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VARIATION AND CHANGE IN GREEK AND LATIN

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On the Use of Greek in Campania

Heikki Solin

The present article examines the use of Greek and Latin in Campania. This is a topic which offers many interpretative challenges, whilst also providing valuable insights into historical, demographic and sociolinguistic research.[1] Thus far, this topic has not been the subject of comprehensive research. Martti Leiwo has made a promising start with *Neapolitana* (1995a), but Naples is a different matter, as it is a city that remained substantially Greek for a much longer period than any other major early Greek settlement in Magna Graecia. Additionally, Leiwo's analysis suffers from a certain lack of material completeness in demographic and onomastic matters. These issues, however, can now be dealt with in a better way thanks to the recent publication of the corpus of the Greek inscriptions of Naples by Elena Miranda.[2] Hopefully Leiwo will resume his study on Naples on the basis of Miranda's excellent new corpus.

It is very difficult, in the absence of comprehensive source material, to trace an exact history of the language shift from Greek or Oscan to Latin in different parts of Campania. When inscriptions begin to increase in number during the Imperial period, Latin (for the most part) already had the upper hand as the language of inscriptions. Nonetheless, it is difficult to get an exact picture of how the evolution took place. Even in Naples it has proven impossible to fix the exact chronology of language-use at different levels of civil life and society. The fact that there are lots of inscriptions from the Imperial period, especially public inscriptions written in Greek (or bilingual inscriptions), does not prove that the majority of the city spoke Greek as their native language. Also, in certain cases, the use of Greek in an old Greek centre in the Imperial period should not be taken as proof of a concrete preponderance of Greek in that region. Velia, the early Greek Phocaean colony of Elea, was the home of Parmenides and his school. It was conquered by Rome in 290 BC and became a *municipium* in 89 BC. It became fashionable as a resort spa in the Augustan period, and is supposed to have retained its Greek culture until the 1st century AD and to have hosted a medical school (where Greek should have been the central means of communication). This old theory has, however, been discredited and is no longer tenable.[3] Excavations at Velia have produced, among other interesting finds, several statues with Greek inscriptions of the type Οὖλις Εὐξίνου Ὑελήτης ἰατρὸς φώλαρχος ἔτει τοθ', 'Oulis son of Euxinus from Velia, doctor and pholarchos, year 379' (*SEG* XXXVIII 1020 = Vecchio 2003, 86–96), which may have been engraved around AD 40, but the persons recorded in them belong to much earlier periods. It is important to note that Velia, at this time (i.e. AD 40), was merely a village with a very small population and the number of inscriptions from the site is minimal. So, what can we say about the language-use of the few inhabitants of the village (in summer, the presence of Roman holiday makers rendered the spa almost entirely Latin-speaking)?

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[1] I thank Margot Whiting and Catherine Parnell for improving my English and David Langslow for commenting upon it. – When citing inscriptions, the mere Arabic number refers to *CIL* IV.

[2] *IGI Napoli*.

[3] On this question, see Nutton 1970, Nutton 1971 and Solin 2012.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that the language of an inscription and the language of the person involved in the raising of the inscription do not always coincide. That is to say, the author of a Latin inscription could be a native speaker of Greek or of another foreign language and vice versa, a Greek inscription could have been raised by a 'proper' Roman. This holds true for Rome, and perhaps even more so for Campania, where old Greek cultural traditions could also favour the use of Greek in a document produced by a Latin-speaking person or in a Latin-speaking environment.[4]

I

I have always been interested in the use of Greek at Pompeii and the interpretation of its Greek inscriptions. One point of particular interest concerns the extent to which the graffiti can be useful in revealing the ethnic origin of the authors of those writings.[5] The number of Greek stone-inscriptions in Pompeii is minimal and, generally, they do not offer an adequate starting point for the present topic. The two most interesting inscriptions, however, reveal some details about the circles where Greek was used as the language of inscriptions: *IG* XIV 701 that was inscribed in 3 BC by C. Iulius Hephaestion, a priest of a Phrygian ethnic group;[6] and *IG* XIV 702 that belongs to Τερεντία Παραμόνη ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου (she could originate from the Greek East, but her origins remain open). But persons who had inscriptions written in Greek did not necessarily originate from the East, for, as in Rome, also in Campania, Pompeii included, Greek could be used in inscriptions raised by 'ordinary' Romans.[7] The graffiti, which is the principal epigraphic material of Pompeii, can be considered to contain a higher degree of spontaneity than the stone inscriptions, including the epitaphs, and it is this fact that gives the Pompeian graffiti a privileged place in Roman studies. No other ancient Italian centre offers anywhere near such an amount of material of this kind. Fortunately, the number of Greek graffiti in Pompeii is considerable; in addition there are also a number of Oscan texts and a few written in Etruscan (recently collected in *CIE* 8747–8775) and in Semitic languages (*CIL* IV 4961. 4962 [Safaitic],[8] 8010 = *CIJ* 562 = *JIWE* I 215 [Aramaic][9]).[10] The basic question is whether the non-Latin graffiti were normally written by people speaking the language in question as their native language. While the authors of graffiti in languages other than Greek can normally also be considered as speakers of those languages, the authorship of Greek graffiti is in this respect less clear. From Pompeii ca.

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[4] Many good observations about the use of Greek in Roman environment in Kaimio 1979.

[5] Some minor (and uncritical) observations in Biville 2003.

[6] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἡφαιστίωνος υἱὸς Ἡφαιστίων, ἱερατεύσας τοῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Φρυγῶν, ἀνέθηκε Δία Φρύγιον. His Phrygian provenance seems to be evident although he uses, to indicate the date of the inscription, the Egyptian month Pharmouthi.

[7] A few concrete examples are offered by Belayche 2007.

[8] Cf. Calzini Gysens 1987, where six other graffiti (written in the same language) are published.

[9] Cf. Lacerenza 1996. The author publishes another two graffiti written in the same language, which escaped the attention of the previous editors. The inscriptions, included by Frey 1936 in his Corpus, have nothing Jewish in them or about them.

[10] Cf. also the word *cherem*, Latin transliteration of the Hebrew term *ḥerem*: Giordano and Kahn 2001[3], 91–101.

8300 wall-inscriptions have been identified.[11] Of these, ca. 200 were written in Greek. Of the Greek graffiti, not one is accompanied by an ethnicon; it is not possible to assign an ethnic origin to a single person who is mentioned. Among the Latin inscriptions, there are a few cases where a person of Eastern ethnic does occur, like *Iapetus Delphicus* or *Eutychis Graeca*. Apart from these, however, all the other cases where the editors of the wall-inscriptions in the fourth volume of *CIL*, Karl Zangemeister and August Mau, have wanted to recognize a similar use of an ethnic, remain uncertain and must be explained in a different way. So, for example, in 4862 (lost) *Berutius felator*, *Berutius* hardly denotes, pace Mau (*CIL* IV, index p. 768), an origin in Berytus, Beirut. *Berutius* must represent the name of that *fellator*, but whether it is the cognomen *Berytius* (written with *-u-*) or something else, such as the gentile name *Verutius*, written with *B-*, remains open. The cognomen *Berytius* occurs twice in Latin inscriptions: once with a clear connection to the Syrian town (*A. Octavius Berytius Beryto*, soldier of the legio II Traiana in AD 157: *AE* 1969–1970, 633, VI 11), once without any such connection (*Iulia Berytia* in *Corpus des inscr. d'Albanie* 65). The gentile name *Verutius* appears in *CIL* XIV 4502 (Ostia) and in *ILAlg* II 4569. 4570; in *CIL* VI 20317, it is used as a cognomen and could also be explained as a secondary spelling for *Berytius* (but I would opt for the gentile name used as a cognomen). Another interesting case is 4874 (lost). Here, the editor Mau gave the text this form: *Vit. Vitalio baliat (valeat?). Car est. Musicus*. He took *Car* as an ethnic. If so, there would be two men: a Vitalio from Caria and a Musicus. Why not? Both *Vitalio* and *Musicus* are wide-spread personal names. Another possibility – I would opt for this one – would be to see in *car* the conjunction *quare*, used here as a predecessor of French 'car'. The spelling *car* is not too difficult to explain, especially if we assume a haplography for *car(e) est*. Another case of *quare* in the sense of French 'car' (2421) can be found in Pompeii.[12] The text should be printed in the following manner: *Vit(alio). Vitalio baliat* (certainly = *valeat*), *car est musicus*: 'good health to Vitalio, as he is a musician'. As an entertainer of people, he might be an acceptable guest in the eyes of the author of the graffito.[13] A third example is 4831 *qui scripsit Syrus nequam*. According to Mau, this should be interpreted in the following manner: 'the man who wrote this, is a no-good Syrian'. Perhaps so, but we can interpret *Syrus* as a personal name as well. *Syrus* was a popular cognomen in Rome, used without any connection with a Syrian background.[14]

As for the wording and diction, that is to say the content, of the Pompeian graffiti written in Greek, they rarely provide any hints that the authors could be of Eastern origin. They often bear Latin cognomina. As such, a Latin cognomen is not a certain sign of the Western origin of the name-bearer, as Latin names were also popular in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and even Egypt. Nonetheless, the high percentage of Latin names in the Greek graffiti shows that not all of the name-bearers can come from the Greek East. Moreover, the numerous Latin graffiti written in Greek characters and vice versa – Greek

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[11] Cf. Solin 1998, 100f.

[12] Cf. Väänänen 1966[3], 126.

[13] VIT at the beginning of the text is best interpreted as an anticipation of the name *Vitalio*; Egger 1960, 24 understands *vit(a)*, but that does not make sense.

[14] Solin 2003[2], 668 f. lists 23 instances of *Syrus* and 9 of *Syra*. In Greek onomastics, Σύρος Σύρα could be used as a pure personal name (without any connection with the ethnic significance), as appears in Theocr. 10, 26 Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες, where a girl who surely was not a Syrian, bears the second name Σύρα (cf. the commentary of Gow 1950, 199).

graffiti written in Latin characters (a topic Leiwo has dealt with),[15] point to the possibility that Greek was widely used among ordinary Pompeians.

An interesting case, where it has been difficult to decide whether the graffito in question should be interpreted as Latin or Greek, is 6730. Mau thought this was a Greek graffito, and interpreted it as follows: ἐκ(τὸν?) καλάνδας Ὀκτοβρ (the graffito is lost, so that the reading cannot be checked). In reality, it is a Latin inscription written in Greek characters, with only one little misspelling, Ὀκτοβρ, with an omicron instead of omega, more understandable in a Latin than in a Greek text. It should, I think, read as follows: [δ]εκ(ιμουμ) Καλανδας Ὀκτοβρ(ης). Note also Καλανδας instead of *-lend-*, a spelling due to Greek influence. In Greek documents the word was normally written Καλανδ-, which reflects the original Latin spelling *Kaland-*, preceding the change *a* > *e* in the middle syllable.[16] At this point, I will take the opportunity to present a new interpretation of another Greek-Latin muddle: 5267 (unfortunately it is lost, so that the difficult reading cannot be verified), which Mau read in the following manner: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΛΙCVNNV. According to Mau, the graffito would represent a Greek-Latin mixed script, which seems to be correct. He also thought that Λούκιον is an erroneous writing for Λούκιος or Λούκιε. That interpretation cannot stand. The translation offered by Werner Krenkel, in an otherwise well-written article, is not much better – 'Lucius (says): lick a cunt'.[17] I would see here an authentic accusative and give the text the following form: Λούκιον, λι(γγιτ) *cunnu(m)*, 'Lucius, he is a genuine arselicker'. We are dealing here with the so-called accusative of exclamation. In an article that appeared in 2007 I discussed accusatives in an emphatic position at the beginning of a colon, where one would expect a nominative;[18] the discussion above is an addendum to that article. Such a use of the accusative is not unknown at Pompeii, and from the viewpoint of the Romance languages, it is noteworthy that the accusative is already tending towards becoming the universal case in the first century AD.

It is now appropriate to move to the Greek inscriptions proper.[19] There are rare cases where several Greek graffiti have been found in a single building. One interesting example comes from House V 2, 15. The inscriptions from this house have been edited by August Mau under no° 3443 (a painted inscription) and 4138–4151 (graffiti). Besides Latin texts, there are also several Greek ones (4138. 4139. 4141–4144); one of the scribbles seems to be bilingual (4144). Unfortunately, all of the inscriptions are lost (and no photographs are available), so that we cannot observe the graphic skills of the writers. Nonetheless, the contents of the graffiti are interesting. Even the personal names deserve our attention, as they are partly rare or unique formations, and could give hints as to the origins of the writers. To begin with, Κυπαρίνη 4141 (probably present also in 4142) does not appear in any other Greek or Latin source as a personal name (not even as an appellative), but is a plausible onomastic formation with the suffix *-inus -ina* from the popular woman's name *Cypare* (in the city of Rome alone this occurs some 33 times). However, this first appearance of a Greek name in ancient sources does not in itself prove

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[15] Leiwo 1995b.

[16] I mention in passing the Latin graffito 6878 written with Greek letters, which was not rendered impeccably by Mau. It must be read ΓΡΑΝΙΥC, i. e. Γρανιυς. The same name is repeated in 6879, in the same form, as it seems.

[17] Krenkel 2006, 299. Cf. also Biville 2003, 229.

[18] Solin 2007.

[19] A list of Greek inscriptions published in *CIL* IV is given by Mau in the index p. 786; add 1111.

anything certain about an Eastern origin of our Cyparine. In 4142 the probable mention of the name of Cyparine is followed by a mess where only the word ψωλή is recognizable, an obscene term, attested in Greek from the 4th century BC, and also identified in Roman graffiti (*AE* 1999, 317). Scarcely intelligible are the other messes in 4143 and 4144, and also in 4139 (if at all Greek). In 4143 one can distinguish τὸν Μύσιον, but it is not easy to say to what it refers, hardly to a contemporary inhabitant or visitor from Mysia, although the article before the ethnic is normally used in Greek to indicate a place or the like in Mysia. These three graffiti have either been read incorrectly by the editor, or their author was not able to express himself clearly enough. The latter pattern is well-known from other Greek graffiti, for example from Rome or Ostia.[20] It is hard to say whether this reflects in some way the fact that the writers did not speak Greek as their mother tongue – whether they were Romans or Easterners with a mother tongue other than Greek. The most rewarding of the inscriptions of this complex is 4138, to be read Εἰσιτύχη σώζουσα (according to the editor, there was a space between ЄICI and TYXH) when compared with *CIL* XIV 2867 where the same compound form *Isityche* appears.[21] Isis and Fate are often equated in the Hellenistic period.[22] What we can see is this: the skills of the writers of the Greek graffiti of this complex vary considerably, and the major mistakes are partly due to their inability to express themselves in Greek script. Be that as it may, these graffiti – and also others in Pompeii and elsewhere – are, for all their banality, living witnesses to the hybrid Hellenistic-Roman culture in Italy.

As for the contents of the Greek graffiti of Pompeii, some further observations about the origins of their writers can be made. First, the probative force of the proper names should be mentioned. For example, could one accept that the lady, whose name is written Καικιλία Μαξίμα in 1549 is of Greek origin? Naturally, she may not necessarily be the actual writer since the graffito could also have been written by an admirer, for example.

An interesting case is 4843 which is a list of names. All names are Latin (Πρόκλος, Μᾶρκος, Λούκιος, Ιουσστῖνος; the origin of the fifth name, Πολ(---), remains uncertain as it is abbreviated). The point is: was the graffito written by one hand, or have all five individuals signed their names themselves? If the graffito was written by only one hand, then the use of Greek would say nothing about the ethnic origin of the others, who probably constituted some sort of sodality, perhaps of an erotic nature. This is, however, impossible to verify as the graffito is lost. Apart from the authorship of the graffito, one can pose the question about the origin of the four *sodales* bearing Latin names and, in connection with this, one has to recognize that all those four names were also well-known in the Greek East. The second name, Μᾶρκος, is also found in another graffito, 4455. Marcus was one of the four evangelists, as was Lucas (his name is a derivative of Lucius provided with the Greek suffix -*as*). For the student of the history of Latin name-giving, it might not be surprising that of the four evangelists, two bore Latin names but none bore a Greek one.

I mention briefly Λιβερᾶλις in 2270, and Ἱσπανός, Ἰανουαρία, a couple appearing in 4271. I suggest a new reading for 5217, where Mau proposed to read αὐλήτα. On the basis of his apographon, I would without hesitation propose Αὖκτα, a good Latin

[20] A few examples are dealt with by Solin 1972, 190–199.

[21] This has been seen independently by van Buren 1926 and Weinreich 1979, 65. See also *IGUR* 178, *Suppl. It*. 11 (1993) 194 n. 3, and Rostovtzeff 1903, 2165. Σώζουσα as an epithet of Isis is attested in *P. Oxy*. XI 1380, 76.

[22] Cf. Nilsson 1961², 209.

cognomen. An intricate case is 4991 where the first line was read by the editor August Mau as OYIBALHC, but he has not succeeded in explaining it, as he registered it in the Index vocabulorum (p. 766) in the form ουιβαλης. I think we must understand it as *Vi(bius) Bales* = *Valens*, i.e. a pure Latin name sequence written in Greek. Where did the name-bearer come from?

Expressions and other peculiarities could perhaps in individual cases indicate that the writer spoke Greek as his/her main language. Such cases, however, are rare and must be examined with caution. To take just one example: the two related expressions ἐμνήσθη ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος and μνησθῇ ὁ δεῖνα are epigraphically well-attested everywhere in the Mediterranean. The first is often called the Greek type, whilst the latter is called the Eastern type.[23] Both are also known from Roman, Ostian and Campanian graffiti. The first category is encountered three times at Pompeii. The first, 4189, is often misunderstood: ἐμνήσθη Θεόφιλος Βερόης ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρὰ τῇ κυρίᾳ. The graffito still exists in the *Casa delle nozze d'argento*, where I saw it in 2008 and found that the reading given by Mau was correct. The meaning of the graffito is also clear: "Theophilus has remembered Beroe wishing her well before the mistress (Isis)", but nonetheless it has been subject of rash interpretation.[24] The second case, 4839, is highly interesting: Ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη Ἁρμονίας τῆς εἰδίας κυρίας ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, ἧς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με' τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος,[25] "Amerimnus has remembered Harmonia, his own mistress, wishing her well; 45 is the number of her beautiful name." It cannot be excluded, in either case, that the author was Greek. Nonetheless, it is not certain. It seems, to all intents, that the author had a good knowledge of Greek. The third example is 6828, where the verb is written without the augment: (ἐ)μνήσθη Πρειμ(ογ)ένης πύπλεικος Καίσαρος, 'Primogenes (a by-form of Primigenius), a *servus publicus*, has remembered the emperor'.[26] Observe that the gen. Καίσαρος does not depend on *publicus* (a *servus publicus* cannot at the same time be an imperial slave). The second category (the Eastern type) does not appear in Pompeii; that is expected, since this type did not spread to the West before AD 79.[27] Graffito 5451 μνησθῇ Πεκουλιᾶρις, included in the edition of *CIL* IV, is from Naples and must be considerably later. Mau is mistaken, it is not (ἐ)μνήσθη and the augment should not be added.[28] This oriental type also occurs elsewhere in Campania, as at Puteoli.[29]

What can be said about the linguistic origin of the authors of these graffiti? They could be Greeks, especially in light of the joke in 4839, a joke recurring in 4861 φιλῷ ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμε'. But it is not necessary to suppose a Greek origin. A *servus publicus*

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[23] See above all the classic study by Rehm 1941.

[24] To mention just one of these, Bricault 2005, 606 no. 504/0215 translates "Théophilos de Béroia s'est souvenu"; in the same way, Ehrhardt 2004, 268 or Belayche 2007. But *Beroe* is a woman's name, not an ethnicon.

[25] For the explanation of the graffito see, e. g., Dornseiff 1925², 112; Guarducci 1958, 425; *Bull. épigr*. 1964, 618. 1973, 380; Solin 1975, 265, no. 35; Puglia 2004–2005, 306f. The name, whose letters give the number 45, cannot be Ἁρμονία; perhaps it is a pet name of some kind of Harmonia's used by Amerimnus.

[26] Wrong Biville 2003, 229, who thinks that Primogenes was an 'esclave public impérial'. But a *servus publicus* could not, at the same time, be an Imperial slave!

[27] At Oplontis there is, perhaps, a case from the late Neronian period; see below, fn. 29.

[28] Miranda, *IGI Napoli* 191, who writes μνησθῇ Πεκουλιάρις, correctly omitting the augment, but wrongly using the acute in the name, leaves the question of dating open.

[29] Guarducci 1971, 220. At Oplontis: De Franciscis 1979; the reading and interpretation are certain, so that we have here the oldest example of the oriental type from Italy (the graffito may be dated to the late Neronian period).

provided with a Latin name – does he really have to be labelled a Greek? He might have learned Greek in the service of the Roman State.

Graffito 5202 is also interesting: θεῶν ἡμέρας· Κρόνου, Ἡλίου, Cελήνης, Ἄρεως, Ἑρμοῦ, Διός, Ἀφροδείτης. The author was either a Greek or a person versed in Greek and Greek customs. Note also the almost impeccable orthography and the accusative ἡμέρας, called in French the *accusatif figé*. The author begins with Saturday – this was normal. If not a Greek, he or she had perhaps learned the days of the week in Greek at school? I would like to conclude this topic with an ambiguous case, 2204: μολα φουτουτρις. Is this Greek, or Latin written in Greek characters? And is MOLA a proper name or the term of abuse *mula*? I prefer, unlike most interpretations,[30] the latter explanation.

I continue with an interesting painted inscription, a sort of acclamation, whose reading I was able to verify in 2011: 2993*y*, published by Zangemeister in the following way: CATPIΩ / OYAΛЄNTI / OγOYCTΩ / NHP ΦHΛIKITερ. Zangemeister himself did not see the dipinto, but reproduces the text on the basis of the apographon made by De Petra (he improved the text by changing at the start of line 3 OI to Ὀγ-). It is important to note that the text was collated by Friedrich Matz soon after its discovery (*Bull. Inst.* 1869, 241). He saw slight traces of it, that is to say, the text must have already been damaged when it was discovered. That is why the reading by De Petra cannot be blindly accepted. Also, nobody after Matz seems to have collated it. However, it still exists in the Archaeological Museum of Naples where I saw it on the 22nd March 2011 (and where it had been photographed twice, the first time in the 1950s and a second time later). My detailed examination and the inspection of the photographs (one in the collection of the Palaeographic Institute at the University of Roma La Sapienza, and another published in A. Varone - G. Stefani 2009, 21) have revealed that the original reading provided by De Petra is very uncertain and probably partly erroneous. Only the first two lines are free from suspicion, and I wonder how much De Petra was able to read with certainty of the remaining lines. In 3, one can see only a C, followed by a vertical line (it contains in its upper part a short line drawn from right to left, giving the letter the appearance of an inverted Γ); the rest has vanished. In any case, the existence of a mention of Augustus is at stake. Moreover, the spelling Ὀγ- is quite surprising, as *August-* normally becomes *Agust-* in Vulgar Latin. A spelling *Ogust-* is not attested anywhere, not even in Greek (where one would anyway expect Ὠγ- instead of Ὀγ-). The position of *Augustus* after the name of Satrius Valens and before the presumed mention of Nero would also be surprising. In line 4, I would prefer to see the first letter not as an N, but as an A, followed by two vertical lines. At the end, KIT is well possible, but the middle of the line is illegible. The spelling Νηρ- for Νερ- would be unique (even if not completely impossible in an inscription of this kind). All that can be said of the graffito, with any plausibility, is that it contains a sort of exclamation to Satrius Valens, perhaps D. Lucretius Satrius Valens, who was lord mayor of Pompeii in the middle of the 1st century AD. The rest remains a mystery.

Some remnants of Greek poetry were also found on the walls of Pompeii; for example, the first word of European literature: Μῆνιν (8007: the editor Della Corte did

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[30] E. g., Zangemeister and Mau; further Kajanto 1965b, 455; Adams 1982; De Caro 2000, 57; Varone 2003, 200; 210; Varone 2005, 107.

not recognize the citation);[31] and another Homeric verse, or rather part of a verse, which often occurs in both the Iliad and the Odyssey: 4078 καί μιν φωνή.[32] The following cases are important to note: 2400a, which is a palindrome written both in Greek and Latin letters,[33] and which also appears in a wall-inscription in Lausanne (thus, it must have been wide-spread during the Imperial period);[34] and 4370 τὰ πρῶτα λέλογχε, with which the author might have tried to attain a hexametric rhythm, perhaps in an athletic or gladiatorial context;[35] and 4887 ΘΕΟΔΟΜΗΤΕ Μ ΑΠΑΤΡΑ / αἰθέριαι πτέρυγες δολίου, whose second line is an imitation of epic poetry, if not lifted from an unknown verse.[36] They might derive from the hand of a Greek, but they could also have been written by an educated Pompeian with Latin as his mother tongue, who wanted to exercise and advertise his familiarity with Greek verse.

If the authors of such Greek graffiti are not Greeks, how have they acquired the facility to produce Greek script? In part, a basic education could be responsible for the ability to write in Greek, but there must also be other sources for the diffusion of the knowledge of Greek. Pompeii was a port, and thus the Pompeians had the opportunity to meet foreigners and to speak with them. Also, it is important to bear in mind that the number of slaves and freedmen of Eastern origin was not inconsiderable in an industrial and commercial centre like Pompeii, and these will have furthered the knowledge of Greek in the population. This does not mean, however, that all the authors of Greek graffiti would have been Greeks. Persons of Greek origin could always express themselves in Latin, while native Pompeians could use Greek without scruple. Greek was, after all, the lingua franca of the Mediterranean during the middle and later Republican period and during the Principate.

There is a good, modern, parallel for such a situation. The walls of public facilities in Helsinki contain besides Finnish (and, to a lesser extent, Swedish) graffiti, others written in English, the lingua franca of the new generation. Partly, they contain rude words and expressions and romantic yearnings, but other types of sayings are also present, sometimes having popular-philosophical contents. They do not all come from native speakers of English since the English is of universally poor quality and unidiomatic. They must, for the most part, have been written by Finns who have borrowed these sayings from films, the internet and other similar sources.

It is often supposed in studies of Roman Italy in general, and of Pompeii in particular, that Greek inscriptions (mostly graffiti) and Greek names may be related to a Greek presence. But this cannot be supported by the choice of language, as I have tried to

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[31] Van Buren 1952, 2036 mentions a graffito containing this word. It is certainly that which was reported by Della Corte under 8007 from I 6, 2, in a room with mystic representations, of which he says 'non expedivi'. It is certainly the same graffito, as van Buren says he had seen it *am Eingang des Mysteriensaales der Casa del Crittoportico (wohl noch nicht veröffenlicht)* of I 6, 2.

[32] It occurs 21 times in the Iliad and 30 times in the Odyssey; cf., e.g., Latacz 2002², 91 to v. 201.

[33] For the interpretation see, e. g., Immisch 1891, 488 f. (erroneous); Gigante, 1979, 76f.

[34] The Lausanne graffito was most recently published in Nesselhauf - Lieb 1959, 135, no. 37. Also in a papyrus from Tebtynis (Di Benedetto 1965, 18–20 no. 3).

[35] Gigante 1979, 47 thinks of the prize of a victorious athlete. Given the findspot, the *ludus gladiatorius*, the graffito could also contain some hints at the gladiatorial games.

[36] Gigante 1979, 47 thinks (with hesitation) of Dolios, slave of Ulysses, but that does not fit the context. Perhaps the author had the deceitful Hermes in mind, Ἑρμῆς δόλιος (this epithet of the god appears in Soph. *Phil*. 113; Arist. *Plut*. 1157. *Thesm*. 1202). Hermes, the messenger of gods, is sometimes depicted in Greek and Roman iconography as winged. Thus, the verse could mean: the celestial wings of the deceitful Hermes.

show above. The use of Greek names cannot possibly have any implications regarding the ethnic origin of the name-bearers, as I have tried to demonstrate ever since my doctoral thesis of 1971.[37] To take just one recent example, Joan Berry in her interesting and well-written book *Complete Pompeii* of 2007, uses language choice and onomastic criteria without hesitation in defining the ethnic origin of the person in question.

What about Greek names which were written in Greek? In the examination above, Latin names written in Greek were mentioned. I think there is little to say about the origin of writers who have written their Greek names in Greek. They may have been Greeks, but could also have been Latin-speaking Romans. If the graffiti present divine names instead of names of persons, the probability of the writers being of Greek origin is a little higher. On this point, however, one has to be careful. Graffito 4169 runs ϵP ΔIΩNHC. The editor takes Διώνη as a divine name (index p. 768), but it could also be interpreted as the personal name *Dione*, which is attested in Rome and generally in the Roman world, if not very frequently, at least to some extent. Perhaps the writer wanted to mention two distinct persons: Ἔρ(ως) Διώνης.

Constraints of space do not allow me to deal further with personal names. I would just like to say that, in the Imperial period, the use of Greek names in southern Italy does not, in contrast to general opinion, differ essentially from that in the Roman world in general. That is to say, there is no noteworthy old substratum from Magna Graecia. Not even Naples, which remained (especially in terms of administration) a Greek city for a long time, preserved old Greek names characteristic of Magna Graecia. The Neapolitans used the same Greek and Latin names as the population of the rest of South Italy and of Rome. This is the impression one gets whilst going through Miranda's new corpus and also the corpus of Latin inscriptions from Naples. The same is true for the language-use reflected in the Pompeian graffiti, which surely represent a down-to-earth, everyday use; they reflect a normal koine used everywhere in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

As for the influence of Greek on the Latin inscriptions of Pompeii, there is no space to deal with this topic here. The essential characteristics have been dealt with long before, and have been described in historical grammars of Latin and, of course, in Väänänen's book on the Latin of the Pompeian inscriptions.[38] There is, however, much work still to be done. Just to take one single example: nobody has observed the vocative *Pyrami* in 1382a *Purami, va(le)*, that must be explained as formed in a Greek manner. In correct Latin, the vocative would be *Pyramis*.[39]

To finish my Pompeian reflections, I would like to touch briefly on an interesting graffito, consisting mostly of Greek grammatical terms in Latin transliteration, otherwise unattested in Latin. This is inscription no. 1364, whose text runs, according to my reading, as follows:

Nomina NYCHI
genice,
thietice(?),
dotice, *patagricae,*
onomastice, *onagricae.*

[37] Solin 1971.

[38] Väänänen 1966.

[39] Väänänen 1966, 80 assumes (erroneously) a loss of the final *-s*.

phyrrice,
By˹z˺antice,
Cretice,
dy˹n˺astice,
10 *gymnice,*
Chizecae,

This is an interesting list of words, which some Pompeian (or temporary resident) may have wanted to compose in order to recall past memories of his school-teaching. The author has inserted many of the words making fun of the practice of teaching, but it is not sure that he was a schoolboy concerned with grammatical exercises.[40] It is true that he might have had school-exercises still fresh in memory, which is shown by the fact that the selection of the words follows a certain order; first he offers Greek names of cases (I 2–5), which do not appear elsewhere in Latin, then various names or words provided with the Greek suffix -ική (I 6–11), and lastly he (or someone else – the hand might not be the same) added two words of Greek origin equipped with the same suffix (with the final eta written -*ae*). Be that as it may, all the words have the same ending -*ice* (written in I 11. II 1–2 -*icae*), which is correct in the names of cases, as πτῶσις is implied, but 6 ff. are of dubious interpretation: while 6 *phyrrice* and 10 *gymnice* are explicable as Latin words, *Byzantice* (as also -*icus*), *Cretice*,[41] *Dymantice* (as also -*icus*) or, if to be understood so, *dynastice* (as also -*icus*), *Cyzice* are not attested in Latin (in Greek, only Κρητική appears commonly in Greek literature, and δυναστικός -ή in Vettius Valens and Byzantine authors, Βυζαντικός -ική a few times in Byzantine literature, Κυζίκη only in Herodianus *Gramm. Gr*. III 1, 316, 10). Of the two words in the second column, the first remains fairly obscure, and *onagricae* would be a ghost word both in Greek and in Latin. It is difficult to say whether the author wanted to use Greek feminine forms or Latin adverbs. The names might have been rendered with the suffix -ική, but much remains obscure. One may conclude that the writer wished to perpetuate his jokes by writing them on the wall. Who he was remains obscure; at any rate he seems to have been equipped with some erudition which derived from his elementary education. It cannot be excluded that he was of Greek origin, judging from the fact that all he has done is to transliterate Greek words in Latin letters (the only Latin word is *nomina* put as a sort of heading) and that he used, in I 7, the letter X instead of Z. Perhaps this was influenced by the Greek alphabet, as these letters there were easily confused.[42]

I refrain here from a more detailed analysis of the contents of the graffito (where much is scarcely intelligible in virtue of the fact that the writer was either making fun consciously or corrupting words in ignorance) and refer to my commentary in the Supplement of *CIL* IV (forthcoming). A few remarks are appropriate here. At the start of the text the names of the cases in Greek are listed. Thus, one would also expect to see a mention of the accusative case, which might be found in I 3, if, as suggested by Helttula (1995), the corrupt word reflects efforts to spell the Greek name of the accusative, αἰτιατική. The wall seems to offer THIETICII (the last letter is an *e* written

[40] Some scholars suppose such a situation; thus Magaldi 1928, 143f.; Helttula, 1995 (important contribution). Helttula also thinks that the author has used in the selection of the word alphabetical order, which does seem to be the case; further Biville 2003, 221f.

[41] Only in transliterations of Greek words: Ps. Apul. *herb*. 38, 16 and 62, 18.

[42] Didym. *gramm*. In Demosth. 10, 38 ἐπὶ τὸ Βυξά[ν]τιον; but 2, 23 Βυζ-.

with two vertical strokes, a common cursive form, very popular at Pompeii), but how the corruptela of the 'correct' Latin transliteration *aetiatice* arose, is not clear.[43] – I 6: *phyrrice* is *pyrriche* (note the transposition of the aspiration to establish the suffix *-ice*), the name of a war-dance or reel.[44] – I 9: DYMA is certain, and the fifth letter was probably an S. It has often been supposed that ST was amended into NT,[45] in which case there would be a mention of the Trojan hero Dymas. Close examination has, however, revealed that the fifth letter was not amended. Thus, one has to read DYMASTICE for the correct spelling *dynastice* (see above). – I 11: the reading CHIZECAE is not completely certain, but plausible. If so, then it should be connected with the well-known town of Cyzicus.[46] This was situated near Byzantium which is mentioned earlier in the text. The anomalous form, with the aspiration *Ch-* and the ending *-e*, can be ascribed to the inventiveness of the fun-making writer. – II 1 offers a tough nut to crack. Some scholars have proposed that we should understand *podagrice*,[47] and indeed with valid arguments: the word is common in both Greek and in Latin, and, more importantly, this adjective (together with the more Latinate *podagrosus*) was discussed at school (cf. e. g. Probus *gramm*. IV 212, 14). An alternative suggestion concerns an otherwise unknown adverb **patagiarice*, but this is less likely.[48] – II 2: *onagricae* (the reading of which is not completely certain) has been explained in various ways. What is certain is that it is, in some way, related to ὄναγρος *onager* 'wild ass'.[49]

II

I would like to finish this paper by presenting a remarkable new collection of material from Capua, the wealthy and important ancient centre of Northern Campania. In 1977, some ten Greek graffiti were found in the excavations at Santa Maria Capua Vetere. I will soon be publishing them. They are all from the late Imperial period, as shown by the palaeography representing isolated forms of new Roman cursive. The contents also point to the same period. Perhaps I am not too far off the mark when I assign them to the 3rd or 4th centuries. On this occasion, I will deal with three which permit the recognition of several words and names.

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[43] Departing from the real pronunciation [*etiatice*], would it be possible to think that the writer had visualized the word as ἡ *thiatice*? If so, then the remaining errors would be slight mistakes (*th* instead of *t*, and *et* instead of *at*).

[44] See H. Breimeier, *ThLL* s. v. *pyrr(h)icha*, 2791f., who agrees with this explanation. Helttula 1995 relates it to the *versus pyrrhichius*, not convincingly.

[45] Thus Helttula 1995, who thinks that the writer had the Virgilian hero in mind.

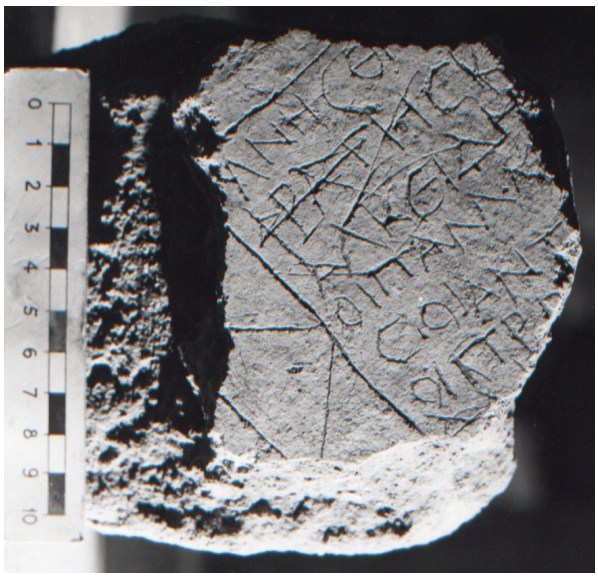
[46] Thus Helttula 1995. Väänänen 1966[3], 110 connects it with χέζω.

[47] Thus W. Heraeus, in the proofs of the Munich *Thesaurus* (see *ThLL* X 1, 651, 56f.), and Helttula 1995.

[48] Offered as an alternative by Helttula 1995.

[49] See the discussion in Helttula 1995, who sees the original of Plautus' Asinaria, *Onagros* (or *Onagos*: *Asin*. 10) as a possible source of inspiration for *onagricae*. However, she admitted that this word belonged to the repertory of grammatical examples (e. g. Char. *gramm*. p. 57, 3) to explain the Latin forms of the Greek names in -ρος with also this noun. Avellino (1841, 77) had observed a long time ago that *onagri* could have been seen in Pompeii in the spectacles at the amphitheatre; in the same way, Magaldi 1929–1930, 143f. – K. Plepelits, *ThLL*, s. v. *onagricae*, 628, 60–62 proposed that it would be written as a joke to imitate the word placed just before it, *onomastice*, hardly correctly.

1. The first is a μνησθῇ-graffito of the oriental type,[50] very interesting and full of peculiarities. It is on a fragment of wall plaster, containing a *tabula pseudo ansata*, which is broken on the right (Inv. n. 174229). The fragment measures 10.5 x 11 cm, the letters 1–1.5 cm. The text, written inside of the *tabula*, runs as follows:



Μνησθῇ [Εὐ-]
φράτης κ[αὶ?]
Ἀλκείδη[ς καὶ?]
οἱ Παμμ[ένει-?]
ς, οἱ Ἀντ[- - -]
οἱ Πρ+[- - -]
A++[- - -]
- - -(?)

If the supplement [Εὐ]φράτης in 1–2 is correct and there was no other name between the initial formula and that name, then we can calculate that only a few letters are missing on the right.

We can distinguish two personal names, *Euphrates* and *Alcides*, and three groups of persons, perhaps forming a sort of *sodalitas*. As for the two names, the supplementing of the former is practically certain, as no other names ending with -φράτης *-phrates* are known. *Euphrates* was a common personal name in the Imperial period, attested several times in Rome and also elsewhere in Italy,[51] as was *Alcides* as well.[52] Ἀλκείδης belongs to an old stock of Greek anthroponymy, which is often attested from the 5th century BC onwards, whereas Εὐφράτης came into use only in the Imperial period, with a solitary Hellenistic precursor.[53] The rest is made up of plural forms of names: either club names of some sort or ethnics. If C in 5 belongs to Παμμ[---] of line 4, a club name like οἱ Παμμένεις would match; if not, another club name like οἱ Παμμάχιοι or οἱ Πάμμουσοι (in that case, however, the initial C; in line 5 should be explained). Perhaps there was an ethnic, but of what kind? However, the interpretation of a club name is all but certain,

[50] Of this kind of graffiti, see above.

[51] In Rome, 28 instances: Solin 2003², 697 s. In Italy: *CIL* XIV 2087 (Lavinium); IV 3340, 1; X 2719. 2872 (to this remarkable testimony cf. Solin 2005); V 6089; *AE* 1997, 463 (Cerfennia, regio IV); *Suppl. It*. 17 Ferrara 4. In Africa: *CIL* VIII 28031. The consul *Euphrata* or *Euphrates* of AD 192-206 (*AE* 2000, 1214) is of unknown origin.

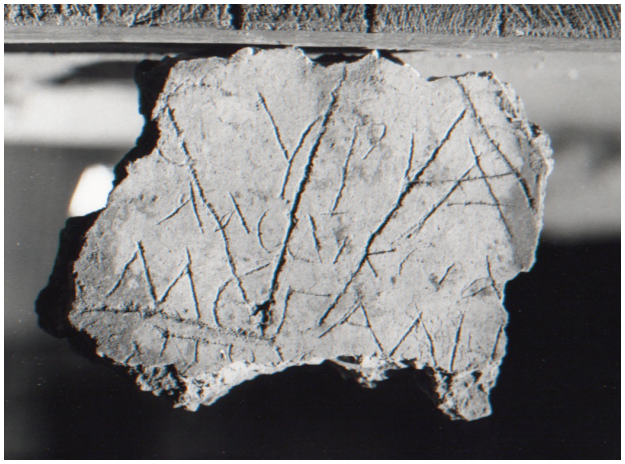
[52] In Rome, 16 instances: Solin 2003², 498. In Italy: *CIL* XIV 1144; X 1571. 2581. 8217 (Capua); V 2180. 3847; *Suppl. It*. 13 Nursia 96. In the provinces: *CIL* II 3607. XIII 2239. Of unknown origin: *CIL* XVI 78. 105.

[53] The name is missing in Bechtel 1917, which covers the time span until the end of the Hellenistic period, but the name is attested in a Rhodian inscription from ca. 100-70 BC: *SEG* XXXIX 750.

for such club names normally had the ending *-ius*, late coinages as they were.[54] In 5, an indication of the geographical group οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς is not ruled out.[55] Line 6 offers a challenge. It is not certain which vowel follows OI ΠΡ, but it could be a badly written O. In that case it is possibly οἱ Προ[κοννήσιοι], or another club name, perhaps the one supposedly found in *CIL* VIII 16486 = 27824 (prov. proc.). The whole text there runs PROBATIOR, which could be explained as *Probatior(um)*.[56]

Due to their fragmentary state, it is not clear what these plural forms represent. They can refer to inhabitants of a city, or they may be some sort of club names, of the same stock as the so-called signa which became popular in the Roman world from the 3rd century AD onwards.[57]

2. Fragment of wall plaster. Inv. n. 174233. 6.5 x 8 cm; letters 0.8–2 cm. There seem to be two superimposed graffiti, one written with taller letters, of which VA or NA is preserved; the text written with smaller letters is Greek and runs as follows:



Cυρία [---]
Λαοδίκεια [---]
Μεγάλη [---]
+ΠΟ+(?)

The fragmentary text seems to produce a few toponyms. The first clearly refers to Syria, but it is not certain in which grammatical case it stands. In addition to the nominative, the genitive also comes into question. If there is a reference in 2 to a Syrian Laodicea (*ad mare* or *ad Libanum*), then the mention of Syria could be a sort of heading, written in taller letters than the name of Laodicea, to be understood as Συρία· Λαοδίκεια, but this is far from secure. However, the name in 3 does not seem to refer to a Syrian toponym. The author of the graffito possibly had in mind Megalopolis in Arcadia, written, as happens in epigraphic sources, Μεγάλη πόλις (but I do not think one could combine

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[54] For such coinages, see Kajanto 1966.

[55] A signum *Antacius* in *CIL* VIII 2393.

[56] In the index of the cognomina of *CIL* VIII, a cognomen *Probatior* (which would be a unique formation) is registered. Thus, Kajanto 1965a, 277 too; but in 1966, 49 he proposes as an alternative to see here a compendium for *Probatior(um)*. Cf. also the signa *Probatius* (*CIL* VIII 12378); *Procopius* (*ILAlg* I 17); *Proserius* (*CIL* XI 379).

[57] All essential about the signa in Kajanto 1966. Some of his results are, however, open to debate.

Μεγάλη / πόλι[ς] in 3-4). Perhaps there lurks the epithet μεγάλη of another town? Such an epithet is attested a few times in epigraphic sources.[58]

3. Fragment of wall plaster. Inv. n. 174231. 20 x 12 cm; letters 1.5–3. The horizontal line in the upper part of the fragment could point to a *tabula* (*ansata* or not), but it is not certain. There seem to be two superimposed graffiti.

[---]+++[---]
[---] Μυλα[---]
[--- Ἀ]ντιο[χε---]
[---]ΘOICA[---]
5 [---Φ]ιλόξεν[---]

This graffito could also contain toponyms or ethnicons. Line 2 could be concealing either Mylasa, the Carian town, or Mylai in Sicily (or Perrhaibia?). 3 could refer to Antiochia, either the most famous town of that name, that on the Orontes in Syria, or another place. The whole fragment could be also composed of personal names: in 2, we could have something like Δαμυλᾶς/Δημυλᾶς; *Demylas* is attested as a male name also in Rome: *CIL* VI 17470. - In 3 Ἀντίοχος or the like. - 4: as the reading presented in the text does not give any intelligible name, I would read Y instead of I, even though the Y would be different from that in 2; so we would obtain a plausible name like Ἀνθοῦσα, a popular name in Rome and Italy in general. - 5: the fourth letter has the appearance of Z, but as ΙΛΟΖΕΝ would result in a *vox nihili*, it is better to take the letter as a Ξ, sometimes written in that way, thus producing Φιλόξενος, a popular name in both Greece and in Rome and Italy.

Thus, putting these possibilities together, we could give the text the following exemplary form:

[Δη]μυλᾶ[ς] / [Ἀ]ντίο[χος] / [Ἀν]θοῦσα / [Φ]ιλόξεν[ος] / [---].

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[58] E. g., *OGIS* 709 = *I. Smyrna* 901. Ἑρμούπολις ἡ Μεγάλη; *OGIS* 654 Διόσπολις Μεγάλη; *SEG* XXXII 1066 ἡ μεγάλη Ἡρακλεούπολις; Bosch 1967, 245, 184 ἡ μεγάλη Ἀλεξάνδρεια; *IDR* I 34 (Alburnus Maior) Ἄλβουρνος Μεγάλη.

The ten graffiti found in the complex vary considerably in the quality of writing and of expression. The whole group may originate from immigrants of lower social strata, who mostly come from Asia Minor and Syria.

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Abbreviations

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