

Tantimonaco, Silvia

Debitum reddere (and similar formulae) with the meaning of 'dying' in Latin inscriptions

Graeco-Latina Brunensia. 2024, vol. 29, iss. 2, pp. 113-128

ISSN 1803-7402 (print); ISSN 2336-4424 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/GLB2024-2-8>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/digilib.80767>

License: [CC BY-SA 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

Access Date: 12. 12. 2024

Version: 20241211

Terms of use: Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University provides access to digitized documents strictly for personal use, unless otherwise specified.

***Debitum reddere* (and similar formulae) with the meaning of 'dying' in Latin inscriptions**

Silvia Tantimonaco
(Universidad de Oviedo)

Abstract

This paper examines the Latin formula *debitum reddere* ('settling a debt'), found in both pagan and Christian inscriptions with the meaning of 'dying'. In this formula, death is depicted as the fulfilment of a legal obligation, a debt typically owed to Nature, Fate or the Christian God. Although the primary focus is epigraphic, both inscriptions and literary sources are analysed to trace the origin and development of this metaphor, which is interpreted in light of its Stoic philosophical background. The paper also explores other related formulae with similar meanings (e.g. *uitam/spiritum/animam reddere*), possible folk-etymological associations (such as *obitum reddere* and *uotum reddere* in funerary contexts), and further developments of the concept of dying as the return of a borrowed existence (including the absolute use of *reddere* to mean 'dying' and the use of *redditio* as a synonym for 'death'). Several references suggest that the metaphor *debitum reddere* may have been particularly popular in Roman Africa.

Keywords

epigraphic formulae; Latin language; juridical Latin; *debitum reddere*; stoicism

This paper is part of the RYC2021-030987-I contract, financed by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and by the European Union NextGenerationEU/PRTR. The core of this paper was prepared during a research stay at the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Munich. I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at the German institution for their hospitality and scientific support. I would also like to thank Javier Uría Varela, Radek Černoch, Lucia Pasetti and Juan Rodríguez Somolinos for their suggestions and bibliographic insights.

The formula *debitum reddere* with the meaning of 'dying' is reported in ca. 30 funerary inscriptions dating from the late 1st c. BC to the 7th c. AD, appearing in both pagan and Christian contexts. A considerable number of those inscriptions are found in African provinces and in Rome (10 records each). Other examples are from Hispania, Aquitania, Transpadana, Picenum, Sardinia, Dalmatia, Syria and Asia.¹ The main interest in this formula firstly lies in the explicit use of juridical terminology to construct a euphemistic phrase alluding to death as repayment of a loan, and secondly, in the philosophical background implied by this outlook of life being something borrowed.

Although euphemisms in Latin have been the subject matter of previous analyses,² to date the formula in question has only been cursorily discussed.³ Specifically, Linderski (1990) is the only scholar who has addressed the expression *debitum reddere* from a juridical perspective, in a paper where he commented on the sentence *certis Calendis (!) diem (!) morfi]tur* attested on a funerary inscription from Velletri (AE 1925, 90). In his opinion, *certis Kalendis* was an allusion to the Roman legal practice according to which 'it was on the Kalends that the outstanding debt (and interest) was to be paid' (Linderski 1990: p. 86). Consequently, the notion of dying as repayment of a debt was implied in that sentence. In contrast, the phrase *debitum reddere* employs juridical terminology more explicitly, serving as an example of how technical terms can be carried over into other domains of the Latin language through metaphor (De Meo 1986²: p. 14).⁴

1 The juridical metaphor

According to Kaser (1971²: p. 479), the word *debitum* can refer to a withholding derived from a loan. In Roman law, *debitum* is technically understood as 'what is due' (Seckel 1907⁹: p. 122), particularly in the framework of an obligatory relationship (*obligatio*) (Segrè 1929: p. 526) which would usually arise through conviction of a crime (*ex delicto*) or from a contract (*ex contractu*). Linderski (1990: p. 89) explains that one method of establishing a contract was concluding it via *res*. In regard to this approach, the prospective creditor, comprising one party, transferred an item to the future debtor, the other party. This generated an *obligatio re facta*, which included loan as a subcategory, in its two forms of *mutuum* (loan for consumption) and *commodatum* (loan for use).

Our formula usually mentions Nature as the recipient of the debt, e.g.:

-
- 1 Estimations are based on EDCS, EDR and EDB (August 2023). In this count, we include only those attestations in which the object of the verb *reddere* (or, alternatively, *soluere*, *persoluere*, etc.) is explicitly defined as *debitum* (or *debita*), regardless of the recipient of the metaphorical devolution (*Naturae*, *Fatis*, *Deo*, etc.). Specific variants of the formula *debitum reddere* will be discussed in detail within this paper.
 - 2 The reference work is Uría Varela (1997).
 - 3 Cf. e.g. Lier (1903: pp. 578–583); Brelich (1937: pp. 40–41); Pikhais (1978: pp. 54–84); Hernández Pérez (2001: pp. 94–95); Del Hoyo Calleja (2015: p. 260).
 - 4 On the role of metaphor for the construction of idioms referring to death, cf. Negro Alousque (2013: pp. 111–115).

...*P(ublius) Anicius Baric... debitum naturam (!) rededit (!)* (AE 2019, 1911; Simitthus, Africa Proconsularis, 1st–2nd c. AD);

...*Blessia... Flacchilla debit(um) natur(ae) reddidit...* (CIL VIII 16374; Aubuzza, Africa Proconsularis, 2nd–3rd c. AD);

B(o)n(ae) m(emoriae) Adtice (!) Leae... sic subito nature (!) redit (!) [de]bitum... (AE 1982, 409; Mediolanum, Transpadana, 4th–5th c. AD).

Within this metaphoric expression –where the *creditor* is the higher entity, the *debitor* is the human being, and life is the *res* in question– the loan appears to be characterized as a *commodatum*, as it does not entail the transfer of ownership over the *res* itself. In fact, as Linderski explains again, life must be returned ‘in full, in the same form, with no substitutions allowed’. Also, life is ‘a loan exactly determined’, an individually specified thing, which means that the *creditor* has an action for the recovery of the loan (the *actio commodati directa*), and the *debitor* must return exactly the same thing that was received from the *creditor*. Death is unavoidable, and debts with Nature must always be settled. However, the delivery of the *res*/life produces an informal contract, and no interests can be charged when it is returned (Linderski 1990: p. 89).

2 Variants

In the Latin language, it seems that the metaphor of dying as repaying a debt was close to becoming lexicalized and came into use as a verbal idiom. However, the presence of variants indicates that this lexicalization was not as entrenched as in fully consolidated idioms (Mendivil Giró 2013: pp. 9, 22–23), which are typically characterized by fixedness and semantic opacity (Negro Alousque 2013: p. 172). Such a variability indicates that the formulae in question were mostly (although certainly not always) intelligible to users.⁵

2.1 A different creditor

Different entities, other than Nature, may play the role of creditor in our funerary formula. A typical case is Fate.⁶ This occurs for instance in the metrical epitaph of a girl who died in Teos (Asia), far from her native land, in the 1st or 2nd c. AD, which includes the sentence *nec patrio potui gremio mea debita Fatīs reddere* (CLE 1168).⁷ The same concept is expressed in the *carmen* of another young individual set up in Rome in the first half of

5 In fact, idiomaticity does not always correspond to the loss of meaning of an idiom’s single components, as evidenced by González Rey (2010: p. 194).

6 In CLE 1120 (Vicetia, Venetia et Histria, Age of Claudius), death is depicted as ‘the hour due to Fates’: *...debita cum Fatīs uenerit hora...* Another verse inscription presents the personified Death as a *creditor* to which ‘the due Fates’ are to be given, cf. AE 2008, 1099 (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior, second half of the 1st c. AD): *...morti debita Fata dedi*. For the expression *debita fata*, cf. PROP. 1, 19, 2.

7 This epitaph is bilingual (CIG 3111) but expresses different contents in Latin and in Greek; therefore, no exact translation of our formula can be sought, cf. Garulli and Santin (2020: pp. 244–249).

the 1st c. AD, where the idea of life as a loan is conveyed not through the word *debitum*, but through a paraphrase of similar meaning: *Fatis reddidi quod dederunt* (CLE 2177).

In epitaphs within the Christian environment, God might play the role of creditor. In a funerary poem from Rome, we read the sentence *reddidi nunc D(omi)no rerum debitum communem omnibus* (CLE 693; 483 AD).⁸ A similar example is found in Turrus Libisonis (Sardinia): *debitum Domino reddidit* (AE 1982, 434; 5th to 6th c. AD). An inscription from *Mediolanum* (Transpadana) refers to *munus*, another juridical term entailing an obligation (Seckel 1907⁹: pp. 356–357, s.v. *munus*): *Domino reddens laudabile munus* (CLE 778; 4th to 5th c. AD).

It may also be that there is no mention of the creditor at all, and the funerary formula appears in the simplified variant *debitum reddere*, as in a 1st c. AD metrical text in Salona (Dalmatia) (AE 1933, 74). The same is attested in the epitaph of a woman who died in Asia Minor around the 3rd c. AD, but was buried in Auximum (Picenum): *debitum reddidi Nicomedia et hic translata* (CIL IX 5860).

An undefined ruling entity is presented as *creditor* on a metrical inscription from Rome dated to the first half of the 1st c. AD, in which the verb *repeto* expresses the idea of claiming the loan in a juridical sense (Seckel 1907⁹: p. 508, s.v. *repetere*): *quod quaeritis id repetitum apstulit (!) iniustus creditor ante diem* (CLE 1001).⁹ The idea that the deceased is repaying his debt before time is also found on a 1st c. AD funerary monument from Caesarea (Mauretania Caesariensis) commemorating a child, where one reads the sentence *d(ebitum) immaturus solui* (CIL VIII 21200).

2.2 A different verb

The idea of returning what is due is usually expressed in our formula by means of the verb *reddo*, with the deceased as the grammatical subject of the action. In fact, *reddo* has a special juridical connotation: as a compound of *do* ('to give') with the addition of the prefix *re-* ('denoting movement back or in reverse'; OLD, p. 1578, s.v. *re-*), *reddo* is used in juridical texts with the primary meaning of 'giving back'.¹⁰

However, as can be observed in the last example of the previous paragraph, the verb (*per*)*soluo* might appear instead of *reddo* in our formula. Other examples are:

D(is) M(anibus) Caesiae Daphnes... debitum naturae soluit (CIL VI 37317; last third of the 1st c. AD / first third of the 2nd c. AD);

M(arco) Blossio... Pudenti... debitum naturae persoluit... (CIL VI 3580; Age of Vespasian);

Renatus ddebitum (!) natura^e soluit... (ICVR VII 19951; AD 352).

8 A similar expression is found in the pagan inscription AE 1991, 1681 (Simitthus, Africa Proconsularis, end of the 2nd c. / first half of the 3rd c. AD): *...Alexandria... debitum communem reddidit...*

9 On this inscription, cf. Pikhhaus (1978: p. 64).

10 Cf. TLL XI 2, 4, col. 489, ll. 43–75 + col. 490, ll. 1–5, s.v. *reddo*.

In juridical Latin, the verb *soluo* ('to untie') is used to denote the release from obligations, particularly in fulfilling promises.¹¹ With this meaning, it typically occurs with reference to vows, since *uotum* is technically conceived as a promise generating an *obligatio* (Seckel 1907⁹: p. 633, s.v. *uotum*). This explains the usual presence of this verb within the formula *uotum soluit* that characterizes votive inscriptions.¹² In this regard, it seems worth noting that the said formula is also documented (though much less frequently) in the variant *uotum reddidit* (or *reddit*),¹³ suggesting a certain degree of interchangeability of *soluo* and *reddo* in specific contexts. Much more infrequently though, the verb *complere* appears in our funerary formula instead of *reddere* or *soluere*.¹⁴ Significantly, this verb is also attested in contexts involving promises and vows.¹⁵

In fact, analogies between *uotum* and *debitum* can be observed at a technical level. A devotee who makes a *uotum* asks a divinity for a service, uttering a solemn promise (*sponsio*) to offer something in return, if the service is granted (*uoti nuncupatio*). If this occurs, the devotee is then obliged to fulfil the promise, by discharging the vow (*uoti solutio*). Until then, he is considered *uoti reus*, where *reus* is analogous to *debitor* in juridical language (Seckel 1907⁹: p. 517, s.v. *reus*), as it can refer to either the obligor or obligee in unilateral contracts (*stipulationes*), like vows, where only the promisor is bound by an obligation (Watson 1992: p. 42).¹⁶

In light of the above, a *uotum* can be understood as a due *res*, with the granted service generating a 'withholding' on the part of the worshipper. In this context, the concepts of *uotum* and *debitum* may partially overlap.¹⁷ This is suggested by votive texts in which the two terms are used in conjunction, such as in a couple of inscriptions from Thignica (Africa Proconsularis) which report, respectively, the formula *u(otum) et debi(tum)... soluit* (CIL VIII 15094) and *uotum soluit uel debito (!)* (CIL VIII 15147).

Accordingly, the alternating presence of *soluo* and *reddo* with *debitum* (and *uotum*) can be explained by the fact that using *reddo* ('to give back') referred to the material aspect of repaying a debt (or a vow) as *res*-delivery, whereas using *soluo* ('to untie') emphasized (in both cases) the end of the *obligatio* which bound a debtor to his creditor.

11 Cf. D. 50, 16, 1. 176: *soluere dicimus eum, qui id facit, quod facere promisit*. Cf. Seckel (1907⁹: p. 547, s.v. *soluere*, 5).

12 A votive inscription from Thysdrus (Africa Proconsularis) is eloquent in this sense: *...uotum promiss[um] / soluo...* (CIL VIII 22845).

13 There are currently 8,347 examples of *uotum soluit* vs 69 examples of *uotum reddidit* / *uotum reddit* in EDCS. The expression *uotum reddere* also has literary attestations, cf. *OLD*, p. 1589, s.v. *reddo*, 9c.

14 Cf. e.g. MEFRA 1964, 158 (Sitifis, Mauretania Caesariensis, AD 356): *...debitum uitae compl[e]uit (!)...*; CIL XIII 1489 (Augustonemetum, Aquitania): *[D]euetum (!) nature (!) quidem co[m]p[le]ue[rat]...* In AE 2010, 186 (Rome, last quarter of the 1st c. BC / first half of the 1st c. AD) the verb *dare* was apparently deployed: *...debitum Fato dar+...* In contrast, it is not clear which verb was used in the inscription CIL VIII 25494 (Sidi Salah el Balthi, Africa Proconsularis): *...[- -]ncit naturae debitum...*

15 Cf. *TLL* III, 2095, coll. 70–80, s.v. *compleo*.

16 D. 45, 2: *qui stipulator, reus stipulandi dicitur: qui promittit, reus promittendi habetur*.

17 NICET. *psalm*. p. 67: *qui promissum reddit, debitum soluit*.

2.3 A different object

That the object of the debt mentioned in the phrase *debitum reddere* is human life seems to be clarified by an epexegetic genitive that occurs in a Christian epitaph from Rome dated to the 4th c. AD, in which one reads: *reddidit debitum uitae suae* (ICVR VI 15634). Yet, according to an example referred *infra* (par. 3), it cannot be completely ruled out that *uitae suae* is a dative used instead of *naturae suae*. Similarly, a mosaic inscription from Mactaris (Africa Proconsularis) dated to AD 534–698, bears the phrase *debitum uite (!) finem (!) reddidit* (CLEAfrigue 31). However, the use of *finem* (ac.) may have been an error for *fine* (abl.), to which *uitae* should be attached, implying the 'settlement of a debt at the end of (the deceased's) life'. Clearer seems to be another epitaph, where we read *debitum uitae compl[e]uit (!)* (n. 14).

Broadly speaking, the absence of explicit reference to life as the borrowed *res* may have led to occasional misunderstandings of the juridical expression *debitum reddere* in the funerary context. This could explain why different terms erroneously appear in the place of *debitum* in our funerary formula.

A remarkable example is offered by a group of 9 texts (epitaphs and wooden tablets reporting testaments), all possibly dated between the 3rd and the 4th c. AD and of certain or plausible African origin, which show the sentence *obitum naturae reddere* (7 records),¹⁸ *obitum reddere* (1 record)¹⁹ or *obitum soluere* (1 record).²⁰

The use of *obitus* as a direct object in Roman funerary formulae was carefully examined by I. Adams (2016). In line with the explanation provided by the *OLD* (p. 1336, s.v. *obitus*², 2b), Adams considered that *obitum* (ac.) was misused to refer to *debitum*, serving as an example of 'catachresis'. In addition to this explanation, it should be mentioned that this phenomenon could be aptly characterized as a form of popular etymology (see Zhao 2020). In other words, those who used *obitum reddere* instead of *debitum reddere* were maybe not able to perceive the juridical metaphor underlying the original phrase, and tried to provide it with an intelligible semantic value by replacing *debitum* with another word connected to the funerary environment. In technical terms, it could be said that the phrase *debitum reddere* was 'opaque' to certain users, as it was impossible for them to connect the literal sense of this expression with its figurative sense. Within the framework of popular etymology, the 'lack of logic' – which might be attributed to lower cultural levels – may lead users to find sentences incomprehensible and seek their re-semanticization (González Rey 2010: pp. 185–187). This process typically involves replacing 'illogical words' with phonetically similar ones.²¹

18 *CLE* 1615 (Theveste, Africa Proconsularis); *CIL* VIII 10892 (Cuicul, Numidia); *CIL* VIII 2557 (Lambaesis, Numidia, AD 203); *AE* 1939, 33 (Altava, Mauretania Caesariensis); *AE* 2016, 2031 (AD 294); *AE* 2016, 2032 (AD 332); *AE* 2016, 2033 (AD 340). The exact finding place of the latter three documents is unknown; however, they are probably from Roman Africa, cf. *AE* 2016: pp. 58–60, ad nr. 40.

19 *ILCV* 3303a (Cuicul, Numidia).

20 *AE* 1992, 1928 (Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis).

21 Note that in *CIC. Phil.* 14, 31 the death itself (*mors*) seems to be conceived as a debt returned to Nature or to the homeland (cf. *infra*, n. 40). Yet, if this interpretation is correct, such an expression implying the

A similar explanation might be provided to another group of 7 epitaphs from North Africa, presumably dated to the 2nd or 3rd c. AD, which feature the formula *uotum soluere* (2 times *uotum reddere*), portraying the deceased as the subject of the action, e.g.:

...*C(aius) Gargilius Felix... u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) a(nimo) h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* (ILAlg II 1, 806; Cirta, Numidia)

...*Cassia Ingenua uotum rededit (!) u(ixit) an(nis) XXXXIII* (ILAlg II 3, 8072; Cuicul, Numidia).²²

In these cases, the supposed replacement of *debitum* with *uotum* may have been facilitated by the previously discussed analogies between these concepts (par. 2.2). Moreover, automatic association by users of the verbs *reddo* and *soluo* – which alternate in the phrase *debitum reddere* – with the practice of *uoti solutio* could have played a significant role in this sense. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the previously mentioned votive formula *uotum reddere*, a variant of *uotum soluere*, has primarily been recognized as used in North Africa (Ehmig 2019: p. 79).

Considering the plausible role of *uotum soluere* / *uotum reddere* as popular variants of *debitum reddere* in the funerary context,²³ it is also worth mentioning the existence of an ancient notion that newly born creatures were believed to promise their eventual death at a certain point in their lives. This idea is reflected in a passage by Tertullian (who was, perhaps coincidentally significant, a native of Roman Africa).²⁴ Additionally, it may be implied in the (possibly ironic) sentence *uoti si non reus, se sine die mori* ('If he has not vowed never to die'), found on a funerary inscription from Numidia, which was erected by a wife for her nonagenarian husband (*CIL* VIII 8259).²⁵

3 Similar formulae

Other *reddo*-formulae are attested in funerary inscriptions, in which the *res* returned is explicitly labelled with terms referring to life, spirit, soul, such as *uitam* / *spiritum* / *animam reddere* (more rarely, *soluere*). At first sight, it seems hard to ratify whether there is a real connection between these phrases and *debitum reddere*, or if they were of an

concept of 'returning death' would be unique in Latin literature.

- 22 The other inscriptions are: *CIL* VIII 9162 (Auzia, Mauretania Caesariensis); *CIL* VIII 17642 (Vazaivi, Numidia); AE 1914, 241 (Tipasa, Mauretania Caesariensis); BCTH 1920, nr. 5 (Merkkala, Mauretania Caesariensis); IAM II 526 (Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana).
- 23 The main obstacle to establishing a reliable connection of our 'pseudo-votive' epitaphs with the formula *debitum reddere* lies in the fact that they can also acquire a real votive function when interpreted in the light of the cult of the African Saturn, as discussed in Tantimonaco (2021: pp. 552–555).
- 24 TERT. *anim.* 50, 2: *publica totius generis humani sententia mortem naturae debitum pronuntiamus. hoc stipulata est dei uox, hoc spondit omne quod nascitur...* The verb *spondeo* is connected to *sponsio*, the solemn promise that lies at the origin of Roman vow, while *stipulare* is another juridical term. On this passage, cf. Waszink (1947: pp. 519–520).
- 25 Cf. G. Wilmanns' remarks in the *CIL*: '*Argutiis his uidetur significari maritum hoc loco sepeliendum fuisse, cum non contigisset ei quod uouerat ut sine die moreretur, id est fortasse ut immortalis fieret*'.

independent origin.²⁶ In fact, *reddo* also had a physical-biological meaning that could refer to the expulsion of substances previously absorbed by the body (*OLD*, p. 1588, 4, s.v. *reddo*).²⁷ This meaning would fit the idea of the soul or spirit as having entered into the body at the beginning of life and leaving it at life's end,²⁸ in accordance with an ancient belief.²⁹

Yet, the notion of returning a loan is clearly implied when a creditor is indicated alongside the phrases in question.³⁰ For instance, the epitaph of a soldier found in Inter-cisa (Pannonia Inferior) dated to AD 310 bears the sentence *Fatis animam reddidit* (*CIL* III 3335), by which the Fates are presented as the recipients of the deceased's soul.

On the other hand, on the epitaph of several individuals buried in Hr Messala (Numidia) around the 3rd or 4th c. AD, they are said 'to have given back the spirit that they had received' (*spiritum quem acceperant reddiderunt*) (*AE* 2018, 1939). Similarly, in a metrical epitaph in Rome dating back to the 1st or 2nd c. AD, a girl declares that she has returned the 'light' that she had received (*lumen quod acepi (!) reddidi*) because 'this was what Fate wanted' (*hoc Fatum uoluit*) (*CIL* VI 5817). In fact, referring to life as *lumen* or *lux* was common in Latin poetry,³¹ including verse inscriptions.³² In regard to the metaphor of death as a devolution, this reference is also found in another 1st / 2nd c. *carmen* from Rome, which includes a similar sentence: *qui acceptum lumen... reddidit* (*AE* 1947, 191).

An epitaph from Tomis (Moesia Inferior) dated to the 3rd c. AD bears the phrase *spiritum naturae suae reddedit (!)* (*CIL* III 7553), which suggests a connection with the expression *debitum naturae reddere*, explicitly referencing Nature as the recipient of the deceased's spirit. More precisely, *naturae suae* seems to allude to the Stoic view of the human soul as part of the same natural principle that permeates the entire cosmos and gives rise to all forms of earthly life. In fact, according to Stoic philosophy, at the end of each cosmic cycle, human souls were believed to return to their original place, often located in the sky.³³

26 It should be noted that the expressions in question are originally attested in the literary sources with the opposite meaning of 'recalling into life', cf. e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 333: *nuptias effugere ego istas malo quam tu adipiscier: reddidisti animum*. See *TLL* XI 2, col. 480, ll. 40–56; col. 482, ll. 35–45; col. 484, ll. 1–10 and 67–75 + col. 485, ll. 1–14, s.v. *reddo*.

27 See e.g. SEN. *epist.* 37, 2: *gladiatores edunt ac bibunt, quae per sanguinem reddant*.

28 This is, for instance, the interpretation of *uitam reddere* offered by Sanders (1991: p. 475).

29 Cf. e.g. CIC. *nat. deor.* 2 138: *nam quae spiritu in pulmones anima ducitur, ea calescit primum ipso ab spiritu, deinde contagione pulmonum, ex eaque pars animae redditur respirando*. It should be noted that in Latin the word *spiritus* indicated the action of breathing and only metonymically it came to indicate the non-corporeal part of a person and life, cf. *OLD*: p. 1991, s.v. *spiritus*. For expressions such as *animam efflare*, cf. Winand (1906: p. 57). The idea of dying as an interruption of breathing is also present in several modern languages, cf. Negro Alousque (2013: p. 179).

30 It also seems significant that other juridical expressions might appear alongside our formulae, confirming the metaphor, see e.g. *CLE* 1901 (Volsinii, Etruria): *...uita (!) Fato reddidi... legi ater(nae) tradita*.

31 For instance, *reddere lucem* is found in OV. *trist.* 3, 3, 35 and in VAL. MAX. 9, 12 pr. 5, where it is opposed to *accipere lucem*, cf. Massaro (2006: p. 27).

32 Cf. e.g. *CLE* 1142 (Rome, 2nd c. AD): *...et postquam Fatis morientia lumina soluit...*

33 Cf. e.g. SEN. *epist.* 79, 12: *animus noster... cum amissus his tenebris... redditus caelo suo fuerit*. On this topic, see Setaioli (2000: pp. 285, 295, 297, 298, 305–315).

A similar notion is conveyed in a funerary inscription from Lugdunum (Lugdunensis), which commemorates a man who 'gave (his) friendly spirit and body back to Nature (and) origin' (*naturae socialem spiritum corpusque origini reddidit*) after tragically dying in a fire (*CIL* XIII 2027). Another epitaph dated to AD 325–374 highlights the dichotomy between the body, which is admitted into the earth's breast, and the soul, which is given back to Christ: [*sinus t]erre (!) recepit corpus... terre (!) solutus, anima Christo reddita est* (*ICVR* I 1673).³⁴ The pagan background of this idea is further confirmed by a funerary *carmen* from Thibilis (Numidia), where one can read the phrase *corpus suum redidi[t] (!) terrae et Superis animam* (*CLEA*frique 129).

4 Literary and philosophical background

The concept of life as a borrowed existence is expressed in both Greek and Latin literature and philosophy (Linderski 1990: p. 90; Tosi 2017: p. 452, s. nr. 631). As such, it is also found in Greek funerary inscriptions (Lier 1903: pp. 581–582; Lattimore 1962: pp. 170–171; Kajanto 1963: p. 30; Vérilhac 1982: pp. 361–363). In fact, in the Greco-Roman culture, this notion formed the basis for the peaceful acceptance of human mortality and served as a consolatory argument for the loss of loved ones.³⁵

References to life being loaned can be traced back to Pre-Socratic philosophers. Anaximander, for instance, described death as compensation for a portion of life temporally borrowed from other beings.³⁶ Similarly, when informed of his son's death, Anaxagoras responded with profound acceptance, explaining that it aligned with the fundamental laws of Nature based on the cycle of receiving and returning the spirit.³⁷ As can be easily

34 Cf. HIER. *epist.* 60, 14, 1: *corpus terra suscepit, anima Christo reddita est*. See also *CLE* 1559 (Rome, last third of the 3rd c. – first third of the 4th c. AD): *...si anima caelo reddita est*. It should be noted that the idea of returning a *res* overlaps here with returning to the place from which one comes, or to which one belongs. This notion would arise pragmatically when the recipient can be interpreted as a place (the sky) or as the owner of the place (Christ). Although the recipients are expressed in the dative case (*caelo, Christo*), it cannot be excluded that the verb *reddo* was occasionally confused with *redeo* ('to go back'). Morphological similarities between these two verbs could lead to confusion. Moreover, *reddo* could acquire the meaning of 'going back' when it was used as a reflexive or as a passive verb (*OLD*, p. 1588, b, s.v. *reddo*). This usage appears for instance in *AE* 2017, 264 (Sipontum, Apulia et Calabria, AD 554): *Conditus hoc tumulo dormit Paschasius abbas / ...qui nonagenariam claudens sine crimine uitam / redditur in terram membris et in aethera flatu*. Finally, metaphors of death as a departure or journey were common in Latin, as they are in modern languages, cf. Uría Varela (1997: pp. 260–263); Negro Alousque (2013: pp. 176–177); Del Hoyo Calleja (2021).

35 The consolatory function appears for instance in *AE* 2007, 933b (Aquitania, mid. 4th / 5th c. AD): *...Desine flere, puer, natu[rae] debi[ta] soluo*.

36 Cf. Anaximander, *DK* 12 B1 (= Mansfeld 1983: p. 72, nr. 15): ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις ἐστι τοῖς οὐσί, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ χρεῶν· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοισι τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν ποιητικώτεροις οὕτως ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ λέγων. It should be noted that the text refers to 'rather poetic terms' (ποιητικώτεροις οὕτως ὀνόμασιν) although many of the terms employed (τὴν φθορὰν, δίκην, τῆς ἀδικίας...) belong to the juridical language. This is probably because metaphor in general was perceived as a poetic tool. The idea of dying as giving back a portion of life appears in *CLE*Moes 62 (Tomis, Moesia Inferior, 2nd to 4th c. AD): *...et modo post ob[it]um reddo meae uit[ae] rationem*.

37 *VAL. MAX.* 5, 10 *ext.* 3: *ne Anaxagoras quidem supprimendus est: audita namque morte filii 'nihil mihi' inquit*

understood, the viability of these sentiments can be found within the narrative of an uninterrupted cosmic flux (Brelich 1937: p. 41), where life and death are viewed as the continual blending and separation of the same pre-existing matter.³⁸

In Roman literature, the concept of giving life back to Nature (*uitam naturae reddere*) is first documented in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,³⁹ allegedly composed by Cornificius in 86–82 BC (Calboli 2020: p. 8). Moreover, it appears in the works of Cicero, perhaps inspired by the former source.⁴⁰ However, the expression *debitum naturae reddere* – exactly matching the metaphor of loan repayment – is first attested in Cornelius Nepo,⁴¹ who is thought to have died around 28 BC (Guillemin 1970: p. IX). In the Imperial Age, expressions such as *uitam*, *spiritum* or *animam reddere* with the meaning of 'dying' are attested in both poetry and prose.⁴²

Epigraphic evidence confirms an early chronology of these formulae. A Roman inscription mentioning the payment of a debt to Fate has been dated between the last quarter of the 1st c. BC and the first half of the 1st c. AD (n. 14). Similarly, a metrical inscription from Carthago Nova (Hispania Citerior) bearing the sentence *reddidit ipsa animam* (CLE 1076) has been assigned to the end of the Republican Age (Pena 2002: p. 56). Another epitaph including the sentence *spiritum exsoluit* (CIL VI 6423) has been attributed to the first half of the 1st c. AD. Other inscriptions with the formula *debitum naturae reddere* or *soluere* have been generically placed in the same century (e.g. CIL VI 15696). However, the earliest *terminus* for this expression at epigraphic level is the epitaph of the *liberta* Rusticelia Cytheris in Rome (CLE 965) attesting the variant *debitum reddere*, which is dated with extraordinary accuracy to August 23rd, 10 AD.

During the Imperial Age, the metaphor of life as a loan was repeatedly used by Seneca. Indeed, as anticipated, the concept of dying as repayment of a debt to Nature or to Fate was perfectly aligned with the basic principles of Stoic philosophers, who defended their claim against the fear of death precisely with the argument that it was part of Nature's will (Menzies & Whittle 2022: p. 1). They identified Nature with God (Sellars

'inexpectatum aut nouum nuntias: ego enim illum ex me natum sciebam esse mortalem'. has uoces utilissimis praeceptis inbutas uirtus mittit. quas si quis efficaciter auribus receperit, non ignorabit ita liberos esse procreandos, ut meminerit his a rerum natura et accipiendi spiritus et reddendi eodem momento temporis legem dici, atque ut mori neminem solere, qui non uixerit, ita ne uiuere aliquem quidem posse qui non sit moriturus. Cf. Linderski (1990: p. 90).

38 Similar ideas are in fact also expressed by the Epicurean Lucretius, cf. LVCR. 1, 56–57: *...unde omnis natura creet res auctet alatque / quoue eadem rursus natura perempta resoluat...*; 3, 970–971: *...sic alid ex alio numquam desistet oriri / uitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.*

39 RHET. Her. 4, 57: *etenim uehementer est iniquum uitam, quam a natura acceptam propter patriam conseruaueris, naturae cum cogat reddere, patriae cum roget non dare.*

40 CIC. *Sest.* 47: *optandum esse ut uita, quae necessitate deberetur, patriae potius donata quam reseruata naturae uideretur?*; *Phil.* 10, 20: *non est uiri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae reddere*; 14, 31: *o fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita!*

41 NEP. *reg.* 1, 5: *ex his duo eodem nomine morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt.*

42 Cf. e.g. *reddere spiritum* in LIV. 28, 34, 5 and VELL. 2, 14, 2; *reddere animam* in OV. *met.* 8, 505; *reddere uitam* in CVRT. 7, 10, 9; etc.

2006: pp. 91–95),⁴³ and called it *Fatum* or *Logos*.⁴⁴ The *Logos* shaped matter, giving rise to all earthly beings and permeated the entire cosmos,⁴⁵ which it governed according to a series of identical cyclic periods (Radice 1999²: pp. 643–659).

In his *Consolatio ad Polybium*, Seneca makes extensive usage of juridical terminology⁴⁶ to describe life as a loan, including *debitum* and *commodatum*, and alludes to death as part of the law of Nature (*lex*).⁴⁷ Similarly, in the *Consolatio ad Marciam*, he highlights that everything is given to humans temporarily, not for ownership but as a loan, and makes explicit reference to the existence of a *pessimus debitor* and of a *creditor* within the logic of a juridical metaphor (Linderski 1990: p. 95).⁴⁸ In both texts, Seneca uses the verb *reddere* to convey the act of returning a borrowed existence.

The philosophical underpinnings of our juridically based funerary formulae are evident. Although such formulae frequently appear within *carmina Latina epigraphica*, there is no compelling reason to consider them strictly poetic. On the contrary, the non-poetic nature of these expressions is reinforced by the fact that the literary parallels cited above are in prose. Furthermore, their presence in inscriptions of common people⁴⁹ suggests

43 Cf. CIC. *nat. deor.* 1, 36 (= Radice 1999²: p. 80, nr. 162): *Zeno naturalem legem diuinam esse censet...*; LACT. *ira* 11 (= Radice 1999²: p. 80, nr. 164): *Antisthenes... unum esse naturalem deum dixit, quamuis gentes et urbes suos habeant populares. eadem fere Zeno cum suis Stoicis.*

44 LACT. *inst.* 9: (= Radice 1999²: p. 80, nr. 160): *Zeno rerum naturae dispositorem atque artificem uniuersitatis λόγον praedicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Iouis nuncupat.*

45 Cf. e.g. CIC. *nat. deor.* 3, 92 (= Radice 1999²: p. 920, nr. 1107): *materiam enim rerum ex qua et in qua omnia sint, totam esse flexibilem et commutabilem, ut nihil sit, quod non ex ea quamuis subito fingi conuertique possit; eius autem uniuersae fictricem et moderatricem diuinam esse prouidentiam; hanc igitur, quocumque se moueat, efficere posse quicquid uelit.*

46 On Seneca's use of the juridical language, cf. Zanichelli (2022: pp. 233–267). See also De Meo (1986²: pp. 70–71).

47 SEN. *dial.* 11, 11, 3: *gaudeamus ergo eo, quod dabitur, reddamusque id, cum reposcemur. alium alio tempore fata comprehendent, neminem praeteribunt;* 10, 4–5: *rerum natura illum tibi sicut ceteris fratres suos non mancipio dedit sed commodauit; cum uisum est deinde repetiit nec tuam in eo satietatem secuta est sed suam legem. si quis pecuniam creditam soluisse se moleste ferat, eam praesertim cuius usum gratuitum acceperit, nonne iniustus uir habeatur? dedit natura fratri tuo uitam, dedit et tibi: quae suo iure usa si a quo uoluit debitum suum citius exegit, non illa in culpa est, cuius nota erat condicio, sed mortalis animi spes auida, quae subinde quid rerum natura sit obliuiscitur nec umquam sortis suae meminit nisi cum admonetur. gaude itaque habuisse te tam bonum fratrem, et usum fructumque eius, quamuis breuior uoto tuo fuerit, boni consule. See also SEN. *dial.* 9, 11, 1: *... sapientem... seque ipsum inter precaria numerat uiuere ut commodatus sibi et reposcentibus sine tristitia redditurus.**

48 Cf. SEN. *dial.* 6, 10, 1–2: *quicquid est hoc, Marcia, quod circa nos ex aduentio fulget, (...) alieni commodatique apparatus sunt; nihil horum dono datur. conlaticis et ad dominos redituris instrumentis scaena adornatur; alia ex his primo die, alia secundo referentur, pauca usque ad finem perseuerabunt (...) mutua accepimus. usus fructusque noster est, cuius tempus ille arbiter muneris sui temperat; nos oportet in promptu habere quae in incertum diem data sunt et appellatos sine querella reddere: pessimi debitoris est creditori facere conuicium. The same concept is found in Lucretius (n. 38). See also an epitaph of clear Epicurean tone, CLE 185 (Rome, second half of the 2nd c. BC): *...uine in dies / et horas nam proprium est nihil...* The idea of life granted for use (not for ownership) is also expressed in CIC. *Tusc.* 1, 93: *quod tandem tempus? naturaene? at ea quidem dedit usuram uitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die.* It also resounds in CLE 183 (Nola, Latium et Campania, second half of the 1st c. AD): *L(ucius) Mettius... Maximus... usurae uitae / sortem morti reddidit...*, on which cf. Lier (1903: pp. 578–579); Pikhau (1978: p. 64); Linderski (1990: pp. 93–94).*

49 At least one epitaph is addressed not to a human but to a dog, AE 1994, 699 (Opitergium, Venetia et Histria, 3rd c. AD): *Hac in sede iacet post reddita fata catellus...*

that, while these expressions likely retained a cultivated nuance and may not have been fully understood by everyone, the concept of death as a form of repaying a debt entered popular usage. These expressions were not motivated by a desire to mitigate vocabulary related to death, or to express death poetically, but rather to convey a specific philosophical vision of life and death as part of a natural process.⁵⁰ In this context, it is important to remember that Stoic philosophy was embraced by large and diverse segments of Roman society, and that Seneca, in particular, achieved significant popularity through his works (Lier 1903: p. 580).

In a chronological perspective, it seems interesting to note that Curtius Rufus describes Alexander Magnus' death precisely through the metaphor of discharging a debt.⁵¹ Although the author's biography is somewhat obscure, scholars have suggested that he lived under Caligula or Claudius and have also openly claimed the role of Seneca's Stoicism in his work (Giacone 1977: pp. 9–12). Similar considerations are valid for Phaedrus, who makes use of the same metaphor in one of his fables,⁵² probably composed during the reign of Tiberius or Caligula (Mandrizzato 1981: pp. 16–17). Rather significantly, the same passage includes a reflection on the imminence of death, another recurring topic in Seneca's works.⁵³ Once again, the expression *debitum naturae reddere* appears several times in Hyginus,⁵⁴ who probably lived under Domitian (Vitobello 1988: p. 7).

Literary allusions to death as the settlement of debt with Nature continue in the works of Christian writers.⁵⁵ The presence of similar notions in both pagan and Christian thought is unsurprising, given the extensive influence Stoicism had on early Christianity (González 1993: pp. 129–137; Ramelli 2003: pp. 103–135; Rasimus, Engberg-Pedersen & Dunderberg 2010). Tertullian showed particular admiration for Seneca and was receptive to his philosophy (Sellars 2006: p. 138). For instance, he employed juridical language to express the idea that human mortality responds to God's will, illustrating this through the image of newborn creatures promising to repay their debt to nature through death (n. 24). It is precisely through Christian channels that these ideas and related phrases have persisted throughout the centuries, as evidenced in medieval inscriptions.⁵⁶ Over

50 On the difference between the attenuative and communicative function of euphemisms, cf. Urfa Varela (1997: pp. 15–18).

51 CVRT. 10, 5, 3: *dimissoque uulgo, uelut omni uitae debito liberatus, fatigata membra reiecit.*

52 PHAEDR. 3 *epil.* 19: *et mors uicina flagitabit debitum.*

53 PHAEDR. 3 *epil.* 11: *nam uita morti propior fit cotidie...* Cf. SEN. *dial.* 5, 42, 4: *stat supra caput Fatum et perentis dies inputat propiusque ac propius accedit.*

54 HYG. *astr.* 2, 20, 2: *Hellen decidisse et ibi debitum naturae reddidisse; fab.* 26: *debita naturae persoluit; 52: ex qua qui biberat, debitum naturae soluebat.*

55 Cf. e.g. HIL. *op. hist. fyg.* 1, 1: *uerum fidei, spei, charitatis hoc meritum est, ut mortis debito corporibus dissolutis, semper maneant, nec umquam desinant; CAES. AREL. testam.* 16: *ego Caesarius peccator dum debitum humanae carnis reddidero...; VEN. FORT. carm.* 4, 25, 3–4: *si precibus possint naturae debita flecti, plebs ageret lacrimis hanc superesse sibi.* Moreover, see HEGES 5, 2, ll. 106–109: *rursus qui sepultorem occiderat maiorem crudelitatem circa defunctum exercebat, ut nihil iam debentem odio, non sentientem supplicia spoliaret supremo naturae debito.*

56 Cf. e.g. IHC 216 (Málaga, AD 1010), CIHM VII 8 (Seville, AD 1252), and Del Hoyo and Rettschlag (2008: pp. 206–211, nr. 2) (León, second half of the 12th c.).

time, these concepts have also been integrated into modern languages, as seen in French expressions like *rendre (son) âme / l'esprit (à Dieu)* and *payer son tribut à la nature* (Negro Alousque 2013: p. 180) or in Italian with *rendere l'anima (a Dio)*⁵⁷ and *la morte è un debito da pagare* (Tosi 2017: p. 453, s. nr. 361).

An interesting indication of how deeply the metaphor of death as the repayment of a debt is rooted in the Christian context is the use of *reddo* alone, beginning around the 3rd c. AD, in inscriptions where it carries the absolute meaning of 'to die'.⁵⁸ This usage emerged as a distinct expression among Christian devotees (Pikhaus 1978: p. 65, n. 143), e.g.:

Quintiae... quae redd(idit) annor(um) XXX... (ILCV 396; Salona, Dalmatia, second half of the 3rd c. AD);

...Seuera... reddidit VIII Febr(u)arias uirco (!) Kalendas... (ICVR IV 10183; 296-304 AD).

While the origin of this peculiar use of *reddo* remains uncertain, it could have evolved precisely from the cases discussed in this paper. In fact, the absolute use of transitive verbs can occur when verbs denoting realizations are interpreted as activities, and when the context allows the omission of the direct object (Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009: pp. 304–307, 362). In the funerary domain, a similar situation is attested for the verb *obire*, which originally meant 'to meet', but acquired the meaning of 'dying' after the intransitivation of the formula *obire mortem* ('to meet death') (Uría Varela 1997: p. 266). In connection with this process, the noun *obitus* ('meeting') developed the secondary meaning of 'death', documented in both epigraphic and literary sources from an early epoch (Uría Varela 2017: pp. 215–216). In this regard, it is worth mentioning a group of 67 epitaphs from Numidia and Africa Proconsularis, which employ the noun *reditio* to mean 'death'.⁵⁹ A passage by the Christian author Pseudo-Philo (PS. PHILO, *antiq.* 64, 7: *post redditionem animae meae, conturbata sunt ossa mea*) illustrates the connection of this specific usage of *reditio* with the notion of returning the soul as a metonym of life.⁶⁰

Conclusions

The funerary formula *debitum reddere* is explicitly constructed using juridical terminology and expresses the idea of life as a loan to be repaid. Several variants can be found, which may include: (1) an explicit reference to a *creditor* (usually Nature, Fate, or the Christian God); (2) the use of a verb referring to the return of a *res* (*reddo*) or the conclusion of an *obligatio* relationship (*soluo*); (3) the indication of the borrowed *res* (*animam, spiritum, uitam, ...*), including plausible folk-etymological associations (*obitum, uotum*).

57 <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/rendere/>.

58 Cf. *TLL* XI 2, 4, col. 495, ll. 74–75 + col. 496, ll. 1–4, s.v. *reddo*.

59 Cf. e.g. *ILCV* 3323 (Sullecthum, Africa Proconsularis): *Redditio / Castulae...*; *ILALg* II 3, 7460a (Ain Kahla, Numidia): *Redditio (!) / Diaucis...* There is also an isolated example in Aquitania (*ILCV* 3322).

60 On this passage, see Jacobson (1996: p. 1211).

Epigraphic and literary sources consistently suggest the presence of these phrases as early as the late Republican period. In fact, the notion of life as a loan draws on a long intellectual tradition, which in Rome found its most resonant expression in Stoic philosophy. In the Imperial Age, its most renowned representative was Seneca, whose thinking influenced Christian writers.

In this context, the prominence of epigraphic records in the North African provinces, combined with local peculiarities (such as the use of *reditio* to mean 'death' or the aforementioned cases of folk etymology), suggests that the expression *debitum reddere* with the meaning of 'dying' may have been especially popular in this part of the Roman Empire.

Bibliography

- Adams, I. (2016). Some Latin Funerary Formulae with *Obitus* as a Direct Object: Origin, Meaning and Use. *The Classical Quarterly*, 66(2), 525–539.
- Bosque, I., & Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. (2009). *Fundamentos de sintaxis formal*. Madrid: Akal.
- Brelich, A. (1937). *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'Impero Romano*. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum.
- Calboli, G. (2020). *Cornifici seu Incerti Auctoris Rhetorica ad C. Herennium* (Vols. 1–3). Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter.
- Del Hoyo Calleja, J. (2015). *Solvi debitum (naturae)*. Inscripción métrica de Évora. *Euphrosyne*, 43, 255–263.
- Del Hoyo Calleja, J. (2021). Irse y quedarse. Expresiones metafóricas y eufemísticas de la muerte en español y latín. *Bulletin Hispanique*, 123(2), 263–278.
- Del Hoyo J., & Rettschlag, P. K. (2008). *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Medievalia* de San Miguel de Escalada (León). *Studia Philologica Valentina*, 11, 201–224.
- De Meo, C. (1986²). *Lingue tecniche del latino*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Ehmig, U. (2019). *Ex voto* in lateinischen Inschriften. In U. Ehmig, P. A. Fabre, & M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu (Eds.), *Les ex-voto: objets, usages, traditions. Un regard croisé franco-allemand / Ex voto: Objekte, Praktiken, Überlieferung. Deutsch-französische Perspektiven* (pp. 77–92). Gutenberg: Computus.
- Garulli, V., & Santin, E. (2020). Greek-Latin Bilingualism and Cultural Identity in the Graeco-Roman East: *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca et Latina (CEGL)* from the Middle East. In M. P. de Hoz, J. L. García Alonso, & L. A. Guichard Romero (Eds.), *Greek Paideia and Local Tradition in the Graeco-Roman East* (pp. 233–257). Leuven: Peeters.
- Giacone, A. (1977). *Storie di Alessandro Magno di Quinto Curzio Rufo*. Torino: UTET.
- González, A. A. (1993). Presencia del lenguaje estoico en la crítica literaria de los cristianos. *Latomus*, 52(1), 129–137.
- González Rey, M. I. (2010). L'opacit  dans les expressions idiomatiques: un  cart   la norme ou un  chec de l' sprit?. In P. Huerta Mogorr n, & S. Mejri (Eds.), *Opacidad, idiomaticidad, traducci n. Encuentros mediterr neos* (pp. 179–196). Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant.
- Guillemin, A. M. (1970). *Corn lius N pos. Oeuvres*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Hern ndez P rez, R. (2001). *Poes a latina sepulcral de la Hispania romana: estudio de los t picos y sus formulaciones*. Valencia: Universitat de Val ncia.

- Jacobson, H. (1996). *A commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum, with Latin text and English translation* (Vol. 2). Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill.
- Kajanto, I. (1963). *A study of the Greek Epitaphs of Rome*. Roma: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae.
- Kaser, M. (1971²). *Das römische Privatrecht. Erster Abschnitt: Das altrömische, das vorklassische und klassische Recht*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Lattimore, R. (1962). *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Lier, B. (1903). Topica Carminum Sepulcralium Latinorum. *Philologus*, 62(1), 563–603.
- Linderski, J. (1990). Certis Calendis. *Epigraphica*, 52, 85–96.
- Mandrizzato, E. (1981). *Fedro. Favole*. Milano: Rizzoli.
- Mansfeld, J. (1983). *Die Vorsokratiker* (Vol. 1). Stuttgart: Reclam.
- Massaro, M. (2006). Epigrafia metrica in alcuni colombari romani della prima età imperiale In C. Fernández Martínez, & J. Gómez Pallarès (Eds.), *Temptanda viast. Nuevos estudios sobre la poesía epigráfica latina* (pp. 1–32). Bellaterra: UAB [retrieved 1.10.2024 from <https://iris.unicas.it/bitstream/11580/66250/1/Colombari%20romani%20%28Barcelona%29.pdf>].
- Mendivil Giró, J. L. (2013). El concepto de “locución verbal” y su tratamiento léxico. *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica*, 16, 5–30.
- Menzies, R. E., & Whittle, L. F. (2022). Stoicism and Death Acceptance: Integrating Stoic Philosophy in Cognitive Behaviour Therapy for Death Anxiety. *Discover Psychology*, 2(11), 1–10. [retrieved 1.10.2024 from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s44202-022-00023-9>].
- Negro Alousque, I. (2013). La motivation des expressions idiomatiques de la mort en français, espagnol et anglais. *Pragmalingüística*, 21, 107–120.
- Pena, M. J. (2002). *CLE republicanos. Texto y contexto*. In J. Del Hoyo, & J. GómezPallarés (Eds.), *Asta ac pellege: 50 años de la publicación de Inscripciones Hispanas en Verso de S. Mariner* (pp. 47–62). Madrid: Signifer.
- Pikhaus, D. (1978). *Levensbeschouwing en milieu in de latijnse metrische inscripties*. Brussels: AWLSK.
- Radice, R. (1999²). *Stoici antichi. Tutti i frammenti raccolti da Hans von Arnim*. Milano: Rusconi.
- Ramelli, I. (2003). Aspetti degli sviluppi del rapporto fra stoicismo e cristianesimo in età imperiale. *Stylos*, 12, 103–135.
- Rasmus, T., Engberg-Pedersen, T., & Dunderberg, I. (Eds.). (2010). *Stoicism in Early Christianity*. Peabody, MA: Baker.
- Sanders, G. (1991). *Lapides memores. Païens et chrétiens face à la mort: le témoignage de l'épigraphie funéraire latine*. Faenza: Fratelli Lega.
- Seckel, G. (1907⁹). *Heumanns Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*. Jena: Fischer.
- Segrè, G. (1929). *Obligatio, obligare, obligari nei testi della giurisprudenza classica e del tempo di Diocleziano*. In *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante* (Vol. 3, pp. 501–617). Pavia: Fratelli Fusi.
- Sellers, J. (2006). *Stoicism*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Setaioli, A. (2000). *Facundus Seneca. Aspetti della lingua e dell'ideologia senecana*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Tantimonaco, S. (2021). A proposito della presenza di formule votive nelle iscrizioni funerarie latine. *Epigraphica*, 83(1–2), 543–572.
- Tosi, R. (2017). *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche*. Milano: BUR.
- Uría Varela, J. (1997). *Tabú y eufemismo en latín*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Vérilhac, A. M. (1982). *PAIDES AOROI. Poésie funéraire* (Vol. 2). Athenai: Grapheion demosieymaton tes Akademias Athenon.

Vitobello, M. F. (1988). *C. Giulio Igino. L'Astronomia*. Bari: Adriatica.

Waszink, J. H. (1947). *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Anima. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Amsterdam: J. M. Muelenhoff.

Watson, A. (1992). *The State, Law, and Religion. Pagan Rome*. Athens – London: University of Georgia Press.

Winand, B. (1906). *Vocabulorum Latinorum quae ad mortem spectant historia* [Diss.]. Marburg.

Zanichelli, M. (2022). Significati e confini del giuridico nella filosofia di Seneca. *Tesseræ iuris*, 3(1), 233–267.

Zhao, W. (2020). Popular Etymology and Analogous Separable Words. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 490, 521–524.

Silvia Tantimonaco, Ph.D. / tantimonacosilvia@uniovi.es

Universidad de Oviedo, Research fellow Ramón y Cajal, Departamento de Filología Clásica y Románica, Campus del Milán, 33011 Oviedo, ES



This work can be used in accordance with the Creative Commons BY-SA 4.0 International license terms and conditions (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>). This does not apply to works or elements (such as image or photographs) that are used in the work under a contractual license or exception or limitation to relevant rights.
