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CORRIGENDA

- p. 4 edentum l. edendum
 p. 9 n. 2 l. 2 p. 00 l. pp. 15 f.
 p. 33 n. 4 l. 4 λύγ l. λύγ
 p. 34 l. 16 p. 00 l. p. 33
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 p. 74 l. 5 (Il. 8,188-190) l. (Il. 8,188-190).
 p. 89 n. 3 l. 1 Vitas l. Vitae
 p. 101 l. 3 τύρν l. τύρν
 p. 107 n. 1 in nn. 1 and 5-6. l. p. 105 n. 1 and p. 106 nn. 4-5.
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 p. 119 l. 33 4,14:38 l. 4,14:1
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 p. 122 l. 29 delete line following the quotation
 p. 122 l. 32 p. 109 l. p. 108 f.
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 p. 129 l. 18 ff. l.
 Z. 15 *eam* (sc. *multitudinem*) *rebaptizationis sauciaret machera*
 Homoioteleuton Antithese Homoiotel. Homoiotel. korrespondierende
 Metaphern
 Z. 16 *stolarum baptismatis (taetrae) nigredinis turparet inluvie*
 und dazwischen Antithese
 Z. 17 *vino carnis suae purificans*
 korresp. Chiasmus
 Metaphern mit Alliteration
 und Homoioteleuton *fecerat dealbatam*
prelo exprimens crucis
 p. 135 n. 2 vgl. S. 00.1. vgl. S. 131.
 p. 140 l. 14 99. l. 99."
 p. 141 l. 3 šammu l. šamnu
 p. 141 l. 24 SIM l. ŠIM
 p. 141 n. 1 transfer note to p. 142, n. 1
 p. 142 l. 13 vor¹. l. vor².
 p. 142 l. 27 l l. 2
 p. 148 l. 30 delete line following "...Zeit zu schreiben." and
 insert after l. 23 "die Dative Grania,"
 p. 188 n. 1 l. 6 A. 4 l. A. 2
 p. 189 n. 3 l. 2 (o. 188,2 4) l. (o. 188,2)

ON THE IDEA OF ETERNITY IN LATIN EPITAPHS

I i r o K a j a n t o

Time without end and without beginning was originally an idea foreign to the Greeks and to the Romans. Due in part to the philosophical speculations of Plato, in part to the influence of Persian religious doctrines, it gradually gained ground in the West.¹ In Rome, *aeterna urbs* and the *aeternitas* of the Roman emperor gave further currency to the idea.²

In epigraphy, the best known example of the idea of eternity was the expression *domus aeterna*. Age-old in Egypt, it suggested eternal rest in the grave.³ In Latin epitaphs, it made its first appearance in the republican times, and became common during the Empire. Though in apparent contradiction with the Christian belief in resurrection, it was not at all uncommon in Christian epigraphy.⁴

In addition to *domus aeterna*, the idea was also expressed by dedicatory formulae, *somno aeternali/aeterno*, *securitati perpetuae/aeternae*, *quieti aeternae*, *memoriae aeternae*, and some other varieties. The content of these expressions does not raise many problems.⁵ They suggested "eternal sleep", "everlasting delivery from toil and care", "eternal memory". The latter dedication differs from the others in being clearly non-religious. These dedications were usually added to the traditional *D(is) M(anibus)*. They were sometimes combined, e.g. *quieti et perpetuae securitati*, XIII 7298 (Castellum Mattiacorum); *DM et somno aeternali securitati memoriaeq(ue) perpetuae ... sarcophago aeterno*, VI 18378.

¹ Cf., for instance, G. Stadtmüller, *Saeculum* 2 (1951) 315–17; H. Sasse, *RLAC* 1 (1950) 193 ff.

² F. Cumont, *RA* 2 (1888) 184 ff.; *Rev. hist. litt. rel.* 1 (1896) 435 ff.; W. Koehler, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe auf römischen Münzen* (1910) 30 ff.; G. Costa, *Religione e politica nell'Impero romano* (1923) 77 ff.; M.P. Charlesworth, *HThR* 29 (1936) 122 ff.; C. Koch, *Religio* (1960).

³ E. Stommel, *RLAC* 4 (1959) 109 ff.

⁴ Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*³ (1929) 247; H. Nordberg, in *Sylloge inscriptionum Christianarum veterum musei Vaticani* (1963) 2, 227–29.

⁵ R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* (1942) 82–83; 245–46.,

In the limited space allotted to me, I shall only discuss a few problems which are of importance from the point of view of epigraphy. First, there were considerable differences in the geographical distribution of these dedicatory formulae. They should be tabulated and analyzed. Again, the chronology of the expressions should be defined. Considering the paucity of reliable dating criteria, this is far from easy.

The geographical distribution of the various formulae is tabulated above. I have only consulted the published volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.¹ In this study, it is the relative frequencies that are of some significance. They are unlikely to be appreciably affected by new discoveries and publications of inscriptions.

The unequal distribution of the formulae leaps to the eye. In Italy, with the exception of Rome, they were not very common. Only in North Italy, *perpetuae securitati* was of some importance. The neighbourhood of the Danube provinces, where this dedication was very frequent, no doubt explains its frequency here.²

Rome gives us the greatest variety of expressions. It is worth notice that *somno aeterno*, and its more popular variety *somno aeternali*, were found almost exclusively in Rome.

The most fertile soil for these formulae were, however, the Danube provinces and Gallia/Germania. Even within these larger areas, there were considerable local differences. Thus *perpetuae securitati* was of an unusual frequency in the *limes* area, 22 cases from Raetia (nine of them from Regensburg, ten from Augusta Vindelicum=Augsburg) four from Noricum, eight from the frontier towns of Pannonia (Brigetio, Crumerum, Adiaum). The remaining cases from CIL III were distributed between Siscia, Poetovio, Viminacium (in Moesia) and Thracia. None of them is from Dalmatia. Even in CIL XIII, the distribution of *perpetuae securitati* is significant. Nine of the cases are from Germania inferior and superior, most of the remaining ones from Lugudunum. Considering that *quieti aeternae* and *memoriae aeternae*, extremely common at Lugudunum, were almost unknown in Germania, the dedication *perpetuae securitati* must be considered peculiar of the Northern *limes*.

¹ The material has been obtained from the indices. In CIL VI and XI, which still have incomplete indices, I have collected the formulae by reading all the inscriptions. The same was done in XIII in regard to *memoriae aeternae*, for which the index gave only a selection of examples.

² Three of the cases are from Venetia, one from Anauni near the borderline of Raetia, and only one from mid-country, Novaria.

We can, then, conclude that the dedicatory formula *perpetuae securitati* was much used, and perhaps originated, in the *limes* district along the Danube and the Rhine. This suggests that it was especially favoured by the soldiers. There is some evidence to support this assumption. Sixteen of the 36 unfragmentary cases from CIL III belong to soldiers. In Germania, however, only one of the stones unquestionably comes from military circles.¹

The formulae *memoriae aeternae* and *quieti aeternae* were common only in Gallia Narbonensis and at Lugudunum. The dedication *D(is) M(anibus) et memoriae aeternae* was cut on almost every funerary stone at Lugudunum. Only 15 of the 163 examples came from other places. The distribution was more even in Gallia Narbonensis. However, a concentration along the Rhone, from Vienna to Arelate, seems evident, 20 out of 28. One may perhaps attribute this to the influence of the great cultural, administrative and commercial centre of Lugudunum.

Quieti aeternae, in CIL XIII, was almost exclusively a peculiarity of Lugudunum. Only one *perpetuae quieti*, 6415, came from Germania superior, and two other examples from the province of Lugudunum. In Gallia Narbonensis, Vienna, Valentia, and other towns of the Rhone district showed a considerable frequency of this formula, too, 12 out of 21. Even the other places, in which this dedication was found, were not far off, Nemausus, Genava, Gratianopolis, ager Vocontiorum occidentalis. None of the examples is from Narbo, Tolosa or Forum Iulium. On the other hand, the cases from Vienna are unusually numerous, eight in all.

Lugudunum with its surroundings thus showed a remarkable liking for the idea of eternity in dedicatory formulae. It is of course possible to argue that religious undercurrents, native to Celtic Gaul, were responsible for the frequent dedications to "eternal rest" and "eternal memory".² But this does not explain the simultaneous emergence of the idea, though in different forms, in Rome and elsewhere, especially in the Danube provinces.

It is more likely that dedicatory formulae were to some extent affected by the general spread of the idea of eternity. The dedication *Dis Manibus* was, however, so firmly rooted that new formulae could not seriously challenge its supremacy. The briefness of the epitaphic diction, and the need to save space, also impeded the spread of new dedicatory formulae. Only at Lugudunum did they

¹ XIII 7298: *Quieti et perpetuae securitati*, dedicated by *Silvestrius Servandus circitor* (cf. p. 66)

² Cf. Lattimore, *op. cit.* 83

become general. This may be attributed to the fact that the epitaphs written at Lugudunum were lengthy and often rhetorical. A simple *D(is) M(anibus)* did not suffice here. It had to be combined with the wishes for "eternal rest" and "eternal memory".

The epitaphs with the dedicatory formulae suggesting "eternity" can be dated only approximately. The most we can do is to try to establish some *terminus post quem*. Even so, the dating remains uncertain. I shall begin with the epitaphs from Rome.

The epitaphs with the dedication *somno aeternali* seem to be the easiest to date. The point of departure is the very word *aeternalis*. It is an obvious late formation. According to Th1L. 1,1138, the earliest literary example of the word is Tertull., adv. Iud. 6 ("ante A.D. 202"), *legem temporalem et legem aeternalem*. Even much later, the word was still felt to be a new coinage, if we are to trust Augustine, c. Priscill. 5 (A.D. 415), *nos ... sive αἰῶνα sive αἰῶνιον non solemus dicere nisi aeternum...*, *quamvis quidam interdum etiam aeternale audeant dicere, ne Latinae linguae deesse videatur ab eodem nomine derivatio*. Are we accordingly warranted to establish ca. A.D. 200 as the *terminus post quem* for the epitaphs with *somno aeternali*?

Things are not, however, as simple as that. The survival of words in literary documents is more or less due to chance. Because most of the literature written during the Empire has vanished, one can conceivably argue that the word *aeternalis* may have been used in literature even before Tertullian. Moreover, words coined in the spoken language may have found their way into literary documents relatively late.

In these cases, it is only the inscriptions that can be of some help in establishing the chronology of a word. Moreover, because Latin cognomina were obtained from appellatives, and not vice versa, nomenclature can also provide some dating criteria. Unfortunately this applies to a small number of words only, the vocabulary of the inscriptions, and the number of words from which cognomina were derived, being rather restricted.

In regard to the word *aeternalis*, we are in a good position. There are 14 examples of the cognomen *Aeternalis*, nine of them from the Danube provinces. Three of the inscriptions are dated or datable. The earliest of them is CIL III 7449,6 (Moesia inf.), *tes(serarius) Iul. Aeternali[s]*, dating from A.D. 155. It is accordingly anterior to Tertullian by a half century. If we think that the person recorded was at least 30 years old, and that before being made into a cognomen, a word must have had some currency among the people, we could lengthen the space to a century. Another dated epitaph, III 7437,1, 15 (Moesia

inf.) is from A.D. 227. Moreover, III 6576 (Alexandrea) is a votive inscription dedicated by the centurion *Aurel. Aeternalis* to *d(ominus) noster Antoninus*. According to the index on p. 2435, this is an "Antoninus incertus", probably a member of the Severan dynasty. Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius Antoninus seem to be excluded because of the expression *dominus noster*, which came in use with Septimius Severus.

One of the epitaphs bearing *somno aeternali* is dated, VI 18378, quoted above on p. 59. The date is A.D. 165. Incidentally, the epitaph shows that the idea of "eternal rest" was intimately connected with that of the grave as "eternal home" (another example on p. 65).

There are some indirect dating criteria, too. Because Imperial freedmen bore the gentilicium of the emperor who had manumitted them,¹ the *terminus post quem* for the relevant inscriptions is the reign of the emperor in question. The earliest of these inscriptions seems to be VI 10707a, [D] M [so]mno eternali, recording [A]elius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Felix, his wife Aelia Egloge, and [fil]ii naturales [Ael]ius Stefanus and Aelia [Eut]ychia. The husband certainly, and probably also the wife, had been slave of an emperor with the gentile name of Aelius. Because their children had been born before their manumission, they were called *naturales*.² The first emperor with the gentile name of Aelius was Hadrian. In this case, our inscription dates from the beginning of the second century. Some other emperors, who included Aelius in their nomenclature, may also be considered, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus. This suggests the mid-second century. There are also two epitaphs with *D M somno aeternali* recording the Imperial freedmen of an Aurelius, VI 28875 *M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Metras*, and 12989 *Aurelius Abascantus Aug. lib.* Here we have a large choice considering that Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Alexander, etc., down to the late third century, all had the praenomen and the gentilicium M. Aurelius.

The other epitaphs with the dedication *somno aeternali* furnish us with few dating criteria. VI 11082 *somno aeternali sacrum*, certainly records *M. Aurelius M.f. Ianuarius*, with a good classical name form, but the filiation, still less the *tria nomina*, do not entitle us to date this epitaph to the first century. The filiation survived to the second and even to the third century.³ Lacking other

¹ P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (1972) 24 ff.

² H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (1971) 1, 39–40.

³ Cf., e.g., VI 20217 *C. Iulius Sex.f. Cor. Postumus*, with the filiation and the *tribus*, dating from A.D. 143. Two other persons, probably freedmen, recorded in the same inscription were called *Furius Berecundus* and *M. Furius Telesforus*.

criteria, it is hazardous to date a single epitaph solely on the basis of the filiation. Now in this epitaph another onomastic feature, the supernomen *Aemilia Ingenua quae et Marcian[a]*, suggests the early second century as a *terminus post quem*.¹

On the other hand, none of the epitaphs with *somno aeternali* suggests a very late period. There are some examples of single names, but they probably belonged to slaves.²

There are only two examples of *somno aeternali* outside of Rome, both from Africa. Neither of them is very usable for dating. VIII 1900 (Theveste) is fragmentary, only the dedication being left. The other, 18010 (Numidia) records a veteran *Garcilius Maximus*, and his wife *Maximosa*. The lack of the praenomen, and the cognomen in *-osa*, suggest a period later than the first century A.D.³

All this seems to show that the expression *somno aeternali* came in use toward the mid-second century A.D.

The dedication *somno aeterno* has only four examples. The only case outside of Rome, X 6706 (Antium) bears the date 167 A.D. The dedications from Rome are hard to date. The word *aeternus*, an old-established Latin word, is of no help here. Imperial freedmen, however, give us some clues. Thus VI 15983 *D M somno aeterno Coeliae Palaestine*, records *Aelii Provincialis et Viator Augg. lib.* The *terminus post quem* for this epitaph is the joint rule of M. Aurelius and L. Verus A.D. 161–169.⁴ Again, VI 10468, recording *Abuttia Galla* and *Abuttia Rome*, is undatable. VI 10848, where we find five persons with the gentilicium *Aelius* and (with the exception of *Hilarus*) with Greek cognomina, has some probability of being post-Hadrian.

D M somno perpetuali, VI 19966, provides few chronological clues. The persons recorded bore *tria nomina*, but this is of no great help in dating. The adjective *perpetualis* is worth notice. According to the dictionaries, it has been found only twice, the other case being Quint. 2,13,14, where it was coined to correspond to the Greek καθολικόν. In the epitaph, *perpetualis* naturally has another meaning. It is simply a lengthened form of *perpetuus*, similar to *aeternalis/aeternus*.

¹ The agnomina *qui/quae et* became common only during the second century A.D., Kajanto, *Supernomina* (1967) 8.

² VI 11951, father *Antonius* (gentilicium used as cognomen), mother *Basila*, son *Antonius*; 17430, wife *Eutychia*, husband *Onesimus*.

³ Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* (1965) 122.

⁴ Weaver, *op. cit.*, 67.

To conclude, the dedications suggesting "eternal sleep" probably came in use toward the mid-second century, and were almost exclusively found in Rome.

The dedications emphasizing death as deliverance from toil and care, *perpetuae/aeternae securitati* and *quieti aeternae*, were not very frequent in Rome. To take the dedication to *securitas* first, the only epitaph which gives us a dating criterium is VI 17136 *securitati aeternae A. Egrili Thalli*, set up by his son *A. Egrilius Pal. Hedonicus* and his freedwoman *Egrilia Philete*. An Ostian inscription, XIV 246,6,15, dating from 140, records *A. Egrilius Thallus*. Moreover, *Egrilia Philete* reappears in XIV 932. We have every reason to suppose that these were the very same persons.

The epitaphs with the dedication *securitati perpetuae* from Latium, Etruria/Umbria, Gallia Narbonensis and Africa, yield no chronological clues. Though the classical name form, the *tria nomina* (for men) and the *duo nomina* (for women) were found in many of the cases, this cannot be taken to suggest the first century, *tria nomina* being found throughout the second century.¹ An inscription from Capua, X 8220 *D M aeterne dom[o?] et per]petue secur[itati]*,² set up by [*mil. leg. ?adi*] *utricis*, has one chronological criterion, the creation of the *legiones adiutrices* I and II by Nero and Vespasian. But the *terminus post quem* suggested by this is not very useful. Moreover, the supplement is uncertain.

One epitaph from Novaria seems to be early, V 6556 *Marcus Valerius M.f. Clau. sibi et M[—] Valeriae Secundinae uxori benemerenti. perpetuae securitati*, with *v(ivus) f(ecit)* on the margins. An early date is implied by the lack of the dedication *Dis Manibus*, by the expression V F (replaced later on by *se vivo*), and especially by the nomenclature. The husband bears only a praenomen and a gentilicium followed by the filiation and the *tribus*, a genuine republican name form. All this evidence is, however, contradicted by the name of the wife, *Valeria Secundina*. She not only has a cognomen, but her cognomen is a lengthened form, *Secund-ina*. This name, like derivatives from simple forms in general, cannot be very early.³ A conjectural dating for the epitaph from Novaria could be the second half of the first century.

More chronological evidence comes from the Danube provinces. This is due to the fact that a considerable number of the epitaphs recorded legionaries. We

¹ In addition to the example on p. 63 fn 3, we may cite, for instance, VI 8775, dating from A.D. 187, *M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Onesimus, M. Aurelius Dionysius*.

² In the *Corpus*, the words were wrongly supplemented as genitives.

³ Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 292.

are in general well informed of the movements of the Roman legions.¹ Six cases, from Brigetio, Adiaum and Crumerum, mention soldiers of *legio I adiutrix*. Here we have a definite *terminus post quem*, 118–19 A.D., when the legion returned from the East and was stationed at Brigetio. Four of the epitaphs from Regensburg record soldiers of *legio III Italica*, created ca. 165/66. The legion stayed here to the end of the Roman rule. A relatively late date for the epitaphs is suggested by the fact that none of the soldiers bears the classical *tria nomina*. III 14207,7 (Perinthus) was set up to *Lupionius Suebus milis leg(ionis) IXXX (=XXII)*. This legion was permanently stationed on the Rhine but is known to have been sent on expeditions elsewhere, too. The above epitaph is dated to the second half of the third century.² Again, 5821 (Augusta Vindelicum) records *exar(chus) Dal(matorum)*, an officer of the late Empire. Finally, 5472 (vallis fl. Mur, Noricum) mentions *Aur. Saturio vet(eranus) co(ho)r(tis) V Breucorum*. This *cohors* is known to have been transferred to Noricum soon after A.D. 80.³ The nomenclature and especially the abbreviation by contraction-suspension in the word *cohors* suggest a period later than the second century.

There are a few cases of *tria nomina*, but their evidence is inconclusive. As an example may be mentioned III 5890 (Neuburg ad Danuvium). The son was certainly called *Tib. Cassius Constantinus*, but the father bore an abbreviated gentile same, *Tib. Cl. Constantinus*, and the freedmen recorded in the inscription were all *Claudii*, without praenomina. Moreover, *Constantinus* is a relatively late name, frequent in Christian times.⁴

Only one of the cases from CIL XIII has a chronological clue, 7298, quoted above on p. 61, fn 1. Here the office of *circ(itor)* suggests the late third or the fourth century.⁵ In the other cases, the only chronological evidence is provided by the onomastics. Though dating by name form is always hazardous in single cases, in a larger aggregate of names it becomes more reliable. Thus it is not without significance that here, as was the case in the Danube provinces also, the classical name form was an exception, the lack of the praenomen and abbreviated Imperial gentilicia the rule.

Excepting the problematical inscription from Novaria, the evidence thus

¹ I have consulted the articles on Romans legions in RE XII (1925) by W. Kubitschek and in Oxf. Class. Dict.² (1970) by G.R. Watson.

² Kubitschek, op. cit. 1815.

³ Cichorius, RE IV (1901) 259.

⁴ Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 258.

⁵ Fiebiger, RE III (1899) 2569.

implies that the dedication *perpetuae/aeternae securitati* came in use during the second century. Most of the examples bear the marks of a late period.

We are not as fortunate in regard to the chronology of *quieti aeternae*. The Roman examples, VI 22399 *Menatia Prisca C.f.* (notice the filiation) and 13120 *Aurelius Hermes* (no praenomen) are inconclusive. At Lugudunum and in Gallia Narbonensis, a number of the epitaphs belonged to legionaries, and to Imperial freedmen. The *termini* suggested by the legionaries' epitaphs are not, however, very usable. Thus 1872 was set up by *Calvonius Belli[c]us mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII (Primigeniae)*. This legion was created A.D. 39 and stationed on the Rhine.¹ Again, 1893 records *Sertorius Fortunatus*, a centurion of *leg(io) III Cyr(enaica)*, an Eastern legion dating back to the Augustan period, and *Ti. Cl. Fab(ia tribu) Rom(a) Felix*, a centurion of *leg(io) I M(inervia)*, a legion raised by Domitian, probably ca. 83 A.D. The legion was stationed at Bonn. *Tertinius Cessius, veteranus leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)*, 1897, has A.D. 70 as a *terminus post quem*. The legion was then transferred from Moesia to Upper Germany. *Tertinius Severianus*, a centurion of *legio II Augusta*, 1898, belongs to a legion raised by Octavian. But 11178, *Ulpus Tertius miles legion(is) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis)* must be later than A.D. 119, when this legion, created by Trajan, was transferred from Pannonia to Germania.

Though the chronology of the legions is of little help, nomenclature gives us some information. In none of the examples quoted above do we find the classical name form. Even in the other epitaphs from Lugudunum with the dedication *quieti aeternae*, the classical name form is in a minority. Excluding single names, which probably belonged to slaves, among men's names there were 19 non-classical, four mixed (one name classical, another non-classical), and only six classical forms.

Finally, we have two examples of Imperial freedmen. *M. Aurelius Agathopus libertus Aug.*, 2189, has the reign of Marcus Aurelius as the *terminus post quem*, whereas *Aur. Hermes lib. Augg. nn.*, 1816, is probably from the period of the Severan dynasty.

In Gallia Narbonensis, the only chronological evidence is furnished by the nomenclature. The classical name form was here more frequent than it was at Lugudunum. Out of 13 usable men's names, six had the non-classical, five the classical name form. Two epitaphs included both forms. It is uncertain whether we can conclude from this that the dedicatory formula came in use in Gallia Narbonensis earlier than it did at Lugudunum. Given the geographical proximity,

¹ Kubitschek, RE XII (1925) 1798.

and the cultural supremacy of Lugudunum, this does not seem probable. We can perhaps assume that the classical name form was retained in Gallia Narbonensis longer than elsewhere.

Memoriae aeternae, as stated above (p. 59), differs from the dedications suggesting "eternal sleep" and "eternal rest" in that it was non-religious. Despite the term *aeternus*, one could thus argue that its use was independent of that of *somno aeternali, perpetuae securitati, quieti aeternae*. However, the fact that *memoriae aeternae* was frequent precisely in Gallia Narbonensis and at Lugudunum, where *quieti aeternae* was also common, suggests that, to a certain extent, it belonged to the same sphere of ideas.

From the point of view of chronology, one example seems to be decisive, V 6638 (Bavenum) *Trophimus / Ti. Claudii Caes. / Augusti / Germanic. ser(vus) / Daphnidianus. / memoriae [ae]t[er]r [n]ae sacrum*. If the epitaph is to be trusted, the dedication *memoriae aeternae* was found as early as the reign of Claudius. The last line is, however, uncertain. It is today vanished and has been supplied from an old manuscript, where the passage runs MEMORIAE ET TARPEIAE SACRVM.

There is another epitaph which has some reason to be considered early, VI 15696 *DIs Manibus [?et memoriae aet]ernae P. Clodius Amomus sacr(avit) Clodiae Pontic[e] feminae opt]imae conlibertae fidelissimae*, etc. where the unabbreviated dedication *DIs Manibus* (notice the *I longa*), the *tria nomina*, and the frequent *apices* suggest the first century. The word *memoriae* has vanished but can be restored with a fair degree of probability.

It is, then, possible that *memoriae aeternae* came in use earlier than the other dedications discussed here. Because "eternal memory" was a genuine Roman idea, whereas "eternal sleep" and "eternal rest" were at least partly due to Oriental influence, there is nothing incongruous in this.

TABULATION OF THE MATERIAL

	Rome CIL VI	Latium CIL XIV	Etruria Umbria CIL XI	South Italy CIL IX, X	North Italy CIL V	The Bal- kan CIL III	Gallia Narb. CIL XII	Gallia Germania CIL XIII	Hispa- nia CIL II	Africa CIL VIII
<i>somno aeterno</i>	3									
<i>somno aeternali</i>	18 ¹⁾									2 ²⁾
<i>somno perpetuali</i>	1									
<i>perpetuae/aeter- nae securitati</i>	4	1	1	1	5	39	4	19		3
<i>quieti aeternae</i>	2					2	21	37		
<i>memoriae aeter- nae/perpetuae/ perenni</i>	4	1			1	1	28	163	1 ⁵⁾	7
<i>spei aeternae</i>								1		
<i>aeternitati, etc.</i>					1		2 ³⁾	2 ⁴⁾		

1) In addition there are three fragments, *somno ae/aete/aeter* [, 12123, 14418, 28054. Cf. 17430 *somno sepulchro aeternali sacrum*. 2) Cf. 2506, fragmentary, *somno aetern* [. 3) *perpetuae aeternitati* 2269, and *[me]moriae aeternitat[is]*, 670 4) Both from Upper Germany, *memoriae aeternitatis*, 6279, 7102. 5) II 4332 *in memoriam perpetuam* (of the deceased) *hortos coherentes sive suburbanum tradidit*.