LIVING THROUGH THE DEAD: BURIAL AND COMMEMORATION IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD, STUDIES IN FUNERARY ARCHAEOLOGY, 5. (ED. MAUREEN CARROLL, JANE REMPEL)

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Living through the Dead, Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World, knjiga izdana 2011. godine, rezultat je međunarodne konferencije o nekropolama i običajima pokapanja od antike do 17. stoljeća, koja se održala na Sveučilištu u Sheffieldu. Na 209 stranica sveukupno je objavljeno devet članaka na engleskom jeziku koji se bave širim prostorom Mediterana i Pricrnomorja. Osim radova koji su bili predstavljeni na toj konferenciji (Gray, Graham, Pearce, Russel), još niz radova napisano je izričito za ovu publikaciju (Bommas, Low, Lepetz i Van Andringa) pod uredništvom Maureen Carroll i Jane Rempel.

Prvi članak, **The power of the dead in the classical Sparta: The case of Thermopylae** autorice Polly Low raspravlja o dubokom utisku koji je bitka kod Termopila ostavila na spartansko društvo i o načinu na koji se obilježila u spomenutoj zajednici. Autorica zamjećuje kako je komemoracija ove bitke nespecifična za spartansku kulturu, osobito jer su se pojedinci častili izdvojeno iz kolektiva, što bi moglo ukazivati na promjene u pogrebnim običajima, ali i u cjelokupnom društvu. Spartanci poginuli u spomenutoj bitci prvotno su bili pokopani na mjestu njihove pogibije, no autorica smatra da se ubrzo pojavilo drugačije ophođenje prema njima, što je rezultiralo premještanjem njihovih ostataka. Tu tezu autorica potkrepljuje i citatima Herodota, Simonida i Pauzanije, a navodeći okolnosti u kojima je Herodot mogao pribaviti imena svih Spartanaca poginulih kod Termopila, zaključuje da su najvjerojatnije ona ili bila zapisana na

Living through the Dead, Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World, book published in 2011, is the result of international conference regarding the necropolises and burial customs from Antiquity to the seventeenth century, which took place at the University of Sheffield. Nine articles on 209 pages dealing with the wider territory of Mediterranean and Black Sea were published in English language. Apart from the reports which were presented during that conference (Gray, Graham, Pearce, Russel), a number of articles were written specifically for this publication (Bommas, Low, Lepetz and Van Andringa) under the editorship of Maureen Carroll and Jane Rempel.

The first article, **The power of the dead in the classical Sparta: The case of Thermopylae** written by Polly Low, discusses the deep impression the battle of Thermopylae left on the Spartan society and the way it was commemorated in the aforementioned community. The author notes that the commemoration of this battle was unusual for Spartan culture, particularly because individuals were honoured separately from the collective, which would indicate change both in the funerary customs, and in the society as a whole. Spartans killed in this battle were originally buried at the place of their demise, but the author argues that the dead were subsequently treated differently, which resulted in the displacement of their remains. This hypothesis is attested by the quotes from Herodotus, Simonides and Pausanias, on the basis of which the author concludes Herodotus could have acquired the names of all Spartans killed

steli na vidljivom mjestu u Sparti ili su postala dio usmene tradicije. Unatoč nepodudarnostima u Pauzanijinom tekstu oko datacije i osobe zaslužne za prijenos Leonidinih kostiju u novu grobnicu, P. Low smatra da se iz njegovog navoda može iščitati specijalna počast koja se odavala poginulom spartanskom vojskovođi, koji je i samim smještajem u središtu Sparte bio uzdignut iznad običnog ratnog heroja. U članku se također raspravlja o kontekstu ovog komemorativnog prostora u civilnom i religijskom središtu zajednice i o tome kako se njegova izgradnja odrazila na svakodnevni život, te se zaključuje da su spomenici termopilskoj bitci imali više uloga: kako bi komemorirali i slavili uspjehe pojedinaca, ukazali na njihovu važnost u životu Sparte uzdižući ih u pojedinim slučajevima u rang heroiziranih zaštitnika grada, ali i u kontekstu drugih spomenika evocirali slike Sparte kao vojničke i političke velesile Grčke.

Literarnih i arheoloških podataka za ovakvo viđenje spartanskog društva i komemoracije ima iznimno malo, što i autorica napominje u više navrata, a i samo razmatranje etičkih, vjerskih i socijalnih smjernica spartanskog društva vrlo je nezahvalan posao. Unatoč tome, autorica je predstavila više vrijednih opservacija povezujući dostupne izvore i nalaze kako bi ukazala na moguće promjene u spartanskom društvu i običajima pokapanja nakon presudnih bitaka s Perzijancima.

U drugom članku, **Burial in the Bosporan kingdom: Local traditions in regional context(s)**, Jane Rempel raspravlja o monumentalnim tumulima s kamenim grobnim prostorijama koji su karakterizirali pokope Spartokida. Takve monumentalne grobnice pripisivane su gotovo isključivo vladarima, a autorica kreće upravo od tih pretpostavki kako bi ukazala na kompleksne načine pokopa u Bosporskom kraljevstvu u 4. i 3. st. pr. Krista. Prostor koji je ovo kraljevstvo obuhvaćalo protezalo se oko Crnog i Azovskog mora, dok je njegova vladajuća elita, otvorena stranim utjecajima, egzistirala na granici s grčkim svijetom i u dodiru s različitim političkim prostorima i kulturama (obala Crnog mora i grčke kolonije, egejsko-grčki svijet, skitske stepe, trački Balkan i Perzijsko carstvo). Mješavina tih utjecaja može se iščitati i iz pogrebnih običaja koji su, kao izravni rezultat svjesnih odluka pojedinaca, simbolizirali i indicirali promjene u socijalnim i kulturnim identitetima. U članku se raspravlja o prilozima koji se javljaju u različitim grobnicama kao i o konstrukcijama i unutrašnjem rasporedu prostorija prilikom čega je

at Thermopylae either if they were inscribed on stele in distinguished place in Sparta or if they became a part of the oral tradition. Despite some discrepancies in Pausanias' text regarding the person responsible for the transfer of Leonidas' bones in the new tomb and the year this happened, P. Low argues Pausanias' text supports the idea that a special tribute was given to the deceased Spartan leader, who was elevated above the rank of a war hero. The author also considers a particular meaning this commemorative space had in the civilian and religious centre of the community as well as the impact its construction had on the everyday life, finally concluding that the monuments commemorating the battle of Thermopylae had several functions: to commemorate and celebrate the achievements of individuals, to emphasize their importance in Spartan life elevating them in certain cases to the level of hero protectors of the city and in the context of other monuments to evoke images of Sparta's military and political force in Greece.

Literary and archaeological evidence for such an insight into Spartan society and commemoration is scarce, which is also mentioned on several occasions by the author, and the ethical, religious and social background of Spartan society is generally extremely difficult to consider. Nevertheless, the author presented several valuable observations connecting the available sources and finds in order to draw attention to possible changes in the Spartan society and their burial practices after the crucial battles with the Persians.

In the second paper, **Burial in the Bosporan kingdom: Local traditions in regional context(s),** Jane Rempel analyses the monumental burial mounds with stone-built chambers, which were characteristic for Spartokids. Author presents the complexity of the burial in the Bosporian kingdom in the 4th and 3rd century BC though the prism of such monumental tombs, which are attributed almost exclusively to the ruler class. This kingdom encompassed wide territory from Black Sea to Sea of Azov, while its leading elite, open to foreign influences, existed on the border with the Greek world and in touch with different cultures and political establishments (the Black Sea coast and Greek colonies, the Aegean Greek world, the Scythian steppe, the Thracian Balkans and Persian Empire). The mixture of these influences can also be read from the funerary customs which were, as a direct result of personal decisions of individuals, symbols and indicators of change within social and cultural identities. In the analysis of grave goods found within different tombs as well as constructions and arrangements of chambers,

istaknuto da izgradnja ovako velebnih tumula nije bila izričita privilegija spartokidske vladajuće klase nego da se javlja i u skitskim i sindskim elitama. Autorica raspravlja o mogućim izvorima te nove tradicije i zaključuje kako trački, bosporski i skitski tumuli, iako predstavljaju kulturno različite tradicije, u osnovi iskazuju i mnoge sličnosti koje bi ukazivale na međuregionalnu razmjenu ideja i interakciju među elitama. Također, lokalni utjecaj vidljiv je i u nekropolama grčkih kolonija osobito kroz obilnije prilaganje skupocjenih predmeta uz pokojnike, što bi odražavalo blagostanje tog razdoblja, ali i promjene pogrebnih običaja u kontekstu pojave monumentalnih tumula. Razmatrajući razvoj običaja pokapanja na širem teritoriju bosporskog kraljevstva, J. Rempel zaključuje kako su pokopi u tumulima bili tradicija na području Pricrnomorja kroz brončano i željezno doba pa su stvaranjem homogenog kraljevstva Spartokidi odlučili nastaviti tu tradiciju pokapanja naglašavajući tako svoju moć i vladarsko pravo. U članku je više puta naglašeno da su ovi tumuli, uključujući i priloge u njima, bili oznake statusa, a ne etničke pripadnosti, jer su elite razvijale vlastiti ikonografski i stilski sustav koji je odražavao bogatstvo i isticao uključivanje višeg staleža u kontekst elita na širem interregionalnom području.

Zaključno se može reći da je autorica u ovom tekstu sustavno obradila najvažnija arheološka nalazišta i smjestila ih u kontekst širih promjena i interakcija razmatrajući topografske karakteristike prostora. Iako se u tekstu povremeno gubi fokus spomenutog nabrajanja, u završnim mislima J. Rempel vrlo uspješno rezimira svoje hipoteze zaključujući da su običaji pokapanja u Bosporskom kraljevstvu bili raznoliki s nizom međuregionalnih poveznica i utjecaja, ali su se u lokalnom kontekstu preobrazili u monumentalne tumule koji su odražavali moć i blagostanje elite Bosporskog kraljevstva.

Treći članak, **Foreigners in the burial ground: The case of the Milesians in Athens**, autorice Celine L. Gray, raspravlja o istaknutom broju Milećana zabilježenih na atenskim epigrafskim natpisima. Imena pojedinaca koji su navodili svoju pripadnost gradu Miletu u Maloj Aziji pretežito se nalaze na popisima sudionika kasno helenističke i rimske *ephebeiae*, institucije koja je educirala atensku mladež, kao i na nadgrobnim spomenicima tog perioda. U ovom se članku autorica osobito koncentrirala na nadgrobne spomenike koji spominju Milećane, raspravljajući o mogućim razlozima takve brojnosti, o vjerodostojnosti tih natpisa, kao i

emphasis is placed on the fact that the construction of these monumental mounds was not the exclusive privilege of Spartokid elite but is also found in Scythian and Sindian elite groups. The author analyses the possible sources of this tradition and concludes that Tracian, Bosporan and Scythian burial mounds, although representing culturally different traditions, in their essence contain many similarities, which would indicate interaction between elites and a wide interregional exchange of ideas. Furthermore, local influence is evident in necropolises of Greek colonies, especially in lavish grave goods, which would reflect the prosperity of the period, but would also indicate change in their burial customs under the influence of new burial mounds. Considering the evolution of burial customs on the wider territory of the Bosporan kingdom, J. Rempel concludes that the mound burials were the tradition in the Black Sea area throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages and, with the rise of unified kingdom, Spartokids chose that tradition in order to accentuate their power and prestige. The thesis that these burial mounds and grave goods were expressions of status and not ethnicity, especially as elites developed their own ichnographic and stylistic systems, which reflected wealth and indicated their inclusion in the wider interregional context of elites, is emphasised on several occasions in the article.

In conclusion, the author systematically presented the most important archaeological sites and placed them in the wider context of interaction and change, taking into consideration the topographic characteristics of the territory. Although the function of enumeration of some sites is sometimes questionable, in the final thoughts J. Rempel successfully summarises her hypotheses concluding that the burial customs in Bosporan kingdom, which were diverse and under interregional influences, were interpreted in the local context into the monumental burial mounds which reflected the power and prosperity of Bosporan kingdom elites.

The third article, **Foreigners in the burial ground: The case of the Milesians in Athens,** by Celine L. Gray debates the prominent number of Milesians documented in the Athenian epigraphic monuments. The names of the individuals who emphasized their affiliation with the settlement of Miletos in Asia Minor are usually found in the lists of participants in the late Hellenistic and Roman *ephebeiae*, institution which educated Athenian youth, and on the grave monuments of that period. In this article, the author primarily focuses her attention on the tombstones

o stvarnoj potrebi isticanja te pripadnosti. Navodi imena Milesios ili Milesia su osobito značajni, jer se u Ateni u 5. st. pr. Kr., nakon desetljeća širenja svoje građanske baze, uvodi strog zakon koji je ograničavao građansko pravo, a koji je naknadno dodatno postrožen čineći tako brak osobe s građanskim pravom s osobom bez tog statusa nelegalnim i to pod prijetnjom novčane kazne, konfisciranja imovine i prodaje u ropstvo. Iako se s takvim ograničenjima stvarao izrazit jaz među društvenim grupama, nekropole su manje reflektirale te razlike, a također je, krajem 2. st. pr. Kr., mladićima iz negrađanskih obitelji pružena mogućnost pristupanja atenskoj instituciji *ephebeiae*. Autorica navodi kako je spomenuta institucija bila gotovo sinonim za atensko građanstvo, što bi ukazivalo na promjene u samom društvu pa bi stoga motivacija za pristupanje, osim prestiža, moglo biti i dobivanje građanstva nakon ispunjavanja određenih normi. Autorica na kraju zaključuje da su Milećani, iako se pripadnici te grupe nisu koherentno držali ujednačenog tipa nadgrobnog spomenika, niti su financijski bili u istom rangu, svojevoljno naglašavali svoju pripadnost zajednici, koja je kroz zakone bila uskraćena za građanstvo, kako bi istakli svoju povezanost s većim kolektivom.

Iako je sama motivacija za navođenje pripadnosti na spomenicima mogla biti jače naglašena, članak je napisan vrlo pitko i sustavno te ukazuje na promjene u atenskom društvu kroz jednu manju populaciju koja je igrala važnu ulogu u samom polisu.

U članku *Memoria* and *Damnatio Memoriae*. **Preserving and erasing identities in Roman funerary commemoration,** Maureen Carroll postavlja pitanje što se događalo sa sjećanjem na mrtve kada bi njihovi nadgrobni spomenici bili zanemareni, vandalizirani ili reupotrebljeni, a njihovi tekstovi i portreti namjerno izbrisani. Uz polagano nestajanje i zaborav, autorica raspravlja o *damnatio memoriae*, puno agresivnijem obliku brisanja pokojnika iz sjećanja, koji se javljao u više razdoblja i oblika; od Domicijana i Gete, čija su imena izbrisana s javnih spomenika, preko nadgrobnih spomenika s radiranim imenima članova obitelji, ponekad popraćenim i sa *stigmata aeterna*, do spomenika gdje je uništeni natpis ponovno iskorišten. Autorica se osvrnula i na razmjer reupotrebe nadgrobnih spomenika, zaključujući da takvi postupci (npr. korištenje starog spomenika za izgradnju druge grobnice, za novi nadgrobni natpis ili čak za popločenje cesta) u osnovi nisu bili zlonamjeran pokušaj brisanja po-

that mention Milesians, while considering the possible reasons for such quantity of inscriptions, their authenticity, and actual purpose of stating that affiliation. Inscriptions with names *Milesios* or *Milesia* are of great importance because in the 5th century BC, after decades of growth in the citizen body, a strict law was passed which restricted the possibility to acquire the citizenship; it became more restricting in the following decades making the intermarriage illegal under the threat of severe fines, confiscation of property and even slavery. Although such restrictions created distinctive gap among social groups, necropolises reflected such differences to a lesser degree; also, at the end of the 2nd century BC, youth from foreign families was given the opportunity to join the Athenian institution of *ephebeiae*. The author states that the aforementioned institution was almost a synonym for Athenian citizenship; therefore perhaps the motivation for the enrolment in *ephebeiae* was, apart from the prestige, to gain citizenship through successful completion of the programme, all of which would indicate a significant change in the Athenian society. The author in the end concludes that, although Milesians did not use the same type of funerary monument nor did they all belong to the same financial rank, they willingly emphasized their affiliation with the community that was denied the citizenship in order to connect with a larger collective.

Although the motivation behind such inscriptions should have been emphasized more, the article is articulate and systematic in the analysis of the changes in the Athenian society, which were particularly reflected in the small but important group of people within the polis.

In the paper *Memoria* and *Damnatio Memoriae*. **Preserving and erasing identities in Roman funerary commemoration,** Maureen Carroll asks a tantalising question, what happens with the memory of the dead when their tombstones are neglected, vandalised or re-used, and their texts and portraits deliberately erased. Along with the slow decay and oblivion, the author also considers *damnatio memoriae*, a far more aggressive form of erasing the memory of the deceased, which appeared during different periods and in different forms; from Domitian and Geta, whose names were erased from public monuments, through tombstones with carved-out names of family members, sometimes accompanied with *stigmata aeterna*, to the monuments that had the erased space reused for another inscription. The extent of reuse of sepulchral monuments is considered as well, and the author concludes that such actions (e.g. old mon-

jedinca iz kolektivnog sjećanja nego više korištenje starog materijala za trenutačne potrebe. Kao završnu riječ M. Carroll navodi da su bilježenje imena na nadgrobnim natpisima i portretni prikazi služili kako bi produžili egzistenciju pokojnika dok je uništavanjem i zanemarivanjem tih spomenika taj pokojnik bio uklonjen iz kolektivnog sjećanja i socijalnog konteksta.

Autorica u ovom članku kroz detaljne primjere i opsežne fotografske materijale daje interesantan i nadasve živopisan uvid u život i skandale određenih obitelji. Raspredajući o nevjernoj ženi koju suprug proklinje na nadgrobnom spomeniku njihovog djeteta, o promjenama supružnika ili o sukobu oko većih komada zemljišta, M. Carroll oslikava djelić turbulentne svakodnevnice, koja je doista u trenucima izgledala kao napeti triler. Ipak, s obzirom da se grobovi nisu smjeli uništavati nakon pokopa pokojnika, pojedinci čije je ime uništeno u tom trenu bili su još živi, što bi zapravo značilo da se brisanjem njihovog imena s tog spomenika nije automatski negiralo njihovo postojanje u kolektivnom sjećanju, kao što autorica tvrdi, nego je taj pojedinac teoretski mogao organizirati drugi grob na drugom mjestu i s drugim nadgrobnim spomenikom, osiguravajući tako ipak kontinuitet egzistencije.

Emma-Jayne Graham se u članku **From fragments to ancestors: Re-defining the role of *os resectum* in rituals of purification and commemoration in Republican Rome** bavi pravim značenjem rituala *os resectum*. S obzirom da je u izvorima taj običaj poprilično opskurno i neujednačeno opisan (spominju ga Ciceron, Varon i Fest), njegov pravi smisao u modernoj literaturi različito se interpretirao. Jedna od teorija predstavljala je *os resectum* kao dio rituala koji je omogućavao pokojniku da primi odgovarajući religijski pokop i sukladno tome bude u miru, prema drugoj je teoriji *os resectum* omogućavala da grob dobije status svetog mjesta (*locus religiosus*) dok su pak neki autori smatrali da je ovaj običaj rezerviran samo za elite koje su imale pravo pokopa unutar grada ili za vojnike koji su poginuli van svog rodnog mjesta. Autorica naglašava kako je šire prihvaćena teorija da je *os resectum* služila kao jamac pokopa prilikom svake smrti, ali da arheološki nalazi teško mogu potvrditi ijednu od navedenih hipoteza. U članku se navode i nalazi otkriveni u blizini crkve San Cesareo uz cestu Via Appia gdje je otkriveno mnoštvo keramičkih posudica, od kojih su mnoge imale urezana imena i datum, dok su u njima

uments reused for new tombstones or in the construction of a second tomb, or even as pavement) in essence were not malicious attempts to erase an individual from the collective memory, but were more a case of using old material for current needs. In the concluding thoughts M. Carroll states that names inscribed on the sepulchral monuments and portraits were used to prolong the existence of the deceased while the destruction and neglect of these monuments removed the deceased from the collective memory and social context.

The author, through detailed examples and extensive photographic material, gives an interesting and quite lively insight into the life and scandals of certain families. Elaborating several stories, like the one about the unfaithful wife who is cursed by her husband on the grave stone of their child, or stories dealing with the remarriages and land disputes, M. Carroll presents a part of the turbulent Roman life, which at times resembled an actual drama. However, taking into account that it was forbidden to destroy graves after the deceased was interred, individuals whose names were destroyed were most likely alive, which would actually mean that, with the negation of their name on that monument, their existence was not automatically erased from the collective memory, as author claims, but the individual was still able to organise another grave in another spot with another sepulchral inscription, securing thus the continuity of existence.

Emma-Jayne Graham in her paper, **From fragments to ancestors: Re-defining the role of *os resectum* in rituals of purification and commemoration in Republican Rome,** deals with the true meaning of the *os resectum* ritual. Considering that this custom is rudimentarily and inconsistently described in ancient sources (mentioned by Cicero, Varro and Festus), its significance was differently interpreted in modern scientific literature. One of the theories interpreted *os resectum* as being a part of the ritual which enabled the deceased to receive proper religious burial and accordingly rest in peace, according to another theory *os resectum* allowed the grave to receive the legal status of inviolable place (*locus religiosus),* while some authors thought this custom was reserved only for elites who had the right of burial within the settlement or for soldiers killed in distant lands. The author also emphasizes that the widely accepted theory interprets *os resectum* as means by which proper burial was ensured for any death; however archaeological finds can hardly support any of the aforementioned theories. Small ceramic vessels with inscribed names and dates

bili pohranjeni manji ulomci spaljenih kostiju za koje su mnogi smatrali da su nepobitni dokaz *os resectuma*. Autorica pobija teoriju da su to ostatci vojnika ili putnika koji su umrli na stranom tlu, navodeći da se među imenima javljaju žene i oslobođenici kao i sloj ljudi koji nije bio sklon niti u mogućnosti putovati u daleke krajeve, a problematično je i to što većina spomenutih pokojnika, s obzirom da su pokopani na istom mjestu, nije bila obiteljski povezana. Graham stoga daje svoju interpretaciju običaja gdje navodi da je *os resectum* bila korištena prilikom rituala očišćenja (*suffitio*) kako bi se pokojniku omogućio prijelaz iz jednog oblika postojanja u drugo, ali je također bila i sredstvo prisjećanja na pokojnika. S obzirom da je u rimskom svijetu kontakt s pokojnikom smatran onečišćenjem, nakon pogreba je bilo potrebno izvršiti više obreda purifikacije, od kojih su neki zahtijevali korištenje vatre ili vode, a upravo su ti rituali imali svrhu potaknuti sjećanje na pokojnika i na sve časne pretke kao i omogućiti prijelaz pokojnika u zagrobni svijet i osigurati nesmetani nastavak života ostatka obitelji.

Ovaj članak napisan je iznimno sustavno i temeljito obrađuje antičke izvore, ali ih kritički i promatra. Osim toga, autorica navodi najnovije spoznaje i donosi svoje interpretacije ističući značenje ovog rituala u procesu očišćenja pojedinca kao i pri prijelazu pokojnika iz jedne sfere postojanja u drugu. Osobito je interesantno zamijetiti teoriju koju je autorica iznijela da je moguće identificirati postojanje *os resectuma* prema pretpostavljenoj temperaturi na kojoj je gorjela određena kost. Nažalost, istraživanja kojima je potkrijepila svoje tvrdnje, osobito nedavna istraživanja provedena u Engleskoj, nisu još završena tako da su podaci nepotpuni. S obzirom da se ovaj običaj nije pretjerano detaljno razmatrao u ranijim arheološkim istraživanjima, iako mu se u novijim raspravama pridaje veća važnost, autorica je s pravom i iznimno koherentno ukazala na problematiku koja se vrlo često uzima zdravo za gotovo bez dubljeg razmatranja pravog značenja tog rituala.

Publius Vesonius Phileros vivos monumentum fecit: **Investigations in sector of the Porta Nocera cemetery in Roman Pompeii,** članak više autora (Sébastien Lepetz i William Van Andringa, Henri Duday, Dominique Joly, Claude Malagoli, Véronique Matterne i Marie Tuffreau-Libre) kroz kratki pregled povijesti nekropole Porta Nocera u Pompejima i kroz prikaz kompleksnog groba tipa *aedicula* s tri portretne statue, predstavlja inter-

containing fragments of burnt bones, which were discovered near the church of San Cesareo on the Via Appia, were considered to be a convincing evidence of *os resectum*. Author dismisses the theory which interprets these bones to be the remains of soldiers or travellers who died abroad, pointing out that the inscribed names often mention women or freedmen as well as other individuals highly unlikely to travel to far away territories; also, another problem is that a number of deceased, although they were buried in the same area, had no direct family ties. Therefore, Graham gives her interpretation of the ritual theorising that *os resectum* was used during the cleansing ceremony (*suffitio*) in order to enable the transition of the deceased from one form of existence into another, but it was also used to facilitate the commemoration the dead. Considering that the contact with the corps was regarded to be impure, after the burial a number of purification rituals, some of which included the use of fire or water, were necessary to cleanse the living, and these ceremonies also motivated the remembrance of the deceased and all honoured ancestors, facilitated the transition of the deceased to the afterlife and ensured the normal continuation of existence for the rest of the family.

The topic in this article is systematically and thoroughly analysed with critical insight into the ancient sources. Furthermore, the author specifies recent scientific discoveries and brings her interpretation of this ritual, emphasizing its importance in the cleansing ceremony and in the transition of the deceased from one state of existence to another. The most intriguing theory presented by the author is the possibility of identification of *os resectum* according to the presumed temperature of the fire. Unfortunately, the analyses used to substantiate the idea, especially those conducted in England, are yet to be finalised and as a result the data is incomplete. Taking into consideration that this custom was not thoroughly analysed in older archaeological excavations, although more recent studies rectify this, the author comprehensibly and articulately analyses the subject, which is often taken for granted without deeper understanding of ritual's actual purpose.

Publius Vesonius Phileros vivos monumentum fecit: **Investigations in sector of the Porta Nocera cemetery in Roman Pompeii,** paper written by several authors (Sébastien Lepetz i William Van Andringa, Henri Duday, Dominique Joly, Claude Malagoli, Véronique Matterne and Marie Tuffreau-Libre) gives a short overview of the Porta Nocera necropolis in Pompeii; also the interdisciplinary project concentrating on

disciplinarni projekt proučavanja rimskih običaja pokapanja u 1. stoljeću. Edikula ima dva natpisa, i dok se na prvom spominju *Publius Vesonius Philerus*, oslobođenik i član Augustala, njegova patrona *Vesonia Publii filia* i njegov prijatelj *Marcus Orfellius Faustus,* na drugom natpisu, koji je zapravo naknadno dodana *tabella defixionis*, vlasnik parcele raskida sve veze i proklinje prijatelja, vjerojatno M. Orfelija Fausta, jer ga je ovaj nepravedno optužio na sudu. Natpis kao i sam položaj groba (u blizini gradskih vrata, među istaknutim obiteljima Pompeja) pokazatelj je položaja u društvu i samog bogatstva koje je posjedovao ovaj oslobođenik, dok se kroz razmještaj statua na spomeniku kao i grobova unutar grobne parcele može razlučiti poštivanje socijalne hijerarhije s patronom kao središnjim likom. Prilikom arheoloških istraživanja autori su uspješno identificirali grobno mjesto M. Orfelija Fausta, koje, s obzirom na to da je spomenuta osoba vjerojatno bila još živa, nije smatrano za *locus religiosus* i sukladno tome je *P. Vesonius Philerus* mogao uništiti već pripremljenu stelu, urnu i izljev za libacije i proširiti svoj grob na njegovo grobno mjesto. U članku se materijalu pristupa interdisciplinarno pa su prisutne analize spaljenih keramičkih ulomaka pronađenih oko ustrinuma, a analiziraju se i ulomci životinjskih kosti, potencijalnih ostataka objeda podijeljenog s pokojnicima. Rezimirajući sve navedene podatke predstavljena je okvirna rekonstrukcija pogrebnih rituala koji su se odvijali na ovoj grobnoj parceli, na kojoj je pronađeno više od 30 grobova pokapanih kroz razdoblje manje od 100 godina.

Osim male zamjerke naspram nepotrebno dugog uvoda koji općenito obrađuje pokapanje kod Rimljana, ovaj je članak kroz analizu nalaza jedne grobne parcele impresivno prikazao svu složenost istraživanja nekropola i pogrebnih običaja, od spaljivanja pokojnika na lomači preko pokapanja njihovih ostataka i održavanja pogrebnih gozbi do postavljanja nadgrobnog spomenika koji je trebao zabilježiti ime pokojnika za vječnost. Materijal predstavljen u ovom članku, očuvanost lokaliteta i sama metodologija rada je na zavidnoj razini, pa su stoga i rezultati istraživanja cjeloviti, informativni i inovativni. Kroz precizno sakupljene organske ostatke autori su uspješno iznijeli više zaključaka o prisutnosti i upotrebi životinjskih ostataka u pogrebnim običajima, gozbama ili pogrebnim lomačama. Činjenica da su uspjeli s toliko detalja prikazati grobnu parcelu jedne obitelji i uhvatiti rodbinske odnose među samim grobovima u najmanju je ruku fascinantna, a kroz priču o vlasniku

research of Roman funerary customs in 1st century AD was presented through the analysis of the complex *aedicula* type tomb with three portrait statues found at this necropolis. *Aedicula* has two inscriptions, and while the first one mentions *Publius Vesonius Philerus,* freedman and a member of *Augustales*, his matron *Vesonia Publii filia* and his friend *Marcus Orfellius Faustus*, on the second inscription, which is actually subsequently added *tabella defixionis*, the owner of the property severs all ties and curses his friend, probably *Marcus Orfellius Faustus*, because he falsely accused him at court. The inscription and the location of the tomb (near the city gates, among the prominent families of Pompeii) are clear indicators of the status in society and the wealth this freedman had, while the arrangement of statues on the monument as well as graves within the funerary plot show the respect given to the social hierarchy with the patroness as a central figure. During the archaeological excavations authors successfully identified the grave of *Marcus Orfellius Faustus,* which was not considered to be *locus religiosus*, because the person in question was most likely still alive, and accordingly *P. Vesonius Philerus* was able to destroy the already prepared *stele*, urn and libation pipe, and expand his grave to the grave of his former friend. Interdisciplinary approach to archaeological finds is particularly useful in the analysis of burnt ceramic fragments found surrounding the *ustrinum*, and in the study of animal remains, potential leftovers of funerary feasts. In the concluding arguments the authors presented the ideal reconstruction of funerary rituals taking place at this burial plot, which contained over 30 graves buried in less than 100 years.

Apart from small objection regarding the unnecessarily long introduction dealing with common Roman burial customs, this article, through the analysis of one burial plot, has impressively demonstrated the complex approaches needed to explore necropolises and burial customs; from incineration of the deceased on the funerary pyre, through the burial of their remains and funerary feasts, to the erection of sepulchral monuments meant to preserve the memory of the deceased for all eternity. The archaeological finds presented in this article, the preservation of the site and the methodology of the research are all on the enviable level, and therefore the results of the study are well rounded, informative and innovative. Through the meticulously collected organic remains authors were successful in presenting several conclusions regarding the quantity and use of animals in the funerary customs, feasts and pyres. The successful reconstruction of burials and connec-

parcele i njegovom odnosu s patronom i prevrtlji- vim prijateljem pružen je uvid u rimsku svakodnev- nicu. Ovakvi rezultati pokazuju smjer u kojem bi se arheologija i dalje trebala razvijati, kroz preciznu metodologiju i interdisciplinarnost.

John Pearce autor je sljedećeg članka, **Marking the Dead: Tombs and Topography in the Roman Pro- vinces,** u kojem raspravlja o prostornoj organizaciji grobova i u kojoj mjeri takav raspored može dati uvid u pogrebne rituale i samo društveno uređenje izvan granica velikih gradova. Autor smatra da su se na području provincija znanstvenici više kon- centrirali na definiranje „domorodačkog“, „rim- skog“ i „provincijalnog“ nego na podatke koje su ti grobovi mogli dati o samoj strukturi društva. Autor također navodi zanimljivu postavku da su monumentalne *Gräberstraßen* ključne komponen- te ideološki snažno nabijenog utiska koje je urbano društvo iskazivalo kroz svoje građevine, što autor naziva *townscape*. U članku se pokušava dokazati da distribucija spomenika i grobova, njihov odnos s različitim tipovima naselja i smještaj u prostoru daje snažan uvid u samo društvo i sociopolitičku strukturu provincijskih zajednica što je i argumen- tirano na primjeru Britanije. Istaknuto je kako kontekst nalaza i očuvanost grobnih cjelina utječe na formiranje cjelovitih zaključaka, pa se stoga i sama pitanja i hipoteze moraju formirati sukladno području koje se istražuje, osobito zbog izrazitih razlika između provincija i prostora centralne Ita- lije. Na primjeru arheoloških istraživanja na širem području municipija Verulamiuma, gdje je utvrđen kontinuitet pokapanja od željeznog doba do kasne antike, autor definira distribuciju nekropola u od- nosu na njihovu tipologiju, dugotrajnost i smještaj u prostoru, kao i odnos nekropola i različitih tipo- va grobnih struktura s pripadajućim naseljem.

Autor je u ovom članku iznio niz vrijednih za- mjerki i opservacija, osobito o nekropolama koje su se protezale uz manja naselja, a predočio je i više primjera grobnih konstrukcija u provincijama kako bi analizirao odnos grobova, grobnica i na- selja u širem prostornom kontekstu. Ipak bi se po- daci koje je naveo u ovom članku trebali detaljnije testirati kroz primjenu GIS-a, koji bi dao dodatnu težinu i potkrjepu navedenim tvrdnjama, osobito jer je argumentacija u određenim dijelovima teksta sumarna i općenita.

tions between graves in one distinctive burial plot is quite fascinating and the story revolving around the owner, his patroness and the relationship with his fickle friend gave us an insight into the Roman way of life. These results show the direction in whi- ch archaeology should keep on developing, through interdisciplinary approach and precise methodology.

John Pearce is the author of the next article, **Marking the Dead: Tombs and Topography in the Roman Pro- vinces,** in which he discusses the special organisation of graves and how such approach can give insight into the burial rituals and the social organisation in areas further away from big cities. The author argues that scientists have been concentrating more on de- fining "indigenous", "Roman" and "provincial Ro- man" in the territory of provinces than on data graves provide on the actual structure of the society. He also claims that *Gräberstraßen* were key components of ideologically filled impression of an urban society, named *townscape* according to the author, which was manifested in the construction of monumental build- ings. The distribution of monuments and graves, their connections with different types of settlements and placement in a certain area are thought to have given insight into the society itself and the socio-political structure of provincial communities, which is present- ed on the example of England. The author emphasiz- es the importance of preservation of grave unity and context of finds while forming conclusions; therefore the questions and hypotheses must be constructed strictly for the analysed area, especially due to the ex- tensive differences between provinces and central Ital- ian territory. The *municipium* of Verulamium, with a continuity of burial from Iron Age to late Antiquity, has been given as an example on which the author defines the distribution of necropolises according to their typology, longevity and location, and presents the interconnections between various necropolises, monuments and pertaining settlements.

The author presented a number of valuable opini- ons and observations, especially regarding the necro- polises pertaining to the smaller settlements, and he also offered several examples of burial monuments in provinces in order to analyse the interconnecti- ons between graves, tombs and settlements in wider context. However, this data should be further tested through the application of GIS, which would additi- onally support the stated theories, especially because the argumentation was sometimes brief and general.

U predzadnjem članku, **The mechanics of social connections between the living and the dead in ancient Egypt,** Martin Bommas kronološkim redom slijedi razvoj egipatske pogrebne kulture, naziv na kojem sam autor inzistira, izdvajajući mit o Ozirisu i koncept božice Ma'at, personifikacije harmonije, pravde i istine, koji su omogućavali pojedincima da kroz niz ritualnih procedura lakše priječu u zagrobni život; taj pristup je na taj način utjecao i na žive i na mrtve. Važno je napomenuti da pokojnici u tom kontekstu zapravo nisu smatrani mrtvima niti se fizička smrt smatrala strašnom, već je mogućnost druge smrti, one u zagrobnom životu, zabrinjavala Egipćane. Razvitak misli o reciprocitetu i međusobnoj povezanosti živih i mrtvih osobito se razvija u Srednjem kraljevstvu, a prema autoru je samo poštivanje principa božice Ma'at moglo osigurati bezbrižni zagrobni život. Autor smatra da se isti princip nastavlja i u sljedećim razdobljima, navodeći kao primjer pojavu statua „zagovornika" i svetkovina na tebanskoj nekropoli. Tijekom Kasnog razdoblja i Grčko-rimske dominacije razvija se ideja božanske prisutnosti prilikom pokopa, a u rimskom su se razdoblju mumificirani pokojnici često dugotrajno izlagali u banketnim prostorijama u grobnoj kući. Autor na kraju zaključuje kako Egipćani ne samo da su živjeli s mrtvima nego su ih u toj mjeri uključivali u svakodnevni život da je interakcija i život jednih bez drugih bio nemoguć, a sve to zahvaljujući egipatskim bogovima koji su nadzirali balans između ova dva svijeta.

Iako se u članku obrađuje vrlo opširna i kompleksna tema tako da je većina pitanja, najviše zbog ograničenog prostora, obrađena sumarno, zaključno se može reći da je autor uspio sintetski prikazati razvoj pogrebnih običaja u Egiptu kao i razlike i sličnosti koje su se mogle zapaziti između svih važnijih razdoblja, predstavljajući istovremeno ideju božice Ma'at kao poveznicu i način da se ostvari miran zagrobni život i dostigne status čašćenog pretka.

Zadnji članak, **Innocent X, Pontifex Optimus Maximus, and the church of Sant' Agnese: A mausoleum for the Pamphilj „forum",** autorice Susan Russell odvodi čitatelja u recentnija vremena 16. i 17. stoljeća obrađujući izgradnju crkve Svete Agneze i političke poruke koje je obitelj Pamphilj pokušavala poslati svojom graditeljskom djelatnošću. Autorica je u ovom članku pokušala dokazati da je posljednje počivalište pape Inocenta X, crkva Sv. Agneze na trgu Piazza Navona, po funkciji i obliku sastavni dio političke kampanje

In penultimate article **The mechanics of social connections between the living and the dead in ancient Egypt,** Martin Bommas follows in chronological order the development of Egyptian funerary culture, the term on which the author insists, pointing out the myth of Osiris and concept of goddess Ma'at, personification of harmony, justice and truth who could ease the transition into the afterlife for the one who conducted a series of ritual procedures; this approach ultimately influenced both the living and the dead. The deceased in this context was not considered dead nor was the physical death something to be anxious about; however the possibility of second death, the one in the afterlife, worried ancient Egyptians. The ideas about reciprocity and connectivity between the living and the dead are particularly prominent during the Middle Kingdom and, according to the author, only by following the concept of goddess Ma'at was peaceful afterlife considered achievable. That principle is thought to have developed further during the following historical periods, which is attested by the use of intermediary statues and feasts within the Theban necropolis. The idea of divine presence during the burial is present throughout the Late Period and the Graeco-Roman Period, and in Roman Period mummified bodies were often displayed in banquet halls of tomb houses. The author in the end concludes that, due to the Egyptian gods who controlled the balance of both worlds, Egyptians were not only connecting with the dead but they included them in their everyday life to such an extent that interaction and existence of one without the other became almost impossible.

Although the paper deals with a wide and complex topic in a very limited space, which is probably why many questions were dealt with briefly, the author was successful in depicting the evolution of Egyptian burial customs and the differences and similarities between important historical periods, while at the same time presenting the idea of goddess Ma'at as a link between them and a path to achieve a peaceful afterlife and a status of honoured ancestor.

The last paper, **Innocent X, Pontifex Optimus Maximus, and the church of Sant' Agnese: A mausoleum for the Pamphilj „forum",** by Susan Russell takes its reader to a more recent times of 16th and 17th century through the analysis of the construction of the St. Agnes' church and the political messages Pamphilj family intended to send with their building activities. The author demonstrates how the last resting place of Pope Innocent X, church of Sant' Agnese in Piazza Navona, was in its function and form the integral

koja je manipulirala predodžbom obitelji Pamphilj povezujući ju s antičkim Rimom. I sam natpis na papinskoj grobnici je indikativan, jer spominje izraz *Pontifex Optimus Maximus*, što je stari antički naziv za vrhovnog rimskog svećenika, sve kako bi naglasio dugotrajnost postojanja obitelji. Razloge za takvu formulaciju autorica prvotno pronalazi u činjenici da je papa Inocent X bio prvi papa podrijetlom iz Rima nakon gotovo 100 godina, ali i u političkim stremljenjima same obitelji Pamphilj, koja je od davnina povezivala svoje korijene s prvim osnivačima Rima (što je i javno obznanila 1662.g. u objavljenoj genealogiji obitelji). Takve su pretenzije osobito bile vidljive u graditeljskoj aktivnosti obitelji, koja je gradila svoje velebne građevine (Pamphilj kompleks na trgu Piazza Navona, Vila Pamphilj i crkva Sant' Andrea al Quirinale) na mjestima povezanim s legendom o Numi Pompiliusu, nasljedniku Romula. Osim samog smještaja ovih građevina, unutarnje uređenje prostora kao i sam heraldički znak obitelji Pamphilj (bijela golubica s maslinovom grančicom u kljunu), naglašavali su povezanost s *pax Romana*. Simbolika koja se javlja na trgu Piazza Navona i građevinama oko nje na se više razina povezivala s mirom, antičkim Rimom i razdobljem Augustove vladavine, pa tako i sam izgled trga podsjeća na rimski cirkus, dok crkva sv. Agneze kružnim izgledom oponaša carske mauzoleje starog Rima. Osim toga, od samog je početka crkva, izgrađena na mjestu starokršćanske crkvice podignute na lukovima domicijanovog stadiona, bila namijenjena za privatnu kapelu i mauzolej Inocenta X i cijele obitelji Pamphilj, pa stoga autorica zaključuje kako je dizajn i smještaj crkve predstavljao sintezu tipova antičkih građevina evocirajući formalno i ikonografski rimsku slavnu prošlost.

Autorica vrlo elokventno raspreda priču o političkim stremljenjima obitelji Pamphilj i kroz povijesne, ikonografske i arhitektonske analogije, koje se pojavljuju na građevinama spomenute obitelji i aludiraju na antički Rim i povezanost s korijenima tog grada, uspješno dokazuje svoje hipoteze ocrtavajući političke prilike 17. stoljeća.

Zaključno se može reći da je ovaj zbornik okupio radove eminentnih stručnjaka, specijaliziranih za proučavanje pogrebnih običaja od prapovijesti pa do novog vijeka. Cjelokupna publikacija ipak se čini pomalo neujednačena, a raspon predstavljenih tema i razdoblja je preširok, što je uvjetovalo i pomalo nepregledan raspored članaka. Ipak, gledajući članke kao zasebna djela, većina predstavlja

part of the political campaign which manipulated the preconception of Pamphilj family by associating it with ancient Rome. Even the inscription on the papal tomb attests to that claim as it records the expression *Pontifex Optimus Maximus*, which is an ancient term for Rome's high priest, in order to emphasize the longevity of the aforementioned family. The author finds reasons for such formulation primarily in the fact that pope Innocent X was the first Roman-born pope after nearly a hundred years, but also in political agenda of the Pamphilj family, which linked their origin with the founders of Rome (publically announced in genealogy of the family, published in 1662). Such pretentions were distinctly visible in building activities of the family, who constructed its monumental buildings (Pamhilj complex in Piazza Navona, Villa Pamphilj and the church of S. Andrea on the Quirinal Hill) in areas related to the legend of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus. Apart from the placement of these buildings, the interior decorations and the heraldic insignia of the Pamphilj family (white dove with an olive branch in its beak) accentuated the association with *pax Romana*. The symbols appearing throughout Piazza Navona and the buildings surrounding it connected to peace, ancient Rome and Augustus' reign on several levels, and even the outline of the piazza is reminiscent of Roman circus, while the church of Sant' Agnese with its circular plan copied the form of the imperial mausolea of ancient Rome. Furthermore, the church, which was from the start intended to be a private chapel and mausoleum of Innocent X and the entire Pamphilj family, was built in the place of early Christian church constructed on the vaults of Domitian's stadium. The author therefore concludes that church's design and placement synthesised a number of ancient building types, which formally and ichnographically evoked Roman glorious past.

Susan Russell eloquently weaves a tale of political aspirations of Pamphilj family, and through historical, iconographical and architectural analogies, which appear on their buildings alluding to ancient Rome and connections with city's origins, she successfully proves her hypothesis and at the same time depicts the political circumstances of the seventeenth century.

In conclusion, although this book collected a number of papers from well known experts in burial customs from prehistory to recent times, it seems slightly unbalanced and the range of given topics and periods is too wide, which results in in-

inovativne, izvorne i nadasve zanimljive znanstvene radove koji u novom svjetlu predstavljaju svijet mrtvih kroz različita razdoblja i kulture. Hoće li će se zbornik čitati u globalu i od korica do korica to je već pitanje, ali zasebni će članci zasigurno biti omiljen tekst arheolozima i povjesničarima, kao i svim zaljubljenicima u prošlost.

consistent and random lay-out of articles. However, looking at the articles as separate works, majority of them are innovative, original and thoroughly interesting scientific papers, which shed a new light on the realm of the dead in different cultures and times. It is questionable whether this volume will be thoroughly read from the first to the last page, but many articles will be a favourite reference to numerous archaeologists, historians and enthusiasts delving into the past.