

## CHAPTER III

# FUNERARY RITES AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD

### (A) FUNERARY RITES

THE TERM *funus* can be used to cover all that took place between the hour of death and the performance of the last post-burial ceremonies. In its social range it denotes the final offices accorded to the very poor and to ordinary citizens of moderate or considerable means (*funus translaticum*), to soldiers (*funus militare*), to persons who had given the State distinguished service (*funus publicum*), to emperors and members of their families (*funus imperatorium*). *Funus* includes, furthermore, the questions of who paid the expenses of the funerals of these various types and of the extent to which the State regulated funerals by legislation.<sup>114</sup> All Roman funerary practice was influenced by two basic notions —first, that death brought pollution and demanded from the survivors acts of purification and expiation; secondly, that to leave a corpse unburied had unpleasant repercussions on the fate of the departed soul. The throwing of a little earth upon the body was the minimum requirement for burial, could nothing more be done. But custom ordained that in normal circumstances the obsequies should be carried out with as much solemnity as circumstances in every case allowed.

### (I) FUNUS TRANSLATICUM

(i) *Rites preceding the Obsequies.* When death was imminent relations and close friends gathered round the dying person's bed, to comfort and support him or her and to give vent to their own grief.<sup>115</sup> The nearest relative present gave the last kiss,<sup>116</sup> to catch the soul, which, so it was believed, left the body with the

final breath.<sup>117</sup> The same relative then closed the departed's eyes (*oculos premere*, etc.),<sup>118</sup> after which all the near relatives called upon the dead by name (*conclamare*) and lamented him or her, a process that continued at intervals until the body was disposed of by cremation or inhumation.<sup>119</sup> The next act was to take the body from the bed, to set it on the ground (*deponere*),<sup>120</sup> and to wash it and anoint it.<sup>121</sup> Then followed the dressing of the corpse—in a toga, in the case of a male Roman citizen,<sup>122</sup> the laying of a wreath on its head, particularly in the case of a person who had earned one in life,<sup>123</sup> and the placing of a coin in the mouth to pay the deceased's fare in Charon's barque.<sup>124</sup> All was now ready for the body's exposition or lying-in-state (*collocare*=*προτιθέναι*)<sup>125</sup> on a grand bed (*lectus funebris*), if the family was well-to-do, with the feet towards the house-door.<sup>126</sup> (*Pl.* 10)

The best representation in Roman art of the lying-in-state of a well-off personage is a marble relief of late-Flavian or early-Trajanic date from the so-called Tomb of the Haterii family, a few miles south of Rome, on the *Via Labicana*, and now in the Lateran collection.<sup>127</sup> The deceased, to judge from the style of the clothing, which is certainly not a toga, would seem to be a woman. She is laid out in the *atrium* of her house, which is crowned by a tiled and gabled roof, but is here shown opened out to the spectator's view along its long axis. She lies flat on her back, on two mattresses, which are superimposed one upon the other on a couch with carved ends and elaborately turned legs. The dead woman wears rings on her left hand and is draped from neck to foot: at her feet are a pile of tablets, those of her will, no doubt. The couch itself is reared on a high platform, most of the front of which is covered by a curtain. Four large flaming torches are planted two at the head and two at the foot of the bier; and to right and left of each pair of torches is a *candelabrum*, each topped by a lamp and a minute female figure, in the one case clasping a bag, in the other holding a flask. Above the couch and the recumbent corpse are two tall vases tapering towards the top, but ending in wide, spreading mouths. Tied to the vases are two rich, sagging garlands of fruit and flowers, symbols, it may be, of afterlife fertility; while the two shells that fill the spaces above the gar-

lands could allude to the soul's voyage across the Ocean to the Blessed Isles. Behind the couch and in front of the vases are three standing figures: on the right, a man holding a heavy flower-garland, perhaps to tie round the neck of the corpse, since the hair is already encircled by a light wreath of blossoms; on the left, two hired female mourners (*praeficae*),<sup>128</sup> with dishevelled hair and hands raised to beat their breasts. Below, at the foot of the couch, is a seated woman wearing the typical coiffure of the period and playing on a double pipe: a veiled woman stands beside her with hands raised and folded together. In front of the curtain hung on the platform that supports the bier are four figures, probably relatives of the deceased, walking slowly towards the right: two are men and two are women, one of whom has let down her hair behind so as to hang loose about her back and shoulders. All four beat their breasts. At the head of the couch are seated, at three different levels, three female figures with dishevelled hair: they each clasp one knee in an attitude of grief; and the tall, pointed cap (*pileus*) that each wears suggests that they are slaves freed by the dead woman's will. Between the torches and the *candelabra* on the right of the scene is a male figure walking towards the left and carrying some object on a tray. Two flaming incense-burners stand in the foreground, one at either end of the platform. The great acanthus leaf on the extreme left may represent the foliage fixed up in front of the house-door to indicate that there is a corpse laid out within. (Pl. 9)

In the case of members of the upper classes, the preparation of the body for its lying-in-state, which sometimes lasted for as long as seven days,<sup>129</sup> and the arrangements for the funeral that followed, were generally entrusted to professional undertakers (*libitinarii*)<sup>130</sup> and their underlings (*pollinctores*).<sup>131</sup> The poor were carried to cremation or inhumation on a cheap bier (*sandapila*) by *vespilliones*.<sup>132</sup> The actual burning of the body was normally performed by *ustores*;<sup>133</sup> grave-digging was done by *fossores*.<sup>134</sup> The *dissignatores*<sup>135</sup> were probably the masters of ceremonies at a rich man's or rich woman's obsequies. Very important people could have a *funus indictivum*, to which all citizens were summoned by a herald (*praeco*).<sup>136</sup>

(ii) *The Funeral Procession (pompa)*. From the following of the corpse to the place of its disposal by relatives, friends, and other invited persons (all wearing black *lugubria*) come the funerary terms *exsequiae* and *prosequi*.<sup>137</sup> Traditionally, it was the ancient Roman custom for funerals to be conducted at night by the light of torches, which were still carried before the body when, in historical times, the funerals of all but children and the poor took place by day.<sup>138</sup> In well-to-do families the deceased, still lying on the funerary couch, was carried from his or her home on an elaborate bier (*feretrum*).<sup>139</sup> The bearers, on whose shoulders it rested, might be the departed's nearest male relatives or closest male friends or his or her newly liberated slaves.<sup>140</sup> They could be four in number, as in the case of the poor,<sup>141</sup> but might be as many as eight, as can be seen from the marble relief, found at Amiternum and now in the museum at Aquila,<sup>142</sup> which depicts the funeral cortège of a personage of consequence.

The character of the inscriptions found on the same site as this relief suggests that it may date from the late-republican or Augustan period.<sup>143</sup> On the bier is a funerary couch, equipped with two superimposed mattresses and pillows, on which the dead man is lying tilted up on his left side and with his head supported on his left hand. He is wreathed and dressed in a short-sleeved tunic and a toga and holds in his right hand a short staff, perhaps the emblem of the office that he held at the time of his demise. Beneath the couch, which has richly carved legs, is a low table or long seat with ornamental feet; and behind the couch appears a large rectangular, screen-like object, which may have been, in reality, a canopy fixed horizontally over the corpse, but here shown vertically in order to display its embroidered decoration—the moon in a star-spangled sky, symbolic of celestial apotheosis. Above one corner of the canopy projects what would seem to be a helmet. The living participants in the procession are arranged in superimposed tiers, the figures in the upper tiers being poised on ledges that represent ground-lines. In the bottom register are the eight bearers, advancing towards the right, the four who are furthest from the spectator being on a smaller scale than the rest; while the man who is directing them, the

*dissignator*, stands facing them and grasps the end of one pole of the bier. The catafalque is preceded on the right by four pipers (*tibicines*)<sup>144</sup> below and by a trumpeter (*tubicen*)<sup>145</sup> and two horn-blowers (*cornicines*)<sup>146</sup> above. Again in the upper tier, between the three musicians and the bier, are two dishevelled *praeficae*, one with both hands raised, the other tearing her hair. At the same level, following the bier on the left, are the chief mourners, the widow and her two daughters, all with dishevelled hair. On the extreme left of the relief are three levels of figures—below, behind the bearers, a boy holding a palm-branch and a pail or basket, in the centre, two female relatives or servants, one armed with a spade-like implement, and above, three women, probably relatives (the third from the left may be another daughter) or friends of the family. The hired mourners and musicians in this, as in all other Roman funeral processions, were, of course, an Etruscan legacy (see Chapter I(c)). (Pl. 11)

The obsequies of Roman patricians in the middle of the second century BC are vividly described by Polybius.<sup>147</sup> If the dead was a distinguished man his corpse was placed on the rostra in the Forum, in either a standing or reclining posture, and a panegyric on him was pronounced in the presence of the citizens.<sup>148</sup> After the burial his portrait (*εἰκών*), which was a mask (*πρόσωπον*) resembling him as realistically as possible, was enclosed in a wooden shrine and placed in a conspicuous position in the house. In this way there were built up domestic 'galleries' of ancestral portraits, which formed part of the cortège of each member of the family when his turn came to die, the masks being worn in the procession by those relatives and friends who resembled most closely the dead individuals that they represented. The same phenomenon is mentioned by the Elder Pliny who, writing in the mid-first-century AD, states<sup>149</sup> that in earlier times ('apud maiores') wax masks ('expressi cera vultus') were kept in cupboards in the house to serve as portraits attending family funerals ('ut essent imagines quae comitarentur gentilicia funera'). Neither Polybius nor Pliny gives any support to the view that these masks were death-masks proper, cast directly from the faces of the dead. We would give much to possess a work of Roman art which rendered

this highly original and striking feature of the upper-class Roman funerary cortège—a feature that survived into imperial times until at least as late as the second half of the first century AD.

That the traditional mask-form of the funerary *imago* was in use under the Empire we learn from Suetonius' account of Vespasian's funeral.<sup>150</sup> In the procession walked the *archimimus* Favor wearing his mask ('personam eius ferens') and 'according to the usual custom imitating the actions and words of the deceased during his lifetime'. Meanwhile, towards the end of the Republic, an alternative to the funerary mask had appeared in the funerary bust, of which examples, sometimes enclosed in little cupboards, are to be seen carved on tombstones dating from the second half of the first century BC (*cf.* p. 246).<sup>151</sup> Again, an Augustan marble statue, now in the New Capitoline Museum, shows a togate personage presumably walking in a funeral procession and holding in either hand an ancestral bust.<sup>152</sup> These busts, if proximately modelled on marble portraits, were obviously meant to be thought of as consisting of such portable material as wax or terracotta. In several passages of the early books of the *Annals* Tacitus cites the appearance of *imagines* at funerals—in connection with the death of Libo Drusus,<sup>153</sup> of the Elder Drusus,<sup>154</sup> of Junia, wife of Gaius Cassius,<sup>155</sup> and of the Younger Drusus.<sup>156</sup> There is no specific statement as to whether these *imagines* were masks or busts. But the fact that those at the Elder Drusus' funeral are described as 'circumfusae lecto' inclines us to believe that they at any rate were busts set on the bier around the funerary couch. (*Pls. 12, 13*)

(iii) *The Disposal of the Corpse.* All burials, whether of bodies or of ashes, had to take place outside the city. This regulation, laid down in the Twelve Tables,<sup>157</sup> was normally observed until the late Empire, although exceptions could be made for special persons<sup>158</sup> and for emperors.<sup>159</sup> Sanitary precautions and fear of defilement readily explain the law. In the case of Rome, the Campus Martius did not count as being within the city, since it was outside the *pomerium*; and some notable citizens,<sup>160</sup> as well as the emperors buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus (see Chapter

V(H)), had their tombs there. Similarly, the *puticuli*, the grave-pits into which the unburnt bodies of some slaves and paupers were thrown promiscuously, were in Rome situated, at least at one time, just outside the *Porta Esquilina*.<sup>161</sup> Rich landowners, both in Rome and throughout the Empire, had tombs for themselves and their dependants on their own estates.<sup>162</sup> But the great majority of people in the Roman world were laid to rest in tombs of very varied types strung along the roads beyond the city gates. For obvious reasons no cremations were allowed to take place within the city's precincts.

As soon as the funeral procession arrived at the place of inhumation or cremation, there was performed the essential rite of throwing a little earth on the corpse and, in the case of a cremation, of the cutting off of a fraction of it (*os resectum*)<sup>163</sup> to be subsequently buried. As regards inhumations, the poor were laid directly in the earth, generally fully extended, less often in a crouched position in simple trench-graves (*fossae*)<sup>164</sup> (see Chapter V(A)); or, in the case of the Jews, other Semitics and early Christians, on shelves (*loculi*) cut in the rock walls of hypogea and catacombs (see Chapter VI(F) and (G)). The wealthy were placed in richly carved sarcophagi (see Chapter VII(E)), the moderately well-to-do in less elaborate sarcophagi of marble, stone, terracotta, lead, or wood. Lead sarcophagi were usually placed in outer ones of stone or wood.<sup>165</sup> Not infrequently gypsum was poured over the body, forming a cast of it and sometimes preserving fragments of the textile in which it had been wrapped.<sup>166</sup> Sarcophagi could be placed in chamber-tombs or under tumuli or be merely buried in the earth. A common custom in the case of inhumations was to place a coin—the traditional Charon's fee—in the mouth of the deceased (cf. pp. 119, 124). This practice, familiar in burials in Mediterranean countries, is also sometimes found in those on the Empire's peripheries, for example, in Britain<sup>167</sup> and in the cemetery of the Nabataean city of Kurnub.<sup>168</sup>

The burning of the corpse, and of the couch on which it lay, took place either at the place in which the ashes were to be buried (*bustum*) or at a place specially reserved for cremations (*ustrina* or *ustrinum*).<sup>169</sup> The pyre (*rogus*) was a rectangular pile of

wood, sometimes mixed with papyrus to facilitate the burning.<sup>170</sup> The eyes of the corpse were opened when it was placed on the pyre,<sup>171</sup> along with various gifts and some of the deceased's personal possessions. Sometimes even pet animals were killed round the pyre to accompany the soul into the afterlife.<sup>172</sup> The relatives and friends then called upon the dead by name for the last time: the pyre was kindled with torches; and after the corpse had been consumed the ashes were drenched with wine.<sup>173</sup> The burnt bones and ashes of the body were collected by the relatives<sup>174</sup> and placed in receptacles of various kinds—in marble altar-shaped ash-chests, small ash-chests of marble, stone, or terracotta in the shape of houses or of baskets or of round or rectangular boxes or caskets (all of them richly adorned with reliefs) and in marble, alabaster, gold, silver, or bronze vases or urns (the well-to-do); or in lead canisters, glass vessels, and earthenware pots<sup>175</sup> (the relatively poor). According to their nature and the status of the dead whose remains they held, these receptacles could be either set up free-standing inside house- or other chamber-tombs, in the case of the altar-shaped chests (which sometimes have a recess for holding a vase or urn—cf. p. 254), or, in the case of the small, casket-like ash-chests, placed in niches and recesses in the walls of *columbaria* and of house- and other chamber-tombs (see Chapter V(c) to (G)); or, in the case of the humbler, undecorated containers, they could be buried in the earth, under masonry tombs of different kinds or under tumuli (see Chapter VI(D)) or under gravestones of varying sizes and degrees of elaboration (cf. pp. 246–53) or with just a large pot to mark the spot (cf. p. 101).

(iv) *Post-Funeral Practices and Services Rendered to the Dead.* Various statutory regulations had to be complied with on all occasions of death and burial. Only when a pig had been sacrificed was a grave legally a grave.<sup>176</sup> There were also a number of other acts to be performed by the family. On returning from the funeral the relatives had to undergo the *suffitio*, a rite of purification by fire and water.<sup>177</sup> On the same day there began a period of cleansing ceremonies (*feriae denicales*) held at the deceased's house;<sup>178</sup> and again on the same day a funerary feast, the *silicernium*, was eaten

at the grave in honour of the dead.<sup>179</sup> There was also the *cena novendialis* eaten at the grave on the ninth day after the funeral, at the end of the period of full mourning, when a libation to the *Manes* was poured upon the actual burial.<sup>180</sup> Offerings of food were left at the tomb for the dead and were sometimes eaten by the hungry.<sup>181</sup> The domestic Lar was purified by a sacrifice of wethers.<sup>182</sup> To disturb in any way the last resting-place of human relics that had been finally and solemnly buried was a criminal offence. Official dispensations from the penalties could be granted. But there are a number of known instances of unofficial breaches of the law (*cf.* p. 76 and pp. 296–7, Notes 273–6).

Throughout the year there were occasions on which the dead were commemorated by funerary meals eaten at the tomb by their relatives and friends—on their birthdays and when the annual festivals of the dead were celebrated (see pp. 61–4). The mausolea of the well-to-do often contained chambers for this purpose, sometimes equipped with kitchens (see Chapter V(G), p. 136). At all of these banquets, as at those held at the time of a death, the departed had their share set apart for them. Their disembodied spirits, it was thought, could somehow partake of the fare with which they were thus provided and, indeed, be nourished through the medium of their bones or ashes (*cf.* p. 37). Hence the fact that graves, whether for inhumation or for cremation, with holes or pipes through which food and drink could be poured down directly on to the burial (*profusio*), so as to reach the remains, are a not uncommon feature of cemeteries in very diverse areas of the Roman world. For example, in the necropolis excavated under St Peter's in Rome several instances have come to light. In Tomb F, inset into the border of a mosaic pavement, is a series of small, square marble slabs each pierced with a hole for pouring sustenance down on to the dead beneath; and there are similar holes in the mosaic pavement of Tomb C.<sup>183</sup> In the floor of Tomb O there is a marble roundel pierced by four holes;<sup>184</sup> and Grave γ, a child's inhumation burial of Hadrianic date, near the reputed tomb of St Peter, contained a terracotta coffin, partly encased in a rectangular block of masonry, which was penetrated by a vertical tube for pouring.<sup>185</sup> Another child's inhumation burial, this time

at Syracuse and with the bones laid directly in the earth under tiles set gable-wise, was connected with the surface by a vertical terracotta pipe, closed at the top by a movable stone stopper.<sup>186</sup> A small stone, oblong chest from Faleroni, in Italy, containing a cremation burial and grave-goods in the form of glass vessels, ornaments, and so forth, bears in the centre of its lid a vertical leaden pipe.<sup>187</sup> Among provincial examples are a lead sarcophagus for inhumation found at Colchester, near one end of the lid of which is a lead pipe passing down into the interior, where vessels of glass and pottery accompanied the bones;<sup>188</sup> and a cremation burial from Caerleon in Monmouthshire.<sup>189</sup> In the latter case the tomb consists of a horizontal slab of stone carrying a packing of rammed earth, on which stands a circular lead canister that contained the remains. The canister is walled round by slabs of stone; and between one wall and the slab that covers the canister is a lead pipe that leads down from the surface into the inside of the vessel (*cf.* pp. 37, 41, 101, 123). (*Pl. 14*)

The grave-goods discovered in some of the burials just described illustrate a widespread Roman practice, for which abundant archaeological evidence has come to light. Goods of this kind include jewellery and other personal adornments, arms and pieces of armour and other items of military equipment, toilet boxes and toilet articles, some in precious metals, eating and drinking vessels occasionally of gold and silver, more often of bronze, glass, and pottery, lamps, cooking vessels and implements, dice and gaming-counters, children's toys (*cf.* pp. 41, 53), small funerary portraits, and small images of other-world deities. Many of the objects in this list occur so often and are so familiar that individual examples need not be cited here. Some, on the other hand, are less ubiquitous; and of those a few may be illustrated at this point by specific instances.

Dice and gaming-counters were yielded by the Roman cemetery at Ospringe in Kent.<sup>190</sup> Just to the west of the Roman villa at Lullingstone, also in Kent, there was a species of temple-mausoleum with a subterranean chamber containing two adult burials in lead coffins. These were accompanied by goods, laid out in a row, in the shape of two flagons, one of bronze, the other

of pottery, two identical groups consisting of two glass bottles with dolphin handles and a knife and spoon, and the bases of two glass bowls. On the head of one coffin lid (the other lid had been removed in late antiquity) were the carbonized and pulverized remains of a wooden gaming-board with bronze angle-pieces and a set of thirty glass gaming-counters, fifteen white and fifteen brown, all adorned with spots. There were also some carved bone objects and a bone roundel incised with a head of Medusa.<sup>191</sup> Toys, often in the form of animals, found in cremation graves where the age of the deceased cannot be determined, would appear to indicate children's burials. Such are the terracotta figurines discovered in a wooden chest in a grave, dated to c. AD 45, at Camulodunum (Colchester) in Essex. These comprise nine human figures, eight male and one female, intended to compose a dinner-party scene with diners and reciters; and various animals—for example, a dog with collar and bell, a pig, two lions, a bull, three apes, and a hare and an ibex, the last two lead-glazed. With these playthings was a small statuette of Hercules, doubtless in his other-world capacity, and the bust of a young boy on a much larger scale than the rest and possibly intended as a funerary 'portrait' of the dead child.<sup>192</sup> Almost certainly a toy was the miniature jet bear found with an infant's skeleton at Malton in Yorkshire.<sup>193</sup> Another instance of the image of an other-world deity that functioned as a protective grave-good comes from the Ospringe cemetery. This is a two-dimensional bronze bust of Minerva terminating in a short pilaster which is attached to an iron strip: its exact counterpart came to light in a funerary context at Remagen in Germany.<sup>194</sup>

The purpose of these grave-goods was partly to honour the dead, but mainly to serve them and help them to feel at home in the afterlife; while the 'portraits' and images symbolized death and the realms beyond it. As with the Etruscans (*cf.* pp. 12, 16), so occasionally with the Romans personal possessions could be counterfeited in works of art in various media. For example, in the Tomb of the Valerii under St Peter's the stucco figure of Gaius Valerius Herma is accompanied by writing materials rendered in the same material, while the stucco figures of women

of his family are provided with stucco mirrors, a jewel casket or cosmetic box, a perfume bottle, a distaff, and a spindle<sup>195</sup> (*cf.* pp. 142, 143).

(v) *Cenotaphs.* If a person's body was not available for burial, in such eventualities as drowning at sea or death in battle, a *cenotaphium* was made to provide the soul with a dwelling-place, which it was invited to enter by being called upon by name three times.<sup>196</sup> A familiar example of a tombstone possibly erected above a cenotaph is that, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, of the centurion Marcus Caelius, who fell either in the Varian disaster of AD 9 in the Teutoburger Forest or in some other battle in Varus' campaign.<sup>197</sup> Here the half-length figure of Caelius is portrayed in military dress, with his decorations and staff of office and a bust of two of his freedmen, one on either side of him. A cenotaph, known as a *honorarium sepulcrum* or *honorarius tumulus*, could be put up for some person whose remains were buried elsewhere. The Elder Drusus, buried in Rome, had such a cenotaph in Gaul.<sup>198</sup>

(vi) *Funerary Laws and Regulations.* Legislation and magisterial regulations attempted to restrict the amounts spent on private funerals and, in particular, ostentation in the arrangements made for the cortège to the place of cremation or inhumation.<sup>199</sup> There was also laid down a list of persons who had the duty of celebrating the funeral rites:<sup>200</sup> (i) the friend whom the deceased had designated in his will for this purpose; (ii) in default of (i), a person designated by the friends of the deceased; (iii) in default of (i) and (ii), the heir, if the deceased had been the head of the family, otherwise the head of the family. The persons on whom the cost of the obsequies devolved were also fixed by law—the heir, or the head of the family, if the deceased was not in a position to appoint an heir; a married woman's father, if she had no dowry out of which it could be paid; or her heir or her husband, if she had been emancipated from her father.<sup>201</sup>

(vii) *Burial Clubs.* Among the numerous clubs or associations in the Roman world (*collegia, sodalicia, sodalitates*)<sup>202</sup> those that were

generally tolerated by the government were the burial clubs (*collegia funeraticia*) of the lower orders of society (*tenuiores*), mainly slaves and freedmen, whose members, theoretically, met only once a month for the payment of the contributions that they made to provide for their funerals.<sup>203</sup> Most of these clubs had some religious connections—for example, that of the *cultores Diana et Antinoi* at Lanuvium;<sup>204</sup> and, in practice, they also engaged in some social activities such as dining together on certain occasions. The members of a club were sometimes men who all practised the same craft or trade; or they were all the dependants of some great family<sup>205</sup> or of the Imperial House.<sup>206</sup> The remains of persons belonging to these groups were often laid to rest in communal *columbaria* (see Chapter V(c)).

### (2) FUNUS MILITARE

Soldiers killed on the battlefield were collectively cremated<sup>207</sup> or buried.<sup>208</sup> The funeral expenses of those who died while on service were paid by their comrades, contributions from the soldiers' pay being set aside for this purpose.<sup>209</sup> A general could be honoured by a *decursio* in the form of a ride or march round his funeral pyre or cenotaph.<sup>210</sup>

### (3) FUNUS PUBLICUM

A special kind of *funus indictivum*, to which all citizens were invited, was the *funus publicum* decreed to a benefactor of the State and paid for by the State treasury.<sup>211</sup> A panegyric and a sung dirge were part of the honours accorded.<sup>212</sup> Notable foreign prisoners also qualified for such obsequies.<sup>213</sup> Sulla's public funeral was conducted with particular magnificence.<sup>214</sup> His corpse was carried on a golden litter and was accompanied by more than two thousand golden crowns and by axes and other symbols of the offices held by him in life. In the procession were trumpeters and pipers, Vestal Virgins, the senators and magistrates, and vast crowds of soldiers, horse and foot, as well as of citizens.

In Italy, outside Rome, and in the provinces public funerals were decreed to citizens who had rendered signal service to their

cities.<sup>215</sup> Here a woman might qualify for the honour.<sup>216</sup> Sometimes a rich family would accept the honour but remit the charge on the city.<sup>217</sup>

Under the Republic a feature (possibly borrowed from Etruria via Campania, although no explicit evidence of this exists) of the funerals of public men, but not of public funerals in the strict sense, were gladiatorial combats, sometimes combined with other games and free feasts, which were offered as a commemorative spectacle to the Roman people generally by the sons of the deceased. The earliest instance of this was at the funeral of Decimus Iunius Brutus Pera in 264 BC.<sup>218</sup> In 216 at the funeral of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus twenty-two pairs were set to fight,<sup>219</sup> twenty-five pairs in 200 at that of Marcus Valerius Laevinus;<sup>220</sup> a hundred and twenty men fought in 183 at the funeral of Publius Licinius<sup>221</sup> and seventy-four fought in 174 at that of Titus Quintius Flamininus.<sup>222</sup>

#### (4) FUNUS IMPERATORIUM

Under the Empire public funerals in Rome were reserved almost exclusively for emperors and members of their families. There were, however, some exceptions. Augustus gave one to his freedman and one-time tutor Sphaerus;<sup>223</sup> and in AD 32 the senate decreed one to Lucius Piso.<sup>224</sup> Such a funeral is sometimes described as a *funus censorium*, as in the case of that of Tiberius' friend Lucilius Longus in AD 23,<sup>225</sup> of Aelius Lamia in AD 33,<sup>226</sup> and of Flavius Sabinus in AD 70.<sup>227</sup> The term *funus censorium* could be used for the funeral of an emperor, of Claudius, for example, who had actually been censor;<sup>228</sup> while Septimius Severus gave a *funus censorium* to the *imago* of Pertinax, whose corpse was not available for burial.<sup>229</sup>

We have brief descriptions of the funerals of some imperial persons who never reigned as emperors. The body of the Elder Drusus, who died in the Rhineland in 9 BC, was brought back to Rome by Tiberius, who walked on foot all the way, while Augustus himself met it at Ticinum and accompanied it to the capital. The deceased's ancestral *imagines* surrounded his funerary couch (*cf.* p. 48) in the procession. The corpse was taken to the

Forum, where there was mourning and a eulogy was delivered by Tiberius; and another eulogy was delivered by Augustus in the Circus Maximus. Knights carried the body to the Campus Martius, where it was burnt and its ashes deposited in the Mausoleum of Augustus.<sup>230</sup> On the day in AD 20 on which Germanicus' ashes were buried in the same place, the Campus Martius blazed with torches and the streets were packed with mourning soldiers, magistrates, and citizens; but the procession of *imagines* and the eulogy seem to have been omitted.<sup>231</sup> The funeral of the Younger Drusus in AD 23 was especially noteworthy for the great number of ancestral *imagines* that were displayed in his cortège (cf. p. 48).<sup>232</sup> Of Hadrian's intended successor, Aelius Caesar (Verus), it is stated: 'sepultus est imperatorio funere'.<sup>233</sup> As regards imperial women, the public funerals of Atia, mother of Augustus,<sup>234</sup> of Livia in AD 29,<sup>235</sup> and of Poppaea in AD 65<sup>236</sup> are recorded.

In the case of those reigning emperors whose funerals are described in the literary sources, some accounts are very summary. Of Tiberius we only know that the body was carried from Capri to Rome by soldiers and that it was given a public funeral with a eulogy pronounced by Gaius.<sup>237</sup> Of Claudius we learn, in addition to the fact that his *funus* was *censorium* (cf. p. 56), that he had a public funeral befitting an emperor, on the same lines as that of Augustus, and that his eulogy, composed by Seneca, was delivered by Nero.<sup>238</sup> Of Vespasian's funeral Suetonius, in addition to describing the antics of the actor Favor (cf. p. 48), tells us that it cost ten million sesterces.<sup>239</sup> Antoninus Pius, before being buried in Hadrian's Mausoleum, was accorded a magnificent funeral procession, accompanied by a *iustitium*, the closing of the law courts as a sign of mourning: Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus each delivered an oration on their adoptive father.<sup>240</sup> For complete and colourful details of imperial funerals we must turn to the accounts of the obsequies of Julius Caesar,<sup>241</sup> Augustus,<sup>242</sup> and Septimius Severus.<sup>243</sup>

After his murder Julius Caesar's corpse was carried to the Forum by magistrates and ex-magistrates and a lengthy speech was delivered in its presence by Mark Antony. Dio says that the body was exposed to public view, covered in blood and full of gaping

wounds. But according to Appian the actual body, lying on its back on a bier, was not visible; and above the bier was placed a wax image of Caesar, on which his many wounds were counterfeited and which could be turned in all directions by a mechanism. A pyre had been prepared in the Campus Martius, but it was decided to burn the corpse in the Forum. Pipers and actors took off the clothes that they had taken from the Dictator's triumphal equipment and assumed for the occasion, and threw them on the flames. Women threw on to the pyre their jewels and the amulets and robes of their children. After the cremation Caesar's freedmen gathered up his bones and deposited them in his family tomb.

The body of Augustus, who died at Nola, was carried to Bovillae in night stages by the senators of the *municipia* and *coloniae* through which it passed and rested by day in the basilica or chief temple of each city on the route of the cortège. At Bovillae it was met by knights and carried by them to Rome, where it was placed in the vestibule of the emperor's house. The funeral procession proper from the Palatine to the Campus Martius then took place, the body being borne by senators, according to Suetonius, by the magistrates designate, according to Dio. The funerary couch was made of ivory and gold and adorned with coverings of gold and purple. In it the body itself was hidden from view: what the spectators saw was a wax image dressed in triumphal garb. Another image of the emperor, in gold, was brought from the Senate House and yet another was drawn along in a triumphal chariot. Behind these images came those of Augustus' ancestors and dead relations (except for that of Julius Caesar, who had become a demigod) and those of prominent Romans beginning with Romulus and including Pompey the Great, whose image was accompanied by figures personifying all the peoples that he had added to the Empire, each figure being distinguished by some local characteristic of the people that it represented. Arrived at the Forum, the couch was laid on the *rostra vetera*, from which the Younger Drusus read a eulogy, while Tiberius read another from the *rostra* at the temple of Divus Julius. Then the couch was carried by the consuls designate and other magistrates as the procession continued on its way to the

Campus Martius. The procession included the senators and knights with their wives, the praetorian guard, and all citizens who were in Rome. The body was placed on the pyre and first the priests and then horsemen and infantry passed round it (*decurcio circa rogum*). All those who possessed triumphal decorations cast them on the pyre, which centurions lighted from beneath with torches; and an eagle released from it flew heavenward to symbolize the emperor's apotheosis. Livia remained for five days by the pyre. The leading knights, barefoot and ungirt, gathered up the bones and placed them in Augustus' Mausoleum. A *iustitium* was decreed. Women observed mourning for a whole year.

Septimius Severus died at York and in the *Life* of him in the *Historia Augusta* are given two versions of the fate of his remains. Some said that his body was brought to Rome to be cremated; others that only his ashes travelled to Rome in a golden urn to be buried in Hadrian's (the Antonine) Mausoleum, his corpse having been cremated in Britain.

The latter is the version accepted by Herodian, who records that the body was burnt in Britain, his ashes being placed in an alabaster urn and conveyed by his sons to Rome. On reaching the capital Caracalla and Geta donned the imperial purple for the funeral procession and were followed by the consuls carrying the urn, to which reverence was done by all who met the cortège. The urn was then deposited in the Antonine Mausoleum; and the ensuing ceremonies in the city were a mixture of mourning, feasting, and religious rites. The manner in which the ashes were laid to rest was that of an ordinary burial. But a life-size, realistic wax image of the emperor was made, laid on a great ivory couch, covered with golden coverlets, and placed for all to see in the vestibule of the palace. The face of the image was that of one sick and suffering. The lying-in-state of this *eikón* lasted for seven days; and for most of each day the senators, in mourning, sat on the left of it, the most illustrious matrons, without their necklaces and other gold ornaments, on the right of it. Every day the doctors came, approached the couch, inspected the image, and announced that the patient was growing progressively worse.

When they finally declared that death had taken place, the most distinguished members of the equestrian order and selected youths of senatorial rank took up the couch, carried it along the *Via Sacra* to the Forum, and exposed it there. Steps were erected on either side of the couch and on one set of steps stood a company of high-born youths, on the other, one of eminent women. Each company sang solemn, dirge-like hymns and paeans in the deceased emperor's honour.

Then the couch was taken to the Campus Martius, where a huge square pyre, as big as a house, had been constructed of logs. This pyre was filled inside with faggots and adorned on its exterior with golden hangings, statues of ivory, and elaborate paintings. It was built up like a lighthouse in five storeys diminishing in size, the topmost one being the smallest of all. The couch on which the image of the emperor lay was placed in the second storey and all kinds of spices and unguents were put in with it, together with fruits, herbs, and sweet-smelling juices piled up beside it. There was no race or city, no person of prominence or position who did not give generously of these gifts to honour the dead ruler. When a great heap of spices had been raised and all the space was filled, a cavalry parade took place round the pyre, each company of horsemen riding round it with orderly and rhythmic movements. With the same orderliness chariots were drawn round it, bearing passengers dressed in purple garments and wearing masks that were portraits of famous Roman generals and emperors. Then the new emperor took a torch and kindled the pyre, while others also set a light to it on all sides. The faggots and all the spices that were inside made it burn easily; and from the topmost and smallest storey an eagle was released and flew upwards with the fire towards the sky, the bird being believed to carry the emperor's soul heavenward.

Imperial funeral pyres of the lighthouse type described by Herodian in connection with Septimius Severus' ceremonial obsequies are represented on the reverses of consecration coins of the middle Empire, nearly always accompanied by the legend CONSECRATIO. The earliest known instance of such a design, but without the usual legend, on a *denarius* and *sestertius* of Aelius

Caesar, known respectively only from a sale-catalogue and from a cast in the British Museum, but believed to be genuine, shows a pyre of six storeys, with horsemen in relief on the outside of the bottom storey, arcades on that of the second storey, and figures and garlands on the exteriors of the third, fourth, and fifth storeys.<sup>244</sup> But most of these pyres are composed of four tiers, reckoning the high base as the bottommost. Such is the pyre on the *sestertius* struck for Faustina the Elder by Antoninus Pius (in AD 141): its base is garlanded, the second and tallest storey is arcaded, and on the summit is a chariot-group, presumably denoting the deceased's apotheosis.<sup>245</sup> All the types struck by Marcus Aurelius for Antoninus Pius (in 161),<sup>246</sup> for Lucius Verus (in 169),<sup>247</sup> and for the Younger Faustina (in 176)<sup>248</sup> show much the same details: the base is garlanded, the second and third storey have arcades, doors, and figures, and the fourth storey is draped, flanked by torches, and surmounted by a chariot-group. Almost precisely the same type of pyre is featured on the coins struck for Marcus Aurelius by Commodus (in c. 180).<sup>249</sup> Of the four-tiered pyre on the *sestertius* struck for Pertinax's consecration (in 193) the details are obscure on the British Museum specimen.<sup>250</sup> Especially magnificent are the five-storeyed pyres on the consecration coins of Septimius Severus (struck in 211).<sup>251</sup> On these the base, or lowest tier, is either draped or garlanded, the second, third, and fourth tiers have niches and figures, and the fifth tier, with its surmounting chariot-group, is either niched or draped or garlanded. With the type struck by Severus Alexander for the consecration of Julia Maesa (in 225)<sup>252</sup> we return to the four-storeyed pyre: the base is draped; in the second storey is seen the image of the dead on a funerary couch, flanked by figures in niches; figures in niches occupy the third storey; and the fourth storey, topped by the usual chariot-group, is draped and flanked by torches. (*Pls. 15, 16*)

#### (B) THE CULT OF THE DEAD

The Roman cult of the departed, whether public or private, had a double purpose: it provided that the dead survived in the memories of relatives, descendants, and friends; and it also sought to

ensure, through the medium of devout attention to their mortal relics in the tomb, comfort, refreshment, and perennial renewal of life to their immortal spirits.

An insistent urge to secure for oneself or for one's closest relatives such commemoration and attention after death is abundantly attested by funerary inscriptions. Those who could afford it left in their wills capital sums of money, the interest (*reditus, usura*) from which was to be expended on the offering at the tomb of food (*cibus, esca, edulia*), bread (*panis*), wine and grapes (*vinum, escae vindemiales*), cakes (*liba*), sausages (*tuceta*), ceremonial meals (*epulae*) thought of as shared by the living with the dead, incense (*tus*), fruits (*poma*), flowers of all kinds, particularly violets (*violae*) and roses (*rosae, escae rosales*).<sup>253</sup> Numerous representations of the funerary banquet carved on gravestones or painted on the walls of mausolea and hypogea bear witness to the special importance of the ceremonial meal eaten at the tomb; and this element in the cult of the departed also features prominently in the lengthy will of a citizen of Andematunnum (civitas Lingonum: Langres), in which the testator left elaborate and minute directions for the maintenance of, and rites to be carried out at, the *cella memoriae* (memorial shrine) which he seems to have had erected for himself in his lifetime.<sup>254</sup> Near this shrine there was to be an *exedra* and on the same spot the man's seated statue worked in the best imported marble or in the best bronze and not less than 5 feet high. The *exedra* was to contain a litter (perhaps for the use of his spirit) and two seats of imported marble; and in the *exedra*, on the days on which the *cella* was opened, were to be spread two coverlets, two cushions for diners, two cloaks, and a tunic, all for use at funerary meals. The testator's bones were to be placed in a beautifully carved altar of Luna marble, set up in front of the shrine, which was to be closed with a slab of Luna marble that could be easily opened and put back into position. On the shrine were to be inscribed the names of the magistrates during whose term of office the shrine had been begun and the number of years of the testator's life. No unauthorized person was to have access to the shrine, and the remains of no one else, whether cremated or inhumed, were to be buried within

a specified distance of the shrine. The testator's freedmen and freedwomen were to contribute to the upkeep of the tomb; and his grandson and the latter's heirs were to pay an annual sum to cover the cost of food and drink for a meal to be celebrated there. Offerings at the funerary altar were to be made every year on the Kalends of April, May, June, July, August, and October. Finally it was laid down that all the testator's hunting equipment, his sailing boat, and his best clothes were to be cremated with him—presumably to serve him in the afterlife (*cf.* pp. 52-4).

Roses, the last item in the list set out above (p. 62) of offerings to the dead, are one of the gifts most frequently mentioned, along with food and drink, in funerary inscriptions—gifts for which the departed person's fellow members of a burial club (*cf.* pp. 54, 55) were often made responsible.<sup>255</sup> That roses were regarded as pledges of eternal spring in the life beyond the grave is suggested by one of Ausonius' epitaphs:

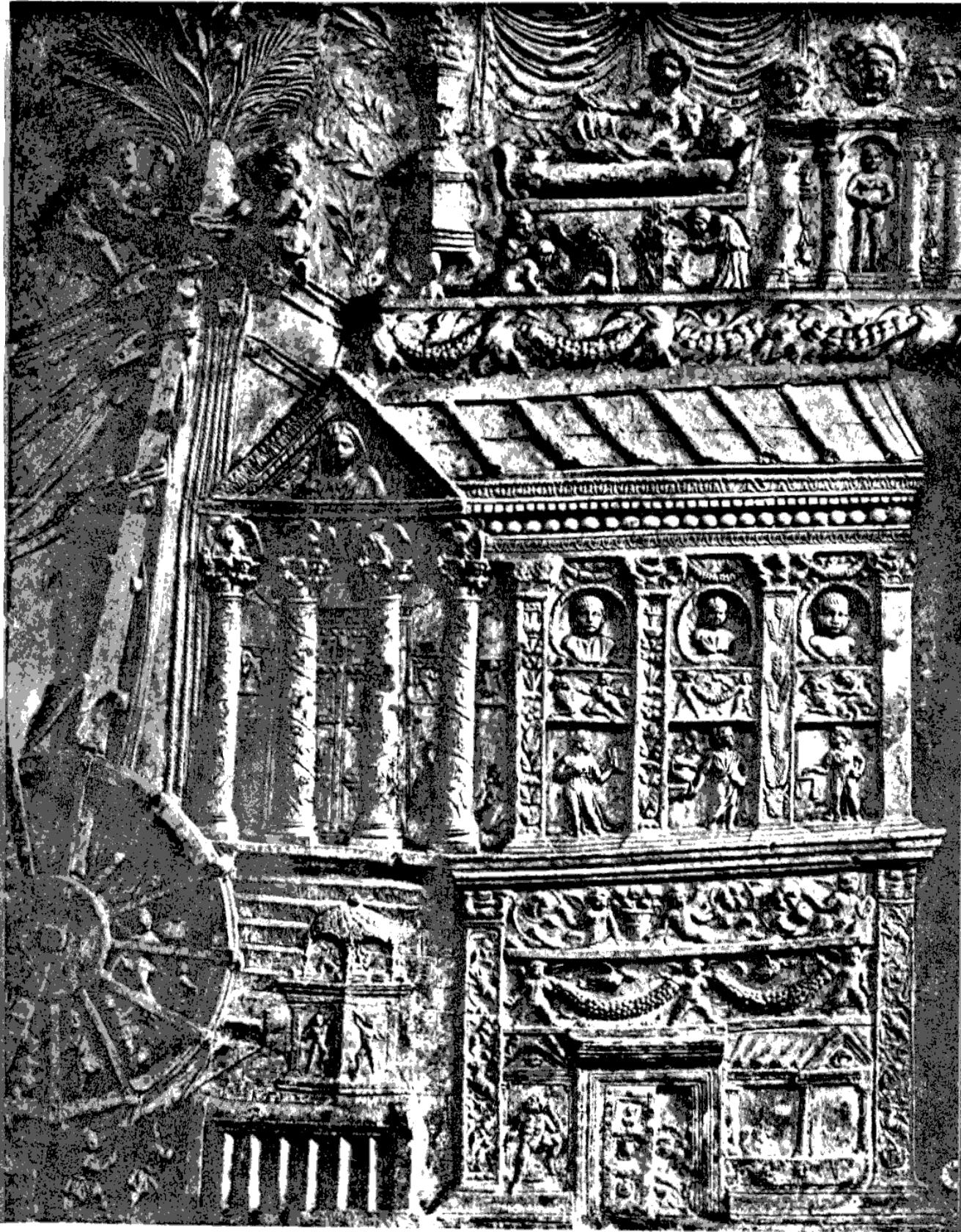
*Sprinkle my ashes with pure wine and fragrant oil of spikenard:  
Bring balsam, too, stranger, with crimson roses.  
Tearless my urn enjoys unending spring.  
I have not died, but changed my state.*<sup>256</sup>

The same idea must have lain behind the painted showers of roses and rose-gardens on the walls and vaults of tombs.<sup>257</sup> These counterfeited flowers perpetuated, as it were, all the year round the offerings of actual roses that were often associated with the Feast of Roses (*Rosalia, Rosaria*) held in May and June when roses are chiefly in season (*suo tempore*) in the Mediterranean world.<sup>258</sup> Although by no means exclusively connected with the dead, the *Rosalia* (*dies Rosarium, Rosariorum, Rosationis*) undoubtedly afforded specific occasions for scattering roses on the grave and decking the funerary portrait-statue with them.

There were doubtless many other private family occasions for cult at the tomb—for instance, the departed's birthday (*dies natalis*); and provision could be made for the lighting of lamps at the grave on the Kalends, Ides, and Nones of every month.<sup>259</sup> But the annual official commemoration of the dead was the *Parentalia* or *dies Parentales*, lasting from 13-21 February, of

which the last day, the *Feralia*, was reserved for public ceremonies, while the other days were for private celebration by the family. All these days were *dies religiosi*, during which magistrates did not wear the *toga praetexta*, temples were closed, and no weddings took place. Unlike All Souls' Day, on which all the faithful departed are commemorated, the *Parentalia* was the feast, not of the dead in general, but of parents and other kinsfolk of individual families, and it is often mentioned in inscriptions along with the *Rosalia*, birthdays, and so forth, as one of the times prescribed for offerings at the graves of relatives and friends.<sup>260</sup> Ovid describes in some detail the rites of the *Parentalia*, the regulations that accompanied it, and the traditions connected with it.<sup>261</sup> The gifts brought to the grave should, he says, be small and uncostly—such things as a tile wreathed with votive garlands, a sprinkling of corn, a few grains of salt, and loose violets, all of which gifts could be set on a potsherd in the middle of the road that was lined with tombs. On the other hand, larger gifts were not forbidden. The last day of the feast was called the *Feralia* because it was then that the living publicly carry their dues to the dead; and Varro confirms this.<sup>262</sup>

The second festival of the dead, held on 9, 11 and 13 May, was the *Lemuria*, when the apparently kinless and hungry ghosts, the *Lemures*, and the mischievous and dangerous *Larvae*, were supposed to prowl round the house.<sup>263</sup> It may have been a public festival, in view of the fact that it is entered on some calendars, although there are no records of any public celebration on those days and the rites described by Ovid are of a private and domestic character. At midnight the worshipper made a sign with his thumb in the middle of his forehead, washed his hands in clean spring water, turned, took black beans and threw them away with averted face, saying nine times: 'these I cast, with these I redeem me and mine.' The ghosts were thought to gather the beans and follow unseen behind the worshipper, who then touched water, clashed bronze, and asked the ghosts to leave the house. During the *Lemuria* temples were closed and marriages were not allowed.



17 Marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii. The picture is dominated by a great temple-tomb with a stepped *podium*, a columned portico, and elaborate carving. Below is an enclosure surrounding a small domed tomb. Above is a scene in a tomb with a woman lying on a funerary couch. On the left workmen erect an obelisk (pp. 81, 132, 268-9).

### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

L. Dérobert and H. Reichlen, *Les momies: le culte des morts dans le monde sauvage et civilisé*, n.d., p. 129. I owe this reference and the references that follow, to the kindness of Professor John Harris, formerly of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

W. Wessetzy, *Die ägyptische Kulte zur Römeszeit in Ungarn*, 1961, pp. 10f; *Orientalia* XXXXVI, 1967, p. 220, nn. 5, 6; XXXVII, 1968, p. 132, n. 10

T. J. Pettigrew, *History of Egyptian Mummies*, 1834, pp. 253–4; Dérobert and Reichlen, *op. cit.*, pl. 55

### CHAPTER III

For a very detailed, but obviously out-of-date, account of Roman funerary rites in their widest sense, based mainly on literary and epigraphic evidence, with references that are by no means always correctly given, see C. Daremburg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 1896, s.v. *funus*, pp. 1386–1409. Slightly more up-to-date is H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer*, 1911, pp. 482–511

For such a death-bed scene, see a relief in the Lapidario Maffeiiano at Verona (unpublished, apart from a very poor and inaccurate drawing in S. Maffei, *Museum Veronese*, 1749, pl. 7, fig. 4). The dying person lies propped up on a couch. On the couch, at the dying person's feet, a man is seated. At the head of the couch a man is seated on a stool, with a mourning woman seated to the right of him. Another man is seated at the foot of the couch. To the left of him stands a man with legs crossed and to the left again stands a woman(?) holding a basin(?)

E.g. Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 3, 2: 'non licuerat matri ultima filii oscula . . . haurire'

E.g. Virgil, *Aen.* iv, 684–5: 'et, extremas si quis super halitus errat, ore legam'

E.g. Virgil, *Aen.* ix, 486–7: 'nec te, tua funera, mater/produxi pressive oculos.' Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi, 150

Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 218: 'Plinius in naturali historia dicit hanc esse causam ut mortui et calida abluantur et per intervalla conclamentur, quod solet plerumque vitalis spiritus exclusus putari et homines fallere. denique refert quemdam superpositum pyrae abhibitis ignibus erectum esse nec potuisse liberari.' Cf. Lucan ii, 21–3: 'sic funere primo/ . . . cum corpora nondum/conclamata iacent.' The purpose of this custom may, then, have been to ascertain that death had really taken place. A relic of it survives today at a papal death-bed, when the dead pope is tapped three times on the brow and called three times by his baptismal name.

A relief, probably from the front of a sarcophagus, found in Paris and now in the Musée de Cluny, and a similar relief in the Louvre depict the

situation after death has taken place. The Cluny relief (Daremburg and Saglio, *op. cit.*, p. 1386, fig. 3357; E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, iv, 1911, p. 241, no. 3170, with photograph) shows a young girl lying dead on a couch with her feet crossed. At the head of the couch her father is seated mourning, his right knee clasped by his hands. At the foot of the couch is seated her mother, mourning, with her head on her hand and a girl standing on either side of her, the girl on the right covering her face with both hands. Behind the couch stand two girls, one stretching out her hand towards the dead girl on the couch. All five women have loose, dishevelled hair. Two young men stand near the head of the couch. On the Louvre relief (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, i, 1897, p. 48: scene on the right, in the top register) a young boy or girl is lying dead on a couch. The father and mother are seated mourning at the head and foot of the couch respectively. There are five other male mourners standing and four other female mourners standing, three of them behind the couch.

E.g. Ovid, *Pont.* ii, 2.45: 'iam prope depositus, certe iam frigidus.' According to Blümner (*op. cit.*, p. 482, n. 8) this was done before death took place.

E.g. Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 219: 'corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt'

E.g. Martial, *Epigr.* ix, 57, 8: 'nec pallens toga mortui tribulis.' Juvenal, iii, 171-2: 'pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua/nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus'

E.g. Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 24, 60: 'illa iam significatio est laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam et ei, qui peperisset, et eius parenti sine fraude esse lex impositam iubet'

E.g. Juvenal, iii, 267: 'nec habet quam porrigat ore tridentem.' This is confirmed by numerous discoveries in graves.

*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Antoninus Pius* 5, 1: 'sed Hadriano apud Baias mortuo reliquias eius Roman perverxit sancte ac reverente atque in hortis Domitiae collocavit'

E.g. Persius, iii, 103-5: 'tandemque beatulus alto/compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis/in portam rigidas calces extendit.' Some rich people may have been also embalmed before the lying-in-state and masks may have been placed over their faces.

O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums*, 1867, pp. 221-4, no. 348; D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture*, 1961, pl. 66; *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Memorie* (Classe di Scienze morali, etc.), ser. 8, xiii, 1968, pl. 6, fig. 12 (after p. 482); Anderson photo no. 24116 Roma

E.g. Varro, *De ling. lat.* vii, 70: 'praefica dicta, ut Aurelius scribit, mulier de lucro quae conduceretur quae ante domum mortui laudes eius caneret'

E.g. Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 218: 'servabantur cadavera septem diebus.'

Members of the lower classes were, however, sometimes burnt or buried

on the day following that of their death: e.g. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 9, 27: 'puer . . . ante noctem mortuus et postridie, antequam luceret, combustus est'

130 E.g. Seneca, *De benef.* vi, 38. The name of the *libitinarii* comes from that of the goddess of the dead, Libitina, in whose temple death-registers were kept

131 E.g. Martial, *Epigr.* x, 97, 3

132 E.g. Suetonius, *Domit.* 17: 'cadaver eius populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum', Martial, *Epigr.* ii, 81: 'laxior hexaphoris tua sit lectica licebit:/ cum tamen haec tua sit, Zoile, sandapila est'

133 E.g. Martial, *Epigr.* iii, 93, 26

134 A term found in late Latin inscriptions to denote catacomb diggers: e.g. *CIL* vi, 7543

135 See Note 130

136 Varro, *De ling. lat.* v. 160; vii, 42: 'a praecone . . . in funeribus indictivis'

137 E.g. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 71, 201: 'mater exequias illius funeris prosecuta'

138 E.g. Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 224: 'facem de fune, ut Varro dicit. unde et funus dictum est. per noctem autem urebantur: unde et permansit ut mortuos faces antecedant'

139 Varro, *De ling. lat.* v. 166: 'ubi lectus mortui fertur, dicebant feretrum nostri'

140 Persius iii, 105–6: 'at illum/hesterni capite induito subiere Quirites'

141 E.g. Martial, *Epigr.* viii, 75, 9: 'quattuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver'

142 E. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, 1915, pp. 175–9, pl. 23; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 1941, p. 239, pl. 19; Alinari photo no. 26101 Aquila; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, etc. *Sculpture municipali dell'area sabellica fra l'età di Cesare e quella di Nerone* (*Studi Miscellanei* 10, 1966), pp. 23–9, pls. 5–10

143 *CIL* ix, 4454, 4458–60, 4465, 4467, 4471. On the other hand, the short and skimpy toga worn by most of the men on the relief suggests a date for it in the middle of the first century BC

144 Cf. Suetonius, *Iul.* 84

145 Cf. Seneca, *Apoloq.* 12

146 *Ibid.*

147 vi. 53

148 This was the *laudatio* (e.g. Cicero, *Pro Milone* 13, 33) or *contio funebris* (Cicero, *De oratore* ii, 84). For *laudes* chanted in front of the dead person's house by hired *praefices*, see Note 128

149 *Nat. Hist.* xxxv, 6

150 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 19

151 A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome*, 1932, pls. 4, 5

152 *Ibid.*, pl. 6, a, b

153 ii, 32: AD 16

- 154 iii, 5: 9 BC
- 155 iii, 76: AD 22
- 156 iv, 9: AD 23: 'funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit'
- 157 See Chapter II, Note 99
- 158 Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 23, 58. Gaius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, founder of the public library of Ephesus, was buried in it in a fine marble sarcophagus: F. Miltner, *Ephesus*, 1958, pp. 55, 56
- 159 E.g. Trajan, whose ashes were placed in a funerary chamber in the base of his Column near the centre of Rome: Dio Cassius, lxviii, 16; lxix, 2
- 160 E.g. Sulla: Plutarch, *Sulla* 38; Hirtius and Pansa: Livy, *Epit.* 119; Agrippa: Dio Cassius, liv, 28
- 161 *De ling lat.* v. 25
- 162 E.g. the Treviran landowners of modern Belgium: see Chapter VII (B)
- 163 Cicero, *De leg.*, ii, 22, 55
- 164 E.g. *Eburacum* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: England), 1962, pl. 27 (below)
- 165 *Ibid.*, p. 79
- 166 *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68, 79–85, 100, 106. A notable instance is that of the body of a woman with a child between her legs: *ibid.* p. 108, pl. 33. (See p. 320)
- 167 E.g. York: *Eburacum*, p. 107; Chichester, Sussex, St Pancras Roman cemetery: unpublished information from Mr Alec Down
- 168 *Illustrated London News*, 21 September 1968, p. 27. For instances of coins found in cinerary urns, see G. Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra*, 1940, p. 53 and pp. 119, 124 below
- 169 Julius Paulus, in Festus, p. 32: 'bustum proprie dicitur locus in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus . . . ubi vero combustus est tantummodo, alibi vero est sepultus, is locus ab urendo ustrina vocatur'
- 170 Martial, *Epigr.* viii, 44, 14; x, 97, 1
- 171 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi, 150: '(oculos) in rogo patefacere'
- 172 Pliny, *Epist.* iv, 2: 'habebat puer mannos multos et iunctes et solutos, habebat canes maiores minoresque, habebat luscinias, psittacos, merulas: omnes Regulus circa rogum trucidavit'
- 173 E.g. Statius, *Silv.* ii, 6, 90–1: 'tibi Setia canos/restinxit cineres'
- 174 E.g. Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 228: 'ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aeno'
- 175 A Flavian cremation burial, found in 1966 on the site of the Central Criminal Court Extension in London, consisted of burnt human bones placed within a globular amphora, which lay on its side at the bottom of a shallow pit. The neck of the amphora had been broken off prior to burial and its entrance closed by a brick tile set on edge, against which three pottery lids had been placed: *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, xx, part 2, 1969, pp. 4–6, fig. 3
- 176 Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 22, 57: 'nec tamen eorum ante sepulchrum est quam iusta facta et porcus caesus est.' For the view that the formula *sub ascia* (or *ab ascia*

- or *ad asciam*) *dedicare*, particularly widespread in the funerary inscriptions of Gaul, denotes, through the symbol of this workman's tool, the solemn act of laying the foundation of a legally established tomb-structure, see J. J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, 1951, pp. 85–107. For further discussion of the formula, see F. de Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romains*, 1963, pp. 277–94.
- <sup>177</sup> Festus, p. 3: 'funus prosecuti redeuntes ignem supergradiebantur aqua aspersi: quod purgationis genus vocabant suffitionem'
- <sup>178</sup> Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 22, 55: 'nec vero tam denicales, quae a nece appellatae sunt, quia residentur mortuis, quam ceterorum caelestium quieti dies feriae nominarentur'
- <sup>179</sup> For references, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* s.v. *silicernium*
- <sup>180</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 5; Petronius, *Satyricon* 65. For the periods of mourning beyond these nine days, to be observed by men and women for various categories of dead persons, see Blümner, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–11
- <sup>181</sup> E.g. Tibullus, i, 5, 53: 'ipsa fame stimulante furens herbasque sepulcris/ quaerit et a saevis ossa relicta lupis'
- <sup>182</sup> Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 22, 55: 'quod genus sacrificii Lari vervecibus fiat'
- <sup>183</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations*, 1956, p. 61, n. 30
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19, n. 2, xviii
- <sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 145–6 and fig. 13
- <sup>186</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1913, pp. 272–3, fig. 15; *Antiquaries Journal*, ix, 1929, pp. 4–6, fig. 5
- <sup>187</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1921, pp. 191–5, fig. 8; *Antiquaries Journal*, ix, 1929, p. 4 and pl. 1, fig. 2. For examples of this practice in the cemeteries of Pompeii, see H. Mau–F. W. Kelsey, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, 1899, pp. 417, 421–2, 427
- <sup>188</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, ix, 1929, pp. 4, 5, fig. 4
- <sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1–3, fig. 3 and pl. 1, fig. 1. For further examples, see R. Cagnat and U. Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, i, 1916, pp. 340–1; *Festschrift August Oxé*, 1938, pp. 197–204
- <sup>190</sup> W. Whiting, W. Hawley, and T. May, *Report on the Excavation of the Roman Cemetery at Ospringe, Kent*, 1931, pl. 56
- <sup>191</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, xlix, 1959, pp. 132–3, figs. 24, 25, pl. 18, figs. 1–3
- <sup>192</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, 1964, pp. 419–20, pl. 96
- <sup>193</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, xxviii, 1948, pp. 173–4, pl. 25, a
- <sup>194</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Whiting, etc., *op. cit.*, pl. 55; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxvi, 1907, p. 155, no. 81, pl. 3, fig. 8 (wrongly described as Mars)
- <sup>195</sup> Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and pl. 15
- <sup>196</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 505–6: 'tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem/ constitui et magna manes ter voce vocavi'
- <sup>197</sup> *Germania Romana*, ed. 2, iii, 1926, p. 28, pl. 1, fig. 3; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 2244. The inscription reads: M(arco) Caelio

T(iti) f(ilio) (tribu) Lem(onia) (domo) Bon(onia) o(ptioni) [a mistake for 'centurioni'?] leg(ionis) XIIIX ann(orum) LIII s(emissis) [ce]cidit bello Variano ossa [i]nferre licebit P(ublius) Caelius T(iti) f(ilius) (tribu) Lem(onia) frater fecit.' Under the left-hand bust is 'M(arcus) Caelius M(arci) l(ibertus)'; under the right-hand bust is 'M(arcus) Caelius M(arci) l(ibertus) Thiaminus.' For the view that this need not be a cenotaph, see *Answahlkatalog des Rheinischen Landesmuseums*, Bonn, 1963, p. 34

- 198 Suetonius, *Claud.* 1: 'exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit'; Dio Cassius, lv, 2: *τιμᾶς . . . κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ 'Ρήνῳ λαβών.* For the possibility that the *τρόπαια* of St Peter and St Paul, on the Vatican Hill and *Via Ostiensis* respectively, marked cenotaphs or memorial shrines, not graves, see Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *op. cit.* pp. 128–9, 154–8
- 199 E.g. Cicero, *De leg.*, ii, 23, 59; 24, 60; Ovid, *Fasti* vi, 663–4: 'adde quod aedilis, pompam qui funeris irent,/artifices solos iusserat esse decem'
- 200 See Daremberg and Saglio, *loc. cit.*, p. 1402, for references to the legal texts
- 201 See *ibid.*, p. 1404, for references to the legal texts.
- 202 J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, 1895–1900; C. Kornemann, s.v. *collegium* in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*; Dessau, *op. cit.*, ii, 2, ch. 15; iii, 2, pp. 710–25
- 203 E.g. Dessau, *op. cit.*, 7212: AD 136: 'quib[us coire co]nvenire collegium-q(ue) habere liceat. qui stipem menstruam conferre volen[t in fun]era in it collegium coeant neq(ue) sub specie eius collegi nisi semel in mense c[oeant co]nferendi causa unde defuncti sepeliantur'. For burial clubs in Gaul, mainly in the south, see Hatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–83
- 204 Dessau, *op. cit.*, 7212
- 205 E.g. *CIL* vi, 5961, 9320, 10415
- 206 E.g. *CIL* vi, 4421, 5818, 21415
- 207 E.g. Livy, xxvii, 2, 9: 'congestos in unum locum (Romani) cremavere suos'
- 208 E.g. those who fell in the *clades Variana* in the Teutoberger Forest: Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 62; Suetonius, *Gaius* 3. Cf. Note 197
- 209 Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris* ii, 20: 'addebat etiam saccus undecimus, in quem tota legio particulam aliquam conferabat, sepulturae scilicet causa, ut si quis ex contubernalibus defecisset, de illo undecimo sacco as sepulturam ipsius promeretur expensa'
- 210 E.g. Livy, xxv, 17, 5; Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 7
- 211 E.g. Cicero, *Philip.* ix, 7
- 212 Cicero, *De leg.* ii, 24, 62: 'honoratorum virorum laudes in contione memorentur easque etiam cantus ad tibicinem prosequatur, cui nomen neniae'
- 213 E.g. the Numidian prince Syphax: Livy, xxx, 45, 4: 'conspecta tamen mors eius fuit quia publico funere elatus est'
- 214 Appian, *De bell. civ.* i, 105–6

- 215 E.g. *CIL* viii, 15880: Licinius Paternus of Sicca in Numidia
- 216 E.g. *CIL* x, 1784: Gavia Marciana of Puteoli
- 217 E.g. *CIL* xiv, 413: Lucius Cacius Reburrus of Ostia: 'L(uci)us Kacius Reburrus h(onore) u(sus) funeris [publici] impensam remisit'
- 218 Livy, *Epit.* 16: 'Decimus Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit'; Valerius Maximus, ii, 4, 7: 'nam gladiatorium munus primum Romae datum est in foro boario App. Claudio Q. Fulvio consulibus. dederunt Marcus et Decimus filii Bruti [Perae] funebri memoria patris cineres honorando'
- 219 Livy, xxiii, 30, 15: 'et Marco Aemilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorium paria duo et viginti in foro dederunt'
- 220 Livy, xxxi, 50, 4: 'et ludi funebres eo anno per quadriduum in foro mortis causa Marci Valerii Laevini a Publio et Marco filiis eius facti et munus gladiatorium datum ab iis; paria quinque et viginti pugnarunt'
- 221 Livy, xxxix, 46, 2: 'Publili Licinii funeris causa visceratio data et gladiatores centum viginti pugnaverunt et ludi funebres per triduum facti'
- 222 Livy, xli, 28, 11: 'munus gladiatorium eo anno aliquot parva alia data; unum ante cetera insigne fuit T. Flaminini quod mortis causa patris sui cum visceratione epuloque et ludis scaenicis quadriduum dedit. magni tamen muneris ea summa fuit, ut per triduum quattuor et septuaginta homines pugnarint'
- 223 Dio Cassius, xlvi, 33: *Σφαῖρον ὁ Καῖσαρ παιδαγωγόν τε καὶ ἐξελεύθερον αὐτοῦ γενόμενον δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψε*
- 224 Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 11: 'publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est'
- 225 *Ibid.*, iv, 15: 'ita quamquam novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere.' Cf. iii, 48 (AD 21): 'ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exequiis frequenturetur petivit (*sc.* Tiberius) a senatu'
- 226 *Ibid.*, vi, 27: 'mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata'
- 227 Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 47: 'funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum.' It seems probable that Virginius Rufus, who died under Nerva in AD 97, was accorded a public funeral: Pliny, *Epist.* ii, 1: 'huius viri exequiae magnum ornamentum principi . . . laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito'
- 228 Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii, 2: 'decreti et a senatu . . . Claudio censorium funus et mox consecratio'
- 229 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Severus* 7: 'funus deinde censorium Pertinacis imagini duxit'
- 230 Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 5; Suetonius, *Tib.* 7; Dio Cassius, lv, 52
- 231 Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 4, 5, From *Ann.* ii, 82 we learn that a *iustitium* (closure of the lawcourts) was decreed when the news of Germanicus' death reached Rome. Cf. Suetonius, *Gaius* 5
- 232 Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 9

- 233 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Verus* 6.
- 234 Dio Cassius, xlvii, 17: *τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος μητρὸς . . . δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ τιμηθεῖσῃς*
- 235 *Ibid.*, lviii, 2: *οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐστι τιμὴν ἄλλο τι αὐτῇ πλήν δημοσίας ἐκφορᾶς*
- 236 Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi, 6: 'ductae tamen publicae exequiae'
- 237 Dio Cassius, lviii, 28; lix, 3; Suetonius, *Tib.* 75: 'corpus . . . Roman per milites deportatum est crematumque publico funere'
- 238 Dio Cassius, lxi, 35: *ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δοσῶν ὁ Αὔγουστος*; Tacitus, *Ann.* xii, 69: 'funeris solemne perinde ac divo Augusto celebratur'; xiii, 3; Suetonius, *Claud.* 45: 'funeratus est solemni principum pompa'
- 239 *Vesp.* 19
- 240 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Marcus Antoninus Philosophus*, 7: 'Hadriani autem sepulcro corpus patris intulerunt magnifico exequiarum officio, mox iustitio secuto publice quoque funeris expeditus est ordo. et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem'
- 241 Appian, *De bell. civ.* ii, 147; Suetonius, *Iul.* 84; Dio Cassius, xliv, 35–51
- 242 Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 8, 16, 50; Suetonius, *Aug.* 100; Dio Cassius, lvi, 31, 34
- 243 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Severus*, 24; Herodian, iv, 2
- 244 H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, iii, 1936, pp. clii, clxxxvi, 364, n.\*, 549, n.\*; pl. 101, 9. Aelius Verus was never actually consecrated
- 245 *Ibid.*, iv, 1940, p. 231, no. 1429, pl. 34, 10:  $\text{AE}$
- 246 *Ibid.*, pp. 393–4, nos. 55, 56, 58, 61, pl. 54, 12–15:  $A'$ ,  $AR$ ; p. 525, no. 872, pl. 71, 8:  $\text{AE}$ ; p. 528, no. 892, pl. 72, 10:  $\text{AE}$
- 247 *Ibid.*, p. 612, no. 1360, pl. 81, 7;  $\text{AE}$
- 248 *Ibid.*, p. 487, no. 699, pl. 67, 12:  $\text{AE}$ ; p. 488, no. 703, pl. 67, 14:  $\text{AE}$
- 249 *Ibid.*, p. 693, nos. 26, 27, pl. 91, 14, 15:  $A'$ ,  $\text{AE}$ ; p. 764, nos. 399, 400, pl. 101, 10, 11:  $\text{AE}$
- 250 *Ibid.*, v, 1950, p. 120, no. 480, pl. 20, 9
- 251 *Ibid.*, p. 424, nos. 26, 27, pl. 65, 17, 18:  $A'$ ,  $AR$ ; p. 428, no. 50, pl. 66, 7:  $\text{AE}$
- 252 *Ibid.*, vi, 1962, p. 136, no. 218, pl. 8:  $\text{AE}$
- 253 E.g. Dessau, *op. cit.*, 7213, 7258, 8369, 8370, 8371, 8372, 8373, 8374; *CIL* iii, 703, 754; v, 2072; xii, 4015
- 254 *CIL* xiii, 5708. (See p. 320)
- 255 E.g. *CIL* v, 2090, 2176, 2315, 4015, 4017, 4448: in the last inscription a husband is recorded as giving a sum of money to the *collegium fabrorum* on behalf of his deceased wife and son 'ut ex usuris quodannis profusion(em) faciant et rosas ponant'
- 256 *Epit.* xxxi: 'sparge mero cineres bene olentis et unguine nardi,/hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis./perpetuum mihi ver agit inlacrimabilis urna/et commutavi saecula, non obii'

- 257 Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–80
- 258 Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Rosalia*
- 259 E.g. Dessau, *op. cit.*, 8366: 'et praeterea omnib(us) k(alendis) nonis idibus suis quib(us) mensib(us) lucerna lucens sibi ponatur incenso inposito'
- 260 See Note 253
- 261 *Fasti* ii, 533–570
- 262 *De ling. lat.* vi, 13: 'feralia ab inferis et ferendo, quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum quibus ius est parentare'
- 263 Ovid, *Fasti* v, 419–493. Ovid's assertion that the object of this ritual was the *Manes Paterni* must be wrong

## CHAPTER IV

- 264 There is an excellent sectional map of the Via Appia Antica, with the tombs marked in, in the Touring Club Italiano volume *Roma e Dintorni*
- 265 R. C. Carrington, *Pompeii*, 1936, pp. 162–3; A Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Guide-Books to the Museums and Monuments of Italy, No. 3), 1956, pp. 87–90, fig. 14
- 266 J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 1969, p. 359, fig. 15, pp. 412–13
- 267 *Sat.* i, 8, 12–13: 'This pillar marked an area of 1000 feet in frontage, 300 feet in depth: the tomb was not to pass to his heir'
- 268 Petronius, *Satyricon* 71
- 269 Isola Sacra: H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie*, 1952, no. A 19 (time of Hadrian): 'D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus) Antonius Vitalis et M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) filius Verus fecerunt sib(i) et suis libertis libertabusque posterisqu<a>e eorum quodsi quis in hoc munimentum (=monumentum) vel intra maceriam quam (=aliquam) eius post excessum M(arci) Antoni Vitalis vendere vel donare aliove genere alienare volet aut corpus ossave alienigeri nominis quam titulo s(upra) s(crito) continetur intulerit tunc poenae no[min]e in singula corpora cultoribus Larum Portus [Aug(u)] sti HS III M N h(oc) m(onumentum) h(ereditatem) e(xterum) [n(on)] s(equetur)'
- 270 Ostia: *CIL* xiv, 850: 'L(ucius) Cocceius Adiutor fecit sibi idem denuntiat ne quis velit in parte sinistriore intrantibus neque commurere (=comburere) neq(ue) obruere cadaver sin autem dabit reip(ublicae) Ostiensium HS L M N delator quartas accipiet'
- 271 H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 7602
- 272 *Ibid.*, 8174
- 273 Cf. Thylander, *op. cit.*, no. A245 (end of third century): 'D(is) M(anibus) Terentius Lucifer et Terenteae Kallotyceni et filis suis fecit siquit in (a)eo