

# Magic and *maleficia* in the Ancient World: The case of Roman Sardinia

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### ABSTRACT

This paper will focus on magic rituals aimed at causing *maleficia* in a specific area: Sardinia. Although difficult to retrace, there is some evidence, on the island, of the existence of forms of both necromancy and oracular divination that refer, with their own forms, to the culture spread in the Roman empire. Among the most significant documents, there are the *tabellae defixionum*, some epigraphic texts widely documented in the Roman world, and even earlier in the Punic world. The evidence, in this case, is quite interesting, also, because it reflects the combination of different cultures in Sardinia, whose results are “original”, also in the world of magic.

### KEYWORDS

magic, *maleficia*, *tabellae defixionum*, Roman Sardinia

In popular local legend, Sardinia is considered a land of ancient traditions, linked with mysterious ancestral stories. The mythopoeic creation of a golden age, during which time the island dominated the Mediterranean, forms part of contemporary popular culture. Today, in Sardinia, elements of daily routines portray the lasting presence of customs linked to ancient traditions. The practice of white magic and the use of curses, mainly spoken or through objects with negative energy, are well known even today in some small towns in the centre of the island.<sup>1</sup> The study of literary and

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<sup>1</sup>See, among others, MARCHI, R.: *La sibilla barbaricina*. Nuoro 2006; PINNA, T.: *Il sacro, il diavolo e la magia popolare. Religiosità, riti e superstizioni nella storia millenaria della Sardegna*. Sassari 2012. In this regard, see the description of the magical aspect in Sardinia that transpires from the pages of MURGIA, M.: *L'Accabadora*. Torino 2009.

archaeological sources makes it possible to highlight that these customs have been rooted in the territory since ancient times and that, even with the advent of Christianity, they have remained firmly cemented in routine habits and popular mentality.

Evidence of magical practices in Sardinia can be found as early as the formation of the province of *Sardinia et Corsica*. Magic was practiced in many forms, from the use of official oracles to necromancy, and such practices were common across the various territories in the Roman Empire. There is evidence on the island of the use of official oracles, consulted throughout the Roman territory,<sup>2</sup> which prove that the Empire played an integral role in Sardinian culture. An interesting example of this is the mention of the oracle of Apollo Clarius in an inscription from the municipality of Pula.<sup>3</sup> The inscription forms part of a group of inscriptions found in various locations in the western Mediterranean, which, according to Mika Kajava,<sup>4</sup> date back to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (around 165 AD or soon after). They are among the practices of consulting the Oracle of Apollo in Claros due to grave epidemics of the plague.<sup>5</sup> According to another interpretation, the time-period could have been during the reign of Caracalla, in response to the emperor's requests to various deities for healing, as indicated in the oracle of Apollo in Claros.<sup>6</sup> Naturally, the will of the Gods was interpreted and made public by members of the priestly colleges. Such events are attested by inscriptions in various locations on Sardinia.<sup>7</sup> The series of inscriptions reporting the consultation of Apollo Clarios was discussed recently by Clare Rowan (*Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and The Visualisation of Imperial Power in The Severan Period*, New York: Cambridge University press, 2012).

The Ordalic rite, linked to water with therapeutic and divinatory functions, is another example of a practice connected to divination. Documented cases in Sardinia include the *Aquae Lesitanae* (on the site of the San Saturnino in Benetutti), the *Aquae Ypsitanae* (the ancient *Forum Traiani* in Fordongianus) and the *Aquae Neapolitanorum* (corresponding to the thermal baths of Santa Maria de Is Aquas in Sardara).<sup>8</sup> In addition to their therapeutic power, the writer

<sup>2</sup>Cfr. SFAMENI GASPARRO, G.: *Oracoli, profeti, Sibille. Rivelazione e salvezza nel mondo antico*. Roma 2002.

<sup>3</sup>Provenance: Chiesetta di S. Pietro (Pula). AE 1929, 0156; AE 1940, p. 37 s. n. 101; *ILSard* 1, 42. For more general information on the dedications to Apollo Clario, see KAJAVA, M.: Ex oraculo. In LEONE, A. – PALOMBI, D. – WALKER, S. (eds): *Res bene gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*. Rome 2007, 127–132.

<sup>4</sup>KAJAVA (n. 3) 128.

<sup>5</sup>For more from this same viewpoint, see FOX, R. L.: *Pagani e cristiani*. Roma–Bari 1991, here 202, who dates this type of epigraph to between the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD.

<sup>6</sup>SOTGIU, G.: L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il CIL X e l'EE VIII. In *ANRW* II, 11/1. Berlin – New York 1988, 552–739, here 558 A42; MASTINO, A.: Le relazioni storiche tra Africa e Sardegna. *Archivio storico Sardo* XXXVIII (1995) 11–82, here 50.

<sup>7</sup>*A]ruspex a Carales* (CIL X 7607); *Augures a Carales* (CIL X 7600) e a *Turris Libisonis* (CIL X 7953 = *ILS* 6766). Also note the existence in Cagliari during the Republican age of *ad sacra populi pertinentes* books, consulted by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 162 BC (Cic. *N.D.* II 10).

<sup>8</sup>See ZUCCA, R.: *Aquae Lesitanae*. In *Multas per gentes. Studi in memoria di Enzo Cadoni*. Sassari 2000, 441–451 (with previous bibliography); MASTINO, A. – ZUCCA, R.: *Urbes et rura. Città e campagna nel territorio oristanese in età romana*. In SPANU, P. G. – ZUCCA, R. (eds): *Oristano e il suo territorio 1. Dalla preistoria all'alto Medioevo*. Roma 2011, 411–601, here 560–578 (for *Aquae Ypsitanae*); ZUCCA, R.: *Neapolis e il suo territorio*. Oristano 1987, here 138–139, t. 27 (for *Aquae Neapolitanorum*) (with previous bibliography).



Solinus also recalls the divinatory power linked to this type of water, capable of unveiling the lies of thieves in an Ordalic practice.<sup>9</sup>

Another aspect linked to divinatory and curative powers is the incubation rite. The earliest attestations were often legendary, in accounts of incubation rites practiced at the so-called tombs of the giants, ancestors of the Sardinian people, as recorded by Aristotle.<sup>10</sup> According to a report by the philosopher Tertullian, a hero, whose name is unknown, freed the *incubatores* from appalling visions in his temple.<sup>11</sup>

A very interesting example is found in the cult of Asclepius, worshipped in Sardinia under the name *Aesculapius-Eshmun*.<sup>12</sup> The first record of this God can be found on a bronze base, whose front surface carries an inscription in three languages<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 1). It is the dedication of an altar to Aesculapius/Asclepius/Eshmun “Merre” by the eastern slave Cleon, who worked in the saltworks, as an act of thanksgiving for his successful healing. In a temple dedicated to the God in Nora, there is an explicit reference to the incubation rite<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 2). The votive deposit, discovered in the temple corridor and dating back to the second century. AD, contained four clay figurines depicting devotees and two larger statues portraying the image of the incubator. Both statues depict a sleeping man lying on the ground and one shows a snake wrapped around the man’s body (Fig. 3). The presence of the animal sacred to Asclepius, who whispered remedies to devotees for their ailments while they slept in front of the temple of the deity, as well as the image of the sleeping man, which is linked to the incubation rite practiced in sanctuaries of the salutiferous God, point to Asclepius as the God of the cult.

Near to this area there is also an inscription that highlights the divinatory function of the God, in the expression “*deus maximus ex sorte*”, which refers to the response obtained by choosing an inscribed card, a *sors*,<sup>15</sup> in a dedicated place according to the oracle’s instructions.

<sup>9</sup>Sol. IV 6. 7: *Fontes calidi et salubres aliquot locis effervescunt, qui medelas afferunt aut solidant ossa fracta aut abolent a solifugis insertum venenum aut etiam ocularias dissipant aegritudines. Sed qui oculis medentur, et coarguendis valent furibus: nam quisquis Sacramento raptum negat, lumina aquis adtretrat: ubi periurium non est, cernit clarius, si perfidia abnuat, detegitur facinus caecitate et captus oculis admissum fatetur.*

<sup>10</sup>Arist. Ph. IV 2. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Tert. De Anima 49. 2.

<sup>12</sup>CARBONI, R.: Il dio ha ascoltato la sua voce e lo ha risanato: Riflessioni sui culti salutari nella Sardegna di età tardo-punica e romana. In CARBONI, R. – PILO, C. – CRUCCAS, E.: *Res Sacrae. Note su alcuni aspetti culturali della Sardegna romana*. Cagliari 2012, 31–50, here 37 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>13</sup>CIL X 7856 (Latin text); IG XIV 608 (Greek text); CIS I 143 (punic text). See ZUCCA, R.: *Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae Africae, Sardiniae et Corsicae*. In *L’Africa Romana. Atti dell’XI Convegno di Studio* (Cartagine, 15–18 dicembre 1994). Sassari 1996, 1425–1489, here 1463–1465; COMELLA, A. M. – PARODO, B. – SIRIGU, R.: La presenza romana nel territorio di San Nicolò Gerrei (CA). Ricostruzione archeologica del paesaggio nell’area di Santu Iacchi. In ANGIOLILLO, S. – GIUMAN, M. – PASOLINI, A. (eds): *Ricerca e confronti 2006. Giornate di studio di archeologia e storia dell’arte* (Cagliari, 7–9 marzo 2006). Quartu S. Elena 2007, 161–170, here 162–163 (with previous bibliography); MANUNZA, M. R.: Testimonianze d’età storica nel Gerrei. In MANUNZA, M. R. (ed.): *Funtana Coberta. Tempio nuragico a Ballao nel Gerrei*. Cagliari 2008, 101–112, here 101, figs 136–137.

<sup>14</sup>TOMEI, D.: *Gli edifici sacri della Sardegna romana: problemi di lettura e di interpretazione*. Ortacesus 2008, here 180–198, 216–2217 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>15</sup>AGUS, A.: Le pratiche divinatorie e i riti magici nelle *insulae* del *mare sardum* nell’antichità. In SPANU, P. G. (ed.): *Insulae Christi. Il cristianesimo primitivo in Sardegna, Corsica e Baleari*. Oristano 2002, 29–36 (with previous bibliography).



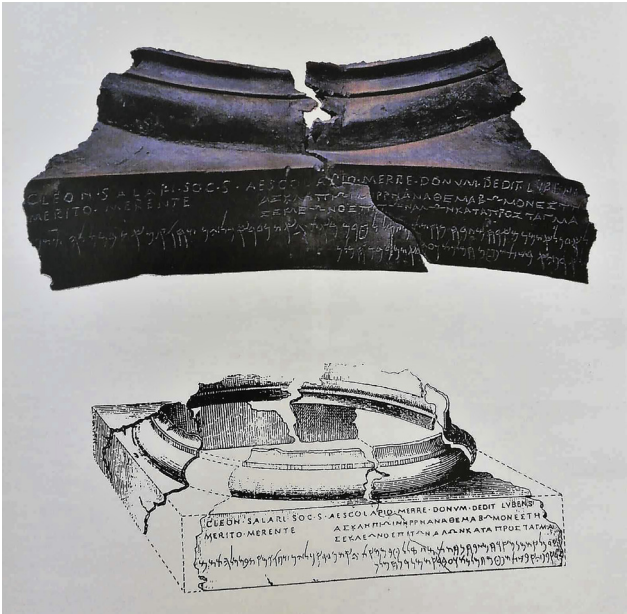


Fig. 1. S. Niccolò Gerrei. Bronze base with inscription (after MANUNZA [n. 13] figs 136-137)

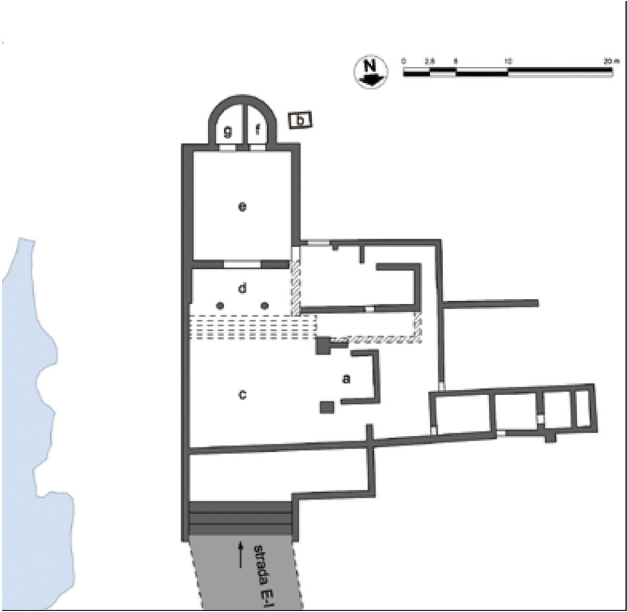
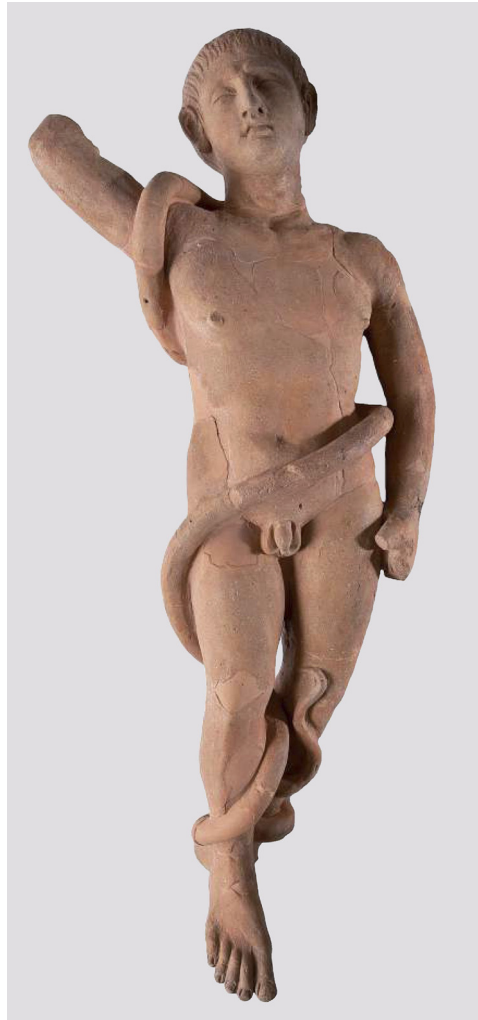


Fig. 2. Nora. Temple of Esculapius, plan (after: BONETTO, J. ET AL. [eds]: *Nora (Pula). Guide e itinerari*. Sassari 2018, here fig. 50)





**Fig. 3.** Nora. Statue of an *incubator* (after: ANGIOLILLO, S. ET AL. [eds]: *La Sardegna romana e alto-medievale. Storia e materiali*. Sassari 2017, here 68)

An inscription from Sanluri, a municipality in the south of Sardinia, also speaks of deities that establish a relationship with the dead. This is the case with the dedication given to *Viduus*, an epigraphic singularity, during works to expand the sacred area destined to worship the God. The sources tell of a minor deity *qui anima corpus viduet*<sup>16</sup> (here with the meaning of separating (*viduare*) the soul from the body upon the arrival of death) and making the transition from life to death less painful.

<sup>16</sup>Cypr. *idol.* IV.



Appeals to the dead to receive omens form the link between practices of divination and necromancy attested to on the island. The presence of magical practices, in the work of necromancers, soothsayers and sorcerers, and consequently of anti-magic procedures, is recounted by various sources in Sardinia. However, such sources are not always clear and complete, and often consist of mythological accounts or epigraphic testimonies that are damaged and therefore difficult to reconstruct. Cicero provides the first account in this regard in reference to a man named *Publius Vatinius* who, according to the Author, practised “unknown and ungodly sacred rites”, evoking the souls of the dead and sacrificing the entrails of children in honor of the *Manes* Gods.<sup>17</sup> In this case, however, the necromantic practice is connected to Sardinia not because it is considered a local practice, but because the character in question stopped in Sardinia during a trip to Hispania Ulterior in 62 BC. According to Cicero, the purpose of this visit was undoubtedly for a dark reason.<sup>18</sup>

A more concrete source, and therefore of great interest for the purposes of this paper, is an account provided by Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>19</sup> concerning a more definitive testimony of the magical world of the island in the fourth century AD. The account is linked to a man named *Maximinus*, who was active during the government of Valentinian and Valens and was one of the officials closest to the emperor.<sup>20</sup> Before entering the senatorial order, he was given several public offices, including that of *praeses Sardiniae* between 364 and 366 AD.<sup>21</sup>

His story is particularly interesting as he befriended a Sardinian expert in evoking spirits, in order to use him as a tool of *maleficium* and to request their prophecies:<sup>22</sup>

[...] *hominem Sardum, quem ipse postea per dolosas fallacias interemit, ut circumtulit rumor, eliciendi animulas noxias, et praesagia sollicitare larvarum, perquam gnarum*

[...] a man from Sardinia who was highly skilled in calling up baneful spirits, as the rumor reported, and of eliciting predictions from the ghosts of the dead

According to the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, this man was later killed by the governor of Sardinia, *Maximinus*, precisely because of his special skills in practising *maleficia*. Before this, however, *Maximinus* had taken the man with him on his travels to Tuscia (a region near Rome) and also to Rome, because of his ability to summon the dead, and as such, to foresee the future and to use curses. These skills protected the governor against any possible adversity and potential enemies for a set period of time.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Cic. *Vat.* XIV; Cic. *N.D.* II 10.

<sup>18</sup>GRAF, F.: *La magia nel mondo antico*. Ital. transl. Rome–Bari 1995, 38.

<sup>19</sup>Amm. Marc. XXVIII I.

<sup>20</sup>Amm. Marc. XXVIII I 5–6.

<sup>21</sup>See, in this regard, MASTINO, A. – PINNA, T.: Negromanzia, divinazione, malefici nel passaggio tra paganesimo e cristianesimo in Sardegna: gli strani amici del preside Flavio Massimino. In CENERINI, F. – RUGGERI, P. (eds): *Epigrafia romana in Sardegna*. Roma 2008, 1–43, here 3ff.

<sup>22</sup>Amm. Marc. XXVIII I 7 (trad. J. C. Rolfe).

<sup>23</sup>On magic and unexpected (under suspicion) careers in the late antiquity: BROWN, P.: Sorcery, Demons and the rise of Christianity: from Late Antiquity into the Middle Age. In BROWN, P.: *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*. London 1972.



The deed by *Maximinus* [?] falls within Roman religious beliefs inspired by polytheism, as well as by a lack of central organization and of corresponding dogmas. Furthermore, as A. Mastino recalls, “it offers the opportunity to analyse the relationship between political power and magic and to observe the cultural climate that saw the transition from paganism to Christianity in the fourth century”.<sup>24</sup> It also allows for new observations regarding interactions between the magical culture of Sardinia and that of the rest of the Roman Empire.

In this regard, it is important to note the transformation undergone by *Maximinus* upon his arrival in Rome as prefect of Annona, where he was tasked with conducting trials against crimes of magic and witchcraft. A clear consequence of this was a change in his attitude towards his Sardinian friend, whom he was convinced to kill through deception, for fear of incurring his revenge.

Another key factor in this radical change was the gradual transition from Paganism to Christianity, with the consequent tightening of the rules against magical practices, *maleficium* and divination.<sup>25</sup> In both the Republican and Imperial ages, several edicts were issued that distinguished between permitted and forbidden magical practices, the latter evidently including those linked to evil.<sup>26</sup> One of the most significant moments of this transition was the introduction of the differentiation, under Constantine in 319, between privately practiced magic, which was banned, and practices linked to public haruspices practiced on communal altars, which were deemed legitimate. As of 357 AD, however, any form of divination, including the consultation of fortune-tellers, was ruled illegal.

*Maximinus* therefore found himself within this cultural climate, which pushed him to question the incompatibility between his new mandate and his friendship with a practitioner of *maleficium*, evidently for reasons of political expediency.

Despite such prohibitions, as is often the case, existing magical practices continued to be adopted, albeit surreptitiously, in various regions of the Christian Empire, including Sardinia. The most commonly used were magic formulas to punish the desecrators of tombs, who carried them out in a manner similar to *maleficia*. These were considered to be means by which to resolve social conflicts, such as those between political opponents or enemies of various kinds that would have been difficult to fight personally. Curses were even used for the most disparate reasons, such as envy and contempt.

One of the most commonly cited methods were the *defixiones*, which reached their peak during the Roman period.<sup>27</sup> The formulas, which were usually engraved on lead tablets, aimed at cursing adversaries and subjecting them to the will of the practitioner. The curse could be put to use for a variety of purposes – from judicial to amorous, competitive or economic.

<sup>24</sup>MASTINO–PINNA (n. 21) 8.

<sup>25</sup>Cod. Theod. IX 16. See DI CINTIO, L.: *Nuove ricerche sulla «Interpretatio Visigothorum» al «Codex Theodosianus»*. Il libro IX. Milan 2013, 131ff.

<sup>26</sup>The first forms of repression on magical activities reportedly began with the law of the *XII Tavole* and from the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* under Sulla: they did not punish magic as such, but rather crimes that endangered life and the status of citizens. GRAF (n. 18) 44ff.; MASTINO–PINNA (n. 21) 75.

<sup>27</sup>See, among others, AUDOLLENT, A.: *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas*. Parigi 1904; GAGER, J. G.: *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. New York – Oxford 1992; GRAF (n. 18) 115–168; OGDEN, D.: *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford – New York 2002; MASTROCINQUE, A.: *Late Antique Lamps with Defixiones*. GRBS 47.1 (2007) 87–100.





The *tabellae defixionum* from the island are not yet numerous, but they are of great interest for gaining a better insight into the world of local magic. They date back to between the first and fifth centuries AD.<sup>28</sup> The purposes of the curses are not generally indicated, although the content, the recipient, and the entities chosen as the means of the curses (which were usually Gods of the underworld) were all made clear.

One of two tablets from Orosei bears a text that uses terms probably belonging to a pre-Latin substrate; although the content is not entirely clear, the expression *ite bulsu, ite ultibi* is evidently a reference to a curse.<sup>29</sup>

A clearer example is a death wish written onto a tablet from Nulvi (near Sassari).<sup>30</sup> A significant element in this case is the repetition of the term *rogo*, that outlines the plea of the *defixor*. The *dominus* mentioned is the God of the underworld, to whom the curse is entrusted, while the victim of the curse appears to be *Urvanus*, for a possible charge of theft.

The text on an *ostrakon* from Neapolis, which probably dates back to the third century AD, is easier to decipher. It is a formula written in four lines and addressed to a deity, *Marsyas* of Neapolis: the request for *maleficium* is directed at a man named Decimus (or Decius) Ostilius Donatus, wishing him to become *miserum, mutum* and *sordum*.<sup>31</sup>

Another example can be found on a fragmented *defixio* from Olbia,<sup>32</sup> one of the latest specimens from Sardinia, and on the *defixiones* from the La Purissima sanctuary in Alghero.<sup>33</sup> There are also other unpublished examples, such as those from the Cuccurada nuraghe of Mogoro<sup>34</sup> and from Nora (a *municipium* near Cagliari). The latter is linked to a specific area of the Punic-Roman city, a former military area.<sup>35</sup> The context in which these lead tablets were discovered presents numerous connections with the period ranging from the late Republican to late Imperial ages. This site had many uses, including a sacred function, to which a large number of votive statuettes testifies.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Unfortunately, the *tabellae* found on the island often lack information regarding the stratigraphic context of discovery.

<sup>29</sup>The *defixiones* from the Sa Linnarta fountain in Orosei are part of a private collection. See FADDA, M. A.: *Il museo speleo-archeologico di Nuoro*. Sassari 2006, here 82–83, fig. 94.

<sup>30</sup>GASPERINI, L.: *Ricerche epigrafiche in Sardegna (I)*. In *Sardinia Antiqua. Studi in onore di Piero Meloni in occasione del settantesimo compleanno*. Cagliari 1992, 287–323, here 323.

<sup>31</sup>ZUCCA, R.: *Iscrizioni inedite di Neapolis (Sardinia)*. In *Acta XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* (Barcelona, 3–8 Septembris 2002). Barcelona 2007, 1529–1534.

<sup>32</sup>BEVILACQUA, G.: ...*(h)os (h)omines*...: una nuova tabella defixionis da Olbia. In *L'Africa romana. Atti del XVIII convegno di studio* (Olbia 11–14 dicembre 2008). Roma 2010, 1935–1962; DEL MONACO, L.: *Defixio* tardoantica da Olbia (Sardegna). In LOMBARDI, P. (ed.): *Come aurora. Lieve, preziosa. Ergastai e Philoi a Gabriella Bevilacqua. Giornata di studio* – Roma 6 giugno 2012 [Opuscula Epigraphica 17]. Roma 2017, 131–141.

<sup>33</sup>LA FRAGOLA, A.: Tra superstizione e speranza: pratiche di defixiones da Alghero. *Quaderni. Rivista di archeologia* XXVI (2015) 299–313 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>34</sup>Thanks to Prof. Riccardo Cicilloni for this information.

<sup>35</sup>*Nora Isthmos Project* – University of Cagliari (Department of Lettere, Lingue e Beni Culturali).

<sup>36</sup>GIUMAN, M. – CARBONI, R.: Immagini di argilla: la coroplastica votiva proveniente dall'ex area militare di Nora. In ALBERTOCCHI, M. – CUCUZZA, N. – GIANNATTASIO, B. M. (eds): *Simbolo e gesto. La determinazione di genere nelle statuette fittili del mondo greco. Quaderni di Genova 2*, Genova 2018, 99–112. CARBONI, R.: *Nora. Le terrecotte votive dell'ex area militare*. Roma 2020.







Fig. 4. a–b. Nora. *Tabella defixionum* (photo by Alberto Mossa)

Returning to *defixiones*, the most complete specimen consists of a lead tablet folded into two partially overlapping parts (Fig. 4a–b). Once folded, it appears quadrangular, approximately 5x5 cm in size, with irregular margins. The surface is covered with concretions and it is difficult to establish whether or not writing is present. Holes caused by the insertion of the nails are visible, however, and some of the nails were found next to the specimen (Fig. 5).

It has not yet been possible to open the *tabella*, so its content at the present time remains unknown. From a morphological point of view, a direct comparison can be established between

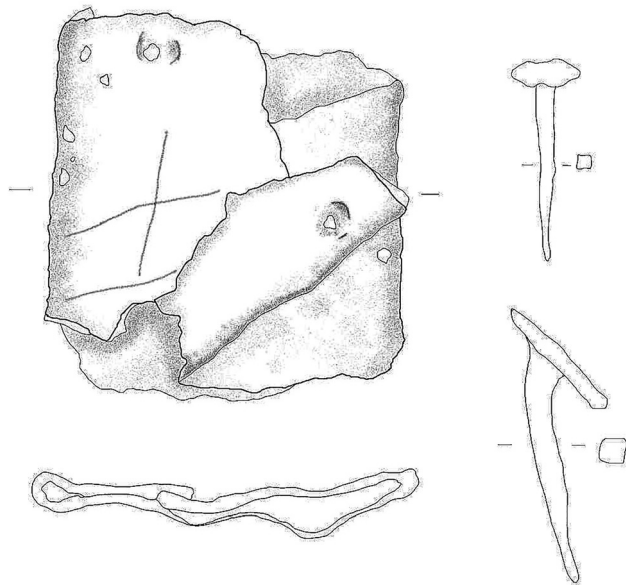


Fig. 5. Nora. *Tabella defixionum* (drawing by Alberto Mossa)



the specimen from Nora and the lead tablet from the La Purissima sanctuary in Alghero, based on their similar sizes and types.<sup>37</sup> Around twenty other specimens have been found, all of which are leaden, but they are more fragmented and therefore more difficult to identify. Despite this, the large number of fragments and the presence of numerous small nails, which were discovered together with the tablets, suggest links with *defixiones*.

A legacy of such practices of sending *maleficia*, and evidence of their continued use even in the Christian age, is found both in Sardinia and in the rest of the ancient world, in curses against those who defiled tombs. These were magical formulas used to wish misfortune on any potential defilers. There is one such example in Cagliari that wishes leprosy on anyone who defiles the grave of Lellus. This recalls the fate of Giezi, the servant of Elisha punished in the same way for his greed. It is thereby a wish for the double death of both body and soul.<sup>38</sup> Between the sixth and seventh centuries, under Gregory the Great, the appearance of idolaters, soothsayers and sorcerers<sup>39</sup> on the then-Christian island grew, and magical practices became widespread among clergy representatives.<sup>40</sup> Despite the spread of Christianity, many of the island's ancient traditions have survived, and with them magical practices, curses, *maleficia*, and rites evoking the dead continue to be used, up to the present day.

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<sup>37</sup>LA FRAGOLA (n. 33) 302, fig. 5(a).

<sup>38</sup>CIL X, 1276. On this topic, see MASTINO–PINNA (n. 21) (with previous bibliography).

<sup>39</sup>Greg. *Epist.* IX 205. PINNA, T.: *Gregorio Magno e la Sardegna*. Sassari–Cagliari 1989, here 71ff, 130, 156.

<sup>40</sup>Greg. *Epist.* IV 24. PINNA (n. 39) 252ff.

