

MARCELLUS OF SIDE'S EPITAPH ON REGILLA (IG XIV 1389):
AN HISTORICAL AND LITERARY COMMENTARY

<i>Text</i>	<i>Stele A</i>
	Μαρκέλλου.
Δεῦρ' ἴτε Θυβριάδες, νηὸν ποτὶ τόνδε, γυναῖκες, Ῥηγίλλης ἔδος ἀμφὶ θυοσκόα ἱρὰ φέρουσαι. ἥ δὲ πολυκτεάνων μὲν ἔην ἐξ Αἰνεαδάων, Ἀγχίσεω κλυτὸν αἶμα καὶ Ἰδαίης Ἀφροδίτης, γῆματο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα· θεαὶ δέ μιν οὐρανιώναι	5
τίουσιν, Δηώ τε νέη Δηώ τε παλαιή. τῆσι περ ἱερὸν εἶδος ἐυζώνοιο γυναικὸς ἀγκεῖται· αὐτὴ δὲ μεθ' ἡρώινησι νένασται ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν, ἵνα Κρόνος ἐνβασιλεύει. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο νόου εἴληχεν ἄποινον,	10
ὥς οἱ Ζεὺς ὄκτειρεν ὀδυρόμενον παρακοίτην γῆραι ἐν ἀζαλέωι χήρῃ περικείμενον εὐνήι, οὐνεκά οἱ παῖδας μὲν ἀμύμονος ἐκ μεγάροιο ἄρπυιαι Κλωθῶες ἀνηρεῖψαντο μέλαιναι	15
ἡμισέας πλεόνων· δοιῶ δ' ἔτι παῖδε λιπέσθην νηπιαχῶ, ἀγνώτε κακῶν, ἔτι πάμπαν ἀπύστω, οἷν σφι νηλὴς κατὰ μητέρα πότμος ἔμαρψε, πρίν περ γηραιῇσι [[ΜΙΓΗ]] μιγήμεναι ἤλακάτησι.	20
τῷ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπίηρον ὀδυρομένωι ἀκόρητον καὶ βασιλεὺς Διὶ πατρὶ φυὴν καὶ μῆτιν ἐοικώς, Ζεὺς μὲν ἐς ὠκεανὸν θαλερὴν ἔστειλε γυναῖκ[α] αὔρησι Ζεφύροιο κομίζεμεν ἡλυσίησιν.	25
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἀστερόεντα περὶ σφυρὰ παιδὶ πέδιλα δῶκεν ἔχειν, τὰ λέγουσι καὶ Ἑρμάωνα φορῆναι, ἦμος ὅτ' Αἰνεΐαν πολέμου ἐξῆγεν Ἀχαιῶν νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν· ὁ δὲ οἱ περὶ ποσσὶ σωτήρ παμφανόων ἐνέκειτο σελ[ήνης] κύκλο[ς] ὅ[μοι]ος· τὸν δὲ καὶ Αἰνεάδαι περ ἐνερράψαντο πεδίλῳ [ἔμμεναι] Αὐσον[ίοις] ἐ]ὺγενέεσσι γέραα.	30
οὗ μιν ὀνόσσεται καὶ Κεκροπίδην περ ἐόντα	

1 ποτὶ : π[ρ]οτὶ (i.e. p ante rasuram) lapis

18 γηραιησι[[μιγη]]μιγήμεναι (i.e. μιγη ante rasuram) lapis: corr. Sirmond

22 σε[λήνης] κύκλο[ς] ὅ[μοι]ος leg. Peek

28 περ Peek, recte (ποτ' alii)

29 [ἔμμεναι] suppl. Franz: Αὐσον[ίοις] ἐ]ὺγενέεσσι γέραα confirmavit Peek

Τυρσηνῶν ἀρχαῖον ἐπισφύριον τέρας ἀνδρῶν
 Ἔρσης ἐκγεγαῶτα καὶ Ἑρμέω, εἰ ἐτεὸν δὴ
 Κῆρυξ Ἡρώδεω πρόγονος Θησιιάδαο.
 τοῦνεκα τειμήεις καὶ ἐπώνυμος, ἥ μὲν ἄνασσα[ν]
 ἐς βουλὴν ἀγέρεσθαι, ἵνα πρωτόθρονες ἔδραι, 35
 Ἑλλάδι δ' οὔτε γένος βασιλεύτερος οὔτε τι φωνὴν
 Ἡρώδεω, γλώσσαν δέ τέ μιν καλέουσιν Ἀθηνέων.
 ἥ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ περ καλλίσφυρος Αἰνειῶνη
 καὶ Γανυμηδείη καὶ Δαρδάνιον γένος ἦην
 Τρωὸς Ἐριχθονίδαο· σύ δ', εἰ φίλον, ἱερὰ ρέξαι 40
 καὶ θύσαι· θυέων ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἀέκοντος ἀνάγκη,
 εὖ δέ τοι εὐσεβέεσσι καὶ ἡρώων ἀλεγίζειν.
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ θνητὴ, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θέαινα τέτυκται·
 τοῦνεκεν οὔτε νεῶν ἱερὸν λάχεν οὔτε τι τύμβον.
 οὐδὲ γέρα θνητοῖς, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν ὅμοια. 45
 σῆμα μὲν οἱ νηῶι ἵκελον δῆμωι ἔν Ἀθήνης,
 ψυχὴ δὲ σκῆπτρον Ῥαδαμάνθυος ἀμφιπολεύει.
 τοῦτο δὲ Φαυστείνῃ κεχαρισμένον ἦσται ἄγαλμα
 δῆμωι ἐνὶ Τριόπῃ, ἵνα οἱ πάρος εὐρέες ἀγροὶ
 καὶ χορὸς ἡμερίδων καὶ ἐλαιήεντες ἄρουνται. 50
 οὐ μὲν ἀτιμήσειε θεή, βασιλεία γυναικῶν,
 ἀμφίπολον γεράων ἔμεναι καὶ ὁπάονα νύμφην,
 οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἰφιγένειαν εὐθρόνος Ἰοχέαιρα
 οὐδ' Ἔρσην γοργῶπις ἀπητίμησεν Ἀθήνη,
 οὐδέ μιν ἡρώϊνῃσι παλαιῇσιν μεδέουσα 55
 Καίσαρος ἰφθίμοιο παρόψεται ὄμπνια μήτηρ
 ἐς χορὸν ἐρχομένην προτεράων ἡμιθεάων,
 ἥ λάχεν ἡλυσίῃσι χοροστασίῃσιν ἀνάσσειν
 αὐτῇ· τ' Ἀλκμήνη τε μάκαιρά τε Καδμειῶνη.

31 τέρας Peek, recte (γέρας alii)

33 κηρυχ lapis (i.e. littera Latina X pro Ξ posita)

40 ι pro ει lapis

42 εῦ (ει in ευ correcto) leg. Peek (quod coniecerat Kaibel)

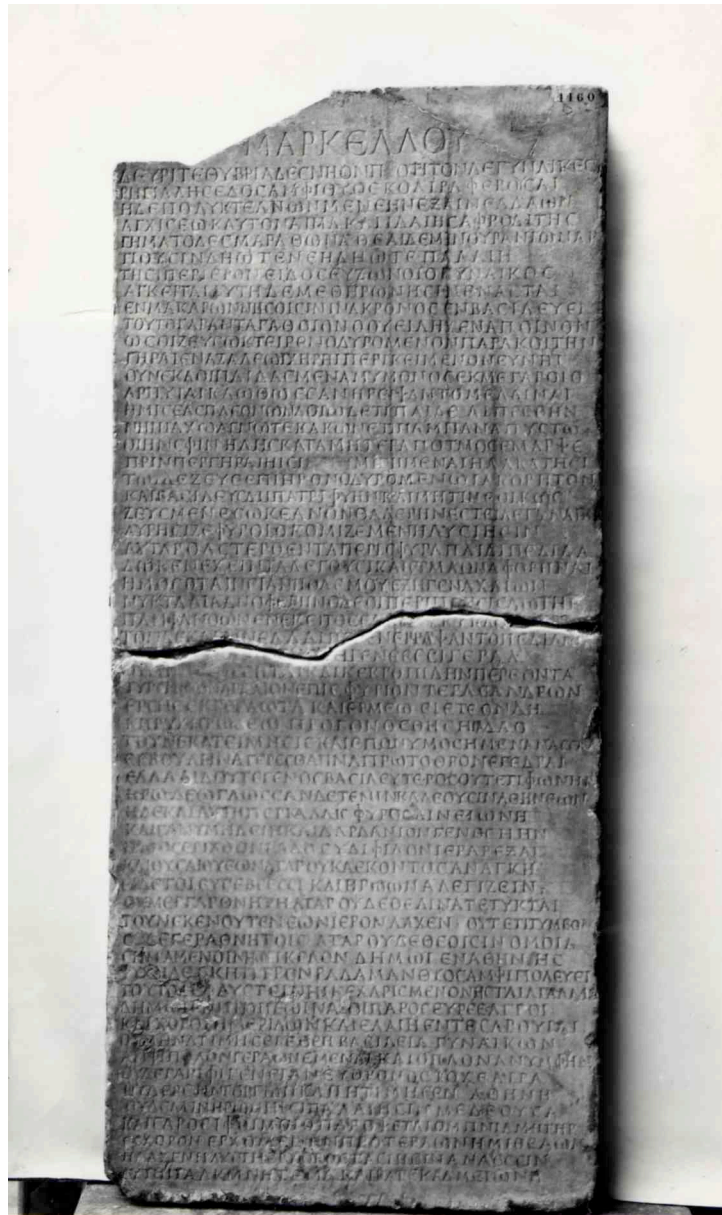
44 λάχεν [.] οὔτε : post λάχεν littera in rasura, fort. v

46 Αθην[.] : littera in rasura, fort. σ

47 ἀμφιπολεύει (μ in π correcto) leg. Peek

51 μιν : μην lapis

59 αυτηταλκμνη lapis



Stele A



Stele B

Stele B

Πότνι' Ἀθηνάων ἐπιήρανε Τριτογένεια	60
ἢ τ' ἐπὶ ἔργα βροτῶν ὀράαις, Ῥαμνουσιάς Οὔπι,	
γείτονες ἀγχίθυροι Ῥώμης ἑκατοντοπύλοιο,	
πείονα δὴ καὶ τόνδε, θεά, τειμήσατε χώρον,	
δήμον Δηφοῖο φιλόξεινον Τριόπαιο,	
τόφρα κε καὶ Τριόπεια ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀλέγησθον,	65
ὥς ὅτε καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ εὐρυχόρους ἐς Ἀθήνας	
ἦλθετε δώματα πατρὸς ἐριγδούποιο λιποῦσαι.	
ὥς τήνδε ῥώεσθε πολυστάφυλον κατ' ἀλωὴν	
λήϊά τε σταχύων καὶ δένδρεα βοτρύοντα	
λειμώνων τε κόμας ἀπαλοτρεφῶν ἐφέπουσαι.	70
ὑμμι γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἱερὴν ἀνὰ γαῖαν ἔηκε	
τὴν ὅσσην περὶ τεῖχος εὐτρόχον ἐστεφάνωται,	
ἀνδράσιν ὀπιγόνουσιν ἀκινήτην καὶ ἄσυλον	
ἔμμεναι. ἢ δ' ἐπὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου	
σμερδαλέον σίσασα λόφον κατένευσεν Ἀθήνη,	75
μή τωι νήποινον βῶλον μίαν ἢ ἓνα λᾶαν	
ὀχλίσσαι, ἐπεὶ οὐ Μοιρέων ἀτρεῖς ἀνάγκαι,	
ὅς κε θεῶν ἐδέεσσιν ἀλιτροσύνην ἀναθήη.	
κλύτε περικτίονες καὶ γείτονες ἀγροῖῳται·	
ἱερὸς οὗτος ὁ χώρος, ἀκίνητοι δὲ θέαιναι	80
καὶ πολυτίμητοι καὶ ὑποσχεῖν οὐδ' ἔτοιμαι·	
μηδὲ τις ἡμερίδων ὄρχους ἢ ἐπ' ἄλσεα δενδρέων	
ἢ ποίην χιλῶι εὐαλδέϊ χλωρᾷ θέουσας	
δμῶν κυανέου Ἀἰδοῦς πῆξε· ἢ μάκελλαν	
σῆμα νέον τεύχων ἢ πρότερον κερατίζων.	85
οὐ θέμις ἀμφὶ νέκυσσι βαλεῖν ἱρόχθονα βῶλ[ον],	
πλὴν ὃ κεν αἵματος ἦισι καὶ ἔκγ[ο]νος ἐσσαμένο[ιο].	
κείνοισ δ' οὐκ ἀθέμιστον, ἐπεὶ τιμάορος ἔστωρ.	
καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίη <περ> Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα	
νηῶι ἐνκατέθηκε συνέστιον ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν.	90

71 ἱερὴν leg. Peek

75 σίσασα pro σείσασα lapis

77 ατρεῖς lapis

78 ἐδέεσσιν lapis

82 ἐπ' : ἐν lapis, corr. Franz

84 πῆξε lapis (littera Latina P pro Π posita)

87 ἔκγονος Skenterī: ἐκ γένος lapis

89 Ἀθηναίη τε lapis, ut vid.; <περ> (quod leg. Peek) conī. Jacobs, <ποτ> Kaibel, quod fort. praeferendum

εἰ δέ τῳ ἄκλυτα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπείσεται αὐτοῖ[ς],
 ἀλλ' ἀποτιμήσ<ο>ι, μή οἱ νήτιτα γένηται.
 ἀλλὰ μιν ἀπρόφατος Νέμεσις καὶ ρόμβος ἀλάστω[ρ]
 τίσονται, στυγερὴν δὲ κυλινδήσει κακότητα·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴφθιμον Τριόπεω μένος Αἰολίδαο 95
 ὦναθ', ὅτε νειὸν Δημήτερος ἐξαλάπαξεν.
 τῷ ἦτοι ποινὴν καὶ ἐπωνυμίην ἀλέασθα[ι]
 χώρου, μή τοι ἔπηται ἔπι Τρ<ι>όπειος Ἑρινύς.

92 αποτιμῆσει lapis

98 Τρ<ι>όπειος suppl. Sirmond

Translation

Stele A

Come here to this shrine surrounding the seated statue of Regilla, women of the Tiber, bringing sacred offerings. She was descended from the prosperous line of Aeneas, the renowned blood of Anchises and Idaean Aphrodite. (5) She married into [a family at] Marathon. The heavenly goddesses honour her, both the New Deo [Faustina/Demeter] and the Old [Demeter]. To them the sacred image of the well-girt wife is consecrated. She, however, has been allocated a place among the heroines in the islands of the blessed, where Kronos is king. (10) This she has received as her reward for her noble mind. Thus Zeus had pity on her grieving spouse lying in the middle of his widower's bed in harsh old age, since from his blameless house the black Harpy Fate-Spinners carried off half of his many children. (15) Two young children are still left, innocent of harm, still completely unaware that a pitiless fate seized their mother before she had reached the years when old women spin. To him, grieving without respite, Zeus (20) and the Emperor, who is like father Zeus in nature and intelligence, has given consolation. Zeus ordered that his [Herodes'] fertile wife be brought to the Ocean stream on the Elysian [paradisiacal] breezes of Zephyr. Caesar [Antoninus Pius] granted his son [Bradua] the privilege of wearing on his feet the sandals decorated with stars which they say Hermes too wore (25) when he led Aeneas from the war waged by the Achaeans through the dark night; around his feet it was set, shining as a protecting saviour, like the [half] globe of the moon. The descendents of Aeneas once stitched this on the sandal to be a prerogative for the noble Ausonians [Italians]. (30) Not begrudged to him, a descendent of Kekrops, is this old wonder of Tyrrhenian men [Etruscans] on his ankle, born of Hermes and Herse, if truly Keryx was ancestor of Herodes, descended from Theseus [i.e. an Athenian]. Therefore he is honoured and gives his name to the year. (35) He is included at the lordly Senate in the front row of seats. In Greece there is no family or reputation

more royal than Herodes'. They call him the voice of Athens. But she [Regilla] of the beautiful ankles was descended from Aeneas and was of the race of Ganymede, for she is of the Dardanian race (40) from Tros, the son of Erichthonius. As for you [the reader], if you are willing, please go and make sacrifices and burn them. But it is necessary that the one who sacrifices be not unwilling. It is good for the pious to also care about heroes. For she [Regilla] is neither mortal, nor divine. Therefore she has neither sacred temple nor tomb, (45) neither honours for mortals, nor honours like those for the divine. In a deme of Athens is a tomb for her like a temple, but her soul attends the sceptre of Rhadamanthys. This image of her so gratifying to Faustina has been erected in the area of the Triopeion, where there were formerly broad fields, (50) rows of cultivated vines, and acres of olive trees. Nor would the goddess, queen of women [Faustina], disdain her, who was a priestess for her [Faustina's] sacrifices and an attendant in her [Regilla's] youth. The archeress with the beautiful throne [Artemis] did not disdain Iphigeneia nor did fierce-eyed Athena disdain Herse. (55) The grain-giving mother of powerful Caesar [Domitia Lucilla], who rules over the heroines of the past, will not despise her as she goes to the chorus of earlier semi-divine women, she whose lot is to rule over Elysian choruses of women, and with her Alcmena, and the blessed daughter of Cadmus [Semele].

Stele B

(60) Powerful ruler of Athens, born of Triton [Athena], and you, Oupis, who see the deeds of mortals from your lookout at Rhamnous [Nemesis], next-door neighbours of hundred-gated Rome, goddesses, honour also this fruitful estate of the Triopeion sacred to Deo, a place friendly to strangers, (65) in order that the Triopeion goddesses be honoured among immortals, as surely as when you came to Rhamnous and to Athens of the broad streets, leaving the home of your loud thundering father. So surely make this vineyard flourish rich in grapes throughout, taking care of the crop of grain and vines with clusters of fruit (70) and tresses of grasses in the soft meadows. For you Herodes sanctified the land and built a rounded wall encircling it not to be moved or violated, for the benefit of future generations. (75) Athena, shaking the terrifying crest of her helmet, from her immortal head agreed. No one is to disturb one clod of earth or one stone without punishment since it is not the case that the rules of the Fates are not to be feared, whoever wickedly disregards the community of the gods. Listen, you who live around here and you neighbours: (80) this place is holy and the goddesses are not to be disturbed, but to be greatly honoured, and they are ready to listen. No one is to fix in the rows of vines or the sacred groves of trees or the meadow, spreading green with luxuriant fodder, a mattock, servant of dark Hades,

(85) either making a new tomb or plundering an old one within the walls. It is not lawful to cast a clod of sacred earth around the dead, except for those of the blood line and an offspring. For them it is not unlawful, since the founder will protect them. For even Athena deposited king Erichthonius (90) in her temple to dwell there and share in the sacrifices. But if these instructions go unheeded by anyone and he does not obey them, but on the contrary he were to fail to honour them, then, lest his deeds go unpunished, Nemesis, whose name must not be spoken, and her avenging wheel shall exact the penalty and will set rolling down on the victim hateful misery. (95) For not even the powerful might of Triops, descendent of Aeolus, was any avail when he destroyed Demeter's temple. Make sure, therefore, that you avoid the place's punishment named after it, lest the Erinys of Triops follow after you.

Historical Introduction

Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla was born around 125 AD to an elite family in Rome, related to Faustina the wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius¹. Around 138/9 she married the wealthy sophist Herodes Atticus and a few years later the couple moved to Greece. In 160 when she was eight months' pregnant with what would have been the couple's sixth child, she died of a kick in the abdomen. Herodes was brought to trial in Rome on the charge of homicide. He was tried by a senatorial court, but acquitted through the intervention of Marcus Aurelius. The travesties of grief Herodes indulged in were tantamount to a confession. The bare bones of the story are few. We know very little about Regilla, but she was an important woman. Her name appears on major monuments in sites such as Olympia, Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and in Italy.

Regilla had received (as part of her dowry or by inheritance) her family's estate on the Via Appia. Though eventually her older son Bradua inherited it, after her death Herodes managed the property and built on it as though it were his own. He transformed the estate from a rural Republican villa with gardens, orchards, and uncultivated land into an opulent group of buildings and monuments in an elaborate landscape.

Herodes exploited the occasion of Regilla's death to advance his image of caring husband. He built Regilla's cenotaph at the edge of her estate at the Via Appia² on or near the site of the venerable temple of the Deus Rediculus

¹ See further Pomeroy, Ch. 1.

² See further H. Kammerer-Grothaus, *Der Deus Rediculus im Triopion des Herodes Atticus. Untersuchung am Bau und zu polychromer Ziegelarchitektur des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Latium*, "MDAI(R)" 81, 1974, 131-252.

(God of Return), now called the Dio Redicolo³. Regilla's bodily remains were probably in Greece; nonetheless a staircase leads to a burial chamber within⁴.

Herodes also constructed a temple known as the temple of Faustina to Demeter and Faustina the Elder (wife of Antoninus Pius), adjacent to the Via Latina. In this way he continued to associate himself with the imperial family through his wife. The New Demeter and the Old were both honoured in this temple. Faustina was titled "the New Demeter", and Herodes dedicated a statue of Regilla as priestess of the old Demeter there⁵.

Herodes endeavoured to transform his dead wife into a benevolent spirit. He created new images and contexts for the wife whom he had destroyed. He appropriated and exploited Regilla's intimate connections with Roman history, while attempting at the same time through Greek cult and visual monuments to shape her into a wife who suited his image of himself.

The cult of Regilla is a theme that inspired and unified much of the building program at the Via Appia estate⁶. The cenotaph at the Deus Rediculus temple offered a resting place if her spirit desired to leave Greece and visit her sacred precinct in Italy⁷. Regilla's cult had many associations with Demeter and Ceres and with her distant kinswoman Faustina. Regilla's close relationship to Demeter, a reward for her service as priestess of the goddess, was also commemorated. She herself had expressed this preference at Olympia where she had chosen to identify herself simply as: "Regilla, priestess of Demeter"⁸. Various members of her family fostered this special relationship with the goddess over many years. Herodes had also cultivated favour with Demeter in Greece by dedicating Regilla's clothing at Eleusis after she died, and at least two of their children had served at Eleusis as

³ The identity of this building is disputed: G. Pisani Sartorio, *The Urban Segment from Porta Capena to Casal Rotondo*, in I. Della Portella (ed.), *The Appian Way. From its Foundation to the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles 2004), 57.

⁴ F. Castagnoli, *Appia Antica* (Milan 1956), caption to photos 7, 8, 9.

⁵ See above, ll. 7-8 and 48-9.

⁶ M. Galli, *Die Lebenswelt eines Sophisten. Untersuchungen zu den Bauten und Stiftungen des Herodes Atticus* (Mainz am Rhein 2002), 112.

⁷ Calza argues that the so-called "sarcophagus of Cecilia Metella", also known as the Farnese sarcophagus, was actually a sarcophagus-cenotaph for Regilla. See G. Pisani Sartorio and R. Calza, *La villa di Massenzio sulla via Appia: I. Il palazzo. II. Le opere d'arte* (Rome 1976), 209.

⁸ An inscription engraved on a life-size stone bull that once stood on the parapet states: "Regilla, priestess of Demeter, dedicated the water and the things connected with the water to Zeus" (*IOlymp.* no. 610 = Ameling, II 127-8, no. 112, and see further Pomeroy, 90).

“child of the hearth”⁹.

Next to the Temple of Demeter/Faustina at the Via Appia site was the *Triopeion*, a sacred precinct housing an esoteric Eastern cult connected with Demeter. The original *Triopeion* was located in Knidos. Herodes had probably become acquainted with the cult when he was Corrector of the Free Cities of Asia Minor before his marriage. Triopas was an old Thessalian hero who was turned into a dragon after he displayed hybris by cutting down a grove sacred to Demeter¹⁰. He went into exile and founded Cnidus. The *Triopeion* designed by Herodes paid special homage to Demeter, Persephone, Athena, and Nemesis¹¹. Persephone is naturally paired with Demeter, while Athena was important to Herodes who was an Athenian. The explanation for the inclusion of Nemesis is more complex. Herodes obtained permission from the government of Athens to set up a commemorative statue of his *trophimos* or foster-son Polydeucion in the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnus because, as the inscription states, the two used to sacrifice together to this deity: see N.B. Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (Cambridge 2009), 78. Herodes had instituted the cult of Tyche at Athens. Regilla served as her first priestess¹². He had supplied a statue depicting Regilla which stood in Tyche’s sanctuary in Corinth (see commentary on vv. 60-1 of the inscription). The *Triopeion* offered the learned Herodes an opportunity to make a wide range of historical and mythical allusions. These identified him as an erudite intellectual to those visitors who understood them¹³. This foreign cult associated with Thessaly and Cnidus must have seemed strange in Rome, but the taste of the time recognized innovation as a goal. On the *Triopeion* see further most recently Gleason, 142-6.

Herodes engaged a respected professional poet, Marcellus of Side in Asia Minor, to write an esoteric Greek inscription in honour of Regilla, though he himself was certainly responsible for the general content. The poem, of course, reflects favourably on the poet’s patron. Marcellus was not an obvious choice, for he was best-known for his didactic poem, now lost, about medical matters. (See E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 1963²-64, II 16ff. for the surviving fragment of his poem on fish). Herodes may have known Marcellus from the

⁹ Elpinice and Bradua, are known to have held the office of Hearth Initiate there, both around 150.

¹⁰ See commentary on vv. 95-6 of the inscription.

¹¹ Cf. the possible allusions to Nemesis in the Tyche sculptures at Corinth: Pomeroy, Ch. 4. See also L. Quilici, *La valle della Caffarella e Il triopio di Erode Attico*, “Capitolium” 43, 1968, 339-41.

¹² See Pomeroy, Ch. 3.

¹³ Galli (above, n. 6), 112, and see Wilamowitz, esp. 11f. = 203f.

time when he was Corrector of the Free Cities in Asia, or he may have been familiar with his works which Hadrian and Antoninus had ordered to be available in libraries in Rome¹⁴.

Marcellus was known for lengthy works (his poem on medical matters covered 42 books) and this inscription is 98 lines long. There were Roman precedents for huge inscriptions praising dead wives, perhaps a development from the eulogy delivered at funerals. These eulogies were not always private speeches addressed only to members of the family and close friends. The man speaking might use the occasion of the funeral for personal and political gains. Thus the young Julius Caesar's speech at the funeral of his aunt Julia in 69 BC provided a podium for him to launch his political career (Plut. *Caes.* 5). A brief comparison with the *Laudatio Turiae*¹⁵, our longest surviving private Roman inscription (*ILS* 8393), which was also written by a husband in honour of his dead wife, will draw attention to the esoteric and peculiar qualities of the Regilla memorial. The *Laudatio Turiae* was written in the husband's words in normal Latin prose. The Regilla eulogy, in contrast, was composed by a poet commissioned by the husband and written in a stylized, difficult Greek. The *Laudatio Turiae* was erected in Rome where numerous casual passers-by could read it. The Regilla inscription, in contrast stood on Regilla's private estate: although it addresses "women of the Tiber", in truth it could be read and understood only by highly literate visitors and inhabitants of the estate (see commentary on vv. 40ff.). The *Laudatio Turiae* tells the story of an upper-class woman whose heroic actions saved her husband's life in the civil war following the assassination of Julius Caesar. The Regilla eulogy describes an upper-class woman who was heroised as a result of her family connections and her priestly activities. Turia could not bear children; Regilla was prolific. Both memorials describe a husband's sorrow and mourning, but Turia's husband's words seem genuine and heart-felt – though he manages to portray himself as loyal and magnanimous; in contrast, Herodes Atticus seems self-pitying and self-serving. Herodes exploits the text as an opportunity to depict himself not as a murderer, but as a mourner devoted to his wife's memory¹⁶.

The poem was inscribed on two slabs. One stele is 1.22 metres high and .54 metres wide. The other is 1.17 metres high and .37 metres wide. (The two slabs have often been referred to, inaccurately, as two *sides* of one stone,

¹⁴ *AP* 7.158, an epitaph on Marcellus of unknown authorship.

¹⁵ See M. Durry, *Éloge funèbre d'une matron romaine: éloge dit de Turia* (Paris 2002³). Though Turia is not named in the inscription scholars generally agree that she was the wife of Quintus Lucretius.

¹⁶ On the general theme see J. Pircher, *Das Lob der Frau im vorchristlichen Grabepigramme der Griechen* (Innsbruck 1979).

which is ruled out by the measurements just quoted). The difference in size suggests that the slabs may have been shaped to fit into some sort of monument. The inscription is not distributed randomly on the two slabs. Rather, stele A ends with a climactic reference to Alcmena and Semele and stele B opens with an address to Athena and Nemesis (see on vv. 59 and 60, below). The Greek is often rather odd, and not readily understood. Echoes of earlier poets from archaic to Hellenistic and of primitive religious forms have been identified, but some of our current difficulty in interpretation may be due to the loss of ancient literature to which this poem alludes.

Cults of heroes and heroines originally centered on the burial place of their human remains. Though Regilla's remains were in Greece, Herodes had provided a cenotaph in the *Deus Rediculus*. It is clear that her cult is based on the premise that she is a heroine, less than a full-fledged goddess, but more than mortal¹⁷. The poem in places gives the impression of a hymn, and is written in hexameters, as was traditional for that genre¹⁸. The use of that metre for a sepulchral epitaph is extremely unusual. It is unclear whether this feature should be regarded as a sign of 'archaizing' ("down to the mid-sixth century it is the usual metre for verse inscriptions": West, *Greek Metre* 35) or e.g. a Hellenistic mixing of genres.

Whether it was ever performed orally is not known, but it is conceivable that Marcellus or Herodes read it aloud or that musicians were engaged to present it at a dedicatory event before a select audience. After it was inscribed, it was meant to be read by visitors to the *Triopeion*.

The poem contains ninety-eight lines. The first seventy-four lines include information about the cult of Regilla and give a description of her estate. The inscription concludes with the curses, traditional in such contexts, that Herodes customarily added to prevent vandalism and the reuse of the property or removal of his monuments.

The slabs have had an interesting history. Found beside the Appian Way in 1607 (stele B) and c. 1616 (stele A), they became part of the Borghese Collection until 1808, when they were carted off from Rome to France by Napoleon, which is where (in the Louvre) they remain. Their contents have attracted study by scholars of the highest calibre: by Casaubon, who published in 1608 the *editio princeps* of B from a copy sent to Paris (see M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon, 1559-1614* [London 1875], 208); by Salmasius, who published both stelae in 1619; by Kaibel *EG* 1046, and in *IG* XIV; and by Wilamowitz (see Abbreviations, p. 33). It may be stressed, however, that

¹⁷ See bibliography in Ameling, II 153, no. 146, and Follet.

¹⁸ See Bowie, who considers it one of the best works of the period: E.L. Bowie, *Poetry and Poets in Asia and Achaia*, in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* ("BICS" Supplement 55, London 1989) 198-205, esp. 201.

these great names have discussed the inscription on the basis of copies made for them (see Peek, 76). By contrast, we have subjected the inscription to autopsy during 2nd-4th January, 2008, so thoroughly that little uncertainty as to details of readings now remains. In the case of stele A, on public display in Salle 2, Galérie Épigraphique of the Museum, the lettering is clear and legible, the only serious difficulties being posed by the large horizontal crack about half way down, running across the whole stone. We can confirm that the report given by Peek (based on his own autopsy in 1977), concerning specific difficulties of reading, is to our eyes entirely accurate. Stele B (preserved, not on public display, in Salle 31, Cour du Sphinx) is a somewhat different case. The letters are a little smaller and more cramped than on A, but the main difficulty is posed by areas of staining and abrasion which made it impossible for us to confirm on the spot many of the letters identified by the earliest collators and taken over by later scholars. However, prolonged inspection, subsequent to our autopsy, of black and white reproductions kindly supplied by Brigitte Tailliez of the Louvre, enabled us finally to confirm all such letters. We reproduce these photographs here: the areas of abrasion are clearly visible. We also state that again Peek's reports of difficult and disputed readings are accurate. We accompany the text with a very brief app. crit. After Peek's and our autopsies it seems pointless to continue recording erroneous readings; pointless also, for different reasons, to assign authorship to such obvious corrections as $\mu\nu\nu$ for $\mu\eta\nu$ (A 51).

The above translation is an expanded and slightly revised version of that offered at the end of Pomeroy's *Regilla*. (Leopardi's youthful rendering, rightly praised by Wilamowitz, is reprinted in *Leopardi. Canti*, edd. C. Muscetta and G. Savoca [Turin 1968], 426ff.)

There is some bibliography¹⁹ on this poem, but not as much as one might expect considering its length. A fresh study thus seems more than justified. We offer a new and full commentary, drawing particular attention to the vestiges of primitive Greek religious and literary forms and to the historical and physical Roman context.

Commentary

Stele A

Skenteris, 64 observes that only the first stele's contents are definitely ascribable to Marcellus by the genitive of his name that stands at its top. But the stylistic continuity between the two stelae (e.g the use of mythological *exempla* laid out in chiasmic ring composition: 51-9 : 91-8) is so great that it would be perverse not to allow him authorship of the contents of both stelae.

¹⁹ See L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* III, (Rome 1979), 14-9, and n. 17 above. Moretti's was long the standard text of our poem.

Skenteri also argues for a plurality of poems, given the differences of tone and subject matter between the contents of the two stelae. Here too, however, the stylistic continuity needs to be borne in mind.

1-4: The epitaph opens with an address to a plurality of individuals. The name of the dead person follows, together with a deictic pronoun which would normally confirm that the dead person is buried *here* (but see the Historical Introduction p. 10 and 46-7 n. below). And then that person's family is identified. For an indication of the brief and simple statement of such essentials in early epitaphs, from which more detailed instances like the present were elaborated, see *IG* IV 50 = Friedländer no. 76 = *CEG* 80(i) (Aegina 6th cent. or later). Cf. *IG* IX 1, 867.1f. = Friedländer no. 26 = *CEG* 143 (Corcyra 600 BC).

1 δεῦρ' ἵτε: the inscription begins with a summons to women of Rome, described as daughters of the River Tiber. Peek compares anon. *AP* 9.189.1f. = Page, *FGE* 1176f. ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος... / Λεσβίδες and 669.1 δεῦρ' ἵθι, βαιὸν, ὀδείτα. Note also Antagoras *AP* 9.147.1 = *HE* 164 ὃ ἵτε Δῆμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ὃ ἵτε, μύσται. The phrasing in our passage, however, reflects an immemorially ancient formula of cletic hymns and the like, whereby a deity or deities are addressed and besought to *come here*, to a locale then specified by a deictic pronoun. So Sappho fr. 2.1f. δεῦρ' ἡ... ἐπ[ὶ τόνδ]ε ναῦον ἄγνον and see further Pindar *Pyth.* 11.1ff. with Finglass' commentary *ad loc.* – Θυβρ. ... γυναικες: the hyperbaton is also idiomatic in the context of a cletic invocation (see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.8) as is the use of a patronymic for the addressee(s): see 60 n. below. Women are specified as appropriate reverers of Regilla: contrast e.g. *SEG* 1.248.1 (Thessaly) χαίρετε τοι πα[ριόντες, ἄπ]α[ς] θηλύς τε καὶ ἄρσιν. For a bas relief found in the vicinity of the inscription (depicting three women with wreaths and crowns and carrying offerings) as a possible illustration see Gleason, 147. – Θυβριάδες: the more correct spelling (as opposed to Θυμβρ-): see Gow and Page on Diod. *AP* 9.219.4 = *GPh* 2103.

2 ἔδος: see *LSJ* s.v. I 3 “seated statue of a god”. See further Skenteri, 35. A statue in the round made of Greek marble and showing a seated woman has been excavated at Herodes' Via Appia estate: Torlonia Museum Inv. 77. See Calza in G. Pisani Sartorio and R. Calza (above, n. 7), 159-213, esp. 186f., with plate 18 and E.E. Perry, *Artistic Imitation and the Roman Patron* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan 1995), 150-7 and 210. Since the face has been restored, the portrait cannot be compared to the known representations of Regilla from her *nymphaeum* at Olympia. But the seated figure may be the one that had been placed in Regilla's shrine in the *Triopeion*. On the un-Homeric application of θυοσκόος to sacrificial implements rather than to human beings see Skenteri, 60f. – φέρουσαι: for the verb as meaning “bring

offerings" see Antimachus fr. 22.1 with Matthews' commentary *ad loc.* In hymns proper, the cletic imperative is often followed by a participle which adds a further element to the request. Apart from λιπών (see below on v. 67) cf. such instances as τὸν χρυσομίτραν τε κικλήσκω /... / οἰνῶπα Βάκχον.../ πελασθῆναι φλέγοντ' in Soph. *OT* 209ff. or ἐχοῦσα δέ μοι μόλοις/ Εἰρήνην φιλέορτον in Ar. *Thesm.* 1145-6. The epitaph's idiomatic injunction to the passer by to 'come here' is expanded to make a special point explained at 8-9 below.

3ff.: for 'biographical themes' in epitaphs (also implied at 46-7 below) see Lattimore, 266ff. (note 267: "the longer biographies on the whole belong to a later time"). Ps.-Dion. Hal. *On Epideictic Speeches* 278f. lists (as more or less does Menander Rhetor 2.420.10ff.) family, country, nature, accomplishments etc. as apt topics for praise in an *epitaphios logos*, and recommends beginning with ancestors (a topic returned to at v. 38 below).

3 πολυκτεάνων ... Αἰνεαδάων: Peek compares *GV* 435.2 (Naples second century AD) Ῥωμαίων σπέρμα πολυκτεάνων. Note also the traditional wealth of Priam and Troy (for which see Horsfall on Verg. *Aen.* 2.763ff.).

4: αἶμα means "offspring" or "scion" (see Callim. *Aetia* fr. 143.2 with Massimilla *ad loc.*) and refers to Regilla. As Wilamowitz notes, descent from Venus is transferred to Regilla from the Julii as if, being, like Faustina, one of the Annii, she is of the imperial family and therefore a Caesar.

5 γήματο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα: as εἰς τύρανν' (scil. δώματα) ἐγημάμην at Eur. *Tr.* 474 means "I married into a royal house", so Marcellus' phrase here means, as *LSJ* s.v. γαμέω II 1 puts it, "married Herodes of Marathon". Herodes was born at Marathon and wanted to be buried there. His lineage linked him with this deme, famous as the site of a crucial battle in the Persian Wars. The local cult of the victorious general Miltiades, whom Herodes claimed as an ancestor, was centered there. Herodes had built or inherited a villa at Marathon before his marriage and lived there with Regilla. A large and imposing gateway, known as "the gate of Eternal Harmony" seems to have been part of a three mile rubble wall surrounding the property, with "the place you enter belongs to Herodes" inscribed on one side and "the place you enter belongs to Regilla" on the other. See Pomeroy, 73-80, and Tobin, esp. 74, 80-2, 206, 227-8.

6 The implications of the adj. in such phrases as νέος Διόνυσος or νέα Δρουσίλλα are fully discussed by A.D. Nock, *Notes on Ruler Cult*, "JHS" 48, 1928, 31ff. = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford 1972), I 144ff., esp. n. 67 on Julia Domna as νέα Ἥρα. In the present case, the New Demeter is Annia Galeria Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius. Regilla's father, Appius Annius Gallus was a member of the venerable family of the Annii Regilli and Regilla was related to Faustina through him. See

further Historical Introduction, p. 10f. and Pomeroy, 2, 14, 100, 158-61, 164, 170-3. For Faustina's special association with the cult of Demeter see Pomeroy, 158. Herodes constructed a temple, known as the temple of Faustina, to Demeter and Faustina adjacent to the Via Latina, where the Old and the New Demeter were honoured and Herodes dedicated a statue of Regilla as priestess of the Old Demeter there: see 11-12 and 48-9 below. – Δηώ: for the apparently hypocoristic form of Demeter's name see Richardson on *HHDem.* 47.

7-8: For the contrast of body and soul in epitaphs see Lattimore, 21ff.

7 ἐϋζώνιο γυναικός / = *Il.* 1.429.

8-9: For claims to the immortality of the (apparently) dead in epitaphs see Lattimore, 148ff. and (on more specific claims to 'deification') 100ff. For the topos as idiomatic in the consolatory section of an *epitaphios logos* cf. Russell and Wilson's commentary on Menander Rhetor 1.414.25-7: "M. proceeds a further step: not only is the deceased 'with the gods', he is a hero or even god himself, to be placated as a daimon" (p. 327). – ἄγκειται: cf. Crönert-Passow's *Lexicon* s.v. For the *simplex* κεῖμαι of an entity being 'situated' in a place see Lloyd-Jones, 89 = 182. – μεθ' ἡρώνησι νενάσται: Regilla being female, the relevant topos is adjusted. For the more general claim that the subject of the epitaph is in the company of the gods see Peek, *GV* 1411.2 νῦν γὰρ χῶρον ἔχεις ἡσυχον ἀθανάτων, *GV* 858.2 παρ' ἀθανάτοις ναιετάοντα. – ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν: for references to the Islands of the Blessed, Magnelli on Alex. Aetol. fr. 1.2 gives a full list.

9: ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν = Hes. *Op.* 171; ἵνα Κρ. ἐμβ./ = Hes. *Op.* 173a (*olim* 169: see West *ad loc.*).

10: For epitaphs' praises of the deceased as ἀγαθός or σώφρων, see Page, *FGE* p. 85. For praise of the *nous* in Athenian epitaphs see Friedländer, p. 91. The notion that Regilla was rewarded by the gods for her goodness (and its expression here) may derive ultimately from the more prosaic reality of such phrases as Peek, *GV* 97 = *CEG* 167 (Chios, 5th century BC) ὀργῆς δ' ἀ[ντ'] ἀγαθῆς Εὐω[πί]δης τόδε μν[ῆ]μα / αὐτῇ ἐπέστησεν, τῷ παράκοιτις ἔην. See further Menander Rhetor 2.421.19-24 with Russell and Wilson's commentary *ad loc.* (p. 335): "if a woman's personality is to appear dignified, some special emphasis must be laid on her ἀρετή" in an *epitaphios logos*.

11: For the picture of Zeus 'pitying' mortal(s) in later literature see G. Agosti, "ZPE" 140, 2002, 52f.). On the motif of the grieving husband (esp., as here, grief for a premature death) see Lattimore, 178ff. On Herodes' apparently excessive grief for the various deaths which afflicted his household and the possibility that an element of self-consciousness was at play see Kampen (above, p. 12), 69f. and 79ff.

12 γῆραι ἐν ἀζαλέῳ: the adj. is used again of γῆρας (with the meaning “harsh, crude”, *LSJ* s.v. I 2) in anon. *SH* 1149 (cited by *Plut. Mor.* 789c). In fact, Herodes was 54 when Regilla died. He himself died in 177 AD at the age of 76, thus living far longer than the average Roman and outliving all but one of his children (see 14-15 n.). On the controversial subject of Roman demography see, *inter al.*, W. Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age, and Death in the Roman Empire. Explorations in ancient demography* (Ann Arbor 1996), esp. 117-18, n. 62, 138, T.G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (Baltimore 1992), esp. 90, and R.P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge 1994), esp. 20. The latter gives 20-30 years as the average life expectancy at birth. The Senatorial class may, of course, have fared somewhat better. On this elite group see: F. Jacques, *L'éthique et la statistique. À propos du renouvellement du Sénat romain (Ier-IIIe siècles de l'Empire, “Annales (ESC)”* 42, 1987, 1287-1303, esp. 1289. Nevertheless, men aged 50-60 were considered old: see B.W. Frier, *Demography*, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI: *The High Empire A.D. 70-192* (2000), 787-816, esp. 795f.

14 ἄρπυιαι Κλωθῶες... μέλαιναι: for the Moirai as goddesses of death in inscriptions see Dietrich, 74-6. For epitaphs' more specific picture of the Moirai as “snatching away” a mortal life see Lattimore, 150f. (with n. 55), 158f., and 303. The verbs (ἀν)ἄρπάζω frequently convey this meaning in epitaphs: see V. Citti *et al.* (eds.), *An Index to the Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I (Amsterdam 1995) s.vv. On the etymologically appropriate use of ἀνηρεῖψαντο for this process see Skenteri, 61; E. Risch, in *Eumusia. Festgabe für E. Howald* (Zürich 1947), 81 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1981), 303. The pl. form Κλωθῶες is unique: see Skenteri, 62. For the use of words like μέλας in contexts relating to death see 82 n.

14-5: of the relevant children, Regillus died in 155 AD, Athenais in 160/61 AD. Elpinice was still alive when the poem was composed, though she died in 165, leaving Bradua as sole survivor.

16 νηπιαχό: to achieve pathos, the youth of the children is exaggerated: see Skenteri, 40. – ἀγνώ τε κακῶν... ἀπύστω: for the juxtaposition of two nearly synonymous alpha-privative adjectives in an account of a felicitous state see D. Fehling, *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin 1969), 237.

18: We follow here the explanation advanced by Peek, 80. Much the same interpretation (the spindles as symbol of old age) had already been noted by the Italian editors of Leopardi's poems in their note to the relevant portion of his translation (see p. 15). But perhaps the underlying idea is not that old women characteristically spin, but that *human life is comparable to a spun thread*. For this primeval notion see T.H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and*

Custom in the Old Testament (London 1968) 628, and 580 on the associated picture of ‘the loom of life’ (cf. R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge 1954², General Index s.v. ‘spinning’; M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007, 380-5). – μιγήμεναι: “be brought to”: see W.J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969), s.v. μείγνυμι 1 b.

21 θαλερήν: Regilla was eight months pregnant when she died.

22: For Elysium as the place where *agathoi* and *eusebeis* are privileged to reside after death see Lloyd-Jones, 93f. = 186, Dietrich, 345ff. For this as a topos in the consolatory section of an *epitaphios logos* see Menander Rhetor 2.414.15f., 421.16f. with Russell and Wilson’s commentary on the first passage (p. 326). For wafting a soul on Zephyr’s breezes see Callim. fr. 110 Pf. = fr. 213 Massimilla (*Coma Berenices*) 51ff. with the edd. *ad loc.*

23ff.: Roman Senators wore sandals distinguished by an ivory crescent: cf. Howell on Martial 1.49.31, L. Cleland, G. Davies and L. Llewelyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London 2007), 118. Marcellus here supplies an ingenious new mythological *aition* for the symbol more regularly (if unconvincingly) explained as C = 100. Although Herodes would seem from this passage to have been proud that he and his son Bradua were entitled to wear such sandals, at his murder trial he derided his accuser (his brother in law) with the quip “you have your nobility on your toes” (Philostr. VS 2.555).

24ff.: In spite of τὰ λέγουσι, this is our only source for the idea that Hermes (who at *HHaphr.* 117ff. brings Aphrodite to Anchises’ bed) rescued Aeneas (and his family) from Troy. There is, however, a multiple propriety in the god’s occupying of that role: (1) Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 2.7.13 observe: “as διάκτορος he was naturally good at escorting people unobserved... and must have been traditionally associated with escapes from danger”. (2) As guide of mortals, the god who διάγει and who ἐξέκλεπεν Ἄρηα from a bronze jar at *Il.* 5.390 (“carry off, spirit away” *LSJ* s.v. κλέπτω I 1, rather than *ibid.* s.v. ἐκκλέπτω I 5 “steal”) may also ἐξάγειν. (3) Hermes leads Priam to Achilles’ hut in *Il.* 24 at night, and for Hermes as a god associated with twilight, darkness, and night see the bibliography in H. Herter, “RhM” 119, 1976, 195 n. 8, esp. W.F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands* (Frankfurt am Main 1947³), 105ff. = *The Homeric Gods* (London 1954), 115ff. λέγουσι may indeed be intended to introduce a new version of an old story as if it were traditional: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 17 ἔστιν δὲ δὴ λόγος τις with Kannicht *ad loc.*

25 ἥμιος ὄτ’: cf. Ap. Rh. 4.267, 452, 1310; Nic. *Ther.* 75, 936; Arat. 584 (Kidd *ad loc.* deduces that “the pleonasm appears to be Hellenistic”); *Orph. Arg.* 120. – Ἑρμῶν: for the form see Hes. fr. 137.1, 150.31 MW.

26 νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν = *Od.* 15.50.

27: The traces are very difficult to read because of the horizontal crack (see p. 15 above), but Peek's interpretation of them (77, with drawing) seems correct (for the breaking of the law banning word end after a monosyllabic 4th or 8th element in the hexameter, he compares v. 81 below). Cf. West, *Greek Metre*, 154f.; Hollis, *Callimachus. Hecale* (Oxford 2009²) 20f.

29 Αὐσονί[οις]: the Ausones were a South Italian tribe whose "name and its derivatives had been used as equivalent to *Italian* by Alexandrians... and commonly by Greek and Roman poets of the Augustan period": Gow and Page on Antip. Thess. AP 11.24. 3 = *GPh* 89, citing copious instances.

31 Τυρσηνῶν: "Etruscan" (see West on [Hes.] *Th.* 1016). At Verg. *Aen.* 8.458 Evander *Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis* and if Servius *ad loc.* is right to gloss these words as a reference to *calcei senatorii* we have a parallel for the present reference to the senatorial sandals of vv. 23ff.

32: On the traditions concerning Herse, one of the three daughters of Cecrops, see Powell, 8-9 and 49ff., esp. 49: "she has no cult at Athens, nor is there any Athena Herse; Athena does not adopt her name as she did the names of Aglaurus and Pandrosus". Marcellus is the sole source for Herse as Keryx's mother. Normally it is Cephalus who was the offspring of Herse and Hermes, and Keryx is son of one of Herse's two sisters: see Powell, 8-9 ("when Athens and Eleusis had forged a close political union, there came to be an identification or parallelisation of the three daughters of Cecrops with the Charites or Horae"). See further Hollis' commentary on Callimachus' *Hecale*, 229-31. – εἰ ἐτεὸν δῆ: no expression of doubt is intended: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 21 εἰ σαφὴς οὗτος λόγος and T.C.W. Stinton, 'Si credere dignum est': *Some Expressions of Disbelief in Euripides and Others*, "PCPhS" 22, 1976, 75ff. = *Collected Papers* (Oxford 1990), 255ff.

33 Θησιμάδαο: a generalising reference to Athenian nationality: for patronymics thus used see e.g. C. Macleod, "JHS" 102, 1982, 125 = *Collected Essays* (Oxford 1983), 21 n. 6.

34 ἐπώνυμος: Herodes was eponymous archon in Athens not much after 126/7 AD. See Ameling, I 49 and II 101-04, nos. 72-4, and Follet.

35 πρωτόθρονες ἔδραι: the phrase is reminiscent of the Aeschylean mannerism of "a substantive with a compound attribute whose latter part is more or less synonymous with the substantive": see Friis Johansen and Whittle on Aesch. *Suppl.* 29-30 ἄρσενοπληθῆ... ἐσμόν.

36-7: For an epitaph's eulogy (in this case of the dead) expressed by similar negatives see Peek, *GV* 912.1-2 οὐκ ἄλλην ποτὲ τύμβος ἀρείονα τῆσδε κατέσχευ, / οὐ γένος, οὐ πινυτήν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἀγλαΐην. Cf. Ap. Rh. 4.1102 οὐ γάρ τις βασιλεύτερος Αἰήταο.

37: Even bearing in mind the epitaph's unusual length, one is surprised at

the extent to which this standard feature, the name of the cenotaph's builder and bereaved spouse, is delayed. – γλῶσσαν: though a seemingly obvious metaphor for eloquence, the present identification is surprisingly difficult to parallel (its metaphorical use is generally derogatory, implying “mere talk” or the like: see Headlam and Knox on Herodas 6.16; Denniston, “CQ” 21, 1927, 120).

38 καλλίσφυρος: used of Hebe at *Od.* 11.603. – Αἰνείωνη: for the form see 59 n.

39-40: For the respective positions of Ganymedes, Dardanus and Tros within the family tree of the royal house at Troy see J.Th. Kakridis, *Die Pelopssage bei Pindar*, “Philologus” 85, 1930, 467 = *Μελετες και "Αρθρα*, 87 = W.M. Calder III and J. Stern (eds.), *Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Wege der Forschung 134, Darmstadt 1970), 179.

40ff.: The addressees change from “women of the Tiber” in the first line to a singular in line 40. This latter address is consistent with the traditional style of tombstones, which were erected along the roads; with their inscriptions they required, in imperative verbs, the people who passed by to pause and consider the dead: Lattimore, 230ff.; Friedländer, p. 87. In Friedländer no. 140, a sixth century BC or later epitaph from Eretria (= *GV* 1210 = *CEG* 108) variously “uncouth” (p. 131), the addressee changes to singular from plural in the course of the very first couplet: χαίρετε τοῖ παριόντες ... / δεῦρο ἰὼν ἀνάνειμαι κτλ. For the general principle of instructions (to the passer- by) to sacrifice and keep up the care of the grave see Lattimore, 127ff. The theme is exploited by Euripides at *Alc.* 995ff. – an atypical treatment (see Pulleyn, 119) which nevertheless shares some features with the present passage – where the chorus declare that passers-by will honour Alcestis' tomb by *stepping aside from the road* (κέλευθον ἐκβαίνων LP: ἐμβ- cett.: see Davies' review of Parker's *Alcestis*, “GGA” 259, 2008, 138).

40 σὺ δ', (ε)ὶ φίλον: for the theme “if it pleases you”, “if you are willing” in the context of requests for sacrifice cf. *EG* 120.9 (Athens, Roman period) εἰ δὲ θέλεις θέλγειν ψυχὴν [τεθνηκότος ἀνδρός, *CLE* 1184.12ff. (Rome) *o mihi si superi vellent praestare roganti / ut tuo de tumulo flos ego cerna novum / crescere* etc.

42ff.: In other words, Regilla has become, to quote Pulleyn, 119, on Euripides' Alcestis, “an object of worship for anybody, not just her immediate kin”.

42 εὐσεβέσσι: at Eur. *Alc.* 997 the chorus envisage Alcestis' tomb receiving reverential treatment (σέβας) from wayfarers. – ἡρώων: for ἥρωες used of women in epitaphs see Lattimore, 98 n. 77.

44-5: Note the chiastic (AbbA) construction: no temple, no tomb, as for mortals, as for gods. For a tomb as γέρας θανόντων see *Il.* 16.457, 675, *IG* I²

1022 = no. 28 Friedländer (Sounion, 6th cent. BC) = *GV* 156 = *CEG* 40.

45: The elliptical 'brachylogy' is that of κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι for κόμαι ταῖς τῶν Χαρίτων ὁμοίαι: see *LSJ* s.v. ὅμοιος B 2b; Housman on Manil. 2.269 and in "CQ" 27, 1933, 3 = *Classical Papers* III (Cambridge 1972), 1199. Similarly, in Eur. *Alc* 996f. χῶμα... θεοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως τιμάσθω stands for "be honoured like [the memorial of] the gods". – οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν ὅμοια: by contrast, in Eur. *Alc*. 995 the chorus tell Admetus that his wife has become a μάκαιρα δαίμων whose tomb should be honoured θεοῖσιν ὁμοίως.

46-7: Herodes built a cenotaph for Regilla at her estate on the Appian Way, perhaps from feelings of guilt over her death in Greece, or perhaps because the estate at Rome simply offered him an opportunity to construct another centrally located monument in the hope of silencing rumours of wife-murder by advertising his grief. Where the actual remains of Regilla were placed is uncertain. Regilla's and Herodes' children (14-5 n.) were interred in sarcophagi, and in 1866 four sarcophagi were found in a marble tomb in Kephisia and identified by location and decorative motifs as the graves of Herodes' and Regilla's family. It may be that Regilla's remains were placed in this tomb, at least immediately following her death. A dedicatory altar found at Marousi, a suburb of Athens, has been associated with the tomb of Regilla, but see the doubts expressed by G.N. Pallis, *H IG II² 13200 και το ταφικο μνημειο της Πηγίλλης*, "Horos" 14-16, 2000-2003, 191-95 and Plates 47-8, arguing that the association rests on 19th century evidence that cannot be confirmed. See *IG II/III² 13200= IG III 1417*; Ameling, II 160 no. 147; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* IV (Rome 1978), 230-5; Tobin, 125-6, 236-7.

47: For Rhadamanthus' association with Elysium (cf. 22 n.) see Lloyd-Jones, 93 = 186 n. 22.

48: For Faustina see 6 n. above. For ἄγαλμα in inscriptions see J. W. Day, *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication* (Cambridge 2010), 85ff. and Index s.v.

49-50: Skenteri, 60 n. 85 compares, "for the laudatory description of the *Triopeion* area" *Il.* 14.122f., on the rich possessions of Tydeus (acres, orchards and sheep).

51-7: The poet here exploits the primeval rhetorical device of mythological *paradeigma* or *exemplum*, a device stretching back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 24.601ff. on Niobe) and traditionally employed to illuminate or validate a statement about the present by citing parallel instances from the past. Equally primeval and idiomatic is the AbA pattern used to structure the *exempla* here: *thesis* (51-2) Regilla will be honoured; *exempla* (53-4): as were Iphigenia and Herse; *restated thesis* (55-8) so will Regilla be honoured.

Compare *Il.* 5.382ff and 24.601ff. and see in general M. Alden, *Homer Beside Himself* (Oxford 2000). Cf. Davies, ‘Self-Consolation’ in the *Iliad*, “CQ” 56, 2006, 582ff. As part of this pattern, a key verb is either repeated or varied to give clarity or variety to the argument. So at *Il.* 5 τέτλαθι (382), πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τλήμεν (383), τλή μὲν ἼΑρης (385), τλή δ’ Ἡρη (392), τλή δ’ Αἴδης (395) or *Il.* 24 μνησώμεθα δόρπου (601), καὶ γὰρ... Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου (602), ἡ δ’ ἄρα σίτου μνήσατ’ (613), ἀλλ’... καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα... / σίτου (618f.). So here, οὐ... ἀτιμήσειε (51), οὐδ’... ἀπητίμησεν (54), οὐδέ... παρόψεται (55f.). For the general use of *exempla* in epitaphs see E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der mors immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften* (Innsbruck 1966), 89ff.

51: on the required construction of οὐ μὲν ἀτιμήσειε θεή see Skenteri, 37f. – βασίλεια γυναικῶν = *Od.* 11.258 (of Tyro in the ‘Catalogue of Heroines’).

53: Iphigeneia functions as a by-form of Artemis: there was an Artemis Iphigeneia at Hermione (Paus. 2.35.1) and Hesychius ι 1122 Latte has the entry Ἰφιγένεια· ἡ Ἀρτεμις. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977), 230 = *Greek Religion, Archaic and Classical* (Oxford 1985), 147 talks of “a near identity of god and victim” and says (237 = 152) “Artemis is mirrored in Iphigeneia”. The epithet εὐθρονοῦς is usually referred, as in the translation above, to the goddess’ throne; but given Artemis’ connection with “a feeling for virgin nature, with meadows, groves, and mountains... the open countryside beyond the towns and villages and beyond the fields tilled in the works of man” (Burkert as cited, 235 = 150: note esp. Eur. *Hipp.* 77ff., a garland of flowers for the goddess), the epithet may just as well derive from θρόνα meaning “flowers”: see R. Merkelbach, “ZPE” 11, 1973, 160 = *Philologica* (Stuttgart 1997), 311f.; Risch, “StudClas” 14, 1972, 17ff. = *Kl. Schr.* 354ff.; R. Renehan in K.J. Rigsby (ed.), *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow* (“GRBS” Monogr. 10, Durham, NC 1984), 256 etc. – ἰοχεαίρα: for this epithet used of Artemis see Kirk on *Il.* 5.53-4.

54 Ἴερση: putative ancestor of Herodes: see Powell, 49ff. – οὐδὲ γὰρ κτλ.: negative particles introducing an alpha-privative verb equivalent to οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ, itself equivalent (see e.g. *Il.* 6.130 and Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1022-4) to καὶ γάρ, “words used, from very ancient times for attaching the παράδειγμα to the sentence which is to be illustrated by it” or “to introduce a precedent... to prove the validity of the maxim” (Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1040 and *Horace*, Oxford 1957, 185f.), as in v. 89 below. The double negative is emphatic: the thesis and exempla involve females who were honoured, Herse perhaps because (*sec.* Amelesagoras *FGrHist* 330F1) she alone of the Cecropids did not open the casket containing Erichonius.

54 γοργῶπις; see Soph. *Aj.* 450 and Finglass' commentary *ad loc.* for other passages where this or a similar adj. is applied to Athena.

– ἀπητίμησεν: the vb. is only elsewhere found at *Il.* 13.113. Janko *ad loc.* characterizes it as intensifying and 'unique'.

55 οὐδέ: the negative particle returns us from the *exempla* to reality and may be regarded as constituting a paratactic comparison: "as the goddesses mentioned respected their favourites, so too with Herodes' wife" (for γάρ introducing a paratactic comparison see Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 144ff.).

– ἡρώνησι παλαιῇσιν: see 57 n. below.

56 Καίσαρος... μήτηρ: Domitia Lucilla, mother of Marcus Aurelius. Herodes as a youth had lived with her family (she was about his age) and was later appointed tutor to her son the future emperor. Her facility in Greek – the orator Fronto addressed two letters to her in that language and expressed (*Epist. Graec.* 1 and 2 [pp. 21ff. and 32ff. van den Hout]; see further E. Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta*, London 1999, 199) awe of her knowledge of it – may have been remarkable even for a member of the Roman aristocracy, and perhaps suggests a closeness with Herodes as they grew up together. Herodes then became the tutor of Lucius Verus, a further indication of his long standing relationship with the Antonine emperors and influential members of the court such as Fronto. – ὄμπνια μήτηρ: for the adj.'s meaning and its application to Demeter see Hollis' commentary on Callim. *Hec.* fr. 111 (287 Pf.), and Massimilla on Callim. fr. 1.10.

57 προτερῶν ἡμιθεῶν: cf. *GV* 2030.18 (Syros, Roman period) προτέραις ... ἡρωεῖναις.

58: If the relative refers back to 56's Demeter it is odd, since she (as Wilamowitz observes) did not rule Elysium or engage in dancing. A reference to either Regilla or Faustina is therefore preferable (see Skenteri, 43, arguing for a deliberate ambiguity).

59: The first stone ends with an impressive reference to two mothers of hero or god, Alcmena of Heracles, Semele of Dionysus. Heracles and Dionysus are often coupled as individuals who became gods: see Nisbet and Rudd on Hor. *carm.* 3.3.9 and 13-15. – Καδμειώνη: an emphatic *spondeiazon* closes this paragraph. For the allusive reference, via patronymic, as idiomatic within a *paradeigma* see Davies, "ZPE" 72, 1988, 39-42. For the form as "popular in patronymics or matronymics in Hellenistic poets" see Lightfoot on Parthenius fr. 21 (p. 163). Cf. J.M. Bremmer, "ZPE" 158, 2006, 27, last para.

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60: The accumulation of epithets is typical of the cletic style which Marcellus resumes here: see Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 214, and Pulleyn, 52. So

too is the reference to the deity's ancestry or birth which we find in Τριτογένεια: see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.10.1. On the title see further Friedländer, p. 118; West on Hes. *Th.* 895.

60-1: Another idiomatic feature of hymns and prayers, the relative clause picking up the vocative and encapsulating a typical activity of the deity invoked. See e.g. Anacreon *PMG* 348 ἤ κου νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου δίνῃσι... ἔσκατορῶς πόλιν and Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 94ff. – ἐπιήρανε: taken as “helping, assisting” (*LSJ* s.v. II 1) by Wilamowitz, citing Hesychius s.v. (ε 4782 Latte) to that effect. – Παμνουσιάς: see Fordyce on Catull. 68.77: “Nemesis the goddess who visits human presumption with retribution (50.20), so called (cf. 66.71) from her famous temple at R(h)amnus in Attica”. For her cult at Rhamnus see further A.B. Cook, *Zeus* I (Cambridge 1914), 273ff., 280ff., and Dietrich, 160ff. and General Index s.v. ‘Nemesis at Rhamnus’. This mode of reference to the goddess may also be a *euphemism* for Nemesis, who is named directly later (v. 93), but with the epithet ἀπρόφατος. On the whole issue of naming or not naming deities in prayer see Pulleyn, 111ff. On “Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus” in such contexts see also A. Henrichs in M.A. Harder and H. Hofmann (eds.), *Fragmenta Dramatica* (Göttingen 1991), 162ff. On the possible relevance of Nemesis to Herodes and Regilla see further the Historical Introduction, p. 12. It has been suggested (C. Edwards, *Tyche at Corinth*, “Hesperia” 59, 1990, 537 and n. 43) that the statue depicting Regilla which Herodes gave to Corinth in her lifetime and which the city's Boule set up before Tyche's sanctuary there (as recorded on an inscribed statue base discovered in 1935) portrayed her in the guise of Nemesis of Rhamnus. – (ὁράαις) Οὐπι: there is a particular point to the use here of a vb. of seeing, over and above the widespread motif of the all-seeing deity (cf. Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 1268-9). Since *Opis*, according to F.G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen 1857-63) 2.394, “bedeutet das Schauen oder Achten der Götter auf die Menschen, und die damit verbundene Ahnung des Unrechts”, it would seem that we have here an instance of the literary pattern found in Augustan poets and exemplified at its simplest by Vergil *Aen.* 3.703 *arduus... Acragas*, whereby a proper name immediately follows a word or words that paraphrase the content of that name. For this pattern see e.g. Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.21.6. On Artemis *Opis* (“assimilated to Nemesis”: Wilamowitz) see further S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893), 127f.; Cook, *Zeus* I 275, and Dietrich, 163f.

62 γείτονες ἀγχίθυροι: another stylistic feature characteristic of prayer or hymn: an appositional phrase follows the vocative of the deity addressed, as in Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* II.vii.111-2 “Come, thou monarch of the vine, / Plumpy Bacchus with pink eyne”; Milton, *L'Allegro* 11-12 “But come thou Goddess fair and free, / In heav'n yclept Euphrosyne”, and

Paradise Lost 3.1 “Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heav’n first-born”. Further instances in Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.10.1. For the notion of deities as neighbours, often associated with the picture of them as προπυλαίοι, see J.S. Rusten, *Γείτων Ἡρώς: Pindar’s Prayer to Heracles and Greek Popular Religion*, “HSCPh” 87, 1983, 291 and n. 11. It is appropriate, therefore, that the next phrase should be Ῥώμης ἑκατοντοπύλοιο: the author has transferred to Rome the impressive epithet ἑκατόμπυλος applied at *Iliad* 9.381ff. to Thebes, presumably (see Hainsworth *ad loc.* and W. Burkert, *Das hunderttorige Theben und die Datierung der Ilias*, “WS” 10, 1976, 5-21 = *Kleine Schriften I*, Göttingen 2001, 59ff.) the Egyptian city. On the correct form (ἑκατοντο-, as the inscription, or ἑκατοντα-) see Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.* I 593; Risch, “IF” 67, 1962, 132f. = *Kl. Schr.* 680f.

63 καὶ τόνδε: ancient prayers often employ the formula καὶ νῦν to express the logic “as you have helped on other occasions in the past, so too now” (see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, 17 n. 3, Austin and Olson on Ar. *Thesm.* 1157-9, Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.32.1). Here we encounter the formula transposed, as it were, from temporal to geographical context, so that the logic becomes “as you have helped other places, so help this one”. – θεά: for the placing of this (dual) noun with its verb (in a prayer) between τόνδε and χώρον cf. Sappho 1.3f. (μηδ’) δάμνα, πότνια, θῦμον.

64-5: on Triopas see 95-6 n. below. On the *Triopeion* and its deities see Historical Introduction, p. 12.

65 τόφρα: for the requisite sense of purpose (ὄφρα) see *LSJ* s.v. II, classifying it as “Alexandrian”.

66 εὐρυχόρους: for the adjective’s meaning see Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 87.

66ff. ὥς ὅτε καὶ... ἤλθετε: cf. Sapph. 1.5-8 αἶ ποτα κατέρωτα /... /... /... ἤλθες and above on 63 for the logic of the prayer here. – δώματα πατρὸς λιποῦσαι: cf. Sapph. 1.7 πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα and for the general use of λιπών or *linquens* in such contexts Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.30.2.

68 ὥς τήνδε: “as when you came before, so in just such a way now”. The logic referred to above (63 n.) is here emphasized by a phrase that has its equivalent in the formula of Christian prayer *libera sicut liberasti*: see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *carm.* 1.32.1; Pulleyn, 36.

70 ἀπαλοτρεφέων: “of rich pasture” (*LSJ* s.v.). Skenteri, 60 n. 86 finds a similarity of tone between this passage and *HHDem.* 5-9 on the abduction of Persephone. – ῥώεσθε: for the imperitival form see Skenteri, 62.

72: for the phraseology see *HHAphr.* 120 with Faulkner *ad loc.* (adding Dion. Perieg. 4).

73 ἀκινήτην καὶ ἄσυλον: for the two alpha-privative adjectives in a

positive context with religious overtones see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfiguren* (above, 16 n.), 237. Cf. Nonnus *Par. Jo.* 1.1 with De Stefani *ad loc.*

75 Athena's crested helmet was by now a standard feature of her iconography in art: see S. Ritter in S. Deacy and A. Villing (eds.), *Athena in the Classical World* (Leiden 2001), 148.

77 Μοιρέων ἀτρεῖες ἀνάγκαι: a more normal phrase would be e.g. Μοιρῶν ἄτρεπτος ἀνάγκη (GV 1656.1). For the only other use of the adj. cf. Euphorion fr. 125 Powell, where, however, it means "fearless" rather than, as here, "not to be feared".

78 ἀλιτροσύνη: for a conspectus of other occurrences of the word see Livrea on Ap. Rh. 4.699 (adding Nonnus *Par. Jo.* 8.91, 9.129, 12.115).

79 γείτονες ἀγροῖωται: cf. ἀνέρες ἀγρ. at *Il.* 11.549, 15.272. We should perhaps compare the opprobrious use of the adj. in Philitas' Παίγνια (Powell, *CA* p. 92), v. 1, since Herodes' neighbours at the fourth milestone were his enemies, the Quintilii brothers.

80-98: "The tomb is *exclusive*. Generally the formula is 'so and so built the tomb for himself and his family' followed by the enunciation of a curse upon anyone who violates these conditions" (Lattimore, 108). For such curses on tomb violators see the bibliographies in Friedländer, p. 37 n. 1, Lattimore, 108 n. 147 and J.H.M. Strubbe, *Ἀραὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* (Bonn 1997), 299ff. Since no other curses appear on tombs along the Appian Way, some special motivation for their presence here has sometimes been suggested: see, e.g., Skenteri, 57 (Herodes got the idea from Anatolia while serving as Corrector of the Free Cities in Asia Minor: for Phrygia as "le domaine par excellence des imprécations funéraires" see Robert 252ff., = 708ff. = 326ff.) and Gleason 154ff. (a possible inheritance dispute with Regilla's family).

80 ἱερὸς οὗτος ὁ χώρος: the same phrase opens GV 2061. For the notion in epitaphs that "the tomb was a sacred place" see Lattimore, 106. Compare Peek, GV 1370.1 (Crete) μή μου ἐνυβρίζης ἀγνὸν τάφον.

80-1: The reference to the protecting deities takes the form of an emphatic tricolon crescendo, a feature of hymns and prayers (see Pulleyn, 145f.).

81 ὑποσχεῖν κτλ.: "ready to lend an ear". For the importance in ancient prayer of requests to the gods that they hear and grant mortals' requests see Pulleyn, 153ff.

82: Literally "let no mattock of Hades be fixed in the soil". For the formula 'let no one' see Lattimore, 112-4 and Robert, 253ff. = 709ff. = 326ff. For the general principle of a ban on disturbing the dead by digging see Lattimore, 106f. With Ἄιδος... μάκελλαν Wilamowitz compared the Διὸς μάκελλαν of Aesch. Ag. 526. But see Fraenkel on Ag. 1235 for the gen. of Αἴδης as used with adjectival force. – κυανέου: for the darkness of Hades or Death see Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 838 and Sourvinou-Inwood, *Reading*

Greek Death (Oxford 1995), 72f.

83 ποίην... χλωρα θεούσαν: for the vb. Wilamowitz compared [Hes.] *Scut.* 146 ὀδόντων... λευκὰ θεόντων (a rather different picture) and [Theocr.] 25.158 ὕλη χλωρα θεούσα. But in the latter passage the final word is Meineke's emendation of ἐούση. For a full discussion of all three passages see Gow's commentary on the *Idyll*. As he observes, "the idea of running seems irrelevant" in our passage, given that the context envisages "an expanse of grass". W. Schulze, "KZ" 29, 1888, 260f. = *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen 1966²) 369 (cf. 118) interpreted θέειν in these three passages as meaning "shine" (cf. *LSJ* s.v. B) quoting Hesychius s.v. θοόν' ... λαμπρόν (θ 639 Latte). For reservations see J. Wackernagel, "Glotta" 19, 1925, 45 = *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen 1953), 853, who himself suggested the unattested vb. λευκαθεόντων ("shining brightly") for the early epic passage (actually read *p.c.* by Ambros. C 222 inf. = Solmsen's J). That raises the possibility of χλωραθεούσαν ("with green or lively sheen") for our passage (so J.A. Hartung for the *Idyll*, in his 1858 edition of the bucolic poets).

87 Skenteri's emendation (p. 50) ἔκγονος for the stone's ἐκ γένος neatly removes the problematic word order with ἐκ separated from the ἐσσεύμενοις it is supposed to govern.

88 ἔστωρ: "founder" (*LSJ* Suppl. s.v.). Wilamowitz defends the stone's reading against emendation. See further Skenteri, 62 on the new meaning here contrived for a word which from Homer onwards refers to the peg at the end of a chariot pole (see Brügger on *Il.* 24.272 [VIII 107] with handy illustration).

89 καὶ γάρ: for the idiomatic introduction to an *exemplum* see 53 n. above. The logic of the present instance must be that, just as Athena was (almost) the mother of Erichthonius and gave him the privileges of blood kinship, so Herodes will extend to his blood-kin privileged exemption from the present ban. – περ: Friedrich Jacobs' emendation (cf. Peek, 78 n. 2) of the stone's τε presupposes a simple dittography and fits the paradigmatic context: cf. v. 28 above, *Il.* 18.117-8 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη 'Ηρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα / ὅσπερ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διί, 19.95f. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νύ ποτε Ζῆν' ἄσατο τόν περ ἄριστον / ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ θεῶν φασ' ἔμμεναι. But ποτ' (Kaibel, *EG* p. 470, A.D. Nock, *Σύνναος Θεός*, "HSCPh" 41, 1930, 45 n. 89 = *Essays* I 237 n. 190) would be equally idiomatic in such a context: cf. *Il.* 19.95 quoted above, Alcaeus 360 ὥς γὰρ δὴ ποτ' Ἀριστόδαμον φαισ', Aesch. Ag. 1040 καὶ παῖδα γὰρ τοί φασιν Ἀλκμήνης ποτε / πραθέντα τλῆναι, Catull. 64.212 *namque ferunt olim* etc. – Ἐπιχθόνιον βασιλῆα = *Il.* 20.219. Powell (p. 19) deduces that this figure "was originally a... snake... worshipped at Athens. His cult was later adopted by Athena and she became his protectress". – συνέστιον: see Nock, as cited, 35 = 229 on this and similar words or phrases

implying that the relevant hero has a place as partner in the deity's precinct within the temple and shares in the rites, like Pelops in Pind. *Ol.* 1.90ff. Nock further compared (45 = 237 n. 190) "the combination of Sophocles heroised as Dexion with Amynos and Asclepius" (for the evidence see S.L. Radt, *TrGF* IV 57f.; for recent discussion R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: a History* (Oxford 1996), 184f., though note the scepticism of A. Connolly, "JHS" 118, 1998, 1ff. about the identification of Sophocles and Dexion and, indeed, Sophocles' heroisation). For other heroes buried in a temple see J.G. Frazer, *Apollodorus. The Library* (London and Cambridge, MA 1912), II 94 n. 1. The frequent association of sacrifice with Hestia suggests that συνέστιον ἱρώων here refers specifically to sacrifices (see e.g. Lloyd-Jones, "RhM" 103, 1960, 78 = *Academic Papers* [I] 307). On Erichthonius see further P. Borgeaud's book on Pan (Paris 1979 = Chicago 1988), ch. 7 n. 124.

91-8: a further example of the pattern of chiasmic ring composition idiomatic in mythological *exempla* (see above on 51-7) brings the entire composition to a climactic close, as an earlier instance ended the first stele. So here: *thesis* (91-4) grave violators will be punished by Nemesis; *exemplum* (95-6) Triopas was punished for similar violation; *restated thesis* (97-8) *therefore* do not violate, lest you be punished by the Erinys. This pattern presupposes the near equivalence of Nemesis and Erinys, an equivalence most clearly indicated by visual evidence (see e.g. for coins depicting Nemesis as "Erinyentypus", Karanastassi cited below 93n., 759). See also Nonn. *Dion.* 48.375ff. and cf. Dietrich, 167 and n. 6.

91 ἄκλυτα: the word is prob. *hapax*, the right reading in Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 722E being ἄκλυστος (see Teodorsson *ad loc.*).

91ff.: For the minatory formula 'if anyone' in such contexts see Lattimore, 112-14, Robert, 253ff. = 709ff. = 328ff.; L. Watson, *Arae: the Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (Liverpool 1991) 7f. (on what he calls "provisional curses") and 111f.; Strubbe (as in 80-98 n.), 285ff.

92ff.: More often epitaphs specify with grisly details the punishments (blindness, sterility etc.) attendant upon those who defile the tomb: see Strubbe, p. XVIIIf. But the contrasting vagueness shown here may be thought equally effective (compare "may he fall foul of the black daimones of Hecate" at *GV* 1375e = Strubbe no. 181).

92 ἀποτιμήσσοι: "fail to honour, slight" (*LSJ* s.v. I 1) as in *HHHerm* 35; Callim. fr. 59.8 Pf. = 156.8 Massimilla. – νήματα: *hapax*. For the etymology see Frisk, *Gr. Etym. Wörterbuch* s.v. 'νή-' (II 313).

93: For the 'progressive', non-adversative ἀλλά see Denniston, *GP*² 21f. For the minatory invocation of Nemesis in curses upon tomb violators see Peek, *GV* 480 = Strubbe no. 403.4 φθιμένων ὠκυτάτη Νέμεσις and Robert, 266f. = 722f. = 330f. – ἀπρόφατος: "unspeakable" as at Ap. Rh. 1.645 (*LSJ*

s.v. II), as opposed to “unforetold” (*LSJ* s.v. I). For the ban on direct naming of a deity cf., for instance, Eur. *Hel.* 1307 ἄρρητος κόρη (of Persephone): cf. Henrichs (as cited in 60-1 n.), 162ff. and Pulleyn, 152. – ῥόμβος: Nemesis certainly receives as an attribute in late literature a τροχός: Nonn. *Dion.* 48.378 (where it is explicitly stated that its function is to roll wicked men down from their lofty positions) and Mesomedes 3.7 Heitsch; or *rota*: Ammianus Marcellinus 14.11.26; and late artistic depictions and coins much more frequently equip her with a wheel: see Cook, *Zeus* I 269ff. and more recently the various entries s.v. *Nemesis* in *LIMC* VI 1 (e.g. the Roman votive relief that is No. 4; on coins see P. Karanastassi, p. 759, interpreting the wheel as a symbol for restless motion; on Syrian depictions from the Imperial period see P.L. de Bellefonds, p. 772, detecting a symbol of the reversal of fortune). It is also true that late sources listed by Gow, “JHS” 54, 1934, 8 define a ῥόμβος as a τροχίσκος. But the usual meaning of the word, a *magic* wheel, conjures up rather a different picture, of initiation ceremonies or magic rites (see e.g. Gow on Theocr. 2.17; West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford 1983, 157). Still, it seems likelier that the poet is giving this noun a new meaning here as with other words in the composition (see e.g. 2, 88 nn.), than that, as *LSJ* suggest s.v. II, the word is an adj. with the same sense as the rare and late word ῥέμβος (“roaming”) applied to ἀλάστωρ. The connotation “rolling” in the next line’s κυλινδήσει supports (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 48.378f.) the interpretation of ῥόμβος as noun. For the associations of ἀλάστωρ see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1501; Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoen.* 1556. At Nonn. *Dion.* 48.382 the griffin beside the throne of Nemesis is described as an ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ (“griffin and wheel are frequently associated with Nemesis on coins and gems”: Cook, *Zeus* I 270. For a selection of the evidence see *LIMC* VI 1: I N 213-14 [p. 754], II 8-10 and V 1, 19-20 [pp. 771-2]).

94 στυγερὴν... κυλινδήσει κακοτήτα: cf. *Il.* 17.688 πῆμα θεὸς Δαναοῖσι κυλινδῇ, 11.347, *Od.* 2.163 πῆμα κυλινδῇ, 8.81 κυλινδετο πῆματος ἀρχή.

95-6: For the implied story of the mortal offence against Demeter see N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus. Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge 1984), 18ff., esp. 30-1 on Triopas and his ancestry. – οὐδέ γάρ: for these particles as idiomatic in the introduction of an *exemplum* see 53 n. above. – Τριοπέω... Αἰολίδαο: Triopas was the offspring of Canace, daughter of Aeolus, the king of Thesaly (see Hopkinson as cited).

95 (οὐ γὰρ) ὄναθ’: the meiosis is appropriate within the *exemplum*, since curses in epitaphs sometimes use the same word in praying for the discomfort of the offender. See, for instance, *GV* 2035.27 (Thebes, third or fourth century AD) μήτ’ ἐλπιδὼν ὄναίτο, Strubbe no. 285.10 (Hierapolis, Phrygia) μήτε τεκνῶν μήτε βίου ὄνήσις. See further Strubbe Index 4 s.v. (p. 356).

96-7: surprisingly, as Wilamowitz observes, the prospective defiler of the tomb is suddenly addressed in the second person at the end of the inscription. Of course such addresses do occur in epitaphs (see, e.g., the instances cited in 80 n. above and 98 n. below), but (a) the references to this figure have hitherto been in the third person (62, 91) as is more normal in such curses (see the instances in Lattimore, 198ff.); and (b) the inscription's second person address has already shifted from the initial women of Rome to the passer-by at 40. Perhaps 96-7 are also addressed to this latter individual: although friendly and hostile acts are sometimes (rationally enough) assigned to different individuals (e.g. *IGR* 3.1444 [Cappadocia, second century AD]; cf. also the epitaph inscribed on Shakespeare's tomb at Stratford upon Avon: "Blest be the man that spares these stones / And cursed be he that moves my bones"), epitaphs sometimes ask the passer-by to behave well but express the fear that he may not and will therefore require punishment (*GV* 480 [Piraeus third century AD], 1370 [Crete first century AD]). The unusual length and complexity of our inscription mean that the two possibilities are separated by a larger number of lines than normal.

97: a sort of hendiadys: "the punishment named after the place". The imperatival infinitive ἀλέασθαι may be meant to appeal to the addressee's sense of responsibility: see Pulleyn, 153.

98 μὴ τοι ἔπηται ἔπι: for the sequence cf. *GV* 1370.2 (Crete first century A.D.) μὴ σοι μηνίσῃ... ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας. For the curse formula 'let him not, lest' see also *GV* 1373.2 (Athens, very late) μὴ κείνῃ λίθον [ἐκ] γαίης... / μὴ σ' ἄταφον, τλήμιον, κύνες ἐ[λ]κήσωσι θανόντα. – Ἐρινύς: as at Aesch. *Sept.* 723 and *Ag.* 749, and other places, the significant and sinister name is kept back until the end of the sentence – here, indeed, the very end of the entire composition. The epitaph which opened with an appeal to the women of Rome to *approach* the tomb closes with a warning to prospective defilers of the tomb to *keep away*. For the Erinyes as "guardians of the grave" see J.H.M. Strubbe in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera* (Oxford 1991), 55 n. 100. Since the Erinys is here coupled with Nemesis, who (see 61 n.) has the task of *overseeing* mortals, it is worth comparing the curse at *IG* XII 9, 1179.33f. (Chalcis, second century AD) ἐπισκόπους δὲ ἔχοι Ἐπεινύας, not least because the piece has been "connected by Hiller von Gaertringen with the household of Herodes Atticus" (Lattimore, 116 n. 199). The preceding epithet allows for a play on the names of Triops and the *Triopeion*, of which the poet, as Wilamowitz says, was presumably proud.

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- For other abbreviations see
- B. H. Mclean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the reign of Constantine (323 B.C.-A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor 2002), 387ff.

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ABSTRACT.

New critical edition (with two photographs), Translation, Commentary of Marcellus' epitaph on Regilla. The commentary shows in particular how the epitaph both preserves ancient attitudes (e.g. to death) and rhetorical devices of eulogy (e.g. the use of mythological exempla) but also innovative (e.g. by attaching new meanings to Greek words). The Historical Introduction sets the poem in its context and explains the background to the death of the woman who is the subject of the epitaph.

KEYWORDS.

Hellenistic, Mythological exempla, Nemesis, Erinys, Tomb Violation.