



FUNERAL RITES AND CUSTOMS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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In the Roman Empire, there were several functions that were performed at the time of the death of the deceased. It all begins with funeral preparation, a ritual that was of particular importance to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. The importance of funerals in all cultures comes from the human need to be able to say goodbye to their loved ones. After the body of the deceased was prepared, that is, washed in warm water, anointed with oils, and decorated with flowers, it would be exposed in the atrium of the house. Afterwards, a pomp or funeral procession starts, accompanied by musicians, mourners, and actors, which leads the deceased to his eternal resting place where the rite of cremation or inhumation will take place. After the funeral, it was obligatory to perform a purification ritual because it was believed that the dead were polluted. With the advent of Christianity, there was a slow change in tomb architecture, and early communities of Christians and Jews began to be buried in underground catacombs. According to the Code of Twelve Tables, burial within the city is prohibited and the cemetery is located outside the city walls. To the Romans, tombs were an eternal home in which they lived after death. The most common tombs of the Roman world were shapeless holes in which either vessels with ashes and burnt bones or a skeleton were placed. It all depended on the material possibilities and tradition of the family, the appearance of graves and grave sites could vary, and some patrician families could even have private graves. The construction of the mausoleums was also established, but they were more often built by the ruling families. All this information related to the burials of the ancient Romans can be read from two valuable sepulchral reliefs: the relief of the tomb of the Haterii family and the relief of the tomb from Amiternum on which we have depictions of funeral preparations and processions.

Keywords: Roman Empire, death, funeral ritual, funeral custom, funeral preparation, funeral procession, cremation, inhumation

Introduction

As is known, the area of the Apennine peninsula offers a rich historical opus which dates to ancient times. In this paper, events and customs in the Roman Empire will be described and scrutinized in more detail. It will approach the topic of death during the Roman



Empire and describe the funeral rites and customs that were custom back then. The topic is primarily based on funeral rites and customs in the Roman Empire which are explained in detail over multiple chapters. For starters, it is described what the funeral preparations after the death of the deceased looked like, in other words, what was done with the body of the deceased, who took part in them, and where the funeral preparation took place. Furthermore, the *pomp*, i.e., the funeral procession, is described, which can differ greatly, depending on the financial situation of the deceased and his family. In the following chapters, attention will be given to imperial funerals, burials of soldiers, and children, and one chapter will be dedicated to the description of a Christian funeral. The paper also gives insight into the ways in which ancient Romans were buried, more precisely, if they preferred cremation or inhumation, where the cemetery was located, and what the types of tombs were. On the very end of the paper, funerary monuments in the Roman province of Dalmatia will be singled out.

FUNERAL RITES AND CUSTOMS

About funeral rites in the Roman Republic

During the Republic, funeral practice was largely dictated by society. Mutual rivalry in society can primarily be precepted on the example of tombs. Except for their primary functions, tombs also served as a symbol of luxury and individuality. As examples, there are: the tomb of Caesius in the shape of a pyramid, and the tomb of Eurysaces in the shape of a hearth oven, which will be written about in the following chapters. Precisely these two highlight the individualism that was aimed for with tombs. A lot of citizens did not have the financial possibilities for the construction of such monumental tombs, which is why they were most probably buried without funeral monuments. Only basic biographical information of the person would be highlighted so that it would be known that human remains are present at the location.¹

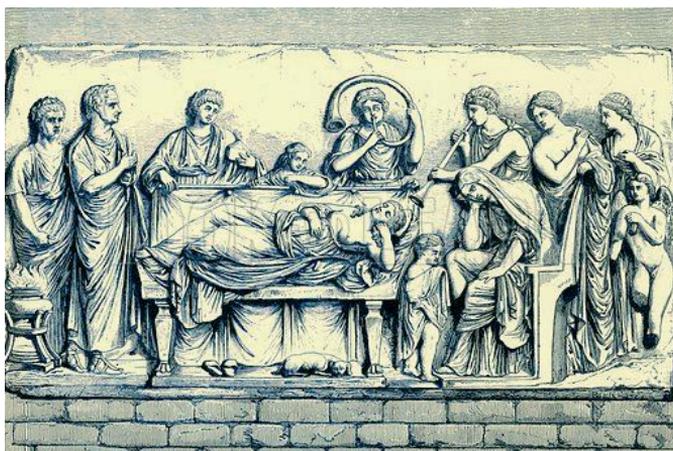
The cemeteries of the late Republic were made up of cemetery plots located one next to the other, with strict inscriptions about the prohibition of burying mortal remains on a plot belonging to some other person. That is why it is thought little possible that modest burials of the lower classes and the remainder of the population were made

1 E.-J. Graham 2006, 113

next to monumental tombs. A huge influence on the formation of funerary activities was the need for the mortal remains to be secured with an appropriate burial and certain ceremonial rituals. The lower classes had relatively similar beliefs to the affluent part of the population, which is especially notable in the attention given to burial. The burial was also very important for maintaining a certain social status of a person. This refers to the fact that the funeral, this referring to the activities during the funeral and the amount and type of grave goods, was used to indicate one's personal socio-economic status. In that way, they wanted to be on the same level with the upper classes.²

Funeral preparations

For the population of the Roman Empire, the funeral was deemed one of the most important rituals. It is funerals that enable humans in all cultures to say farewell to their loved ones.³ There were certain conditions for "a better death" of the dying person. Some of the requirements are that the dying need to be at home or at least with their loved ones, they need to be determined and brave, and say something wise or witty at the moment of departure. The last breath of the dying was caught via kiss, which was usually done by someone close to the dying, ideally the mother or spouse. The name of the deceased was invoked loudly (*conclamatio*) the moment before the dying closed their eyes.⁴



Picture 1 Depiction of the invocation of the deceased (*conclamatio*) at the moment of death

2 *Ibid.*, 113

3 V. M. Hope 2009, 66

4 *Ibid.*, 50



The salute exclaimed was *Have* or *Vale*.⁵ The body was then washed in warm water, anointed with oils, and decorated with flowers. Symbolically, a coin was placed inside the mouth of the deceased, which was the money the deceased was supposed to give to Charon, the ferryman in Hades, for the ride across the river.⁶ This custom was present all across the Empire, and it is thought that it is taken from Greek religious life, and in that way introduced to Rome.⁷ As for the preparation of the body, it was traditionally a woman's task, but special workers called *pollinctores* could also be hired. It is thought that they got the name after a powder, pollen, applied to the face of the deceased to hide the change of colour at the time of death.⁸ With the death of a loved one, the family becomes a *familia funesta*, meaning that it conducts the process of the funeral, but were not allowed to perform some of the usual and daily activities. Because of the presence of a corpse, a sense of filthiness, both physical and spiritual, was also present in the house, and the rituals which were performed attempted to suppress this "pollution".⁹

The ancient Romans believed that death polluted both in a religious and in a cultural way. When someone died, the pollution lasted throughout the whole mourning period, which usually meant nine days, during which it would contaminate the living. They thought that only a special process of purification could stop that pollution. According to their beliefs, the pollution leads to a negative effect on interhuman relationships, but also to a disruption of the contact with the gods. Also, the ones deemed polluted were not in the position to do certain chores or make sacrifices, and would in that way endanger their own civil functions.¹⁰ Priests and other spiritual leaders must not come into contact with the dead to not get contaminated, the contamination spreading mostly via touch, although, in the case of priests, it could happen in an indirect way, meaning if they saw a dead person.¹¹ It is also very important that priests do not eat beans, not even touch them, because some philosophical sects thought that the souls of the dead

5 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40

6 V. M. Hope 2009, 71

7 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40

8 V. M. Hope 2009, 71.

9 *Ibid.*, 71-72

10 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 129-130

11 *Ibid.*, 130



were located in beans.¹² Of course, there were certain exceptions, for example if the death occurred in the houses of priests or magistrates. Also, the death of prepubescent children was not deemed as cause for pollution if the bodies were buried quickly or cremated at night. It was precisely pollution that affected the funeral practice, because people of certain professions, such as all members of the funeral home, were deemed permanently polluted, so they had to live in isolation.¹³

Furthermore, regarding the preparations for the funeral, deceased of a less favourable financial situation were wrapped in black fabric, although a white toga was preferred if they were able to afford it. The body was decorated with various emblems and honours earned by the deceased during his lifetime. As a warning regarding the corpse inside the house, most frequently cypress or mountain pine twigs were rammed into the ground in front of the entrance door.¹⁴ After the body was ready for the funeral, the body of the deceased was put, i.e., displayed, in the atrium of the house (*exposition*). The body would be put in the burial position (*lectus funebris*) with the feet being supposed to face the door.¹⁵ In fact, that position indicated that the death was not a violent one.¹⁶ The funeral bed (*letto funerario*) was typical for the more affluent part of the Roman population. In the case of the ritual of incineration, the custom was taken from the Greeks, i.e., the custom of being burned together with the funeral bed.¹⁷ Furthermore, flowers and incense were put around the deceased, and while the household would mourn and grieve over the dead, the guests would give their condolences.¹⁸

The mourning relatives would intonate sorrowful songs accompanied by the sounds of a tibia (*tibia*). It was customary that the first to start singing the song was the mother or sister of the deceased, along with loud exclamations of lamentations. In some cases, it would be accompanied by beating against one's chest or scratching of the cheeks with fingernails, but in the end, that was deemed inappropriate behaviour, and was prohibited by *The Laws of The Twelve Tables*¹⁹, which is

12 *Ibid.*, 130

13 *Ibid.*, 130

14 *Ibid.*, 138

15 V. M. Hope 2009, 72

16 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 138

17 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 89

18 V. M. Hope 2009, 72

19 *The Laws of The Twelve Tables (Leges duodecim tabularum)* is the first codification of



why mourners were hired. Sometimes, even actors or jesters (*scurrae, histriones*) were hired, one of the actors being the deceased and imitating his words and deeds. Such actors were called *archimimus*. In some cases, before death, the deceased would order the liberation of some of their slaves via their testament as to increase their funeral, and, at the same time, those liberated slaves would wear freedmen-caps on the funeral (*pileati*).²⁰ While the corpse was displayed, the funeral was being planned. In richer families, heralds, who promoted the death in the city streets to get more people to attend the funeral, were used. A funeral announcement was painted on the wall of a house in Pompeii. The period ranging from the death to the funeral differed depending on the family, but for the families, which lived plainly, the funeral followed soon after the death, for they thought that the display of the body was unhygienic and unpractical. Regarding the upper classes of society, i.e., the elite, it could be displayed up to a week. Through their contacts with Egypt, the Romans got to know another custom, embalming or mummification, but it was never widely accepted in Rome.²¹

Funeral procession

In ancient Roman times, nocturnal funerals were mainly reserved for children and the poor, who did not have enough financial resources to afford a funeral procession.²² Before the start of the funeral procession (*pompa funebris*), which went from the house of the deceased all the way to the necropolis, the dead of the more affluent were brought out on a bed (*feretrum*).²³ Meanwhile, the corpses of the poorer classes were brought out on plain biers called *sandapilla*, while the carrying was the task of the *vespae*, or carriers, who got their name because it was customary to bring out the dead during the night.²⁴ Of course, the funeral procession and everything tied to it was a certain luxury which was an unnecessary financial loss to the poor. The members of the funeral col-

Roman law, put together by twelve members of a committee in 451-450 BCE., called like that because it was published on the Roman forum on twelve tables. The Laws of The Twelve Tables. Taken from: P. Lisičar, 1971, 297

20 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 43

21 V. M. Hope 2009, 73-74

22 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42

23 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46

24 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44



legium enabled basic burial equipment to those in need.²⁵ The funeral procession was accompanied with mournful singing and music made by different musicians such as: cornicine, liticines, tibicines. Sad songs in the honour of the deceased, called *naenia*, were sang, performed by hired mourners (*praecificae*).²⁶ The closest male members of the family or newly liberated slaves were given the task of carrying the bier during the procession.²⁷ All members of the funeral were dressed in dark clothes, predominantly black in colour (*atra*).²⁸



Picture 2 Depiction of a funeral procession

Most persons who came to the funeral were not there to just mourn and give their condolences to the family, but to be entertained. That is why the more affluent citizens had spectacular parades with actors wearing masks made from the cast of the face of the rich deceased, so-called *imagines*, representing the ancestors of the dead, in their processions. In that way, the actors wearing the mask of the deceased had the ability to bring the deceased and their ancestors to life and in that way honour the glory of the family, if only via representation and acting. Because of the intertwining of all those parts, the procession could be somewhat dark, but with the elements provided by the musicians and actors it would achieve the effect of a carnival.²⁹

25 V. M. Hope 2009, 76

26 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42

27 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46

28 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44

29 V. M. Hope 2009, 74



Picture 3 Depiction of a mask (*imagines*) used by the actors

There was also another element, especially beloved by the participants, and those were funeral speeches in the honour of the deceased (*laudation*), given in front of the podium (*rostra*) in the Forum, in case the deceased was a person of greater importance.³⁰ Those speeches had the power to elicit the compassion and sadness of not only the family members, but all the guests attending the funeral.³¹ After the speech was held, the deceased would be brought to the resting place, and the process of cremation or inhumation would start there. Sacrifices to *Ceres*³² would be held in the cemetery. Animals were sacrificed, the most common being a pig, i.e., *porca presentanea*, part of which would be cremated together with the deceased, while the second part was for Ceres. The second part would be set on the altar and burnt. The remainder would serve as a meal for the family and attendants of the funeral. Naturally, not everyone was in the financial situation to have such a big and plentiful sacrifice, which is why they offered wine, incense, and wheat as a sacrifice instead of it, that ritual being called *libatio*.³³

The deceased needed to have grave goods put into their tombs after the funeral because it was thought that they would have the same needs underground as they had while among the living. That is why many objects were set next to them such as: clothes, jewellery, bowls,

30 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45

31 V. M. Hope 2009, 89

32 Ceres is one of the oldest Italian deities, which was confirmed by inscriptions from the late 7th century BCE. Tellus (Terra Mater) is tied to her as a deity of agricultural fertility. In days of yore, they were worshipped during the celebrations on *Feriae Sementivae* and *Savrum Cereale*. She completely matches the depiction of the Greek goddess Demeter, which can be seen in the depictions of Ceres from the 3rd century BCE. I. Matijević, A. Kurilić, 2011, 134–135, taken from: https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=112053, (23rd of August, 2021)

33 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45



and food. Of course, it all depends on the occupation of the deceased, for if the deceased were craftsmen, their tools would be buried with them. Women had toilet accessories with them, and children had toys. As protection against harmful and evil forces, charms were put in together with the other accessories of the deceased.³⁴ On the same day the funeral ended, a funeral feast (*silicernium*) was held on the grave of the deceased, which was one of the rituals, and the food and drink would be left on the grave for the deceased to enjoy.³⁵ After the burial, a period of cleansing, called *suffitio*, would ensue, which was prescribed by Law because Romans, as I already stated earlier, believed that death brings pollution. Cleansing was mandatory to all those present at the funeral that day, the procedure consisting of sprinkling themselves with laurel water and jumping over fire. Regarding their homes, they were supposed to clean and swipe them using a special broom.³⁶

There was also the *cena nevendialis*, i.e., a feast held on the ninth day after the burial, which at the same time marked the end of the mourning period. Of course, the end of mourning did not mean that the dead are now completely forgotten, on the contrary, the birthdays of the deceased were celebrated, as well as two important religious festivals *Parentalia* and *Lemuria*. During the festivity of *Parentalia*, people would visit the graves of their deceased loved ones, bring food and flowers as a gift to the grave, and would feast afterwards. For that purpose, some more luxurious tombs had a built-in kitchen and well.³⁷

Lemuria was a celebration dedicated to the cult of Lemurs, i.e., the wandering shadows of people who departed from this world too soon, who visited the world of the living during that period. The festivity was allegedly originated in by Romulus for killing his brother Remus, wanting to calm his spirit in that way.³⁸ The funeral was disbanded by the mourner or some other person exclaiming the words *Ilicet, Ire licet*, and the deceased was greeted with *Vale!* at the end.³⁹

As an example of monuments with preserved characteristics of funeral processions, the relief of the tomb of family Hateria and the relief from the Amiternum tomb should be mentioned. The relief of the

34 F. Cumont, 1922, 49

35 J Wachter, 2002, 813

36 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 141

37 J Wachter, 2002, 813-814

38 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 33

39 *Ibid.*, 47

tomb of the family Hateria is an important monument of sepulchral art made from marble, dating to the late Flavian or early Traianian era of Rome. A woman is depicted on the relief, which is recognizable by the fact that she is not wearing a toga. She is depicted lying on her back on two mattresses set on a long bed. The deceased wears rings on her left hand and is covered from her neck to her feet.⁴⁰ The front part of the bed is covered with a curtain, while the bed itself is surrounded by big torches. Also, around the bed are hired mourners (*praeficae*) with messy hair, hands raised as if they were beating their chest. A woman playing a flute is standing at the foot of the bed and another woman with a vail and folded hands next to her. There are four persons in front of the curtain (two men and two women), probably the relatives of the deceased woman. Three women are at the head of the bed, and we can see a depiction of a man walking to the left and carrying something on a plate. We can also see two big censers in the foreground and a big acanthus leaf, which probably stands there to indicate that a corpse is inside the house.⁴¹



Picture 4 Depiction of the relief from the Hateria family tomb

40 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 44-45

41 *Ibid.*, 44-45



The relief from the Amiternum tomb, nowadays located in the Abruzzo region of Italy, is made of limestone, dating to the late 1st century CE. It is easy to notice that it is a monument depicting a *pompa*, i.e., a funeral procession. The deceased is a man who rests on a funeral bed.⁴² A flute player, who is the leader of a procession followed by another three players, is depicted in the lower right corner, alongside the deceased. More grieving persons are depicted above them, among them: three horn players and two mourners. The funeral director (*designator*) is below them. Eight persons are carrying the bed with the deceased, lying on a double mattress, on their shoulders. A group of nine people is located next to the bed with the first three people, the ones closest to the deceased, representing his wife and two daughters. Female slaves mourning over the deceased are also depicted on the relief, and on the bottom we have a figure of a man carrying palm leaves and a box of incense.⁴³ The incomplete inscription found in the vicinity of the relief is cause for speculation that the tomb was maybe ordered by a family of slave descendants because the relief has characteristics typical for the art of the “liberated”. That is a category used by former slaves.⁴⁴



Picture 5 Relief of the Amiternum tomb

42 Dr. L. Taylor 2015, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13th of August, 2021)

43 J. Bodet 1999, 264-265

44 Dr. L. Taylor 2015, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13th of August, 2021)



Imperial burial (*funus imperatorum*)

“In the time of the Empire, public funerals in Rome were reserved almost exclusively for emperors and the members of their family.”⁴⁵ After the proclamation of the death of the emperor, the *Iustitium* would ensue, which was a law demanding total abolition of all public and private affairs in the city of Rome. Imperial funerals took inspiration from the way elite members of society were buried during the time of the Republic, meaning that imperial funerals also consisted of festive speeches on the Forum and a parade with masks, i.e., *imagines*. Later, these rituals gradually ceased to be performed by the members of the elite because they did not want to be elevated above the imperial families in that way. The emperor was not thought to have died but to be immortal.⁴⁶

The burial would start by the couch/bier being carried along the *Via Sacra* street and would be displayed on the Forum. The place reserved for a group of young people, who sang festive hymns and songs in honour of the late emperor, was on the stairs on one side of the couch, while the other side was reserved for one of the nobler women. On the Field of Mars, where the body was carried over, a huge quadrangular pyre was raised. The pyre was filled with bundles of twigs and decorated with various images, little ivory statues, and gold on the outside. A picture of the emperor was on the couch located on the second story of the pyre, and all kinds of spices, fruit, fats, herbs, and juices were put there. Everybody would bring presents in honour of the emperor to the funeral. Furthermore, when everything was filled with presents, an equestrian parade, marching in a steady rhythm around the pyre, was held.⁴⁷ Special gladiators, classified under the common denominator *bustuarii*, were hired to fight around the pyre. In the end, the honour of setting fire to the pyre was given to the new emperor, while other people were lighting the pyre up from the other sides. It was also customary to release an eagle from the topmost story of the pyre, symbolically meaning that the bird was carrying the soul of the emperor towards “heaven”.⁴⁸

Emperor Augustus (14 CE) left Livia and her son Tiberius instructions for the organisation of his funeral, which was supposed to be tra-

45 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 56

46 V. M. Hope 2009, 91

47 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 60

48 V. M. Hope 2009, 92

ditional, but also impressive. The bier had to be made from ivory and gold, covered with purple curtains. Everything was decorated with the portraits of the emperor made from gold and wax, while the numerous masks represented the ancestors of the family of the emperor. When the body was carried over to the Forum, two speeches were to be held, after which the body was transported to the Field of Mars, where it would be cremated. Livia, the widow of Augustus, would stand for five days next to the pyre, after which horsemen were to pick up the remainder of the bones and put them in the imperial mausoleum. Of course, an eagle was released from the pyre at the funeral of Augustus as well, as to carry his soul to heaven. That element was called *apotheosis* and marked the idea of the transition from man to god. Naturally, emperors had to be good rulers during their lifetime to deserve an adequate and impressive funeral. A good and adequate funeral, and even the possibility of declaring that specific ruler a deity, was earned by a good reign. On the other hand, a bad reign meant a shameful death, which included the mistreatment of the corpse and a funeral without any privileges.⁴⁹



Picture 6 Depiction of the imperial cremation, and the releasing of the eagle

49 *Ibid.*, 91-92



Christian funeral

With the emergence of Christianity, changes in funeral architecture in Roman villages and cities also slowly emerged. The most common place where early communities of Christians and Jews, who practiced individual inhumation rather than cremation, were buried were the catacombs. Catacombs were located underground and outside the city walls and varied in their origin. Catacombs are a very complex system of underground hallways and could have been more than a thousand kilometres long, stretching underneath the suburbs of Rome. Around six million people could be buried inside them.⁵⁰ Pagans, not Christians, started the practice of hollowing or digging out underground tombs in Rome for burial purposes. What was typical for Christians and Jews was the creation of vast underground sepulchral spaces set on multiple stories. The digging was done by *fossores*, i.e., manual workers, “miners”. After the completion of a certain cubicle or gallery, the bodies would be wrapped in bandages or festive clothing, depending on the financial circumstances. For the disinfection of the space, a layer of lime would be made and the niches would get closed using plates or baked bricks. Engraved inscriptions were frequent. Of course, the name of the deceased would be inscribed, but the graves could contain some other phrases as well, for example: *dormit in pace, in pace Domini, in pace Christi, vivas cum Sanctis, vivas vivas in Deo* etc.⁵¹

Christians in Rome, and across the Empire, did not have their own cemeteries during the first century because of the prosecution of Christians during that time. That is why they were buried on shared cemeteries located on the open, together with pagans. On the other hand, those Christians who had a private estate buried their dead in family tombs located on the surface of the earth.⁵²

50 J. Davies 1999, 192

51 Ž. Tolić 2016, 140-142

52 *Ibid.*, 143-144



Picture 7 Depiction of Roman catacombs

Regarding their appearance, Jewish and Christian galleries in catacombs were very similar and traditional. From the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 5th century CE, the dead were buried in *loculi*, i.e., niches which were engraved in the catacombs or in chambers for two or more burials. Arcs were used For decoration, creating an *arcosolium*.⁵³ Still, surely the most widely used form of burial both for Christians and Jews were the *loculi*, then *arcosoliums*, the form of burial directly into the ground, sarcophagi, and amphoras.⁵⁴ Regarding Christians, the catacombs were decorated with biblical motifs, whereas for the Jews there were no decorations, besides graffiti and engraved messages left by the mourning, until a relatively late period. They were not allowed to cremate their dead, so they practiced burials of the whole body. The burial locations were divided, i.e., the Jews were buried in their own graves, and Christians in their own graves.⁵⁵ For Christians, death was *dies natalis* or the day of their birth into eternity, meaning they did not fear death but awaited the next world with joy, while pagans feared

53 *Arcosolium* (ital. Arcosolio \approx lat. Arcus: arch + solium: grave) is in architecture and art a name for graves set in niches and vaulted with semicircular arches. Most often, they are located in Roman catacombs. They were used by Christians, but they were not unknown to pagans either. Taken from: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arcosolio/> (22nd of August, 2021)

54 J. Davies 1999, 192-193

55 *Ibid*, 193



the afterlife. The Christians did not think of the dead as polluting and had a positive outlook on funerals in the sense that they gave reason for hope, not fear.⁵⁶

With regards to funerals, psalms were sung. The body was washed, anointed, in some cases even embalmed. The time between death and the burial was prolonged to three or four days because of the belief that the body does not pollute. Sometimes, the priest or bishop would carry the body to the graveyard, accompanied by prayer and songs, where the deceased was buried after the celebration of the Eucharist. The positioning of the body in the grave was face-up, legs facing the east, representing the hope for a new life, with the sun rising in the east. In certain occasions, the family would gather and enjoy food and prayer for their loved ones.⁵⁷ With the invasion of Alaric's Visigoths, and the "Sack of Rome" in 410 CE, burials in catacombs on the territory of Rome cease to be and burials begin to be practiced in the open, i.e., on the grounds above the catacombs, where it all started. It was only many years later that burials would be held inside the city walls.⁵⁸

TYPES OF BURIALS

Burial of children

The death of children, especially new-born ones, was a very frequent occurrence in ancient Roman times, so frequent that there was simply no point in mourning every child. Regardless, there is plenty of evidence which indicate that parents still often grieved for their children. The philosophical standpoint towards the death of children was that death is supposed to be accepted as the choice of nature, and that parents should focus on their other children and future babies. Another point was that deceased children do not have their share in the land, so there was no need for them to be mourned for.⁵⁹ The souls of children and innocent people who died a violent death are excluded from the underworld until their natural moment of death comes. Precisely because of that, their burials had to be held at night, quietly and quickly under the light of torches (*funus acerbum*). Children who have

56 *Ibid*, 196

57 *Ibid*, 199

58 Ž. Tolić 2016, 145. Taken from: https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=249653 (22nd of August, 2021)

59 V. M. Hope 2009, 137



just been born are considered polluted and still not belonging to the family. It is only after a couple of days of living that a ritual called *primordia* is performed. It is a ritual of cleansing the newly born child done by bathing the child in water. With girls, the ritual would be practiced on the eighth day after birth, and with boys on the ninth day. The ritual of bathing in water is called *lustratio*. This custom of cleansing could be compared to the Christian ritual of Baptism in which one is freed of the Original sin. There is a practice at the funeral of children called *suggrundaria*. According to that practice, children, i.e., infants, would be buried inside or in the vicinity of the walls of houses, and the body would be put in some sort of jar. Romans differentiated between *arpagi* and *rapti*. *Arpagi*, for which funerals would not be held, are children who died in the cradle, and their bodies would not be cremated nor buried. Also, funeral monuments would not be raised for them, which is in contrast with the *rapti*, i.e., children of forty or more days of age, who could get both buried and cremated.⁶⁰

Children who died before being four days of age could be buried at home.⁶¹ Regarding older children, especially those children who were on the brink of maturity who got already much care invested into them, it was more acceptable to mourn them. That can be read from the funeral monuments which were far more numerous than those for small children and infants. Funeral monuments more often depict boys, indicating that boys were more admired than girls.⁶²



Picture 8 Relief depicting the death of a child

60 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 48-49

61 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 131

62 V. M. Hope 2009, 139



Funeral of soldiers (*funus militare*)

Soldiers who lost their lives in battle were buried or cremated together. Soldiers would also get contributions designated for paying for the funeral expenses of their fallen comrades.⁶³ Even more precisely, there existed a fund in military camps (*castra*) across the Empire which served exactly for funeral expenses, it being gathered from parts of the payment of all soldiers, respectfully. These included: ritual feast, funeral, and commemoration.⁶⁴

It can be said that the cult of the dead was of special importance for soldiers precisely because of their profession, where they were exposed to a possible premature death. Soldiers wanted to respectfully say their farewells to their tragically fallen colleagues, but the conditions on the battlefield did not always allow this. That is why soldiers who died during war in a foreign land were cremated or buried together. When time would allow it, i.e., when there was at least a short standstill on the battlefield, they could be cremated individually, after which their ashes would be stored in jars later being transported to the permanent burial site. There are a lot of funeral monuments across the Empire showing military personnel and units in specific camps. Roman citizenship of some soldiers is emphasized on these monuments, them being depicted in military or civil clothes, the inscriptions also including the name of the soldier, his rank, birthplace, the unit in which he served, his age, and how long he served in the army, and sometimes also other data.⁶⁵

WAYS OF BURIALS Cremation and inhumation

Two kinds of burials were practiced in Antiquity. The first ritual was the burning on a pyre, cremation or the ritual of incineration, and the ritual of inhumation or the burying of the complete body.⁶⁶ Cremation was one of the frequent practices in Rome way back in the 8th to 7th century BCE, becoming the predominating ritual during the Republic. It was deemed a luxury, mostly because of the materials used during

63 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 55

64 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 50

65 *Ibid*, 49-50

66 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 77



the ritual. Nevertheless, Roman society still preferred the ritual of cremation.⁶⁷ Cremation is a type of practice in which the body is set on a pyre (*rogus*) and burnt. Pyres are usually built from logs, while papyrus may be added for increasing the fire and faster burning. Also, incense was added to mask the unpleasant smell of the burning and decomposition of the body of the deceased.⁶⁸ Especially impressive was the pyre of the Roman emperor Pertinax in the shape of a triangular tower.⁶⁹ It is thought that bodies were burned⁷⁰ because it was deemed the more appropriate way of burials regarding the protection against disease.⁷¹

When the dead body was set on the pyre, the eyes were closed, and the deceased's personal belongings and various gifts from loved ones were set around the pyre. In some cases, because it symbolized sending off the soul to the afterlife, pets were killed around the pyre. The pyre was lighted with torches while family and friends invoked the name of the dead for the last time. After the body of the deceased has burned out, wine would be poured over the ashes. Then the family would gather the ashes and put it into special jars made from various materials.⁷² Namely, it was tradition that a small part of the body, most often a finger (*os resectum*), would be cut off from the deceased, and traditionally be buried into the ground (*ossilegium*). The exact place where the bodies of the deceased would be burned was called *ustrina* (*ustrinum publicum*). The burial place, i.e., the shallow grave where the body would be burned, was called *bustum*. The body of the deceased would be put above the *bustum*, which was filled up with dried tree-branches, followed by the cremation ritual.⁷³ The family of the deceased took part in the initial ceremony of lighting up the pyre, whereas some sources point out that the family would stand on the

67 Isto, 37

68 Taken from: <https://archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/the-fragrant-dead-how-to-treat-your-dead-the-roman-way.htm> (19th of December, 2021)

69 V. M. Hope 2009, 82

70 The information gathered on the basis of experiments done by a group of archaeologists says that: "The process of cremating the body on a pyre lasted for about seven to ten hours, including the time the pyre took to cool off. A body of a pig was used for the experiment. The temperature was kept on a steady 800 to 900 degrees so that only the bones would remain after the body was burned. 24 hours is needed for the pyre to completely cool down, the part cooled off with water requiring somewhat less than an hour to cool down." Taken from: K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 81-82

71 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 78

72 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 50.

73 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 86



grounds of the necropolis as long as the pyre needed to burn out and the embers cool off. After the pyre burnt out completely, the family would gather all the ashes and the remainder of the bones. Also, according to the ancient sources, the very next day after the pyre has burnt out, the family would gather the ashes and pour milk and vine over the remains of the bones (*cineres*), symbolizing the refreshment of the deceased. All our knowledge is still based on written sources only because there is no precise information and evidence of what really happened during the incineration.⁷⁴ Somewhere around the 1st and 2nd century CE, the ritual of inhumation started emerging in Rome and across Italy, largely replacing the process of cremating the dead common until then. That is when inhumation spread to those parts of the Empire where cremation was an already common and traditional phenomenon.⁷⁵ During the Roman Empire, cremation was not as common of a way of disposing of the dead as was inhumation. What the turning point towards this change was, we do not know, but it is thought of having probably occurred because of religious influences.⁷⁶

Regarding inhumation, the body was wrapped in covering or put in a coffin, which could be made out of various materials, such as: wood, lead, stone, or some combination of materials. Afterwards, the body would be laid directly into the ground, with the possibility of the body or coffin getting set inside a tomb existing too.⁷⁷ Sarcophagi positioned in various ways were used, be it on the open on the burial grounds, set in *arcosoli*, set next to the inner walls of the tomb, or standing all alone. There were cheaper and more expensive ways of inhumation, but they were adapted according to someone's possibilities, resources, and circumstances.⁷⁸ During the last century of the Roman Republic, both cremation and inhumation rites were used simultaneously, inhumation being deemed the older custom than incineration or cremation. After some time, the rite of cremation got commonplace even in those parts of Italy where initially inhumations were held.⁷⁹ Even though the rite of cremation was widespread, Jews and Christians held onto the ritual of inhumation.⁸⁰ Romans did not think of cremation as a primitive

74 *Ibid*, 79-80

75 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 33-34

76 A. D. Nock 1932, 321

77 E.-J. Graham 2006, 32-33

78 *Isto*, 32-33

79 A. D. Nock 1932, 322

80 V. M. Hope 2009, 82



burial custom, but inhumation. Still, the *Sepulcretum*, i.e., the cemetery on the Roman Forum, dated 8th till 6th century BCE, contains traces of both rituals. Those two customs were practiced simultaneously in the 5th century BCE, as can be seen in The Laws of The Twelve Tables.⁸¹ There existed three kinds of burials in the later Republic. Those three kinds were: cremation, inhumation, and embalmment. The dominant rite then was incineration, but *Gens Cornelia*⁸² held onto the old tradition of inhumation.⁸³ Cornelius Sula was the first member of the family to be cremated in fear that his enemies would purposefully desecrate his grave.⁸⁴ During the reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE), the art of carving sarcophagi suddenly flourished, a sign of gradual transition from cremation to inhumation finished in the middle of the third century.⁸⁵ Regarding the ritual of embalmment, it was regarded an Egyptian practice and was not typical for the area of Italy and Rome. There are few cases of embalmment in Rome and the Empire, one of the more famous ones being Poppaea, the wife of emperor Nero.⁸⁶

Position of the cemetery

The Laws of The Twelve Tables forbid burial or cremation in the territory of the city. Such prohibitions were introduced because it was thought that cremation, i.e., burning, could lead to the potential peril of setting fire to buildings. Also, according to *The Laws*, the dead should get separated from the living as quickly as possible via hastily burial.⁸⁷ The strict adherence to this law meant that all the cemeteries in the Roman world were outside of the walls along the roads leading out of town, this being the way the graves were stacked in front of the gates of cities such as: Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii.⁸⁸ Of course, there were exceptions, although rare ones. These exceptions were mostly for the

81 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 39

82 In ancient Rome, *gens* was the name for a community of multiple families with the same name. *Gens Cornelia* was one of the most famous patrician families in ancient Rome. Taken from: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gens_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/ (22nd of August, 2021)

83 G. Davies 1977, 17

84 V. Vukelić – M. Stuparić 2017, 22

85 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 40

86 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 39

87 V. M. Hope 2009, 154

88 L'archeologia delle pratiche funerarie. Mondo romano in "Il Mondo dell'Archeologia" (treccani.it) (12th of August, 2021)



most important citizens, in general emperors. In that case, monumental tombs were situated inside the city walls, meaning that the wealthy citizens had the rights to a special burial. These exceptions were more common in the Western Empire, while burials inside the city were still a strange occurrence in the East. The so-called holy border of the city of Rome was *pomerium*, i.e., a zone around the walls of the city. No construction was permitted in it, while burials were granted only under special permission. Cemeteries were some of the more prominent characteristics of Roman suburbs, most of the burials being done outside the *pomerium*. Tomb areas had no demarcations, and villas, gardens, and shops could be located next to tombs. Romans did not use the term “graveyard”, instead opting for the Latin equivalent *co-emetarium*, which was not used as a name for burial places until the Christians started using it in the 3rd century CE.⁸⁹

Types of tombs

The most important thing to be done after death is to dispose of the dead body, i.e., to burn or bury it, and lay it in a grave afterwards. Tombs to Romans were eternal homes where they would be living after death. Since the earliest of days, the Egyptians and Semites thought of tombs as the eternal homes of the deceased, which was later taken over by the Romans. The Latin name *domus aeterna*, meaning “eternal home”, can often be seen on funeral inscriptions from the period of the Empire. Tombs to Romans were eternal homes where they will live after death.⁹⁰ The simplest, and most ordinary tombs of the Roman world were shapeless holes in which either the jar with the ashes and burnt bones or the skeleton were laid in. Those kinds of graves were marked, in the case of the poorest graves probably by an upright stone or a ceramic jar. The ashes and burnt bones were set in a jar made from terracotta or glass, and a few, less expensive, funeral items would be put next to them. Later, the terracotta jars would be put in boxes made most often from *tegulae* or big stone plates. When the body was inhumated, it was done in the simplest way possible, by setting the body in a dug-out hole, after which the body would be covered with *tegulae*.⁹¹ Furthermore, another example of simple tombs were the so-called *tombe a cassone*, where

89 V. M. Hope 2009, 154-155

90 F. Cumont 1922, 49

91 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 101



Bodel: "It is estimated that up to 1500 such corpses were found annually on the streets of Rome, which would cause great problems to the government."⁹⁶ On the streets, the bodies would get destroyed by wild dogs, wolves, and birds, which is confirmed by a story by Suetonius in which he claims that "one time, a dog interrupted the meal of Vespasian and dropped a human hand in front of his feet."⁹⁷ According to the luxuriousness of a certain tomb, it was evident if a family was well-off or not, i.e., what the social status of that family was. In that way, it was evident that the difference between the rich and the poor continues even after death.⁹⁸ The building of monumental tombs was very widespread during the time of the Empire. Those families that were financially less well-off, i.e., the middle class, built shared tombs with multiple decorated rooms. There is a central room in those tombs, the *sepulcrum*, located just below the surface of the earth, which is why it was necessary to descend along small steps. If the deceased was inhumated, he was put on the podium, i.e., a raised platform in the tomb, in a casket.⁹⁹ If the deceased was cremated, his urn could be put either on the *podium* or *columbarium*, i.e., dove cot. The columbarium was a big tomb located partially or completely underground.¹⁰⁰ That was the accommodation for urns later set in niches on walls. Columbaria were built rectangularly, consisting of a large number of niches which could be set horizontally (*gradus*) or vertically (*ordines*). Certain columbaria could harbour up to 1000 urns. There was the possibility of somebody who was not part of the family being buried in the columbarium if they paid for their burial place. That could become a lucrative job, for there were always those in need of a burial place. Usually, every niche could harbour two urns (*ollae, ollae ossuariae*), a plate containing the name of the owner of a certain niche (*titulus*) being above every niche. The names of the deceased were written on the urns. Urns could be made from various materials such as marble, clay, stone.¹⁰¹

96 J. Bodel, 2000, 129

97 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 134

98 H. Lewandowski 2007, 77-78

99 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 53-55

100 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 113

101



Picture 10 Depiction of a Roman columbarium

Alongside simple tombs, there were also more advanced ones, which could usually be purchased by the wealthier citizens. As an example, we have a huge family tomb, the burial place of Cornelius Scipio. It is located inside the Porta Appia and is dated to the 3rd century BCE. The façade of the tomb is decorated using simple architectural elements and pictures. There are two entrances to the tomb located inside the rock. The western entrance has access to the main gallery containing niches on both sides, while the eastern entrance leads to a big rectangular chamber with a main gallery and galleries on every side of the chamber. Also, funeral niches are engraved in the walls of the gallery.¹⁰²

102 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 104



Picture 11 The mausoleum of Augustus

It was also common to build mausoleums, but they were usually built by members of the ruling families or affluent Roman citizens. One of the more famous examples is the mausoleum of Augustus. The dome-like artificial hill made of earth is located on the Field of Mars, its diameter being 87 m and height around 32 m. It rises over a twelve-meter-high cylindrical wall. After the emperor died, it was decorated with his image. The mausoleum was to be for the burial of all the future members of the Julian dynasty. The Julian believed they originated from the goddess *Venus*, the cypress trees surrounding the museum being dedicated to her. As we can see even today, planting cypress trees on cemeteries became a tradition. Regarding the interior of the mausoleum, parts of the funeral core and five concentric rings of fortified walls were preserved. The inner ring contained a tholobate (*epithema*) on which the crown was put. The entrance to the tomb, a hall 3,5 m wide, was to the south side. Also, the entrance was fortified with two obelisks, and the sides had plates with texts about the deeds of Augustus (*res gestae Divi Augusti*). The construction of this mausoleum started in 27 BCE, the first burial being that of the nephew of Augustus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in 23 BCE.¹⁰³

103 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 55-57



Picture 12 Depiction of the tomb of Gaius Caestius in the unusual shape of a pyramid

Furthermore, we have the tomb of Gaius Caestius, unique for its pyramid-shape, being more than 36 metres tall. Of course, the design was taken from Egypt.



Picture 13 Depiction of the tomb of Eurysaces

Another unusual tomb is the one of baker Eurysaces, taking on the unusual design of a hearth oven or a dough kneading machine to present his profession, i.e., shop, in a unique way.

The look of the tombs changed over the years, which can be best noted on the example of the cemetery in Pompeii (eruption of Vesu-



vius in 79 CE) and the necropolis *Isola Sacra*, dated to the 2nd century CE. There were circular tombs, high altars, and temples in Pompeii, while *Isola Sacra* is characteristic for its numerous household tombs with built-in niches for the insertion of the mortal remains of several people. Later, underground hypogea and catacombs developed.¹⁰⁴

Monuments with funeral content in the Roman province of Dalmatia (Salona site)

The capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia was Salona, a city which developed in the eastern part of the Kaštela field. The development of Salona happens somewhere in the middle of the 1st century BCE. Three main roads existed even before the city itself. In Antiquity, city cemeteries developed on the sides of these roads. Tombs are built, the deceased are buried, and funeral monuments raised. The most important city necropolises are situated along roads, and out of all the necropolises of Salona, the west necropolis, or so-called *Hortus Metrodori*, whose name is based upon an inscription lost today, can be singled out as the most famous one. It is speculated that the necropolis was built on the location of the former garden of some Metrodorus, allegedly a colonist from Issa or Tragurion, because of which it kept the name even later.¹⁰⁵

It is not completely clear what the name for the cemetery plots in Salona was, but the inscriptions name two terms: *hortus* and *locus*. Regarding funeral monuments in Salona, stelae prevail in earlier times. What is not certain is if the stelae were used as a mark for the main grave on bigger cemetery plots. An exemplar was found in Salona in the vicinity of the western necropolis, with the dimensions of the plot being mentioned on it, indicating that it was possible for the stelae to be in the grave area, but of smaller dimensions. Later, starting somewhere from the middle of the 1st century CE, arae start appearing as the main funeral monuments in fenced plots. They appear during the entire 2nd century, with sarcophagi starting to appear in the 2nd and 3rd century.¹⁰⁶

Members of the nuclear family of the owner and his extended family were buried on larger cemetery plots. As an example of both nuclear and extended family being buried, we have a sarcophagus and a stele with the same *nomen gentile*, *Albucii*, being written on them. Father, mother,

104 V. M. Hope 2009, 162-163

105 N. Cambi 1986, 61-65

106 *Ibid*, 68-69



sons, members of the aristocracy of Salona and Issa, former lords, and later the patrons of freedmen on the aforementioned stele, were buried in that sarcophagus. In the 1840's, a stele and a sarcophagus were found close to each other in the western necropolis. It is possible that the deceased on the sarcophagus and those on the stele were buried together on the same plot. The family belonging to the upper class of citizens gave the right to being buried on their cemetery plot to their freedmen. The burial of other people, who were not part of the family, could be granted in different ways. It was possible to buy, get or in some other way acquire a so-called *loci concessionem*. Members of different social groups were often buried together. The formula *adito libero* was common in inscriptions, indicating that the tomb or plot was located in the second row, behind the first row of burials, regarding the road, so an unhindered passage was sought. *Aditus liber* was, of course, important because of the rituals held on the commemoration days. Many tombs took damage in the 2nd century CE, when the walls were being built. That is when lots of fragments of funeral monuments were found in the walls. It is worth mentioning that high-quality funeral monuments, such as the ara of Pomponia Vera and the stele of Gaius Utius, were found. Those two funeral monuments were typical representatives of funeral monuments of the first two centuries CE made in the stonecutter workshops in Salona.¹⁰⁷



Picture 14 Stele of Gaius Uti



Picture 15 Ara of Pompenia Vera

107 *Ibid*, 70-71



The upper classes slowly abandon the western necropolis during the second and third decade of the 4th century because they are gradually transitioning to Christian cemeteries. Only a couple of more affluent families and humble members of the new religion remain. Regarding the inscriptions found on the western necropolis, they paint a colorful picture of the society buried there. Namely, Roman citizens, peregrines, freedmen, slaves, and others were buried there. Of course, only the richer members of society could have larger cemetery plots. Naturally, there were also simpler graves, but they were situated on the plot of some more affluent family which enabled burials to others as well. It is also interesting to note that not far from the amphitheater, in the vicinity of the necropolis, ten urns with the inscriptions about gladiators were found. Those inscriptions indicate that some smaller cemetery, intended as the last resting place of the gladiators fighting in the arena, must have been located next to the amphitheater.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

In this paper, the goal was to achieve a broader and better inspection of the death of humans during the Roman Empire, as well as funeral rituals and customs Romans abided by. No one can escape, death is one of the things inevitable to every living thing. In general, the Romans did not pay much heed to thinking about death, but they were convinced that the soul becomes divine when it leaves the body.

When the persons would leave the world of the living, their loved ones would show their grief with black clothes, which is tradition today as well, while being excluded from some public events in society. There were many rules to be abided, such as, for example, the prohibition of the burial of the dead inside the city, as was written in *The Laws of The Twelve Tables*. That is why the dead had to be buried outside the city walls. The family of the deceased was responsible for the preparation of the funeral and the procession. After the procession, the body would get carried to the eternal resting place, where it would be cremated or inhumated. Cremation was practiced in the beginning, inhumation afterwards. Grave goods, e.g., clothes and food, would be put inside the grave because it was thought that the dead would need it in the afterlife. Also, the Romans thought of the dead as “polluted”, so

108 *Ibid*, 73-74



a whole procedure of cleansing ensued after the funeral.

According to the descriptions of the rituals and customs in this paper, it may be concluded that, in some segments, the funerals remained the same until today. The loved ones of the deceased always participate together in the funeral preparation of the body for the burial, dress in black as a display of mourning and grief, and the grave is decorated with flowers. There still are musicians leading the procession and playing sad songs, but, unlike the more affluent citizens did in the past, no “spectacle” is made from the funeral. Of course, the time we spend in mourning with our loved ones is not defined by a temporal limit, unlike the rule that existed in the Roman Empire, but every person has the right to mourn as much as they like.

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List of attachments:

Picture 1

<https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/M074369-03/Conclamatio-over-the-Dead> (9th of August, 2021)

Picture 2

<https://factsanddetails.com/world/cat56/sub405/entry-6294.html> (23rd of July, 2021)

Picture 3

<https://imperiumromanum.pl/en/curiosities/roman-death-masks/> (25th of July, 2021)

Picture 4

<https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregorianoprofano/Mausoleo-degli-Haterii.html> (16th of August, 2021)

Picture 5

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Picture 6



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Picture 9

<https://news.italy-museum.com/the-tomb-of-cecilia-metella/> (14th of August, 2021)

Picture 10

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Picture 12

<https://punkufer.dnevnik.hr/clanak/cestijeva-piramida-rimsko-cudo-staro-2000-godina-kojeje-izgradjeno-za-samo-330-dana---536477.html> (14th of August, 2021)

Picture 13

https://www.flickr.com/photos/re_teacher/28232891983 (16th of August, 2021)

Picture 14

<https://www.armus.hr/izlozbe/stalni-postav/epigraficka-zbirka> (22nd of December, 2021)

Picture 15

<https://www.armus.hr/izlozbe/stalni-postav/epigraficka-zbirka> (22nd of December, 2021)