

Deposits and Debris: Tomb Reuse, Secondary Deposition and Object Selection in Pre-Roman South-East Italy

Matthias Hoernes

Depositional pathways in pre-Roman South-East Italy

Graves have conventionally been regarded as “closed” finds and static assemblages which fixed one moment in time¹. With the implementation of taphonomy and archaeoethnatology², that idea has been dismissed, but in fact it has always failed as a premise for how the archaeological record came about when tombs were reopened and reused over time. As opposed to the logic “one body, one grave, one episode”³, multi-use tombs witnessed highly transformative dynamics⁴. Later burials involved interference with earlier ones, pertaining both to the human remains and the grave goods, and besides these post-funeral manipulations, a wide array of non-anthropogenic, taphonomic processes affected the dead bodies, grave structures and funerary assemblages. In order to analyse how social practices and natural processes, separately and together, materialize in reused tombs, this chapter presents cases from pre-Roman South-East Italy and discusses the re-deposition of materials from previous

burials, focussing on features that point to the deliberate selection of particular grave goods for relocation with the human remains.

Tomb reuse was ubiquitous in South-East Italy from the fifth to the third century BC (Fig. 1), and it formed part of a social reality of “living with the dead” that was also expressed in the way residential and funerary spaces converged. The funerary landscape of the region is much more diverse than might be suggested by the ethnic map drawn by ancient authors, with the “Daunians” in the north, the “Peucetians” in the middle and the “Messapians” in the south of what is now Apulia⁵. Pit graves are common throughout the region, as well as sarcophagi and cist graves in the central and Southern areas, and larger tomb types emerged in the fourth century BC. In the Northern and central part of the region, inhumation in flexed position was the norm for most of the period, as was supine deposition in the south. Although the inconsistent state of research impedes quantification, about twenty to thirty per cent of all tombs appear to have been reused at many sites in Northern and central Apulia⁶, whereas in the Salento multi-use tombs often outnumber single burials⁷. The frequency of reuse correlates with its intensity: reused tombs in the north mostly took one later deposition, in central Apulia up to five, while in the south, many tombs were

1 Cf. Lucas 2021, 87–88; Olivier 1999, 111; Hoernes in press.

2 E.g., Schmitt – Déderix 2018; Aspöck 2018; Bérard 2017b; Aspöck – Banerjee 2016; Knüsel – Robb 2016; Nilsson Stutz 2003; seminal introductions to archaeoethnatology are Duday 2009; Duday 2026.

3 Knüsel – Robb 2016, 667.

4 For the recent interest in post-funeral, or post-depositional, phenomena, see Klevnäs et al. 2021; Aspöck – Klevnäs – Müller-Scheeßel 2020 and Noterman – Cervel 2020 with ample bibliography; cf. also Kerner 2018; Brent 2017; Fahlander 2016; Kümmel 2009; Gleize 2007.

5 For archaeological overviews of the region, see Yntema 2013; Burkhardt 2013; Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014; for the regional funerary landscape, Peruzzi 2016; Kelley 2013; Greiner 2003 (Peuketia); Iacono 2007/2008 (Messapia); Obojes 2016; Obojes 2018 (Daunia).

6 E.g., Ordone, Ascoli Satriano and, just over the regional boundary, Lavello, in Northern Basilicata, but the intensity of reuse can vary considerably between local areas; cf. Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 281.

7 For tomb reuse in Messapia, see Giannotta 2015, 27–28; Giannotta 2014, 187; Giannotta 1997, 179–180; Lombardo 1994, 31.

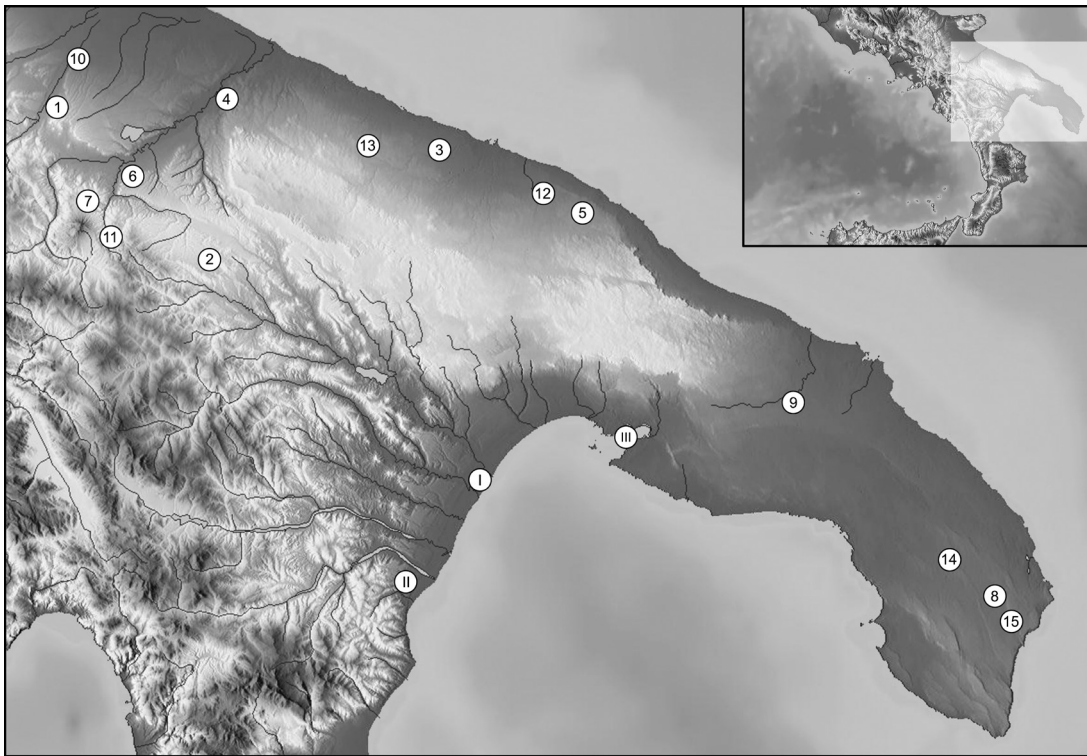


Fig. 1 – Map of sites mentioned in the text and appendix, together with the Greek coastal cities Metaponto (I), Siris (II) and Taranto (III): Ascoli Satriano (1), Banzi (2), Bitonto (3), Canosa (4), Conversano (5), Lavello (6), Melfi (7), Muro Leccese (8), Muro Tenente (9), Ortona (10), Ripacandida (11), Rutigliano (12), Ruvo (13), Soletto (14), and Vaste (15). The author, based on <https://maps-for-free.com/>.

reused ten times or more. Graves could be reopened either shortly after their installation or after a considerable interval, with tomb types having little bearing, if any, on whether and how a tomb was reused.

In Northern Apulia, preparation for subsequent interments consistently involved the remains of previous burials being relocated within the burial pits, either moved aside or gathered into cavities in the floor (Fig. 2). In the other parts of the region, the remains were usually re-deposited outside the tomb structures, often placed alongside their coverings or in the surrounding area, but sometimes transferred to other features or removed from the burial ground altogether. In secondary depositions, both within and outside the tombs, the association between the deceased and the grave goods created in the original burial un-

derwent changes⁸. New grave goods could be added in sets or accumulated over time, pottery entombed with earlier burials was regularly re-deposited with the human remains or disposed of and replaced, and from time to time, objects from previous assemblages were merged into more recent ones. Relocated remains in secondary deposits could therefore be accompanied by all of the original grave goods, some, or none of them, and the choice of what was to be re-deposited and what removed could be highly selective.

⁸ Cf. Bérard 2017a, 279–285; Bérard 2014, 111–118 on the movement of grave goods in the reused tombs at Megara Hyblaea; Klevnäs 2015 on grave goods and their removal in reopened and “robbed” medieval tombs.

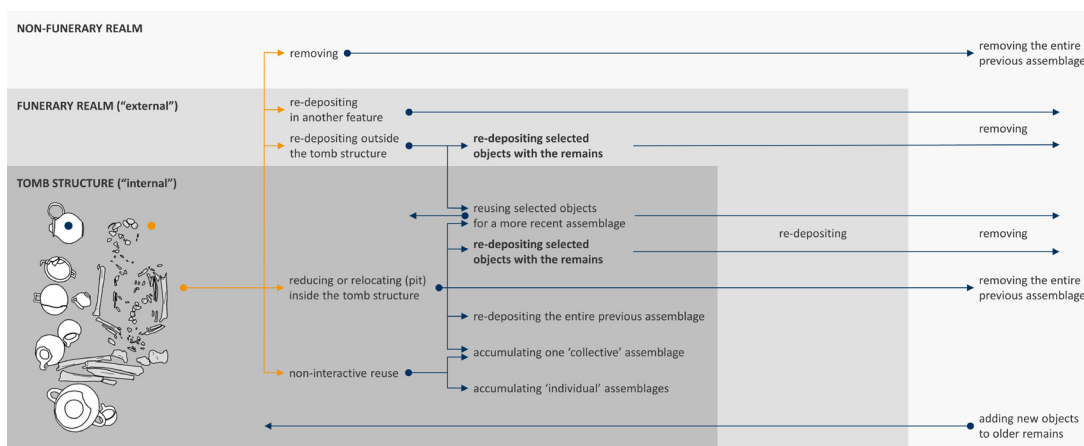


Fig. 2 – Depositional pathways of remains (orange) and objects (blue) in reused tombs, with selective object re-deposition set in bold. Own work, drawing of tomb 3/12 at the Giarnera Piccola/Ascoli Satriano based on Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 279 fig. 17.

Secondary deposits between practices and processes

Secondary deposits in multi-use tombs are complex features that, by definition, contain human remains but also discarded artefacts and soil matrix. These features are the result of both short-term, anthropogenic events and taphonomic processes that occurred over various time scales, e.g., soft tissue decay and skeletal disarticulation, water infiltration, bioturbation, and sedimentation⁹. Before focusing specifically on a number of case studies from pre-Roman South-East Italy, it is helpful to conceptualise this twofold formation of the archaeological record in theoretical and methodological terms.

Relocating bones

French archaeoethanatology offers a terminological framework for describing depositions of remains¹⁰. A deposition – an act with a deposit as its outcome – is “secondary” when it completes the intentional movement of remains in various degrees of disarticulation from an

original to a final resting place. Secondary depositions represent a subset of post-funerary practices, i.e., the various kinds of human intervention that occur after all the steps of the original deposition have been conducted. In the case of inhumations, this original deposition is called “primary” when the body, or a part of it, is placed in the ground with the anatomical articulations still intact¹¹. Among secondary depositions, “internal” and “external” variants are distinguished, depending on whether they occur inside the feature in which the corpse was originally deposited or outside it. In the former case, a distinction is made between “reduction”, performed within the same space, e.g., a pit or sarcophagus, as the primary deposition, and “relocation” to a sub-space within it, e.g., a cavity or niche¹².

As it refers to the moment of past deposition and not of archaeological excavation, the terminology is interpretative, or reconstructive, and not merely descriptive. Secondary deposition is inferred when remains show disarticulation, lack small or fragile bones, indicate

¹¹ Knüsel – Robb 2016, 657–658; Kerner 2018, 52–58.

¹² Duday 2009, 72; cf. Kerner 2018, 67–70. 150–172, who also categorizes external secondary depositions as reductions (“reduction avec transfert” versus “reduction repoussée”).

⁹ Gleize 2020 with a discussion of “N-” and “C-transforms” in reused graves.

¹⁰ For bibliography, see note 2 above.

a patterned, i.e., non-random spatial arrangement, or, conversely, appear to be commingled. Archaeothanatological protocols allow types of deposition to be distinguished by paying attention to the relative chronology in which labile and more persistent skeletal joints dissolve, to the formation and infilling of mortuary features, and to how bones move depending on these two sets of parameters. Nevertheless, it can be difficult, and sometimes impossible, to differentiate secondary depositions from primary ones that have undergone taphonomic or anthropogenic disarrangement and *in situ* bone loss later in their post-depositional history¹³. Moreover, it is very difficult to prove that secondarily deposited remains decomposed in the same feature in which they were archaeologically recovered – the precondition of the overall scenario of tomb reuse – rather than having been transferred there after they had become dry bones¹⁴.

Even if the depositional character of a feature is transparent, the timing of its formation may not be. It is generally assumed that secondary depositions were conducted at the time of a subsequent burial, yet they could also have taken place at some intermediate stage or have had nothing to do with the reuse of the tomb. For instance, re-deposition could have formed a distinct stage in the “funerary cycle”¹⁵ or “chaîne opératoire funéraire”¹⁶ of the original burial, or have occurred as a side effect of tomb looting, ancient or modern. The period between burial and secondary deposition can be narrowed down based on the degree of decomposition and disarticulation at the moment of manipulation¹⁷. Yet the speed of decomposition and disarticulation depends on a number of factors, both natural and anthropogenic, such as the state of the corpse, its clothing or wrapping, local soil chemistry, the depth of the burial, the construction and filling of the mor-

tuary feature, as well as the existence of organic components within it¹⁸. The analysis of secondary depositions is therefore premised on negative arguments¹⁹, ruling out other depositional pathways, temporal patterns and post-depositional processes that would tend towards equifinality in the archaeological record.

Discarding Artefacts

The formation processes of secondary mortuary deposits, particularly with regard to objects, resemble the discarding of refuse in non-funerary spaces²⁰. In so far as they indicate repetitive, formalized or ritualized practices, they fulfil the criteria for what has been extensively discussed, in relation to such non-funerary contexts, as “structured deposition”²¹. Highly selective deposits of grave contents, such as those on which this chapter focuses, imply patterned depositions and suggest the intentional creation of “places with histories, places that structured and were structured by ritual practices that occurred over multiple discrete episodes”²². As the debate on refuse disposal warns, however, intentional practices do not necessarily result in recurrent material patterns, and conversely, assemblage patterning can result from practices which, though indeed culturally structured, are simply habitual.

Two intensively used tombs from the Salento epitomize the problem of assessing patterns in secondary deposits (Fig. 3). The first tomb was located in the courtyard of an early Hellenistic house at Soleto and received eleven successive burials²³. The last, or primary, deposition (A) occupied the cist, while the remains of the earlier ones were either reduced (B), relocated

13 Robb 2016, 689–690; Duday 2006, 46.

14 Lauwerier et al. 2015, 37–38 prove such a post-funeral transfer in the case of a Merovingian-period tomb in the modern Netherlands that could be easily mistaken for a reused tomb with a floor pit.

15 Weiss-Krejci 2018; Weiss-Krejci 2011.

16 Valentin et al. 2014.

17 Aspöck 2011.

18 Cockle – Bell 2005; Aspöck 2011, 304. 306.

19 Duday 2006, 46.

20 For recent attempts to bridge various depositional contexts conventionally discussed in isolation, such as tombs and hoards, see Cooper – Garrow – Gibson 2020 and Hofmann 2020.

21 For overviews of the debate, see Garrow 2012 and Joyce – Pollard 2010.

22 Nilsson Stutz 2003, 153.

23 Soleto, Fondo Fontanella, tomb T: Van Compernelle 2012, 49–55 for the tomb; Gabellone – Chiffi 2015, 105–108 for the objects.

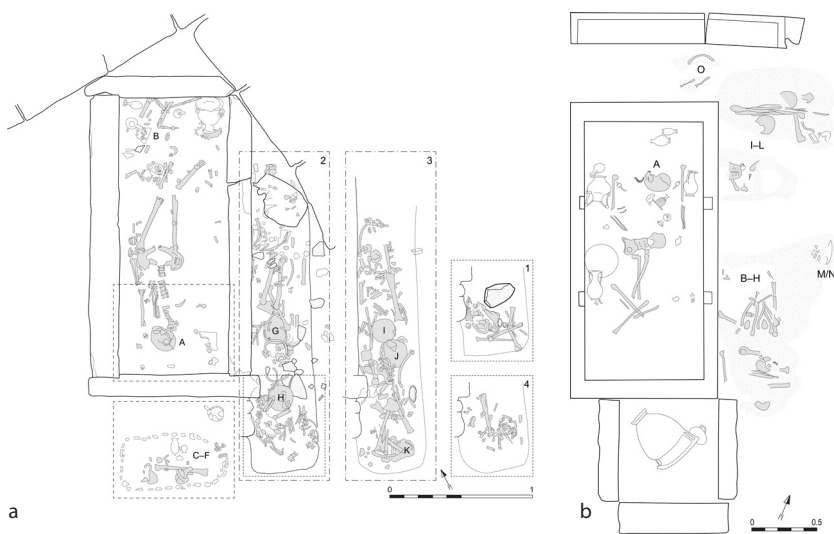


Fig. 3 – a) Soletto, Fondo Fontanella, tomb T and b) Vaste, Fondo Melliche, tomb 544 with secondary deposits. a) after Van Compernelle 2012, 50 fig. 68. 52 fig. 72. 53 fig. 73; b) after Semeraro 1990, 70 fig.

to a cavity in the floor (C–F), or re-deposited in a pit alongside the tomb (G–K). It was not possible to deduce a coherent use-life for the external deposit or to map it onto a timeline, as the remains had been stripped of their grave goods, except for a single coin²⁴.

The second example comes from Fondo Melliche in Vaste and represents both the earliest and the most recent phase of this burial ground, in which almost all tombs saw extensive reuse²⁵. The assemblage from inside the sarcophagus indicates an early-third-century date for the last burial (A), whereas the vessel set from the attached stone cist probably refers to the initial burial in the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Within this time span, extensive burial activities were evident from several external secondary deposits which contained the remains of fourteen individuals (B–O). Moreover, these deposits held random fractions of the original grave contents, almost all of which were fragmented, incomplete and commingled.

In more general terms, the depositional practices oscillated between adding to previous materials and subtracting from them, with the result that the archaeological assemblages represent a sliding scale between “cumulative palimpsests” and “true palimpsests”²⁶. In the former, material from successive depositions is preserved without loss but so mixed together that it is difficult, or impossible, to reconstitute the events that led to the archaeological record. In the latter, all or most evidence of earlier depositions has been erased or removed, leaving only the most recent. In the archaeological record, both the total retrieval of grave contents and their fragmentation, dispersal and mixing result in material patterns. These variants in past depositional practices were as much structured by cultural knowledge and regulated by social conventions as selective object re-depositions²⁷. Though what follows focuses on the latter, it would be reductionist to create a dichotomy between structured as opposed to unstructured secondary depositions, or between “ritual” and “regular” ones; instead, they should be placed in a continuum of social practices.

24 For coins in Hellenistic tombs in Messapia, see Semeraro 2013.

25 Vaste, Fondo Melliche, tomb 544 with *ripostiglio* 567 and deposits 562, 565 and 577: Semeraro 1990, 69–85 for the tomb; Mastronuzzi – Melissano 2015, 22–24 for the objects.

26 Bailey 2007 on the terms and concepts.

27 For a practice-based approach to depositions, see, e.g., Gramsch – Meier 2013.

Bones and belts: object selection and secondary deposition

Across pre-Roman South-East Italy, secondary deposits occur that indicate the selection, whether intentional or habitual, of specific grave goods to be re-deposited with the human remains. In the cases presented, the non-random character of the re-depositions is inferred from three parameters: (1) the composition of the re-deposited grave goods, i.e., the smaller number of objects re-deposited compared with average assemblages of primary depositions, as well as the presence or absence of particular grave-good categories; (2) the narrow spectrum of object types represented overall in this kind of post-funeral treatment, both locally and regionally; and (3) the spatial placement of both the bones and the objects in the deposits. Those parameters particularly apply to metal objects, such as belts, weapons, knives, and adornments. As opposed to pottery, which formed a standard feature of every burial in the region but rarely of highly selective deposits, metal items were regularly extracted from the original grave-good sets, transferred to secondary deposits together with human remains, and arranged there in non-arbitrary ways. The discussed examples derive from a regional survey of tomb reuse, comprising a dataset of c. 200 tombs at eighteen sites.

Re-depositing belts

The most conspicuous depositional pattern emerges for bronze-sheet belts. These artefacts were widespread in fifth- to third-century Southern Italy, circulating all over Apulia, Basilicata, Campania, Calabria, and Molise²⁸. The so-called *cinturoni* are broad bands which were adjusted with clasps, mostly decorated or figuratively designed, and padded with leather

on the inside²⁹. Belts have long been classified as military equipment, but this interpretation has come under scrutiny³⁰, since the thin metal bands seem unlikely to have afforded effective protection in combat. Moreover, they do not regularly appear in association with armour or weaponry in funerary assemblages, and when they do occur along with, e.g., cuirasses, the items often do not allow for combination as actual armour. The military interpretation has strongly relied on Campanian tomb-paintings, particularly from Paestum, where return-of-the-warrior scenes show mounted soldiers wearing belts and dangling other belts from their spears as trophies³¹. By contrast, Southern Italian vase-paintings do not depict belts exclusively in combination with military accoutrements but, more generically, as emblems of the non-Greek, Italic identity of their wearers³².

Rather than being functional pieces of armour, belts appear to have served as elements of dress, for the most part worn by men. Although their wearers were not necessarily warriors in life, however, belts may possibly have alluded symbolically to warrior identities³³. The conventionally assumed association of belts with male gender has been substantiated at some sites, but there is still no sound empirical basis for generalization. Likewise, local to micro-regional conventions seem to have regulated whether belts were restricted to adult age, perhaps marking coming-of-age or a gradual transition to adulthood³⁴, or could be bestowed upon subadults. As many pieces show multiple repairs, they were evidently worn over a long period of life before being deposited in the tombs. There, belts continued to embellish their wearers, placed with care around the waist, spread out over the legs or upper part of

28 For belts and their typology, see Romito 1995; Sannibale 1995; Bottini – von Kaenel 1991; Suano 1986; Bottini 1983; for overviews and interpretations, see Herring 2018; Mannino 2004, 701–713; Suano 2000; Suano 1991; Robinson 1995.

29 For textile and organic residues on belts from Ascoli Satriano, see Tinkhauser – Töchterle – Heitz 2020 and Töchterle – Heitz 2020.

30 Heitz 2021, 88–89.

31 Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992, 42–44.

32 Nowak 2018.

33 Robinson 1995, 156.

34 Herring 2018; Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 17. 19 for Ascoli Satriano.

the body, rolled up on or next to the corpse, or unfurled alongside it³⁵.

The close association between belts and bodies tends to be sustained in post-burial practices. In the Giarnera Piccola area of Northern Apulian Ascoli Satriano, reused tombs account for about twenty per cent of the total³⁶. Re-deposited remains, found mainly in floor cavities, come with, if any, a very limited number and spectrum of objects, restricted to adornments, spearheads, knives or belts, or a combination of these. Overall, nine belts or belt parts have been recovered from fourth-century burials, and where the context was clear and sexing conclusive, they adorned men over twenty years of age, only one individual being, potentially, female, and one morphologically adolescent³⁷. Three of the *cinturoni* stem from secondary deposits. The first, a fragmentary piece, was placed in a floor cavity with the fully disarticulated remains of an adult male, possibly also accompanied by other dress items [AS1/08]³⁸. The individual that succeeded to occupancy of this tomb was accompanied by a belt as well and represented the only potentially female individual from local tombs with belts³⁹.

The second re-deposited belt at the Giarnera Piccola comes from a ground-carved *grotticella* tomb [AS5/07; Fig. 4a], which housed four successive inhumations, whose ceramic grave goods were accumulated on both sides of the entrance. While the last interment (A) occupied the centre of the chamber and also wore a belt, the preceding burials had been reduced in

different ways. One individual (B) was slightly pushed aside, while the remains of another (C) were split, with the cranium being relocated to one side of the final, primary deposition and the long bones to the other. Whether the missing postcranial skeleton parts of these two individuals had completely decomposed or were removed upon reduction remains unsettled. The remains of the fourth individual (D) had been heaped up in the corner of the open chamber. Selected for re-deposition with the bones, perhaps by then already completely disarticulated, were a belt and a spearhead⁴⁰.

The third secondarily deposited belt belonged to a large pit grave that saw at least five depositions, though with a significant time gap between the earliest and the latest [AS3/10; Fig. 4b]. The earliest inhumations (C–E), with associated adornments dating from the sixth century BC, were found relocated along the edge of the covering, while the pit itself contained the primary deposition of an adult male (A), whose grave goods dated from the early fourth century BC. Beneath the skeleton and covered by a thin layer of earth lay the relocated remains of another adult male (B). The fully disarticulated bones were arranged in a bundle, with the long bones positioned in parallel and the cranium placed on one side. The remains had been stripped of their original grave goods, except for a spearhead and an iron knife, placed beneath the bones, and a belt, which was carefully rolled out alongside them. Immediately adjacent was another tomb with a convergent use-life⁴¹, in which the re-deposited remains of a male individual, gathered into a tight bundle of bones in a floor pit, retained only a knife [AS3/12]. A re-deposited belt was also found in a fourth-century tomb in another zone of Ascoli Satriano; again, it had been placed with the bones in a floor deposit [AS3].

Re-deposition of belts also occurred in nearby Ortona, where reuse affected a similar share of the tombs as at the Giarnera Piccola. Here, belts were found in twelve fourth-centu-

35 E.g., Ascoli Satriano, Valle Castagna, tomb 4 (Corrente – Liseno 2010, 265–267); Ascoli Satriano, Giarnera Piccola, tomb 3/11 (Larcher – Laimer 2013, 46–48); Ortona, Belgian excavation areas, tombs 91, 97, 106, 123, 130, 137, 144, 149, 173 (Iker 1986, 782–783 with a synthesis); Ortona, Contrada Cavallerizza, tomb 382 (Catalli et al. 2018); Ripacandida, San Donato, tomb 82 (Heitz 2021, 64. Catalogue: 134–136); Canosa, Piano San Giovanni, Ipogeo dei Vimini, lateral chamber, both depositions (De Juliis 1990); Gravina in Puglia, Padreterno, tombs 4/1988 and 10/1999 (Ciancio 2003, 28–34).

36 Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 265.

37 Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 17.

38 Cf. appendix with additional data and full references for each tomb discussed or mentioned.

39 For this second belt, see Tinkhauser – Töchterle – Heitz 2020 and Töchterle – Heitz 2020.

40 For the belt, Töchterle – Heitz 2020.

41 Both tombs formed part of an architectural precinct which was perhaps dedicated to commemorative ceremonies; see Laimer 2016 and Heitz in preparation.

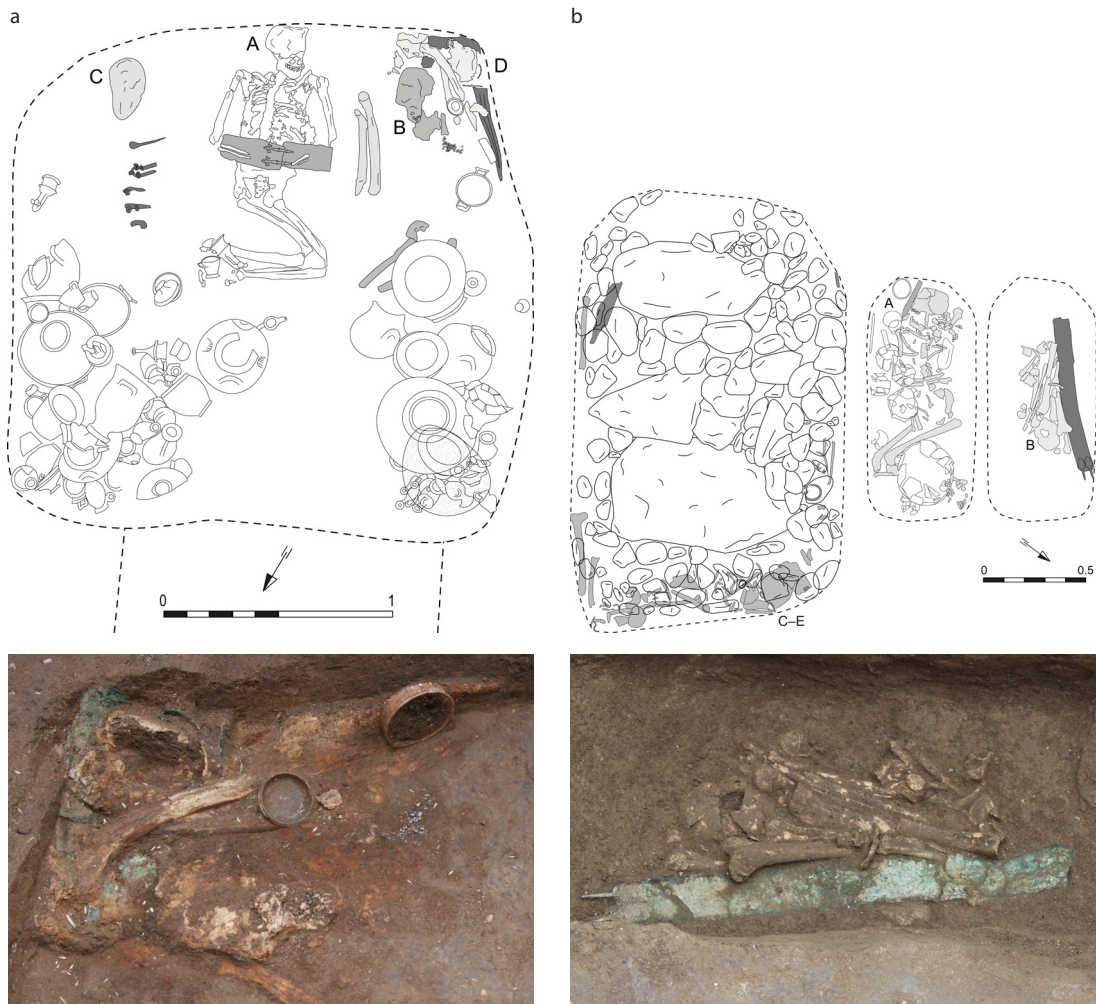


Fig. 4 – a) Ascoli Satriano, Giarnera Piccola, tomb AS5/07, with a photo of the secondary deposition of individual D, and b) Ascoli Satriano, Giarnera Piccola, tomb AS3/10, with a photo of the secondary deposition of individual B. a) drawing after Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021 2019, 273 fig. 11; photo after Heitz – Hoernes – Laimer 2018, 335 fig. 7; b) drawing after Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021 2019, 277 fig. 15; photo after Heitz – Hoernes – Laimer 2018, 339 fig. 14.

ry tombs⁴². Two of them originated from secondary depositions, which in Ortona sometimes retain dress items but have often lost all of their grave goods⁴³. In the first case, a pit grave [ORD127; Fig. 5a], the partially articulated remains (B) were transferred to one side, with the skull still resting on a head rest, to make room for the subsequent burial of a fe-

male individual (A). An iron knife was placed above the cranium of the relocated remains, and a patched belt, as in the Ascoli tomb, was rolled out and placed next to them. The second case comes from a tomb installed in a natural trench, closed at one end with a mud brick wall and at the other with a tile which could be removed, allowing three burials to be introduced over the second half of the fourth century BC [ORD164; Fig. 5b]. The remains of the two earlier burials were re-deposited, one (B) at the edge of the chamber and the other (C) in

42 Iker 1986, 782–783 with an overview of the finds from the Belgian excavations.

43 Cf. appendix with references.

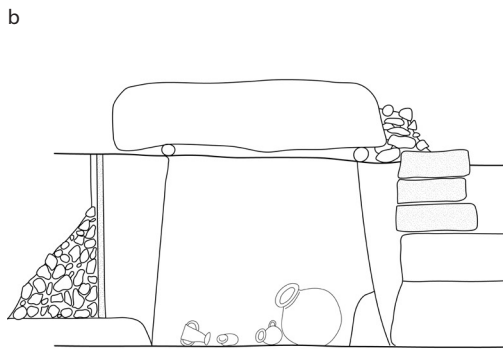
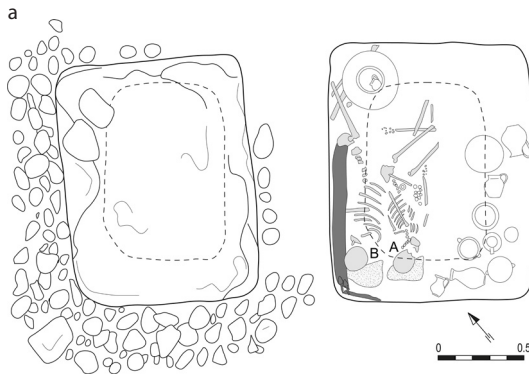
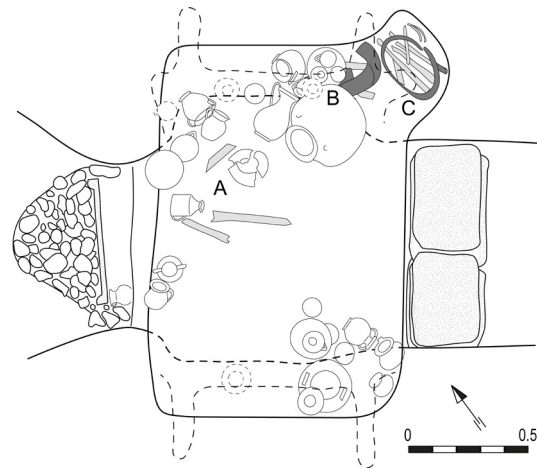


Fig. 5 – a) Ortona, trench 69,3, tomb ORD127 and b) Ortona, trench 37, tomb ORD164 with re-deposited belts and knives. a) after Iker 1986, 521 fig. 287, 525 fig. 290; b) after Iker 1986, 659 fig. 369.



a niche in the corner. Bronze belts, again with multiple repairs, were placed curled up on top of both, and in the niche, a knife was laid beneath the bones. A fragment of an iron spit had been rusted onto the blade, but the spit itself did not find its way into the deposit.

Belts also followed bones in multi-use tombs in other parts of the region. In Muro Leccese in the Salento, a fourth-century cist grave took seven successive burials, exclusively of male adults [ML2]; some of the external depositions adhered to a pattern in which the long bones were positioned in parallel with the skull between them, and one of them was covered with a belt spread out. In Vaste, a cist grave gathered six successive burials and held both external and internal secondary deposits, one of the latter reduced and another relocated to a cavity in the floor [VA84.12; Fig. 6]. The relocated remains were those of a male of over sixty years

of age, the only one of the previously deposited deceased to retain any grave goods – a belt in two pieces, placed next to the skull. Further evidence points to the post-funeral preference given to belts; for instance, a deposit in Vaste with belt clasps and a helmet crest [VA191], another two features, also in Vaste, in which two or more depositions were superimposed, assembling small sets of items including belts [VA584 and VA1/1968], deposits with belts in Soleto in the Salento [SO1981], and small selections of items with belts in Conversano [CO3/1988 and CO1/1990] in central Apulia⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ In other deposits in Conversano, metal items such as spearheads and belts are accompanied by further, fragmented, grave goods, including pottery, which renders their composition arbitrary, rather than selective; e.g., Via Torino, tomb 4/1991 and Via D. Ramunni, tomb 4/1991 (Ciancio – L'Abbate 2013, 309–312, 320–325).

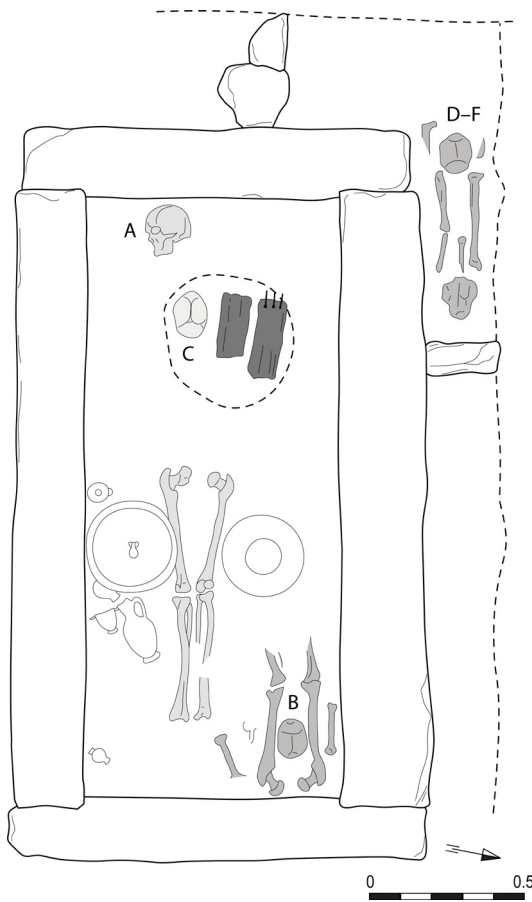


Fig. 6 – Vaste, Fondo Pizzinaghe, tomb VA84.12 with re-deposited belt. After Lamboley 1996, 415 fig. 43.

All of these secondary deposits with belts attest to selectivity in the items re-deposited and formality in the way they were placed.

Re-depositing spearheads

Like belts, spearheads tended to stay with relocated bones. Since they show little typological consistency in Southern Italy, spears are defined here as all pointed weapons with long shafts⁴⁵. In Northern and central Apulia, they are the most frequently represented class of weapon among the grave goods, and often the only one, whereas tombs in the Salento do not

include weapons of any kind⁴⁶. Spears often occupy prominent positions in the tombs, particularly Daunian ones, e.g., lying next to the deceased's head or the upper part of the body, propped against the wall of the pit or inserted into it, and may represent the last object deposited outside the tomb after sealing⁴⁷. Given their prominence in funerary display and an assumed link to warfare or hunting, spears have been stereotypically ascribed to elite male identities, but this gendered interpretation, at least in its generalized form, is less clearly supported by the archaeological evidence than in the case of belts⁴⁸.

Re-deposited spearheads appeared in two of the Giarnera Piccola deposits already discussed, one along with a belt and the other with a belt and a knife [AS5/07; Fig. 4a and AS3/10; Fig. 4b respectively]. Spearheads are also rare in Ordona [ORD71] but frequently occur in Lavello in Northern Basilicata. In the Contrada Casino necropolis⁴⁹, almost a quarter of the tombs saw reuse, but as most of the re-depositions were reductions and the documentation is coarse-grained, it is hard to correlate grave goods with distinct depositions. Based on the

46 As for armour, the single exceptions are helmets, helmet crests and terracotta skeuomorphs thereof; see Manino 2004, who, however, also includes bronze belts in her discussion of military accoutrements.

47 E.g., spearheads deposited next to the head or upper part of the body of the deceased: Ordona, trench 59, tomb 95 (Iker 1986, 385); Canosa, Piano San Giovanni, Ipogeo dei Vimini, lateral chamber, both depositions (De Juliis 1990, 81 no. 48, 49; 110 no. 75) – spearheads fixed in the wall of the pit: Ordona, Southern extraurban area, tomb 50 (Iker 1984, 196) – spearheads deposited on the coverings of the tombs: Ascoli Satriano, Giarnera Piccola, tombs 9/03 (Laimer – Larcher 2006, 52–53) and 3/11 (Larcher – Laimer 2013, 47); Ordona, trench 79,2, tomb 79.OR.54 (Maes 1997, 90); Ordona, Belgian excavation areas, tombs 53, 93, 149 (Iker 1984, 208; Iker 1986, 376, 617); Lavello, urban area, tomb 71 (Giorgi et al. 1988, 77) – spearheads fixed in the ground outside the tomb: Ascoli Satriano, Cimitero Vecchio, tombs 36, 46 (Tinè Bertocchi 1985, 49, 69) – spearhead deposited in front of the vertical entrance slab: Ascoli Satriano, Colle Serpente, tomb A 4 (Larcher – De Franceschi 2012, 18, 33–34); Canosa, Piano San Giovanni, tomb 1/08 (Corrente 2014, 179); Ordona, SS 161, tomb 12 (Corrente et al. 2008, 395 n. 48).

48 Kelley 2013, 288–289, 337 arguing for a non-gender-specific association in central Apulia.

49 Giorgi et al. 1988.

45 Inall 2014; Small 2000; Bottini – von Kaenel 1991.

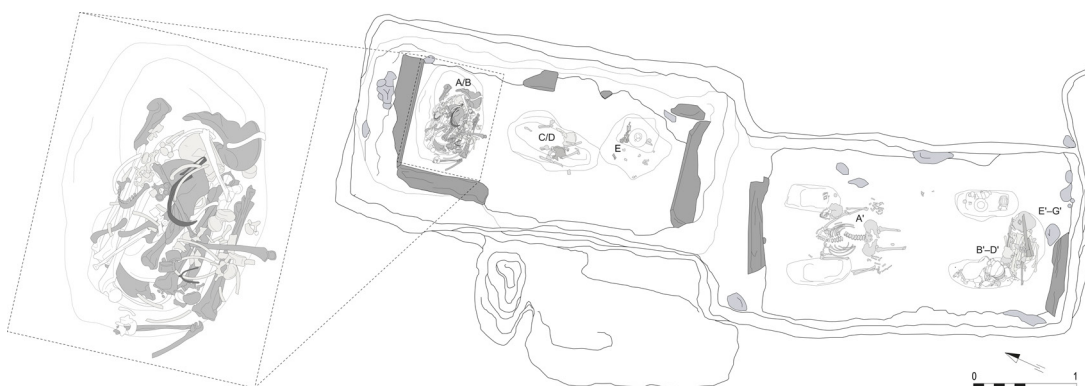


Fig. 7 – Muro Leccese, Masseria Cunella, tombs ML1/2 with re-deposited spur und strigil. After Giardino – Meo 2008, 20–21 fig.

publication, spearheads nevertheless seem to have been among the classes of object most often re-deposited with the remains, after adornments and followed by knives [e.g., LA223].

Spears already loomed large in the assemblage of one of the seventh-century “princely tombs”, in which a bundle of spears was deposited next to the body⁵⁰. These two Archaic *tombe principesche* formed the focal point of the Contrada Casino necropolis, and particularly of one tomb cluster in the centre of the area. This central cluster contained a concentration of spearheads, found both in the sixth-century tombs that were installed in the vicinity of the *tombe principesche* and which saw reuse after some time, often with spears accompanying both earlier and later depositions, and in the fifth- and fourth-century tombs that adjoined them. Both their position and their assemblages suggest that the tombs clustering around the “princely tombs” could have been those of a status-affiliated group⁵¹, and that spearheads served as markers of social identity that were selected for post-funeral re-deposition precisely because of this symbolic value.

In another zone of Lavello, Località Cimitero, a pit grave was apparently reopened and human remains transferred into the horizontal shaft that linked the tomb to an adjacent one, constructed some decades later in the first half

of the fourth century BC [LA599/600]. The commingled remains were piled up with an extensive set of metal objects, including at least five belts, two swords, crests, a pair of cuisses, and several spearheads, but it remains unclear how this weapon re-deposition came about.

In central and Southern Apulia, spearheads also occur among sets of metal items selected for re-deposition. In Conversano, for instance, an external deposit assembled five spear parts, a belt, an iron spit and one strigil [CO3/1988], another held a belt and, again, a spearhead, and was associated with carbonized olive stones [CO2/1987], and a third deposit had a spear and an arrowhead [CO1/1990]. In a tomb in central Apulian Bitonto, a previous occupant’s remains had been reduced and placed above the later deceased’s head, along with five spearheads and sockets, two knives, and a bronze arrowhead [BI3/2003].

Re-depositing strigils, adornments and other metal items

Evidence for post-funeral re-depositions of other metal items is provided by two large adjacent tombs in Muro Leccese in Messapia, which together contained the remains of 27 individuals [ML1/2; Fig. 7]. The bones were deposited in floor cavities and in an external feature, but as both tombs had been disturbed by clandestine excavators, many remains surfaced in the backfills. Those reliably associ-

50 Bottini 1982.

51 Cf. Osanna 2008, 150.

ated with the tombs, however, still indicated intense burial activity, mainly in the fifth to mid-third centuries BC. The Southern tomb, which included only early Hellenistic artefacts, featured a secondary deposit in the floor and four cavities arranged in a square which had served to anchor the legs of a wooden bier. As this structure decomposed, both the tomb's last occupant (A'), placed in a supine position, and the grave goods arranged on top of the body sank to the floor without major displacement or breakage, therefore reflecting a taphonomic telescoping effect rather than anthropogenic deposition⁵².

The Northern tomb contained mainly fourth-century material and was thus the older of the two. Its floor featured three secondary-deposition pits, one of which was untouched by the raiders and contained the remains of two males, one of them adult (A), the other morphologically adolescent (B). Their grave goods had been removed at the time of the post-funeral transfer, except for a strigil and one spur, deposited on top of the bones⁵³. The spur matches the fact that the older male's femora (A) showed morphological variations ascribed to habitual riding⁵⁴. It is not possible to date either the secondary depositions or the original burials with confidence, but the latter could correlate with an early phase of the tomb's use in the fifth century BC⁵⁵. This phase is evidenced by the fragment of a bronze kantharos and especially by an exquisite Attic black-figure volute krater, attributed to the workshop of the Antimenes Painter, which depicts departing warriors, mostly in chariots, on its neck⁵⁶. Parallels appear to be extremely rare

among the Attic imports in Messapia, in terms both of shape⁵⁷ and of the non-mythological warrior scenes⁵⁸. Perhaps the krater marked the elite status of the individual equipped with the spur, with whose lifestyle the imagery may have resonated.

Strigils are sometimes to be found in secondary deposits both in Messapia and Peuketia, often, again, as part of limited sets of relocated items⁵⁹. A tomb in Bitonto, for instance, featured reduced remains, partially covered under the more recently buried body, which were accompanied by a knife, a fork and a set of roasting spits, as well as two strigils [BI7/2003]. One of the strigils, made of lead, was a non-functional substitute exclusively made for funerary display, a common practice in central Apulia⁶⁰. As for the other items, tools for roasting and preparing meat occur in several local funerary assemblages in association with coarse-ware pottery. Placed on stands and showing traces of fire, these barbecue sets accompanied deceased of both genders⁶¹. The artefacts selected for re-deposition therefore seem to have been assigned a symbolic valence that continued to inform post-funeral practices. A similar rationale might have underlain the selection of knives, both alone and with other items, in deposits in Daunia, Peuketia and Northern Basilicata⁶².

ruled out that the vessel had been re-deposited there some time earlier in the use-life of the tomb.

57 Mannino 2014.

58 Mannino 2006, 248–252 with a statistical analysis; Mannino 2004, 716–721 for the scarcity of warrior scenes also among the Southern Italian red-figure pottery found in the Salento.

59 Cf. appendix with references.

60 From Bitonto, tripods, roasting spits, tongs, hooks, a fork, and cosmetic tools are attested in the form of non-functional lead substitutes; see Depalo – Fioriello – Mangiatordi 2003, 147 no. 138. 139 (tomb 2/1983); 160–161 no. 184–192 (4/1981).

61 Riccardi 2003; Riccardi 2008. For a female individual buried in a semi-chamber tomb (4/1981) and equipped with a broad range of grave goods, including a barbecue set, see Depalo – Fioriello – Mangiatordi 2003, 148–161 and Riccardi – Depalo 2003, 102–104. For cooking ware in the assemblages and potential funerary banqueting, see Kelley 2014 and Peruzzi 2018.

62 Heitz 2021, 219–220 with a site-based typology of knives. At least at the Giarnera Piccola, knives seem to be restricted to male individuals.

52 For the taphonomic implications of biers, see Bérard 2017b, 54–55 and Iacono 2004/2005, 329–330.

53 Robinson 2021, 134 no. 5 as part of a wide overview of spurs in the region.

54 Giardino et al. 2014, 421; Giardino 2014, 217; Giardino – Meo 2011, 35.

55 Robinson 2021, 134 dates the spur to the fifth century BC, based on comparison with other finds from the Salento.

56 Giardino 2014. The excavator assumes that the krater remained part of the funerary assemblage until the final deposition in the tomb, but since some of the fragments surfaced between the two tombs, the possibility cannot be

The objects that most often found their way into secondary deposits all over the region were dress items and adornments. As they were attached to the body being manipulated, this association is, for the most part, a corollary of re-deposition, but adornments appear to have been specifically selected in some Archaic tombs from the Melfese in Northern Basilicata. In the cemetery of Ripacandida⁶³, consisting of 134 tombs, only one tomb apparently saw reuse. Before the final occupant was interred in the second half of the sixth century BC, the skull, at least, of a previously deposited individual had been transferred to a cavity in the floor, along with a tightly packed cluster of metal artefacts [RIP45]. Comprising fifteen fibulae, some of them with amber and bone components, as well as amber pendants, rings and further items, this set seems to have derived from one of the earliest and most conspicuous assemblages of the necropolis⁶⁴. Similarly, a small pit with bones and eight dress items surfaced in a funerary area in Banzi, though without a corresponding tomb [BA670], and in a tomb in Lavello, a torque, bronze pendants, rings, bracelets and fibulae from an earlier deposition had been gathered beneath a 'Ionian' cup deposited during the more recent burial [LA287].

In the *grotticella* tomb at the Giarnera Piccola [AS5/07; Fig. 4a], the individual (C) whose femora and skull were re-deposited separately was associated with five fibulae, which had been carefully arranged in a row below the dislocated cranium after the remains had been manipulated. This accurate placement of dress items has its local parallel in a slightly earlier grave in the Valle Castagna burial ground [AS8]. Here, nine fibulae, a knife and a hairpin were aligned in a row next to a bundle of bones that had been heaped up in the corner of the pit. Among the remains, a glass-paste pendant and a tubular sheet-gold ring were uncovered. Rings of this type, known as "Apulian rings", are thought to have served as hair fasteners, rather than as earrings, and usually occur in

pairs⁶⁵. The absent second ring may have been removed from the Valle Castagna grave ahead of the re-arranging of the other metal items and the reduction of the human remains⁶⁶. On top of the remains, as in the *grotticella* (on deposition D), a vessel was placed, perhaps indicating a libation after the bones had been re-deposited together with selected items from the original grave-good assemblage.

Making sense of secondary depositions

Practices of dislocating, disassembling, and discarding human remains and objects, in parallel or separately, give the lie to the expectation that the formation of the archaeological record was linear and that funerary assemblages correspond to a particular burial and mark one moment in time. Tomb reuse, rather, "extends the timeframe in which burials were places of transformation" and "interactions with materials associated with the dead" occurred, and hence offers insights into how both funerary and post-funeral practices "connect, display and transform different bodily and artefactual materialities on various timescales, creating, maintaining and fragmenting social personhood"⁶⁷. This paper has focussed on one aspect of this extended engagement, viz. the extraction of objects from existing grave-good sets and their re-deposition with relocated remains. Such selective object re-depositions offer a perspective for exploring notions of the deceased and the grave goods associated with them, past experiences of tomb reuse, and methodological potentials.

If grave goods represent a selection of objects to be buried with the deceased⁶⁸, objects that followed the dead into secondary deposits represent selections from these selections. In the cases presented, with their limited number and spectrum of artefacts, this second-order selection revolved around metal items such as belts, weapons, strigils, knives, and adornments.

63 Heitz 2021.

64 Heitz 2021, 72.

65 Montanaro 2015, 177 with extensive literature.

66 Corrente – Liseno 2010, 275; Liseno 2012, 185.

67 Klevnäs et al. 2021, 1022.

68 Cf. Hofmann 2013, 272.

These classes of artefact figured prominently in funerary rituals, as demonstrated by their spatial association with the corpse, suggesting that they were, physically and conceptually, closely bound to the deceased, their bodies and social identities. Like the worn belts and the spur from Muro Leccese [ML1/2], some of these items bear evidence of pre-funerary use and thus evince enduring human-object entanglements in life and death. Such entanglements may have informed the post-funeral preference given to these items, whether tactically or tacitly, reflecting the social significance, or effectuality, they retained on the posthumous stage.

Selective re-depositions were arguably employed as a means of re-negotiating the deceased's status some time after death and burial by reinforcing certain aspects of their social identity, memory and personhood while dissolving others. For the group that performed the post-funeral transfer, this practice might be understood as form of enchainment in which *pars-pro-toto* objects represented social relationships and established connections between the past and the present⁶⁹. Interactions with the dead appear most prominently in the Valle Castagna grave [AS8], where one of a pair of gold rings was re-deposited with the reduced remains and the second one removed, following a re-arrangement of other dress items [cf. AS5/07]. As opposed to these items still deemed significant, the large remainder of grave-good assemblages fell into disuse and were disposed of, the transitory funerary function of pottery being particularly apparent.

Post-funeral practices coalesce with natural processes in producing an archaeological record that would not have been the outcome of either of them alone⁷⁰. Besides its methodological pertinence, this interplay must have affected how reusing tombs was experienced in the past. Firstly, earlier human actions structured those which occurred later in the use-life of a tomb, not necessarily performed by the same social group. This involved engagement with previously entombed grave goods but also with

grave structures, starting with the act of opening a pre-existing tomb. Although only a few graves [cf. ORD164] had devices designed to facilitate reopening, most tomb types provided a covered burial feature, thus allowing direct re-access and affording a void for new depositions, unless filled with sediments. Similarly, as in the case of the graves in Vaste and Solento, the process of opening a tomb could also involve having to clear the space outside of burial features which had been backfilled and covered during preceding burial activities.

Secondly, taphonomic processes pre-figured post-funeral practices by assisting or allowing some and hindering or preventing others. Conversely, the inherent logic of these practices relied on the natural transformation of the body. Stratifying bones in floor pits, for example, presupposed advanced disarticulation, as did the reallocation of artefacts with remains, unless the latter were mechanically dismembered. Natural processes were anticipated in the construction of funerary furniture such as the wooden bier in the Muro Leccese tomb [ML1/2]. Widespread in early Hellenistic Salento, this model allowed burials in close succession, as a new bier could be constructed above the collapsed earlier one, with materials from previous depositions sometimes still lying on the floor (Fig. 8).

Thirdly, while most taphonomic processes are independent of human agency, some can be affected by it. This applies to the effects body preparation and tomb characteristics have on the decomposition of the body, a process which is sped up by oxygen diffusing into a grave on reopening⁷¹. The transfer of remains to another environment or their mechanical manipulation can yield similar effects, while the removal of metal objects originally associated with the body stops the process of bone staining⁷².

⁶⁹ For the concept, e.g., Rebay-Salisbury – Sørensen – Hughes 2010.

⁷⁰ Cf. Gramsch – Grosskopf accepted.

⁷¹ Aspöck 2011, 306.

⁷² Dupras – Schultz 2013, 325–328; Kümmel 2009, 143–145. Removed objects were also indicated, for example, by the fragment of a spit in the Ortona tomb [ORD164], and by the handle of a bronze vessel in a deposit in Vaste, Fondo Melliche, with the remainder of the artefact missing; Semeraro 1990, 98 no. 116.

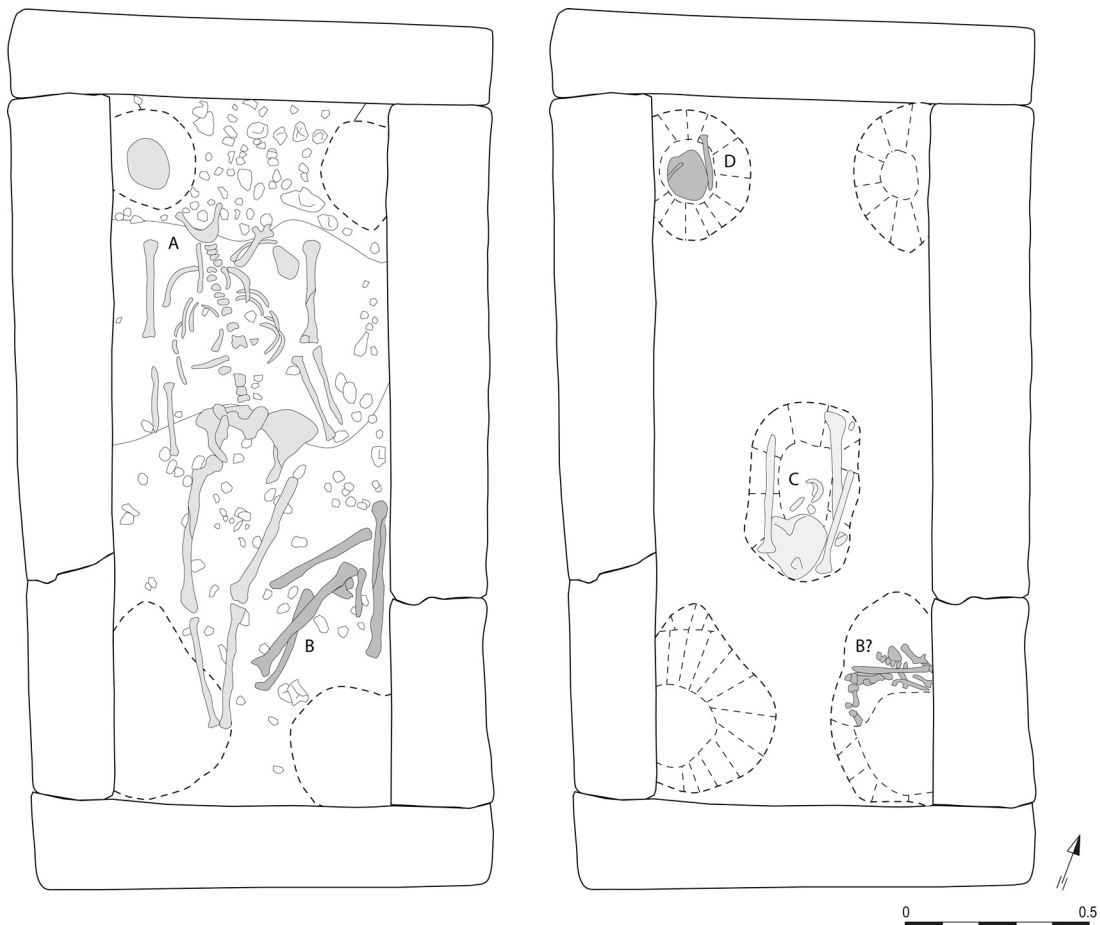


Fig. 8 – Muro Tenente, Saggio 37, two levels of tomb 2 with cavities for anchoring a bier. After Napolitano 2010, 75 fig. 21, 76 fig. 23.

In order to unravel the parts played by social practices and natural processes in the formation of secondary deposits, future studies on regional multi-use tombs should be devoted to the processes undergone by the body, i.e., depositional sequences, bone preservation, movement, loss and removal. Field data on bone position and articulation, post-excavation bone censuses, observations of mechanical manipulations, and refitting or conjoining studies can contribute substantially to this objective. For tracing object itineraries, minute recording is key, paired with attention to whether objects belonged to secondary deposits, derived from later interments, underwent taphonomic dis-

placement or were removed intentionally. Both strands promise to widen the scope for relating the static archaeological record to the dynamics that produced it, as well as to the experiences of those who dealt with mortuary materials in the past.

Acknowledgements

I warmly thank Martin Guggisberg and Marta Billo-Imbach for inviting me to the Basel-based workshop, which stimulated debate despite isolation during the pandemic, and for commenting on my paper. I am grateful to Christian Heitz and

Naoise Mac Sweeney, who encouraged me to develop more argumentative rigour, to Alexander Gramsch for sending me an unpublished manuscript, to Ted Robinson for sharing his thoughts on the Muro Leccese tombs, and to the anonymous reviewer, whose constructive comments significantly improved the paper. My thanks go to Christian Heitz, Manuele Laimer, Giovanni Mastronuzzi and Francesco Meo for permitting me to use images, to Andrea Sulzgruber for re-drawing one of the images, and, last but not least, to Isabel Aitken for revising the paper linguistically. The chapter arises from my finished PhD project on tomb reuse and post-funeral practices in pre-Roman South-East Italy.

Information about the author

Matthias Hoernes
 Institut für Klassische Archäologie
 Universität Wien
 Franz-Klein-Gasse 1
 A-1190 Wien
 matthias.hoernes@univie.ac.at
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0162-9738>

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Appendix: catalogue of tombs referred to in the text

ID	Site	Area	Tomb no.	Tomb type	MNI	Deposition types	Anthropological data
AS1/03	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	1/03	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	(A) sex undeterminable, infans I, 2–3; (B) sex undeterminable, infans I, 1.5–3
AS1/08	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	1/08	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	(A) perhaps female, adultus, 30–40; (B) male, adultus/maturus, 35–55
AS3	Ascoli Satriano	Colle Serpente, trench V	3	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
AS3/10	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	3/10	pit grave	5	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C–E) external secondary deposition	(A) male, adultus, 30–40; (B) male, adultus, 20–30; (C) sex undeterminable, iuvenis, 13–20; (D) probably male, adultus, 20–40; (E) probably female, adultus, 20–40
AS3/12	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	3/12	pit grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit; (C) external secondary deposition	(A) male, adult, ≥40; (B) probably male, adultus/maturus, 30–60; (C) probably male, adultus/maturus, 30–60
AS5/07	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	5/07	<i>grotticella</i> grave	4	(A) primary deposition; (B–D) reduction	(A) probably male, adultus, 20–40; (B) sex undeterminable, adultus/maturus, 20–60; (C) sex undeterminable, adultus, ≥20; (D) sex undeterminable, adultus/maturus, ≥40
AS8	Ascoli Satriano	Valle Castagna	8	pit grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B, C) reduction	n/a
AS9/03	Ascoli Satriano	Giarnera Piccola	9/03	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	(A) sex undeterminable, iuvenis, 14–18; (B) probably female, adultus, ≥20
BA669	Banzi	Piano Carbone	669	cist grave	4	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C, D) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	(A) female, adultus, (?); (B) male, adultus, 30–35; (C) probably female, adultus, 25–35; (D) female, adultus, 25–35
BA670	Banzi	Piano Carbone	670	depositional feature; corresponding grave unknown	1 (?)	external secondary deposition in pit	sex undeterminable, adultus, 25–35
BI3/2003	Bitonto	Via Traiana	3/2003	sarcophagus	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
BI7/2003	Bitonto	Via Traiana	7/2003	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
CO1/1990	Conversano	Via Verdi	1/1990	cist grave	2 (?)	(A) primary deposition; (B) external secondary deposition	n/a
CO2/1987	Conversano	Via Vanvitelli	2/1987	pit grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C) external secondary deposition	n/a
CO3/1988	Conversano	Via Torino	3/1988	pit grave	2 (?)	(A) primary deposition; (B, C?) external secondary deposition	n/a

Date	Belts	Knives	Spear-heads	Weapons & armour	Adornments	Spits & forks	Strigils	Spurs	Further material	References
6th c., 2nd h.					1 bronze bracelet					Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 8. 12. Supplementary material; Laimer – Larcher 2006, 49
4th c., 2nd h.	1				dress items (?)					Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 17–18; Tinkhauser – Töchterle – Heitz 2020; Töchterle – Heitz 2020; Larcher – Laimer 2010a, 28–29
4th c., 2nd h.	1									Osanna 2008, 161–164; Fabbri – Osanna 2005, 226–227
4th c. (first phase of use: 6th c.)	(B) 1	(B) 1	(B) 1		(C–E) various adornments and dress items					Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 8. Supplementary material; Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 276–277; Heitz – Hoernes – Laimer 2018, 323–324; Obojes 2018, 356; Laimer 2016, 220; Larcher – Laimer 2013, 40–41. 44–45
4th c. (first phase of use: [?])		(B) 1								Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 277; Heitz – Hoernes – Laimer 2018, 323–324; Laimer 2016, 220; Larcher – Laimer 2013, 50–51
4th c., 2nd h.	(D) 1		(D) 1		(B) 69 glass-paste beads; (C) 4 silver fibulae, 1 iron fibula				(D) vessel deposited on top of remains	Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 272–274; Heitz – Hoernes – Laimer 2018, 321–322; Larcher – Laimer 2010a, 32–41; Larcher – Laimer 2010b, 247–248; Rückl 2012
5th c., late/4th c., early		(B) 1			(B) 7 silver and iron fibulae, 1 silver ring, 1 silver hair pin, 1 gold-sheet ring, 1 glass-paste bead				(A) cup-skyphos deposited on top of remains	Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 274–275; Liseno 2012; Corrente – Liseno 2010, 267–272. 275–278; Corrente et al. 2008, 388–389
4th c., 2nd h.					(B) 1 bronze ring, 3 iron fibulae					Hoernes – Laimer – Heitz 2021, 13. Supplementary material; Hoernes – Heitz – Laimer 2019, 271; Laimer – Larcher 2006, 52–53
5th c./4th c., 1st h.		(B) 1								Mutino – Bruscella – Patriziano 2018, 19–23. 25–27
7th c., 4th q.–6th c., 3rd q.					3 fibulae, 2 bronze bracelets, 2 bronze rings, 1 amber bead				fragments of two vessels outside pit	Mutino – Bruscella – Patriziano 2018, 23–27
5th c., late		2	5 (heads and sockets)	1 arrow-head					1 eyelet ring	Riccardi 2008, 15. 20–21. 61–65
4th c., 4th q.		1				6 spits, 1 fork	2			Riccardi 2008, 13. 15. 27–31. 78–86
4th c., 2nd h.	1		1							Ciancio – L'Abbate 2013, 373–374
4th c., late			(C) 1	(C) 1 arrow-head	(B) 1 fibula					Ciancio – L'Abbate 2013, 370; L'Abbate 1990, 101
4th c., 2nd h.	(B/C) 1		(B/C) 5 (various parts)			(B/C) 1 spit	(B/C) 1		(B/C) 3 fragmentary metal items	Ciancio – L'Abbate 2013, 307–309

ID	Site	Area	Tomb no.	Tomb type	MNI	Deposition types	Anthropological data
LA223	Lavello	Contrada Casino	223	pit grave	4	(A) primary deposition; (B–D) reduction	n/a
LA287	Lavello	Contrada Casino	287	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
LA599/600	Lavello	Località Cimitero	599/600	pozzo grave and grotticella grave	2 (?)	(A) primary deposition; (B) external secondary deposition in shaft between graves	n/a
ME114A	Melfi	Pisciolo, zona B	114A	cist grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ML1/2	Muro Leccese	Masseria Cunella	1/2	cist graves	[t. 2] 11 (?); [t. 1] 16 (?)	[t. 2] (A, B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit 800; (C, D) internal secondary deposition in floor pit 900; (E) internal secondary deposition in floor pit 700; (F–K) commingled remains from backfill [t. 1] (A') primary deposition; (B'–D') internal secondary deposition in floor pit 100; (E'–G') internal secondary deposition in floor pit 300; (H'–P') external secondary deposition	[t. 2] (A) male, adultus/maturus, 40–44; (B) male, iuvenis, 18; (C) male, adultus/maturus, 39–44; (D) male, adultus, 26–29; (E) sex undeterminable, adultus, (?); (F) male, adultus, (?); (G) male, adultus, (?); (H) sex undeterminable, adultus, (?); (I) sex undeterminable, infans II, 10; (J) sex undeterminable, infans I/II, 6–10; (K) sex undeterminable, infans I, 0–0.5 [t. 1] (A') male, adultus, 35–39; (B') male, adultus, (?); (C') sex undeterminable, infans II, 9 ± 2; (D') sex undeterminable, infans I, 0–0.5; (E') female, adultus/maturus, 36–44; (F') female, adultus, (?); (G') sex undeterminable, infans I/II, c. 5 ± 16 months; (H'–L') male, adultus, (?); (M'–O') sex undeterminable, adultus, (?); (P') sex undeterminable, infans I, 0–0.5
ML2	Muro Leccese	Via Martiri d'Otranto	2	cist grave	7	(A) primary deposition; (B–G) external secondary deposition	(A) male, adultus, (?); (B, C) male, adultus, 30–40; (D–F) male, adultus, (?); (G) sex undeterminable, adultus, (?)
ORD44	Ordona	–	44	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
ORD56	Ordona	trench 78,5	56	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a

Date	Belts	Knives	Spear-heads	Weapons & armour	Adornments	Spits & forks	Strigils	Spurs	Further material	References
5th c., middle		(B-D) 2	(B-D) 3 (heads and sockets)		(B-D) 1 bronze torque, 1 iron fibula, 1 bronze bracelet, 1 bronze ring	(B-D) 1 spit				Giorgi et al. 1988, 108–109
(A) 6th c., 3rd q.; (B) 7th c., late/6th c., 1st h.					1 bronze torque, 2 bronze pendants, 3 iron fibulae, 2 bronze bracelets, 2 bronze rings, 2 bronze items					Giorgi et al. 1988, 131–132
5th c., late/4th c., 1st h.	5 (+)	1 (?)	4 (?)	2 swords, 4 helmet crests, 2 cuisses					1 horse bit, 1 bone flute, several ivory appliqués, further minor items and fragments	Bottini – Fresa 1991, 35–43
5th c., 1st h.		1 (?)								Mitro – Notarangelo 2016, 54–57
[t. 2] 5th c.–4th c., 3rd q. (use-life) [t. 1] 4th c., 3rd q.–3rd c., middle (use-life)							(A, B; dep. 800) 1	(A, B; dep. 800) 1	fragmentary and disturbed materials from other features not included	Robinson 2021, 134; Calvaruso 2016, 86–87; Lonoce 2016, 93–94; Giardino et al. 2014; Giardino 2014; Giardino – Meo 2013a, 168; Giardino – Meo 2013b, 315–316; Giardino – Meo 2011, 33–39; Giardino – Meo 2008, 20
4th c., 2nd h.	(D?) 1								potential material from other unknown deposits	Calvaruso 2016, 83 fig. 1. 88 fig. 10; Lonoce 2016, 96 fig. 6
6th c., 1st h.		1			1 bronze fibula, 1 bronze-wire ring					Iker 1984, 170–174
6th c., late/5th c., early					1 ivory ring					Iker 1984, 219–224

ID	Site	Area	Tomb no.	Tomb type	MNI	Deposition types	Anthropological data
ORD62	Ordona	trench 6	62	pit grave	4	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C, D) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ORD68	Ordona	trench 34	68	pit grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B, C) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ORD69	Ordona	southern extrarurban area, trench 75,4	69	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ORD71	Ordona	southern hill, trench 71,2	71	pit grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B, C) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ORD125	Ordona	southern hill, trench 71,15	125	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
ORD127	Ordona	trench 69,3	127	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction	n/a
ORD161	Ordona	southern extrarurban area, trench 74,1	161	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
ORD164	Ordona	trench 37	164	burial chamber installed in a trench	3	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit; (C) internal secondary deposition in corner niche	n/a
RIP45	Ripacandida	San Donato	45bis	pit grave	2	(A) primary deposition; (B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
RUT6	Rutigliano	Contrada Purgatorio	6	<i>a muretti</i> grave	(?)	(A) primary deposition; (B-?) external secondary deposition	n/a
RUV1/1993	Ruvo	-	1/1993	sarcophagus	3	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C) external secondary deposition	n/a
SO1981	Soletto	Via Colombo	1981	cist grave	(?)	(A) primary deposition; (?) internal secondary deposition in floor pit; (?) external secondary deposition	n/a
SOC	Soletto	Contrada Rángali (Palmisano)	C	cist grave	3	(A) primary deposition; (B, C) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	(A) male, adultus, 20–25; (B) female, senilis, ≥60; (C) sex undeterminable, infans I, 3–5
VA1/1968	Vaste	Fondo Aia	1/1968	cist grave	2 (secondary dep.)	(A, B) internal secondary deposition in floor pit	n/a
VA191	Vaste	Via Principe Umberto	dep. 191	depositional feature; corresponding grave unknown	1 (?)	external secondary deposition in pit	n/a
VA325	Vaste	Via Enrico Toti	325	cist grave	5 (secondary dep.)	(A–E) external secondary deposition	n/a

	Date	Belts	Knives	Spear-heads	Weapons & armour	Adornments	Spits & forks	Strigils	Spurs	Further material	References
	5th c., middle					(C) 2 iron fibulae; (D) 1 bronze-sheet pendant, 3 bronze-spiral fragments				(D) 1 iron spit	Iker 1984, 242–248
	5th c., late/4th c., early					(B/C) 1 bronze fibula					Iker 1984, 270–274
	5th c., 4th q.					2 iron fibulae					Iker 1984, 274–281
	5th c., late			(B/C) 1 (?)	(B/C) 1 sword	(B/C) 1 bronze bracelet					Iker 1984, 283–285
	4th c., middle					2 bronze fibulae, 3 bronze rings, 1 bronze bracelet					Iker 1986, 514–519
	4th c., middle	1	1								Iker 1986, 520–526
	4th c., 2nd h.					1 bronze ring, 1 bronze fibula					Iker 1986, 648–654
	4th c., 2nd h.	(B) 1; (C) 1	(C) 1							(C) 1 fragment of an iron spit	Iker 1986, 658–667
	6th c., 2nd h.					15 fibulae, 2 bronze rings, 1 amber pendant, 1 bronze spiral				1 bronze grater (?)	Heitz 2021, 72. Catalogue: 67–68
	4th c., 4th q.			1							Natali – Palmentola 2006, 26–30
	4th c., 2nd h./3rd c., early							(C) 1			Riccardi 2014, 142–144
	6th c., 2nd h. (?)–4th c., 2nd h. (use-life)	(external dep.) 1						(external dep.) 1		potential further material	Stifani 2015, 75. 88–89 no. 54; Donato – Giannotta 2015, 128–140
	3rd c.							(B/C) 1			Van Compernelle 2012, 43–45
	4th c., 2nd h. (secondary dep.)	(A/B) 2			(A/B) 2 helmet crests	(A/B) 1 bronze fibula				(A/B) 1 one-handed cup	Delli Ponti 1996, 103–105
	4th c., late (secondary dep.)	3 belt hooks			1 helmet crest					further bronze items	Melissano 1995, 243–249; Mastro-nuzzi – Melissano 2015, 35
	4th c., 2nd h./3rd c., 1st h. (secondary dep.)					(dep. 373) 2 iron fibulae		(dep. 375) 1		(dep. 371) 1 terracotta statuette, 3 unguentaria	Melissano 1995, 229–243; Mastro-nuzzi – Melissano 2015, 34–35

ID	Site	Area	Tomb no.	Tomb type	MNI	Deposition types	Anthropological data
VA584	Vaste	Fondo Melliche	dep. 584	sarcophagus	5 (secondary dep.)	(A-E) external secondary deposition in pit	(A) female, adultus, c. 33; (B) male, maturus, ≥ 50 ; (C) male, senilis, ≥ 70 ; (D) sex undeterminable, infans I/II, 6-8; (E) sex undeterminable, infans I, c. 2
VA84.12	Vaste	Fondo Pizzinaghe	84.12	cist grave	6	(A) primary deposition; (B) reduction; (C) internal secondary deposition in floor pit; (D-F) external secondary deposition	(A) male, adultus, (?); (B) female, adultus, c. 35; (C) male, senilis, ≥ 60 ; (D) male, senilis, ≥ 60 ; (E) female, senilis, ≥ 60 ; (F) sex undeterminable, infans I/II, (?)

	Date	Belts	Knives	Spear-heads	Weapons & armour	Adornments	Spits & forks	Strigils	Spurs	Further material	References
	4th c., 1st h. (?) (secondary dep.)	1								1 lekane, 1 fibula	Semeraro 1990, 126–132; Mastronuzzi – Melissano 2015, 27–28
	4th c., late/3rd c., early	(C) 1									Lambolely 1996, 414–422; Becker 1996; Mastronuzzi – Melissano 2015, 33