</sup> Salona IV, 2: 431 at p. 777; Salona IV, 2: 460 at pp. 826 and 829; Salona IV, 2: 442 at p. 798.

present life and afterlife, while Flavia, Flavianus and Archelais declared themselves Christian. Thus, Barbas and Haeraclia stated that Constantius *in ann(is) VIII caruit minas saeculi*,<sup>739</sup> while Nereus and Sofronia consoled their daughter and themselves with the hope of Heaven (*tu tamen hinc spera caelum pia mente fidelis*). The lid acroteria of Flavia's sarcophagus hold christograms, and she is stated to have been baptized (*quae...salutifero die Paschae gloriosi fontis gratiam con[sec]uta est, supervixitque post baptismum sanctum...*). These three epitaphs were composed by the grieving parents for their deceased young children, and the texts contain the already-discussed elements that convey the parental love and care, such as the emotionally loaded epithets and the age at death of their children registered in years, months and days. While only one is composed in verse, the content of none is boiled down to the accustomed dry formulae, that it, all three are idiosyncratically “verbose” and attempt to provide consolation for parents. The early-fourth-century “pagan” verse epitaph, composed by the *carus maritus Proserius* for his *dulcis coniux(!) Vincentia*, and her mother *Piruntia*, fits well into this group of epitaphs. Finally, a verse epitaph was composed a few decades later in which spouses were again named only with their cognomina, yet their titles precisely located their place in society. The thirty-year-old *Honorina*,<sup>740</sup> the

<sup>739</sup> Knott, “The Christian “Special Language” in Inscriptions,” at p. 75; Salona IV, 2: 431 at pp. 775-777. As for the occurrence of the phrase in literary text, it first appears in the text *de laude martyrii* of the Pseudo-Cyprianus (CPL 0058), dated to the mid-third to fifth century, namely *Veniat ante oculos nostros qui dies ille sit, cum spectante populo adque intuentibus cunctis contra terrenas cruces et minas saeculi inconcussa deuotio reluctetur...* (TLL PS. CYPR. *laud.mart.* 25.1, [http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PCYP90058\\_](http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PCYP90058_)). It was used by Augustine in his sermon on the New Testament (CPL 0284), namely *quid est, pauper est? non habet diuitias interiores, quas martyres habuerunt, qui pro ueritate ac fide christi omnes minas saeculi contempserunt* (TLL AVG. *serm.* 36.238, [http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PAUG\\_0284\\_](http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PAUG_0284_)).

<sup>740</sup> As in the case of Honorina's age, ages at death are mostly rounded figures chiefly divisible by five (after the age of 20) and rarely by ten (after the age of 70) – a cross-culturally attested phenomenon accompanied by other numerical distortions, such as exaggerations, which cumulatively result in large-order misrepresentations and are a function of illiteracy. Richard Duncan-Jones demonstrated that scale of age-rounding varied across categories of status and gender in accordance with the expectations of different levels of literacy in different social groups: rounding index of social groups like male civilian citizens (42.8), freedmen and slaves (49.5) was ca. three times bigger than that of town councilors and office-holders in Italy and Africa (15.1 and 17.5 respectively). Gender differences are more complex: for example, rounding index of female citizens and *incertae* from Puteoli and Carthage (34.2 and 33.1 respectively) is approximately twice as big as that of town councilors from Italy and Africa (15.1 and 17.5 respectively), while age-rounding index for both female and male citizens and *incertae/incerti* of Rome are ca. equal (48.9 and 48.4 respectively), that is, three times bigger than that of town councilors from Italy (15.1), while the age-rounding index of freedwomen and slaves in Rome (52.9 and 58.8 respectively) and Carthage (62.0) is somewhat higher than that of freedmen (ca. 48). Richard Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 79-92.

*dulcibus eximie carissima*, and *Constantius*, the *v(ir) c(larissimus) ex proconsule Africae*, were buried in 375 together with their predeceased *parvula*.<sup>741</sup> Thus, the *nomen singulum* of all members of these five families is in harmony with the style of their epitaphs, which is exceptionally private, affectionate and consolatory. These epitaphs stand in a stark contrast with most of the contemporaneous funerary inscriptions, in which individuals - if not a wife and children, but the *pater familias* certainly - are named with the two-name form, and which are essentially statements of property ownership, of which the following is an illustrative example:

*Aur(elius) Aprilianus se vivo donavet(!) / arcam Aur(elio) Amuro et Aur(eliae) Quint(a)e  
qu(a)e / est in (h)orto Metrodori vivi sibi p/osuerunt II[---]arnum / quod si [quis p]ost  
morte[m eorum s]up[er] / [eos alia corp]ora velet(!) [in]po[nere] / [--- inferet!] sol[idos ---  
]742*

It thus seems that the single-name form was not specific to certain (lower) social groups, nor was the omission of the gentilicium informed by Christian ideas. Rather, two other factors seem to have been at work. Namely, the changing ideas of the funerary monuments and tombs,<sup>743</sup> and the fact that the *nomen* was losing its distinguishing function due to the proliferation of the gentilicium *Aurelius*.<sup>744</sup> The process took hold widely over the course of the fourth century, and was consummated by the fifth century.

It cannot be adequately assessed whether the simplification of the nomenclature was specific to funerary context or whether epitaphs reliably reflect the pace and pervasiveness of the socio-

<sup>741</sup> CIL 03, 9506 = Salona IV, 1: 159 at pp. 401-04 = HD034773.

<sup>742</sup> CIL 03, 2207 = Salona IV, 2: 386 = HD061150.

<sup>743</sup> In her analysis of the Isola Sacra necropolis, Ida Baldassarre has remarked that the notions of the death and tomb began to change in the first decades of the third century. Namely, the social function of monumental tombs began to be overshadowed by their functional aspect as containers of the remains of the deceased. Burying ceased to be embedded in wider social relations, and became a more intimate focus of a family. Ida Baldassarre, "La necropoli dell' Isola Sacra (Porto)," in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard, Kolloquium in München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985*, eds. Henner von Hesberg and Paul Zanker (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), pp. 125-38 at pp. 137-38.

<sup>744</sup> Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies*, at pp. 9-18, and esp at pp. 16-17.

onomastic change. Namely, there are only two non-funerary inscriptions after the mid-fourth century in Salona. The building-dedicatory mosaic pavement inscription commemorates the construction of the church, which “Synferius(!) began, and...Esynchius(!) completed with the clergy and people.”<sup>745</sup> Their episcopal titles were not noted. The construction of the church and the inscription are dated approximately to the first decades of the fifth century.<sup>746</sup> The bishops were named in the same manner as in their funerary *mensae* dated to around 425-430,<sup>747</sup> specifically just with their cognomen, and their nomenclature is in harmony with the contemporaneous naming pattern as attested in epitaphs. On the contrary, the governor of Dalmatia Apollonius Foebadius, who set up an honorific inscription dated broadly to the fifth century,<sup>748</sup> styled himself with the two-name form, for which the analysis in the previous section of the chapter has shown that it was the standard practice among the top imperial elite in their building-dedicatory and honorific inscriptions.

### 5.5 Funerary Epigraphy: The Titles, Offices and Occupations

Of 294 individuals attested in 188 sufficiently preserved funerary inscriptions dated to from the second half of the third to the beginning of the seventh century, 94 were defined with a title, office or occupation (25 %), of whom 74 were laymen and 20 clergymen (Tables 1 and 2). The count that takes into consideration monument typology renders the following figures: of the 94 individuals with a social designation, 79 were buried in sarcophagi.

<sup>745</sup> *Nova post vetera / coepit Synferius(!) / (H)esychius eius nepos / c[u]m clero et populo [f]fecit / haec munera / domus PX(Christe) grata / tene* (ILJUG 2258A = S IV, 1: 63 = HD031239).

<sup>746</sup> Salona IV, 1: 63 at pp. 237-40.

<sup>747</sup> Symferius: ILJUG 2440 = S IV, 1: 76 = HD034822. (H)esychius: ILJUG 2448 = S IV, 1: 72 = HD034863.

<sup>748</sup> *Curante / Apollonio / Foebadio / v(iro) c(larissimo) p(raeside) p(rovinciae) D(almatiae) [-?]* (ILJUG 2074A = S IV, 1: 14 = HD027930).

**Table 1.** List of titles and occupations

Name	Date	Title	Occupation
Fl. Carosus	4th cent.	Veteranus	
Aur. Candianus	251-300		Ex col(legio) Veneris
Fl. Valens	251-300	B(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Pannon(iae) super(ionis)	
Quintia C[---]	251-300	Stolat(a) femina	
Aur. Vemilla	251-400		Plumbaia
Ael. Saturnina	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	C(larissima) f(emina)	
Ant. Taurus	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Ex dua<b>us c(entenans) ducenans post factus	
Aur. Peculiaris	351-400		Magister conquiliarius
Aur. Ursacius Salonitanus	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.		Ex collegio Veneris
Fl. Iulianus	301-400	Ex protectore et ex praepositis	
Fl. Magnianus	351-400	Protector	
Fl. Valerianus	351-400	D(e) n(umero) sagittariorum centinarius(!) (=centenarius)	
S(e)p(timius) Maximia[nus]	ca. 350	V(ir) p(erfectissimus) prin(cipalis) col(oniae) [S]al(o)n(itanorum)	
Val. Hermogenia	301-400	H(onesta) f(emina)	
Varius Sabin(us) Salon(itanus)	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.		Ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)
[Aure]lius Alexander(!)	301-400	B(e)n(e)[f(iciarius) legio]nis XI Claudi(a)e	
[---][---]	351-400	Ex cornicular[us ---]	
? [---]Janea	351-400	H(onesta) f(emina)	
Aur. Maximinus or Maximi(a?)nus	301-400		[--- col]legio dendrof[or(um)]
Maurentius	301-400		Fabricensis
Aur. Leontius	313-324	Docen(anius) (!) et dec(urio) col(oniae) Salon(itanorum) ex curatoribus eiusdem civitatis	
Aur. Valerinus	313-324	Exceptor Imp(eratorum) in officio memori(a)e	
Fl. Iulius	358	Z[aconus! ---] (= diaconus)	
Constantius	375	V(ir) c(larissimus) ex proconsule Africae	
Fl. Theodotus	382	Curator rei p(ublicae)	
Augustin(a)	395	C(larissima) f(emina)	
Eutychianus	351-450	V(ir) h(onestissimus)	
Artemia	351-450	Hon(esta) or hon(estissima) fem(ina)	
Maximinus	351-400	V(ir) p(erfectissimus)	
[A]νατόλιος	4th/e. 5th cent.	πρ<α>γματευτή;	
? [---]	351-500	de numero Ata[cottorum]	
Duion<a?>	426 or 430	Ancilla	
[Ulp(ius)?] Anianus	418	V(ir) s(pectabilis)	
[F](avius) Victo[rin]us	451-500	Ducena[rus] [e]x vexill[atio]n(e) equit(um) Valen[tin]ianen[sium]	
Marcianus	Ca. 450	Memorialis	
Benigna	Ca. 450	Honesta femina	

**Table 1.** Continued

Name	Date	Title	Occupation
[F]l(avius) Pacatianus	407	Domesticus	
? [---]anus	406 or 407	Ex trib(unis)	
Leo	411 ?	Ex domestico	
Fl. Thalassius	414	Ex corniculario	
/	425	Clarissima fem[i]na	
Victurus	431	Advocatus	
[Fl(avius)] ? [---]erus	431 or 432	V(ir) c(larissimus) prim(icerus) scri(n)u tabulari[or(um) Me?]diol(ani?)	
Alexander	434	V(ir) s(pectabilis)	
Lucianus	435	H(onestae) m(emoriae)	
? [---]	437	[sub]adiuva o<ff>iciu inl(ustris) p(raefecturae)	
Romanus	440	V(ir) d(evotus)	
Lucianus	443	Su(b)d(iaconus)	
Audentius	443	To<g>(atus) fori Dalm(atici)	
? [---]	466	[Togat]us fori Dalm(atici)	
Deogratia	401-450	C(larissima) f(emina)	
Victorin[us]	401-500	[Biarc?]us Maurorum i(un(orum))	
Ausonius	401-500	Vir spectabilis comis(!) sacri[?] consistorii et Dalmat[ia]rum	
Dasantilla	Ca. 450		Q(uae) <b>ene laboravit
Leontius	401-500	Ex optione officio magistri eq(uitum) et peditum	
Fl. Fidentius	401-500 ?	Ex comitibus	
Aq[ui]linus	401-500	V(ir) c(larissimus) et sp(ectabilis)	
Olibrius	401-600	Anagifarius (=Anaglypharius)	
Andreas	517	Ca[nc]ellarius] pa<l>ati	
Andreas Dracontius	551-600	Def(ensor)	
Balerianus(!) (=Valerianus)	501-600		Neg(otiator)
Be[n]ign[us]	501-530	V(ir) d(evotissimus) comitiacus	
Epifa[n]ius	501-600		[C]alegarius(!) (=caligarius)
Florentius	501-600	[--- de] numero Delm[atarum ---]	
I[oh]annes	501-600		Sator
Menat[---]	501-600	Defensur(!) (=defensor)	
Pasc[asi?]us	501-600		Vitrianus
Pascasius	501-600		Calegarius(!) (=caligarius)
Saturninus	501-600	Miles Salonitanus	
Surus	501-600		Sartur(!) (=sartor)
[---]	501-600	V(ir) d(evotus)	
[---]	501-600	Subd(ia)c(onus)	
Honoratus	501-600		Calegarius (!) (=caligarius)
[Mar]cellinus	L. 6th/e. 7th cent.	V(ir) cl(a)r(issimus)	

**Table 2.** List of Clergy

Name	Date	Title
Primus	301-350	Episcopus
Ὁὐαλέριος Ἰαμλῶς or Ἰαυο[υάριος]	351-450	π[ρ]εσβύτερος
Fl. Iulius	358	Z[aconus! ---] (= diaconus)
(H)esychius	Ca. 425	Episc(opus)
Gaia[nus]	Ca. 425	[Ep(i)sc(opus)]
Iustinus	Ca. 475	Ep(iscopus)
Symfeius	Ca. 425	Episc[(opus)]
[---]	451-500	[E]pisc(opus)
Criscentianus	451-550	Diaconus
Eugrafius	401-450	Choreepiscopus
Felix	425-450	[P]rocura[t]ori(s) ec(c)les[ia]e Saloni[ta]nae
Honorius	401-500	Presby(ter)
Iohannes	599 or 603	Presbiter(!)
Eufrata	401-600	Diac(onus) s(an)c(ta)e ecclesiae
[Anasta]sius	L. 5th/e. 6th cent	Presb(yster)
Anastasius	L. 5th/e. 6th cent	Lector
Iuvinus	L. 5th/e. 6th cent	Ust[i]arius [--- ec]clisiae(!) Saloni[t]anae]
Gemellinus	501-600	Presbeter(!) (=presbyter)
Stephanus	501-600	P(tes)b(yste)r
Petros	L. 6th/e. 7th cent	Mona[chos? ---] ser[vu]s(?) s(an)c(t)i Petr[i ---]
Iohanna	612	Abtissa(!) (=abbatissa)

There are eleven persons of the senatorial status, of whom four are the *clarissimae*,<sup>749</sup> three are the *clarissimi* and *spectabiles* each,<sup>750</sup> and an individual was both the *v(ir) c(larissimus)* and *sp(ectabilis)*.<sup>751</sup> The *spectabilis* and *clarissimus* were in the early 370s formally classified as the second and third rank within the senatorial order.<sup>752</sup> In most of these instances, it is not clear whether an individual of the senatorial status, inherited it through a family, attained through a high administrative office or was granted an

<sup>749</sup> CIL 03, 8712 = HD034741; CIL 03, 9523 = HD034780; CIL 03, 9515 = HD011288; CIL 03, 9574 = HDHD034750.

<sup>750</sup> The *clarissimi*: CIL 03, 9506 = HD034773; CIL 03, 9517 = HD054213; ILJUG 2771 = HD026958. The *spectabiles*: ILJUG 2693 = HD035124; Salona IV, 2: 426 = HD009275; ILJUG 2033 = HD027933.

<sup>751</sup> Salona IV, 2: 422 = HD064336.

<sup>752</sup> Peter Heather, "Senators and Senates," in *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. 13, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425*, eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 184-210, at p. 190.

honorary title.<sup>753</sup> For example, the *v(ir) c(larissimus)* Constantius was the proconsul of Africa in 374 that was traditionally one of the most powerful posts.<sup>754</sup> His nomen gentile Paulus is known from the building-dedicatory inscription from Africa Consularis;<sup>755</sup> given the fact that he did not adopt the status nomen Flavius, but rather kept and styled himself with his family gentilicium, and that he occupied the prominent post suggests that he might have been a member of an established aristocratic family. Ausonius was the *vir spectabilis* and the *comis(!) sacr[?] consistorii*, specifically the member of the imperial council, yet Ausonius could have obtained it as an honorary grant that did not require actual service.<sup>756</sup>

Altogether four men were of the equestrian rank, specifically there were two *ducenarii* and *perfectissimi* each.<sup>757</sup> The *perfectissimus* and *ducenarius* were, in descending order, the two highest grades within the equestrian order.<sup>758</sup> Aur. Leontius was the *docen(arius)(!)* and the decurion of Salona in the first two decades of the fourth century,<sup>759</sup> and *S(e)p(timius) Maximia[nus]* was the *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)* and the *prin(cipalis)* of Salona at about the mid-fourth century.<sup>760</sup> While these two inscriptions attest that the traditional civic institutions persisted in Salona throughout the fourth century, the latter reveals that the hierarchization of the curial order occurred by the mid-fourth century, whereby the effective control of the city government came into the hands of the restricted group of persons, the so-called *principales*.<sup>761</sup> Aur. Leontius commemorated his son Aur. Valerinus who, although born in the family of the curial order, was pursuing his career in the imperial administration and was employed as a clerk of

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<sup>753</sup> Cf. Christopher Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), pp. 183-205, at p. 197.

<sup>754</sup> Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government," at p. 47.

<sup>755</sup> The inscription from Africa Consularis that record his full name: EDCS-16700003; PLRE 1 Paulus Constantius 11.

<sup>756</sup> Salona IV, 2: 426 at p. 768; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at pp. 104-06, 526-28.

<sup>757</sup> The *ducenarii*: CIL 03, 8712 = HD034741; ILJUG 0126 = HD018019. The *perfectissimi*: CIL 03, 6403 = HD063458; CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754.

<sup>758</sup> Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at p. 530.

<sup>759</sup> ILJUG 0126 = HD018019.

<sup>760</sup> CIL 03, 9540 = HD034754.

<sup>761</sup> Arnaldo Marcone, "Late Roman Social Relations," in *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. 13, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425*, eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 338-70, at p. 356.

the rank of the *exceptor* in the central imperial office of the *memoria* at the time of his death (*exceptor Imp(eratorum) in officio memorie*). Besides Leontius and Maximianus, yet another municipal functionary is attested, namely the *curator rei p(ublicae)* Fl. Theodotus. The *curator* Theodotus, like Marcianus, reveals the restructuring of the civic governance and administration. The traditional civic magistrates, elected from among the decurions, were replaced by the officials appointed by the imperial government, hence the Theodotus's gentilicium Flavius. These officials were likely local men and locally elected but installed by the central government.<sup>762</sup>

There is a single *stolata femina*,<sup>763</sup> four *feminae honestae*,<sup>764</sup> and two *virii honesti*.<sup>765</sup> These were the unofficial titles applied to women and men who belonged to the municipal nobility.<sup>766</sup> The title *femina stolata* had currency in the third century, and is usually found applied to women who owned landed property and were married to men who belonged to the equestrian order, most commonly with the rank of the *centenarius* and *ducenarius*.<sup>767</sup> The title *femina honesta* or *honestissima* similarly designates a woman's social prominence that she derived from her husband who was often of the equestrian rank or a local notable.<sup>768</sup> The later third-century *femina stolata Quintia C[---]* was married to the *b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Pannon(iae) super(ioris)* Fl. Valens; he was a lower-ranked official employed in the imperial provincial administration.<sup>769</sup> Three *honestae feminae* were commemorated together with their spouses,

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<sup>762</sup> Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, at pp. 107-110. Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages, Europe and Mediterranean 400-800* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 596-602.

<sup>763</sup> CIL 03, 8754 = HD034747.

<sup>764</sup> CIL 03, 9621 = HD034757; CIL 03, 9535 = HD059985; CIL 03, 6400 = HD063456; CIL 03, 9532 = HD034892.

<sup>765</sup> CIL 03, 6400 = HD063456; CIL 03, 2657 = HD062440.

<sup>766</sup> Salona IV, 2: at p. 511-12.

<sup>767</sup> Bernard Holtheide, "Matrona Stolata – Femina Stolata," *ZPE* 38 (1980): pp. 127-34.

<sup>768</sup> Elizabeth P. Forbis, "Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions," *The American Journal of Philology* 111/4 (1990): pp. 493-512, at pp. 500 and 503.

<sup>769</sup> For the internal organization of the *beneficiarii* employed in the *officium* of the provincial governors, see Robert L. Dize Jr., "Variation in Roman Administrative Practice: The Assignments of *Beneficiarii Consularis*," *ZPE* 116 (1997): pp. 284-299.

who were the *ex cornicular[ius]*,<sup>770</sup> the *memorialis*,<sup>771</sup> and also the *v(ir) b(onestus)* or *b(onestissimus)*.<sup>772</sup> The *cornicularius* was the higher-ranking official employed in the provincial administration. Moreover, two more *ex cornicularii* were commemorated with epitaphs,<sup>773</sup> and it is plausible to assume that they were all employed in the *officium* of the governor of Dalmatia.<sup>774</sup> The *memorialis* Fl. Marcianus was possibly employed in one of the *sacra scrinia*, that is, in one of the three central secretarial departments of *memoria*, *epistolae* and *libelli*.<sup>775</sup> Finally, the lower-ranking clerk employed in the office of the *praefectus praetorio Italiae*, having died in Ravenna, was buried in a sarcophagus in Salona in 437 (*[sub]adiuva officii inl(ustris) p(raefecturae)*).<sup>776</sup>

There are titles whose scope is broad, and the individuals's social position cannot be determined more precisely. For example, two *virii devoti* are attested in sarcophagi epitaphs:<sup>777</sup> the unofficial title is applied indiscriminately to the *palatini* of various ranks and posts.<sup>778</sup> In addition, there are two *defensores*,<sup>779</sup> who might be the most prominent municipal official in charge of civic finances, the *defensores civitatis*, or the *defensores ecclesiae*. The titles of *protector*, *ex protectore* and *ex praepositis, domesticus, ex domestico* can denote officials employed in civil and military service, both central and provincial.<sup>780</sup> In addition to that, the *protector* and *ex protectore* and *ex praepositis* were also honorary titles bestowed to the deserving veterans upon their *emerita missio*.<sup>781</sup> Given that Salona was the provincial capital, these were likely local men employed in the civil administration of the province of Dalmatia.<sup>782</sup> Other ten men

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<sup>770</sup> CIL 03, 9535 = HD059985.

<sup>771</sup> CIL 03, 9532 = HD034892 and CIL 03, 9533 = HD034891.

<sup>772</sup> CIL 03, 6400 = HD063456.

<sup>773</sup> CIL 03, 9513 = HD034240; CIL 03, 9535 = HD059985.

<sup>774</sup> Cf. Salona IV, 1: 183 at p. 438.

<sup>775</sup> Salona IV, 1: 225 at p. 512; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at pp. 368-69; Christopher Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), esp. at pp. 186-232.

<sup>776</sup> CIL 03, 9518 = Salona IV, 1: 201 at pp. 464-66 = HD034865.

<sup>777</sup> CIL 03, 9519 = HD063071; CIL 03, 9556 = HD034788.

<sup>778</sup> Salona IV, 1: 204, at p. 470.

<sup>779</sup> CIL 03, 9560 = HD035242; ILJUG 2541 = HD035224.

<sup>780</sup> CIL 03, 2656 = HD062441; CIL 03, 9511 = HD024229; CIL 03, 8741 = HD062535; CIL 03, 8742 = HD062536.

<sup>781</sup> Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at pp. 634-35.

<sup>782</sup> Cf. Salona IV, 1: 181, at p. 435.

can more straightforwardly be classified as the soldiers and military officers of various ranks.<sup>783</sup> If they were named with the two-name form, all these men carried the imperial nomen Flavius. Lastly, the three legal officials employed in the provincial court are attested at around the mid-fifth century, the *advocatus* and the two *to<g>(ati) fori Dalm(atici)*.<sup>784</sup>

There are some fifteen examples of occupations. Altogether four *collegiati* were commemorated: the three members of the *collegium fabrum* and one of the *collegium dendroforum*.<sup>785</sup> Furthermore, the following workers, craftsmen and traders are attested: the *plumbaria* (a plumber, a manufacturer of lead pipes, a metal workshop owner),<sup>786</sup> the *magister conquiliarius* (a purple-dyer, a merchant of a purple pigment and of cloth),<sup>787</sup> the *fabricensis* (an armorer, an armament manufacturer),<sup>788</sup> the *negotiator* (a merchant),<sup>789</sup> the three *calegarii* (a shoemaker),<sup>790</sup> the *sator?* (a sower?),<sup>791</sup> the *vitriarius* (a glass-blower, glassmaker, merchant of glass),<sup>792</sup> the *sartur(!)* (a worker, repairer),<sup>793</sup> the *anaglifarius(!)* (a jewelry-maker).<sup>794</sup> Besides the *collegiati*, *plumbaria* and *magister conquiliarius*, other occupations are attested in the sarcophagi of the fifth and sixth centuries. It was observed in Egypt's official documents that the practice of identifying oneself by one's trade and craft proliferated from the fifth through the seventh

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<sup>783</sup> CIL 03, 2027 = HD054759; ILJUG 2724 = HD027945; CIL 03, 8727 = HD034742; CIL 03, 9538 = HD-63040; CIL 03, 14704 = HD061538; ILJUG 2660 = HD035094; CIL 03, 9539 = HD034917; CIL 03, 6399 = HD063418; ILJUG 2477 = HD034897; CIL 03, 9537 = HD035230;

<sup>784</sup> CIL 03, 9516 = HD034864 = Salona IV, 1: 195 at pp. 455-56; CIL 03, 2659 = HD062438 = Salona IV, 1: 208 at pp. 475-77; ILJUG 2770 = HD026961 = Salona IV, 1: 213 at pp. 483-84. On lawyers, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, at pp. 507-15.

<sup>785</sup> CIL 03, 2106 = HD063061; CIL 03, 2108 = HD063059; AE 1989, 0606 = HD018330; CIL 03, 8823 = HD062982.

<sup>786</sup> CIL 03, 2117 = HD063051. On the possible meanings and functions of a *plumbarius* in Pompeii, see Christer Bruun, "Stallianus, A Plumber from Pompeii (And Other Remarks on Pompeian Lead Pipes)," *Phoenix* 66, 1/2 (2012): 145-57.

<sup>787</sup> CIL 03, 2115 = HD062175. Salona IV, 2: 393 at pp. 708-710 for a discussion of Peculiaris's craft

<sup>788</sup> CIL 03, 2043 = HD063417 = Salona IV, 2: 645, at pp. 1022-23.

<sup>789</sup> CIL 03, 14904 = HD034916 = Salona IV, 1: 242 at pp. 540-42.

<sup>790</sup> ILJUG 2536 = HD035214 = Salona IV, 1: 250; CIL 03, 14305 = HD061613 = Salona IV, 1: 271; CIL 03, 2354 = HD062173 = Salona IV, 2: 445.

<sup>791</sup> CIL 03, 14903 = HD034899 = Salona IV, 1: 254 at pp. 556-57.

<sup>792</sup> CIL 03, 9542 = HD034907 = Salona IV, 1: 270 at pp. 574.

<sup>793</sup> CIL 03, 9614 = HD035233 = Salona IV, 1: 285 at pp. 591-92.

<sup>794</sup> CIL 03, 9524 = HD 034906 = Salona IV, 1: 454 at pp. 817-18.

centuries,<sup>795</sup> and it is thus possible that some Aurelii of the later third and fourth centuries who did not specify their place in society, pursued trades and occupations, like the *plumbaria* Aur. Vernilla and the *magister conquliarius* Aur. Peculiaris. These occupational nouns fossilized over time into the modern European last names.<sup>796</sup>

As for the members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, the most conspicuous group comprises six bishops, five of whom were commemorated with funerary *mensae* that were presumably set up to mark their burials,<sup>797</sup> while Primus is a single bishop whose epitaphic sarcophagus has been found.<sup>798</sup> The following are the clergy of various ranks and people employed in the Church of Salona: three deacons and two subdeacons,<sup>799</sup> six presbyters,<sup>800</sup> a chorepiscopus,<sup>801</sup> a *lector*,<sup>802</sup> *[p]rocura[r]i(s) ec(c)les[ia]e Saloni[ta]nae*,<sup>803</sup> *ust[ri]arius [--- ec]cl[esi]ae(!) Salonit[anae]*,<sup>804</sup> and a *monachos(!)*,<sup>805</sup> and an *abtissa(!)*.<sup>806</sup>

To put into perspective the social profile of the “epitaphic population” of late antique Salona, the social profile of the occupants of Christian sarcophagi will be surveyed. Shaw has estimated that only ca. 1.5 % of persons attested in “Christian” epitaphs of Rome had their social status noted,<sup>807</sup> which stands in contrast to the figure of 25 % obtained for Salonitan stone funerary monuments among which sarcophagi loom large. The figures are not comparable because the overwhelming

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<sup>795</sup> Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” at pp. 51-52.

<sup>796</sup> Salway, “What’s in a Name?” at p. 144.

<sup>797</sup> CIL 03, 9549+p. 2328 = HD034863; CIL 03, 13134+14663 = HD034815; CIL 03, 14895 = HD035129; CIL 03, 9550+13153 = HD034822; CIL 03, 14895 = HD007896.

<sup>798</sup> CIL 03, 14897 = HD032463.

<sup>799</sup> CIL 03, 2654 = HD054211; CIL 03, 2661 = HD062439; ILJUG 2698 = HD035128; ILJUG 2455 = HD034868; ILJUG 2531 = HD035210.

<sup>800</sup> CIL 03, 13129 = HD034795; CIL 03, 9527 = HD053167; ILJUG 2587 = HD035026; ILJUG 2478 = HD034898; CIL 03, 9552 = HD063019; ILJUG 2496 = HD036669.

<sup>801</sup> CIL 03, 9547 = Salona IV, 2: 438 at pp. 787-89 = HD035251.

<sup>802</sup> ILJUG 0702 = Salona IV, 1: 238 = HD034112.

<sup>803</sup> Salona IV, 2: 440 at pp. 791-94 = HD057700.

<sup>804</sup> CIL 03, 13142 = Salona IV, 2: 449 at pp. 810-11 = HD034901.

<sup>805</sup> Salona IV, 2: 665 at pp. 1045-46 = HD035191.

<sup>806</sup> Salona IV, 1: 219 at pp. 490-94 = HD012294.

<sup>807</sup> Shaw, “Seasons of Death,” n. 34 at p. 108.

majority of epitaphs from Rome pertain to catacomb inscriptions, and it underlines the methodological necessity of comparing like with like. Thus, there are altogether 320 Christian sarcophagi inscriptions from Rome; Jutta Dresken-Weiland has analyzed the social composition of the sarcophagi occupants. She has counted 88 individuals whose rank, office or occupation was recorded: the largest group comprises persons of senatorial order (46), followed by the equestrians (12), and the *virii honesti* and *feminae honestae* (11). There are six professionals, five military officials, six persons employed in the urban and imperial administration, and two clergymen.<sup>808</sup>

Rather than to posit that the occupants of late antique sarcophagi from Salona were of lesser social status than the occupants of Rome,<sup>809</sup> which they were in absolute terms, and that they belonged to the “sub-elites,”<sup>810</sup> which again they were in the empire-wide socio-political hierarchy, it seems better to attempt to understand how they figured on the local scene. Late antique epitaphs of Salona suggest that the empire-wide restructuring of civic and imperial governance and administration traced from the fourth through the sixth centuries was taking place at the same time in Salona. Aur. Valerinus, who was born into the family of decurial order and who died in the first of second decade of the fourth century, did not follow his father and pursue a career in the municipal curia, but found the escape route from the burdening financial requirements demanded of decurions by entering imperial administration. While this was a recurrent theme of the petitions lodged by the curiales, and of the imperial promulgations attempting to maintain the functional civic governance, it also reveals the recruitment base for the burgeoning central and provincial imperial apparatus. Namely, an emperor continued to rely and cooperate with the municipal elites. The *principalis* Maximianus, buried around the mid-fourth century, reveals the pace of the restructuring of the municipal political power, whereby

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<sup>808</sup> Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches*, at pp. 14, and 30-41.

<sup>809</sup> Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches*, at pp. 75-76.

<sup>810</sup> Peter Brown, “The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity,” *Arethusa* 33/3 (2000): pp. 321-46.

the curia became sharply stratified and the city governance came into the hands of a limited group of *principales*. Among the Flavii abundantly attested in the epitaphs of the second half of the fourth century, whose titles suggest careers in the central and, more commonly, in the provincial civil administration, we may see the former local *curiales* Aurelii now drafted into the imperial service. Their wives were commonly the *Aureliae* and some held titles of the *honestae feminae*. Some of the *clarissimae*, *clarissimi* and *spectabiles*, especially if their titles were not accompanied by the actual post they performed, may be the local *honorati* and *possessores*, namely the local landowning elite whom the emperor tended to grant the honorary senatorial titles.<sup>811</sup> Besides the well-salaried civil and military officials, and the landowners, the third group that looms large were the urban craftsmen who were obviously sufficiently affluent to afford the same type of funerary commemoration as the urban and provincial political and social elite. They were altogether the monied group of people who had access to the gold coinage and who could participate in the urban market economy.<sup>812</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, at pp. 110-36. Also, for succinct analyses of the post-classical civic government, see Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government," pp. 183-204; Claude Lepelly, "The Survival and Fall of the Classical City in Late Roman Africa," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 50-77; Liebeschuetz, *The Decline of the Roman City*, at pp. 104-37; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, at pp. 591-692.

<sup>812</sup> For the reassessment of the late antique monetary economy, see Jairus Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity, Gold, Labor and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), esp at pp. 39-88; Peter Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, "Trade, Industry and the Urban Economy," in *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 13, The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425*, at pp. 312-337.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING REMARKS

With respect to methodology, I have attempted to let inscriptions talk for themselves, rather than to fit them into the narrative woven from the literary texts, which tend to be given precedence over the epigraphic texts, or into the modern paradigms, which are informed by the contemporary concerns. While the focus of my thesis are the late antique inscriptions from Salona, I have sought to bridge the divide between the epigraphic record of the early and high empire, and that of the late empire, as well as of the respective disciplines of the Roman and Christian epigraphy. The second chapter revises the traditional concept of the Christian epigraphy that has been distorting our interpretation of the epigraphic record of the late empire. Galvão-Sobrinho's model of the revival of the "Christian epigraphy" represents the consummated form of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century definition of what constitutes a "Christian inscription." According to the scholar, the desire to declare oneself Christian and to secure salvation gave rise to the Christian epigraphic revival. My starting premise was that the wish for an individual and proper burial is a universal desire. The two most important conditions for the monumental commemoration were the urban infrastructure that enabled building activities, to which the production of sarcophagi and stone funerary monuments was closely associated, and one's purchasing power. The funerary epigraphy is intimately related to the notions about life after death, and it is no wonder that the idiosyncratic Christian ideas of the afterlife would be expressed in epitaphs. "Pagan" epitaphs likewise display imagery related to the tombs and afterlife. What differs is the concept of the life after death, while the practice of composing epitaphs was virtually the same. As I have suggested in several discussions throughout the thesis, these "statements of faith," as Galvão-Sobrinho would have them, had a consolatory function and effect on the bereaved family. Their presumed purpose of defining the deceased as Christian before the co-inhabitants and God would become irrelevant as soon as in the fourth century, concomitantly with the proliferation of "Christian" inscriptions, as the majority of urban population would be Christian. The second chapter has also

suggested that the notions about the funerary monuments changed concomitantly with the pervasiveness of the rite of inhumation and the burial in sarcophagi. Namely, given the contiguousness of the sarcophagus and the remains of the deceased, its functional aspect of a container prevailed over its monumental and social purpose. The changed conceptualization was manifested in the idiosyncratic vocabulary applied to the sarcophagi, and was accompanied by the pervasive use of fine threats and menaces against the potential violators of the tomb. These were not an epigraphic peculiarity of the late antique epigraphic culture of Salona, but were equally common in the sarcophagi epitaphs of, for example, Concordia. The simplification of the sarcophagi decoration eventually led to the disappearance of the framed inscription field and resulted in blank panels.

The third chapter touches upon the theme of the cost of funerary monuments, and puts the known early- and high-imperial prices into perspective with the model of wealth distribution, most recently elaborated by Scheidel. The gloomy picture suggests that the overwhelming majority lived at the subsistence level, whereby dying was expensive, let alone the commemoration with stone monuments. Hence the emphasis of the occupationally and religiously based *collegia* on their logistic and financial assistance with the burial of their members. The late antique sarcophagi were even more prohibitive given their attested prices of, for example, 15 *solidi* in Salona, and given the general economic contraction that was taking place in the later empire. Nevertheless, the territory of Salona was among the regions in the West that fared comparatively better since it was not heavily affected by wars and Germanic invasions, and had a ready and easy supply of a quality limestone on its own territory, on the off-shore island of Brač. That largely accounts for its prosperous production of sarcophagi and lively epigraphic activity.

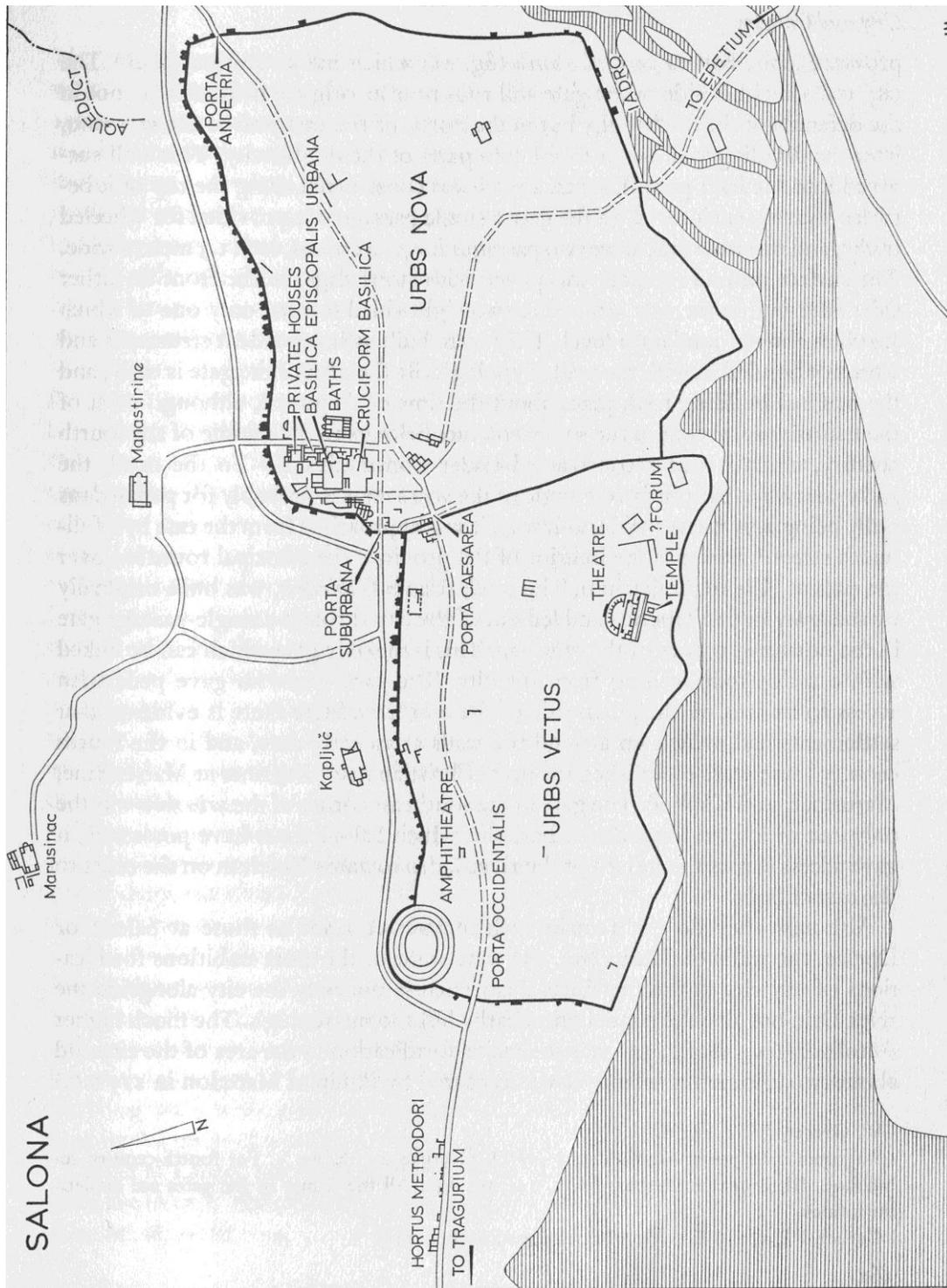
The fourth chapter sets the stage for the main thrust of the thesis, namely the analysis of the late antique epigraphic corpus with respect to the nomenclature and social composition of the attested

people. The third chapter touches upon the debate regarding the method that assesses one's sociolegal status based on the cognomen. It has attempted to show that the diachronic perspective is indispensable because the name-form was fluid and the name fashion was subject to change. The onomastic discussion in the fourth chapter set the ground for the analysis of the social significance of the two- and single-name system in late antiquity.

The fifth chapter suggests that the gentilicium was losing its centrality gradually and that the two-name system was dissolving over the course of the fourth century. By the fifth century, the process was consummated in Salona, as is evidenced by the epitaphs. While the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, namely the mass enfranchisement of the freeborn inhabitants of the empire, caused the proliferation of the nomen Aurelius, onomastic reasons factored most in the final elimination of the gentilicium in the course of the later third and fourth centuries. The two-name system was still the standard in funerary and non-funerary epigraphy of Salona in the later third and early fourth century. Moreover, while the nomen Aurelius was the most common gentilicium, the epigraphy attests to the onomastic diversity in the earliest group of my sample. The pace of change seems to have been fast since already by the mid-fourth century and in the second half of the fourth century the gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius had seemingly died out. The status name Flavius endured the longest, namely it is the only attested nomen in the fifth century yet with only a few examples. The imperial civil and military officials attested in epitaphs invariably carried that name. As for the social composition of the "epitaphic population," the three groups are discernable: the individuals with senatorial, equestrian, and other lower-ranking honorific titles (the *viri honesti* and *feminae honestae*), the civil and military officials employed in the imperial central and provincial administration, and the craftsmen. Clergymen become epigraphically visible in the fifth century, but due to the "clericalization of the burial grounds" that also occurred elsewhere in the fifth century, they are somewhat less pertinent to the present analysis. Rather

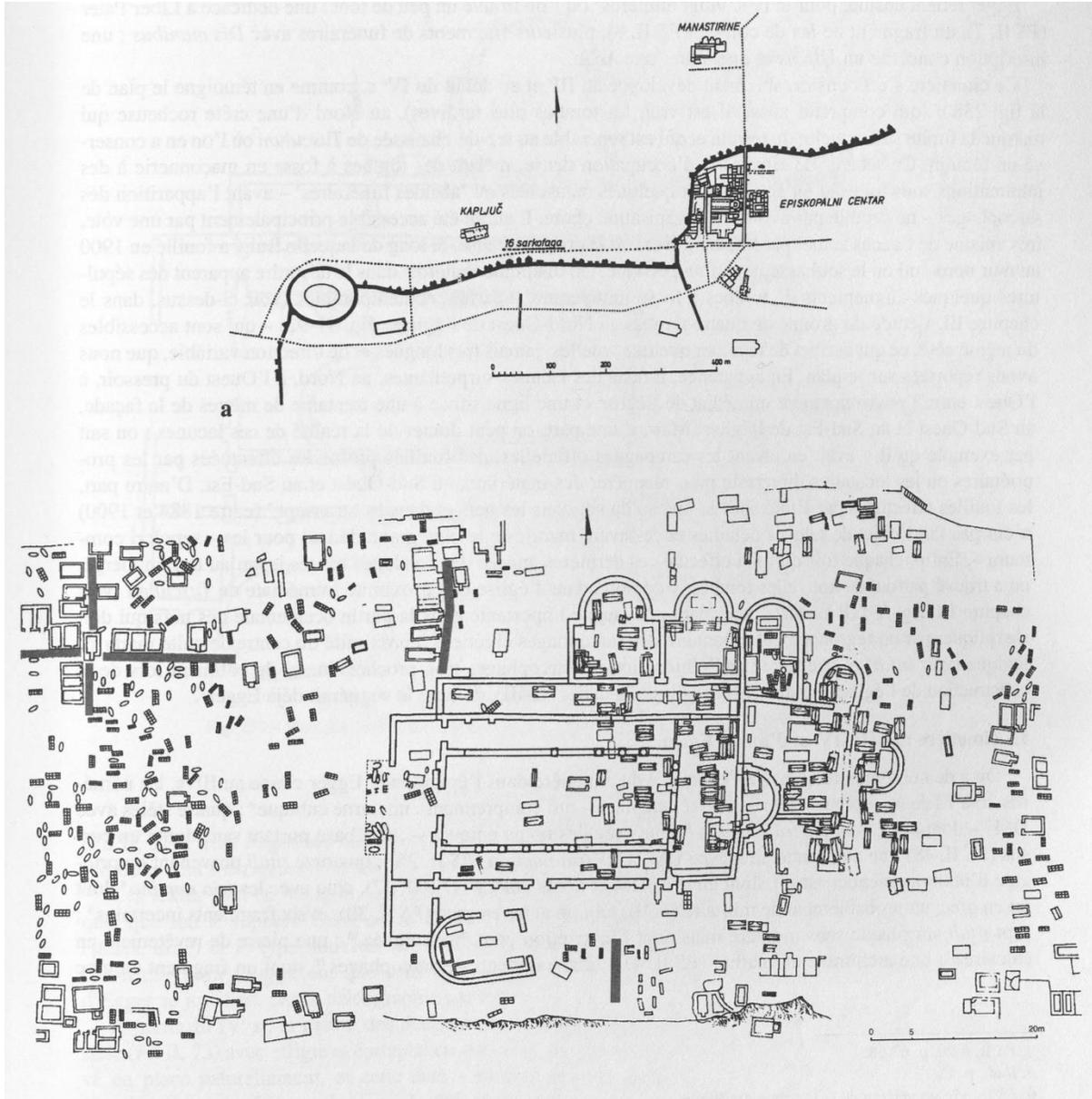
than to assess this group of people with respect to the imperial aristocracy, they are better seen as the local political, social, and economic elite.

## APPENDIX 1: MAPS AND FIGURES



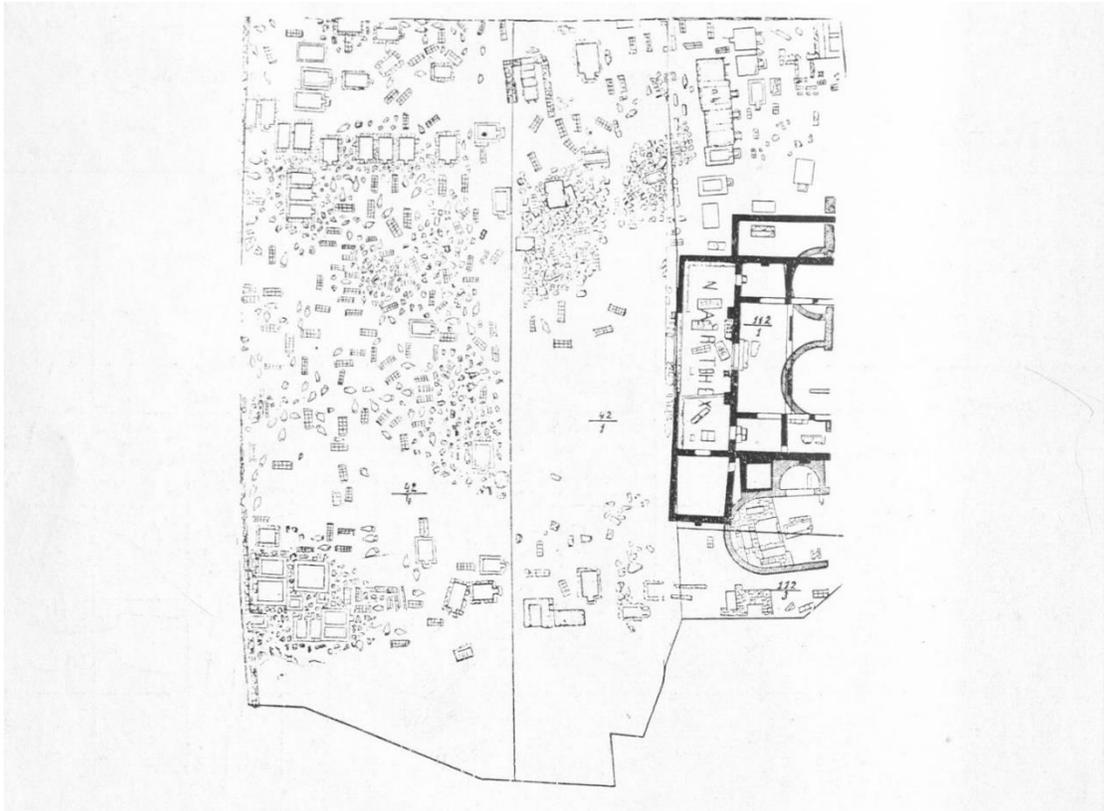
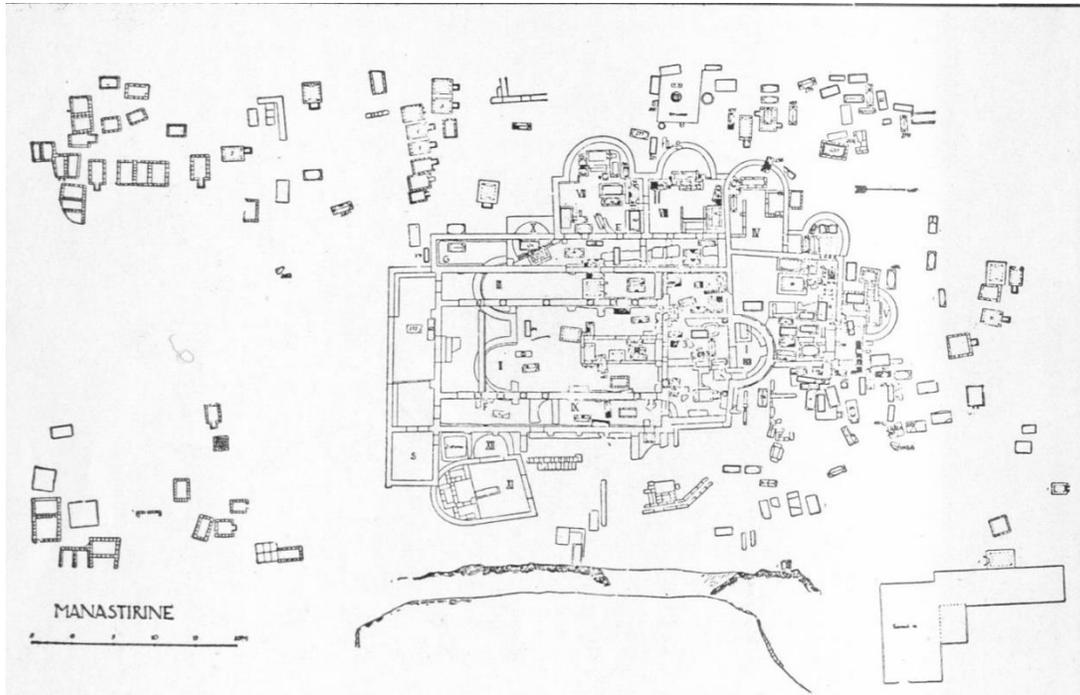
**Fig. 1. Plan of Salona**

(After: J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 361, fig. 16.)

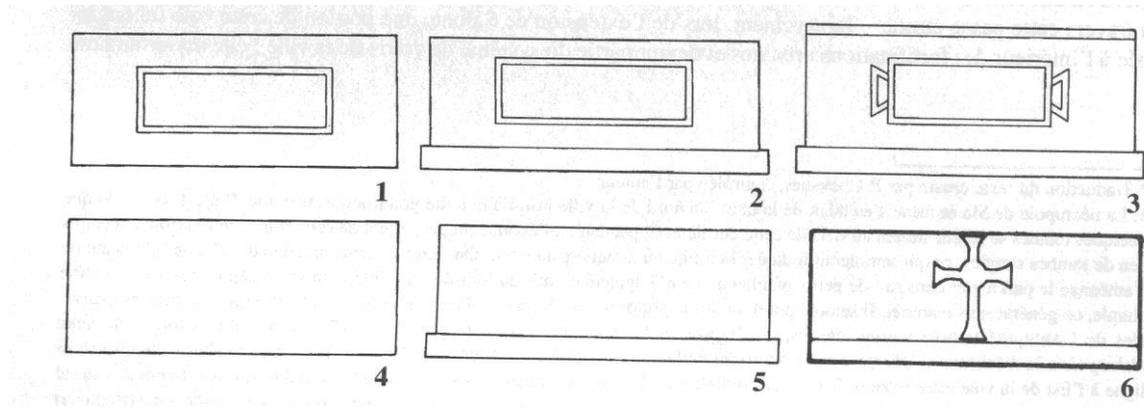


**Fig. 2. Plan of Manastirine Cemetery**

(After: *Salona III. Manastirine: établissement preromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, eds. Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Maja Bonačić-Mandinić, et al. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2000), p. 621, fig. 238)

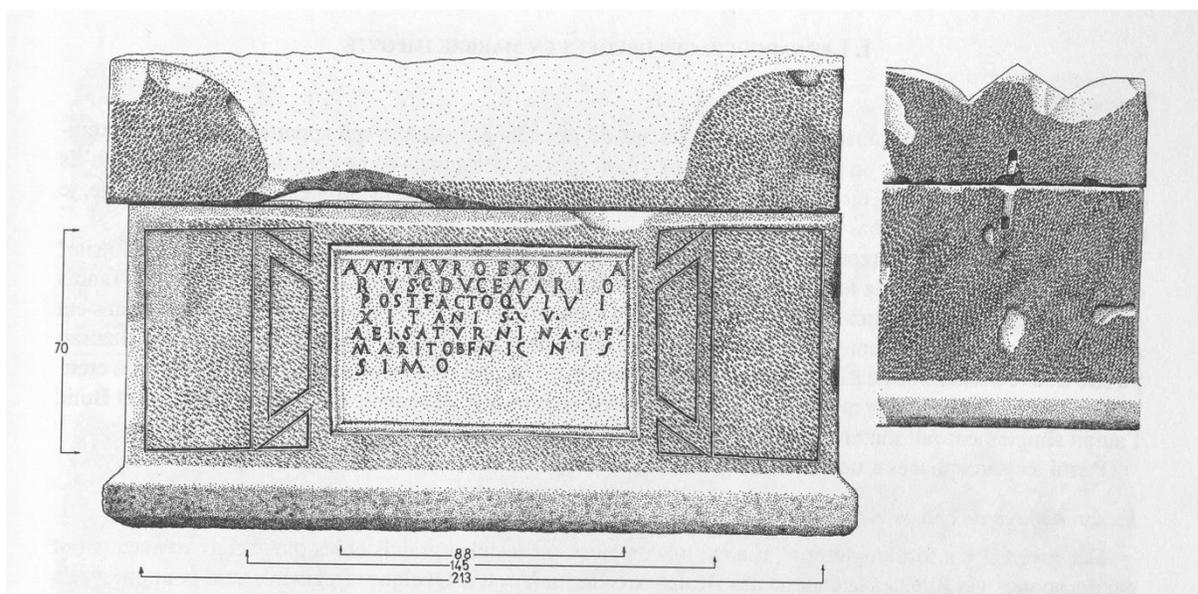


**Fig. 3a. Cemetery of Manastirine: Concentration of Sarcophagi**  
**Fig. 3b. Cemetery of Manastirine: Concentration of Graves "under Tiles."**  
 (After: Einar Dyggve, *History of Salomitan Christianity* (Oslo:Aschehoug, 1951), IV 3, IV)

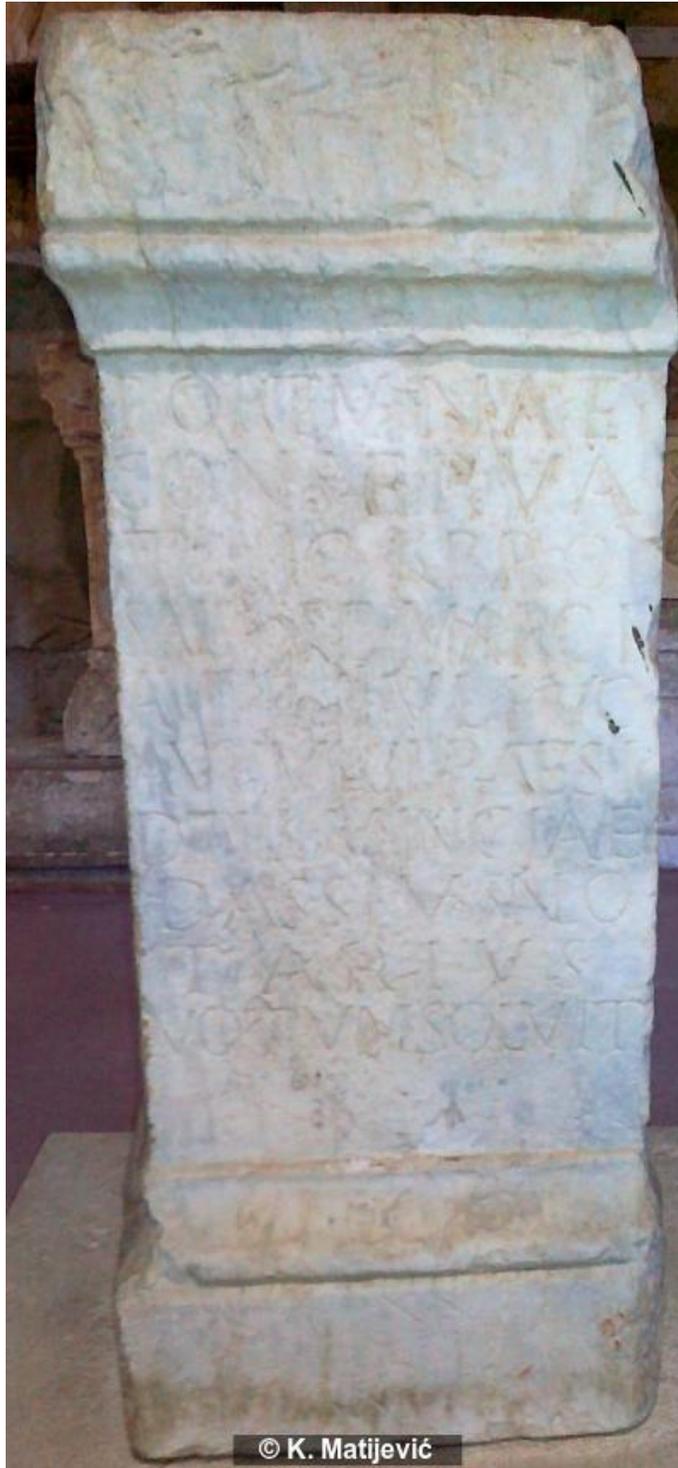


**Fig. 4. Development of the Limestone Sarcophagi of Local Production**

(After: Nenad Cambi, "Les sarcophages de Manastirine. Sarcophages decorees et typologie," in *Salona III. Manastirine: établissement preromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, eds. Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Maja Bonačić-Mandinić, et al. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2000), p. 228, fig. 99b)



**Fig. 5. The Drawing of the Sarcophagus of the *ducenarius* Antonius Taurus: execution technique**  
 (After: Nenad Cambi, "Les sarcophages de Manastirine. Sarcophages decorees et typologie," in *Salona III. Manastirine: établissement preromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, eds. Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, Maja Bonačić-Mandinić, et al. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome; Split: Musée archéologique de Split, 2000), p. 229, fig. 100)



**Fig. 6.** The Votive Inscription of the *praeses* M. Aurelius Iulius, 316-350 C.E.  
(After: HD053738, <http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD05378>)



Fig. 7. The List of the *ministri* of a *Collegium*, late 3rd century - 320 C.E.  
(After: HD062448, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062448>)

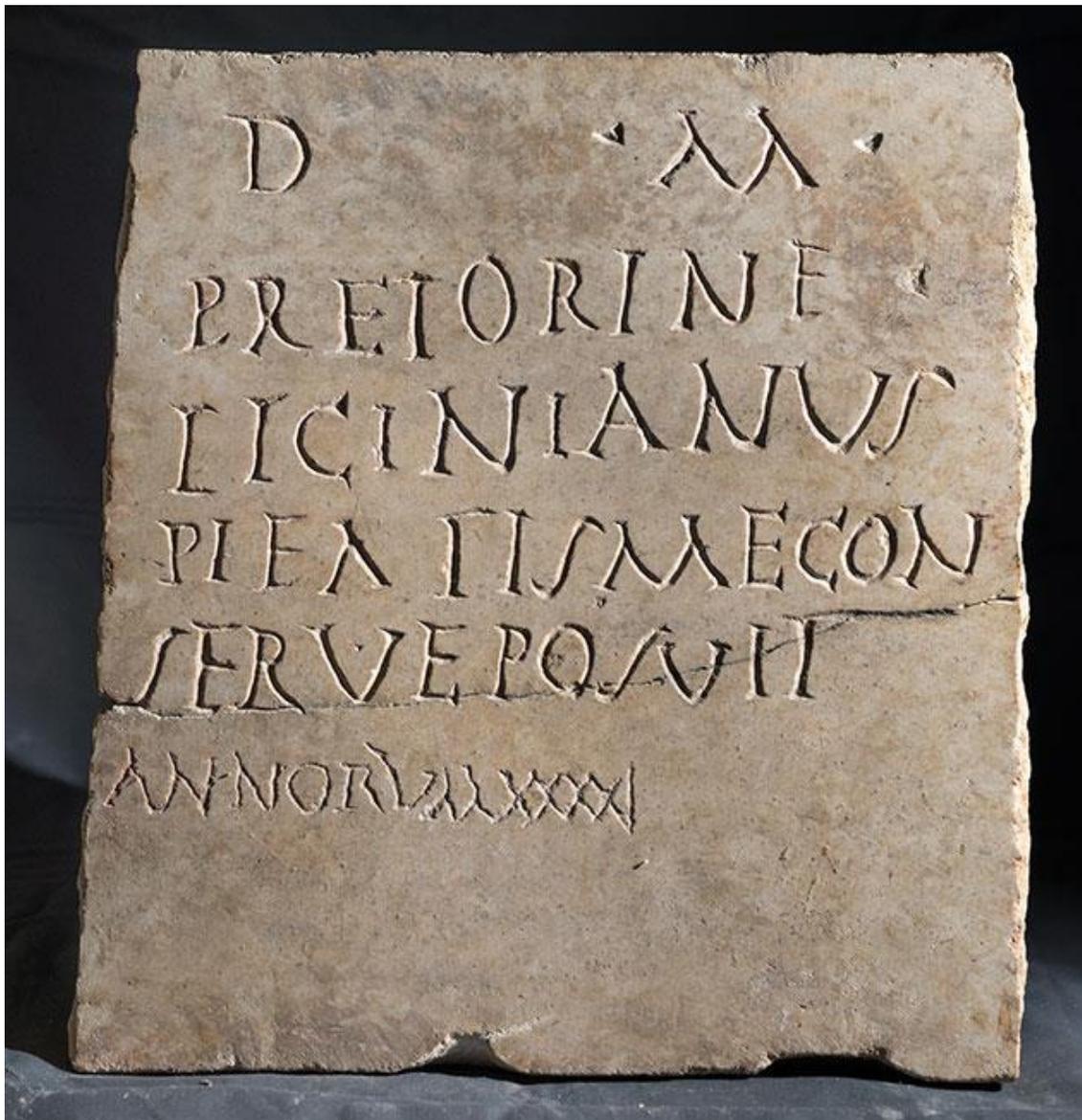


Fig. 8. The Funerary Slab of Pr(a)etorina, second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 (After: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/imagelink/index.php?Nr=24126>)



Fig. 9. The Sarcophagus of the *v(ir) h(onestissimus)* Eutyechianus, first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century  
(After: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/imagelink/index.php?Nr=24388>)



Fig. 10. The Sarcophagus of Antonius Taurus and Aelia Saturnina, late 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century  
(After: HD034741, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034741>)



**Fig. 11. The Stela of Aurelius Fortunius, Aurelia Vernantilla, Ursa, and Vernantianus, first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century**

(After: HD034889, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034889>)



**Fig. 12. The Piscina of Aurelius Marcianus and Aurelia Quintina, 4<sup>th</sup> century**  
(After: HD034785, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034785>)

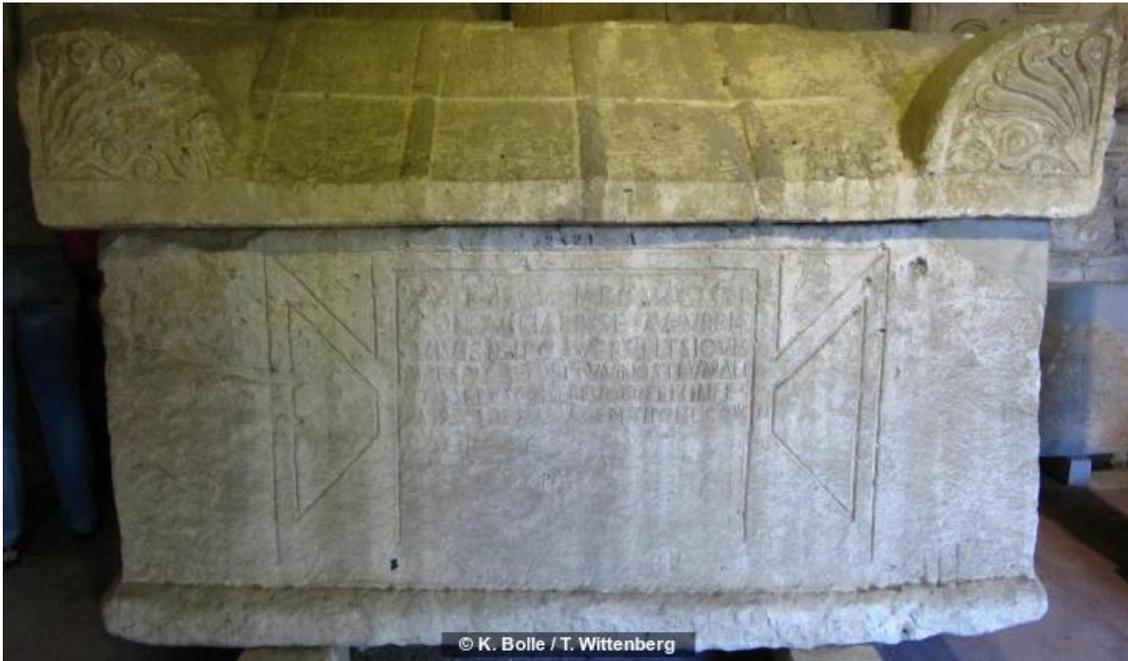
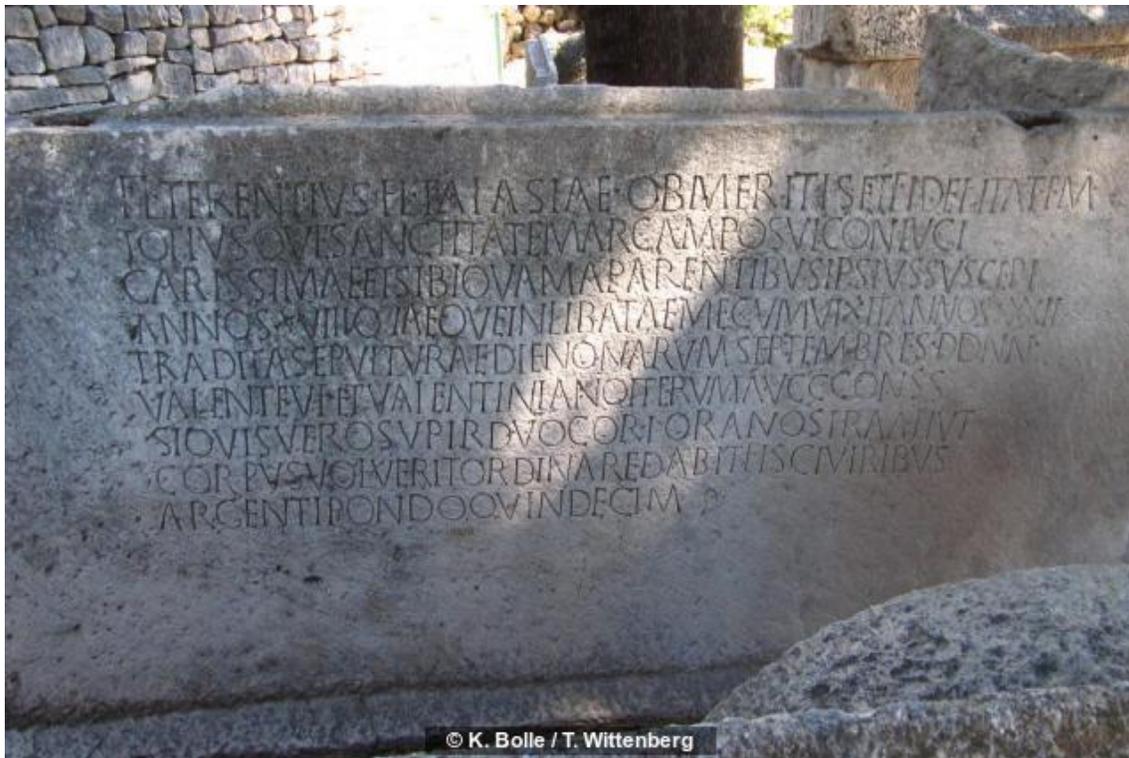


Fig. 13. The Sarcophagus of Aurelius Peculiaris and Aurelia Urbica, second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century  
(After: HD062175, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062175>)



**Fig. 14. The Sarcophagus of Constantius and Honoria, 375 C.E.**  
(After: HD034773, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034773>)



**Fig. 15. The Sarcophagus of Flavius Terentius and Flavia Talasia, 378 C.E.**  
 (After: HD034774, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034774>)



**Fig. 16. The Sarcophagus of Iulia Aurelia Hilara and Aurelius Hecatus, first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century**  
(After: HD034744, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034744>)

## APPENDIX 2.a: SELECTED LATE ANTIQUE EPITAPHS FROM SALONA (ca. 250-400 C.E.) – DATA

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR					DECEASED					Relationship		
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Origo	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Origo	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation			
1	IJUG 2125; AE 1906, 0134; 251-300 HD021989	251-300	Sarcophagus	Cassia	Decorata	/	/	/			Aurelius	Aetreas	Natione Graeco	/	/	Conjugal
2	AE 1989, 0603; 201-300 HD016324	201-300	Slab (pisina)	Aurelius	Lupus	/	/	/			Aurelius Iulia	Lupus Maxima	/	/	/	Conjugal
3	AE 1996, 1209; 251-300 HD039969	251-300	Slab	/	Lionianus	/	/	Slave	/	/	/	Pretorina	/	Slave	/	Conserui
4	CIL 03, 2007 + p. 1030; 301-600 HD054346	301-600	?	Aurelius	Gr(a)eco	/	/	/	/	/	Aurelius	Eur<[=>[>[q]ianus	/	Ex cursore	/	Extended lateral
5	CIL 03, 2027 + p. 1309; 4th cent. HD054759	4th cent.	?	Atthigia	Ursacia	/	/	/	/	/	Fl(avius)	Carosus	/	Veteranus	/	Conjugal
6	CIL 03, 2106; HD063061	251-300	?	Aur(eli)us	Cardianus	/	/	/	Ex col(legio) Venens	/	Aur(eli)us	Cardianus	/	/	Ex col(legio) Venens	Sibi et suis
7	CIL 03, 14738; IJUG 2305; 251-300 HD032301	251-300	Slab	/	Urbica	/	/	/	/	/	/	Alogus qui et Saxonio	/	/	/	Conjugal
8	CIL 03, 8734+p. 1510; IJUG 2538; HD034747	251-300	Sarcophagus	Flavius	Valens	/	/	Bene(fici)us co(n)s(ulan)s Pannon (ae) super(i)us	/	/	Quintia Quinti q(uondam) Germani pompilari(s)	C[...]	/	Stolat(a) femina	/	Conjugal
9	CIL 03, 02296; HD062834	251-300	Stela	/	Amanius signul Simplic	/	/	/	/	/	Considius	Viator qui et Gargilius	/	/	/	?
10	CIL 03, 09240; HD063395	251-300	Slab?	Coelius	Eulippius	/	/	/	/	/	Numeria	Irene	/	/	/	Nudeur asteroid.

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11	CL 03, 02117; HD060051	251-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(elia)	Vernilla	/		Phumbazia	Aur(elia)	Vernilla	/		Phumbazia		Conjugal, nuclear descend.
12	CL 03, 2240; S IV, 2-384; HD060874	301-350	Sarcophagus	/	Fortunatus	/		/	Aurelia	Victoria	/		/		Alumnus (?)
13	SIV, 2-748; LJUG 2127; HD060382	301-400	Slab	/	/	/		/	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Δημήτριος Εὐμορέου υἱοῦ ἐπιφανέου Αὐτοῦ	/		/	/	/
14	SIV, 2-749; LJUG 2245; HD060386	301-400	Slab	/	/	/		/	/	Βύσσας	/		/	/	/
15	SIV, 2-753	301-400	Slab	/	/	/		/	/	Ασολίδης	/		/	/	/
16	SIV, 2-767; LJUG 2132; HD060383	L. 3rd/e 4th cent.	Stela	/	/	/		/	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Σάβως Σόλωνος Ζακείδου	/		/	/	/
17	SIV, 2-792; LJUG 2040; HD060380	L. 3rd/e 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Βύσσας	/		/	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Βύσσας	/		/	/	Conjugal
18	SIV, 2-793	L. 3rd/e 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/		/	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Θεόδωρος <Μ>ναγῶ Κεῖθου	/		/	/	/
19	SIV, 2-765	301-400	Stela	[Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος]	Αλέξανδρος	/		/	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)κος	Κασσιόπης Μουρού -	/		/	/	?
20	SIV, 2-766; LJUG 2351; HD 060437	301-400	Stela	/	Ανασῆτες (= Ανεσῆτες)	/		/	/	Αντοῦ(ῆ)κος Σαβῆ[-]	/		/	/	Siblings

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21	S IV, 1: 376; IIJUG 2757; HD03184	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Herennius	Capitolinus	/	/	/	Aemilia	Maximilla	/	/	/	Conjugal
22	CIL 03, 08712; S IV, 1: 378; IIJUG 2352; HD034741	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Adia	Sabinina	/	Claustissima (femina)	/	Aur(onia)	Taurus	/	Ex duobus (tenentibus) duocentis post factus	/	Conjugal
23	CIL 03, 14731; S IV, 1: 379; HD061427	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Aur(edia)	Athenodora	/	/	/	Aur(edia)	Athenodora	/	/	/	Conjugal
24	CIL 03, 8924; S IV, 1: 380; HD063459	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Silvanus	/	/	/	Aur(edia)	Felissima	/	/	/	Nuclear descend.
25	CIL 03, 8938 + p. 2136; S IV, 2: 301-400 385; HD063416		Sarcophagus	/	Mam[er]u[s ...]	/	/	/	Aur(edia)	Urbana	/	/	/	Conjugal
26	CIL 03, 02207; S IV, 2: 386; HD061130	301-350	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Aprilianus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
27	CIL 03, 2217 + 8609; S IV, 2: 390; HD062200	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Amunus	/	/	/	Aur(ell)us	Amunus	/	/	/	Conjugal
28	S IV, 2: 392; IIJUG 2129; HD034624	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Quinta	/	/	/	/	Quinta	/	/	/	Conjugal
29	S IV, 2: 392; IIJUG 2129; HD034624	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Glycon	/	/	/	Aur(ell)us	Glycon	/	/	/	Conjugal
30	S IV, 2: 396; HD062884	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Valentia	/	/	/	/	Valentia	/	/	/	Conjugal
28	S IV, 2: 392; IIJUG 2129; HD034624	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Eutrochianus (=Eutrochianus)	/	/	/	Aur(ell)us	Maximianus	/	/	/	Nutr[itor]
29	CIL 03, 2115 + 8592; S IV, 2: 393; HD062175	351-400	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Peulianus	/	/	/	Aur(ell)us	Peulianus	/	/	Magister conquitianus	Conjugal
30	CIL 03, 2226; S IV, 2: 396; HD062884	L. 3rd/e. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Aur(ell)us	Urbica	/	/	/	Aur(ell)us	Urbica	/	/	/	Conjugal

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31	CIL 03, 2108; S IV, 2-397; HD063039	L. 3rd/c. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Aurelia Aur(ell)us Aurelia /	Lupa Ursacius Salonitanus Vitalia /	/	/	Ex collegio Veneris /	Aur(ell)us Aurelia Atilius /	Ursacius Salonitanus Vitalia Primus /	/	Ex collegio Veneris /	Conjugal /
32	S IV, 2-399; HD034861	E. 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	[D]ominus	Eufasu[s]	/	/	/	Domitius	Vincen[tus]	/	/	Nuclear descend.
33	CIL 03, 9663 + 9094 + 9572 + 12842; S IV, 2-401; ILJUG 2380; HD034766	301-400	Sarcophagus	Fla(vius)	Dalm[atius? ...]	/	/	/	Fla(vius)	Dalm[atius? ...]	/	/	Conjugal
34	CIL 03, 8741; S IV, 2-403; HD062535	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Fl(avius)	Iulianus	/	Ex protectore et ex praepositis	Conjugal
35	CIL 03, 8742; S IV, 2-404; HD062536	351-400	Sarcophagus	/	Sevea	/	/	/	Aur(ella)	Sapida	/	/	Conjugal
36	S IV, 2-407; ILJUG 2724; HD027945	351-400	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Fl(avius)	Valerianus	/	D(e) n(umero) sagittariorum centurarius(!) (=centenarius)	/
37	ILJUG 2355; S IV, 2-408; HD034744	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aurel(ius)	Heceus	/	/	/	Iulia Aurelia	Hilara	/	/	Conjugal
38	CIL 03, 8752 + p. 2261; S IV, 2-411; HD05984	301-330	?	Ulpus	Asclepius	/	/	/	Octavia	Cara	/	/	?
39	CIL 03, 13151; S IV, 2-412; ILJUG 2366; HD034753	366-380	Sarcophagus	Septimia	Sabina	/	/	/	Septimia	Sabina	/	/	Conjugal
40	CIL 03, 9540; S IV, 2-413; ILJUG 2367; HD034754	ca. 350	Sarcophagus	S(e)p(timius)	Maximia	/	/	V(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(ri)ncipalis col(oniac) [S]al(O)n(itanorum)	S(e)p(timius)	Maximia	/	V(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(ri)ncipalis col(oniac) [S]al(O)n(itanorum)	Conjugal
				/	Anonymous wife	/	/	/	/	Anonymous wife	/	/	/

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41	CIL 03, 9621; ILJUG 2370; S IV, 2, 415; HD034757	301-400	Sarcophagus	Valenia	Hermogenia	/	H(onesta) f(emina)	/	Valenia	Hermogenia	/	H(onesta) f(emina)	/	Sibi
42	CIL 03, 9597 + p. 2140; SIV, 2, 416; ILJUG 2369; HD034756	331-350	Sarcophagus	Valfejnis	Felix	/	/	/	Valfejnis	Felix	/	/	/	Conjugal
43	SIV, 2, 417; HD016330	L. 3rd/ε 4th cent.	Sarcophagus	Vannus	Sabin(u)s Saloni(fianus)	/	/	Ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)	Vannus	Sabin(u)s Saloni(fianus)	/	/	Ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)	Sibi
44	CIL 03, 14873; SIV, 2, 418; ILJUG 2760; HD03187	301-400	Sarcophagus	Ulpus	Part(h)eropus	/	/	/	Ulpia	Gaudenia	/	/	/	Nid(ear) descend.
45	CIL 03, 8727; S IV, 2, 419; ILJUG 2353; HD034742	301-400	Sarcophagus	[Aure]llius	Alexander(!) (=Alexander)	/	B(e)n(e)ff(icius) legio(nis XI Claudi(a)e	/	[Aure]llius	Alexander(!) (=Alexander)	/	B(e)n(e)ff(icius) legio(nis XI Claudi(a)e	/	Ius(s)it testamento acum (p)oni
46	CIL 03, 2616; S IV, 2, 429; HD062483	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	Bocontia(!) (=Yocontia)	/	/	/	/	Bocontia(!) (=Yocontia)	/	/	/	Nid(ear) descend.
47	CIL 03, 2663; S IV, 2, 431; HD062436	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	Barbas	/	/	/	/	Haeractia(!) (=Heractia)	/	/	/	Nid(ear) descend.
48	CIL 03, 9578; S IV, 2, 437; ILJUG 2357; HD034746	301-350	Sarcophagus	/	Valeria	/	/	/	/	Valeria	/	/	/	Conjugal
49	SIV, 2, 441; ILJUG 2249; HD034542	ca. 350	Sarcophagus	[---]	Felix	/	/	/	/	Felix	/	/	/	Conjugal
50	CIL 03, 9586; S IV, 2, 442; ILJUG 2364; HD034751	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	Flavianus	/	/	/	/	Flavianus	/	/	/	Nid(ear) descend.

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51	CIL 03, 9548 + pp. 2139, 2261; S IV, 2, 443; ILJUG 2431; HD034814	351-425	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Gaius	/	/	/
52	CIL 03, 2628 + 09239; S IV, 2, 457; HD062937	351-400	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Paterus	/	/	/
53	CIL 03, 9610; S IV, 2, 460; ILJUG 24121; HD034796	301-375	Sarcophagus	/	Nereus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Nereus	/	/	Conjugal, nuclear descend.
				/	Sofronia	/	/	/	/	/	/	Sofronia	/	/	
54	CIL 03, 14897; S IV, 2, 462; ILJUG 2360; HD032463	301-350	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Primus	/	/	/
55	CIL 03, 2490; S IV, 2, 473; HD062671	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	Prosenus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Vincentia	/	/	Conjugal, nuclear ascend.
				/		/	/	/	/	/	Phrancia	/	/		
56	CIL 03, 9353; S IV, 2, 477; HD059985	351-400	Sarcophagus	[--]	[--]	/	Ex comular[us --]	/	[--]	[--]	/	[--]	/	Ex comular[us --]	Conjugal
				?	[--]	/	H(onestā) f(emina)	/	?	[--]	/	[--]	/	H(onestā) f(emina)	
57	S IV, 2, 479; HD027616	301-400	Sarcophagus	Ael[us --]	[--]	/	[--]	/	Ael[us --]	[--]	/	[--]	/	[--]	Sib[us]?
58	CIL 03, 8823; S IV, 2, 484; HD062982	301-400	Sarcophagus	Aur[elius]	Maxim[us] or Maximi[us]	/	/	[--]	Aur[elius]	Maxim[us] or Maximi[us]	/	[--]	/	[--]	[--] collegio d[omi]no f[aci]o (um ?)
				/	Maur[icius]	/	/	/	Maur[icius]	/	/	/	Fab[ri]c[us]		
59	CIL 03, 2043 + pp. 1030 and 1509; S IV, 2, 645; HD063417	301-400	Sarcophagus	/	Maur[icius]	/	/	/	/	Maur[icius]	/	/	/	/	Conjugal
				/	Concordia	/	/	/	Concordia	/	/	/	/		
60	CIL 03, 9269; S IV, 2, 666; HD063427	301-350	?	Sab[ia]	Soll[emnis]	/	/	/	Sab[ia]	Soll[emnis]	/	/	/	/	Conjugal

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61	CIL 03, 2509; S IV, 2, 667; ILJUG 2365; HD084752	301-350	?	Rustica	Clodiana]	/	/	/	/	/	/	[---Rus]tiano	/	/	Nuclear descend.
62	CIL 03, 13137; S IV, 1, 81; ILJUG 2401; HD084785	301-400	Mensa	Aur(eli)us	M[aj]orianus II AHIN	/	/	/	/	/	Aur(eli)us	M[aj]orianus II AHIN	/	/	Conjugal
63	CIL 03, 9567; S IV, 1, 82; ILJUG 2375; HD084762	301-400	Mensa	Aur(eli)us	Alexisus(?) (=Alexus)	/	/	/	/	/	Aur(eli)us	/	/	/	Conjugal, nuclear descend.
64	S IV, 1, 89; ILJUG 2590; HD083029	385	Slab (inserted in pavement)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Dulcius	/	/	/
65	S IV, 1, 90; ILJUG 2643; HD083077	385	Slab (inserted in pavement)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Valentinu[s]	/	/	/
66	S IV, 1, 102; ILJUG 704; HD084113	351-400	Slab	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Constantia	/	/	/
67	CIL 03, 6393; S IV, 1, 106; HD063455	301-400	Slab	Iul(ia)s	Martinius	/	/	/	/	/	/	Ge[?]llia	/	/	Nuclear descend.
68	CIL 03, 9605; S IV, 1, 111; ILJUG 2397; HD084782	351-400	Slab	/	Aome	/	/	/	/	/	/	Monimus	/	/	Conjugal
69	CIL 03, 13917; S IV, 1, 134; HD063370	301-350	Stela	Aur(eli)us	Castinus	/	/	/	/	/	Aed(ia)	Iobinal (= Iovina)	/	/	Conjugal
70	CIL 03, 12949; S IV, 1, 135; HD063460	301-400	Stela	Aur(eli)us	Vera	/	/	/	/	/	Aur(eli)us	Eupateria	/	/	Nuclear descend.
											Aur(eli)us	Iovinus	/	/	/

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71	S IV, 1: 136; ILJUG 126; HD018019	313-324	Stela	Aur(élius)	Leontius	/	Docen(ámus) (?) et decurio col(oniae) Salon(tianorum) ex curatoribus eiusdem civitatis	/	Aur(élius)	Valerius	/	Exceptor Imp(eratorum) in officio memori(a)e	/	Nidrear descend.	
72	CIL 03, 2406; S IV, 1: 138; HD054464	301-400	Stela	Quedius	Eurepistius(?) (= Eurepistius)	/	/	/	Julia	Valeria	/	/	/	Conjugal	
73	CIL 03, 6427; S IV, 1: 139; ILJUG 259; HD020035	301-400	Stela	/	/	/	/	/	Suetonius	Io(v)ianus	/	/	/	/	
74	S IV, 1: 141; ILJUG 2467; HD034889	301-400	Stela	Aur(élius)	Fortunius	/	/	/	Aur(élius)	Fortunius	/	/	/	Conjugal	
				Aur(élia)	Vernantilla	/	/	/	Aur(élia)	Vernantilla	/	/	/	Siblings	
				/	/	/	/	/	/	Ursa	/	/	/	Siblings	
				/	/	/	/	/	/	Vernantianus or Ver<ur=>M>a(i)bianus	/	/	/	Nidrear descend.	
75	CIL 03, 2654 + 8652; S IV, 1: 358 152; HD054211		Sarcophagus	Fl(avius)	Julius	/	Z[acorus] [...] (= diaconus)	/	Fl(avius)	Julius	/	Z[acorus] [...] (= diaconus)	/	Conjugal	
				Aurel(ia)	Iuliana ---	/	/	/	Aurel(ia)	Iuliana ---	/	/	/	Conjugal	
76	CIL 03, 9306; S IV, 1: 159; ILJUG 2388; HD034773	375	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Honoría	/	/	/	Conjugal	
				Fl(avius)	Terentius	/	/	/	Fl(avius)	Terentius	/	V[ir] clarissimus ex procuratore Africae	/	Conjugal	
77	CIL 03, 9307 + p. 2139; S IV, 1: 161; ILJUG 161; 2390; HD034774	378	Sarcophagus	Fl(avius)	Terentius	/	/	/	Fl(avius)	Terentius	/	/	/	Conjugal	
				Fl(avia)	Terentia	/	/	/	Fl(avia)	Terentia	/	/	/	Conjugal	

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78	CL 03, 9309 + p. 2139; S IV, 1: 162; ILJUG 2391; HD034776	385	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Vetraino	/	/	/	/
79	CL 03, 9308; S IV, 1: 163; ILJUG 2393; HD034778	382	Sarcophagus	F(arius)	Theodotus	/	Quator rei p(ublicae)	/	/	/	Peregrinus / Dominio	/	/	/	Nuclear descend.
80	CL 03, 9323 + 12861 + 13122; S IV, 1: 170; ILJUG 2395; HD034780	395	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Augustin(a)	/	/	/	/
81	CL 03, 9028; S IV, 1: 220; ILJUG 2356; HD034745	301-350	Sarcophagus	Suellius	Septiminius	/	/	/	/	/	Probitura	/	/	/	Conjugal
82	CL 03, 9385; S IV, 1: 221; ILJUG 2409; HD034793	351-400	Sarcophagus	F(arius) Aur(elia)	Virgilianus Ursilla	/	/	/	/	/	Virgilianus Ursilla	/	/	/	Conjugal
83	CL 03, 9387; S IV, 1: 223; ILJUG 2410; HD034794	351-400	Sarcophagus	Fran[ca?]	C[re]sentia	/	/	/	/	/	Crescentius qui et Valerianus Anastasia qui(?) et Vernia	/	/	/	Siblings
84	CL 03, 14292; S IV, 1: 224; HD061693	301-400	Sarcophagus	Ulpianus	Gorgonius	/	/	/	/	/	Cedenna	/	/	/	Conjugal
85	CL 03, 6400; S IV, 1: 227; HD063456	351-450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Eurydianus Artemia	/	/	/	Conjugal

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86	CLL 03, 9369 + ILJUG 2496; S IV, 1: 351-430 231; HD059876		Sarcophagus	Aur[el]ius	Tegri[s]	/	/	/		Aur[el]ius	Maras	/	/	/	Conjugal
87	CLL 03, 8921; S IV, 1: 232; 301-330 HDM13953		Sarcophagus	Aur[el]ius	Flavus	/	/	/		Aur[el]ius	Saturnus	/	/	/	Nuclear descend.
88	CLL 03, 2326; S IV, 1: 263; 351-400 HD062813		Sarcophagus	Fl[avius]	Pannonius	/	/	/		/	Maxentia	/	/	/	Conjugal
89	CLL 03, 6403; S IV, 1: 264; 351-400 HD063458		Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		/	Maximianus	/	V[ir] p[ro]fectissimus	/	/
90	CLL 03, 9305 + p. 2139; S IV, 2: 768; ILJUG 372 2385; HD064649		Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		Αβούβη	Μαρκία	/	/	/	/
91	CLL 03, 13123; S IV, 2: 769		Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		Αβούβη(ος)	Πολύδοτος υἱὸς Βαλαύβου	/	/	/	/
92	S IV, 2: 794; ILJUG 2496; HD066669		Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		Οβυλίσιος	Τυμύτιος Τροπύβητος	/	π[ρο]β[ε]β[ε]τος	/	Nuclear descend.
93	S IV, 2: 795	4th/ε. 5th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		/	[Α]ντοῖσιος	/	πρ<α>μμευεῖτης	/	/
94	CLL 03, 9379; S IV, 2: 796; ca. 350 ILJUG 2363		Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/		/	Εὐσεβίης Εὐ<σ>εῖρια(ῖ) (= Eusebia)	/	/	/	/

**APPENDIX 2.b: SELECTED LATE ANTIQUE EPITAPHS FROM SALONA (ca. 401-600 C.E.) – DATA**

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	
1	S IV, 2: 469; IIJUG 2253; HD034661	301-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Valerina	/	/	/	/
2	CIL 03, 9538 + p. 2139; S IV, 2: 478; HD063040	351-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	[...]	de numero Ala[torum]	/	/	/
3	CIL 03, 9549 + p. 2328; IIJUG 2448, S IV, 1: 72; HD034863	Ca 425	Mensa	/	/	/	/	(H)esvinius	Episcopus	/	/	/
4	CIL 03, 13134 + 14663; S IV, 1: 73; IIJUG 2492; HD034815	Ca 425	Mensa	/	/	/	/	Gaius	[Episcopus]	/	/	/
5	CIL 03, 14895; IIJUG 2699; S IV, 1: 75; HD035129	Ca 475	Mensa	/	/	/	/	Iustus	Episcopus	/	/	/
6	CIL 03, 9550 + 13153 + pp. 2261, 2328; HD034822	Ca 425	Mensa	/	/	/	/	Symferus	Episcopus	/	/	/
7	CIL 03, 14895; S IV, 1: 77; IIJUG 2700; HD007896	451-500	Mensa	/	/	/	/	[...]	[Episcopus]	/	/	/
8	CIL 03, 13124; S IV, 1: 91; HD060306	426 or 430	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	Dion<at>	Ancla	/	/	/
9	CIL 03, 13170 + 13125 + 13127 + 14239; S IV, 1: 92; IIJUG 2693; HD035124	418	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	Anianus	V(ir) spectabilis	/	/	/
10	CIL 03, 14704; S IV, 1: 97; HD061538	451-500	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	Vitro[un]us	Ducen[us] [e]x vexill[atio]n[e] equit[um] Valen[ti]an[em] [suum]	/	/	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship	
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation		
11	CIL 03, 9532 + p. 2328; S IV, 1, 101; ILJUG 2470; HD034892	Ca. 450	Slab (horizontal)	/	Marianus	Memonialis	/	/	/	Benigna	Honestia femina	/	Conjugal
12	CIL 03, 9533; ILJUG 2469; S IV, 1, 225; HD034891	425-450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Benigna	H(onesta) <D>(emina)	/	/
13	CIL 03, 9576; S IV, 1, 103; ILJUG 2563; HD035249	401-500?	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	/	/	[D]olmnia	/	/	/
14	CIL 03, 14915; S IV, 1, 112; HD057556	401-500	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	/	/	Vitalio	/	/	/
15	CIL 03, 9511; S IV, 1, 177; ILJUG 2441; HD024229	407	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	[F]l(arius)	Domestius	/	/
16	S IV, 1, 179; ILJUG 2660; HD035094	406 or 407	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	[---]anus	Ex trib(unis)	/	/
17	CIL 03, 2656; S IV, 1, 181; HD062441	411?	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Leo	Ex domestic	/	/
18	CIL 03, 9513; S IV, 1, 183; ILJUG 2444; HD034240	414	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Thalassius	Ex corniculario	/	/
19	CIL 03, 9515; S IV, 1, 193; HD011288	425	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Clauissima ferri[ina]	/	/
20	S IV, 1, 194; ILJUG 2789; HD025117	425	Sarcophagus	/	T<h>aeodo/su s(!)	/	/	/	/	T<h>aeodo/sus(!)	/	/	Sibi

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation	
21	CIL 03, 9516; IJUG 2449; S IV, 1. 195; HD034864	431	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Victurus	Advoctus	/	/
22	CIL 03, 9517 + 12858; S IV, 1. 196; HD054213	431 or 432	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	[F(avius)] ?	[...]erius	V(ir) c(lausimus) p(ri)m(icens) s(cim)(i) tabulari(or)(um) Me(n)diol(an)ti	/	/
23	S IV, 1. 198; IJUG 2033; HD027933	434	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Alexander	V(ir) s(p)ectabilis	/	/
24	CIL 03, 2657 + p. 1032; S IV, 1. 199; HD062440	435	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Alvina (=Albia)	/	/	/
25	S IV, 1. 200; IJUG 2230; HD021995	435	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Flora	/	/	/
26	CIL 03, 9518; S IV, 1. 201; IJUG 2451; HD034865	437	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	?	[...]	[sub]adivra o<ff>idiini (ustus) p(a)ecturae	/	/
27	CIL 03, 2638 + p. 2135; IJUG 2452; S IV, 1. 202; HD034866	440/441	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	[Pajulina	/	/	/
28	CIL 03, 9519 + 12859; S IV, 1. 204; HD063071	440	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Romanus	V(ir) d(erotus)	/	/
29	S IV, 2. 771; IJUG 2454; HD036478	440	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Κυρῆος υἱὸς Θύμ[...] or Θύμ[...]	/	/	/
30	CIL 03, 9520 + 9521 + 12860; S IV, 1. 206; IJUG 2455; HD034868	443	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Ciscenius Ludatus Thalassius	/	/	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED					
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Relationship	
31	CIL 03, 2639; S IV, 1, 208; HD062438	443	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Tog<g>(tus) foni Dalmi (atq)	Abundentius	/	/	/
32	S IV, 1, 210; ILJUG 2254; HD028042	446	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Vincertia	/	/	/
33	CIL 03, 9522; S IV, 2, 775	460	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Μάγος (ἰδὸς) Αβουρίου	/	/	/	/
34	S IV, 1, 213; ILJUG 2770; HD026961	466	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	[...] Tog<g>(tus) foni Dalmi (atq)	[...]	/	/	/
35	CIL 03, 6401 + 9006; S IV, 1, 222; HD063457	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Treponius	/	/	/	/
36	CIL 03, 9574; ILJUG 2362; S IV, 1, 246; HD034750	401-450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Deogetia	C(a)nsisima (femina)	/	/	/
37	S IV, 1, 251; ILJUG 2649; HD035063	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Flavius	/	/	/	/
38	S IV, 1, 278; ILJUG 2491; HD034911	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Quinae	/	/	/	/
39	CIL 03, 9539; S IV, 1, 287; ILJUG 2498; HD034917	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Victorini[us]	[Biarci]us, Matrornum i[un]i[form]	/	/	/
40	S IV, 2, 425	451-550	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Augusta	/	/	/	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation	
41	S IV, 2- 426	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Ausonius	Vir spectabilis comis(!) sac[ri] consistoni et Dalmat[is]num	/	/	/
42	CIL 03, 14893; S IV, 2- 434; IJUG 2698; HD035128	451-550	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Caisentianus	Diaconus	/	/	/
43	CIL 03, 14774; HD061361	Ca. 450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Dasartilla	/	Quae <b>erit laboravit	/	?
44	CIL 03, 9547; IJUG 2565; S IV, 2- 438; HD035251	401-450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Eraginus	Chorepiscopus	/	/	/
45	S IV, 2- 440	425-450	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Felix	[P]rocurator[is] ecc[lesi]e Saloni[t]anae	/	/	/
46	CIL 03, 13129; IJUG 2411; S IV, 2- 446; HD034795	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Honorius	Presby[ter]	/	/	/
47	CIL 03, 6399; S IV, 2- 450; HD063418	401-450	Sarcophagus	/	Altera Romana	/	/	Leontius	Ex optione officio magistri eq[uitum] et pedum	/	/	Conjugal
48	S IV, 2-453; IJUG 2040; HD034350	401-500	Sarcophagus	Anonymous husband	/	/	/	Maxentia	/	/	/	Conjugal

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	
49	CIL 03, 1987; S IV, 2, 652; HD054172	401-500?	?	/	/	/	/	F(avius)	Fidentius	Ex comitibus	/	/
50	CIL 03, 14894; S IV, 2, 747; HD063711	401-600	Mensa	/	Εὐσεβίος	/	/	/	Εὐσεβία θυγατρὶς Εὐσεβίου	/	/	Nuclear descend.
51	CIG IV, 9428; S IV, 2, 750;	401-600	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	/	Βασίλειος	/	/	/
52	S IV, 2, 757	401-600	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	/	Φρόν[των]	/	/	/
53	CIL 03, 2664; S IV, 2, 661; HD062435	401-600	?	/	/	/	/	/	Mama	/	/	/
54	CIL 03, 9620 + p. 2326; S IV, 2, 670; HD062965	401-500?	?	/	/	/	/	/	Valerianus	/	/	/
55	CIL 03, 9527 + p. 2139; S IV, 1, 96; HD053167	599 or 603	3 Slabs (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	/	Iohannes	Presbiter(?)	/	/
56	CIL 03, 2661 + p. 1032; S IV, 1, 226; HD062439	401-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Eurata	Diaconus (ἐπίσκοπος) ecclesiae	/	/
57	S IV, 1, 237; IJUG 2587; HD055026	L. 5th/ε. 6th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	[Anastasi]us	Presb(ite)r	/	/
58	S IV, 1, 238; IJUG 702	L. 5th/ε. 6th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Anastasius	Lector	/	/
59	S IV, 2, 422	401-500	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Aquilianus	V(ir) clarissimus et sp(estabilis)	/	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	
60	CIL 03, 9524 + p. 2328; ILJUG 2486, S IV, 2, 454; HD034906	401-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Olibanus	Anagianus (=Anagthphanus)	/	/	/
61	CIL 03, 9563 + 12867; S IV, 2, 423; ILJUG 2528; HD035204	L. 5th / e. 6th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Arver filius Ir[...]	/	/	/	/
62	CIL 03, 9666 + 13142 + p. 2326; ILJUG 2481; S IV, 2, 449, HD034901	L. 5th / e. 6th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Iuvanus	Ust[...] Salonit[anae]	/	/	/
63	CIL 03, 9616; ILJUG 2557; S IV, 2, 467; HD035244	451-550	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Thoma	/	/	/	/
64	S IV, 1, 217; ILJUG 2675; HD035107	517	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	Andreas	Ca[...] ([...]) p[...]	/	/	/
65	ILJUG 2531; S IV, 2, 755; 036674	539	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	N[...] E[...]	/	/	/	/
66	S IV, 2, 751	501-600	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	E[...] Θ[...]	/	/	/	/
67	S IV, 2, 756; ILJUG 2554; HD036685	501-600	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	Φ[...] Θ[...]	/	/	/	/
68	S IV, 2, 758; ILJUG 2552; HD035240	501-600	Slab (horizontal)	/	/	/	/	Θ[...] E[...] Theodoras filius Eufasio comiti	/	/	/	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Relationship
69	CIL 03, 9623 + p. 2141; S IV, 1. 229; IIJUG 2558; HD035245	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	Alexandria	/	/	/	Ursus	/	/	Conjugal
70	CIL 03, 9560; S IV, 1. 239; IIJUG 2555; HD035242	551-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Andreas Dracontius	Defensor	/	/
71	CIL 03, 14904; S IV, 1. 242; IIJUG 2497; HD034916	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Balcanus(!) (=Valerianus) Eufemia	/	Negotiator	/
72	CIL 03, 9536 + 12865 + p. 232876; IIJUG 2404; S IV, 1. 243; HD034788	501-530	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Be[ignu]s	V(ir) d(erotissimus) comitatus	/	/
73	CIL 03, 8851, 9412, 12838; IIJUG 2471; S IV, 1. 244; HD034893	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Castorius	/	/	/
74	S IV, 1. 250; IIJUG 2536; HD035214	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Epif[ani]us	/	[Claeganus(!) (=oliganus)	/
75	S IV, 1. 252; IIJUG 2477; HD034897	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Florētius	[--- de] numero Delin[atarum ---]	/	/
76	CIL 03, 9110 + 9554 + 9687 + 12842a; S IV, 1. 253; IIJUG 2478; HD034898	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	Gennilius	Presbeter(!) (=presbyter)	/	/
77	CIL 03, 14903; S IV, 1. 254; IIJUG 2479; HD034899	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	I[oh]hannes	/	Sator	/

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship	
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/Rank/Office	Occupation		
78	CIL 03, 9601; S IV, 1: 261; IIJUG 2483; HD034903	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Matrona	/	/	/
79	CIL 03, 9603; S IV, 1: 266; HD062971	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Messorius Serenuda	/	/	/
80	S IV, 2: 777	535	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Τεῖχος ἰθὺς Πέτροου	/	/	/
										ἰθὺς Ἀλίως	/	/	/
81	CIL 03, 14906; S IV, 1: 259; IIJUG 2539; HD035221	551-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Marella de domo Valen def(ensons)	/	/	/
										/	/	/	
82	IIJUG 2541; S IV, 1: 267; HD035224	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Mennat[...]	Defensor(!) (=defensor)	/	/
										Bonos[a]	/	/	
83	CIL 03, 9542; S IV, 1: 270; IIJUG 2487; HD034907	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Pasqasijus	/	Vitianus	/
										/	/		
84	CIL 03, 14305; S IV, 1: 271; HD061613	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Pasosius	/	Caletanus(!) (=caligatus)	/
										/	/		
85	CIL 03, 9537; S IV, 1: 282; IIJUG 2546; HD035230	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Saturinius	Miles Salonitanus	/	/
										/	/		
86	CIL 03, 9612; IIJUG 2545; S IV, 1: 281; HD035228	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Sabbatia	/	/	/
										/	/		

N.	ID	Date	Monument type	COMMEMORATOR				DECEASED				Relationship	
				Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation	Nomen gentile	Cognomen + supernomen	Socio-legal status/ Rank/ Office	Occupation		
87	CL 03, 9552; S IV, 1: 284; HD063019	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Stephanus	P[re]s[bi]t[er]	/	/
88	CL 03, 9614; S IV, 1: 285; ILJUG 2547; HD035233	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Sarus	Sarc[us] (= sarcos)	/	/
89	CL 03, 9555; S IV, 1: 352; ILJUG 2531; HD035210	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	[---]	V[ir] d[iv]o[us]	/	/
90	CL 03, 2354 + p. 1031 + 8625 + 14239; S IV, 2: 445; HD062173	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Honoratus	/	Calegatus (!) (= caligatus)	/
91	CL 03, 2603 + 6405 + 8650 + p. 2325; S IV, 2: 646; HD062327	501-600	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Victorinus	/	/	/
92	CL 03, 143689; ILJUG 2774; HD026958	L. 6th/ e. 7th cent.	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	[Mar]cellinus	V[ir] d[iv]i[s]s[im]us	/	/
93	S IV, 2: 665; ILJUG 2766; HD035191	L. 6th/ e. 7th cent.	?	/	/	/	/	/	/	Petros	Mon[achos] --- ser[va]s(?) s(an)c[t]i Pet[ri] ---	/	/
94	CL 03, 9551 + p. 2139 + 13173 + p. 2328; S IV, 1: 219; ILJUG 2567; HD012294	612	Sarcophagus	/	/	/	/	/	/	Iohanna	Abb[ati]s[s]a (= abbatisa)	/	/

**APPENDIX 3.a: SELECTED LATE ANTIQUE EPITAPHS FROM SALONA (c.a. 250-400 C.E.) – TRANSCRIPTIONS**

N.	ID	Transcription
1	ILJUG 2125; AE 1906, 0134; HD021989	Aurelio Aeneae con/iugi incomparabili nati/one Graeco <q>ui vixit a/nn(os) XXVII pos(u)it Cassia Deco/rata coniux virginio suo / bene merenti
2	AE 1989, 0603; HD018324	Aurelius Lupus sib/{b}i et co(n)iugi suae / Iuliae Maxim(a)e / piscinam fecit
3	AE 1996, 1209; HD039969	D(is) M(anibus) / Pr(a)etorin(a)e / Licinianus / pientis(s)i(m)a(e) con/serv(a)e posuit / annorum XXXXI
4	CIL 03, 2007 + p. 1030; HD054346	D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Eutic(h)i/ano(!) infelicissimo / ex cursore prav/ato(!) qui confecit / sub die milia XCIV / qui vixit annos / XXV me(n)ses duo(s) dies / VIII Aurelius Gr(a)ecio / fratri pientissimo / hanc memoriam / posuit
5	CIL 03, 2027 + p. 1509; HD054759	D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avio) Caroso veterano / Attigia Ursada / compa{t}ri benignissimo
6	CIL 03, 2106; HD063061	Aur(elius) Candianus ex col(legio) Veneris sibi et suis fecit
7	CIL 03, 14738; ILJUG 2305; HD032301	D(is) M(anibus) / Alogio <q>ui / et Saxxonio / qui vixit annos / XXVI posuit / Urbica coniux / cum quo vigxit(!) / concorditer / annos sex be/nerenti / posuuit(!)
8	CIL 03, 8754+p. 1510; ILJUG 2358; HD034747	----- / Quintiae C[---] / stolat(ae) feminae Quinti q(u)ondam / Germani primipilar(is) filiae / quae redd(idit) annor(um) XXX / Flavius Valens b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Pannon(iae) / super(ioris) coniugi karissimae
9	CIL 03, 02296; HD062834	D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Considius / Viator qui / et Gargili/us vixit p(lus) m(inus) / ann(os) XL / me/moria(m) pos(uit) / Amantius / signu(!) Sim/plia
10	CIL 03, 09240; HD063395	Numeri(a)e Irenini / matri dulcissim(a)e / Coedius Euhippius / posuit
11	CIL 03, 02117; HD063051	Aur(elia) Vernilla plumbaria sibi / et Aur(elio) Lucio marito suo et Aur(eliae) Ster/coniae filiae posuit quod si qui supe/{p}er h(a)ec corpora posue/rit inferet r(ei) p(ublicae)   (denarios) C(centum milia)
12	CIL 03, 2240; S IV, 2: 384; HD062874	Aurelia Victorina qu(a)e / emit arca ex proprio suo / et vixit annus(!) XLV et dies / tres et post [o]bitum ipseius(!) / fecit Fortunatus alonnus(!) / ipseius(!) ex boto(!) ips{e}ius fecit / si quis voluerit corpus in/pon[e]re dabit in fiscum /  (denariorum?) fol(les)  (mille)
13	S IV, 2: 748; ILJUG 2127; HD036382	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δημήτριος Ερμόγενοῦ / ἀπὸ ἐπι(ο)ικήτου Ἀττάλου ἐτελε/ύτησεν πιστὸς ἐτ(ῶ)ν[---]
14	S IV, 2: 749; ILJUG 2245; HD036386	Βάσσα / παρθένος / Λυδία / Μανιχέα / [-----]
15	S IV, 2: 753	Θάρασι, Λεο/ νίδη, οὐδὲς / ἀθάνατος / ἐτων ιζ'
16	S IV, 2: 767; ILJUG 2132; HD036383	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σιλῆνο/ς Σόλωνο/ς Ζομεθέρο/ου Φενήσιος / ἐτῶν ιζ' ἐνθ/άδε κ<εῖ>τ<αι>
17	S IV, 2: 792; ILJUG 2040; HD036380	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Βάσσο/ς Σ[---] / ἔθηγεν τὰύτην τήν / σορὸν ἀντῶ [καί τῆ] / γυν<αι>κῆ Αὐρηλία [---] / Ἐάν δέ τις μετ'ἄ [τὸ τέλος] / ἡμῶν τὰύτην [τὴν σορὸν] / ἀνύξη δῶσ[ε] τῶ φίσκῳ / φόλλις πεντήκοντα.
18	S IV, 2: 793	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θεόδωρο/ς <M>αυρω Κεῖθ / αρου Φαινήσιος ἐν/ θάδε κειτε
19	S IV, 2: 765	Ἐνθάδε κ[ι] / [τ]ε Αὐρ(ήλιος) Καστώ / [ρ]ις Μοκιμο/ [υ] κ[ι] (μης) Σιγων ὄρο[ω] / [ν Δ]ολιχ<ε>ων ἔξ/ [η]σεν ἔτη εκ' / μηνες [.] / [Α]ὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρο[ς] / ἐποίησεν τὸ μιον (sic) / τουτο ΚΟΝΤ
20	S IV, 2: 766; ILJUG 2351; HD036437	[ἐνθ]άδε κειτ[αι] ὁ τ[ι]μῆς ἄξ/[ι]ος ἐν κ(υρ)ήφ Αντε[ων]ίνος Σαμβ/[---] Νεσιβη[ν]ός ζήσας ἐ/[τ]ῶν λξ' ὁ γλυ[χ]ύτατος ἀδ/[ελφ]ος Ἀκω[-]ας ἔθηγεν / [μ]νήμ[η]ς γάρον

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21	S IV, 1: 376; ILJUG 2757; HD035184	Heren(n)ius Capitolinus / Aemiliae Max{x}imill(a)e / coniugi incon/parabili(!)
22	CIL 03, 08712; S IV, 1: 378; ILJUG 2352; HD034741	Ant(onio) Tauro ex dua/<b>us c(entenariis) du cenario / post facto qui vi/xit an(n)is LV / Ael(ia) Saturnina c(larissima) f(emina) / marito benignis/simo
23	CIL 03, 14751; S IV, 1: 379; HD061427	[Au]relia Athenodora / [Cl]ementiano marito / [suo?] et sibi posuit
24	CIL 03, 8924; S IV, 1: 380; HD063459	Aur[e]l(ius) [S]ilvinus et Qua/draia Urbana Aur(eliae) / Felicissimae filiae infeli/assimae quae vixit an/n(os) XXI m(enses) V posuerunt
25	CIL 03, 8938 + p. 2136; S IV, 2: 385; HD063416	Man[li?]u[s s]i[bi] et Aur(eliae) Urban(a)e / coniugi infelicissim(a)e / defunct(a)e cum / qua concorditer vixit
26	CIL 03, 02207; S IV, 2: 386; HD061150	Aur(elius) Aprilianus se vivo donavet(!) / arcam Aur(dio) Amuro et Aur(eliae) Quint(a)e qu(a)e / est in (h)orto Metrodori vivi sibi p/osuerunt II[---]amum / quod si [quis p]ost morte[m eorum s]up[er] / [eos alia corp]ora velet(!) [in]p[ro]nere / [--- inferet] sol[idos ---]
27	CIL 03, 2217 + 8609; S IV, 2: 390; HD062200	Aur(elii) Glycon et Va/lentia virgini vivi / sibi posuerunt
28	S IV, 2: 392; ILJUG 2129; HD034624	Aur(elio) Maximino ITLV(?)[---]/[---] qui vix(it) ter denus(!) [annos] / inplevit huic infeli[ci] hunc / sar<e>ofacum(!) posu[it Aur(elius)?] / Eutic(h)ianus(!) nutritor]
29	CIL 03, 2115 + 8592; S IV, 2: 393; HD062175	Aur(elius) Peculiaris magister / conquiliarius et Aur(elia) Urbica / vivi sibi posuerunt si quis / autem [pos]t obitum nostrum ali/ut(!) corpus [po]nere voluerit infe/rat eccl[esi]ae argenti pondo quin/quaginta
30	CIL 03, 2226; S IV, 2: 396; HD062884	[Au]relius Vi]ndemius qui vixit / [annus!] sexsaginta(!) arca(m) / [sibi et co]niugi su(a)e carissi/[m(a)e] Luc(a)e posuit si qui aut/[em de] heredibus meis se ipsum] / [vel alios --- suorum su(a)e ---] / [-----] / [---rum posuerit hered---
31	CIL 03, 2108; S IV, 2: 397; HD063059	Aur(elius) Ursadius Salonitanus / ex collegio Veneris et / Aurelia Vitalia vivi sibi po/suerunt hanc arca tra/dita ab Aurelia Lupa // Atilio Primo
32	S IV, 2: 399; HD034861	Domitio Vincen[tio] / qui vixit annis qui[n] / que diebus n(umero) XX[-](?) / [Do]mitius Eufrasu[s] / [fi]lilio karissimo in pa/ce fecit
33	CIL 03, 9663 + 9094 + 9572 + 12842; S IV, 2: 401; ILJUG 2380; HD034766	Fla(vius) Dalm(?)[atius? et] Quiriace / uxor arca[m nobis viv]is posue/mus SV[---] corp]ora nos/tra s[i] quis volue]rit pon/ere in[feret? ---? eccl]esi(a)e / pond[o ---? argen]ti X DE/CE [---]
34	CIL 03, 8741; S IV, 2: 403; HD062535	Fl(avio) Iuliano ex protectore et ex pr/aepositis qui vixit annis LI et Aur(eliae) / Sapr[idi]ae uxori obsequenti[m(a)e] quae vixit annis XXXV
35	CIL 03, 8742; S IV, 2: 404; HD062536	Fl(avio) Magniano protectori con/pari carissimo Severa de proprio / hunc sarcofagum comparabit / eundem solidis XV tantum et se in / eodem una cum filia sua condi / permisit si quis vero tem(p)taverit / in eodem sar<e>ofago ponere / aliut(!) corpus inferet fisci viri/bus auri pondo duo
36	S IV, 2: 407; ILJUG 2724; HD027945	Fl(avius) Valerianus d(e) n(umero) sagittario/rum centinarius(!) in hoc iseplu/crum(!) volueret(!) super hoc co/rpus aliquis volvere alium / ponere davit(!) in hec[cl]esia(!) aur/i p(ondo) III
37	ILJUG 2355; S IV, 2: 408; HD034744	Iuliae Aureliae Hilarae / quae vixit annis XXVIII / m(ensibus) VII d(iebus) II Aure(ius) Heatus / coniugi castissimae / et incomparabili posu/it et sibi
38	CIL 03, 8752 + p. 2261; S IV, 2: 411; HD059984	Octaviae Carae domin(ae) / et tecusae rarissimae summ(ae) / sanctim(oniae) et benignitatis femin(ae) / coniugi Saloni Sabiniani vet(erani) / ex cornic(ulario) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) I adi(utricis) signo / Seammati e<q>(uitis) R(omani) cum quo conco[r] / diter vixit ann(os) XXX ob merita / Ulpius Asdepius con[frater? in?]   (Christo?) p(osuit)

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39	CIL 03, 13151; S IV, 2: 412; ILJUG 2366; HD034753	Septimia Sabi[nia]na viva sibi po[suit a]r[cam et] / Gratio Eus[eb]io conpari dulcissi[mo] / si quis ve[ro p]ost pausationem [nostram] / [-----] / dep[osit---] / Gra[tiano]?
40	CIL 03, 9540; S IV, 2: 413; ILJUG 2367; HD034754	S(e)p(timius) Maxi//mia[nus] / v(ir) p(erfectissimus) prin(cipalis) col(oniae) [S]al(o)nitano(rum) / vivo sibi et co[n]iugi su(a)e dulcis/sim(a)e posuit qui / vici(s) annis LXV / depo(s)itus die III Nonas Feb(ruarias)
41	CIL 03, 9621; ILJUG 2370; S IV, 2: 415; HD034757	Valeria Hermogenia h(onesta) f(emina) die V Kal(endarum) / Iuniarum quinquagesimo octavo / anno finita est viva se arcam / de suo poni iussit
42	CIL 03, 9597 + p. 2140; S IV, 2: 416; ILJUG 2369; HD034756	-----] Viventiae / [coniugi suae dil]ectissimae / et sibi Val[er]ius Felix / depositus VII Idus Nov(embres) qui vixit an/nos LXV quod si quis eam arc(am) post / obit(um) / eius aperire voluer(it) inf(erre) d(e)b(ebit) ec/desiae de(?)nario(rum) fol(les) mille in qua sunt / [filiae Grae?]dina et Proculina
43	S IV, 2: 417; HD018330	Varius Sabin(u)/s Salon(itanus) ex colle(gio) / fabro(rum) vivo sibi p/osuit
44	CIL 03, 14873; S IV, 2: 418; ILJUG 2760; HD035187	Ulpi(a)e Gaudenti(a)e in/comparabili(!) filiae / m(ensium) II d(ierum) VIII Ulpius Part(h)e/nopeus et Iulia Sabina / parentis(!) posue/ru<nt>
45	CIL 03, 8727; S IV, 2: 419; ILJUG 2353; HD034742	[Aure]lius Alexsander(!) b(eneficiarius) n(umero) / [f(rumentario(rum) legio]nis XI Claudi(a)e v(i)bus(!) / [hand] sibi suo / [nomine] ius(s)it testamento arcam / (p)oni
46	CIL 03, 2616; S IV, 2: 429; HD062483	Condidit hic natum infelix B/ocontia(!) mater functa EEPQVON / nimis SVOSSOCIVM magno <d>olore no/mine et ips{u}o <hi> situs est Bocontius(!) i(n)fans?) / qui tulit bis binos <m.e>(n)s<e>s{Q} / qua<t>tu<or>que {I} <di>es qu<e> / effectit HVLASTISBATI suae do/m(u) <n>e ulla <c>orpo<ra><ia>ent
47	CIL 03, 2663; S IV, 2: 431; HD062436	Innocenti puero / Constantio qui / in ann(is) VIII caruit / minas saeculi / Barbas et Haera/dia(!) parentes
48	CIL 03, 9578; S IV, 2: 437; ILJUG 2357; HD034746	Euassu in pace / Valeria con/iugi suo fecit / memoria / an(n)is vix(it) LX
49	S IV, 2: 441; ILJUG 2249; HD034542	[---] Felix vibus(!) / [sibi posui]t et Memmi/[an]ae conpari suae
50	CIL 03, 9586; S IV, 2: 442; ILJUG 2364; HD034751	Flaviae infanti dulcissimae quae sa/na mente salutifero die Paschae glo/riosis fontis gratiam con[sec]uta est / super vixitque post baptismum sanctum / mensibus quinque vix(it) ann(os) III m(enses) X d(ies) VII / Flavianus et Archelais parent<e>s filiae / piissimae / depositio XV Kalendas Septembres
51	CIL 03, 9548 + pp. 2139, 2261; S IV, 2: 443; ILJUG 2431; HD034814	Depositio / Gaiani / die [-----]
52	CIL 03, 2628 + 09259; S IV, 2: 457; HD062937	O quam dura tibi [fu]it fortuna Paternae / quae te tam teneris annis sub Tartara misit / [te]r denos vix passa est annos te cernere lucem / [qu]od si longa magis duxissent fila sorores aequius is/[te]l]apis complecteret ossa paterna si quis vero hunc sar/[co]fag]um aperire voluerit inferre debet fisci viribus auri libram un[am]
53	CIL 03, 9610; S IV, 2: 460; ILJUG 24121; HD034796	Deposita Petronia die III Kal(endas) / Aug(ustas) // Depositus Nereus / die II Nonas A(u)g(ustas) // Deposita Sofronia / die XII Kal(endas) Iul(ias) // Pro nefas iste tuum lo//quitur Petronia nomen / iam titulus nono vixdum / lacrimabilis anno nata / diu dulcis et longi pignus / amoris vita brevis sed / nuncisticiam longa pa/rentum vulnera Nere/us genitor genetrix(ue) / funesti Sofronia brevi/bus tumuli flevete querel//lis tu tamen hinc spera / caelum pia mente fidelis

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54	CIL 03, 14897; S IV, 2: 462; ILJUG 2360; HD032463	Depositus Primus epi/scoopus XII Kal(endas) Febr(uarias) ne/pos Domniones(!) martores(!)
55	CIL 03, 2490; S IV, 2: 473; HD062671	Dulcis Prosenii coniux Vincentia quondam / sarcofago hoc tegitur caro condente marito / hancpost bis quinos sequitur Piruntia mater / annos et aeterno iungit pia membra cubili
56	CIL 03, 9535; S IV, 2: 477; HD059985	[---]s ex cornicular[io ---] / [---]anea h(onesta) f(emina) filia Apria[ni? ---] / [---] -- sarcofagum vivi sibi po[suerunt si quis corpus aliud] / [post ob]itum eorum super [haecponere voluerit inferet] / [ecd(esiae)] cat(h)ol(icae) Salonita[nae ---]
57	S IV, 2: 479; HD027616	Aeliu[s Va]lentinus / [sibi? vivus? pos]uit
58	CIL 03, 8823; S IV, 2: 484; HD062982	D(is) M(anibus) // Aur(elius) Maximi(a?)nus SAR[---] / [--- col]legio dendro[for(um)] / [---]do ux[or ---] / [---]O[-----]
59	CIL 03, 2043 + pp. 1030 and 1509; S IV, 2: 645; HD063417	Maurentius fabriensis / una cum Concordia / uxore sua sarcofacum(!) / vivi sibi ordinaverunt
60	CIL 03, 9269; S IV, 2: 666; HD063427	Phileto / Salvia Solle/mnis marito / bene meren/ti
61	CIL 03, 2509; S IV, 2: 667; ILJUG 2365; HD034752	Rusticia Clod[iana] / filio carissim[o Rus]/ticiano qui vix[it] / an(nos) XXI ego miser[a] / mater emi ex propri[o] e meo peto bos(!) fra/tres ne qui(!) alium [ponatis super]
62	CIL 03, 13137; S IV, 1: 81; ILJUG 2401; HD034785	Aur(eliu) M[a]rcianus IIAHIN / avis Afer et Quintina / uxor ei[us] vivi sibi / hancp[ri]sianam / virginem a se con/paratam con/stituerunt
63	CIL 03, 9567; S IV, 1: 82; ILJUG 2375; HD034762	Aur(elius) Secundus / qui cunparabid(!) ab Au(relio) / Alexsio(!) piscina(m) at(!) dua / corpura(!) deponenda me/um et co(n)iuge(m) meam Re/nata(m) et nefas quadra<b>it / nobis parentib(us) ut p<on>eremu(s) / filiam nostram in (h)a(n)c pisci/na(m) sane coiurabit(!) ut su/pra birginiam(!) sua(m) nul[l]i / [lum aliud corpus inferatur? -----?]
64	S IV, 1: 89; ILJUG 2590; HD035029	[Hi]d iace<t> Dulcitus peleger(!) avis / [---]enus qui vixit annus(!) XXV / [mens(es)] VI d<ep>ositus in pae n<e>o/[fitus sub d(ie)] VI Idus Augustas co(n)s(ulatu) / [d(omino) n(ostro) Ara]dio <e>tBauton<e> v(iro) clarissim(o)
65	S IV, 1: 90; ILJUG 2643; HD035077	Valentinu[s hi]c / quiescit q(ui) v[i]xit an/[nos] LI m[e]nsesq(ue?) / [deposi]tio vero eiu/[s ---] Idus Au[g]ust(as) / [d(omino) n(ostro) A]rcadi[o] Au[g]usto] / [et? Bauto]ne v(iro) clarissim(o) cons(ulibus)
66	S IV, 1: 102; ILJUG 704; HD034113	D(is) M(anibus) / Constantiae / quae vixit cu(m) / marito annis XX / quiescet(!) in pace die / IIII Nonas Febr(u)arias
67	CIL 03, 6393; S IV, 1: 106; HD063455	Iul(ius) Martyrius et Aur(elia) Procula / parentes Ge[l]li(a)e filiae dulcissimae quae vixit annos / XV m(enses) VIII d(ies) V bene merenti / posuerunt et sibi
68	CIL 03, 9605; S IV, 1: 111; ILJUG 2397; HD034782	Bon(a)e memoriae Monimo / Acame oxcor(!) / posuit et sibi
69	CIL 03, 13917; S IV, 1: 134; HD063370	D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aur(elius) Castinus / Aeli(ae) Iobin(a)e(!) uxori / infelicissim(a)e qu(a)e / vixxit(!) an(nos) XXVI si qu/is autem voluerit / super h(a)ectrea(!) cor/pora ponere {volu}/ {erit} inf(e)rr(et) dec(eto) f(olles)   (mille) / curiae nostr(a)e
70	CIL 03, 12949; S IV, 1: 135; HD063460	Aur(eliae) Eupateriae / qui(!) vixit an(nos) XXIII / Aur(elia) Vera fili(a)e / posuit Aur(dio) Iovi/no innoce(n)tis(s)imo / posuit
71	S IV, 1: 136; ILJUG 126; HD018019	Aur(elio) Valerino excepto/i Imp(eratorum) in officio memo/ri(a)e qui aput(!) civitatem / Nicomediensium fat/i munus complevit / vixsit(!) annis XXXII et [[VI]] / me(n)s(ibus) Aur(elius) Leontius vir / docen(arius)(!) et dec(urio) col(oniae) Salon(itanorum) / ex curatoribus eiusd(em) civitatis filio dulc/issimo adque(!) obsequ/entissimo pater infeli/x qui quod primo mihi / hoc facere debuerat e/go feci

N.	ID	Transcription
72	CIL 03, 2406; S IV, 1: 138; HD054464	Iuli(a)e Valeri(a)e co<n>iugi Que/lius Euvelpistus(!) qu(a)e v/ixit mecum concordi/ter annis XVIII
73	CIL 03, 6427; S IV, 1: 139; ILJUG 259; HD020035	Titulum positum / [e]st Suetonio Io(v)ino do<m>o Dur(ra)c(hio?) / ann(orum) LX ovi(t!) m(ense) Ia(nuario) III
74	S IV, 1: 141; ILJUG 2467; HD034889	Aur(elius) Fortuni/us pet(i)tu(s) a con/iuge sua Aur(elia) / Vernantilla / sorori su(a)e Urs(a)e / qu(a)e vixit ex cari/tate eorum sene(!) ullo / devitum(!) Aur(elius) Fortuni/us concessit locu(m) / si quis autem filio me/o Ver<n>a(n)tiano post o/vitum(!) eorum Ur(a) Ver/nantilla Fortunium quin/tum ponere voluerit da/vit(!) ec(c)lesi(a)e argen(ti) po(ndo) V
75	CIL 03, 2654 + 8652; S IV, 1: 152; HD054211	Fl(avius) Iulius z[aconus! et] / Aurel(ia) Ia[nuaria] con/iux eius h[od sarcofa]gum(!) sibi [vibi] posuerunt] / si quis pos[tr] nostram pau]sationem [hod sarcofa]gum(!) ap[er]ire voluerit in]/ferit aec(c)l[esi]ae! Salon(itanae) ar]genti libr[as quinquaginta] // [Dep(ositio)] / [Iuli] / [zaco]/[nis!] / [die] / [IIII] / [Nonas] / [Novem]/[bres] / [Datia]/[no et] / [Cerea]/[le] / [co(n)ss(ulibus)]
76	CIL 03, 9506; S IV, 1: 159; ILJUG 2388; HD034773	Constanti coniux parvorum / mater Honoria dulcibus / eximie carissima semper et una / conple(n)s ter denos quae vitam / vixit annos martinibus / adscita duet cui parvula con/tra raptam prius praestat tumu/li consortia dulcis / deposita VII Kal(endas) Apriles // Depositus Constant(ius) v(ir) c(larissimus) ex proconsul/e Africae die pridie No(n)as Iul(ias) post cons(ulatum) d(omini) n(ostri) Gra/tiani Aug(usti) III et E/quiti v(ir) c(larissimi)
77	CIL 03, 9507 + p. 2139; S IV, 1: 161; ILJUG 2390; HD034774	Fl(avius) Terentius Fl(aviae) Ta<l>asiae ob meritis et fide<l>itatem / totiusque sanctitatem arcam posui coniugi / carissimae et sibi quam a parentibus ipsius suscepi / annos XVIII quaeque inlibatae mecum vixit annos XXXII / tradita sepulturae die Nonarum Septembres d(ominis) n(ostri) / Valente VI et Va<l>entiniano iterum Aug(ustis) cons(ulibus) / si quis vero sup<e>r duo cor<p>ora nos<t>ra aliut(!) / corpus voluerit ordinare dabit fisci viribus(!) argenti pondo quindecim
78	CIL 03, 9509 + p. 2139; S IV, 1: 162; ILJUG 2391; HD034776	-----] / [--- Kal]l(endas) A[pr]ile[s] p[os]t] / [cons(ulatum) Au?]xoni [e]t Olybri vv(irorum) c(larissimorum) // [deposit]us Vetrano die prid(ie) Idus Aug(ustas) // [d(omino) n(ostro) Ar]cadio Aug(usto) et Fl(avio) Bautone v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulibus)
79	CIL 03, 9508; S IV, 1: 163; ILJUG 2393; HD034778	Si q(u)is super hunc corpus alium / corpus ponere volueret(!) in/feret ec(c)lesiae argenti p(ondo) X / Fl(avius) Theodotus curator rei p(ublicae) / Peregrinum filium in lege / sancta christiana collo/cabi(!) eum depos(it)io(ne) / Domnionis die III Kal(endas) De/(c)enbris(!) con(sule) Antonio
80	CIL 03, 9523 + 12861 + 13122; S IV, 1: 170; ILJUG 2395; HD034780	Depositi(o) Augustin(ae) / c(larissimae) f(eminae) die IIIII Non(as) Iulias co(n)s(ulibus) / Olyb[r]io et Probino
81	CIL 03, 9028; S IV, 1: 220; ILJUG 2356; HD034745	Aga[---] // D[---] // Desidien(a)e Profutu(r)a)e co(n)iugi incom/parabili Suellius / Septiminus maritus / bene merenti posuit / et Suellio Septimino fil(io) dulcissimo posuit
82	CIL 03, 9585; S IV, 1: 221; ILJUG 2409; HD034793	Fl(avius) Virgilianus qui bixit(!) annus(!) / XXX et Aur(elia) Ursilla oxor(!) eius qui / se vivi sibi urdnaverunt(!) (h)unc sar<c>ofa/gum si quis autem voluerit super h(a)ec d/uo corpora punere(!) infere<t> / [san]c(tae) ec(c)lesiae(!) argenti libras quinque{m}

N.	ID	Transcription
83	CIL 03, 9587; S IV, 1: 223; ILJUG 2410; HD034794	Flavi[ae?] C[res]centiae frater et soror / Val(erius) Crescentius qui et Valentianus / vixit annos IIII me(n)ses XI dies XI / dep(ositus) X Kal(endas) Iulias et Anastasia qui(!) et / Verula vixit me(n)ses XI dies VIII dep(osita) I Kal(endas) Au/gustas
84	CIL 03, 14292; S IV, 1: 224; HD061693	D(is) // M(anibus) // Ulpia Celenna dulces(!) habe(!) / Gorgonio tuo castissima / senper(!) cuius simplicitas et / obsequentia laudatur et amatur ubique et cuius <c>onsili(i)s / nulla decepta amo(re) aeternam/que domu(m) ut fecit superstes / maritus sic(m)aeret virginia voti/ssima mihi uno marito et vos be/ <n>e vivendo h(a)ec saltem sperare / de<b>etis Ulpius Gorgonius / piissimus Celerin(a)e conpari / pientissim(a)e cum qua concor/diter vixit(!) ann(os) XXIII m(enses) V dies / XXV vi<v>i sibi posuerunt posteris//q(ue) suis
85	CIL 03, 6400; S IV, 1: 227; HD063456	Dep(osi)t(io) Eutydia/ni v(ini) honestissimi d(ie) III Idus / Iun(ias) et Artemi/ae coniug(is) suae / honestissimae fem(inae) d(ie) prid(ie) / Kal(endas) Mart(ias)
86	CIL 03, 9569 + 12870; S IV, 1: 231; HD059876	Aur(elius) Tegri[s] hu[nd] sarco/fagum do[n]avi[t] Aur(elio) Ma/rati et u[cf]xo[n]ri(!) e[i]us File<t>ae / si quis su[per] h(a)ec d[uo] aliut(!) cor/pus pon[ere] voluerit dabit eq/desi[ac --]
87	CIL 03, 8921; S IV, 1: 232; HD013953	D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Satio / qui vixit a/nn(os) VIII m(enses) IIII / et Aur(eliae) Max/imae q/uae vi/xit ann(os) VI m(enses) III fili(i)s piissimis Au[r(eliu)] Flav(us) et Cer(e?)s par(entes) et is(!) Vi<v> Ursa con(!) alu // m(n)is s(u)is P(---) Hipetiu(!) et
88	CIL 03, 2326; S IV, 1: 263; HD062813	Fl(avius) Pannonius Maxentiam coniugem dulc(issimam) sepulvit(!)
89	CIL 03, 6403; S IV, 1: 264; HD063458	PY / dep(ositio) Maximini v(ini) p(erfectissimi) s/ub d(ie) Nonas Augustas
90	CIL 03, 9505 + p. 2139; S IV, 2: 768; ILJUG 2385; HD036449	ὑπα<ε>τ Μοδ[ε]στ[ο]υ καὶ Ἀρ[ι]νθέου λαμπ[ρ]ο/τάτων π[ρ]ὸ δέ[ξ]ια κ]αλ[αν]θῶν Ὀκτο[βρ]ῶν Ἀϋρηλία Μαθαζιζ κώμης Μαγ[α]χ[---]πιάτων ὄρων Ἀπα/μείων κοίτης Συρί[α]ς ἐνταῦθα κ<ε>τ<αι>
91	CIL 03, 13123; S IV, 2: 769	Ἀϋρ(ήλιος) Παλλάδιος υἱὸς Βελιαβου Δαμα[σκ]ο(ἡνὸς της) / Φοινίκης ἐνθα κίτε ζήσας ἔτη με' πιστ[ε]ῦ/ων ἐν Χριστῶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπαύσατο [δέ] / πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων καλανθων Μαοτ[ί]η / ὡν ὑπατία Στιλιγιωνος λαμπροτ[ε]τα[ου]
92	S IV, 2: 794; ILJUG 2496; HD 036669	Ὁ ὑπάτριος Ἰανο[υ]άριος π[ρ]ο[ε]β[υ]τερος τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀγία[ς] / δέ καὶ καθολικῆς [ἐκ]κλησίας / ζήσας εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦτον ἔτη νε, ἐνθάδε κ<ε>τ<αι> τ[ε]τα[ρ]ακ[ο]ντα τῆς / μητροῦς ἀποσ[τ]ρα[το]ν[ο]σ[τα]ς κώ(μης) / κ[α]τ[ε]π[ρο]σανέων τῆς Ἀπαμ/έων
93	S IV, 2: 795	Ἐνθα κατ[ε]πι[ε]τα[ρ]ακ[ο]ντα ἰανουάριος πρ<α>γματευ/ τῆς ἀπὸ <πό>λεως Κλαυδιόπλεως της Β/ιθυνίας κ<ε> Ἐξαπόλεως
94	CIL 03, 9579; S IV, 2: 796; ILJUG 2363	Ἐὐσεβίης καθαρῆς ὁρατῆς σορὸν / ἣν ἔτι κοῦρην / ἐντελέως πιστῆν δευτερον / εἶχεν ἔτος. / ἐν τριτάτῳ δὲ ἔλειπε βίον / κακότητος ἄγευστος / ψυχῆς ταῖς ἀί<αι>ς στ[ε]νήθρονος ἑσ(σ)ομένη // d(e)p(ositio) Eufevi(a)e VIII Kal(endas) Septembres

**APPENDIX 3.b: SELECTED LATE ANTIQUE EPITAPHS FROM SALONA (c.a. 401-600 C.E.) – TRANSCRIPTIONS**

N.	ID	Transcription
1	S IV, 2: 469; ILJUG 2253; HD034661	Ara Valentin(a)e
2	CIL 03, 9538 + p. 2139; S IV, 2: 478; HD063040	[---] de numero Ata[ctorum](!) / [---]arius vixit ann[os ---] / [--- deposi?]tus est diae(!) S[---]
3	CIL 03, 9549 + p. 2328; ILJUG 2448, S IV, 1: 72; HD034863	Deposit(io) s(an)c(t)i (H)esychi epis(c)opi die XIII Ka[l(endas) ---]
4	CIL 03, 13134 + 14663; S IV, 1: 73; ILJUG 2432; HD034815	Deposi[ti]o s(an)c(t)i Gaia[ni ep(i)s(c)opi] die --- / Kal(endas) Sep(tembres)
5	CIL 03, 14895; ILJUG 2699; S IV, 1: 75; HD035129	[Dep(ositio)? sa]nc(tae) m(emor)iae Iustini ep(is)opi die II Non(as) Sept(embres)
6	CIL 03, 9550 + 13153 + pp. 2261, 2328; HD034822	[Dep]ositio s(an)c(t)i Symferi epis(c)opi die --- K]al(endas) Ianu(a)rias
7	CIL 03, 14895; S IV, 1: 77; ILJUG 2700; HD007896	[Dep(ositio)? s]anc(tae) m[emor)iae --- e]pis(c)opi die II Kal(endas) Aug(ustas)
8	CIL 03, 13124; S IV, 1: 91; HD060306	Hic requiescit in pace Duion <a?> ancilla Ba/lentes(!) e<t> sponsa Dextri deposita est III / Idus Sept(em)b(res) {consulatu} d(ominis) n(ostri) Theodosio / Aug(usto) XIII et Valentiniano A(u)g(usto) bes(!) cc(on)ss(ulibus) adiu/ro per Deum et per leges C(h)resteanor(um)(!) / ut quicumque extraneus voluerit al/terum corpus ponere {voluerit} det / ec(c)lesi(a)e(!) cat(h)olic(a)e Sal(onitanae) aur(i)   (libras?) III
9	CIL 03, 13170 + 13125 + 13127 + 14239; S IV, 1: 92; ILJUG 2693; HD035124	[Deposit(io) Ulp(i)?] Aniani v(iri) s(pectabilis) / [fili Lamprid]i d(ar)issimi m(emor)iae viri / [die XII Idus] Octobres / [cons(ulatu) Felici]s et Tauri vv(ironum) c(larissimorum)
10	CIL 03, 14704; S IV, 1: 97; HD061538	[F]l(avi) Victo[r]i / [n]o du c[ena]rio / [e]x vexill[atio] / n(e) equi[t(um) Va]l[en]tin[ian]en[sium]
11	CIL 03, 9532 + p. 2328; S IV, 1: 101; ILJUG 2470; HD034892	Hic in pace quiescet(!) / Benigna honesta femi/na quae fuit uxor / Marciani memorialis / filia vero Dextrae h(onestae) f(eminae) / pro cuius spiritum / maritus super arcam / tesellam figi fecit
12	CIL 03, 9533; ILJUG 2469; S IV, 1: 225; HD034891	In hunc sarcofacum(!) posita est Beni(g)na h(onest) <f> (emina)matrona [F]l(avi) Marciani / memor(ia)l(is) qui(!) vi{x?}xit an(nos) XXV si q/uis extraneus ponere voluerit det(!) fisco aui lib(ras) III
13	CIL 03, 9576; S IV, 1: 103; ILJUG 2563; HD035249	[D]eposetio(!) infantis / [Do]mnicae VIII Kale(n)d(as) / Octobres quae a Sirmi/o Salona[s] adducta est
14	CIL 03, 14915; S IV, 1: 112; HD057556	Deposio(!) Vitalioni(!) / innocentis qui vi/xit anno uno et men/sis(!) quattuor et dies V(?)[-] / [-----?]
15	CIL 03, 9511; S IV, 1: 177; ILJUG 2441; HD024229	[H]ic quiescit in pace / [F]l(avius) Pacatianus domes/ticus qui vixit in s(a)ec(ulo) / [a(nnos) X?]XXV diposit(us)(!) V Idus / [O]ct(obres) dd(ominis) nn(ostri) Honorio VII / [et] Theodosio iter(um)
16	S IV, 1: 179; ILJUG 2660; HD035094	[---]ani ex trib(unis) sub d(ie) [---] / [--- cons(ulatu)? d(omini) n(ostri) Ar]dadi Aug(usti) VI et Pro[bi v(iri) c(larissimi)]
17	CIL 03, 2656; S IV, 1: 181; HD062441	Deposio(!) Leonis ex domestico / d(ie) VIII Kal(endas) Decem(bres) d(omino) n(ostro) Theodosio / perpetuo <VI>(?) Aug(usto) cons(ule)
18	CIL 03, 9513; S IV, 1: 183; ILJUG 2444; HD034240	Depositio Fl(avi) Thalassi ex cor/niculario die X Kal(endas) Ianuar(ias) / post cons(ulatum) Luc(ian) v(iri) c(larissimi)

N.	ID	Transcription
19	CIL 03, 9515; S IV, 1: 193; HD011288	Clarissima fem [i]na civis Dunnonia vixit / annos triginta [ha?]ec administrante vir(o?) duo /bus filiis derelict[is] f]nem naturae complevit(!) sub di/[e] XVIII Kal(endas) Ianuari[as] dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Theodosio undecies / et Valen[tinian]o p(er)p(etuis) Augg(ustis)
20	S IV, 1: 194; ILJUG 2789; HD025117	D(ominis) n(ostris) Thaeodosio(!) co(n)s(ule) XI et Valentiniano / viro nobelissimo(!) Caes(are) ego T<h>aeodo/sius(!) emi a Fl(avia) Vita[li]a pr(es)b(yte[n]i) sanc(ta) matro/na auri sol(idis) III sub d(ie)
21	CIL 03, 9516; ILJUG 2449; S IV, 1: 195; HD034864	Depositio Victuri advocati die V / Nonaru(m) Octobr(ium) Basso et Antiocho / cons(sulibus) qui vixit ann(os) XXX et mens(es) II
22	CIL 03, 9517 + 12858; S IV, 1: 196; HD054213	Hicrequiesci<t i>n pace [Fl(avius) ---]erus / v(ir) c(larissimus) prim(icerus) scin(ii) tabulari(or(um) Me?)diol(ani?) / vixi[t plu]s m(inus) [a(nnos)] XLV depos(itus) [su]b d(ie) VII / [--- p(ost)? c(onsulatum)? B]jassi et An[t]iochi
23	S IV, 1: 198; ILJUG 2033; HD027933	Depositio Alexandri v(iri) s(pectabilis) / die Nonas(!) Novembres(!) / Aspari(!) [et] Ariovindo(!) cons(sulibus)
24	CIL 03, 2657 + p. 1032; S IV, 1: 199; HD062440	Hicrequiescet(!) in pacē Alvia(!) quae vixit / annos novem et sep(ulta)(?) e<s?>t cum Luciano h(onestae) m(emoriae) / avo suo et deposi[t]a est sub d(ie) X Ka[l](endas) / Decemb(res) dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Th[eo]dosio XV et [Pla]cido Valentinia[no] IIII p(er)p(etuis) Augg(ustis) cons(sulibus)
25	S IV, 1: 200; ILJUG 2250; HD021995	[Depo]sitio Flora[e ---] / [---]s sub die prid[ie ---] / [---]i post consol[atum]! Aspa] / [re et] Arivendo vv(iris) c(larissimis) cons(sulibus)
26	CIL 03, 9518; S IV, 1: 201; ILJUG 2451; HD034865	[H]ic requiesit in pace P(?)[--- sub] / adiuva o<ff>iciū inl(ustris) p(raefecturae) qui vixit an(nos) [--- reces] / sit Ravenn(a) die XIII Kal(endas) S[ept(embres) deposi] / tus die Id(us) Octob(res) Aetio [et Sigisvul] / to vv(iris) c(larissimis) cons(sulibus) ind(ictione) [VI]
27	CIL 03, 2658 + p. 2135; ILJUG 2452; S IV, 1: 202; HD034866	[D(omino) n(ostro) Valentiniano] Aug(usto) V et Anat[olio v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(sulibus)] / [depositio? Pa]ulinae die V [Kal(endas) ---] / [---] d(omino) n(ostro) Theod[osio Aug(usto) XVI] / [et] Fausto v(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsulibus)
28	CIL 03, 9519 + 12859; S IV, 1: 204; HD063071	Dep(ositio) Romani v(iri) d(evoti) [---] / Kal(endas) Septemb(res) [d(omino) n(ostro) Valentin] / iano p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto) V et A[natolio v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(sulibus)]
29	S IV, 2: 771; ILJUG 2454; HD036478	[ἐνθ[ά]δε κατ[ά]κ[ε]ι>τ<αι> Κυρ[ῖ]νος υἱὸς Θ[ε]οδ[ω]σίου / [---] κ[ο]ν[ι]τα ἐκ[κ]λη[σί]α ἐν ὑπατε[ί]α / [Θεοδοσίου] υ[π]ὸ ζ[η] καὶ Α[νατολίου] [τοῦ] / [λαμπροτάτου] μ[η]νὶ Σεπτεμβ[ρ]ίῳ ζ[η] [Ἰνδ(ικτικῶνος) ζ]
30	CIL 03, 9520 + 9521 + 12860; S IV, 1: 206; ILJUG 2455; HD034868	D(e)p(ositio) Luciani su(b)diaconi / VIII <K>(alendas) Septemb(res) Di/oscoro v(iro) c(larissimo) d(e)p(ositio) / Thalasi Id(ibus) Aug(ustis) / Maximo II et / Paterio // Depositio Criscenti / VII Id(us) Septemb(res) indictio / ne XI qui vixit annos / XVIII Dioscoro v(iro) c(larissimo)
31	CIL 03, 2659; S IV, 1: 208; HD062438	Depos(itio) b(onae) m(emoriae) Audenti adul(es)c(entis) / to<g>(ati) fori Dalm(atia) die IIII Kal(endas) Decemb(res) / qu<i> vix(it) an(nos) XXIII m(enses) IIII d(ies) XXV / Maximo II et Patherio(!) v(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus) / ind(ictione) XII
32	S IV, 1: 210; ILJUG 2254; HD028042	[Depositio ---]e Vincentiae / [sub die --- K]al(endas) Mart(ias) ind(ictione) XIII / [Fl(avio) Aetio III et Q(uinto) Aurdio Sym]mac(h)o vv(iris) c(larissimis)

N.	ID	Transcription
33	CIL 03, 9522; S IV, 2: 775	[E]νθα κίτε ὁ [τη]ς μακαρίας / μνήμης Μάλχος υ(ἰός) Ἀβρα / μῆου κώμ(ης) Αλσα ὄρο(ν) Ἀπα / μέων ζήσας ἔτη ἡξήσιο / ντα ἐτήθη δ[ε] μη(νὶ) Φεβρ(ουαρίω) κ' / ἰδ(ικτιωνος) γ' μετὰ τ[ῆ]ν ὕπα(ατεῖαν) Φλ(αβίου) / Ῥεξιμου (καὶ) Πα[τ]ρι(ίου) τον λαμπ(ροτάτων)
34	S IV, 1: 213; ILJUG 2770; HD026961	[Bonae] memoriae [---] / [togat]o fori Dalm[atiā] / [depositi?]o Kal(endarum) Mart(iarum) [post] / [co(n)s(ulatum) Basil]iscā He[rminerici vv(iorum) c(larissimorum)]
35	CIL 03, 6401 + 9006; S IV, 1: 222; HD063457	Ara Treponti Codi hered(is) // Deposito Gaudentiae / sub XIII Kal(endas) Maias
36	CIL 03, 9574; ILJUG 2362; S IV, 1: 246; HD034750	Deo gratia c(larissima) f(emina) deposita die XVIII [Kalendas ---]
37	S IV, 1: 251; ILJUG 2649; HD035083	Flavius / innocens / [e]t neofitus XP(Christ)i
38	S IV, 1: 278; ILJUG 2491, HD034911	Ara Quinacēt[is] / si quis voluerit / ape(r)ire det arg/enti pondo quinque
39	CIL 03, 9539; S IV, 1: 287; ILJUG 2498; HD034917	[Ar]ja Victorin[i bi?]/[ar?]i Maurorum i[un(iorum)] / [-----]
40	S IV, 2: 425	
41	S IV, 2: 426	
42	CIL 03, 14893; S IV, 2: 434; ILJUG 2698; HD035128	Dep(ositio) boni(!) m(emoriae) diaconi Criscentiani(!) / die VIII Kal(endas) Octub(res)(!) ind(ictione) V / dep(ositio) bon(ae) m(emoriae) Ursadae coniuge(!) / eius sub d(ie) VIII Kal(endas) Apriles ind(ictione) p<r>ima
43	CIL 03, 14774; HD061361	-----? / Dasantillae [q]/uae vixit ann(os) / p(lus) m(inus) XXX q(uae) <b>ene / laboravit pos(ui)
44	CIL 03, 9547; ILJUG 2565; S IV, 2: 438; HD035251	Deposito Eugrafi / choreepiscopi d(ie) X K(alendas) / Novembres
45	S IV, 2: 440	
46	CIL 03, 13129; ILJUG 2411; S IV, 2: 446; HD034795	[Depositi?] Honori presby(teri) / [---]ias consul(atu) / [---]II et / [-----] / [--- N]onas Martias
47	CIL 03, 6399; S IV, 2: 450; HD063418	Hic in pace iacet Leontius ex optione / officio magistri eq(uitum) et peditum quem / terra extera duxit qui vixit annus(!) XL / vitam A<l>te(na) Roma(na) qu(a)e servivit an/nus(!) XVI coniugi caro in qu(a)e ara si / quis cum suis <et> Altenam Romanam / dedit corpus de(t) {h}ec(lesiae) paenam(!) / auri pondo duo depositum in die / VII Idus Iunias
48	S IV, 2: 453; ILJUG 2040; HD034350	Deposito Maxenti(a)e caessem(a)e(!) c/oniugi die pridie Idus Septembres
49	CIL 03, 1987; S IV, 2: 652; HD054172	Fl(avius) Fidentius ex / comitibus Simm(i)e(n)sis / hic est depositus / vixit an(nos) XX
50	CIL 03, 14894; S IV, 2: 747; HD063711	ἐνθάδε / κίτε Εὐσεβία / θυγατ<ῆ>ρ Εὐσεβίου / κώμης Ἀψωνα ὄρων / Ἀντιοχείων τῆς Συρρίας μηνὶ Ὑπερβερε/τέο α' ἰδ(ικτιῶνος) δεκά/της ὄπερ κὲ τῆν / φισκίαν / ἡγόρασεν Εὐσεβίος
51	CIG IV, 9428; S IV, 2: 750;	Ἐνθάδε [κα] / τάκιτε ἡ πά / <σ>ης μνή / μης ἀξία / Βενεατα
52	S IV, 2: 757	Ἐνθα κίτε Φρόν[των] / Ἐπίτιος μηνὶ / Ἰουνίου α' ἰδ(ικτιωνος) ια'
53	CIL 03, 2664; S IV, 2: 661; HD062435	Dep(ositio) Mariae / sub d(ie) XII Kal(endas) / Octobris(!)

N.	ID	Transcription
54	CIL 03, 9620 + p. 2326; S IV, 2: 670; HD062965	Deposito Valeriani infantis / X Kalendas Augustas
55	CIL 03, 9527 + p. 2139; S IV, 1: 96; HD053167	Hiciact(!) Iohannes / peccatur(!) et in/dignus presbiter(!) // Expleto annorum ar/culo quinto hunc(!) / sibi sepulcrum Io/hannis(!) condere iussit / Marcellino suo procon/sule nato germano prae/sente simul cunctosque(!) // nepotes(!) ornavit tumolum(!) / mente fideli defunctus acces/sit obsis(!) una cum coniuge natis / Anastasii servans reverenda / limina s(an)c(t)i tertio post dedmum / Augusti numero mens(is) ind(ictionis) <I?>I brae(sentis)(!) / finivit saeculi diem
56	CIL 03, 2661 + p. 1032; S IV, 1: 226; HD062439	Ara Eufraatae / diac(oni) s(an)c(ta)e ecclesiae
57	S IV, 1: 237; ILJUG 2587; HD035026	Dep(ositio) s(an)c(t)ae memoniae presb(ysteri) [Anasta]si sub d(ie) XV Kal(endas) Iunias
58	S IV, 1: 238; ILJUG 702	
59	S IV, 2: 422	
60	CIL 03, 9524 + p. 2328; ILJUG 2486; S IV, 2: 454; HD034906	[Ara?] Olibrio anaglifari et / [--- Re]nat(a)e iugali [eius? ---] / [---]NPEA(?)[-----
61	CIL 03, 9563 + 12867; S IV, 2: 423; ILJUG 2528; HD035204	Deposit(i)o Aniver filius Tr[o?---] / Vonoso V diem Nonas Maias
62	CIL 03, 9666 + 13142 + p. 2326; ILJUG 2481; S IV, 2: 449; HD034901	Ego Iuvinus ust[i]arius [--- eq/disiae(!) Salonit[anae hand] / a[rcam -----
63	CIL 03, 9616; ILJUG 2557; S IV, 2: 467; HD035244	Depositio bonae memori/ae infan(tis) Thom(a)e X Kal(endas) Oct/obr(es) ind(ictione) VIII
64	S IV, 1: 217; ILJUG 2675; HD035107	Ara Andreae benem ori ca[n(ellarii)] / pa<1>ati V Idus Ma[rt]ias ind(ictione) X A[ga]/peto v(iro) c[larissimo]
65	ILJUG 2531; S IV, 2: 755; HD036674	ἐνθαδὲ κ[<εῖ>τ<αι> Σαμά]/οἱ εἶτις Σανο[--- ἀπὸ] / κώμης Πίτο [--- θυγάτηρ] / ἡρ Εὐφρα[σίου τελευτῆ] / τήσασα ἐν [εἰρη]νῇ θε[ῶ] / οὐ πρὸ δε[ξ]απ[έντε καλ] / <α>νδῶν [Σ]επτε[μβριῶν] / ζήσασα καλῶς [ἔτη ἕξο] / σὶ καὶ ἔπι τῷ ἄπ[ατ<εῖ>α]ς Α[π]ίλωνος τ[ῆ] / οὐ λαμπρ[οῦ] (στᾶτου) [ἡδ(ι)κίτωνος] β[ῆ]
66	S IV, 2: 751	Ενθα κατακαίτε Ευστα/θιος Ἀδρονπολίτης / κωμ(ης) Ι[.]υνδων υιος Θρο[α] / συμηδου ετων λ'
67	S IV, 2: 756; ILJUG 2554; HD036685	ἐνθαδὲ κατᾰκ<ει>τ<αι> / Φωτινῆ, ἡ τῆς μακαρ(ίας) μνήμης μην(ός) Ὀκτωβρ(ίου) κ ἡδ(ι)κίτωνος γ
68	S IV, 2: 758; ILJUG 2552; HD035240	ἐνθαδὲ κατᾰκ<ει>τ<αι> / Θεοδωράκις υἱὸς Εὐφρασίου / κώμητος ἐτελεῦτησεν μνη(ν) Ἀβγούστῳ κθ ἡδ(ι)κίτωνος ια // Hiciact Theodoraçis filius / Eufrasio comiti mortuus / est die XXVIII mens[i]s / Augusti i(n)dictione XI
69	CIL 03, 9623 + p. 2141; S IV, 1: 229; ILJUG 2558; HD035245	Depositio Ursi die XI Kal(endas) Novembris ind(ictione) XV // Ursi tum(u)lum cernis quiaumq(ue) viator / quem iuve<n>em rapuit sors ultima <p>edege q(uae)so / qui vixit quinquaginta in annis heu m(i)sera Al/exandria gemit decepta marito qui est putita dul/cem coniugem viginti et sex annos et <m>enor eventos / alios mone vita brebis(!) est cunctis fila parant et Parc(a)/e nec parceret ullis <n>uncilli dismisit duo(s) anxia natos / condicio talis omnem conplectitur urbem sed m(e)ritu/m et binefacta(!) adiutant laborq(ue) fidesq(ue) haecne libertum / dominis fecere probatum h(a)ecne defendunt senper(!) sociant/q(ue) beatis si par esse belis(!) similem mihi suscipe curam

N.	ID	Transcription
70	CIL 03, 9560; S IV, 1: 239; ILJUG 2555; HD035242	Draconti / depos(itio) bon(ae) m(emo)riae Andreae def(ensoris) / die XXIII m(ensis) N(o)v(emb)ris ind(ictio)ne XI
71	CIL 03, 14904; S IV, 1: 242; ILJUG 2497; HD034916	{[Ar]c(a) Bal(eriano) (!)} // [Ar]c(a) Baleriano (!) neg(otiatori) c(i)v(itate) Vim(inacio) / [na]t(o) et Eufemiae iugale (!) eiu[s]
72	CIL 03, 9556 + 12865 + p. 2328'26; ILJUG 2404; S IV, 1: 243; HD034788	[Depo]s(itio) Be[nign?]i v(in) d(ivotissimi) comitiaci die II Nonas Febru[arias]
73	CIL 03, 8851, 9412, 12838; ILJUG 2471; S IV, 1: 244; HD034893	[A]rca Castorino cer[---] / et coniugi eius Dulc[ita]e
74	S IV, 1: 250; ILJUG 2536; HD035214	[Ar]ca Epifa[ni] / [d]alegari (!) le[ge] / [e]t recede
75	S IV, 1: 252; ILJUG 2477; HD034897	[---?] ar[ca] Florentio (?) [---?] / [---?] de numero Delm[atarum ---?]
76	CIL 03, 9110 + 9554 + 9687 + 12842a; S IV, 1: 253; ILJUG 2478; HD034898	Ara Gemellini presbeter[il] -----
77	CIL 03, 14903; S IV, 1: 254; ILJUG 2479; HD034899	Ara I[o]hanni s/atoni et [---]iae iu <g>a/li eius // [---]a cum an[gelis?] ---]
78	CIL 03, 9601; S IV, 1: 261; ILJUG 2483; HD034903	Ara Matron(a)e q/uem (!) tradedet (!) Solina
79	CIL 03, 9603; S IV, 1: 266; HD062971	Ara Messon(i) cum con/iuge sua Sevenu da
80	S IV, 2: 777	Ἐνθα κιντ(αι) Γεώργιος κ(αὶ) Μαργαυ / ἰοὶ Πέτρου των Αξίνα ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) / Πασέων ἑσωτέρως ὄρον Ἀπα<μ<έ>ων ἐ[v] μ(ηνὶ) / Δεκεμβ(ρῶ) ἡδ(ικτιωνος) ἰγ' μετὰ τ(ῆν) ὑπατ(είαν) Φ(λαβίου) Παυλῆ / ου νέου του λαμπρ(οτάτου)
81	CIL 03, 14906; S IV, 1: 259; ILJUG 2539; HD035221	Ara Marcell/(a)e de domo Valeri / def(ensoris)
82	ILJUG 2541; S IV, 1: 267; HD035224	Ara Menat[---] / defensuri (!) [--- et] / Bonos[ae iugali eius]
83	CIL 03, 9542; S IV, 1: 270; ILJUG 2487; HD034907	[A]rca Pasc[a]/[si?]o vitriario
84	CIL 03, 14305; S IV, 1: 271; HD061613	Ara Pascasi calega/rio (!) quem (!) vindedeit (!) ei Fab {b}i(us) / arcadius (!) usteari(us) CCC
85	CIL 03, 9537; S IV, 1: 282; ILJUG 2546; HD035230	Ara Saturnin/o militi Salonitano
86	CIL 03, 9612; ILJUG 2545; S IV, 1: 281; HD035228	Ara Sabbatae
87	CIL 03, 9552; S IV, 1: 284; HD063019	Ara Stephano p(res)b(yte)r(o) et Martanae / iugali eius
88	CIL 03, 9614; S IV, 1: 285; ILJUG 2547; HD035233	Ara Suro sarturi (!) et Palumb(a)e
89	CIL 03, 9555; S IV, 1: 352; ILJUG 2531; HD035210	[Depositi]o b]ene (!) memoriae / [---?] v(in) d(evoti) VIII Kal(endas) Mar(tias) / [---]C ara subd(ia)cono / [-----]

N.	ID	Transcription
90	CIL 03, 2354 + p. 1031 + 8625 + 14239; S IV, 2: 445; HD062173	Ara Honorato / calegario(!)
91	CIL 03, 2603 + 6405 + 8650 + p. 2325; S IV, 2: 646; HD062327	Ara Victorini et Sex/tillae [f]ratribus gem[a]n(is)
92	CIL 03, 143689; ILJUG 2771; HD026958	[Deposito? Mar]cellini v(ini) d(a)r(issimi) [---] / [--- die] XVI Kal(endas) Nov(embres) in[d(ictione) ---]
93	S IV, 2: 665; ILJUG 2766; HD035191	<Hi>c in pace [---] / Petros mona[chus? ---] / ser[vu]s(?) s(an)c(t)i Petr[i --] / [-----?]
94	CIL 03, 9551 + p. 2139 + 13173 + p. 2328; S IV, 1: 219; ILJUG 2567; HD012294	Hic quiesc[t] in pace / sanct(a) abtissa Iohanna / Sermenses qui bixit(!) annus(!) XL / die Veneres(!) exiit de corpore / IIII Idus Maias indictione qu[is?]/tadeim(a)

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