

NOTATION OF ASPIRATION IN ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 1ST CENTURY AD*

By

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The phonological system of the Latin language did not contain aspirated stop consonants. Unlike Greek ρ, Latin *r* was an unaspirated consonant. In the Ciceronian period, the velar fricative *h* did occur, both word initially (*hostis*, etc.) and within the word (*vehō*, etc.), but this phoneme also was lost quite early.

At the time the Romans came into close contact with the Greek language, however, aspiration entered the Latin language, and, upheld by the spelling system of the Ciceronian period, it continued to exist as an intrusive element in the 1st century AD. Thus in inscriptions from this period the letter *H* was used quite frequently, although, as can be determined from frequent spelling errors, it did not give an accurate reflection of the living Latin language. In this article, material relevant to this topic found in Latin inscriptions from the 1st century AD is presented, with the exception of examples that are uncertain or too complex to interpret.

1. WORD INITIAL *H*-

Due to the attrition of this consonant in the living language, cases of spelling without word initial *h*- are found: *oris* “horis” *CIL* VI 6225; *ortis* “hortis” 6282; *Ordionio* “Hordeonio” 6669; *Ortensius* “Hortensius” 268. These examples are rare, and they stand alongside inscriptions in which the letter *H*- appears: *hora*, *horam* 1261, *horas* 6192; *horteis* 6241. 6299, *hortis* 6370. 9005, *hortos* 9472; *Hordionius* 5908, *Hordeonius* 92; *Hortensius* 200, col. VII 52, *Hortesius* 268, *Hortesia* 6012, etc. Examples of the omission of aspiration in names of Greek origin are found quite frequently: *Armonius* 5819; *Arpocra* 200, col. VI 42, *Arpochra* 4493, *Arphocras* 7255, *Arphocrae* 9016; *Ediste* 18188; *Edius* 6016;

* Originally published in Polish in “Eos” LII 1962, fasc. 2, pp. 337–349.

Eius 5227; *Eniochus* 200, col. II 78; *Epaestioni* 5375; *Eraclea* 4403; *Eronis* 6096. 6840, *Eroni* 6429; *Eronti* 4412; *Esychus* 4441. 6437. 11729. 15634; *Iacanthus* 6343; *Ilairae* 20042; *Orii* 4668, *Orio* 23581; *Yperethusa* 15862 (the lack of a word-initial letter *h-* may in this name be partially justifiable by regular Greek orthography). In this case there are also frequent occurrences of inscriptions with word-initial *H-*: *Harmonius* 17630; *Hedistae* 4131, cf. *Hedys* 200, col. II 63, *Hedylus* 5197, *Hedyle* 18207, *Hedylio* 12523. 34497, *Hedulio* 33142, *Hedylalo* 7281. 7281^a; *Hedi* 3944. 8060, *Hediae* 5288. 5303; *Heracleo* 1815. 2362. 4447. 4581. 5015. 5886. 6543, etc.; *Hero* 2288; *Hesycus* 200, col. V 25, *Hesychus* 5413. 6619. 6620; *Hyacinthus* 200, col. VII 75. 200, col. VII 85. 4420. 10163. 33185; *Hilarus* 107. 200, col. I 88. 3941. 3986, etc., *Hilara* 2372. 4432. 4505, etc.; *Horus* 24196, *Horo* 4723. 26959; *Hyperephani* 18205, *Hyperbolus* 4015.

Obviously, quite frequent examples of hypercorrect spelling with word-initial *H-* in words where aspiration is not expected can also be found; thus regularly in the imperative *have*: 4892. 5054. 5992. 6098. 6214. 6436. 6573. 6609. 33370^a. 33382; similarly *havete* 6492; also in the 3rd person singular *havet* 6051. Also a common occurrence in Greek personal names: *Habra* 37643 (cf. Ἄβρα, PA.¹); *Hapate* 4960, cf. *Apate* 4732. 5734. 6409. 6873. 33138; *Haria* 4738 (cf. Ἄρεια? PA.); *Helichrysi* 4302 (cf. Ἑλίχρυσος, PA.; cf. also compounds with ἡλί-); *Helpis* 2349. 3997. 4149. 4484, etc. much more frequent than the rare *Elpis* 4523, *Elpidia* 8103; similarly *Helpistus* 2222, *Helpisto* 6169, *Helpiste* 33076; *Helpidefori* 13472 alongside *Elpideforus* 4877, *Elpideph[oro]* 33175; *Helpidio* 5823; *Hicelo* 8733 (cf. Ἰκελος, PA.); *Hismarus* 200, col. V 8 (cf. Ἰσμαρος, PA.); *Horodamnus* 200, col. I 96 (cf. Ὀρόδαμνος, name of a river, PA.). One can, of course, surmise the occurrence of such alternation in aspiration could already be found in the Greek language.

The above-cited examples of alternation in the use of the letter *h* in word initial position indicate that, in the living speech of Rome in the 1st century AD, aspiration did not exist. It was, however, upheld by schools and by Greek pronunciation as well as by orthographical tradition in writing. For this reason, in a great majority of examples, inscriptions reflect the actual phonological system of the Ciceronian period.

2. INTERVOCALIC -H-

Already in the 1st century AD, the symbol *H* between letters denoting vowels surely indicated only that adjacent vowels constitute two syllables. Thus the traditional spelling of *aheneam* 877^b. 32323, 60 and 62 was continued; similarly *Ahenobarbus* 2023. ib., *Ahenobarbi* 31735; *cohortis* 798, *coh.* 8059, *cho.* 20;

¹ W. PAPE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig³1875. Here abbreviated as PA.

also probably the traditional spelling of *Mahes*, which occurs three times in inscriptions: 6018. 13532. 33405, nom. sg. masc., a form that should be linked with Osc. *Mahiis*, v. Pl. 195, cf. also *Mahenus*, *CIL IX 5610*, SHULZE, *Eigenn.*, p. 187. Also found is *mihi* 1527 (several times). 5534. 6593. 12652^a. 12652^c; *nihil* 8628 alongside *nil* 12652^a. The perception of compound formation results in the use of *H* in words such as *coheredii* 23977. The hypercorrect *huhic* is found once in the dat. sg., 7308, alongside *huic* 4421. 6319, *huic* 8022, *hui* 26584 (perhaps read as one syllable).

In foreign names, *H* is found between the elements of a compound in which the second element, when occurring alone, begins in *h-*: *Euhelpisto* 15648; *Euhemerus* 4398, *Euhemer* 200, col. VII 33, *Euhemeriae* 5823; *Euheteria* 1963; *Euhodus* 200, col. VII 21. 3835. 18309, *Euhodi* 16586, *Euhodo* 16203. 26311, *Euhodia* 34401. The spelling *Synhetus* 1961 alongside *Synethus* 10449, *Synethe* 5477. 18768 (also perhaps 4655), *Synete* 4251. 5717, is ambiguous; if this is not a mechanical error, it is possible in this case also to posit the introduction of the letter *H* at the beginning of the second element of the compound (cf. *Enhopli* in an inscription from Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN², p. 57); the following inscriptions are just as unclear: *Parhalia* 5909 alongside *Paralia* 6629; similarly *Parhesia* 6166. Yet also found is, for example, *Anchialus* 5452, without an aspiration before *-alus*. In names in which the second element did not take a word initial *h-*, no *h-* is found in Roman orthography, such as in the common *Antiochus* 397. 3942, etc.

3. ASPIRATED STOP CONSONANTS

a. Velar consonants

The loss of aspiration leads primarily to the spelling of *C* in the place of an expected *CH*. In Roman inscriptions of the 1st century AD there are many examples of this.

Occurring in the middle of a word between vowels: *Amatocus* 4894: a name in *-οχος?*; *Antioci* 33164, *Anthiocus* 6089, *Antiocis* 6652: alongside the very frequent *Antiochus*, *Antiochis*, cf. above; *Arrecinae* 12357: cf. Ἀρρηχοί, name of a tribe, PA.; *Batraci* 7990: cf. Βάτραχος, PA.; *eunuco* 8847: alongside *eunuchus* 4238, *eunuchi* 8954; *Exocus* 17115: alongside *Exoche* 8709; *Hesycus* 200, col. V 25: alongside *Hesychus* 5413. 6619. 6620, *Esychus* 4441. 6437. 11729. 15634; *Lacesis* 10350: alongside *Laches* 6321, cf. Λάχεσις, PA.; *Pannycus* 200, col. V 12: alongside *Pannychus* 3956. 8639. 8697^a, *Pannuchus* 4795, *Pannucho* 4513, *Pannychis* 8697^a. 8907. 15207; *Prosoceni* 7639: cf. *Exoche* 8709; *Proticeni* 5237: alongside *Protuche* 4511; *Psycarionis* 6511: alongside *Psycharion* 33164, also perhaps *Spychario* 8831, cf. *Pyche* 6358, *Psycheni* 6157; *stomaco* 22423: cf. στόμαχος.

² V. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin ²1959.

Word initially before a vowel: *Calybe* 6201, *Calybenis* 5369: cf. Χαλύβη, PA.; *Carisi* 4002, *Carisia* 10051: alongside *Charis* 4377. 5362. 16989, *Charidi* 7290, *Charidi* 20409; *Celido* 21528. 33290: alongside *Chelido* 4830. 5360, *Chelidonis* 8712. 29095, *Chelidoni* 5778. 10046, *Chelidoni* 4571, *Chelido*[26254; *Cilo* 37705: alongside *Chilo* 5224.

Before or after a consonant: *Isocrysus* 4715: alongside *Isochrysus* 3985. 5790. 9438. 26113, *Isochrysi*. 4714; *Crestus* 5269. 11034, *Creste* 4918. 5399. 7348, *Crestenis* 6096: alongside the frequently occurring *Chrestus* 200, col. I 6. 200, col. V 42. 880. 1833^b. 5716, etc., *Chreste* 4350. 4494. 4603 etc.; *Cryseros* 24191, *Cryseronis* 37663: alongside the frequently occurring *Chryseros* 200, col. I 18. 3957. 4739. 5542, etc., *Chryserotis* 5318. 19904, etc.; *Crysipp*. 6665: alongside *Chrysippus* 6209, *Chrysippo* 15918; *arcitec*. 2725: alongside *architectus* 9151, *architect*. 9151; cf. *archimini* 4649; *Diaetarc*. 5196: alongside *Deaetarches* 5187; *Hipparci* 6392: alongside *Hipparchi* 6292. 6293; *Lycnis* 8053, *Lucnis* 33407, *Lycnia* 8409^a, *Lycinia* 8409^d: alongside *Lychnis* 12198, *Luchnis* 5971, *Lichnis* 4405, *Lychnidi* 8409^b; *Pascusa* 8032: alongside *Paschus* 3955.

In a few cases the aspiration was written in the wrong place: *Anthiocus* 6089; cf. above *Antiochi* and frequent *Antiochus*; *Carithe* 8761: alongside *Charite* 4805, *Charites* 12652^c; cf. above *Carisi*; *Epythycanus* 3943: alongside *Epityncanus* 8110, *Epituncanus* 8111 and the regular *Epitynchanus* 200, col. I 42, [E] *pitynchanus* 5210, *Epitynchano* 5404; *Euthycus* 4564, *Euthicia* 4856: alongside *Euticus* 6371 and the regular *Eutychnus*, very frequent, cf. below.

Here also need to be mentioned examples such as: *Crhesimus* 6430: alongside the regular *Chresimus* 200, col. II 77. 200, col. VII 74. 4290. 5847, *Chresimi* 4225, *Chresimi* 5712, *Chresimo* 7304; *Teucrhanus* 6430 (i.e., the same inscription as *Crhesimus*): alongside *Teucher* 6584, which shall be discussed below.

In the spelling *Erethomeno* 11375, the aspiration appears once only, cf. Ἐρέχθω.

Also mentioned separately must be *Baccio* 4671: alongside *Bacchius* 4577, *Bacchi* 20698; *Gracco* 1515, *Gracc*. 2012: alongside [Gra]ccho in the same inscription.

In inscriptions from Pompeii the repertoire of words with *C* instead of *CH* is almost identical to that found in Roman inscriptions. In this case, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 56) *Antiocus*; *Axsioci*; *Caris*, *Carisius*, *Carito*; *Glove* (= *Chloë*); *Cresimus*; *Crestus*; *Crysanthus*, *Crysantus*; *Cryseros*; *Eucini*; *Euscemi*; *Mettiocum*; *Prunicus*; *Pyrrhicus*; *Psyce*; *Tyce*; *Stacus*.

There remain those examples which, in contrast, show *CH* instead of an unaspirated stop consonant.

In the middle of a word between vowels: *Anichiai* 25028: alongside *Agathonice* 4516. 5103; *Philonicus* 4353. 33406, *Philonici* 4266; *Nicarcho* 6220, *Nicomachus* 4491, *Nicomachus* 5393; *Nicepor* 6354, etc., *Nicephor* 4544, etc.; *Arzachi* 8481; cf. Ἀρσάκης, PA.: *Dracho* 4955; cf. Δράκων, PA.; *Lychoris* 6571:

alongside *Lycoris* 8554; cf. Λυκωρίς, PA.; *Mystiche* 4037: alongside *Mysticus* 200, col. IV 8. 200, col. VI 54; *Soterichi* 2349, *Sotericho* 18211: alongside *Sotherico* 5696; cf. Σωτηρικός, but also Σωτήρειχος, PA.; *trichilinium* 4884, *trichil.* 10237, *trichiliniarchus* 9083.

Word initially before a vowel: *Chyani* 155: alongside *Cyane* 4783; cf. Gr. κύανος.

In combination with a consonant: *Arpochra* 4493: alongside *Arpocra* 200, col. VI 42, etc., as above; perhaps here also belongs the fragmentary *Jochra* 3961; *Chrotalio* 6804: it is uncertain whether this follows Greek Κρόταλος, PA., or Χρωτάριον, PA.; *Dorchas* 9251: cf. Δορκάς, PA.; *lachrumás* 9938, *lachrymis* 6051, *lachrimans* 6593: alongside *lacrumis* 25617; *Pulcher* 200, col. VI 64. 1282, *Pulchri* 15735, *pulchro* 32323, 106, *Pulchro* 2012; *sepulchrum* 6150. 8021, *sepulchri* 17992, *sepulchr[i]* 15526, *sepulchro* 34114: alongside *sephulcru[m]* 8942, *sepulcri* 5200, 18123, *sepulcro* 14211.

It is likely that here should also be included the name *Teucher* 6584, alongside the regular *Teucer*, *Teucus*, as found in Vergil, for instance.

From inscriptions from Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57) the following examples: *Alchimus*; *Barcha*; *Choum*; *Chypare*; *Mystiche*; *Nucherina*; *Soteriche*; *trichilinium*.

b. Dental consonants

Greek θ, i.e. *th*, was transmitted into Latin as an unaspirated stop consonant. Under the influence of Greek spelling, teaching practices in schools and the orthographic tradition, however, the aspiration was partially restored in writing and likely in speech as well. As a result, words with the spelling *TH* are very commonly found in inscriptions. Nevertheless, because everyday speech contained the unaspirated *t*, spelling without aspiration, i.e., with the letter *T*, is found quite often. The following are examples from Roman inscriptions from the 1st century AD:

Acantis 34494: alongside *Acanthus* 6811. 9653, [*A*]canthi 4147.

Agato 5121. 6649, *Agatonis* 5036; *Agate[merus]* 4289, *Acatemer* 200, col. II 80; *Agatocles* 10171; *Agatopus* 268, *Agatophus* 200, col. VI 18 and 56, *Agatopodis* 3945. 3948. 4249, *Agatopodi* 3945; *Epagatus* 7631, *Epagat.* 5771, *Epagati* 5853. 8804: alongside *Agatho* 3932. 4255. 5090. 5108, etc., *Agathe* 5079. 6622. 35308, *Agathis* 4912, *Agathonis* 4161. 4260. 5068, etc., *Agathoni* 6303, *Agathone* 6220, *Agatheni* 4408; *Agathemerus* 5351. 5876, etc., *Agathemer* 200, col. II 48. 200, col. VI 70. 4639. 8100, etc., *Agathemero* 18315, *Agathemeris* 4604. 7319, *Agathemeridis* 6624, *Agathemeridi* 5324, etc.; *Agathocli* 4574, *Agathoclia* 4685; *Agathopus* 163. 268. 2222. 3946, etc., *Agathopodis* 3947. 3948, *Agathopi* 7619, *Agathopo* 6037; *Epagathus* 163. 5563, *Epagathi* 5165. 5776. 5856, *Epagatho* 4180. 8467. 17992, etc.

Amatocus 4894: probably related to ἄμαθος; cf. Ἄμαθοῦς, Ἀμάθουσα, PA.

Antus 4365, *Anto* 4689; *Antis* 33291, *Antidis* 4542; *Antemo* 8409^c; *Antesphoros* 5856; *Chrysanto* 5183, *Chrysant.* 200, col. VII 75; *Philanto* 5414: alongside

Anthus 4001. 5046. 5197, etc., *Anthi* 4281, *Antho* 5956. 11865; *Anthis* 33290. 33322; *Anthemus* 8409^d, *Anthemi* 8409^b; *Chrysanthus* 200, col. I 73. 33085; *Chrysanthe* 7285; *Euanthus* 951; *Íanthum* 4013, *Syrianthi* 5747; *Oeanthe* 14945, *Oéanthe* 9114, etc.

Atene 5995; alongside *Athenaeo* 6180; *Athenais* 4624. 5478. 5770. 6557, etc., *Athenaidi* 5309. 10162, etc., *Athenainis* 9219, *Athenaine* 6423, *Athenio* 19857.

bibylotece 4432, *bybliot.* 4434: alongside *bybliothece* 2347. 4431. 5188. 5189, *bibliothece* 2349, *bibliotheca* 4435. 5884, *bybliothecis* 8907.

cyato 8815. 8817: alongside [*c*]yatho 3963.

Demostenes 6296: alongside *Demosthenes* 471. 3997, *Demosth.* 3997. 4173, *Demostheni* 4272.

Ecteti 4055. *ib.*: alongside *Thetus* 4537.

Istimicus 33133: cf. Ἰσθμικός, PA.

Litos 200, col. II 29, *Lite* 6585: cf. λίθος.

Meteni 4234: alongside *Methe* 4286. 4490. 4555. 5011, etc.

Philantropus 6520: cf. ἄνθρωπος.

Philomates 4669: cf. Φιλομαθής, PA.

Philotee 4714: cf. *Menothea* 7394^a; *Do[r]otheus* 200, col. II 22; *Pantheus* 765, etc.

Tadius 4684: cf. Θαδδαῖος, Θαδδίων, Θαδεύς, PA.

Teraphne 4684: cf. Θεράπνη, PA.

Tespidi 5479: alongside *Thespi* 6523.

Tethi[6127: alongside *Thetis* 4293. 6076, *Thetis* 4402.

Thiopitia 5749: cf. Θεοπειθης, PA.; *Diopithi* 7274.

Trepto 37589, *Trhepti* 4566: alongside *Threptus* 6635, *Threpto* 9902, *Thrept[o]* 8108, *Threptioni* 7394^a; *Threptia* 8105, *Threpthe* 5480: cf. Θρέπτος, PA.

Turiae 9052: cf. Θουριάς, PA.

Tymelus 200, col. VI 38: cf. Θυμίλος, PA.; cf. *Thymele* 4056. 4073. 4982, etc.

Xantiae 33359: alongside *Xanthus* 200, col. VI 32, *Xanthi* 6886, *Xantho* 32775.

VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 56) similar examples from inscriptions from Pompeii: *Agato*, *Agatoclis*, *Epagatus*; *Antus*, *Crysantus*; *Aptonetus*; *Aracintus* = Ἀράκυνθος?; *Atenais*, *Attine*; *Corintus*; *Iacintus*; *Istmus*; *Itaci*; *Note*; *Pitane*; *Psamate*; *Treptus*; *Xantus*.

In addition to these examples, which probably reflect the pronunciation of the living everyday speech, there are also examples of reverse spelling, resulting from the uncertainty as to the correct spelling of *TH* or *T*. Thus, instead of the expected *T*, *TH* is found in the following inscriptions:

Aepicthesi 4725: alongside *Epictesis* 6204; cf. Ἐπικτησις, PA.

Amaranthus 200, col. IV 60. 200, col. V 30. 1963. 4094. 4887. 5087. 6217, *Amaranthi* 5873. 6391, *Amarantho* 3966. 6154; alongside *Amarantus* 200, col. I 10. 200, col. II 37. 200, col. III 65. 4486. 4595. 6250. 6384. 8639. 8766, *Amaranti* 3955, *Amarant.* 200, col. VII 79; cf. Ἀμαραντός, PA.

Amianthus 4040. ib. 4657. 4714, *Amiantho* 5091. 28699: alongside *Amiantus* 3937; cf. Ἀμίαντος, PA.

Anthiocus 6089: alongside the very frequent *Antiochus* 200, col. III 17. 282. 397. ib. 3942. 4474, etc., *Antiochi* 6220. 6665, etc., *Antiocho* 5954. 6376, etc.; cf. Ἀντίοχος, PA.

Athys 4174, *Athyi* 4165: alongside *Atys* 4151, *Atyi* 4298; cf. Ἄτυς, PA.

Carithe 8761: alongside *Charites* 12652^c, *Charite* 4805, *Charito* 200, col. VII 56. 200, col. VII 84. 5743. 6226, *Charitoni* 5835; cf. Χαρίτης, PA.

Diopanthus 8956, *Diophanthi* 4964; cf. Διόφαντος, PA.

Epythycanus 3943: alongside *Epitynchanus* 200, col. I 42. 5210, *Epityncanus* 8110, *Epituncanus* 8111, *Epitynchano* 5404; cf. Ἐπιτύγχανος, PA.

[E]uthycus 4564, *Euthychi* 4087, *Euthyco* 5401. ib.; *Euthycia* 4856: alongside the very frequent *Eutyclus* 200, col. I 63 and 104. 200, col. III 31... 766. 4412, etc., *Eutychi* 6066. 8890, etc., *Eutycho* 4748. 6165, etc., *Eutychia* 4383. 5266, etc.; cf. Εὐτυχός, Εὐτυχία, PA.

Pasthius 200, col. V 80: cf. Πάστιος, PA.

Philodespothus 7285: alongside *Philadespoti* 3971; cf. φιλοδέσποτος, LSJ.

Rythiae 8673. ib.: cf. Ῥυτία, PA. (?)

Sabbathis 5543: alongside *Sabbatis*; cf. Σαββάτις, PA.

Sotherico 5696: alongside *Soterichi* 2349, *Sotericho* 18211; cf. Σωτηρικός, alongside Σωτήρειχος, PA.

Synethus 10449, *Synethe* 5477. 18768: alongside *Synete* 4251. 5717, *Synhetus* 1961; cf. Συνέτη, PA.

Thelesporo 10171: alongside *Telesphorus* 20492, *Telisphorus* 5768, *Tel[es]phor* 200, col. VII 12, *Telesphoridi* 8959; cf. Τελεσφόρος, PA.

Thelete 33331: cf. Τελετή, PA.

Therpsichor: 6585: cf. Τερψιχόρη, Τερψιχόρα, LSJ.

Thethis 4402, *Tethi*[6127: alongside *Thetis* 4293. 6076; cf. Θέτις, PA.

Threpthe 5480: alongside *Threptus* 6635, *Threptia* 8105, etc.; cf. Θρέπτος, PA.

Thrypaena 6054, *Thryphaenae* 33195: alongside *Tryphaena* 5035. 5774. 15626, *Tryphaenae* 5035. 20042, *Truphaen*. 34284; cf. Τρύφαινα, PA.

Thullius 9095, *Thylliana* 10128: cf. the common *Tullius*, e.g. *Tulli* 4660. 5036, etc.

Tyrannus 4423: alongside *Tyrannus* 3985. 4012. 9127. 9700, etc., *Tyranni* 7295, *Tyranni* 6347, *Tyranno* 5854. 14203, *Tyrannis* 5835, *Tyranis* 6331; cf. Τύραννος, PA.

Thyrius 8909: cf. Τύριος, PA.

From the inscriptions of Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57): *Amaranthus*; *Amethystus*; *Muthunium*, *Synethaei*, *Synethus*; *Thelesphorus*; *Zethema*.

In a few instances, it is possible to posit a specific explanation for the use of *TH*. For instance, *TH* in the names *Amarantus*, *Amiantus* may have occurred

by analogy to the common names in *-anthus*, such as *Chrysanthus*. The name *Telesphorus* could have been influenced by the name *Θελέφορος*. In the few instances where two stops are found, it is possible that the aspiration was placed on the wrong consonant, such as perhaps in *Anthiocus* instead of *Antiochus*, *Carithe* instead of *Charite*, *Diopanthus* instead of *Diophantus*, *Epythycanus* instead of *Epitynchanus*, *Euthycus* instead of *Eutychnus*, *Sotherico* instead of *Sotericho*, *Thelesporo* instead of *Telesphoros*, *Tethi* instead of *Thetis*, *Thrypaena* instead of *Tryphaena*. In any case, this points to a loss of aspiration in the living language.

There remain some personal names and other common terms which must be discussed separately. This pertains primarily to some Greek names for which it is difficult to derive a proto-form: *Anthros* 7640: the relationship to *ἄντρον* is very uncertain; *Tusa* 4586: perhaps related to *Θέων*, PA. ?; *Yperethusa* 15862: surely related to *ὑπηρετέω*.

In a few cases, the cluster *thr* has been written as *TRH*, as in the name *Trhasylli* 4461; and also in the aforementioned *Trhepti* 4566 – this is probably an error in marking an aspiration that was never pronounced.

Two words of Greek origin that had entered the Latin language and had become accepted exhibit a well documented alternation: *spatarius* 9043, related to Greek *σπάθη*, cf. E.–M.³ and *turariu* 4039 alongside *thurarius* 5639. 5680, *thurar*. 5638.

In a few Latin names, the aspiration was permanently established in writing, such as in *Cethegus*: *Cethegi* 6072, *Cethego* 10051; *Otho*: frequently found in inscriptions 2041–2046, etc. The custom of writing *TH* was also established in the oriental names *Carthaginiensis* 8608; *[I]ugurtha* 1315, *Iugurthae* 7605; *Mithridate* 6220, *Mithrodates* 9732, *Mithridas* 200, col. V 43, *Mithrae* 732, but alongside *Mitredatis* 5639.

Finally, the rare foreign names which also exhibit alternation in writing should also be mentioned: *Bargates* 5684 alongside *Bargathi* 5685; *Marta* 6050, *[M]artae* 6484 alongside *Martha* 6184. 6572: in Greek, *Μάρθα* and *Μάρτης*, PA.

c. Labial consonants

As is commonly known, the Greek aspirate *ph* developed into the unaspirated stop *p* in Latin. In addition to this, however, already in the 1st century AD the aspirate was quite frequently replaced by the fricative *f*. Examination of Roman inscriptions shows that while both stop and fricative occur, *P* is the more common form of spelling, as shown in the following examples:

In the middle of a word between vowels:

Diopanthus 8956: cf. *Διόφαντος*, PA.

Epaestioni 5375: cf. *Ἐφαιστίων*, PA.

³ A. ERNOUT, A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1959. Here abbreviated as E.–M.

Eupemus 6438. 6439; alongside *Euphemus* 200, col. IV 38. 200, col. VI 76. 4829. 8038. 8639, etc.; cf. Εϋφημος, PA.; the spelling *Euthemus* 4907 is perhaps a mechanical error.

Eupor 4474, *Euporiaes* 5040: alongside *Euphor* 200, col. VI 5; cf. Εϋφορος, PA.

Glapyra 4699. 22679: alongside *Glaphura* 4856, *Glaphurae* 4251; cf. Γλαφύρα, PA.

Heropilus 15517: alongside *Hermophilo* 5423, *Hermaphili* 10267, *Theophilo* 6220. 17155, *Theophili* 6477, etc.; cf. Θεόφιλος, PA.

Nicepor 6318. 6354. 11436 (cf. already *CIL* I² 1413), *Nicepori* 4661, *Nicoporis* 16137: alongside *Nicephor* 200, col. I 27, etc., 761. 4544. 4692. 5685, etc.; cf. Νικηφόρος, PA.

Scaripi 5822: alongside *Scariphus* 5868, *Scariphi* 6031; cf. Σκάρπος, Σκάρφη, Σκάρφιος, PA.

Syntropus 4822: alongside *Syntrophus* 200, col. I 79. 200, col. III 49. 2222. 7611, *Syntropho* 4923. 5290; cf. Σύντροφος, PA.

Thrypaena 6054: alongside *Tryphaena* 5035. 5774. 15626, etc.; cf. Τρύφαινα, PA.

Word initially before a vowel:

paler. 37298: cf. *phaleratus*, E.–M., Greek τὰ φάλαρα.

Pilarcurus 6883: alongside the very frequent *Philargyrus* 3960. 4826. 6315, etc., *Philargurus* 1324. 5452. 6135, etc., *Philarcyro* 4263, etc.; cf. Φιλάργυρος, PA.

Pilumina 33089, ib.: alongside *Philumina* 5728. 8103, *Philumenus* 5775. 5401, *Philumene* 11965. ib. 20606. 33745, etc.; cf. Φιλουμένη, PA.

Poebhus 7375: alongside the frequent *Phoebus* 199. 200, col. I 74... 4606, etc., *Phoebe* 173. 5262. 5359. 5543, etc., *Phebo* 4511, etc.

Posphor 4724, *Pospor* 37679: alongside *Phosporo* 23601, [*Ph*]osphorus 4471; cf. *Photis* 4246, *Photi* 16658^b; Greek Φωσφόρος, PA.

Pilicrepus 6813, which can be Latin *pilicrepus*; cf. E.–M. s.v. *pīla*, certainly does not belong in this category.

In consonant clusters:

Philadelpus 3971. 4179. 5003, *Philadelpi* 9066, *Philadelpo* 4012: alongside *Philadelphus* 6380, [*Ph*]iladelphus 4755, *Philadelpho* 6469; cf. Φιλάδελφος, PA.

ampitheatr. 6226: alongside *amphitheatr*. 6337, *amphiteatro* 2059, *amphiteátro* 6228, *maphitheatri* (sic) 10163; cf. ἀμφιθέατρον.

Numpidius 1815: alongside *Nymphidia* 4685, *Nymphidius* 200, col. VII 74, *Nymphidi* 6621, *Nymphidio* 8537; *Nymphe* 880. 4354. 4394. 4903, etc., *Numphe* 4687. 6051, etc.; *Nymphali* 8849; *Nymphium* 800, etc.; *Nymphicus* 5186. 5780, etc.; *Nymphidorum* 880; *Nymphodotus* 9511. 15598, etc.; cf. Νυμφίδιος, PA.

Tampia 10097: cf. Τάμφιος, PA.

Triumpus 5898: cf. *triumphalis* 8546; *triumphans* 1315, [*triump*]havit 1315; cf. E.–M.

Phosporo 23601, *Pospor* 37679, *Fosporus* 6290: cf. above.

Spaeri 6096: cf. Σφαῖρος, PA.,

Thelesporo 10171: alongside *Telesphorus* 20492, *Telisphorus* 5768, *Tel[es]phor* 200, col. VII 12; *Telesphoridi* 8959; cf. Τελεσφόρος, PA.

Dapnis 6431. 6528; *Dapno* 6221 alongside *Daphnis* 5163, *Daphnidi* 4106, *Daphne* 4559. 5046, *Daphnini* 6443, *Daphneni* 5268, etc.: *Daphnus* 163. 200, col. I 26 and 36. 8855, etc.; cf. Δάφνις, Δάφνη, Δάφνος, etc., PA.

Aprodisia 5816. 6335. 8707, *Aprodisiae* 5465. 6440: alongside *Aphrodisia* 37940, *Aphrodisia* 8604, *Aphrodisiae* 4006, etc.; *Aphrodisius* 4119. 5490, etc.; cf. Ἀφροδισία, Ἀφροδισίας, Ἀφροδισίος, PA.

Epapra 5687. 6871. 33128. *Epapr*: 33117: alongside the frequent *Ephra* 4120. 4121. 4423. 4496, etc.; cf. Ἐπαφρᾶς, PA.

There remain a few examples of the spelling *PTH* instead of the cluster *pth*: *Apthonus* 6256: cf. Ἀφθόνιος, Ἀφθόνητος, PA.; *pthóibus* 32323, 115. ib. 118. 140. 142, 145: cf. φθόις; *Melipthongus* 6171: cf. Μελίφθογγος, PA.: *Pthongus* 5011: cf. Φθόγγος.

There are no examples of the spelling *PHTH* in 1st century AD Roman inscriptions.

Comparative material from Pompeii includes the following, as cited by VÄÄNÄNEN (p. 56): *ampitheatru*; *ampura*; *Aprodite*; *chirograpum*; *Dapnus*; *Dipilus*; *elephantu*; *Epapra*; *Grospis*; *Nicepor*; *Nype*, etc.; *Palepati*; *Philadelpus*; *Pilipus*; *Pilo*; *Pilocalus*; *Posphorus*; *Pospori*, *Phospori*; *Pronimi*; *Prunicus*; *Prunis*; *Sope*; *Stepano*, etc.; *Sympore*; *Sypo*; *Tropimi*.

Below are presented examples of spellings with *F*:

a. In the middle of a word between vowels: *Elpideforus* 4877, *Helpidefori* 13472: alongside *Elpidephoro* 33175; cf. Ἐλπιδηφόρος, PA.; *Eufemia* 7377: alongside *Eupemus*, *Euphemus*, cf. above; *sarcofaga* 4870: alongside [*sarcop*] *hagu* 8431; cf. σαρκοφάγος; *Stefanis* 5817: alongside *Stephanus* 163. 200, col. II 51, etc. 3951. 4240. 5390, etc., *Stephania* 8039, etc.; cf. Στέφανις, Στέφανος, PA.; *Tafi* 4302: cf. Τάφος, PA.; *Trofimo* 4731, *Trofime* 7260: alongside the frequent *Trofimus* 200, col. II 32, etc., 761. 4370. 4858, etc., *Trophime* 4863. 5735. 6205, etc.; cf. Τρόφιμος, Τροφίμη, PA.

b. Word initially before a vowel: *Faonis* 33369: cf. Φάων, PA.; *Fenia* 30855: cf. Φαίνιος, PA.; *Filemoni* 4795: alongside *Philemoni* 33768; cf. Φιλήμων, PA.; *Filenis* 4795: alongside *Philaenis* 4832. 5488, *Philaenidis* 4767, *Philaenidi* 18396; cf. Φιλαινίς alongside Φιλήνιον, PA.; *Fosporus* 6290: alongside *Phosporo* 23601, *Posphor*, *Pospor*, etc., cf. above.

c. Together with a consonant: *Eufiras* 3317: cf. Εὐφράσιος, Εὐφραστος, PA.; *Eufrosine* 4386: alongside *Euphrosyne* 27490, *Euphrosynus* 18055, *Euphrosyno* 33129; cf. Εὐφροσύνη, PA.; *Sunfonia* 4720: alongside *symphoniacus* 4472. 6356, *symphonicorum* 2193 (= 4416), *symphoniaca* 33372; cf. συμφωνία.

Mentioned separately should be the name *Saffo* 4532: alongside *Sappho* 6577, *Sapphos* 4519. 4520; cf. Σαπφώ, PA.

The confusion in the spelling of *P* and *PH* led to hypercorrect spelling with *PH* instead of the regular *P*. This became evident in the following inscriptions: *Agaphima* 6555: cf. Ἀγάπημα, P.A.; *Agatophus* 200, col. VI 18 and 56: alongside the regular *Agathopus* and also *Agatopus*, cf. above; cf. Ἀγαθόπους, P.A.; *Arphocras* 7255, *Arphocrae* 9016: alongside *Arpocra*, *Arpochra*, cf. above; cf. Ἀρποκράς, P.A.; *Cryphius* 1815: alongside *Grypo* 2065, col. II 65, *Grypia* 5421: cf. Γρύπος, P.A.; *Philagryphni* 4803: cf. Ἀγρυπνίς, the name of a festival, P.A.; *Phylades* 766. 4637: alongside *Pylades* 200, col. VIII 67. 33115. 37688, *Pyla[des]* 200, col. IV 37; cf. Πυλάδης, P.A.; *Phyramo* 2313: alongside *Pyrami* 5749; cf. Πύραμος, P.A.; but also cf. *Fyramus* 33109, which indicates that the aspiration already existed in the Greek name; *Teraphne* 4965: cf. Θεράπνη, P.A.; *Zophrus* 5045: perhaps to Ζώπυρος, P.A.

As is known, the alternation included also the Latin noun *sepulcrum*, written as *sepulcri* 5200. 18123, *sepulcro* 14211, but as *sephulcru[m]* 8942; more frequently, the aspirations occurs in the concluding element of this word, i.e. as *sepulchrum* 6150. 8021, etc., cf. above. The word *triumphus* and its derivations was written with *PH*, cf. *triumphalis* 8546, *triumphans* 1315, [*triump*]havit 1315; but there is also the spelling *Triumpus* 5898, cf. above. From Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57) *Ephaphroditi*, and, as an example of *PH* instead of *F*: *Ruphus* CIL IV 4615.

It remains necessary to explain the double replacement of the Greek aspirated stop φ: sometimes as *p*, and sometimes as *f*. The issue is quite complex because many factors come into play here. It is clear that, in Archaic Latin, the regular equivalent of the Greek aspirated stop was *p*. It suffices to recall the development of the Latin word *ampulla* (diminutive of *ampora*, cf. E.–M. s.v. *amphora*). At a later date literary Latin introduced *ph*, which predominates in Classical Latin; however the pronunciation of colloquial and especially of vulgar Latin most probably retained the earlier form. As a result, inscriptions with *P* instead of *PH* must be regarded as reflecting a phonetic archaism. (More precisely, as a systemic archaism retaining a former system in which aspiration in stops is not phonemic.)

The appearance of the equivalent *f* is not dependent on phonological changes in Latin.; the development of the aspirated labial stop into a labial fricative most probably was accomplished in Greek, cf. the discussion in SCHWYZER, *Gr. Gramm.* I 206⁴. This change was characteristic of spoken Greek and was not reflected in Greek spelling. Thus Latin inscriptions with *F* instead of *PH* should be considered as a manifestation of phonetic spelling and characteristic of vulgar Latin texts. The oldest known example of this way of rendering Greek φ in Latin inscriptions dates back to the 1st century BC: *Fedra* CIL I² 1413. More frequent are such occurrences in inscriptions from the 1st century AD, and they are also found in the texts from Pompeii, cf. *Dafne* CIL IV 680; *Trofime* 2039; *Fileto* 2402; *Filetor* 9015; *Fyllis* 1265^a. 7057; cf. VÄÄNÄNEN'S remarks (p. 57) about *Venus Fisica*.

⁴ E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I, München 1934–1939.

Later alternations are merely the result of the clash of the three different traditions: the archaic tradition with the consonant *p*, the newer tradition with the fricative *f* and the scholastic, literary tradition, with the pronunciation *ph* and the spelling *PH*. The mutual influence of these three traditions led to confusion and to the hypercorrect spelling *PH* instead of the spoken *p*, as can be seen from the examples mentioned above.

In certain cases additional factors may have come into play. Thus in words with two aspirated consonants dissimilation may have played a role, in part in Latin and in part perhaps already in Greek. Thus *Posphorus* may reflect an already unaspirated Πώσφορος, as is posited by SCHWYZER, I 204. Probably, the dissimilation in Latin is reflected by the stable spelling *PTH* instead of *PHTH* for the Greek cluster φθ, cf. *Pthongus*, *pthoibus*, etc. This dissimilation gave rise to uncertainty as to which consonant should be aspirated: thus alternations such as *Agatophus* alongside *Agathopus*, etc., are found, and similarly *sepulchrum* alongside *sephulchrum*, etc. Finally, names in *-por*, such as *Nicepor*, may reflect the influence of Roman names of the type *Marcipor*; cf. E.–M. s.v. *puer*.

4. ALTERNATION OF R- : RH-

In a few rare personal names of foreign origin that begin in *r*- the Greek spelling *RH*- predominates. This is found in the following cases: *Rhemius* 4400: cf. Ῥήμιος, PA. (but also common Latin *Remmius*); *Rhesus* 7988, *Rhésus* 6605: cf. Ῥήσος, PA.; *Rhodanus* 5706: cf. Ῥοδανός, PA.; *Rhodaspes* 1799: cf. Ῥωωδάσπης, PA.; *Rhodine* 4780. 14843. 34476, *Rhodene* 6670; *Rhodinus* 8434. 14843: cf. Ῥοδίνη, PA.; *Rhodes* 6635; *Rhodia* 5851; *Rhodo* 4711. 8781^d, *Rhodonis* 8434: cf. Ῥόδη, Ῥόδος, Ῥόδων, PA.; *Rhodope* 4784: cf. Ῥοδόπη, PA.; *Rhoemetalcaes* 20718: cf. Ῥοιμητάλκας, PA.; *Rhomeni* 15589: cf. Ῥώμη, PA.

Similarly for two names of uncertain origin: *Rhoci* 4330; *Rhosice* 3932.

Also in the common noun: *rhet*. (i.e. *rhetori*) 9857: cf. Greek ῥήτωρ.

Alongside these, spellings in which aspiration is not marked are found less frequently: *Rodine* 4970. 6657: cf. above *Rhodine*; *Rotho* 15243: cf. Ῥόθος, PA.; *Rythiae* 8673, ib.: cf. Ῥυτία, PA.; *Rythimiano* 38369^a, *Rythymus* ib.: cf. Ῥυθμικός, PA.; ῥυθμός.

In the names *Rotho*, *Rythimiano*, *Rythymus*, it is possible to suspect the tendency to avoid writing a second aspiration found in an adjacent syllable (a certain type of dissimilation; whether merely graphic or phonetic is hard to determine). In the spelling *Rythiae*, the aspiration was written in the wrong place, as is shown by the Greek equivalent Ῥυτία. Thus there are two words (in three inscriptions) which omit the aspiration: *Rodine*, which occurs twice and *Rythiae*, which occurs once. From this one should conclude that, in the living Latin language, aspiration did not occur word initially in the pronunciation of foreign names; the spelling *RH*- is therefore indicative only of a style of writing upheld by the scholastic

tradition. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Latin grammarians consider word initial *RH* as characteristic of words of Greek origin, cf. Diomedes, *GL* I 425, 25: “in Graecis dumtaxat nominibus”.

In the middle of the word, the aspirated spelling, i.e. *-RH-* is very infrequent. It appears in a geminate in names: *Pyrrhus* 200, col. VIII 20: cf. Πύρρος, PA.; *Pyrrhichi* 11854: cf. Πυρρίχιος, PA.; *Tyrrheni* 20311: cf. Τυρρήνιος, PA. Also found, however, *Murri* 4618. 4619, *Murrius* 5277: cf. Μύρρος, PA.

Other instances of the spelling *RH* in the middle of a word have a specific explanation. Thus *Callirhoe* 6169 has *RH* at the beginning of the second element of the compound, cf. Καλλιρόη alongside Καλλιροή, PA. The names: *Parhalia* 5909 (alongside *Paralia* 6629), *Parhesia* 6166 consist of the prefix *par-* and the second element which contains the aspiration. In the names *Trhasylli* 4461, *Trhepti* 4566, *Crhesimus* 6430, *Teucrhanus* 6430, the aspiration is notated at the end of the consonant cluster instead of after the letter which marks the first consonant, cf. frequent *Threptus* 6635. 14959 etc., *Chresimus* 4290. 5847, etc. (cf. above) *Teucher* 6584. This spelling of *TRH* instead of *THR* can already be found in Archaic Latin inscriptions, cf. *Trhaso* *CIL* I² 1549. 2542; *Mitridatis* I² 743 (cf. *CIL* VI 19968: *Thrasiae*; Greek Θράσων, Θράσιος, PA.); it is doubtful that this denotes anything more than a spelling convention.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the linguistic analysis of errors in the placement of aspiration it is necessary to distinguish the characteristics of the living, spoken, colloquial speech and the literary language.

The great number of examples of the omission of aspiration in writing, as well its hypercorrect introduction where one does not expect it, is perhaps rather indicative that, in the 1st century AD, aspiration generally did not exist in the spoken language of the uneducated masses.

In cultured, literary language, however, aspiration could be maintained, as is shown by certain instances of stable alternation as compared with the occurrence of aspiration in Greek. This is most clear in the spelling of consonantal groups composed of two aspirated consonants. It has been mentioned that the Greek cluster φθ is regularly reflected in Latin inscriptions by a cluster with only one aspiration, i.e. as *PTH* (*Aphonus*, *pthoibus*, *Meliphongus*, *Pthongus*). This spelling leads to the conclusion that, in this case, aspiration was a living phonetic phenomenon that was rendered in Latin differently than in Greek. Because aspiration was characteristic of cultured speech only, it did not spread permanently into the language as a whole, but was nevertheless maintained throughout the 1st century AD through the influence of schools and thus was able to have a more widespread impact on the speakers of Latin.