

The life of the dead. The funerary archaeology in Roman Sardinia: tracing cultural interactions in a provincial context*

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Vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum.

The life of the dead is placed in the memory of the living.

Cic. Phil. 9, 10

Abstract: The study of the relationships between funerary practices and historical changes in Sardinia between the late Republican age and the early imperial age poses complex problems, due to the interaction of the different cultural traditions of the island, especially the North African one of Punic influence and the Roman-Italic one. The purpose of this contribution is to analyze how this cultural syncretism is reflected in Sardinian funerary archaeology.

Keywords: Roman Sardinia, funerary archaeology, Romanisation, the hypogeum of *Atilia Pomptilla*, *Parentalia*.

Riassunto: Lo studio dei rapporti tra pratiche funerarie e mutamenti storici occorsi in Sardegna tra la tarda età repubblicana e la prima età imperiale pone problemi complessi, dovuti all'interazione tra le diverse tradizioni culturali dell'isola, in particolare quella nord-africana di influenza punica e quella romano-italica. L'obiettivo di questo contributo è analizzare come questo sincretismo culturale si rifletta sull'archeologia funeraria sarda.

Parole chiave: Sardegna romana, archeologia funeraria, Romanizzazione, ipogeo di *Atilia Pomptilla*, *Parentalia*.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the relationships between funerary practices and historical changes in Sardinia (Italy) in the Roman age confirms that archaeological evidence of the island is linked to the interactions between the Punic and Roman cultural traditions (CRUCCAS 2012: 79-90; SALVI

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2016: 307-309; PUDDU 2018: 13-25). This syncretism is demonstrated by many examples such as the so-called ‘*Sa Presonedda*’ mausoleum in Sant’Antioco (CI), comparable to some Punic-Hellenistic funerary tower monuments, the grave stelae concentrated around Sassari and Oristano, whose schematized images of the deceased are based on the North African culture of Punic influence¹, or the hypogeum of *Atilia Pomptilla*, which has the typical architectural features of a *heroon*, and the funerary monument with Doric frieze found in via XX Settembre in Cagliari, a type of tomb very common in central Italy between the late Republican and early Imperial ages.

Starting from these examples, the study of funerary archaeology in Sardinia is very useful for analysing the so-called ‘Romanisation’, a historical phenomenon in recent years at the center of a broad theoretical debate and understood as a process of construction of transcultural and social systems between native and Roman groups (ALFÖLDY 2005; INGLEBERT 2005; JANNIARD, TRAINA 2005). In the light of this consideration, the aim of this research is to investigate how the different aspects of the archaeology of death interact with each other in Roman Sardinia.

SARDINIA BETWEEN CARTHAGE AND ROME: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

The period between the 3rd and 1st century BCE was a particularly delicate historical phase for Sardinia since it was marked by the transition from the Punic domination to the Roman one (Fig. 1). As is known, taking advantage of the revolt of the unpaid Carthaginian mercenaries at the end of the First Punic War in Sardinia, Rome occupied the island in 238 BCE, even if its conquest was initially hindered by numerous guerrilla actions of local populations, as documented by the six Roman triumphs noted on the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* from 234 to 111 BC, culminating in 216-215 BCE with the revolt of *Hampsicora*, a member of the Punic-Sardinian landowner aristocracy, and ended thanks to the military intervention of *Titus Manlius Torquatus* (Liv. 23, 32, 5; 34, 10; 40, 1; 41, 1; Sil. 12, 342-354, 379-419) (MASTINO 2005b; MASTINO 2016). The pro-Punic origin of these revolts was motivated by the considerable Carthaginian economic interests towards the island, as had already been emphasised by one of the clauses of the Punic-Roman treaty signed in 348 BCE that forbade Romans to entertain commercial relations in the island and to establish colonies (Plb. 3, 24, 3-11). This prohibition put an end to the project of the central Italic middle class who wished to include Sardinia within its sphere of influence, as evidenced by the failed attempt to found *Pheronia* (Posada, NU) on the N-E coast of the island in 386 or 378 BCE (D.S. 15, 27, 4; Ptol. 3, 3, 4) (ROPPA 2013: 19-32; IBBA 2015: 12-29).

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One of its members was *M(arcus) Ploti(us) Silisonis f(ilius) Rufus* (*IL Sard* I, 58), the owner of the *fullonica* in via XX Settembre in Cagliari, dated to the 1st century BCE thanks to the style of its mosaic characterized by typical motifs of Hellenistic-Italic art, like flowers with six spindle-shaped petals, dolphins in association with anchors, rudders, and double axes (ANGIOLILLO 1981: 85-87; ANGIOLILLO 2013: 22) (Fig. 2). Despite the typically Roman use of *tria nomina*, the owner of the *fullonica* had a Punic origin, as his father's name, *Siliso*, is not present in Latin and Greek onomastics and goes back etymologically to the Punic name *šlšn* (= 'three'), corresponding to the Latin *cognomen Tertius* (ANGIOLILLO 1985: 99, 102, 109, n. 18; FLORIS 2017: 209).

After the creation of the province *Sardinia et Corsica* in 227 BCE, the presence of *negotiatores*, *mercatores* and *publicani*, Roman entrepreneurs and public contractors, caused the definitive insertion of the island into the Tyrrhenian commercial circuits. This phenomenon is widely documented by the spread of Greek-Italic and Dressel 1 amphorae used to trade the Italic wine since the 3rd and 2nd century BCE, or by the use of the local Gray Ware which imitates the Campanian Black-Gloss during the 2nd and the 1st century BCE, and confirms the interest of the Sardinian patronage to the Roman contemporary trends of pottery classes (TRONCHETTI 2017: 73-74; TRONCHETTI 2018: 11-15).

The cultural impact of central Italy middle class was extremely significant, as documented more specifically by the temple originally situated in via Malta in Cagliari, supposedly dedicated to *Venus* and *Adonis*, built in the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE (Fig. 3). Due to its planimetric and architectural characteristics, this shrine was built in according to the typological model of the Italic terraced sanctuaries, like those of *Iuno Gabina* in Gabii and *Hercules Victor* in Tivoli (COARELLI 1987: 11-21, 85-112; D'ALESSIO 2011). The sanctuary of Cagliari was a tetrastyle temple on podium, probably delimited by a triporticus, which was in axis with a theatrical cavea, supposedly used for celebration of the *ludi scaenici* in honor of *Adonis* (ANGIOLILLO 1986-1987; TOMEI 2008: 79-99, 212-213).

However, despite the Sardinia's full incorporation into the Roman dominions, the Carthaginian influence on many aspects of the island's life was still considerable, especially at the religious level, as evidenced by the neo-Punic and Latin bilingual dedication, probably made in the Caesarian age and found in *Sulci*, dedicated by *Himilco*, an influential member of the city, to the Phoenician goddess *Elat*, in whose honor he had commissioned her cult statue (*CIL* X 7513: *Himilconi, Idnibalīs f(ilius), H[imilconis nepos], / quei hanc aedem ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) fac(iundam) / coeravit. Himilco f(ilius) statuam [posuit]; CIS* I, 149) (MASTINO, ZUCCA 2012: 404-405; IBBA 2016: 78-99).

The phenomenon of the continuity of Punic administrative institutions is also well known, such as the case of the suffetes *Aristo* and *Mutumbal* in *Caralis*, whose portraits are depicted on a series of bronze coins from 42-36 BCE, together with the image of the facade of the *Venus* temple in via Malta (PORRÀ 2007: 54-56; IBBA 2012: 206-207). Another example is that of *Himilkat* and *Abdesbmun*, two suffetes mentioned in the Latin, Greek and Neo-Punic

trilingual inscription of a votive bronze found in San Nicolò Gerrei (SU) (beginning of the 2nd-end of the 1st century BCE), and dedicated to the god *Aesculapius-Asclepius-Eshmun Merre* (*CIL* I², 2226 = *CIL* X, 7856 = *ILS* 1874 = *ILLRP* I, 41: *Cleon salari(orum) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre donum dedit lubens / merito merente*; *IG* XIV, 608 = *IGR* I, 511: Ἀσκληπιῶι Μηρρη ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστη / σε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα; *CIS* I, 1, 143) (MASTINO, ZUCCA 2012: 403-404; IBBA 2016: 76-77). Particularly interesting is also the case of the inscription from the temple of *Bes* in Bithia (Domus de Maria, SU) dated to the end of the 2nd century AD, which documents the existence of the Punic public assembly (ZUCCA 2005: 237-238; BONDI 2017: 102-103).

FUNERARY CULTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE IN ROMAN SARDINIA: SOME CASE-STUDIES

Literary and epigraphic sources have shown that the most traditional forms of the Roman funerary cults were common in Sardinia. In this regard, it is recalled in particular the case of *Parentalia*, whose celebration is attested by Cicero in 55 BC in Nora (Cic. *Scaur.* 6, 11: *cum agerent Parentalia Norenses omnesque suo more ex oppido exissent*) (RUGGERI, PLA ORQUÍN 2017: 390-393; PARODO 2022: 91-92). During this Roman festival in honour of the deceased relatives, which began on February 13th and culminated on 21st with the public ceremony of *Feralia*, all temples were closed, and marriages could not be celebrated, sacred offerings were made of flower-garlands, wheat, salt, bread soaked in wine and violets (Ov. *fast.* 2, 537-539; Verg. *Aen.* 5, 77-79) (LIOU-GILLE 2007: 607-612; HOPE 2009: 99-102). During the *Parentalia*, banquets called *silicernia* were held (Varro *Men.* 303; Non. Marc. 48, 5; Fest. 376 L.) (SCHEID 2005: 161-177; BRAUNE 2008: 160-164), and the custom of *refrigeria* in the early Christian Sardinian necropolises of *Cornus* (Cuglieri, OR) and San Cromazio di Villaspeciosa (SU) (6th-7th century CE) is linked to this pagan rite, as confirmed by the presence of structures, like *klinai* and *mensae*, used for funeral meals near the tombs (MARTORELLI 2011: 735-739; 2017).

Finally, the case of the dedication to *Viduus* is very interesting. The marble inscription, found in Sanluri (SU), was dedicated by the *libertus Lucius Iulius Felicio* between the 1st and the 2nd century CE for the enlargement of the sacred area in honour of the god (*CIL* X, 7844: *Viduo loc(um) ampliavit v(oti) c(ompos) l(ibens) m(erito)*) (MASTINO, PINNA 2008: 23; PARODO 2022: 92). *Viduus* was a deity mentioned by Varro in the archaic formulas of the *Indigitamenta* (Varro *gram.* 183) and, according to Tertullian and Cyprian (Tert. *ad Nat.* II, 15; Cypr. *De idol.* IV), his task was to preside over the detachment of the soul from the body after death (PERFIGLI 2004: 34-35; RUGGERI 2011: 298-301).

One of the most notable examples of the Roman funerary monuments in Sardinia is the hypogeum of *Atilia Pomptilla*, located on the slopes of the *Tuixeddu* necropolis in Cagliari and commonly known as ‘*Grotta delle Vipere*’ (‘Cave of the Vipers’), realised by *Lucius Cassius Philippus* in honour of his wife between the 2nd half of the 1st century CE and the beginning

of the 2nd century CE. The tomb, which can be defined as a *heroon* since both architectural and epigraphic features, is divided in three rooms, the pronaos, the two funerary chambers, and a distil facade *in antis* with Ionic capitals. The entablature is composed of the architrave and the attic, bordered by a double lath frame with indentation and two lateral Corinthian order pilasters, decorated in the centre of pediment by a *patera* and a *praefericulum*, typical sacred libation instruments, flanked by two *agathodaimones* snakes, interpreted as the *genius* of *Cassius Filippus* and the *iuvo* of *Atilia Pomptilla*, symbols of their marital relationship (ANGIOLILLO 1987: 93-94; PARODO 2021a) (Fig. 4).

Among the epigraphs inscribed on the walls of the hypogeum of *Atilia Pomptilla* (CIL X, 7563-7578), fourteen *carmina*, seven in Latin and the same number in Greek, celebrate her higher conjugal virtues and one of these epigrams in particular is a reference to the *Atilia*'s metamorphosis into flowers after death: «Εἰς ἴα σου, Πώμπτιλλα, καὶ εἰς κρίνα βλαστήσειεν / ὀστέα, καὶ θάλλοις ἐν πετάλοισι ῥόδων / ἠδυνόου τε κρόκου καὶ ἀγηράτου ἀμαράντου / κεις καλὰ βλαστήσαις ἄνθεα λευκοίου, / ὡς ἴσα ναρκίσσωι τε πολυκλαύτω θ' ὑακίνθωι / καὶ σὸν ἐν ὀψιγόνοις ἄνθος ἔχοι τι χρόνος» (CIL X, 7567) («May your bones, Pomptilla, blossom into violets and lilies, and may you blossom into rose petals and fragrant crocus and amaranthus that does not wither, and the beautiful flowers of the wallflower, so that, like the much lamented narcissus and hyacinth, the future time may also have a flower of yours») (ZUCCA 1992; GRANDINETTI 2002).

Specifically, the flower metamorphosis alludes both to the higher aesthetic values of the deceased, according to a common *topos* in funerary epigrams, and to the *Rosalia* (RUGGERI, PLA ORQUÍN 2017: 389-390; PARODO 2022: 93-96). Documented since the early Imperial age, it was a festival celebrated on an unspecified date between April and July during which the deceased were honoured with offerings of roses, typical spring flowers that symbolise the awakening of nature and alluding to the rebirth of the dead thanks to their red colour, symbol of blood (Serv. *Aen.* 5, 79) (KOKKINIA 1999: 212-215; PARODO 2016: 722-727).

Another interesting example of funerary architecture is the monument with Doric frieze found in via XX Settembre in Cagliari and dated to the 1st century BCE. It is a typical Hellenistic monument used in central Italy between the late Republican and the early Augustan age (TORELLI 1995: 159-189; POLITO 2010), adorned by a metopal decoration consisting of six-petal flowers and *paterae*, whose patron was the Etruscan *Caius Apseña Pollio*, as confirmed by the funerary inscription (*AE* 1986, 271: *C. APSENA C. F. HEIC / HEIC EST POLLIO*) (ANGIOLILLO 1985: 100-102; PARODO 2017: 119-120).

If the funerary cults and rituals confirms a widespread reception of the Roman cultural tradition in Sardinia, the archaeological evidence between the late Republican and early Imperial age shows that the influence of the Punic one is still considerable. From this point of view, two of the most important examples are the so-called '*Sa Presonedda*' ('The Small Prison') in Sant'Antioco, and the funerary stelae found mainly around Sassari, in northern Sardinia. The first monument consists of a pyramidal structure about 4 m. high, made of

lithic blocks bound with lime mortar, probably belonging to the pre-existing Punic fortification system of the city of *Sulci*, characterized by a rectangular hypogeic chamber, accessible via a staircase of six steps (MARCONI 2005-2006: 195-197; ARCA 2013: 239-242) (Fig. 5).

The tomb was located in a necropolis between the urban center and the coastal area, probably along a road leading out of the city, as was often the case with Roman funerary monuments. The type of funerary rite adopted is not known, but it is likely that cremation was practiced, so that the cinerary urns were presumably placed in the niches on the walls of the hypogeic chamber (MARCONI 2005-2006: 201; ARCA 2013: 248). Although some elements, such as the use of the *opus caementicium*, prove that the monument was built in Roman times, its pyramidal structure is reminiscent of Numidian turriform mausoleums of Punic tradition, such as those of Beni-Rhenane, El-Kroube and Dougga made between the 3rd and 2nd century BCE (PRADOS MARTÍNEZ 2008: 142-175; ARCA 2017). The Sardinian funerary monument can be compared with another similar one, defined '*Sa Presonedda IP*' and dated between the late Republican and Imperial ages, found again at Sant'Antioco in the locality of Santa Lisandra but now lost, which had a square plan of 6.20 m. on a side with a hypogeic chamber with three niches where as many cinerary urns were placed (DEL VAIS 2010: 201; ARCA 2013: 242-244).

One of the most characteristic elements of '*Sa Presonedda*' is the presence of the 1.25 m. wide sliding door that closes the access to the underground chamber. The circular door, which has possible comparisons with similar models from the Syrian-Palestinian area, is decorated in relief on both sides. The carved image on the outer side consists of a rectangular motif, formed by two parallel and two transverse elements, while on the inner side a circular motif with six internal spokes is depicted (ARCA 2014: 148-149; PARODO 2022: 96-97). The two images are probably connected to the soteriological cult of the Dioscuri or to the funerary cult of the *Lares*, so that they have been interpreted respectively as a *dokanon* and a star, both symbols of Castor and Pollux, or as the entrance door to the Afterlife, and a wheel that alludes to the journey of the *Sol Inferus* to the Underworld (ANGIOLILLO 2013: 29-32; PARODO 2018: 110-116).

A similar cultural syncretism can be found in numerous stelae in local stone, originally used as grave markers of incineration tombs, dated between the end of the Republican age and the 2nd century CE, and concentrated in the province of Sassari, particularly in Viddalba, where about eighty specimens have been found, Ossi, Valledoria, Castelsardo, Tergu, Sorso and Sennori (MOSCATI 1992: 9-43; ZONNEDDA 2006: 289-293). On the basis of iconographic differences, grave stelae are subdivided into two models, the so-called '*a specchio*' ('in the shape of mirror') stelae and '*a toppa di chiave*' ('in the shape of keyhole') stelae, according to two designations suggested by the shape of the representation of the deceased, respectively with the neck formed by two parallel or diverging lines (MASTINO, PITZALIS 2003: 657-687; ANGIOLILLO 2012: 154-156).

Originally, in the Republican age, these stelae, generally parallelepiped in shape and made using the techniques of relief or engraving, were used as markers for cremation tombs, but from the early Imperial age they were also used to cover burials pits, as in the case of the tomb no. 20 of the necropolis of S. Leonardo in Viddalba (SS). The presence of the inscribed grave stelae reflects the adaptation of the Sardinian patrons to the more usual Roman socio-cultural models, such as the canonical formula of the *adprecatio Dis Manibus*, used in over four hundred and forty Sardinian funerary epigraphs, and the onomastic system based on the *duo nomina*, such as the case of the *Valerii*, one of the most widespread *gentes* in Roman Sardinia (MASTINO, PITZALIS 2003: 688-695; STIGLITZ 2010: 22-26) (Fig. 6). This specific aspect is confirmed using the most recurrent Roman visual mechanisms of self-representation, such as the image of the deceased and the iconographic attributes that allude to the work done during life (ZANKER 1992; LANGNER 2001). In three stelae from Castelsardo (SS), Ossi (SS) and Viddalba (SS), a ship, a scythe, and a plow are represented, respectively belonging to a *miles classarius* or a merchant engaged in maritime trade, and to two farmers (ANGIOLILLO 2012: 157-158; PARODO 2017: 120-121).

The schematic representation of images of the deceased in Sardinian stelae is also typical of funerary stelae from Mactaris and votive stelae from Aïn-Battaria (Tunisia); in both cases, these artifacts testify to a mixed Punic and Libyan culture that, once it arrived in Sardinia following the arrival of North African populations, influenced the Roman cultural traditions already present on the island (DEL VAIS 2015: 125-126; 2021: 347-348). At the same time, the comparison with the Italic stelae with a similar image of the deceased is equally relevant, as shown by the interesting case of so-called *columellae* (ZONNEDDA 2006: 294-295; ANGIOLILLO 2012: 159-167). They are stylized anthropomorphic grave markers used in Campania between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE, characterized by a discoid shape that alludes to the head of the deceased and on which his name is often engraved (SALDÍAS 2008; EMMERSON 2017).

The territory of Sassari, where the greatest number of these funerary stelae was found, is after all an intensely Romanized area, as confirmed by the legal status of *Turris Libisonis* (Porto Torres, SS), one of the colonies of Roman citizens in Sardinia with the ancient *Uselis* (Usellus, OR) (Plin. *nat.* 3, 85; Ptol. *Geog.* 3,3,2) (ZUCCA 2005: 273, 291-292; IBBA 2017: 187-188). In particular, the marble funerary urns of *Caius Vehilius Rufus* and *Quintus Fubius Primitivus* coming from *Turris Libisonis* (end of the 1st-beginning of the 2nd century CE) (TEATINI 2013: 22; PARODO 2017: 119) (Fig. 7), carved with images of the heads of Jupiter Ammon demonstrates the spread of the Egyptian cults in this city, and confirms its strong social and economic relations with Ostia and the port cities of Campania (GAVINI 2005: 420-422; 2008: 209-212).

In the imperial age, with the progressive loss of influence of the Punic culture, provincial cultural models are also spread among Sardinian funerary practices, as demonstrated by the ‘*a cupa*’ (‘in the shape of barrel’) tombs, used particularly in *Caralis* and *Forum Traiani*

(Fordongianus, OR) between the 2nd and the 3rd century CE, a type of funerary monument reproducing the appearance of a real barrel, derived from iconographic models widespread in North Africa and Spain. The ‘*a cupa*’ tombs, associated with cremation or interment burials, are characterized by a parallelepiped base surmounted by a semi-cylindrical domed structure, made of brick or stone, and are decorated with funerary inscriptions referring to the deceased, often belonging to the lower social classes (Fig. 8). According to one possible hypothesis, the singular shape of the ‘*a cupa*’ tombs would allude to a link between the deceased and the production and trade of wine, or to the soteriological functions of the Dionysian cult (STEFANI 1990; BARATTA 2006).

Indeed, many sarcophagi, often decorated with Dionysian images, are characterized by the shape of a *lenos* (‘wine vat’), i.e. the vat in which the grapes are pressed to make wine, and this shape has a symbolic meaning, since it alludes to the soul leaving the body after death. In the National Archeological Museum in Cagliari there is a *lenos* sarcophagus, dated to the beginning of the 4th century CE, which is decorated with the *imago clipeata* of the deceased supported by two winged *Victoriae* and surrounded by the four personifications of the Seasons, while below her some Erotes press the grapes (KRANZ 1984: 111-116; TEATINI 2011: 151-156) (Fig. 9).

CONCLUSIONS

All these data confirm that Sardinia represents a particularly interesting case for the study of the cultural dynamics of Romanisation, due to the coexistence of Punic and Roman-Italic traditions, which influence not only the funerary monuments, but also the public and private architecture (BONETTO 2006; DE VINCENZO 2016; ROPPA 2018: 149-162). The example of the so-called ‘*Casa degli emblemi punici*’ (‘The House of the Punic emblems’) in Cagliari is extremely significant because, although it was built in the Republican age according to the traditional Italic *domus* model based on the *atrium-tablinum* connection, its mosaic floor is decorated with the ‘sign of *Tamir*’ and astral symbols (GHIOTTO 2005: 162-163; ROPPA 2013: 48) (Fig. 10).

Particularly in the past, the study of Sardinian archaeological evidence has been influenced by the political implications of the so-called ‘*costante resistenziale sarda*’ (‘constant of Sardinian resistance’), a concept formulated by G. Lilliu (1914-2012), one of the most important Sardinian archaeologists, and debated in the most recent scientific literature (LILLIU 2002: 225-237; MADAU 2002; COSSU 2007). This idea has contributed to the creation of the dichotomy ‘Romans vs. Sardinians’, symbolized by the fictitious antithetical categories of *Romania*, the coastal strip of the island ruled by the Romans conquerors, and of *Barbaria*, the inland areas inhabited by Nuragic communities, although recently a correct analytical approach to this problem has allowed us to investigate the cultural interactions between foreign and native groups in a more objective way (STIGLITZ 2010: 16-17; ROPPA 2014: 256-264; PARODO 2021b: 4-8).

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Beyond the obvious ideological implications of this issue, more generally influenced by post-colonial theories of the relationships between Roman rule and local identities, Romanisation has been reinterpreted as a complex system of intercultural interactions which overcomes the obsolete bipolarity between foreign colonising groups and colonised native communities (LE ROUX 2004; CECCONI 2006; REVELL 2009: 1-39). In this way, Romanisation can be identified not simply as a phenomenon of acculturation, but as a process of formation of a new material and immaterial cultural system involving both the Roman and indigenous components of society, albeit in a chronologically and geographically non-homogeneous way and according to asymmetrical power relations (TERRENATO 2008; STEK 2014: 36-40; TERRENATO 2019: 194-248). In conclusion, particularly in Sardinia where, as in other western provinces, the social and political structures were less structured than in the East of Hellenistic tradition, there is a tendency both of the members of local elites, such as the patron of the '*Sa Presonedda*' mausoleum, and of those of the popular classes, such as the deceased depicted on the funerary stelae in the Sassari area, to emulate certain new ideological models from Rome, integrating them into the local cultural context.

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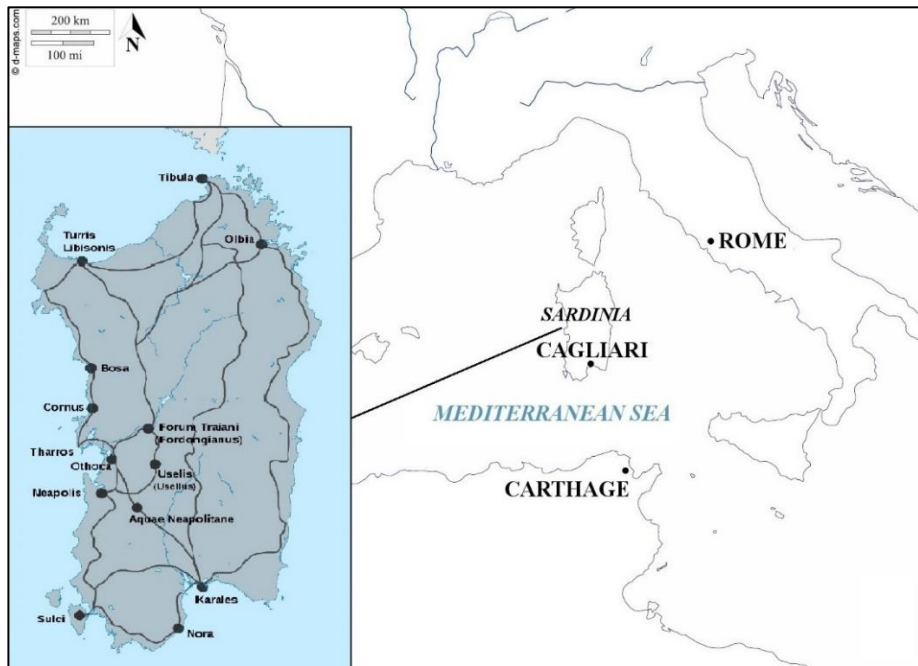


Fig. 1: Map of Roman Sardinia (from: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sardegna_e_Corsica#/media/File:Sardegna_romana.svg; author Yiyi; licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0; https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=3149&lang=it; modified by C. Parodo).



Fig. 2: Mosaic of *M(arcus) Ploti(us) Silisonis f(ilius) Rufus* from the *fullonica* in via XX Settembre, Cagliari (from Archivio Storico Comune di Cagliari, Fondo Fotografico, Serie VIII, Mostre n. 312; <https://mediateca.comune.cagliari.it/Archivio%20Comunale%20JPG%255CSerie%20VIII%20Mostre%20jpg%255Cfoto%20312.jpg>).



Fig. 3: Remains of the theatre-temple of via Malta in Cagliari (from *Catalogo generale dei Beni culturali; SBA CA - Archivio fotografico*, <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/SARDEGNA/ArchaeologicalProperty/2000230088#lg=1&slide=0>; licensed under CC BY 4.0; modified by C. Parodo).



Fig. 4: Facade of the hypogeum of *Atilia Pomptilla* in Cagliari (particular) (from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grotta_della_vipera_\(CA\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grotta_della_vipera_(CA).jpg); author Cristiano Cani; licensed under CC BY 2.0).



Fig. 5: Exterior view from E of the funerary monument of 'Sa Presonedda' in Sant'Antioco (CI) (from *Catalogo generale dei Beni culturali*; author Loi Elisabetta; <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/SARDEGNA/ArchaeologicalProperty/2000230143#lg=1&slide=0>; licensed under CC BY 4.0; modified by C. Parodo).

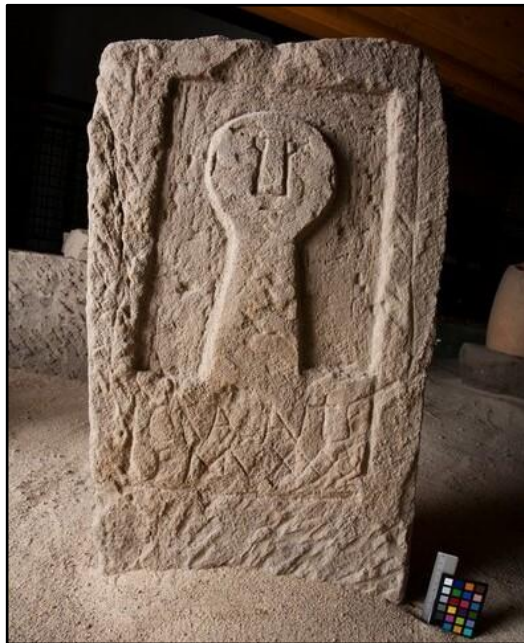


Fig. 6: The grave stela of *C(aius) Val(erius)* from Viddalba (SS) (Viddalba, Archaeological Museum) (from *Catalogo generale dei Beni culturali*; author Dessì Pierluigi; <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/SARDEGNA/ArchaeologicalProperty/2000163035#lg=1&slide=0>; licensed under CC BY 4.0; modified by C. Parodo).



Fig. 7: The funerary urn of *Quintus Fulvius Primitivus* (Sassari, National Archaeological Museum 'G.A. Sanna' (from *Catalogo generale dei Beni culturali*; author Sanna Irene; <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/ArchaeologicalProperty/2000103675#lg=1&slide=0>; licensed under CC BY 4.0).



Fig. 8: Specimens of 'a cupa' tombs in the necropolis of *San Saturnino*, Cagliari (from *Catalogo generale dei Beni culturali*; author Cassanello Davide; <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/SARDEGNA/ArchaeologicalProperty/2000231053#lg=1&slide=0>; licensed under CC BY 4.0; modified by C. Parodo).



Fig. 9: The Seasons sarcophagus from the National Archaeological Museum of Cagliari (from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Il_sarcofago_delle_stagioni.jpg; author Giovanni Dall'Orto; licensed under CC BY 4.0; modified by C. Parodo).

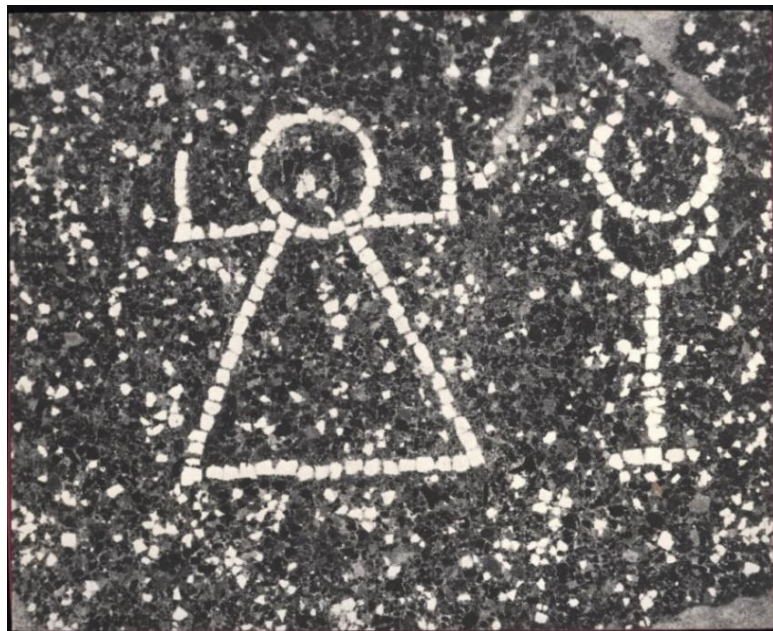


Fig. 10: The so-called '*Casa degli emblemi punici*' mosaic Cagliari (particular) (from Archivio Storico Comune di Cagliari, Fondo Fotografico, Serie VIII, Mostre n. 307; <https://mediateca.comune.cagliari.it/Archivio%20Comunale%20JPG%255Cserie%20VIII%20Mostre%20jpg%255Cfoto%20307.jpg>).