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A BURIAL RITE OF THE ROMANS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ANCIENT SOCIETY CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL

This article is devoted to the notion of the ancient society on the connection between the burial rites and the existence of the soul in the hereafter. It is well determined that Romans perceived afterlife as a physical reality that gives shelter to the souls of the dead. A decent life gave hope to the soul for worthy existence after death. Properly conducted burial ritual contributed to that. Both men and women were buried on the same rite, either by cremation or by burial in the ground. It is also defined that sometimes the choice between cremation and burial depended on established traditions in a certain family, or on the financial situation of the family of the deceased. There are reasons to talk about the origin of a particular form of the funeral ceremony under Principate, particularly when it comes to the burial of Emperors. However, there was also the idea that after death the soul dies with the body in Roman society.

Key words: burial rite, Romans, ancient society, afterlife, soul, funeral ceremony.

Overview. Belief in the afterlife is inherent in a primitive society and is a mandatory attribute of the religious consciousness of a man. Modern dogmas, including Christianity inherited the idea of the afterworld from previous religions. The issue of the soul existence in the afterworld is an important part of religious principles and practices of modern religions. The ancient Egyptians, Jews and many other peoples did not doubt that the soul continues to live after death. Such views were inherent in the religious consciousness of the ancient Greeks

and Romans. This inevitably led to reflections on the position of the soul in the afterworld, the life after death and its prospects. All this led to the respectful treatment of funeral rites in the ancient world. The study of this aspect of the religious consciousness of the Romans enables deeper understanding of both the religious beliefs of ancient society and the foundations of Christianity.

Analysis of recent research and publications. One of the most uncertain in the Roman religion is the range of problems related to the faith of the Romans in the afterlife. In due time Elena Shtaerman rightly drew attention to this fact, emphasizing the uncertain nature of the god of the underworld Vediovis and manes, their relationship with the goddess Mania, larvae and lemurs [4, 71]. The issue of funeral rites in Rome is also controversial [20, 191]. Scenes depicting the burial rituals are only observed in ancient art as an exception. Uncertain also is the etymology of the word funus [11, 194]. Debatable is the question of the use of lamps and candles during the lying in state (Ger. – Aufbahrung) [21, 151]. The issues of the Romans' afterworld was thoroughly researched in a number of works produced by outstanding expert on antiquity, Franz Cumont. The Belgian scientist examines a wide range of issues – from the appearance of Greek doctrines on Italian soil to the preservation of the Roman ideas on the afterlife in Christianity. The researcher draws attention to the difference in understanding the concepts of immortality in religion of the Roman Empire and modern ideas [8, 110]. The religious concept of the afterworld is largely reflected in burial practice. Mario Erasmo considers burial ritual to be a cultural and literary intertextuality of epitaphs, drama and epic [10]. Ian Morris devoted his monograph to the burial rite [17]. Research of the problems related to burial rites in ancient Rome is important for understanding ancient remnants and beliefs. However, various aspects of the problem have not received enough attention.

The aim of the research is to clarify the notion of the ancient society on the connection between the burial rites and the existence of the soul in the hereafter.

According to one view, there were no strict canons of the funeral ritual in Ancient Rome, as they were not present in the ancient world in general [2, 63-108]. Indeed, the burial ceremonies could differ depending upon social or financial situation of the deceased. However,

some elements of the funeral ceremony were mostly consistent under all circumstances. Some of them have survived, such as lighting candles around the bed of the deceased or decorating the burial place with flowers.

Funeral ceremony consists of the way the remains of the deceased are buried and rituals that accompany this process. In ancient society, the dominant opinion was that improper burial, as well as negligent performance of the ritual, created obstacles for the soul of the deceased on the way from the world of the living to the realm of the dead. The soul of the dead wandered around, adversely affecting the others. According to the beliefs of the ancient Romans, between the world of the living and the world of the dead, as well as between the gods and men, there is no insurmountable barrier. Roman tradition claimed that Venus was the mother of Aeneas, while Mars was the father of Romulus and Remus. Of course, the educated Romans perceived narrations about Romulus joining the gods or kinship between gods and individuals with skepticism. Educated minority treated the beliefs of the dark crowd (ίδιώτης ὄμιλος) with great irony (Luc. Luct. 2). However, Varro finds it useful for the state that «brave men» (viri fortes) considered themselves to be born of the gods (August. De civ. D. 3.4). According to the most ancient beliefs of the Romans, after death, souls became younger deities manes, the patrons of their relatives: «Manes exist» (Sunt aliquid manes) – says Propertius (Prop. 4.7.1). Manes, like the other gods, had to be worshiped. According to Plutarch, male descendants (ἄρσην) must respect parents as gods ($\dot{\omega}\varsigma \theta \varepsilon o \dot{\upsilon}\varsigma$) (Plut. Mor. 267a). But not only parents were honored in this way. A gravestone was found in the former Germania Inferior territory. It bears the inscription reflecting that Mucronia Marcia dedicated the altar (aram ... consacravit) to worship her deceased daughter, Rufia Materna (CIL 13.8706).

Homer, describing the adventures of Odysseus, speaks of a visit to the kingdom of Hades by his son Laertes. Circe tells Odysseus that the kingdom of the dead lies beyond Oceanus. The shore kingdom is low (ἀκτή τε λάχεια), and there is the sacred grove of Persephone (ἄλσος περσεφονείης), where tall poplars (μακραί τ αἴγειροι) and willows (πέαι) grow. Souls (ψυχαί) of the dead wander there powerless (ἀμενηνά) like shadows (σκιαί). They retain the ability to communicate via verbal language. But the sounds they produce – they are only an echo of

their former voices. Souls of Denyen, who saw Aeneas in the underworld, could not extract from their throats a decent scream. If the body was crippled in the living world, the soul preserves these shortcomings in the realm of the dead, as it is seen on the example of Deiphobus (Verg. A. 6.493-498). So, apparently, this is why the Romans worried so much about the appearance of the deceased. Before his death, Emperor Augustus is concerned about public tranquility in Nola, Campanian town, where he died, and his hairdo (Suet. Aug. 99.1). Circe talks about the soul of a blind seer old man Tiresias which by the grace of Persephone, the wife of Hades, not only preserved the unaltered mind $(\varphi \rho \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \varsigma)$ but also the ability to predict the future. But this is an exception. The soul of the mother of Odysseus recognized ($\xi v\omega$) the son only after having drunk the blood of sacrificial animals. Similarly, the soul of Agamemnon recognized Odysseus as soon as it drank «the black blood» (α μα κελαινόν). Thus, the souls of the dead are not deprived of certain needs. In particular, they are thirsty for the blood of sacrificial animals (Hom. Od. 10.493-495; 509-510; 539-540; 11.49; 153; 390) and wine libations. In one of the epitaphs we read: «Stranger, ... mix (wine), drink, give it to me» (Hospes ... misce bibe da mi) (ILS 8204).

Plato reports the views upon death and afterlife that existed in the Greek community in the 4th century B.C. In his «The Republic» we come across a call not to decry what is happening in Hades because this is blasphemy and is both false and useless ($\dot{\omega}\zeta$ o $\ddot{v}\tau\varepsilon$ $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\tilde{\eta}$... ο ὕτε ώφέλιμα). In this context, it argues that the myths by Homer and other poets on the afterlife do not reflect the truth and should be rejected (Plat. Rep. 3.386-387b). In dialogue «Phaedo» Plato gives his views on the issue of life and death: death is a liberation of the soul from the body (τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγήν) (Plat. Phaedo 64c). The inscriptions refer to the body which was left by the soul (animae / ablatae corpore) (ILS 7704). Seneca the Younger transmits a contemporary idea that the split of the soul and the body occurs when the last breath (extremus anhelitus) comes from the mouth of the dying (Sen. Ep. 30.14). According to Cicero, some believe that the soul disappears immediately after death, others – that it continues to exist for a long time (diu permanere), and others – that it exists eternally (semper) (Cic. Tusc. 1.18). Many had no clear opinion on that. Tacitus, saying that «great souls» (magnae animae) do not

dissolve with the body and uses conjunction «if» (si), expressing his unsettled opinion (Tac. Ag. 46.1).

Those who believed that soul continued to exist after death thought that the soul maintains the ability to think. The souls of bad people $(\varphi \alpha \tilde{v} \lambda o \varsigma)$ fearing Hades, stay among the graves and crypts (μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη), serving punishment for the past sins (Plat. Phaedo 64c; 81d-e). The souls of good people have no reason to fear the afterworld. Immediately after death, the daemon of the deceased ($\delta \alpha i \mu \omega v$, for the Romans – genius, in the Christian tradition – the guardian angel) takes his soul to a certain place. There the trial is held. Justice is administered by judges (Plat. Rep. 10.614s). By their decision each soul, with its guide, sets for Hades. A righteous soul settles in the right place for it. The souls of especially pious people will live in a «clean country» (καθαρή οἵκησις). The souls of those, whose lives were recognized as neither good nor bad, are sent to the Acheron, one of the many rivers flowing in the hereafter. By boats they get to Acherusia, a lake which empties into Acheron. There they live clearing from evil, redeeming faults committed during life, taking punishment for them, and for the good deeds they get worthy rewards. The souls of those who have, during life, committed particularly serious felonies, such as unlawful murder (ἄδικος φόνος), their destiny (μο ῖρα, for the Romans – Parca) was to be thrown in Tartarus (Tάρταρος). the land of no return. When a serious crime was committed in the heat of passion and the person was repentant, man could hope for salvation if the souls of those whom it did wrong forgive it (Plat. Phaedo 107-108; 113d-e; 114a-c).

The kingdom of the dead, apart from Odysseus, was also visited by other people during the life. Several authors talk about the stay of Greek warrior Er in the realm of Hades. He died in the war but revived during the burial ceremony, cremation, and told him about his experiences in the afterlife. According to him, the committed evil has to be atoned for with a tenfold punishment in the afterworld (Macrob. In Somn. 1.1.9; Origen C. Cels. 2.16; Plat. Rep. 10.614b-621b; Plut. Mor. 740b-c). Singer and musician Orpheus descended into the realm of the dead in a vain attempt to revive his wife Eurydice (Ov. Met. 10.13-75). Also Aeneas visited the afterworld. The Romans considered him their

ancestor, and from his son, Ascanius or Iulus, were descended famous Roman gens Iulia.

As described by Virgil, in the realm of the dead souls are divided into certain categories, each of which covers a certain area, designated for it. On his way Aeneas consistently meets at first infant souls (animae infantum), then those executed on false charges, then suicides. Further, come the so-called «fields of sorrow» (lugentes campi), in the myrtle forest wander those who were brought to grave by unhappy love. Finally, Aeneas reaches the outer fields where the souls of heroes killed in battles stay. From that place the road diverges into two paths. One of those leads to the so-called Elysian Fields (Elysium), where the heroes live happily. The other one takes the souls of sinners to Tartarus. Aeneas saw a fortress fortified with a triple wall (moenia), which is wrapped around by a steep, rough, fire-flaming river – the Phlegethon. From there come the groans (gemitus) of sinful souls, a terrible whizz coming from whips and gnashing of iron (stridor ferri). No one pious (castus) can get into Tartarus. However, no soul can hide committed in the world of the living sins and has to atone for them. Here suffers the soul of Salmoneus, the king of Thessaly and Elis, who wanted to catch up with Jupiter and requested divine honors for himself. Due penalty get those killed for adultery (adulterium), traitors, those who beat their father or mother etc. Among the sinners Virgil also places those who cheated their clients (Verg. A. 6.426-569, 585-591; 608-613). This feature provides the hereafter with Roman peculiarities because patronage (clientela) was part of Roman, not Greek public relations.

In the minds of the Romans, the souls of dead relatives became younger deities – manes. Cicero talks about it in the dialogue «On the Laws» and says: «Let the rights of gods-manes be inviolable» (*Deorum Manium iura sancta sunto*) (Cic. Leg. 2.22). So the dead were enlisted as the gods (*in deorum numero*): «The dead should be regarded as gods» (*Humanos leto datos divos habento*) (Cic. Leg. 2.22; 55). One epitaph reads: «In this grave lies a lifeless body, the soul of which has been taken between the Gods» (*in hoc tumulo iacet corpus | exanimis (sic)*, *cuius spiritus inter de | os receptus est*) (ILS 4947). A curious inscription has survived to our times. It is placed on the tomb of some Arria, a namesake of Caecina Paetus's wife, who became famous after the phrase: «It does not hurt, Paetus!» (*Paete, non dolet*). Arria's husband

calls the tomb erected for her *«heroum»* (CIL 6.12405). According to Pliny the Elder, the residents of Sestos used the term *«heroon»* referring to the Shrine of Jupiter and the Maiden (Plin. Nat. 10.6). Deification of the dead is observed not only among slaves, libertines or ordinary citizens, but even among the most educated people of the time. Cicero, in letters to Atticus, clearly indicates his intention to reach deification $(\acute{\alpha}\pi o\theta \acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma \iota \varsigma)$ of his dead daughter, Tullia. The grave of the deceased had to become a temple: *«I want it to be a temple»* (*fanum fieri volo*) (Cic. Att. 12.36).

John Kenrick reasonably good guess that almost universal introduction of epitaphs *Diis Manibus*, or abbreviation *D. M.* indicates general belief that the spiritual component of human nature continues to exist after death. Divine Manes were disembodied souls of people who expect to move into another body, as was believed by the supporters of reincarnation, or, according to a more popular concept, remained near the graves, sensitive to any desecration or neglect and were satisfied with the testimony of love and memory [12, 52].

The Romans believed that the soul of the deceased becomes a keeper of the house, its genius. The same way, each field, grove, and stream had its guardian – genius loci [22, 30]. According to Roman folk beliefs, the gods of the hearth and home, lares and penates, control everyday life matters. In the archaic period in Rome it was common to burry a person in the house, so that the deceased was as close as possible to those whom he had to protect. Servius, in commentaries on Virgil, speaks of this, explaining why lares were honored inside of houses, «all were in their houses buried» (omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur) (Serv. Aen. 6.152). Later, burial was arranged in the garden near the house of the deceased [23, 125]. But libation (*libatio*) was further carried out in a hearth - focus (Serv. Aen. 1.730). The term focus also meant the sacrificial altar with fire. In this context we can better understand the practice of separation from water and fire (Aquae et ignis interdictio). Servius explains, «thus, towards those we want to expel from our community, we are depriving them of water and fire, those things that connect community» (unde econtra quos arcere volumus a nostro consortio, eis aqua et igni interdicimus, id est rebus, quibus consortia copulantur) (Serv. Aen. 12.119). That is, it is separation from the gods of hearth, and thus from the community which they care about.

The practice of burial within the home did not meet any sanitary standards and was banned in the middle of the 5th century B.C. According to Cicero, the Law of the Twelve Tables says that in the City, we cannot bury or burn (in urbe ne sepelito neve urito) the dead (hominem mortuum): «in the City to bury the law prohibits» (in urbe sepeliri lex vetat) (Cic. Leg. 2.58). So, the graves were arranged outside Rome and other Italian cities. The major roads beginning from the city gates for a few miles were surrounded on both sides with the tombs. This is how famous the Appian Way (Via Appia) which starts from Porta San Sebastiano is. The most ancient graves are located closer to the gate, near which the funeral procession made a stop. From the evidence Propertius gives, we can conclude that some people accompanied the funeral procession only to the city gate, returning from there to their business (Prop. 4.7.29). However, most people remained at the ceremony until the cremation. When fire burnt out, ashes were poured with water or wine, the bones were collected, washed with wine and milk, and wiped with a linen cloth. Together with aromatic substances ashes were put in a funeral urn, which was transferred into the prepared grave. Over the burial there was a tombstone installed. It had an inscription that praised the virtues of the deceased. Then there was the final religious ceremony (feriae denicales), with sacrifice for the sanctification of the grave and cleaning of the house and family.

Funeral ceremony was to help the soul of the deceased to leave, without problem, the living world and find refuge in the world of the dead. Therefore, the best death for the Romans is a death in his native home, surrounded by friends and relatives. This gave the dying confidence that his body will be buried properly. Both men and women were buried on the same rite. There is no evidence that would prove the contrary [6, 418]. The burial ritual expected cremation (combustio, $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\nu}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) or burial in the ground (humatio, $\tau\alpha\phi\dot{\eta}$). Cicero emphasizes that to bury (sepelire) and to burn (urere) – are different concepts (Cic. Leg. 2.60). However, both these methods of burial were equivalent for the Romans and were denoted by the term funus [3, 68]. When Socrates was asked how he would like to be buried, the philosopher said, «Whichever way you like» ($\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ δv) (Plat. Phaedo 115s). In some

cases, disposal was given preference to cremation. Pliny the Elder claims that the children who died before their tooth cut were not exposed to cremation (Hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est) (Plin. 7.72). That baby's (infans) body is not burnt is also noted by Juvenal (Juv. 15.139-140). The graves of these children were called suggrundarium. By some estimates, the infant mortality rate in Rome was 200 - 300 out of 1000 [13, 123]. It was forbidden to burn people killed by lightning (fulgur). Pliny the Elder said: «It is illegal to burn those who lost their lives in this way, religion tells to bury him» (hominem ita exanimatum cremari fas non est, condi terra religio tradidit) (Plin. 2.145). Upon burial a body was laid in a sarcophagus, usually a stone one. In 181 B.C., a stone sarcophagus (arca lapidea) was discovered. According to the inscription, the body of Numa Pompilius was once buried in it (Val. Max. 1.1.12). Sometimes the burial method was chosen considering the future development of the political situation in the country. In particular, Sulla the First because of the patrician gens Cornelia commanded that his body was to be burnt after death. Cicero suggests that such a decision was motivated by fear of the dictator that his remains could be defiled as he desecrated the remains of Gaius Marius (Cic. Leg. 2.56-57).

To make resettlement in another world easier, it was necessary to pray to the gods (Plat. Phaedo 115e; 117s). Elpenor's soul, Odysseus's companion, who died recently and who, because of the rush, was not buried, requests not to leave him unmourned (ἄκλανστος) and unburied $(\alpha\theta\alpha\pi\tau\sigma\varsigma)$. It asks to burn the body of Elpenor together with the arms $(\tau \varepsilon \tilde{\nu} \chi o \varsigma)$ and to build a burial mound over it (Hom. Od. 11.72-75). With the same request, the soul of Patroclus refers to Achilles: «Bury me, so that as soon as possible I would pass the gates of Hades» ($\theta \acute{\alpha} \pi \tau \acute{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon$ όττι τάχιστα πύλας Αΐδαο περήσω) (Hom. II. 23.71). Virgil in Aeneid tells the story of Palinurus's soul, comrade of Aeneas. Together with souls of the other dead that have not been properly buried, he cannot get on the boat to Charon and cross the sacred waters of the Styx. Such souls wander over a hundred years over this coast (Verg. A. 6.329). Unburied bodies were the cause of filth. The corpse of Misenus, a trumpeter of Hector, who later became a companion of Aeneas, desecrated the whole fleet (totam incestat funere classem). Instead, a body buried in the ground in compliance with the ordinance, as custom $(v \acute{o} \mu o \varsigma)$

requires, makes soul worthy of the underworld (Soph., Ant. 23-25). During the funeral of Misenus, there was a hotbed of different species of trees: pine (picea), holm oak (ilex), ash (fraxinus). For the funeral fire of Patrols, oaks ($\delta \rho \tilde{\nu} c$) were also used? (Hom. II. 23.118). The ancient Greeks and Romans believed that the soul if the deceased is desirable to the gods, his body is burning faster. Therefore, resinous trees were used for the fire, which burn well, and moreover, they were also poured with oil [3, 78]. There was a view that women's bodies have more heat than men's. So, when a large burial fire was made, for every ten men there was one female body put over, which would contribute to a better combustion (Plut. Mor. 651b). Funeral fire (pyra) is surrounded with mourning branches. A row of cupressus - it was the tree of mourning dedicated to the god of the underworld Pluto, is placed in front of the fire. Bathed with hot water body is oiled with ointments (unguunt), and mourned, covered with purple curtain, and on funeral litters taken to the fire. Bringing torch to the fire, the head is turned to the right. Along with the burning of the body, a sacrifice is made: incense, sacrificial food and olive oil are burnt. The extinguished fire is poured with wine, and the bones are collected in a copper funeral urn (aenus cadus). After the purification ritual a burial mound is erected (Verg. A. 6.150; 214-234). According to Roman beliefs, it was necessary to sprinkle the remains of the deceased with at least three handfuls of dust (Hor., Carm. 1.28.36).

Nero, preparing to depart into eternity, ordered to dig a grave in his presence, according to the body size. To wash the body, he commanded to bring water and to make fire – firewood (*ligna*). After cremation his ashes (*reliquiae*) were collected and buried in the family crypt of the gens Domitia (Suet. Nero 49-50). Thus, after the body is burnt, the bones are collected in an urn for further burial. This confirms that burial was a more ancient custom than cremation. Cicero also speaks of the custom of *«os resectum»* (Cic. Leg. 2.55). Before cremation, some flesh was cut from the deceased, usually a finger that was buried after burning the body.

Sometimes circumstances evolved in such a way, that there was no way to bury the dead. For example, the body could not be found. Very often this happened after a sea battle or ship accident during the storm. The death of this kind terrified. Ovidius is not afraid of death,

for him it is – a gift (*munus*), just not a ship accident (*naufragium*) (Ov. Tr. 1.2.51-52). If body was unburied, the soul of the deceased could roam hundreds of years along the Styx, unable to overcome its waters. Pliny the Younger retells an interesting story on this topic. In one of the Athenian houses, for a long time, at night, residents were disturbed by a ghost. This continued until in the house, occupied by the ghost, bones tied with chains were found. They were collected and publicly buried (*collecta publice sepeliuntur*). After the appropriate funeral (*rite condere manes*) the house was released (*caruit*) from the ghost (Plin. Ep. 7.27.5-11). A soul could not have peace also when a person died with a violent death, and the criminal escaped punishment. Nero admitted that he was haunted by a ghost (*species*) of Agrippina, his mother, who was killed on his orders (Suet. Nero 34.4). Some people heard the melancholy moaning (*planctus*) over the grave of his mother (Tac. Ann. 14.10).

When Caligula was murdered, his cadaver was not buried properly. The ghost of Caligula bothered both gardens of Lamian Gardens, where a half-burnt (*semiambustum*) body was buried, and the residents of the house where he was killed. Subsequently a funeral ceremony was held again in compliance with the ordinance (Suet. Calig. 59). Nero asks his most loyal servants, who were with him in his last moments, to burn his body completely (*totus cremaretur*), at all costs, so that no one got a hold of the head (Suet. Nero 49.4). Half-burnt body meant partial release of the soul and doomed it to sufferings [15, 222]. Thucy-dides describes a solemn funeral ceremony of soldiers held by the Athenians during the so-called Archidamian War. During the ceremony, one empty funeral bed ($\kappa\lambda i\nu\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\nu\eta$) was carried for those missing, whose bodies could not have been found for the burial (Thuc. I2.34.3).

If the body was missing the so-called «cenotaph» (κενοτάφιον) or «empty tomb» (tumulus inanis) was built. Customary funeral rites were held near it. Such an «empty tomb» for Hector was arranged by Andromache. She also consecrated two altars on both sides of it (Verg. A. 3.304-305). The so-called «honor cenotaphs» were also erected. Drusus's body, the father of future Emperor Claudius, was buried at the Field of Mars. Legionaries, whom he fought in Germania, made a burial mound in the place of his death (tumulum excitavit), around which ritual ceremonies were held every year (Suet. Claud. 1.3).

The relatives of the deceased played an important role in the funeral rites of the Romans. They caught the last breath (*extremus anhelitus*) from the mouth of the dying. Relatives had the right to decide whether to believe the death had occurred, thus opening the way for the burial ceremony. However, that right was not unconditional, which is proven by the story of Apuleius. Once Asclepiades of Bithynia, a famous Greek physician, who practiced in Rome in the first century B.C., met at the pomerium a funeral procession. The body washed and oiled with ointments, was carried on the funeral litters to the place of cremation. Having carefully examined the body, Asclepiades recognized signs of life. Despite the protests of relatives the body was carried back home and the doctor helped to resume man's breathing (Apul. Fl. 19).

Of course, this case is exceptional. Romans burial rites contained the elements able to prevent similar troubles. Once the eyes of the dead were closed, the mourning ceremony was held near the body (conclamatio). With some pauses, it lasted until the burial. In Properties, we read that such mourning, allegedly, could give the deceased one more day of life (Prop. 4.7.23-24). During the mourning the deceased was addressed to in a raised voice. The lack of reaction allowed to ensure that the person was really dead. With a funeral accompaniment of pipes (in Persius – *tuba*, Petronius mentions a trumpeter or flutist – *cornicines*) (Pers. 3.103; Petron. Sat.78), the body was washed with warm water and oiled with ointments and dressed in a toga. According to Juvenal, in a large part of Italy, no one wears a toga until he dies (Pars magna Italiae est ... in qua nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus) (Juv. 3.171-172). Fragrance oils, such as amomum, frankincense (tus), the balsam of Judaea (Hebraei liquores) etc., protected the body from early decay. The deceased was placed on a high funerary bed (lectus funebris) in the atrium of the house, with the feet towards the door, covered him with an exquisite veil, leaving his face open, the veil was covered with wreaths and flowers. The hearth was extinguished. Candles and lamps were lit around the bed (Pers. 3.103-105; Stat. Silv. 5.1.213). This scene is depicted in a unique relief that was found near Rome in the middle of the nineteenth century. Today it is kept in the Lateran Museum [21, 149 – 151, Pl. IX]. A coin was put in the mouth of the deceased. With it, his soul had to pay for crossing the Styx. A broken branch of a cypress tree or spruce, which symbolized death, was put in front of the house, alerting passers-by, especially the priests of the danger of

profanation [11, 194]. Access to the body was open mostly for three to seven days.

A funerals could be a usual one (*funus translaticium*), or a solemn one (*funus indictivum*), with the announcement of a herald. Funeral procession moved accompanied by flutists (*tibicines*) and torch holders the same way as the wedding ceremony. Propertius speaks of life from the wedding to the funeral, as a path between the two torches (*inter utranque facem*) (Prop. 4.11.46).

The form of the funeral rite also depended on the financial condition of the family of the deceased. Cremation was more expensive than burial. Many families did not have enough money to bury the deceased that way. The bodies of the poor were often buried in common graves, as is evident from the stories of Horatius and Martial (Hor. S. 1.8.10-14; Mart. 8.75). This occurred under the cover of night, perhaps as a reflection of the ancient Roman custom, or perhaps for practical reasons [20, 194]. Sometimes the choice between cremation and burial was defined by a custom formed in one or another family. In particular, in the patrician gens Cornelia burial in the ground, rather than cremation, was traditionally practiced. As has been said, Sulla was the first of this kin who commanded that his body was to be burned after his death (Cic. Leg. 2.56-57).

Things dearest to the deceased were buried along with the body so that he could use those in the afterlife: weapons, utensils etc. Sometimes even favorite animals of the dead were killed, as described by Pliny the Younger, large and small dogs (*canes maiores minoresque*) (Plin. Ep. 4.2.3). Because of this custom we have a lot of antique everyday items. According to Romans, the souls of the dead had some needs in their posthumous existence.

Another idea, influenced by the Etruscan, held that if the blood of certain animals is sacrificed to certain deities, the soul will become god-like and will be freed from the law of death (*ab legibus mortalitatis educi*) (Arn. Adv. Nat. 2.62). To commemorate the deceased, family meal were arranged and appropriate ceremonies – the Parentalia, the Lemuria, the Feralia, the Caristia – were organized. It was believed that dead relatives took part in those meals. During the Feralia, tombs of the dead were revered (*Est honor et tumulis*) (Ov. Fast 2.533). May 9 celebrated the feast of the Lemuria. The Romans imagined that the spirits of the dead were good (*lares* – spirits keepers) and evil (*larvae*).

Evil spirits could cause a person great trouble, even pursue him and take possession of the body. To prevent this, the head of the family had to make a magical ritual at midnight, which involved some magic gestures and verbal formulas. According to Ovid, a rite of honoring the dead had been preserved from ancient times and had survived to this day (qui partem prisci nunc quoque moris habet) (Ov. Fast. 5.428). Some individuals bequeathed their property on the conditions that the heirs would care for their graves, as we see in the inscriptions of Macedonia: so that the estate will never leave the family, but from the profit from them, those above recorded took care of his and his parents' gravestones and fed (ne unquam / [d] e familia exeant sed ut ex reditu eorum ii qui s (upra) s (cripti) s (unt) monument [um] / [eiu] s et parentium eius colant at ipsi alantur) (CIL 3.656). A typical Roman epitaph, unlike the Greek one, contains not only information about the person to whom it is dedicated, but also about those who built the tomb. This information is contained in 80 percent of grave inscriptions in the western provinces of the Roman Empire [16, 75]. Sometimes it indicates that the grave was «built by heirs» (heredes fecerunt) without giving specific names (ILS 2854).

The Romans probably adopted the solemn funeral ceremony from the Etruscans (pompa funebris) [1, 37], held only by noble families. The funeral procession did not immediately go to the place of burial, but first drew onto the Roman Forum. Sometimes three large funeral processions (tria funera magna) were at the Roman Forum simultaneously (Hor. S. 1.6.43). The son $(v i \delta c)$ of the deceased or another relative gave a mournful speech (laudatio funebris) over the body (Plb. 6.53.2). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, this practice was ancient for the Romans (Ψωμαίων έστὶν άρχαῖον ε ύρεμα) (D.H. 5.17.3). When Augustus died, two such speeches were made by the next Emperor Tiberius and the son of Tiberius, Drusus (Suet. Aug. 100.3). Mournful funeral speeches were important in the political life. They were carefully prepared. It is known that Seneca wrote a speech for Nero on the occasion of the death of Claudius (Tac. Ann. 13.3). Sometimes Laudationes were published and probably leading to a biographical genre of literature [7, 26].

When the body was buried in a foreign land and relatives were unable to attend the funeral, they visited the grave later, honoring the dead with a sacrifice. Catullus overcame many seas (*multa per aequora*) to pay homage to the grave of his brother (Catul. CI.1). Occasionally, those who were esteemed dead in exile, returned alive. They were considered buried and dead if a cenotaph had been built for them and appropriate ceremonies had been held. They were forbidden to enter the house through the door. They had to descend through compluvium – a hole in the roof through which water gets in impluvium. To clear these people, a new birth rite had to be conducted (Plut. Mor. 264e-265b).

Politics could be an obstacle for the solemn burial. After Sulla's death, only the persistence of Pompey provided the body of former dictator with proper funeral honors. Political opponents of Sulla tried to prevent it (Plut. Sull. 38). During Principate, funeral celebrations could be banned by the Emperor. Tacitus tells of the funeral ceremony of Junia, the wife of Gaius Cassius Longinus and the sister of Marcus Junius Brutus, who died under the rule of Emperor Tiberius. The late did not mention the Emperor in her will, but he accepted it as a citizen should (quod civiliter acceptum) and did not prohibit (neque prohibuit) the funeral speech and other solemn ceremonies (sollemnia) (Tac. Ann. 3.76). From the context it is clear that Tiberius had such power. Emperor Nero organized cremation of Britannicus at night, without a solemn ceremony and funeral speeches. He stressed that such burial procedure had been established by ancestors (maioribus institutum) for early deaths (acerba funera) (Tac. Ann. 13.17). In fact, there are reasons to talk about the origin of a particular form of the funeral ceremony during the imperial period of Rome. Funeral solemnities upon the death of Emperor, without doubt, originated from private funeral ceremonies of the aristocracy, but were also considerably different from them. Besides the children, relatives, servants and heirs of the deceased, at the funeral of the Emperor, the entire elite of the society with spouses was present. In pompa funebris not only the image of the relatives of princeps were carried, but of all prominent Romans. In addition, the difference of the burial ceremony of the Emperor was predetermined by its formal adoration, with the temple and priests. From Augustus to Constantine the Great thirty-six out of sixty Emperors and twentyseven members of their families were adored [19, 57 – 58]. Funus publicum, decision on which was taken by the Senate (later along with Emperor), becomes one of critical components of a well-established

imperial propaganda machine [14, 245 - 246]. Outside Rome, the decision to honor with the funeral at public expense was taken by *decuriones*, as mentioned in the inscription from Ostia: *decuriones in honorem Q (uinti) Vergili / Mariani viri eiusfunere publico efferri censuerunt* (AE 1955.187).

In the second and third centuries, the role of the Senate in the funeral of the Emperor decreased, while the value of pyre increases. Pyre becomes a characteristic feature just of the burial ceremony of the Emperor because of the general decrease in the popularity of cremation [18, 321; 19, 104]. In the western part of the Roman Empire, cremation was replaced with burial mainly between 150 and 300 years [17, 203]. It happened, apparently under the influence of Christianity. The writer Macrobius, who lived during the early fifth century, writes that in his time there was no custom of burning dead bodies (*corpora defunctorum*) (Macrob. Sat. 7.7.5).

The Romans understood that all people are equal before death. According to Seneca, people end up living in different ways, but the end for all is the same - it is the «end of life» (finisse vitam) (Sen. Ep. 66.43). But funerals often differed significantly by the amount of money spent. Even in ancient times funeral rites of wealthy Greeks and Romans were marked by splendour. Grand marble tombs were almost like houses: «real house, a house! Who would call it a gloomy grave» (domus ista, domus! Quis triste sepulcrum dixerit) (Stat. Silv. 5.1.237-238). Excessive expenditure on funeral had to be limited by law. These restrictions were introduced in Athenae by Solon's laws and were supplemented, in the late fourth century B.C., by the law of Demetrius of Phalerum. The Romans borrowed Solon's legislation on mourning ceremonies composing the Law of the Twelve Tables, which was introduced in the middle of the fifth century B.C. In particular, up to three shrouds and one purple tunic could be used, and no more than ten flutists could participate etc. The law banned the use of axes (ascea) when arranging the grave as well as excessive mourning (tollit nimiam lamentationem) of the dead (Cic. Leg. 2.59-60). But despite the ban, relatives spend huge sums on incense (odores), unguenta and frankincense (tus) (Plin. Ep. 5.16.7).

However, some did not attach much importance to the funeral ceremony or the arrangement of a grave. Trimalchio speaks of it in

Satyricon by Petronius: «It is extremely wrong of a person to look after his home during life, but not to worry about the house, in which he will have to stay for much longer» (Valde enim falsum est vivo quidem domos cultas esse, non curari eas, ubi diutius nobis habitandum est) (Petr. 71). Indifference to funeral rites and the arrangement of graves could have been caused simply by the lack of resources. The burial of the poor in Rome were extremely modest. Martial tells about the unfortunate adventure with some gaul, a representative of the Lingones tribe. Late at night he hurt his leg in the streets of Rome and could not get to his house. Luckily for him a body of the poor man (vile cadaver) was carried by near him. It had to be buried along with thousands of bodies in the same common grave. Upon the request of the gaul, he was placed in a modest litter (sandapila), previously having removed the corpse, and carried to his home (Mart. 8.75). Perhaps, after such a neglect «burial» of a poor man, a wandering dog (canis extrarius) brought a human hand to future Emperor Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 5.4). Living conditions form the Roman poor people were extremely poor. The accumulation of a large number of people in a small living space, poor ventilation facilities, periodic epidemics and fires, complicated criminal situation and, consequently, high mortality. By some estimates, in Rome during the time of Augustus, about 80 people were dying every day. In times of epidemic, this figure could rise to 10,000 [5, 129]. All this was not conducive to a proper funeral rites either.

In Roman society, as in modern society, there was also the view that after death the soul and body perish together (*una animum et corpus occidere*), the soul decays in the body. Cicero says that there is no crazy women (*delira anus*), who would have feared the underworld (Cic. Tusc. 1.18; 1.48). Seneca considers the fear of Cerberus childlike (*nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat*) (Sen. Ep. 24.18). Juvenal, at the beginning of the second century B.C., argues that even children do not believe in the existence of the underworld (*subterranea regna*) and souls (*manes*), only babies can (Juv. 2.149-152). Proof for this is found in epitaphs, many of which deny the belief in the possibility of life after death [9, 14]. Epitaph seen in Patavium by Theodor Mommsen ends with this line: *N. F. F. N. S. N. C.* (*non fui, fui, non sum, non curo* – did not exist, existed, do not exist, do not worry) (ILS 8164).

Tomb is regarded as «eternal home» (domus aeterna) (ILS 7814), previously constructed for yourself, your relatives (ILS 8080) and friends (conpari suo) (ILS 8081). The deceased was wished light earth: «Let the earth be mild to you» (S.T.T.L. – Sit tibi terra levis) (ILS 1659).

In sum, we shall state the following: Romans perceived afterlife as a physical reality that gives shelter to the souls of the dead. A decent life gave hope to the soul for worthy existence after death. Properly conducted burial ritual contributed to that. Both men and women were buried on the same rite, either by cremation or by burial in the ground. Sometimes the choice between cremation and burial depended on established traditions in a certain family, or on the financial situation of the family of the deceased. There are reasons to talk about the origin of a particular form of the funeral ceremony under Principate, particularly when it comes to the burial of Emperors. However, there was also the idea that after death the soul dies with the body in Roman society.

The study of local peculiarity of burial rite in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire is a promising line for further research of the problem.

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Петречко Олег. Поховальний обряд римлян у контексті уявлень античного суспільства про душу. Дана стаття присвячена уявленням античного суспільства щодо зв'язку між поховальним обрядом та існуванням душі у потойбічному світі. Встановлено, що потойбічний світ римляни сприймали як фізичну реаль-

ність, що дає притулок душам померлих. Гідно прожите життя давало душі надію на достойне існування після смерті. Сприяв цьому належним чином проведений поховальний обряд. І жінок і чоловіків ховали за однаковим обрядом, або через кремацію, або через захоронення у землі. З'ясовано, що інколи вибір між кремацією і захороненням залежав від традицій, що склалися у тому чи тому роді, або від матеріального становища родини померлого. Є підстави говорити про виникнення особливої форми поховальної церемонії за принципату, зокрема, коли мова йде про поховання імператорів. Водночас, у римському суспільстві існувала також думка про те, що після смерті душа гине разом з тілом.

Ключові слова: похоронний обряд, римляни, античне суспільство, загробне життя, душа, поховальна церемонія.

Петречко Олег. Погребальный обряд римлян в контексте представлений античного общества о душе. Данная статья посвящена представлениям античного общества о связи между погребальным обрядом и существованием души в загробном мире. Установлено, что потусторонний мир римляне воспринимали как физическую реальность, дающую убежище душам умерших. Достойно прожитая жизнь давала душе надежду на достойное существование после смерти. Способствовал этому должным образом проведённый погребальный обряд. И женщин и мужчин хоронили по одинаковому обряду, или через кремацию, или через захоронения в земле. Выяснено, что иногда выбор между кремацией и захоронением в земле зависел от сложившейся в том или ином роде традиции, или от материального положения семьи умершего. Есть основания предполагать возникновение особой формы погребальной церемонии в период принципата, в частности, когда речь идёт о захоронении императоров. В то же время, в римском обществе существовала также мысль о том, что после смерти душа погибает вместе с телом.

Ключевые слова: похоронный обряд, римляне, античное общество, загробная жизнь, душа, похоронная церемония.