TRAC Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

Paper Information:

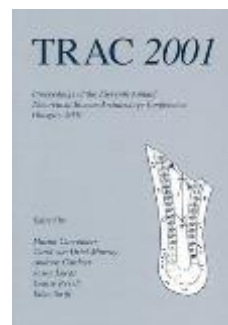Title: Acculturation and the Temporal Features of
Ritual Action
Author: Jake Weekes
Pages: 73–82

Volume Information:

Copyright and Hardcopy Editions:

Acculturation and the Temporal Features of Ritual Action

Jake Weekes

Early in the last century, Arnold van Gennep realised that in 'semi-civilized societies' the social position of individuals is clearly defined according to life stage, and that "...progression from one group to another is accompanied by special acts" (1960: 3). These ceremonies were seen to follow a general scheme, involving rites of separation from an existing state[1] (preliminal rites), rites of transition between states (liminal rites) and finally rites of incorporation into the new state (postliminal rites) (1960 [1909]).

Since its first publication van Gennep's seminal theory regarding the 'Rites of Passage' has been widely disseminated, utilised, and developed (e.g. Turner 1967). Yet its ultimate value has been questioned by subsequent anthropologists, for example Metcalf and Huntington (1991: 112), who argue that van Gennep's scheme is a "vague truism unless it is positively related to the values of the particular culture", a view which Parker Pearson (1999: 22) endorses. Such approaches have been keen to avoid cross-cultural generalisations of any kind, and have instead focussed on identification of the culturally specific meaning(s) of symbols, and on extracting "specific cultural logics", as Parker Pearson succinctly puts it (ibid. 23). Thus post-processual archaeologists have also been drawn in this direction, namely, away from functionalism.

Even so, in this paper I would like to suggest that revisiting van Gennep might provide some interesting new insights into an element of ritual sometimes apparently 'mislaid' by the post-processualists (that of ritual *action*), and to propose an alternative approach to the archaeology of ritual based on van Gennep's scheme. Comparative examples will be drawn from ethnographic accounts and syntheses of Roman literary sources.

Some recent anthropological approaches have emphasised the significance of ritualised actions as compared with any notions of 'meaning' given by informants. This position is best summed up by Parkin discussing the work of Gerholm (1988). Gerholm, Parkin writes:

> ...argues in favour of an intellectualist rather than a symbolist meaning: that rituals, however they are defined, are not just expressive of abstract ideas but do things, have effects on the world, and are work that is carried out-that they are indeed performances...

> (Parkin 1992: 14).

Perhaps, then, instead of merely treating rituals as collections of symbols, we should try to give a clearer account of the actions of ritual, noting any recurring schemes of action during and through which 'abstract ideas' might be articulated. This approach to ritual should surely be of interest to archaeologists, whose data, after all, represent the surviving residue of such actions, their "effects on the world".

Another point of interest is the stress laid by Parkin on the 'contributory' nature of ritual events, where participants are shown to be caught between rule governed behaviour (perceived as 'traditional' ritual acts) and ritual as a forum for introducing new ways of doing things, either intentionally or by default. Parkin goes on to argue that:

> [P]articipants in a ritual may well contest the proper conduct of the ceremony or may acknowledge their ignorance and ask others what to do or what some action or object means. But that the ritual is a ritual and is supposed to follow some time hallowed precedent in order to be effective or simply to be a proper performance is not in question…
>
> (ibid. 14–15; see also Hughes-Freeland 1998: 3).

Ritual is a *collective and creative process*, embodying *choices* about actions in all parts of the ritual scheme, which can be altered in character by the agency, or 'agency by default' of participants.[2] Of course, all actions are necessarily carried out in time and space simultaneously; it is the choice to emphasise or elaborate a particular spatial or temporal aspect of an action (or not to) that is both significant and instrumental in "specialising" that action, in "ritualising" it.

Emphasising the significance of ritual actions, Parkin discusses what he calls 'formulaic spatiality' in the "performance" of ritual:

> …the capacity to create and act through idioms of passage, movement, including exchange, journey, axis, concentricism and up and down directions
>
> (ibid. 18)

but only gives somewhat limited and vague examples from mortuary ritual such as "the carrying, burial, and sometimes reburial of corpses" (ibid.16). If we look again at the ethnographic examples of mortuary rituals supplied by van Gennep we can see (even from a relatively small sample of data) that choices to emphasise certain spatial features of action can be many and varied.

In this bracket we can include, for example, the Ostyak ritual described by van Gennep. Here the deceased was apparently placed in a dug out canoe, transported to a particular clan "burial place", placed on the frozen ground in the canoe, feet facing north, and then surrounded by various items supposed to be useful for "the next world" (van Gennep 1960: 149–50). We can see that all of these actions, which involve separation, movement and meticulous positioning of the corpse, embody distinctly spatial emphases.

In the case of a group called the Kol of 'India', van Gennep wrote that the corpse was placed directly on the ground immediately after death, and was later carried on a scaffold in procession (feet first and via detours) to a cremation site. Women left the site prior to the burning of the corpse, and men gathered the burned bones, placed them in a pot, and brought them back to the village. Here the pot was hung on a post next to the home of the deceased. After carrying items belonging to the deceased as far away

as possible, and after various ceremonies including feasting, the pot and its contents were carried, again in procession, to the "village from which the deceased and his ancestors originated" (ibid. 151–2). All of these actions are once again concerned with spatial emphasis of one sort or another, be it proximity, movement, or positioning.

The first part of the Bara funeral sequence from Madagascar described by Huntington and Metcalf (1979: 102ff) incorporates another interesting set of spatial emphases. Initially the corpse is placed in a special building where only females can attend to it (males gather at another house and conduct other business to do with the ritual). Later, after being carried around the house a number of times, it is taken by procession to a temporary tomb on a mountain (participants are also segregated according to sex, age, etc. as to where they can walk behind the corpse). At the mid point of this journey, a 'cattle wrestling' ceremony is convened, during which cattle are stampeded around the coffin. Then the procession moves on, leaving some behind to wait. At the tomb, assistants in the ritual make sure that they enter feet first, unlike the corpse.

The key point raised by these examples is that deliberate spatial association, movement and positioning are forms of specialist action that can be seen throughout the mortuary ritual. Indeed, any deliberate choice of action by the participants in mortuary ritual involving such spatial factors can be seen as a *spatial feature* of ritual action. It is easy to see how new spatial features could be introduced by participants, or how existing traditions could be subtly altered, without necessarily diminishing the perceived importance of those actions that had been previously practised (i.e. 'rule governed behaviour').

Similar examples of spatial features of ritual action can also be found within the corpus of Roman literature, although any construction of a synthetic narrative (the bringing together of disparate sources in order to describe a 'typical Roman funerary sequence') is obviously reductive; the arbitrary use of such information to explain the archaeological record would be equally problematic.

Nonetheless, we might think here of the removal of the corpse from the bed to be placed on the ground prior to cleansing, anointment and dressing, for example, and the lying in state on a specialised bed (*lectus funebris*) within the atrium of the house (possibly with feet towards the door), or the placement of a coin (for payment of the ferryman Charon) in the mouth of the deceased (Toynbee 1971: 44). Then we have the funeral procession (*pompa*) to the burial or pyre site (ibid. 46–48), and the specific positioning of such sites (outside the city limits for example), with pyre sites either directly over the burial pit (*busta*), or at another site designated for the purpose (*ustrina* or *ustinum*) (ibid. 48–49); all are examples of spatial features of ritual action.

We need now to consider the use in mortuary ritual of that other feature of action, namely time. What characterises the *temporal features* of ritual, and, more specifically, mortuary ritual?

De Coppet, discussing Parkin's paper, writes that "he [Parkin] discusses the directional character of rituals, sorts of passages or voyages through time and space" (de Coppet 1992: 4), but Parkin in fact only explicitly discusses the spatial aspects of ritual. "Time" rather seems to encroach on Parkin's study of "formulaic spatiality", through his use of words that suggest the temporal sequence of actions.

For example, when Parkin attempts to point out that the words used in rituals are less

diagnostic than the spatial schemes he is elucidating, he argues that words seem always to be

> inscribed in spatially arranged phases and sequences: it is less that their utterance heralded a new phase than that certain points and places in the ritual process were chosen as appropriate niches for verbal expression...

(ibid. 17–18).

Yet "phases", "sequences", and "process", are all words, which, to a greater or lesser extent, are particularly concerned with the temporal rather than the spatial. This is a good example of the difficulties that can arise from considering only the spatial aspects (or indeed only the temporal aspects) of ritual action. In fact, the use of ritualised language can be seen as both a spatial feature, following Parkin (i.e., *where* words are said), and a temporal feature (i.e., *when* words are said).

What would seem to characterise the temporal emphases made in ritual is not only when things 'should' happen, but how often, for how long etc. Ritualised words provide a good example of this. They should also be seen as actions, as Humphrey and Laidlaw point out:

> ...uses of language are always also forms of action. In other words, even the language materials (prayers, hymns, and so forth) must be seen first as linguistic acts...

(Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 2).

We might argue that the ritualisation of words (or other vocal sounds) in fact stems from *how* schemes of words or sounds are uttered, from internal "temporal" schemes, or quantitative aspects, such as repetition, order, rhythm, duration of passages, pauses, etc. These are the very aspects of ritualised words, surely, which most clearly express the fact that they are ritualised linguistic acts; the more that abstract 'meaning' gives way to acts of repetition, rhythm etc, in terms of significance, the more ritualised the words become. Should we not consider the temporal characteristics of other ritualised actions in the same way?

Thus, returning to the Bara rites (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 102ff.), we could note that initial preparations (of the body and the houses) are carried out in silence, and that subsequently the corpse must remain in the special 'house of many tears' for a period of three days, during which time the women who attend it are expected to indulge in loud ritual wailing in antithesis to the previous conditions of silence (as Huntington and Metcalf note).

On leaving the house, gunshots are fired and rice is sprinkled of the ground, the corpse having been placed in a coffin, and covered with new, unsewn and unfinished cloth. Rum is sprinkled on the entrance to the temporary tomb (note the spatial feature here) and ritualised words are spoken by an elder (called 'the owner of the death') announcing the presence of the mourners and the ancestors (ibid.).

In the act of silence initially, the duration of the corpse's stay in the 'house of many tears' and the ritual wailing designated at a particular stage, we can see that choices of action are being made which have a temporal significance. The corpse receives its coffin and cloth, the gunshots ring out, each at a specific time; the sprinkling of rice and rum each occupy particular stages of the ritual, as do the words of an elder (ritually named for the occasion).

All such acts can clearly be seen as temporal features of the ritual, emphases which denote the time when actions 'should' be carried out, and the 'proper' duration of those actions. Once again, it is easy to see how new temporal features (or subtle changes to existing ones) could be brought into the ritual scheme by participants.

Examples of temporal features of ritual action in the Roman context are readily available. Thus we might note the nearest relative giving a last kiss to the deceased in order to catch the soul *before* closing the eyes, *followed by* near relatives calling out the name of the dead person, and lamentation, "a process that continued at *intervals*" (Toynbee 1971: 44 [my italics]). We have already seen that the body was placed on ground prior to further preparations being carried out, and that all of these actions preceded the laying out of the dead in the *atrium* for a specific period (ibid.). We might also include other actions in this category, such as the practice of throwing a little earth over the corpse, or, in the case of cremation, of cutting off a piece of the corpse to be later buried; both actions took place "as soon as the funeral procession arrived at the place of inhumation or cremation" (ibid. 49). The opening of the eyes of the corpse at the point at which it and other objects were placed on the pyre is another interesting temporal feature (ibid. 50).

The inclusion of coffin, shroud, rice and rum in the Bara example (as well as the addition of various items in Roman funerary ritual) raises another important point about action (one which is not stressed enough by anthropologists such as Parkin and others). This is that rituals do not only deal with 'movement' on the part of those involved, or with 'language materials' in the form of words. The main area of interest and concern for archaeologists is surely that the actions of ritual are primarily concerned with the emphatic manipulation and treatment of actual material foci. These 'foci' are the objects which ritual actions 'do things **to**', the things **with which** and **on which** 'work is carried out'.

The primary material focus of practically all mortuary rituals prior to deposition is surely the body (see Parker Pearson 1999: chapter 3) of the deceased,[3] which can be prepared, treated, deposited, etc. (temporal features) in an often astonishing number of ways (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 3–4); the body is also most often the primary material focus for movement, positioning, etc. (spatial features). This is the case in all the examples already cited.

But we also have to consider all those additional material foci, which may be associated with, or separated from, the corpse at any given point during the ritual. In the case of the Bara this included rice, rum, coffin and cloth. But of course almost any other object can be given ritual significance in this way. Clothes, jewellery, animals and the bodies of other humans are but a few examples of the types of additional foci that can apparently enter, leave or remain in the ritual (so to speak) at any point during a scheme of ritual actions. Again, examples in Roman mortuary ritual are manifold.

When such foci are added to the primary focus (the body) denotes a temporal feature of the ritual, their spatial relationship with the primary focus (or with each other) indicates a spatial emphasis, and is therefore a spatial feature. In each case it is important also to consider the quality of treatment of additional foci: are such material foci broken, burned, dismantled, inverted, etc.? The key point is that it is the spatial and temporal choices of action made by ritual participants that have effects on material

foci throughout the ritual. Furthermore, we can again envisage how new types or treatments of material foci could be introduced by participants during ritual schemes of action, how traditions concerning the objects associated with mortuary ritual could be either be subverted, or could gradually change over time through 'accident', agency, etc.

Having considered individual features of ritual actions within what we have already been calling "schemes of action", we might now look for any recurring factors in the 'shape' of such schemes. What then should we consider when looking for overall patterns of ritual action in mortuary rituals, for example?

A point of particular significance here is the way in which the *actions* of mortuary rituals seem so often to be schematised in a way which is at the very least highly reminiscent of van Gennep's pattern for the rites of passage. Parkin argues that these very phases can be seen to be "played out" in the "formulaic spatiality" of "funerary rituals involving the carrying, burial, and sometimes reburial of corpses" (Parkin 1992: 16).[4]

It should be noted that Parkin is here talking about the actions of ritual most likely to leave traces in the archaeological record (those leading up to and including deposition of the human remains), as are Huntington and Metcalf when they point out that, in the particular case of reburial among the Bara of Madagascar,

> [T]here is a festive procession between the temporary burial place and the family tomb, ending with placement of the bones in their proper place and the closing of the tomb. Separation, transition, incorporation…
>
> (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 118).

As we might expect, Huntington and Metcalf's position is that this abstract division of the action is of little worth analytically, without being linked to the culturally specific values and beliefs of the particular group under study; in this case, for instance, the sequential ordering of the rite of passage is seen as articulating a unique "configuration of values" (ibid.).

However, the fact that this scheme exists at the level of action is surely significant for the consideration of overall temporal and spatial schemes in ritual action. We can begin to see a framework emerging for just about any mortuary ritual, whereby temporal and spatial emphasis is made through choices of action and the manipulation of material foci at each stage of an overall ritual scheme. The temporal and spatial emphases embodied by ritual action are thus also to be seen as emphases of separation, transition and incorporation, respectively.[5]

In the sequencing of a mortuary ritual we might, for example, see preliminary actions such as the 'laying out' of the corpse (in a certain place for a certain amount of time). We might have actions which express liminality during movement (procession), temporary storage (usually in a liminal place), or processes such as excarnation, cremation etc. During such movements, placements and processes the material foci of mortuary rituals are neither associated with the old state nor the new. Final deposition would seem to be equivalent to postliminal incorporation into the new state, whether this be a matter of burial, scattering, storage, abandonment, eating of remains, or whatever.

Such an approach provides an abstract framework, a generalised mortuary ritual scheme, within which the countless variable spatial and/or temporal emphases made through choice of action using material foci, at each stage of mortuary rituals, can be identified and compared.

The initial state (life and death) includes all the spatial and temporal relationships of the life and death of the individual. Thus, lived space would be characterised by, for example, home and community, in spatial terms: *places* for domestic activity, work, ritual, leisure etc. All such places are part of the subjective landscape/environment of the individual and group, imbued with cultural meaning (Taylor 1997: 192–195). The place of death may also have serious implications for the types of ritual actions that follow.

In terms of temporality, we are again interested in the subjective characteristics of life and death. The individual (the person who becomes the corpse and, therefore, the primary focus of mortuary ritual) can obviously have variable status and/or roles in life (age, gender, occupation, etc.) and death (i.e., the mode of death). These are the factors that might well have a bearing on the sorts of actions carried out during mortuary ritual. Additional material may be associated with the person through age, gender, ownership, occupation, etc. and indicate such status during life.

We can view any initial movement of the corpse, along with any treatment carried out at this stage (such as the deliberate association with or isolation from additional material foci) as prior to the liminal rites of physical change and/or extended movement. Thus, such treatments can be seen as rites of separation from the subjective temporal/spatial context of the living person now deceased.[6]

Acts of movement following initial separation, which are intended to transport the material foci to the place of deposition (or extended storage in some temporary position) can be seen as spatial features of the ritual emphasising liminality. Equally, any processes that alter the body (primary focus), changing it into its final state, can be described as temporal features of the ritual emphasising liminality. Additional foci can also be added, kept or removed at this stage, identifying such foci also as expressive of or associated with liminality.

Final preparations (postliminal rites of incorporation) involve the new environment of spatial relationships into which the remains are placed, (cemetery, landscape feature, the sea, etc.) and any material foci deliberately associated with or isolated from the corpse at this stage. The new state is attained via the final placement of the remains in relation to each other and the immediate context (grave, communal tomb or urn, etc.).

Visual emphasis of the deposition site signals the end of the rites of deposition, and the translation of that place (i.e., landscape feature imbued with meaning) into a locus for further mortuary ritual deposition, or for rituals of a different nature, such as offerings to hero or ancestor cults, removal of bone or other objects for other magico-religious purposes, etc.

I would suggest that this generalised 'form' might be of great use to anyone using archaeological data to study variability and/or change in mortuary rituals. If the temporal and spatial features of each ritual can be inferred from the material remains of that event, these features can then be compared with those of other mortuary rituals either in a localised 'assemblage' (e.g. 'cemetery'), or in a wider context (e.g. 'region').

The nature and extent of 'traditions' or 'distributions' could thus be analysed.

In effect, attempting to reconstruct each ritual in this way would be like attempting to reconstruct a fragmentary artefact. In the same way, features of the fragments could be compared with those of other 'artefacts', and patterns realised. The choice to emphasise temporal and spatial features in the ritual can be seen as the distinctive 'decoration' which gives each ritual its identity. This (perhaps localised) configuration of features would constitute a particular ritual 'style', which could be compared with other rituals of the same overall type, such as 'cremation rites' (see Pearce 1997). Thus regionality in ritual style could be investigated over time.

The artefact analogy is not an altogether strange concept; after all, what are artefacts but the results of human actions that manipulate and change material foci? Indeed, when human beings conduct rituals through an active scheme of separation, change, and final recognition of a new 'state', are they not in fact imitating the way in which they select and change raw materials in order to create the recognisable new forms that we call artefacts? Whether this be a conscious imitation of other 'work' or not, it is, perhaps, hardly surprising that van Gennep's scheme should appear so universal.

Thus, we can suggest that schemes of ritual action take the form they do because they come about in the same way as other creative actions. There must first be an abstract idea relating to a preconceived outcome, and access to 'raw materials'. In terms of action, these raw materials must first be selected with the desired outcome in mind, and must then undergo change through spatial and temporal manipulation in order to be finally recognised as the desired end product.

Participants in a ritual can contribute conflicting ideas, materials, and actions throughout the scheme of actions, making the physical end product variable. Yet the ritual outcome can still be perceived as 'correct'. This is because, in ritual, the 'end product' is sheer indirection, producing archaeological data which defy 'common sense' interpretations of purpose, and which have been all too often merely consigned to a broad and unfathomable category called 'ritual'. Yet even if the outcome of ritual is metaphysical, ritual actions are physical just the same: variable constructions in, or perhaps constructions of, space and time.

As a definition, then, ritual action can be seen as an attempt to 'realise' the abstract through action, a communal art form, which works through the medium of performance, and also installation (in terms of the careful placement of material foci), the latter being especially relevant in mortuary ritual. In fact, we might argue that specialised action is precisely the element that defines 'ritual'; without the action to convey it, a symbol will surely remain an abstraction.

If we consider the ritual as an acted event to which contributors can bring new elements, a performance which is finely balanced between 'rule governed behaviour' and innovation or deviation, we might be able to investigate the impact of cultural change on existing ritual traditions. As ideas change (for whatever reason), or as alternative views are introduced, we can see that schemes of ritual action are liable to change or vary in character (though not in overall, abstract, form). The understanding that participants can contribute new elements to ritual through action (either deliberately or accidentally) therefore has the potential to be highly valuable when considering periods of cultural change through imperialism or acculturation, for

example. Any survey of variability in ritual within or between contemporary groups, or of changing ritual over time, might attempt to detect alterations or stasis in the temporal and spatial features of ritual actions, as part of ritual schemes.

<div align="right">

School of European Culture and Languages,
University of Kent at Canterbury

</div>

Notes

1. I use 'state', agreeing with Turner (1967: 93) that 'status' is too loaded a term in this context.
2. This is the situation whereby participants "...in criticizing others' competence in bodily movement and direction...may be left with the task of organizing the ritual" (Parkin 1992: 12–13).
3. An obvious exception to this rule is the case of the 'cenotaph', which visually, nonetheless, is often necessarily imitative of some 'norm', so that it will be recognised (see Parker Pearson 1999: 55–56). Do cenotaphs always result from some logistical difficulty in obtaining the body?
4. Parkin further asks if it is possible to "think of any ritual which does not have such phases, however much they may be redefined...?"(Parkin 1992: 16), and it is certainly worth considering the ritual of animal sacrifice, for example, in this light. The primary material focus must first be selected and prepared, it must then undergo change (procession, death, burning, excarnation, breakage etc.) before being buried, eaten, left to rot on the altar etc. These can surely be seen as preliminal, liminal and postliminal actions, incorporating temporal and spatial emphases. See Adam 1835: 276ff.; Ogilvie 1969: 44ff.; Beard et al. 1999: 148ff.
5. Parker Pearson (1999: 124–141) and others discuss the ultimate placement of the dead and degrees of physical separation, but only in the general sense of the whole ritual being geared towards separation of the dead from the living, which can be seen to be variable and culturally specific.
6. Humphreys delineates "rituals surrounding removal of the corpse from the *immediate* proximity of the living (burial or other forms of disposal) and the transformation of the decaying cadaver into a stable material representation of the dead (mummy, skeleton, ashes, tomb, monument, ancestral tablet etc." (1981: 263 [my italics]). But we have already seen that immediate separation (i.e. simply moving the body, or beginning preparations of it) can occur long before disposal.

Bibliography

Adam, A. 1835. *Roman Antiquities: Twelfth Edition*. London: T. Cadell, Longman et al.

Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. 1999. *Religions of Rome, Volume 2: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

de Coppet, D. 1992. Introduction. In D. de Coppet (ed.) *Understanding Rituals*. London: Routledge. 1–10

Gerholm, T. 1988. On Ritual: a postmodernist view. *Ethnos*, 3–4: 190–203

Hughes-Freeland, F. 1998. Introduction. In F. Hughes-Freeland (ed.) *Ritual, Performance and Media*. ASA Monograghs 35. London: Routledge

Humphrey, C. and Laidlaw, J. 1994. *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual.* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Humphreys, S. C. 1981. Death and Time. In S. C. Humphreys and H. King (eds.) *Mortality and Immortality.* London: Academic Press. 261–283

Humphreys, S. C. and King, H. (eds.) 1981 *Mortality and Immortality.* London: Academic Press. 261–283

Huntington, R. and Metcalf, P. 1979. *Celebrations of Death: the Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Metcalf, P. and Huntington, R. 1991. *Celebrations of Death: the Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual.* Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ogilvie, R. M. 1969. *The Romans and their gods.* London: Chatto and Windus

Parker Pearson, M. 1999. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial.* Stroud: Sutton Publishing

Parkin, D. 1992. Ritual as spatial direction and bodily division. In D. de Coppet (ed.) *Understanding Rituals.* London: Routledge. 11–25

Pearce, J. 1997. Death and Time: the Structure of Late Iron Age Mortuary Ritual. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age.* Oxbow Monograph 71. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 174–180

Taylor, J. 1997. Space and Place: some thoughts on Iron Age and Romano-British Landscapes. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds.) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: new approaches to the British Iron Age.* Oxbow Monograph 71. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 192–204.

Toynbee, J. M. C. 1971. *Death and Burial in the Roman World.* London and Southampton: Thames and Hudson

Turner, V. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols.* Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press

van Gennep, A. 1960 [1909]. *The Rites of Passage.* M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, (trans). Chicago: University of Chicago Press